

SEPTEMBER 30 1984

By EZRA MANTINI

Mr PAULOS Masemola is asking the Government for a homeland north of Bronkorspruit for all those Transvaal blacks who have no homeland affiliation.

So far he has had no success, but he says: "There are millions of urban blacks who, for no reason of their own, cannot remember any homeland affiliation, and they end up with serious difficulties once they are evicted or thrown out of municipal areas.

Mr Masemola, of Diepkloof, Soweto, has decided to name his nation "The Nobians" — a name he hit on after thinking about the people who were officially The Nobodies.

He sometimes changes it to the "Nxube nation" — meaning mixed nation.

He said: "I thought about this idea as early as 1959 when I asked my father why my reference book called me a Pedi when his said he was Ndebele.

"His answer was that there are many people who lose their true identity through intermarriage.

"Among coloureds there are those who are referred to as 'other' and among blacks you still find this identity problem.

"When my father could not come up with an appropriate answer, I decided that as long as I lived I would fight for a homeland for people like me because nobody wants us.

Regret . . .

"Whenever we seek asylum in any homeland, we are usually called names, and my intention is to solve it once and for all," said Mr Masemola.

His idea was the same as that behind the formation of the Ciskei township of Dimbaza, where all those blacks evicted from the Cape urban areas were resettled.

But then Dimbaza was dubbed by many people as a "dumping ground".

'Other states don't want us, so give us one of our own'

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA	REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
Verw. Nr./Ref. No. K2/7/3 NAVRAE/INQUIRIES. Mr. Schreuder Tel. No. 525	KANTOOR VAN DIE-OFFICE OF THE Commissioner Department of Co-operation and Development Private Bag 2638 GROBLERSDAL 0470
The Commencer of the Nobians P.O. Box 12307 LITTLEBOURG 1852	23rd August 1984.
Sir, PLACE FOR URBAN BLACKS.	
With reference to your recent letters to this office and the Honourable Prime Minister in connection with the above matter, I regret to inform you that the Department do not recognise the "Nobians" as a separate national unit.	
It is suggested that members of the "Nobians" associate themselves with one or other of the recognised National States.	
Yours faithfully,	

This was the reply Mr Masemola received from the Commissioner at Groblersdal

Mr Masemola said he wanted to avoid another Dimbaza.

"It is better that we ask the Government for a no-identity homeland, which we can develop and help any other victims of removals or stranded urban blacks."

But so far he has been getting no co-operation from the Government.

The authorities doubt his

following, and cultural background.

"I explained to them that I have at least about 500 000 families whom I know to be Nobians, and as such have no cultural background as children of intermarriage," he said.

A letter he received from the commissioner of Groblersdal, a Mr Schreuder, at the end of August, said:

"With reference to your

recent letters to this office, and the Honourable Prime Minister, in connection with the above matter, I regret to inform you the department does not recognise the Nobians as a separate national unit.

"It is suggested that members of the Nobians associate themselves with one or other of the recognised national states".

So the Nobians have had to start their campaign afresh.

They have recently appointed a chief, Mr John Mdubeki, of Kwa-Thema, Springs, to attend to all the cultural problems

Mr Masemola said many people did not care about his idea until they had trouble, but flocked to register as soon as they had problems concerning resettlement.

Witchhunt

"Many homelands do not like the idea of accommodating people of mixed tribal background.

"A case in point was the harassment and witchhunt of non-Tswanas in BophuthaTswana.

Whites SUNDAY TIMES must face 30 SEPT. 84 the pain of change

By BEYERS
NAUDE

Driving forces

It is important to emphasise that other motives too, largely unknown, hidden or unacknowledged, underlay this.

For instance, strong fears of being swamped by an overwhelming number of blacks, growing economic self-interest, and inferiority complexes of the past formed the unconscious driving forces of the Afrikaner in his striving for political power.

It is only recently that a small number of concerned Afrikaners has begun to discover how strongly these hidden motivations moulded the actions of the Afrikaner people.

Political scientists, sociologists and psychologists owe it to South Africa to spell out these hidden factors and help whites towards a rational re-evaluation of the political motives of the past.

I realise (on the strength of my own experience of an agonising theological and political pilgrimage towards a new insight) that this will be a painful process. But it is absolutely essential to face this if we as whites wish to evolve a reasonably peaceful political process of change.

Polarisation

If we fail, then we are embarking on a course of increasing polarisation, conflict and endless strife, the end result of which will inevitably be that whites will be the losers.

The white community, and especially the dominant Afrikaner group, must come to accept that the black people of South Africa, both urban and rural, are a permanent part of South Africa and that

nothing that governments may do will change this.

I am convinced that the vast majority of blacks in urban areas, in the homelands and in the so-called independent states, if given the opportunity to freely express their opinion, would vote to be and remain South Africans.

Afrikaner efforts to separate blacks from whites have been to no avail.

Self-defeating

Influx control, pass laws, endless raids, destruction of homes and shacks, enforced removals, the establishment of resettlement ghettos, the shifting of homeland boundaries to bluff the white electorate into believing that urban black numbers were diminishing — all these desperate attempts have failed.

The process of industrialisation, the urgent need for labour (both skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled), the impoverishment of rural areas and homelands, the lack of sufficient opportunities not only to earn a living but even to survive — all these factors have brought, and will con-

tinue to force, thousands of people to the urban areas.

No magic wand is available to remove them from the vision of the whites.

The enforced separation of urban and rural blacks in an attempt to relieve or diminish the pressures on whites is a dangerous and self-defeating exercise. The black community will never voluntarily accept such a division and offer their co-operation to achieve this goal.

Moreover, any attempt to enforce the system of influx control with the accompanying hateful practices — pass raids, disruption of homes, enforced removals, and robbing people of their citizenship — can only lead to increasing anger, bitterness and hatred.

Shudder

Equally dangerous and fallacious is any policy based on the assumption that the political grouping together of whites, coloureds and Indians, but excluding the black majority, could offer an acceptable and peaceful solution.

Not only has the outcome of the recent coloured and Indian elections clearly

shown that, but anybody sincerely attempting to discover the feelings of blacks themselves will realise how strongly their feelings of resentment run.

What would the Afrikaner have done if the British, facing the rising tide of Afrikaners striving to attain their rightful heritage, had stripped them of their citizenship, their right to vote, to own land and to offer labour freely in South Africa?

Realistic

I shudder to think what the outcome would have been.

Similarly, any attempt to govern South Africa with a political system which excludes the black majority from meaningful participation (as the present constitution has done) can only spell increasing anger and opposition, especially on the part of the black youth.

Why attempt to enforce a political system which in any case cannot succeed in the long run because 75 percent of the population of the country does not voluntarily accept it?

Why not face the fact many governments in other coun-

tries have had to accept: we are dealing with a worldwide phenomenon for urbanisation which cannot be reversed in the way we are attempting.

Having accepted that, we must begin to seek a solution for urbanisation, lack of housing, lack of sufficient ru-

ral infrastructures and opportunities, and unemployment along more just, humane and realistic avenues.

Any attempt to minimise the growing tide of youth anger and militancy within the black, coloured and Indian communities, or to ascribe it (as is so easily done in some quarters) to "opstokery" of otherwise peaceful and stable communities, can likewise only lead to further tension and conflict.

Plea

If there is one plea which I wish to present to the white community, especially to the Afrikaner, it is this: try to ascertain the real feelings of the black, coloured and Indian student and youth groups of our country; try to discover and understand the hidden message which the

current unrest, school boycotts, and stayaways portray.

And where they reflect the just and valid demands for change, be prepared to make such changes before a situation of confrontation and growing polarisation makes reconciliation a very difficult if not impossible task.

Force

Further, the current belief of many whites that a major uprising in the black community can be successfully suppressed by force should be actively discouraged.

The power behind the barrel of the gun may force people into temporary submission — it can never convince them of the justice of a policy and it can never convert them into voluntary acceptance and support of policies and practices they know to be oppressive and destructive.

Why continue with so much of what is clearly unjust if we as whites, deep in our hearts know, what is just?

Why continue with a policy which is senseless, futile, economically unattainable, and eventually self-destructive, if we can discover and devise another — a better — way?

Gumede's wife gets new KwaZulu position

By BERYS
BEHR GILLINGHAM

THE wife of the vehemently anti-Inkatha leader of the United Democratic Front has received permission from Chief Gathsa Buthelezi, president of Inkatha, to work as a teacher for KwaZulu.

Mrs Edith Gumede of Claremont, Durban, whose husband Archie is at present encamped in the British consulate with five others in a bid to escape detention, will work at the Christiaanbug Lower Primary school in Claremont, Durban, next year.

Mrs Gumede, though "officially retired", has been working this year and applied to work for a further year.

Mr Gumede has made no secret of his distaste for Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government, both of which are headed by Chief Buthelezi.

In November last year the Chief invited Mr Gumede and the National Executive Committee of the UDF to Ulundi to address the Legislative Assembly.

Suicidal

In April, Mr Gumede wrote to Chief Buthelezi declining the invitation on grounds that "association with the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has the potential of compromising the democratic projection and character of this front".

He indicated that to associate in any way with the Assembly would be to place the UDF in jeopardy.

Mr Gumede added: "For members of an oppressed and coerced community to voluntarily man and daily keep institutions of oppression to grind the defenceless masses under the yoke of oppression is suicidal and untenable."

In announcing the Cabinet's decision to allow Mrs Gumede to teach in KwaZulu this year Chief Buthelezi said: "Although her family had made no secret of its total rejection of what the

Government was trying to do in KwaZulu, Mrs Gumede was a valued teacher who was extremely welcome to pursue her profession in KwaZulu."

Invitations

He explained that his invitation to Mrs Gumede's husband to hold talks in Ulundi soon after the formation of the UDF had been on the basis that Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government were one and the same thing.

The Cabinet, consisting of the Inkatha Executive and all 65 elected Assembly members, had "won their seats on the Inkatha ticket of opposition to the SA Government and total rejection of offers of 'independence' for the homeland."

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha was committed to the spirit of black unity, and for this reason felt it "vital" that black organisations should get together.

Although the Department of Education and Culture could have taken a decision on Mrs Gumede's application themselves, the Minister of Education, Dr Oscar Dhlomo — who is also Secretary-General of Inkatha — decided to refer the matter to the full Cabinet.

This, he explained, was because of the UDF's attitude to KwaZulu.

"Mrs Gumede's service to KwaZulu has been beyond reproach and I am very pleased that her application was approved without hesitation.

"We have no problems at all with those who are ideologically opposed to Inkatha and we welcome their contributions towards social services such as education in the region.

"However, we do feel that they should not use their positions to promote their private viewpoints," he said.

When asked what her husband thought about her assignment in KwaZulu Mrs Gumede said: "My husband has said nothing to me. I do not know."

NEW SCANDAL IN MATANZIMA'S KINGDOM

Petrol grab could sink Transkei



Special report by
STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

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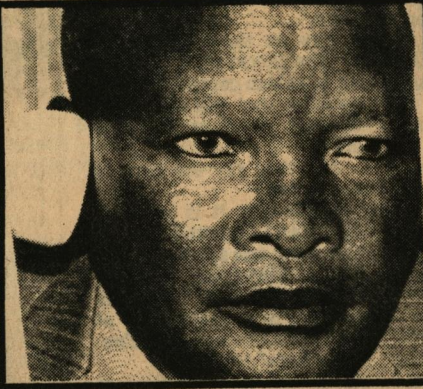
This blunt warning has been given by South African oil companies to a Transkei Minister in Cape Town.

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Letter

In a letter couched in peremptory terms, the present owners of the fuel depots, the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC), were told by the Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Mr Ramsey Madikizela:

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nephew of the Matanzimas, and an American, Mr Clarence Lindsay.

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disastrous.

An oil company representative said: "We view Trans-Versal as being merely a front for certain government officials who want the fuel depots for their own personal gain."

"We are not interested in doing business with it. We have a 10-year contract with the TDC and nobody in Transkei can touch a drop of our fuel. If they do, the industry will take action."

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The dispute between TDC and Trans-Versal is due to go to the Umtata Supreme Court again next month. The TDC has already obtained a court order stopping the takeover.

Concern

Other recent events in the Transkei have caused concern among officials and industrialists. They include:

- The appointment of a commission of inquiry into the TDC, a move which one commissioner described as "nothing but a ploy by certain individuals to gain control of the TDC".

- An attempt by Trans-Versal to take over Ohlsson's Cape Breweries in Butterworth which belongs to SA Breweries.

- The sacking of TDC managing director Mr Sonny Tarr and 12 members of his management team.

The outcast dominee

Let the church welcome him back, and listen to what he has got to say



By Professor

BEN ENGELBRECHT

Professor of Religious Studies,
University of the Witwatersrand

The piety of Zinzendorf of Herrnhut (1700-1760) expressed in the words "ich habe nur eine passion, die ist Er, nur Er" (I have only one passion. This is Jesus, He alone) characterised Naude in everything he pursued.

If only the word of God's reconciliation of sinners, with Himself and with one another, could be the basis of the ordering of South African society, our future would be one of light, not darkness.

After his farewell sermon, delivered in the Aasvoëlkop Dutch Reformed Church, based on Acts 5:29 — "We must obey God rather than men" — he assumed duty as the director of the Christian Institute of Southern Africa.

With much confidence and enthusiasm he was surrounded by a great "cloud of witnesses", men and women, among them many Dutch Reformed ministers, who had pledged their support and co-operation.

Rumours of the possible

establishment of an "opposition" church were completely unfounded. The "cloud of witnesses" was committed exclusively to the existing churches, particularly the Afrikaans churches of the Reformed family.

Beyers Naude is, above all, a man of prayer. Through the study of the Word of God and prayer and through a witness to the churches about the will of the God of Love and Reconciliation for all people in South Africa, the Christian Institute — not the individual Beyers Naude — was meant to make a contribution to a radical reappraisal of the "non-negotiable" factors which the Afrikaner churches, in particular, considered essential for their own survival and the survival of Christian values.

This contribution, it was hoped, would be made within the churches, in such an indubitably evangelical manner and so completely in accordance with the principles of Reformed faith that, far from being rejected, it would irresistibly,

in a natural and organic way, be reassimilated by the churches as its own inalienable witness to the South African community and its leaders.

Beyers Naude made one big mistake — though it is the most forgivable mistake that can be made by any Christian. "Put not your trust in princes," says the psalmist, "in a son of man in whom there is no help (Psalm 146:3)."

His initial supporters disappeared like the disciples of Jesus when He was led to be crucified. But, for Beyers Naude there was no return.

One wonders what the present situation in South Africa, both in the church, particularly the Dutch Reformed Church and on the political scene, would have been if the Christian Institute was not deserted by its Reformed supporters.

How different might things have been had it been allowed to develop and grow without being smeared as a crypto-communist nest of mischief.

I would venture to guess that the political "conversion" of which we now see promising signs, would have happened much sooner and that by now it would have progressed much further.

I am convinced, however, that Beyers Naude was

BEYERS NAUDE has always remained "dominee" for me. When he was deprived of his status as a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, many previous colleagues seemed to find sadistic pleasure in following the trend that was set in political newspapers by dubbing him "Meneer Naude".

This was the most final and decisive way of denying any recognition of his genuine concern with the way in which the Christian gospel was interpreted (and distorted!) by the dominating powers within the church of which he was a minister.

He had left the ministry of his church, it was claimed, because his aim was to propagate a gospel alien to the tradition in which he was brought up and which he had previously served.

This alien gospel was the "social gospel", the one embraced by the "liberals" who were the "dupes of communism".

He was everybody's heretic at whom all and sundry could cast the stones of rejection in order to obliterate even the recollection of his image as an erstwhile dominee of the "Kerk van die Afrikaner".

Yet, in spite of numerous pleas on his part to subject himself to any trial the church might deem necessary, he was never given a hearing and never found "guilty" by any official ecclesiastical court.

In fact, the real issue was consistently evaded. The last thing Beyers Naude ever wanted was to be alienated from the church within which he was born and bred.

This church remained for him the Church of Christ, and his passionate desire was that it should examine itself in the light of the question of whether it still belonged to its Lord alone, or whether it had been lured away by the attractions of "pseudo gospels", of self-interest and self-justification.

He realised that what "kerk en volk" needed most was that the Word of God should be listened to anew.

In this respect, he showed the concern of a significant group of ministers, mostly of the young generation, and members of the Dutch Reformed Church (including the Hervormde Kerk and the Gereformeerde Kerk).

The "pad van Suid-Afrika", if it were to lead out of an imminent and indeed already existing chaos, could only be that of obedience to the Christian gospel of reconciliation.

Beyers Naude was called anew to be a minister of this gospel.

I shall always remain convinced that he "received" this calling in his fellowship with brothers and sisters in the Reformed faith, who believed and knew that basic truths confessed in this faith contained a possibility and a promise for steering away from the disasters of an idolatrously entrenched protection and glorification of Afrikaner self-interest.

That is why he always remained "dominee" for me.

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THE OUTCAST DOMINEE -

basically right. If his initial purposes were not so deplorably defeated by unreasonable prejudice and hostility, by a denial and a betrayal similar to that which Jesus himself had suffered, both he and the Dutch Reformed Church — and our country — would not have been subjected to such shameful humiliation, to so much suspicion, to things that cause so much hurt to all South Africans.

Naude's return to normal life, to freedom of movement and speech, should be seen as an opportunity by the church to make use of his uncontestable gifts of leadership, persuasiveness and eloquence in order to restore the church to a position from where it can resume its responsibility and relevance as an indispensable determining power for the future of South Africa.

His age has not yet disabled him as a sage. His spiritual home remains the Dutch Reformed Church.

This church has a duty towards Beyers Naude, which it cannot neglect — a duty not only of welcoming him back to its fold and to its rank of minister of the gospel.

It should also give him the opportunity, which he always so passionately desired, to speak to his own church. By doing this it can lose nothing. It can only gain enormously.

The good news and the bad news about Neil Kinnock

ONE thing is for sure: It is too late for the Labour Party to change its mind now.

Its new leader, Neil Kinnock, is in for the duration not just of this Parliament but indefinitely, and the party had better get used to him.

Never since the war has a Labour leader departed involuntarily.

Only old age or exhaustion prides them from the job. Mr Kinnock is ambitious and energetic to a fault.

He very badly wants to be Prime Minister one day and, at 43, time is in his favour.

This will be scant consolation to his gloomy party as it gathers this weekend for its annual conference in Blackpool.

Good parts

The best that can be said for Mr Kinnock's first year is that it was good in limited parts and it is early days yet. First, the good parts.

Mr Kinnock's major achievement has been to see off the centrist challenge, at least for the time being.

The Liberal-Social Democrat Alliance is now trailing Labour by over 15 percentage points in the polls, after running it neck and neck at the 1983 general election.

The SDP's support is increasingly drawn from middle-class professionals disillusioned with Mrs Thatcher, not from its hoped-for market of former Labour voters who defected to Mrs Thatcher in 1979 and 1983.

This is fine by Mr Kin-

THE VIEW FROM LONDON



by SIMON JENKINS

nock, whose task is specifically to win those voters back to Labour.

In addition, Mr Kinnock has an undoubted presence in front of the television camera.

In the flesh, he is uncharismatic: Still the overgrown student politician ranting, beer mug in hand, at some easy target.

Above all, he is incurably verbose. His staff watch in dismay as his questions in Parliament stretch on and lose themselves in waffle.

An after-dinner speech by Mr Kinnock is a nightmare — for some listeners quite literally. He cannot stop.

Television edits all this away. The camera's Mr Kinnock is a few clipped sentences, the clichés lending colour to an aura of intensity. He has an attractive face which conveys anger and compassion.

His qualities, though he would die rather than admit it, are not unlike those which brought success to Ronald Reagan. He may be lightweight but he is regarded as sincere.

Mr Kinnock has managed to calm some of the more bitter rows which rent the party under Michael Foot and Jim Callaghan.

A concordat on defence between left and right was reached six months ago which was agreed by such differing personalities as Denis Healey, Peter Shore, Robin Cook and Neil Kinnock himself.

The unilateralists were persuaded to adopt a pro-Nato stance while the multi-lateralists came out against Britain's independent deterrent and against cruise missiles on British soil, many of them muttering that much water would flow under this bridge before the next election.

Small seeds

More significantly, Mr Kinnock has commenced at least a modest exercise in rewriting Labour ideology.

He has demanded a less corporatist party with a greater stress on individual freedom and individual property.

Labour, he accepts, was wrong to oppose the selling of council houses to tenants, one of the Tories most popular reforms.

Last week, his economics spokesman, Roy Hattersley even questioned the sacred cow of nationalisation.

People no longer accepted, he said, that when government owned an asset so too did the people. They should look at other ways of diversifying capitalism, such as profit-sharing, co-ownership, worker directors and co-operatives.

Yet these are very small

seeds. Knowing Labour, they will take many years to grow. Mr Kinnock has had a bad year and knows it.

He has failed to dominate his party in the House of Commons, let alone get the better of Mrs Thatcher, whose pithy utterances reduce him regularly to rambling and blathering.

He has yet to overhaul the Tories in the opinion polls — which most oppositions are doing at this point.

And both his, and his party's performance has been overshadowed by the issue which has ruled British politics for the past six months, that of the miners' strike.

It is an issue which could hardly show Labour in a worse light. Every night and every morning, the news is of the Coal Board versus the miners' leader, Arthur Scargill.

It is the articulate Mr Scargill who holds the front pages, who leads the marches, who calls for the overthrow of Mrs Thatcher, who rallies the leftwing faithful to an identifiable cause.

Mr Scargill wins no votes for Labour. He is widely unpopular, not least when his supporters fire air pistols at police horses and drop rocks on coal trucks from motorway bridges.

But Mr Scargill appears to be carrying a lone banner against the Tories and Mr Kinnock is totally upstaged by him.

No Labour opposition can side with an employer in the course of a strike, however indefensible it knows the miners' case against pit closures to be.

It certainly cannot come out against the NUM in a

battle with a Tory Government, least of all when the miners might yet win some sort of compromise victory.

So Mr Kinnock has to comfort himself into "condemning violence on both sides of the picket line".

He and his colleagues have to declare that, despite the absence of a miners' ballot, "if I were a miner, I would be on strike".

And he has to plead with Mr Scargill not to turn next week's conference into a pro-NUM demonstration, complete with attacks on the police. The price will be yet further affirmations of Labour support for the strikers.

Failure

Doubtless this trouble will sooner or later blow away and Mr Kinnock will be able to assert his rightful place as leader of an anti-Tory crusade.

The strike, so Labour supporters claim, is merely postponing the day of reckoning for the government's economic failure and for the cuts in social services which Labour struggles vainly to publicise.

The party did well in last May's local elections and is by no means a spent force.

Certainly, Mr Kinnock's ambition for power and his strategy of policy realism to help achieve it should not be under-rated. Labour have been in worse plights before and recovered.

But optimists who saw in Neil Kinnock a televisual phenomenon able to carry the anti-Thatcher revolution into the sitting rooms of the nation are having to wait another year, and possibly many more after that.

NEW SCANDAL IN MATANZIMA'S KINGDOM

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SUNDAY Times - 30 SEPT. 1984

Elite are in full control - Takeover bids hit R27m plan

AN elite group of high-ranking government officials and Ministers in Transkei control many of the profitable businesses in the territory.

In recent takeover bids of a South African brewery and two fuel depots by a Transkeian company, Trans-Ver-sal Industries, the involvement by government officials, including the President, Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima, and the Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, is apparent from an official letter which was handed to the Sunday Times.

owns a filling station, Myezo Motors, and a restaurant at the entrance to the University of Transkei (Unitra), of which he is chancellor.

Official Unitra vehicles are frequently seen to be filling up at Myezo Motors.

He also owns Myezo Properties which, according to records, has a licence to oper-

ate as owner of immovable property.

A number of independent sources as well as employees of Transkei Toyota, a service station in central Umtata, named President Matanzima as a director of the company. Documents which originate from the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC) suggest that Mr Matanzima vir-

tually controls the company.

Two employees of the company claimed that the garage had a contract to supply petrol to government and police vehicles.

Two Cabinet Members, the Minister of Transport, Mr A Jonas, and the Minister of Finance, Mr Sydney Quaba, are among the directors of a sorghum brewery.

RECENT events in Transkei involving takeover bids of private companies and the sacking of the top management of the Transkei Development Corporation may jeopardise a R27-million investment by Sappi Novobord, a member company of the giant Sappi group.

Officials and businessmen in Umtata also fear that another multi-million rand project by a huge Taiwanese household appliances company could be wrecked by the takeover controversy.

The giant South African Breweries is still watching developments after seeking legal advice to prevent the takeover of its Butterworth brewery by a local company headed by a Transkeian and an American.

A senior official connected to the TDC said this week that the Sappi partical board plant had been "put on ice for six months because of all that is happening here".

The plant was to have been a joint venture by Sappi and the TDC.

IF THERE is one overwhelming impression brought home to me during my seven years for banning it is this: South Africa is one of the most deeply divided societies in the world today.

People of different languages, widely differing cultures, different faiths and religions (and within these religions, numerous different confessions), different social customs and traditions, different classes and levels of education — all these form our society and live in closer or lesser proximity to one another.

The conviction of most whites, and especially Afrikaners, that people of such wide diversity could never live together in peace became the motivation behind apartheid.

Driving forces

It is important to emphasise that other motives too, largely unknown, hidden or unacknowledged, underlay this.

For instance, strong fears of being swamped by an overwhelming number of blacks, growing economic self-interest, and inferiority complexes of the past formed the unconscious driving forces of the Afrikaner in his striving for political power.

It is only recently that a small number of concerned Afrikaners has begun to discover how strongly these hidden motivations moulded the actions of the Afrikaner people.

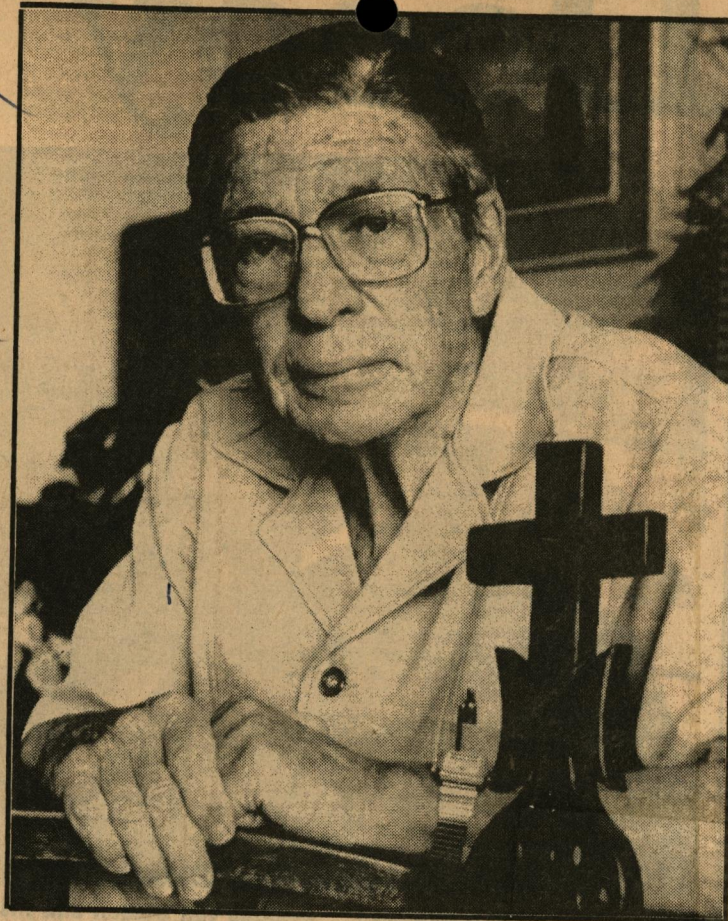
Political scientists, sociologists and psychologists owe it to South Africa to spell out these hidden factors and help whites towards a rational re-evaluation of the political motives of the past.

I realise (on the strength of my own experience of an agonising theological and political pilgrimage towards a new insight) that this will be a painful process. But it is absolutely essential to face this if we as whites wish to evolve a reasonably peaceful political process of change.

Whites must face the pain of change

By BEYERS
NAUDE

Picture
of Dr
Naudé
by JAMES
SOULLIER



Polarisation

If we fail, then we are embarking on a course of increasing polarisation, conflict and endless strife, the end result of which will inevitably be that whites will be the losers.

The white community, and especially the dominant Afrikaner group, must come to accept that the black people of South Africa, both urban and rural, are a permanent part of South Africa and that

nothing that governments may do will change this.

I am convinced that the vast majority of blacks in urban areas, in the homelands and in the so-called indepen-

dent states, if given the opportunity to freely express their opinion, would vote to be and remain South Africans.

Afrikaner efforts to separate blacks from whites have been to no avail.

Self-defeating

Influx control, pass laws, endless raids, destruction of homes and shacks, enforced removals, the establishment of resettlement ghettos, the shifting of homeland boundaries to bluff the white electorate into believing that urban black numbers were diminishing — all these desperate attempts have failed.

The process of industriali-

sation, the urgent need for labour (both skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled), the impoverishment of rural areas and homelands, the lack of sufficient opportunities not only to earn a living but even to survive — all these factors have brought, and will con-

tinue to force, thousands of people to the urban areas.

No magic wand is available to remove them from the vision of the whites.

The enforced separation of urban and rural blacks in an attempt to relieve or diminish the pressures on whites is a dangerous and self-defeating exercise. The black community will never voluntarily accept such a division and offer their co-operation to achieve this goal.

Moreover, any attempt to

enforce the system of influx control with the accompanying hateful practices — pass raids, disruption of homes, enforced removals, and robbing people of their citizenship — can only lead to increasing anger, bitterness and hatred.

Shudder

Equally dangerous and fallacious is any policy based on the assumption that the political grouping together of whites, coloureds and Indians, but excluding the black majority, could offer an acceptable and peaceful solution.

Not only has the outcome of the recent coloured and Indian elections clearly

shown that, but anybody sincerely attempting to discover the feelings of blacks themselves will realise how strongly their feelings of resentment run.

What would the Afrikaner have done if the British, facing the rising tide of Afrikaners striving to attain their rightful heritage, had stripped them of their citizenship, their right to vote, to own land and to offer labour freely in South Africa?

Realistic

I shudder to think what the outcome would have been.

Similarly, any attempt to govern South Africa with a political system which excludes the black majority

from meaningful participation (as the present constitution has done) can only spell increasing anger and opposition, especially on the part of the black youth.

Why attempt to enforce a political system which in any case cannot succeed in the long run because 75 percent of the population of the country does not voluntarily accept it?

Why not face the fact many governments in other coun-

tries have had to accept: we are dealing with a worldwide phenomenon for urbanisation which cannot be reversed in the way we are attempting.

Having accepted that, we must begin to seek a solution for urbanisation, lack of housing, lack of sufficient rural infrastructures and opportunities, and unemployment along more just, humane and realistic avenues.

Any attempt to minimise the growing tide of youth anger and militancy within the black, coloured and Indian communities, or to ascribe it (as is so easily done in some quarters) to "opstokery" of otherwise peaceful and stable communities, can likewise only lead to further tension and conflict.

Plea

If there is one plea which I wish to present to the white community, especially to the Afrikaner, it is this: try to ascertain the real feelings of the black, coloured and Indian student and youth groups of our country; try to discover and understand the hidden message which the

current unrest, school boycotts, and stayaways portray.

And where they reflect the just and valid demands for change, be prepared to make such changes before a situation of confrontation and growing polarisation makes reconciliation a very difficult if not impossible task.

Whites must face the pain of change.
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Force

Further, the current belief of many whites that a major uprising in the black community can be successfully suppressed by force should be actively discouraged.

The power behind the barrel of the gun may force people into temporary submission — it can never convince them of the justice of a policy and it can never convert them into voluntary acceptance and support of policies and practices they know to be oppressive and destructive.

Why continue with so much of what is clearly unjust if we as whites, deep in our hearts know, what is just?

Why continue with a policy which is senseless, futile, economically unattainable, and eventually self-destructive, if we can discover and devise another — a better — way?