

To pri
shorts

AT 15, Dikgang Moseneke
was transferred from
Pretoria Central to Robben
Island and became the
youngest prisoner there.

This was in 1964.

â\200\234My first five years on Rob-
ben Island were hard.

I arrived there in winter in
shorts and barefeet. 5

â\200\234â\200\234You existed because you had
a mind which functioned.â\200\235â\200\231

Studying brought a lot of fun.
He passed standard 8 in 1964 with
a first class certificate.

â\200\234There was ample time to
read.

â\200\234â\200\234In prison evening starts early
at 4.30 pm. x

â\200\234]I remember doing Latin
while pushing a wheelbarrow.â\200\235â\200\231

In 1963 there were only PAC
members on the Island.

The . African National Con-

gress members came to Robben
Island a year later.

Studying

â\200\230â\200\234Almost everybody came out
of there better people.

â\200\230â\200\234Nelson (Mandela) was study-

ing, everyone else was studying.
â\200\234â\200\234You had time to think
through problems.â\200\235â\200\231

On his release in 1973 he was
banned for five-years and placed
under a six to six house arrest.
During this time he completed
an LLB degree.

When the banning order ex-
pired, Moseneke served his arti-
cles at a city law firm, Dyason.

~ â\200\234â\200\234They were courageous I must

say.

â\200\230â\200\230Not only was I black and the
first black articulated clerk in
Pretoria but I had a PAC back-

ground.â\200\235

His admission to the bar was
problematic.

The Law Society objected to
his acceptance arguing he had a
conviction but the judges ruled in

owWETAN

son in win
ana

[FoCuS:

Itâ\200\231s a long, hard journey
from Robben lIsland to
the Pretoria Bar.
ESTHER WAUGH in this
second part of her story,
charts the meteoric rise
of PACâ\200\231's deputy presi-
dent Dikgang Moseneke
from his days as a 15-
year-old prisoner on the

Island.

his favour.

â\200\234The precedent used was a
very interesting one - in making a
decision they relied on a case, The
Law Society of the Transvaal
versus N Mandela.

â\200\230Interesting

â\200\234â\200\234It is an interesting parallel be-
tween Nelson and I in many
respects - we are both lawyers, .

both black, both from Robben Is-
land and we met each other there.
Mandela was an African law-
yer in adverse circumstances with
a lot of animosity around him.
â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230We are not a welcome
species.
â\200\234â\200\234That we are alive and well

"n

ter,

barefoot

today I think is the result of a lot of pushing.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234We need to produce even more lawyers.

â\200\230â\200\234The connection
evitable,â\200\231â\200\231 he says.

- He cites people like Godfrey Pitje, Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela who were both lawyers and leaders. Robert Sobukwe, himself afterwards became a lawyer and practised in Kimberley.

How come police did not arrest him for being a PAC member after his release in 1973 until the organisationâ\200\231s unbanning on February 2, 1990?

â\200\230â\200\234Because they had to prove that I was a member, one and that I advanced the cause of that

is in-

* organisation, which I was doing.â\200\235â\200\231

Married

- Today Moseneke is advocate at the Pretoria Bar.
What happened to his life since his release in 1973?

â\200\230I got married and had those guys,â\200\235 he says pointing to a picture of his family.

â\200\234â\200\234They have grown fast - 10 and 12 years old - attending school.

â\200\230I have a wife who is still alive and well. :

â\200\230I live in Atteridgeville.

â\200\234I did lots to build a legal career and kept up with the PAC.

â\200\234] was in close touch with guys in jail, those in exiles, facilitated a lot of communication between the two.

â\200\234I gave a lot of support to

families of guys studying on Rob-

ben Island.â\200\235â\200\231 :

About his career in the Pan Africanist Congress he says:
It was a fairly heavy price to pay at a certain point which I managed to translate into an advantage.
We turned the tables against our captors.
He was surprised by his appointment to the executive committee of the PAC. ;

I have been primarily a functionary.

I have been the boy who did the nuts and bolts.

It was the guy who would ensure that it all goes well, that the guys' needs were taken care of.

Moseneke agrees he was very much a backroom man until the PAC's conference in December.

A new leadership had to come into place and it did not only happen to me.

We introduced a lot of strong, young leaders whose faces you are going to be seeing quite a lot.
We have introduced a lot of professionals and technocrats to come in and help pull the PAC together.

It is the first time the PAC has had to collect leadership from inside the country in 31 years.

He thinks his responsibility of being the internal deputy leader difficult and challenging.

Critical
It is and it comes at the most critical time of our history.

Responsibilities attached to the post are fairly obvious.

I see myself as a technocrat; as a guy with certain limited skills in the legal field.

In the last 14 years I have tried to play my part in that regard. :

I have fought all the battles that had to be fought.

â\200\234Now I am called upon |
blast to take a political role.

â\200\234It is. most daunting, most
challenging.â\200\235â\200\231 :

For the next two years, h
plans to â\200\230â\200\230ensure visible growth of -
the PAC, to establish very strong
party structures and try to facili-
tate the establishment of a
Patriotic Frontâ\200\231.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Deon du Plessis. Newsbills by Sydney
Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan
ng YalYe

Fynn. All of 61 Commando Road, In:
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l names and addresses should be supplied' | &] o
or the letter will not be published. : g R SRR (SR ?

via

â\200\224_â\200\224

New home . . . the ANC plans to move into its new HQ in - |

- Plein Street next month.

Picture: Stephen Davimes

New HQ _Ã©ostsâ\200\230ANC R20-m

By Monica Nicolson

The Shell House building in central Johannesburg has been sold to the ANC as its new headquarters for R20 million .

. ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation needed more space for all its departments and settled facilities. At

g:esent, it is renting offices in uer Street. Â¥

A spokesman for Shell (SA) said the ANC was ' to

Shell was making arrangements to lease part of the building until the end of the year.

Shell plans to Ã©n;ve lSt: regional branch to Baker Square in Rosebank.

â\200\224The company is following the trend of big businesses to move out of the Johannesburg CBD into suburbs with lower crime figures. 7

The Shell spokesman also said the building in downtown Johannesburg had become too

moveinattlnend'oz,&egnonth. large for its needs. ;

SACPâ\200\231s.Nxumalo d

where he studredâ\200\231pohucs
Nxumalo also served in the un-

derground structures of Umkhonto we

SlzwemAngolaandSwizlland. ;

.He went to Bî¬\201tam in 1987 where he

completed a PhD degree in politics at the
University of Essex and the Open Uni-

"SOUTH African Communist

member Mr Mzala Nxumalo dle(_l ina
London hospital on Sunday after a
'| long illness, at the age of 35. :
~ Nxumalo - author of the book Gar-
sha Buthelezi - Chief With a Double
Agenda - was born in Dundee, northern
Natal, and fled the country in 1976,
while he was studying law at the Umver-

sity of Zululand.

tyHe served the ANC in Mozambique,

Tanzania, Germany and the Soviet Union

versity.

At the time of his death Mr qumalo
was scheduled to accept a fellowship at
Yale University from September.

ies

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SoWETAN

Azapo suppressed - clai

ANC much coverage after
the boycott in 1986
against Sowetan.

- As for the PAC, that

SIR - In writing this letter
expressing concern at
your PAC and ANC bias.

It is clear that your

:â\200\231)_'\â\200\230FCâ\200\224BR-

organisation was launch-

paper started giving the

\Qan

ed through the Sowetan
simply ~ because Joe
Thloloe and Thami Maz-
wai are Africanists.

Interestingly, your
publication is doing its ut-
most to suppress Azapo
stories. -

Mr Editor, have you
forgotten that the BCM

~was a midwife to both

Congresses followmg the

| 1976 riots?

. Finally, by suppress-
ing Azapoâ\200\231s stories, I can
only advise you to stop

criticising Stoffel van der

Merwe for gaggmng the
media.

MALONE PHETO
Nelspruit

We donâ\200\231t take up space
replying to letters. The
space is for our readers.
But we deny all the al-
legations. - Editor.

'bu actlons of war

SIR - Tt is my opinion and
= e opmlon of many

people in Bekkersdal that
there must be peace
among the Africans and
war against the enemy.

But, given the situa-

tion in our township,
there is little hope for
and every like-
of internecine

The participants are not Azapo and the ANC, as the media makes us believe.

It is a fight orchestrated by the ANC against Azapo, the PAC and Inkatha.

As a result there is an imitation unity between these three organisations.

It is a sad to say that the ANC is responsible for such violence in Bekkersdal, but it is true.

-The ANC has been violating the terms of the agreement reached at the recent peace tables.

They talk peace but they act war.

They have been acting against innocent people, because they believe that these people were members of the. nval orgamsations. o

There is also a cynical motive of gaining supportâ\200\231

and membership through intimidation and harrassment. 5

The ANCâ\200\231s main support and membership is in * a shantytown area known as Mandela- Village.

They have recently conquered the areas of Spooktown and Silver City.

- They are now going to conquer Ghana, a section in Bekkersdal Location.

Their acts of vandalism, destruction and brutality have caused them to be rejected by the community.

They now act out of
desperation using un-
democratic practices.

If we are to achieve

peace several steps must
be taken.

_ The Minister of Con-
stitutional Development
and Planning must relo-
cate these people and pro-
vide houses and adequate
services for them.

There must be a
commission of inquiry.
into alleged corruption

shanty \hat{A}°

fLETTERS
f[tothe = |

1 EDITOREX]I

I Short letters are preferred and I
none is considered unless it is
i signed, wih the wrier's ful |

ress. Pseudonyms may
I beusedbutare not encour- I
aged. Write to: The Editor,
I Sowetan, PO Box 6663 1
Johannesburg 2000.
EmE s mem mm mem

(local authorities) at Bek-
kersdal.

The rent question must
be reviewed.

All organisations in
Bekkersdal must work for
peace - youth organisa-
tions, taxi associations,
the business community,
the Civic Association and
the churches.

Alternatively the
shanty towns, especially
Mandela Village, should
be demolished.

The media must come
to Bekkersdal and learn

No politics, pleads

SIR - As a deeply con-
cerned parent, I accept it
as my duty to plead with
all political organisations
to keep out of the educa-

~tion problem because

presently they- are wor-
sening the situation.

There is only one pos-
sible way to uplift our

Ãducational standards and
solve the crisis.

We must prove to the
Government that we areâ\200\231
worth investing in
through = working and
studying harder - not
through boycotts and par-
ticipation in mass action.

We are getting more
and more behind in our
education and something
must be done about it.

My plea to all political
the facts.

The national leaders .of
Azapo, PAC, Inkatha and
ANC must visit the
township.

Mr Sisuluâ\200\231s visit to
Bekkersdal was not ap-
preciated, because he in-
vited only a section of our
community, thus further
dividing the people of our
small ghetto.

I am willing to cor-
respond and co-operate
with the media.

The situation here is
reaching a point of no
return.

We shall talk violence,
eat violence and
violence if my sugges-
tions are not considered.

OBSERVER
Bekkersdal

This reader provided his
name and address, but, to
protect him, we have used
a pseudonym. - Editor

parent

organisations is to keep
politics * out of our
schools.

Stop our childrenâ\200\231s in-

volvement in PTSAâ\200\231s
youth leagues, youth con--
gresses and so forth.

Invest in the future and
support our children in at-
tending school.

A SITHOLE
Perskebult

T VR R T R U TS

live -

LANC hails joint

THE governmentâ\200\231s deci-*
sion to establish a joint
working group with an
ANC-led group of educa-
tionists was hailed by the
leader of the 27-man del-
egation, ANC deputy
president Nelson Mande-
la as a â\200\234breakthroughâ\204ç.

The joint working
group has been mandated
to address a wide range of
urgent and fundamental
problems identified in a
memorandum present@d
to the State President on
January 29.

Shortages

These include the im-
mediate shortages in
buildings, teachers, books
and stationery in Black
schools, and in the long
term the establishment of
a single education depart-
ment and system with a
single budget.

The joint -working
group has been directed
to deal with the issues as a
matter of urgency, and re-
port to a resumption of
todayâ\200\231s meeting on a date
to be decided by Mr De
Klerk and Mr Mandela.

After the meeting at
the State Presidentâ\200\231s
Tuynhuys office, Mr

" Mandela and his group
addressed a Press confer-

A-CJY

ence at the University of
Western Cape.

They regarded the
agreement of the govern-
ment, which they said had
been reluctant, to the es-
tablishment of a working
group as a breakthrough.

Incorrect

There was an incorrect
perception that the group
had been an ANC delega-
tion. Mr Mandela said his
presence did not suggest
this, but that members of

the delegation had rep-

T 77/

resented a wide range of
political ~ organisations,
and a broad spectrum of
educationists.

â\200\234They have been
brought together by the
great crisis in education
generally, and particular-
ly in Black.education.â\200\235

Three pÂnciple issues
had been discussed: A
single budget for all; A
single education system;
and the recognition of
representum â\202¹
in a new system.

Sub aeason Y

working group y

System

Professor Jakes Ger-
wel, Rector of UWC, said
the JWC would investi--
gate the nature, form and
content of a new system
of education.

They had had little
time, and specifically did
not limit themselves to
discussing one or two is-
sues, to discuss all points
and get an agreement that
the work could be con-
tinued by a Joint Working
Group.

e

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A US newspaper makes anï\201cnds, writes R

f the American media has treat-

ed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
unfairly â\200\224 as the Inkatha leader
has angrily and
claimed â\200\224 the New York Times
has made hapdsome amends with
one of the most lavish displays yet
accorded a foreign political fig-
ure. Â»

In an eight-page spread, extra-
vagantly illustrated with colour
pictures and a huge, full-face,
close-up of him in his tribal finery
adorning its front-page, the Times
magazine has devoted almost an
entire issue to a portrayal of the
man, who, when nnt ignored alto-
gether, has been portrayed to
Americans as a â\200\234puppet of Pre-
toriaâ\200\235, but who now, according to
the Times, is â\200\234staking a claim in
the new South Africaâ\200\235.

It is a* remarkable reversal,
coming at a time when the Ameri.
can press, after years of almost

frequently.

'High praise for Buthe

were made to castrate me poli-

L ESTAR

unquestioning support for the

ANC and what Chief Buthelezi has '

described as vilification of him.-
self, appears now to be looking
more critically at the African Na-
tional Congress.

The article, appearing in wha{t '

is almost required weekend read-
ing among the influential lawmak-
ers and financiers in New York
and Washington, will almost cer-
tainly bring Chief Buthelezi
heightened prestige.

Written by the Times correspon-
dent in Johannesburg, Christopher
Wren, the article describes the 20
ANC leaders present when Chief
Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela
met in Durban last month listen-

- ing in â\200\234stunned silenceâ\200\235 as Chief

Buthelezi reminded them of their
â\200\234complicity over the years, when I
was slammed, maligned, sworn at,

humiliated and when attempts

hmsay MiinÃ© from New York . ?k

ticallyâ\200\235.

â\200\234There are very few members
of this national executive commit-
tee of the ANC who have not at

- one time or another engaged in

my vilification,â\200\235 he is quoted as
telling them. S1

The article gives a detailed enu-
meration of these attacks, in
which Chief Buthelezi directly
names Mr Mandela, as well as
Chris Hani, chief of staff of the
ANCâ\200\231s guerilla wing, who called
him â\200\234a government lackey and
running dogâ\200\235, Joe Slovo, who had
described the Zulu leaderâ\200\231s politi-
cal programme as â\200\234tribalism in
disguiseâ\200\235, and John Nkadimeng,
â\200\234calling me a snake that must be
hit on the headâ\200\235 as among his
worst critics.

Wren then develops a flattering
outline of Chief Buthelezi's per-
sonal and political stature, de-

lezi

â\200\234scribing him as wearing â\200\234the im-

periousness of the Zulu royalty
into which he was bornâ\200\235, and stat-
ing: â\200\234His friends, among them
conservatives in the United States,
Britain and West Germany, ap-
plaud Buthelezi for denouncing
the ANC'â\200\231s alliance with the South
African Communist Party and
find his endorsement of free-mar-
ket economics more palatable
than the ANC's: talk about nation-
alisation and â\200\234redistribution of
wealth. = | :

â\200\234They like Butheleziâ\200\231s Opposi-
tion to economic sanctions and to
the guerilla struggle that the ANC
finally suspended last August.

â\200\234They like Buthelezi, in short,
for the very reason his enemies,
at home and overseas, hate him:
his ideology sounds neither revo-
lutionary nor romantic, but prag-
matically middle-of-the-road.â\200\235 â\200\224-
Star Bureau. Â°

WHRTETS

>aturday 23 February 1991 ATIEN

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Sanctions' cost me

I LOST my job in 1987
when most of the over-
seas investors left South
Africa. The sanctions
campaign was very vigor-
ously led by Archbishop
Tutu and Allan Boesak. I
have since been unem-
ployed and I must really
struggle to make ends
meet, or at least to have a
piece of bread for my
family. Presently I am
going through a very lean
spell.

On February 2, 1991, I
watched with sustained
shock on TV-news when
Nelson Mandela warned
the EC not to uplift sanc-
tions.

I became more than
convinced, now more
than ever before, that our
Black leaders, as politic-
ians, do not take our
 plight seriously. They are
only interested in pursu-
ing their political goals,
regardless of how these
are achieved.

During this period of
misery, I came to learn
that sanctions against
South Africa are one as-
pect of a revolutionary
programme that was
adopted by the ANC
since 1979.

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lqq) my .IOb i~\202k â\200\230

But the programme
was drawn without con-
sultation with the masses
and has been vigorously
implemented by people
who, - through and
through, will never feel its
pinch and bite.

Those who will criticise
my uplmon are those who
are â\200\234immuneâ\200\235 from this
heartless exercise. Just
look at Mr Mandela him-
self; he dresses like an ac-
claimed movie executive,
his wife, Winnie, is al-
ways immaculate; they
are a well-to-do couple.

Who pays for their ex-
penses? Yet in the mean-
time he still adheres to
sanctions.

We also want to live as
modestly as they do. But
we know we must work
for our living. But there is
no work. There are sanc-
tions. Sanctions doâ\200\231â\200\235 not
employ people. They take
away that opportunity of
lcndmg for yourself.

Controversially, Nel-
son Mandela says he was
gouted out of context, but
| have not heard him say-

ing anything about sanc-
tions to the contrary.

The high rate of crime
in South Africa has been

aggravated by the conse- |

quences of sanctions. Yet
the archbishop (Tutu) is
still preaching sanctions
overseas.

Is this another national
suicide propagated for us,
the oppressed and unpri-

vileged, by the lesser op-
pressed and privileged |

Black politicians? Men of

integrity, men -of influ- |

ence?

No, no, no more sanc- .
tions please. Get along |

with your politics, but |
please do not deprive us |

of our daily bread.

We are not politicians. |
We are just ordinary |
workers who are striving |

to fend for our families.

Your politics may mean |

bread and butter to you,

but to us it is misery, des- |
_titution and poverty.

There shall be work

and security, so reads the

Freedom Charter.
SOLOMON TAYLOR
WICKERS
Fersterus

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SU

A HUMAN Sciences
Research Council
(HSRC) telephone
survey has found that
56 percent of the
Black, four percent of
the Coloured and eight
percent of the Asian
respondents support
the ANC,

In a news release yes-
terday, the HSRC said it
found the National Party
had the support of 54 per-
cent of the White, 41 per-
cent of the Coloured and
28 percent of the Asian
respondents.

It said these were some

~ Cartoon
was porn

NEW YORK. â\200\224 A
couple in the staid Con-
necticut community of
Danbury were horrified
this week to find their two
youngsters watching a vi-
deotape that showed a
man and a woman copu-
lating in a library. The
pornographic tape had
come from a box labelled
Rusty the Fox, which Mr

Larry Laslow had brought home assuming it was a children's cartoon. Sapa.

of the findings published in the pilot issue of Information Update, a new monthly publication of the HSRC's Group for Information Dynamics.

The findings are based on about 2 000 telephone interviews conducted only two weeks before publication, which will contribute to making Information Update one of the most topical and up-to-date information sources on current trends in South African society.

In response to the question, 'If you had to choose one person to lead South Africa, who would you choose?' more South Africans seemed to support Mr De Klerk rather than Mr Mandela, though less than half of the White respondents supported Mr De Klerk.

Among the Coloureds, 66 percent favoured Mr De Klerk as did 48 percent of the Asians. Chief Buthelezi was supported by two percent of the Blacks and five percent of the Whites, while Dr A P Treurnicht drew support eight percent of the Whites. Mr Mandela had no support among White

6pc Blacks
port ANC
HSRC poll

respondents.

Most South Africans regarded the future of South Africa as challenging rather than frightening (58 percent versus 30 percent) and bright rather than gloomy (50 percent versus 34 percent). But as far as safety was concerned, equal proportions (about 40 percent) believed it would be unsafe,

and safe.

With regard to the Gulf War, Update revealed that Black respondents were mostly against the attack on Iraq and against President George Bush's stand and the SA Government's support for him on the issue. They felt the government should have remained neutral.

Whites were more positive, with 71 percent of the supporting President Bush's stance and 44 percent the government's position. A neutral stance was most popular with 55 percent of the total number of respondents, while 29 percent thought the government's stance was correct and 10 percent felt the government should have taken a stance against the war.

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New SA \200\230cannot be left to politigians alone\200\231

i
By Esmare
van der Merwe
Political Reporter

i ANC deputy president Nelson

Mandela has made an emphatic

| plea to ordinary South Africans

tb become involved in the pro-
cess of creating a democracy \200\224
d task which could not be left to
politicians alone.

;\200\234We do not see the resolution
of our conflict happening with-
out public activity.

' \200\234In actions supporting the de-
mand for a free democratic

! process, an end to violence, and
. the need for peace, all people of

goodwill will have to play a role
ih securing this result,\200\235 he told
about 4 000 students at the Uni-
versity of the Witwatersrand
vesterday.

He delivered the keynote ad-
dress at the Students\200\231 Represen-
tative Council\200\231s official cere-
mony to welcome first-year and
returning students.

Metal detectors were used to
search the large audience.

Decisions

Mr Mandela said that all
should contribute towards the
process of ireedom and recon-
struction in a country where all
would be enriched by a diver-

sity of views.

The ANC did not have all the answers. It needed specialists to assist the movement in making policy decisions and spell out options in such a way that ordinary citizens would understand them and become involved in

the political debate.

Amid laughter, he said parents might want their children to study and stay out of trouble â\200\224 meaning political involvement. Yet the privilege of studying at a university was not merely to obtain a degree and secure a good job, but also to play a constructive role during the phase of transition.

â\200\234Working for the ANC or Nusas or Sansco cannot be a

substitute for your broader

civic duty to use your time here to learn and understand how best to serve your country and its peoples.â\200\235

Mr Mandela said he wanted to lay to rest the false claims that the ANC had propagated the slogan â\200\234liberation before educationâ\200\235.

The Star Thursday February 21 1991

The Star

Established 1887

South Africaâ\200\231s largest daily newspaper

Stench of
-corruption

URELY the Minister of Defence, General Malan, will now have the integrity to resign â\200\224 or President de Klerk will find the courage to dismiss him. The latest revelations about the sinister Civil Co-operation Bureau paint a

_picture of a mad-dog organisation running

out of control. Around the organisat'ion swirls the stench of corruption, not just from abuse of public money, but more so from the abuse of power. Its shadowy operatives, some of them hired killers, clearly believe they are above the law, beyond restraint.

Even after the Minister of Defence announced last year that the CCB had been operationally disbanded (whatever that means), CCB members were trying to grab

nearly R4 million for themselves in un-

authorised leave and pension gratuities.

Because the Minister of Finance had â\200\234other prioritiesâ\200\235, the Auditor-Generalâ\200\231s report revealing this can of worms has only been made public now, nearly four months after it was received. Parliamentâ\200\231s Joint Standing Committee on Public Accounts will consider it only next month.

If the Government feels no sense of urgency to clean up the mess, the public assuredly does. Official corruption on this scale is intolerable.

Harken to the report. It reveals a tangled web- of lies and evasions; of cash vouchers destroyed or obliterated, files hidden, documents intentionally removed, money sent abroad illegally; official obstruction and dubious verbal authorisations. The Auditor-General, bending backwards to be fair, has left it to Parliament to decide whether ex-post-facto â\200\234authorisationsâ\200\235 are satisfactory.

Whatever Parliament decides, the public will have no doubt. The CCB spent more than R12,5 million without proper authority over two years. The fact that some

' . shadowy functionary or other decided that - that was perfectly OK by him does not

make the spending acceptable.
Not even General Malan can contort this

Nelson Mandela . . . pleads for
all to contribute to freedom.

into propriety. Neither can he argue any -

more â\200\224 if he ever could â\200\224 that his only

offence was ignorance and a misguided

loyalty to his own men. Things have gone

far beyond that. We are not sanguine that

he will see things in this light, which leaves

it up to President de Klerk to act. So far he .

has been markedly reluctant.

Yet he must surely see that this cloud
looms over his whole administration, taint-

- ing its integrity. It would be a tragedy if

the image of corruption were to overshadow
the drive for reform at so crucial a
time for South Africa.

COMMENT & OPINION

Replacing apartheid
units with those of

Marxism?

L

Matters
of
fact

I am writing to correct
certain misrepresenta-

tion and inaccuracies ,
in an article entitled
"On academic body |

servants" which was
published in your
newspaper on Fe-

bruary 14. I would

therefore appreciate

the publication of this -

~ letter.

The Learn with Echo
Supplement is not fi-
nanced by the Temba-
lethu Community
Education Centre or
The Centre for Adult
Education at Natal
University. The sup-
plement which aims to
uplift and empower
the thousands of pe-
ople in the greater
Pietermaritzburg area
who are the unfortu-
nate victims of an

â\200\234apartheid education,

is in fact a joint ventu-
re set up by Echo,
Tembaletu and the
Centre of Adult Edu-
cation. The funds are

supplied by foreign go-,
vernments (including
the United States) and
South African compa-
nies.

I must also point'out
that as the supplement
has only been running.-
since September 6,
1990, there was ne

May 16 issue. The aut-
hor of your unsigned
article must have been
referring to the issue
for January 31 which
sets out the debate on
Shaka Zulu.

While I am not quali-
fied to comment on
the events surrounding
Shakaâ\200\231s rise and fall,

~for your unnamed (sic)
historian to describe

ILANGA, FEBRUARY 21-23, 1991.

.arn with
â\200\230ment is designed to

the series as porno-
graphy because an his-
torian puts another
point of view which
was backed up by the
statements of men
such as James King,
Alfred Bryant and Ma-
yema (sic) Fuze, indi-
cates a narrow vision -
of a subject which is,
by its very nature,
highly controversial.

I would appreciate an
early correction to the
errors of fact.

JOHN DAVIES
MANAGING EDI-
TOR

~doubt that that is genui-
! nely what the manage-
. designed to help vast

We have no reason to

ment of Echo wishes to
do and we commend
them for their efforts.
Ilanga also publishes
education supplements

numbers of South Afri-
cans who have had to en- |
dure an inferior educa-
tion.

NOT QUALIFIED

. But, we must differ with
'Mr Davies about what is
being done in his news-
paperâ\200\231s name with regard

Let us look at some of
the facts surrounding this
series. It is a fact that
both authors, John
Wright and Aron Mazel,
are Marxists.

't

CLASS STRUGGLE

There is nowhere Mar-
xists wont discover a
class struggle and this

. enterpretation of history

is there for all to see in

| the pages of Echo. Just

look at the issue of Echo
dated February 14 if you

- want the proof.

to the history series on

King Shaka. He admits
that he is not qualified t6~

comment on the events

IThe Managing Editor of
Echo, Mr John Davies,
says in a letter to Ilanga
and published on thisâ\200\231
page today that the "Le-

cho" supple-.

"uplift and empower
thousands of people in
the greater Pietermaritz-
burg area who are the
victims of an apartheid

education..."

surrounding King's rise and fall. Given,

that fact, it would be ad-

visable, we suggest, for .

him to have the writings
of Messrs Wright and
Mazel vetted by impar-
tial and ideologically un-
committed historians be-
fore they are published.

No sir, it is not Ilanga.

that has a "narrow vision"
on King Shaka - it is your
two contributors, John
Wright and Aron Mazel.
Apartheid was an evil

ideology that has left
huge scars on its victims.
Why, sir, must your two
authors be allowed to
scar scholars yet again -
this time with' the ide-
ology of Karl Marx?

We repeat, their efforts
to date are the equiva-

lent of historical porno-

graphy dressed up as re-
visionist history. Not only
are they designed to in-
doctrinate, but they are
overtly designed to deni-
grate political opponents,

To use the loaded ejo-
rative of the Far Left
warlord, to describe King
Shaka is obscene. There
is nothing scholarly
about their approach - it
is propaganda. And they
give themselves away in
the issue of January 31.
Why is a photograph of
Joami Jacobson's statue of King Shaka at
Ulundi used to illustrate
that particular article?
She is an artist and every

artist will depict famous people differently, The

use of that statue in juxtaposition with the use of the term "warlord" is no coincidence. '

PROPAGANDA

Just take a close look at

- ANC propaganda and you will understand what

essrs Wright and Mazel are up to. Their actions dovetail neatly with those of the ANC propaganda machine.

King Shaka was a protector and nation builder not an "oppressor and warlord" as Wright and Mazel seek to depict him to young and pliable minds. To suggest, as the two activist authors do, that all was milk and honey in the classless preShakan society is eye-wash - and they know it.

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; hief Shaka was heavily production.

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day as his superior tactics
-and unorthodox strategy ki i<, â\200\230 -and centrali-
brought about the utter gianee ang only re Zu Kingdom. with
. defeat at the Ndwandwe ased them from service. its large army staved off
-and forced Zwile to flee . to King and countrg the pen of slave

By

leaving Shaka as the ' when they reached
.. undisputed leader of a .. early or mid-thirties.. '}
ewly-created kingdom. ' - thus delaying marriag

: and effectively cu
â\200\230population gr. ,

historical eviden
8, unequivocally,â\200\231
It w Â¢ "warlord" Z, Shaka was a genius of '
'de that threatened the political- organisation,
ivery existence of the . As Professor Webb, Dr
â\200\230Mthethwa and Zulu Jeff Guy and Dr Martin e
â\200\230Chiefdoms. = . Hall have so ably de- Zulu regiments to provi-

% -monstrated, the territory ~ de security for the Zulu =
- that is now Zululand, ' people so that they could . The supreme irony is
. Natal and Mozambique : regularly cultivate their that.the vehicle. they use

" Shaka also utilized the !

- %" was suffering from a pro- fields, reap their crops . to indoctrinate the young
It was Zwibe that first . longed series of droughts = and tend their cattle wit- * with the
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aunched an assault onâ\200\235. - and decreased rainfall hout fear of raids by in- xist en
terpretation of his-

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de sent his ablest com- - relation to a deteriora- But, possibly the greatest [ism -
: > United States
ders to wipe out the -~ tion in pasturage for cat- service Shaka performed of America,

newspaperâ\\200\\231s "Insiderâ\\200\\235 column,
which, it is widely believed, is '
ts â\\200\\230\\;/rliltten by the editor rhinlxself. ' T he 'nigz; '
ocratic might be joinj y, one wonders, should he ,vas, pang e l
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a shred of evidence is offered . on a news report that his news-* But the comment does ser
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It explains
s â\\200\\230 s of the De-

eat, Incredible, it unspeakable to actually sug- much of what has been happe-
ST R e bk gest that white parliamenta- ~ Ding in The Sunday Tribune in
The comment was made in'the = rians might join Inkatha? + - Jecent times,. i ;

G S A R T T S R R it : L T 1

A R K A T .

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Thursday, February '2 1, 1991

THE WORLD

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Mixed-Race Family
Looks to Brighter
Future in S. Africa

Years of bitter discrimination fail to blunt hope for reform

By John Battersby

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CAPE TOWN

HE De Beers, who have survived

I the humiliation of eviction under

apartheid laws, have begun to
imagine that their grandchildren may
grow up in a shared society.

"I have hope - but not expectations about the future," says Peter de Beer, a
slight, energetic man who has refused to
compromise on his principles.

But he fears that what he considers to
be the unrealistic expectations harbored
by militant black youth could thwart the
creation of a just and democratic society.

"We will need a lot of love in the new
South Africa," says Mr. de Beer. "We have
lost a lot of love in the past and - if that can
be brought back - I see a lot of hope." -

The De Beers are counted among
South Africa's 3 million inhabitants of
mixed race, known here as the "coloreds,"
a term they reject. They owe their origins
to intermarriage between Dutch settlers
and 17th century slaves from West and
East Africa, India, and what is now Malay-
sia. Their rich, idiomatic language and
love of rhythmic music has helped to de-
fine the culture of the Cape.

They are caught in the middle of a
power struggle between an anxious white
minority and a restive black majority.
Their large presence in Cape Town they

PETER DE BEER: He was active in politics until the govern-
ment banned multiracial parties in 1968. He and Pamela
sympathize with the liberation cause, but have not yet joined

the ANC. Peter says he tries to balance the needs of the community with his own family's goals.

outnumber whites and blacks combined - acts as a kind of buffer that makes this the least racially tense city in South Africa. Although the "coloreds" broadly share the culture and language of white Afrikaners, they have been subjected to the same repression and humiliation under apartheid as the black majority. The National Party moved in 1956 to manipulate

the Constitution (by packing the Senate

and the Appeal Court) to deprive people of mixed race of the right to vote. That sowed a legacy of bitterness and persuaded most "coloreds" to identify with the black liberation struggle. ey

De Beer and his wife sympathize with the black cause, but have not joined the African National Congress (ANC) as many people of mixed race have done. But he says that is still an option.

A legacy of discrimination
Pamela de Beer's anger is closer to the surface than Peter's. "As "coloreds," we are in the middle," she says. "The younger blacks want to turn things against the whites. They don't want to forget. Just as the Jews will never let the world forget about the Nazis, so they [black radicals] will never let the world forget what was done to them under apartheid." Their daughters Natalie and Heidi are both married and live nearby with their husbands and children. & The grandchildren have given Peter | de Beer a second wind. o He has always been very | much his own person, striv-

PHOTOS BY ROBERT HARBISON - STAFF

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THE DE BEER FAMILY: Here with their grandson Keegan, and daughter Natalie, Peter (rear) and Pamela (right) de Beer are cautious about looking toward the future. They believe President De Klerk is serious about reform, but they have experienced directly the repression of apartheid.

he still has reservations about the slow pace of promotion during his career. His daughters work at the same offices - one as a distributor and one as a merchandise assistant.

In the past year, De Beer has begun to

reap the rewards of a lifetime of hard work. He and Pamela went on their first vacation to a resort in 30 years of marriage. Now they are planning a second one. -

â\200\234I have settled down,â\200\235 says De Beer, recalling how angry and defensive he was in his middle years. â\200\234I donâ\200\231t get so emotional about things now.â\200\235

~ C)FEB. 21: CAPE TOWN
5 FEB. 22: WITBANK

oredsâ\200\235 and Asians in 1983, a more sophisticated attempt at coopting those groups, De Beer was disappointed when whites he respected tried to persuade him to take part.

The De Beers have been encouraged by President Frederik de Klerkâ\200\231s reforms. Mr. De Klerkâ\200\231s landmark February 1990 speech was the first time that the De Beers had switched on the television to hear a speech by a South African head of state.

â\200\234He has built up some credit with us,â\200\235 conceded De Beer. â\200\234By announcing [Feb. 1] that he will repeal race classification

., during this parliamentary session, he has proved to us that he is for real.â\200\235

De Beer says that the hurt and humiliation of apartheid will not easily go away. â\200\234I am still reluctant to go to desegregated facilities for fear that I should be confronted and told I should not be there,â\200\235 he says.

The forced removal of some 40,000 people from the mixed-race heartland of District 6, adjoining Cape Town, began in 1966. It took 13 years of demolitions to make the area

ing for a balance between his * own needs and service to the community. For the past 15 years, he has been a volunteer counselor for the National Institute of Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders, and he currently serves in the organizationâ\200\231s Cape Town leadership. For the past five years he has also run a store where recently released prisoners can get free clothing. Helping them readjust to society has advanced Peterâ\200\231s quest for fulfillment.

â\200\234I enjoyed that because I consider myself to be a peopleâ\200\231s person,â\200\235 he says. â\200\234I had very humble

beginnings. I know what poverty is, and I wanted to give something back to the community.â\200\235

De Beer has owned two second-hand automobiles in his life and recently acquired a used company car that he will keep for his retirement.

As the manager of the mailing department in the head office of a major retail chain in Cape Town,

He spent much of his earlier years in active politics with the multiracial Progressive Party.

â\200\234It was dangerous to be in politics in those days,â\200\235 he says.

When the government outlawed multiracial parties in 1968, the Progressives decided to continue without their black and mixed-race members. It was a milestone in De Beerâ\200\231s own chronicle of disillusionment.

â\200\234Policies were changed to suit the white electorate,â\200\235 he says.

Resisting radical solutions

De Beer later boycotted attempts by the ruling National Party to create a separate â\200\234coloredâ\200\235 parliament. As a sports administrator, De Beer campaigned for multiracial sporting events, but was cast out by radicals for his moderate views.

â\200\234I was lobbied out because I was not militant enough,â\200\235 he says. â\200\234Black athletes who competed with whites in those days

-were seen as sellouts.â\200\235

When the government introduced parallel houses of parliament for the â\200\234col-

â\200\234whiteâ\200\235 and has left wounds that have not yet healed. Peter never lived in the â\200\234districtâ\200\235 but he spent a large part of his teenage years there. The people of District 6 were moved to bleak housing estates on the windswept sandy wastes known as the Cape Flats. Today those areas are hot-houses of social decay that have given Cape Town one of the highest murder rates of any city in the world.

De Beerâ\200\231s most vivid and unpleasant memory was that of government officials arriving at his small subsidized home in Diepriver 16 years ago and announcing that the neighborhood had been declared â\200\234For White Occupation Only.â\200\235

â\200\234At first we pretended it was not real,â\200\235 he says. \$e

De Beer recalls that he was corresponding with a network of foreign pen pals at the time. "My letters to them became laced with the pain we were going through," he said. "I stopped all correspondence, because I did not want to burden them with

my problems."

"Now that we appear to be on the road to normality, I am thinking of picking up where I left off 15 years ago."