

*US set to 'jumpstart' SA's road to democracy

PETER FABRICIUS
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Senate has prepared a major draft Bill to give a "jumpstart" to the South African transitional government by lifting virtually all remaining sanctions and boosting foreign aid, private investment and development loans.

The proposed legislation — to be known as the "South African Democratic Transition Act" — lays heavy stress on helping blacks and lays down a code of conduct for American government and business activity in South Africa during the transition.

News of the Senate moves comes on the eve of the visit to the United States by President De Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, who will both seize the strategic moment to tell President Bill Clinton South Africa needs all the international help it can get.

But their efforts will now hinge on the success of this week's negotiations at the World Trade Centre because Mr Clinton will want to see positive movement towards a democratic settlement.

The code in the proposed Senate legislation — which resembles one proposed by the ANC last November — would oblige US official and private US businesses in South Africa to be non-discriminatory, to pay minimum wages, to boost employment of blacks and to respect trade union rights.

This code could be controversial. Many seasoned South Africa-watchers here — such as former assistant secretary of state for Africa Mr Hank Cohen — have warned that investment codes of conduct will only discourage investment, which is scarce at any rate.

The draft bill is a bipartisan initiative by Republican Senator Ms Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas and Democratic Senator Mr Paul Simon of Illinois which means it is virtually certain to pass Congress.

Mr Simon was one of the chief proponents of sanctions against South Africa in the past and his signature on the new Bill will give special meaning to it.

It has apparently been drafted now so that Congress can act swiftly to fulfil President Clinton's promise to begin re-integrating South Africa into the world economy once a transitional executive council comes into being and a firm date is set for democratic elections.

The Bill would repeal all, or part of nine laws including the famous Comprehensive

■ Turn to page 3

SPORT Pienaar to lead the Boks

DEON VILJOEN
Weekend Sports Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Francois Pienaar of Transvaal has been named captain of the Springboks for the first test against France in Durban on Saturday.

He beat the challenge of Western Province's Tiaan Strauss and will lead a side showing 10 changes, two positional, from the one which lost to England at Twickenham last November.

Most of the changes are in the pack. The positional switches involve Strauss and Willie Hills, switched from loosehead flank to No 8 and hooker to loosehead prop respectively.

The newcomers up front are Pienaar, locks Kobus Wiese and Rudi Visagie, and tighthead flank Ian Macdonald. Pienaar and Wiese are new caps, but Visagie played for the Springboks in 1984 and Macdonald and hooker Uli Schmidt return to the side after last playing against Australia in the one-off test at Newlands.

The three changes among the backs are Heinrich Fuls, in for the injured Danie Gerber at centre, and Hennie le Roux and Robert du Preez as the new halfback combination.

THE TEAM

Theo van Rensburg; Jacques Olivier, Pieter Muller, Heinrich Fuls, James Small, Hennie le Roux, Robert du Preez, Willie Hills, Uli Schmidt, Keith Andrews, Francois Pienaar (captain), Kobus Wiese, Rudi Visagie, Ian Macdonald, Tiaan Strauss.

Reserves: John Allan, Johann Styger, Deon Lotter, Joost van der Westhuizen, Henry Honiball, Hugh Reece-Edwards.

Tricolores draw

■ The touring French rugby team snatched a 22-22 draw against Free State in the dying minutes of their match in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Race postponed

YESTERDAY's race meeting at Kenilworth has been postponed to tomorrow.

■ See SPORTS.

Urbanisation a 'powderkeg' — NP adviser

POTCHEFSTROOM — The Black population in South Africa's main metropolitan areas is likely to grow by between 12 and 15 million in the next 18 years, creating a situation which could lead to revolution.

Dr Flip Smit, an advisor to the Government on urban strategy, was addressing the annual congress of the South African Sociological Association in Potchefstroom yesterday.

He said it was quite clear that "we cannot accommodate these new Black urbanites according to previous concepts and current standards and regulations".

At the same time, influx control measures were breaking down rapidly as more and more Blacks needing the work in urban areas squatted in shacks just inside the boundaries of the homelands.

Dr Smit said the Black population in urban areas, including those in the Black states, would grow by between 15 and 20 million by the year 2000.

Even if the Government's decentralisation measures were successful, three-quarters of

these people would go to the big cities.

South Africans were unaware of the enormous power unchained by the urbanisation process, he warned.

Expectations raised by urbanisation among developing communities tended to be higher than the ability of the political system to accommodate them.

Thus when poor conditions were rapidly improved, expectations rose so quickly that events were pushed to the edge of a revolution.

The urbanisation process of Blacks was the most important socioeconomic and political development in South Africa, Dr Smit said.

In some African countries urbanisation resulted in an increase in the birth rate. In others it resulted in a drop. But in South Africa any drop in birth rate among Blacks was largely cancelled by a decrease in the death rate among the children.

The housing shortage in metropolitan areas — estimates ranged from a shortfall of 300 000 to 500 000 units — would naturally lead to increased squatting, Dr Smit said. — Sapa.

US salutes Mandela

Fullbright Prize and R170 000 for building 'reconciliation'

■ Nelson Mandela has received an award for his "personal courage and selfless determination to eliminate racial and political barriers in South Africa".

WASHINGTON. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela shared some of his personal thoughts here on Friday.

"You have to be behind bars to appreciate the plight of a country," he told an audience of distinguished guests during his acceptance speech of the first Fullbright Prize for International Understanding.

"It is there (in jail) where the cruelty of man-to-man emerges," said Mr Mandela.

He described jail, where he spent 27 years, as "the place of indescribable cruelty".

"But we always knew one day we would be back," he told his audience.

The award was named in honour of Senator J William Fullbright.

The ANC leader received a cheque for \$50 000 (R170 000) and a 35cm bronze statue titled "Tribute", by sculptor Sergio Dolfi.

Organisers said 78 nominations were received from around the world.

They said an international panel of judges chose Mr Mandela for the prize because he was the person who most personified mutual understanding and the reconciliation of different

viewpoints among people.

The citation said Mr Mandela was honoured "for his personal courage and selfless determination to eliminate racial and political barriers in South Africa and to focus international attention on the diverse practices that have for so long been part of the daily lives of South Africans of all races".

The citation added: "The prize recognises in particular Mr Mandela's commitment to the resolution of long-standing injustices in a peaceful and pluralistic manner."

Mr Mandela responded by calling for South Africans to "forget the past and all the crimes that have been committed against innocent people".

The ANC was very aware that, "among the minority groups", people were asking what would happen to them, their families, their national groups and their culture when the new South Africa was finally born.

While the ANC's commitment was firstly to those who had suffered for centuries under apartheid, it was aware of the fact that it was helping to build a new country.

"We want to free not only the oppressed, but the oppressor himself," said Mr Mandela.

People had to "stop thinking with their blood and start thinking with their brains".

"That is a 70 pound (32kg) sculpture," an organiser stammered while a smiling Mr Mandela, who despite prides himself on remaining fit, held the award above his head to show it to the audience. — Sapa.

UNdunankulu walukhulume ngezom



Leliqembu esilibona lapha yileli ebeseliphothula izifundo zokwakha laphaya kwaMagenqe ezifundweni ezizigquzelwe yiphephandaba ILANGA. Lezizifundo zibakhona njalo-nje kanti zibiza imali engu-R55 (ezokuqala) besekuthi ezesibili zibe ngu-R60,00. Laba esibabona esithombeni sekuyizinkakha eku-bekeni isitini ngoba seziphase izifundo zokuqala kanye nezesibili.

Inyonyani izothumela izithunywa kuHulumeni

VUSI SOSIBO

ETHEKWINI :- Enye yezinhlangano yezisebenzi kulelizwe iBlack Allied Workers Union of South Africa (BAWU) seyithathe isi nqumo sokuba ithumele izithunywa zayo ezikhu lwini zombuso wakuleli ngenjongo yokukhalaza ngomthetho ohlongozwa nguHulumeni othinta ukusebenza kwezinyonyana.

Ngokusho kwesitatimende esikhishwe yile nyonyana ngomlomo ka-Nobhala-jikelele wayo

uMnuz B.E. Khumalo lesisinyathelo esithathwa yinhlangano yakhe kube ngesinye sezinqumo ezithathwe emhlanganweni wayo wokugubha iminyaka engu 16 yasungulwa obuseMgababa Holiday Resort Camp ngomhlangaMay 28/29.

Phakathi kwezinye izinqumo ezithathwe kulomhlangano weBAWU ngokuba kubhalwe incwadi yokukhalaza maqondana nalomthetho ohlongozwayo ezophathiswa labo abaqokelwe

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Lenyonyana ibuye yexwayisa ngokuthi umthetho ohlongozwayo unga-se uqubule izinxushunxushu kanye nezitelek ezisebenzini ezahlukenene.

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NEWS

ANC 'to take lead in policy-making' UDF will not disband

CAPE TOWN — The United Democratic Front will continue to exist, but the African National Congress "would assume leadership at the level of policy-making", it was decided at a key national UDF workshop at the University of the Western Cape at the weekend.

UDF national publicity secretary Mr "Terror" Lekota said on Sunday night that the workshop was held to determine the UDF's position in the context of "new conditions" created by the unbanning of the ANC.

The recommendations made at the workshop, attended by over 250 delegates, would be discussed by various UDF regions nationwide and would then be referred to a national general council which would finalise the decisions, he said.

However, there was no doubt

that the UDF would continue to exist and that the ANC would assume leadership of the "liberation" movement.

Mr Nelson Mandela addressed the workshop on Saturday and "mentioned the need to establish a patriotic front of all anti-apartheid forces ahead of the full negotiation process", Mr Lekota said.

"Such a patriotic front would have to include even progressive homeland leaders and the national workshop will make it a recommendation to national general council."

Recommendations included that:

- the UDF continue to exist, "because it still has a role to play in terms of co-ordinating its affiliate organisations";
- it transform itself by splitting into "national sectoral feder-

ations" which would consist of super federations such as youth and womens' groups;

- the base of the "liberation" movement be broadened to include those who had not previously participated in UDF structures.

This would include "all homeland leaders and people who have served in Government structures but who acknowledge the leadership of the liberation movement, provided that they are genuine and not in conflict with the masses on the ground".

The workshop also considered the issue of discipline in political activity and recommended that those individuals who "acted outside the decisions made by UDF affiliates should be subjected to discipline by their organisation", Mr Lekota said. — Sapa.

Six deaths reported

UNdunankulu walukhulume ngezom



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UNKK Khanyisile Mpinga wakwa-G
KwaMashu uthwetshulwe efaka imali ne-
nyongo ekhanda lendoda **NAYAKHE**
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██████████ Mpinga obeqeda iminyaka engu
21 ubudala.

YOUNG MOON IS
GRADUATING

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Unspeakable people's courts

IT is crystal clear from editorials and articles in most of our mainstream newspapers that many moderate, peace-loving, law-abiding minority groups in South Africa have lost confidence in aspects of the administration of justice in our country and thus in the Minister responsible therefore.

In a recent speech at Bekkersdal, Mrs Mandela is alleged to have said that any security officer who entered this township would die. (Tuesday, 12 February, Radio 702 broadcast a tape recording in Xhosa of part of this speech and a translation thereof.)

The State President should therefore order an immediate investigation of the contents of the speech to determine whether or not it constitutes an offence.

The speech would ap-

pear to contain an element of attempted intimidation, something which Mr De Klerk condemned in his interview on Agenda.

Recently the Minister of Justice was reported to have said that a working group with representatives of the Alexandra community and Department of Justice would be set up to discuss the structure of the Alexandra people's courts.

He said in a statement that he had met Mr Moses Mayekiso and members of a resource group convened by the centre for Applied Legal Studies. Mr Mayekiso is apparently a member of the South African Communist Party and a prominent member of Cast, an orga-

nisation which has made no secret of its intention to force Black councillors to resign.

The record of people's courts in South Africa will go down as one of the most sordid episodes in the history of this country.

To speak of upgrading in connection with these brutal, sordid and unspeakable institutions is obscene.

There is little doubt that if these people's courts are allowed to operate, the Black population of this country is likely to find itself at the mercy of a Black Mafia, able to intimidate legally and at will.

Once again the State President should personally intervene and immediately call off these talks.

FACTA NON VERBA
Sandton

Spade is a spade

THE ANC recently changed from "nationalisation" to "State intervention".

I find this remarkably similar to the National Party's subtle change from "apartheid" to "separate development" some years ago.

Do we need a few decades of misery to discover that a spade is indeed a spade?!

REV FANO SIBISI
President of Christians For Truth

Kranskop

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Umhlangano obuqopha umbutho

DUMISANI ZUNGU.

ETHEKWINI:-Ukumamatheka ebusweni bomholi we-African national Congress, uMnuz. Walter Sisulu, nobuka-Nobhala jikelele weNkatha, uDr. Oscar Dhlo-mo, emhlanganweni obuyinqophamlando phakathi kwalezizinhlangano obuseThekwini, kunike ithemba elikhulu lokuthi kungase kudaleke ukuthula emalokishini aboMdabu eNatal akhungengethwe udlame njengamanje.

Isitatimende esifushane uDr. Dhlo-mo asifunde izintatheli sithe umhlangano uzwakalise "ukuzinikela ngokuphelele ekuqedeni udlame eNatal."

UMnuz. Sisulu ufike eThekwini ekuseni ngolwesiNe eholo "izithunywa zokuthula" ze-ANC.

Utshale izintatheli esikhumulweni sezindiza eThekwini ukuthi umhlangano ohlelwe nekomidi leNkatha, UDF neCosatu "ubeyinqophamlando. "Isitatimende esikhishwe emuva komhlangano sithe uMnuz. Sisulu namxusa e-ANC bacha-

zelwe ngesimo ngamamxusa eNkatha, uDr. Dhlo-mo, noDr. F. T. Mdlatose, kanye nawe-UDF neCosatu, uDr. Diliza Mji noMnuz. Alec Erwin.

Kukhulunywe kabanzi ngezithiyo ezikhinyabeza ukuthula.

Isitatimende siqhubeke sathi: "Bonke abathintekile bathe lezizingxoxo zibelusizo futhi bonke bavumelana ngokuzinikela ekuqedeni udlame eNatal. Kwethenjwa ukuthi ukubambisana kwaloluhlobo kuzosiza ekuletheni ukuthula."

UDr. Dhlo-mo utshale izintatheli ukuthi wenelisiwe ngalomhlangano.

Amanxusa e-ANC ahambele eMpumalanga nakwamanye amalokishi ngolwesiHlanu.

Kwenzeka lokhu nje uMnuz. Sisulu namamxusa ngolwesiNe bemuke-lwe ngelikhulu isasasa ngesikhathi behambele e-Edendale.

Utshale abantu ebebengaphezo kuka 1 000 ebebemhlangabezile ukuthi inhloso yabo ukudala ukuthula endaweni yaseNatal.

AMALUNGU ezinhlangano ezahlukenene kuzona okukhona eze-African National Congress (ANC), Inkatha, Cosatu kanye ne-United Democratic Front (UDF) ebezise-mhlanganweni oyingqophamlando wokuzama ukuqeda udlame olukhungethe izindawo eziningi eNatal na-KwaZulu. Kwesokunxele uMnuz. Walter Sisulu, alandelwe ngu-Mnuz. Andrew Mlangeni, abamile izintatheli zamaphephanda ba ehlukene. Abahlezi ngakwesokudla ngo-Dr. Oscar Dhlo-mo, ulandelwa uDr. Frank Mdlatose, be uDr. Diliza Mji bese kugcina uMnuz. Alec Erwin.

Usethusa ngenyoka efile

MHLELI.— Ngivumele ngiphendule labo asebephelelwa amathemba okuthi iNingizimu ne-Afrika akuseyona eyethu, abanjengo Bhekizenzo Buthelezi enkulumweni yakhe esihloko sithi:

'Izabelo ziyingxenywe yohlelo lobandlululo.'

Mnu. Buthelezi, ngithi

ake sibonge lesisabelo sakwaZulu sona esingavumi ukuthengisa ngobuzibulo baso. Ngoba sisenalo ithemba lokuthi iSouth Africa ingeyethu. Ngiyakholwa wukuthi kufanele sihlenganeni sonke sisole lezizabelo — Xhosa, Tswana, neVenda ngoba sebebuthengisile ubuzibulo babo ababunikwa nguNkulu-

nkulu.

Usethusa ngenyoka efile uthi, loluhlelo lwezabelo lwa-cwaningwa izingcweti zama-Bhunu. Wemnumzane kanti wena ungubani? Uphumaphi? Uyaphi? Ngoba ngiyethemba ukuthi nathi sinazo izingcweti zakithi ezimnyama esezahlala phansi zahlola ukuthi kukhonani, kepha zathola ukuthi akukho lutho olunzima. Kuphela kufuneka ubunye.

Usitshele ukuthi bayogcina bengene kuzimele geqe. Hla-la wazi ukuthi lelogama olishoyo noShenge limphethe kabi. Lokho ngikusho ngoba kwathi ngoSeptember ephuma phesheya esikhumulweni sezindiza eGoli kwavela umbuzo othi uthini ngozimele wase Venda? Waphendula wathi leyonto imzwisa ubuhlungu ngoba bonke labobantu abangacabangi bazothi nathi simi kulayini silinde uzimele. Nawe sengathi uyangena kulabo abangacabangi. Lencwadi ifingqiwe kakhulu ngenxa yobuncane besikhala — uMhleli.

Ebron Mhlongo.
KRANSKOP.

Uneasy calm as Edendale community licks its wounds

AFTER three days of consistent fighting in the Edendale Valley, stunned residents of the area are starting to count the losses, after what is believed to be the worst violence yet in the years-old conflict between the UDF and Inkatha in the region.

Police put the death toll at 44, but observers believe the figure could be far higher. Bodies are still being found in surrounding fields.

At least 150 houses have been razed since the start of the conflict on Tuesday and volunteers from several organisations in Pietermaritzburg are working round the clock to house and feed the thousands of refugees who have fled the strife.

An uneasy calm hung over the "Valley of Death" on Friday. Police spokesman, Major Pieter Kitching, reported sporadic violence in neighbouring Imbali and in Mpophomeni near Howick.

While police have reported no deaths in the

area, residents said at least three people were killed and several others injured in shooting.

By 11am at least two houses were still smouldering in Stage 2. One resident, Mr Alpheus Sibiya, said a white car with heavily-armed men had orchestrated the attack.

The violence erupted in Edendale on Tuesday when Inkatha impis hijacked KwaZulu Transport buses to launch a revenge attack on Edendale communities, apparently after buses returning from an Inkatha rally were stoned on Sunday.

Virtually every area in the Edendale Valley has been hit by the violence and at the height of the conflict at least 12 000 people were involved in fighting. Pitched battles raged in Caluza, KwaShange and Henley Dam and spread to Ashdown, Smero and Mpumuza.

By Wednesday afternoon open warfare had broken out. Thick palls of smoke hung over the val-

ley as barricades were erected and hundreds of dwellings were torched.

On Thursday afternoon, thousands of Inkatha impis were seen massing on hills overlooking Smero, Caluza and Mpumuza and gun shots rang out through the valley.

At the foot of the hills hundreds of UDF comrades were seen massing and were later seen moving towards the impis. Smero residents gathered around their homes in anticipation of an attack.

At this stage police moved in and a confrontation was averted.

In KwaNyandu alone, 25 houses were destroyed or burnt in a lunch-time attack on Thursday, which left three elderly people and a youth dead. A Canadian television crew, accompanied by the Sunday Tribune and a reporter for BBC radio found nine bodies in the surrounding fields on Thursday.

The main Edendale Road, from the hospital as far as KwaShange, was

scarred with burning barricades, glass and boulders. On Friday, virtually every road in Imbali was barricaded.

By Friday afternoon more than 8 000 people had sought refuge at the Catholic Mission in Esigodeni and Anglican Church hall in Georgetown. Arrangements were being made to move most of the refugees to the Mason Mill camp site.

"It was only when soldiers came that they stopped burning and looting," said Mrs Doris Mveli, who lost everything when her house was set alight on Tuesday.

According to Mrs Mveli, a group of residents from Imbali had marched up the road to "try and help us" but were turned away by police.

Meanwhile, a group of women, joined by members of the Black Sash, attempted to march through Edendale on Thursday morning, but dispersed when police threatened to use teargas and bird shot.

Women for peace appeal for food, clothes, blankets

THE Pietermaritzburg branch of the Women for Peaceful Change group is on a collection drive to assist people affected by the Natal violence.

The violence has left thousands of people homeless and an urgent appeal has been made for clothing, groceries, blankets, books and crayons.

Pietermaritzburg residents who could assist are requested to leave the items at 3 Russell Street, Pietermaritzburg, or phone the Women for Peaceful Change at 0331-64468.

Durban residents who want to donate can leave their items at 127 Smith Street or phone the organisation at 031-327872.

The catalyst for the renewed fighting poses a puzzle

AS the violence in Pietermaritzburg's townships continues to have a domino effect, spreading from the Edendale Valley to Imbali and Mpophomeni near Howick, there is still speculation as to what sparked off this week's fighting.

The most easily offered explanation is that it was a revenge attack after UDF comrades stoned buses be-

fore and after an Inkatha rally on Sunday.

Some observers say that

and we know we can beat the Thelewenis (Inkatha), he said.

A senior police officer said what was emerging in the strife-torn township is that where previously there were open clashes between United Democratic Front and Inkatha supporters, selective killings were now taking place.

"If a family member is killed by either UDF or Inkatha, his next of kin feel bound to avenge the death", he said.

Inkatha impis hijacked several KwaZulu transport buses on Monday and moved into the UDF strong-holds, carrying out retaliatory attacks.

However, a senior police officer who was in the Edendale area on Thursday said that while this was certainly one possibility, the conflict could also have started when a taxi carrying several Inkatha members was stopped and set alight at the George-

town intersection on Tuesday afternoon.

Two people are believed to have died in the incident and at least eight others were injured.

"This is not retaliation, this is war man, full scale war, just like Benut," said one young comrade on Wednesday, as he stood at a barricade on the Edendale Road.

When asked how long he intended fighting he replied: "Until the end. One side has to win in the end

Toddler's body rots in S Coast killing fields

THE decomposing body of a three-year-old child was found on the South Coast this week — a stark reminder of the violence that has claimed more than 20 lives in Umtulwane.

The people of Mahwaga and Mgangeni have all

fled their homes after heavily armed men invaded the area twice within three days.

The death toll is expected to rise as police discovered more dead bodies during the week.

The latest upsurge of violence in the area

Thabo Thulo

started last Saturday when the group surrounded the area and went on a killing and burning spree.

"When they approached our area we thought they were local

youths because they were wearing Mandela and Walter Sisulu T-shirts," a witness said.

On Sunday the local youths regrouped and raided the attackers while they were asleep. Seven people were killed

that night.

The following day the youths were attacked.

"This time they killed anyone they came across including babies and burned and looted all the houses in the area," a witness said.

Umbiko owethusayo ngesikole saboMdabu

VUSI SOSIBO

ETHEKWINI:-Isikole sabaMnyama esisedolobheni eThekwini iPhambili High okuvele ukuthi inhloso yokusungulwa kwaso kwakuwukuhlinzela labo ababoshelwa amacala ezombusazwe ukuze bafunde kuso uma sebephume emajele, silengelwa yingozi yokuba sivalwe, uma izikhulu ezisingamele zingazizazululi izinkinga ezisikhungethe.

Lokhu kuvele emhlanganweni wabazali kanye nezingane ezifunda kulesisikole obubizwe yikomiti lesikhashana (Interim Committee) elicwaninga ngezinkinga zaso.

Ukungezwani phakathi kulesisikole kuthiwa kwasuswa yizikhalo ezaqhamuka kothisha izingane kanye nabazali lapho babekhala khona ngomunye wabaphathi baso uProf. Fatima Meer okuyizikhalo ezaziqondene nendlela abathi kayiyinhle abaphethwe ngayo.

Lokhu kungeneliswa sekubangele nokuba uProf. Meer abhalelwe incwadi yinhlangano eyaziwa ngokuthi yiNatal Education Organisation (NEO) bemnxusa ukuba asiyeke isikhundla asiphethe kuvo.

Kuvele nokuthi amakhophi alencwadi athunyelelwa abaholi abahlukeni phakathi kwabo okubalwe u-Archbishop Desmond Tutu, uDr Nelson Mandela, uMfu. Frank Chikane, uNobhala wenhlangano yamaBandla (SACC) kanye no-Archbishop Denis Hurley. Nokho kubikwe ukuthi uProf. Meer ubengakayiphenduli nanxa akuveza ukuthi uyitholile.

Mayelana nesimo sesikole nje jikelele ikomiti libike ukuthi selixhume ne nalabo baseMelika okuyibo abasiza lesisikole ngezimali ngenhloso

yokuba kulungiswe isimo esikoleni futhi kuhlale kabusha indlela okuzoqhutshwa ngayo mayelana nokufakwa kwezimali esikoleni. Kodwa kuvele ukuthi laba baseMelika bezwakalise ukulichitha lelikomiti, bathi bona banezibopho ezithile nenhlangano i-Institute for Black Research (IBR) okuyiyo eyengamele izimali.

Izitshudeni ebezikulomhlangano zizwakalise ukukhathazeka mayelana nekusasa lazo ikakhulukazi ngemuva kokuzwa ukuthi isibalo sazo singahle sincishiswe njengoba kubikwe ukuthi uMnyango wezeMfundo nokuQeqesha uthi kufanele kubhaliswe izingane okungenani ezingu 500 esikhundleni sika 3 500 okhona njengamanje. Kubuye kwavela nokuthi iYMCA okuyindawo ebisetshenziswa ngamanye amakilasi kuyacaca ukuthi ngeke isaqhubeka nalomsebenzi.

Esinye sezitshudeni ebezikulomhlangano siveze ukuthi ukuvalwa kwesikole kanye nokuncishiswa kwesibalo sezingane ezifunda kuso, kungadala inkinga enkulu ngenxa yokuthi ezinye zezingane ezifunda ePhambili sezathola izinsongo zokuthi ngeke zisamukelwa ezikoleni emalokishini. Nokho kasivezanga ukuthi lezizinsongo zaziqhamuka kobani.

Okubuye kwaphatha kabi izitshudeni ngukungaphumi kwemiphumelela ngesikhathi okubikwe ukuthi kudalwe ngokuthi amamaki aqondene nokuhlolwa ngomlomo (orals) afinyelele sekwehlule isikhathi eMnyangweni wezeMfundo. Lokhu kubikwe ukuthi kuzodala inkinga enkulu ikakhulukazi kulabo abebenza ibanga leshumi abangakazi ukuthi baphumelele yini noma qha ekuhlolweni kwabo kwangonyaka odlule.

Nanxa ikomiti lesikhashana liveze ukuthi abaseMelika sebekhiphe isaziso sokuhoxa ekunikeleleni isikole ngenxa yezinkinga ezisikhungethe, kodwa lithe abaseMelika bathembise ukuba baqhubeka nalolusizo uma nje zizolungiswa zonke izinkinga ezisikhungethe.

namibisi b namibisi

10/2/26

20/26
G.M.M.

UKhomishani wamaPhoyisa aKwa-Zulu, uBrigadier A.M.J. Laas, uthe ubengakaziswa lutho ngalezizigameko. Uthe bekungelula ukuba axhumane nezinye iziteshi ngoba elasOndini belisenkingeni ngoba otheleloni bebengasebenzi kulezi-nsuku ngenxa yesimo sezulu ebesingasihle.

Kwenzeka konke lokhu nje akukapheli ngisho nenyanga iZP ithathe iziteshi ebeziphethwe yiSAP.

Naselokishini laseMpumalanga ngaseHammarisdale bese zikhona izikhalo ngamaZP okuthiwa ashaya intsha etholakala ihamba emigwaqeni uma sekuhwalele. Nokho akukho zikhalo esezenziwe ngokomthetho kulendawo.

Lapho ibhungu lithi lalinyazwa khona amaphoyisa. Naselokishini laseMpumalanga ngaseHammarisdale bese kunezikhalo eziningi entsheni ethi lamaphoyisa amane ayidumele ayishaye. Nokho akubikho khona zikhalo ezifakiwe ngokomthetho.



Pe. 2 OF 2

UChief Buthelezi ubuza ngokhiye wenkululeko

NGUGOLDEN GCABASHE

ETHEKWINI.— IBandla likaKrestu lithini ngabantu abaNyama baseSouth Africa abaphethweyo? Liyakwenza yini iBandla ukuba liveze ukhiye ngevangeli oyokhulula abaNyama ubayise eku-ziboneni belingana nezinye izingane zikaNkulunkulu ezingadalwanga nebala elimnyama?

Lemibuzo ibekwe uNdunankulu wakwaZulu, uChief Gatsha Buthelezi, Kwa Mashu izolo (ngolwesiThathu). Ubekhumama engqungqutheleni yamakholwa eBandla, iChurch of God of Prophecy, eliphethwe nguRev. Dr. C. Mngadi.

Emuva kokwendlela inkulumo yakhe ngencazelo yokuthi uKhisimusi ushoni kubantu abakholwayo, uChief Buthelezi ugxile kakhulu emibuzweni ayiqondise eBandleni likaKrestu, ebuza ukuthi lenzani ngezinkinga eziningi ezikhona.

UNdunankulu uthe ukukhululeka akudingi ukuba kube wukukhululeka emaketangweni esono kuphela, kodwa nasemaketangweni okucima uthando ezinhliziyweni

+ Phenya ekhasini 2 +

UWC may close as enrolment takes a dive

By Chris Whitfield

THE University of the Western Cape, in a bid to ward off devastating financial problems, is to approach Government with a request to ignore unrest-related problems at the university when subsidies are considered.

The university has had a 20 percent drop in enrolment this year after the massive disruptions of 1985.

Government subsidies to universities are calculated on two factors: The number of pupils who enrol and the end of year pass rate. About 80 percent of the actual cost of educating a student is met by the Government subsidy, and only 20 percent by the fees paid by students.

Enrolment at the university has dropped from 7 680 last year to 6 427 and the implications for the university are serious.

Sources at UWC said they feared continued disruptions in the next few years could lead to the closure of the university.

Rector at UWC, Professor Richard van der Ross, said this week the university would be approaching the Department of National Education and asking them to take the disruption caused by unrest at the university into account.

He said the system used to calculate subsidies was "designed for normal times".

"Our concern is that a lot of people are losing opportunities to further their studies due to prevailing conditions," said Prof van der Ross.

The only other year in which the university's admission figures had dropped was 1981 after the school boycotts of the previous year. Admission that year fell from 4 153 to 3 921.

Factors identified by Prof van der Ross as being behind the decline in numbers included increased enrolment of coloured students at white schools.

"But I don't see this as a problem and we encourage this. It is part of the normalising of the situation.

"To some extent they will obviously be taking from the same source, but we will just have to see that we provide what students want."

The major factor was the massive school boycotts on the Cape Flats — home for most UWC pupils — last year, which resulted in many matric pupils not writing exams. Further boycotts this year, already widely predicted, will have serious implications for the university.

Disruptions of studies during unrest on the campus last year and the worsening financial situation on the Cape Flats are other factors behind the drop in enrolment.

The State subsidy is worked out over a three-year period and figures for 1985 and 1986 will influence the subsidy for 1988 and 1989. Campus authorities felt this would give them enough time to plan ahead and offset the potential financial problems.

"One year's drop in enrolment does not constitute a threat," said Prof van der Ross. "But if the drop in attendance becomes a regular phenomenon then we have problems," he said.

UN urged to retain oil bar

MIKE LITTLEJOHN
The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — A panel monitoring the United Nations oil embargo against South Africa is to recommend that sanctions be maintained because a "premature" lifting would harm the negotiating process.

The panel acknowledged in a report to the General Assembly that there had been "rapid political developments" and that some of these were positive.

"The group is convinced that the oil embargo may be lifted when an interim government has been

established and when such a government requests the lifting of the embargo," the 11-page report states.

It urges the General Assembly, where the debate on apartheid

started last night, to recommend that the embargo continue "until there is clear evidence of profound and irreversible changes".

As the ban is not mandatory and has often been evaded, the

panel also wants Assembly backing for fuller co-operation.

Contrary to earlier expectations, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela will not attend the debate, which continues until tomorrow.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, director of the ANC's department of international affairs, is here instead.

In what may be a departure from the sound and fury of most UN debates on apartheid, less than one-third of the members have asked to speak in the debate.

The speakers' list contains only 53 names and most have slotted unusually brief interventions.

Argentina asked for only five minutes; Botswana, six; Norway, Nepal and Czechoslovakia, eight each; and Russia, the US and Britain, 10 minutes.

Stability within grasp, says Buthelezi

HUGH ROBERTON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Next year would be one of "dynamic achievement in the negotiating process" in South Africa, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here.

Addressing the External Affairs and International Trade committee of the Canadian House of Commons yesterday, Dr Buthelezi said a political settlement in South Africa was not far off.

"In the climate that is now emerging in South Africa we have

real prospects of convening a multi-party conference.

"The ANC ought by now to know that it has pushed Mr De Klerk too far and that he cannot remain where he is, let alone be pushed any further," he said.

Ulundi's shock plan to go it alone

From CHRIS
WHITFIELD

ULUNDI. — The KwaZulu government yesterday threw down a negotiations gauntlet to the ANC and the government — adopting a draft federal constitution for Natal/KwaZulu and announcing that it intends holding a regional referendum on the plan.

If accepted, the proposal would result in far-reaching autonomy for Natal/KwaZulu — including a state militia and a separate taxation system.

The announcement immediately drew a strong reaction, with the ANC saying it came "as a bolt from the blue" and amounted to a "very drastic departure from the constitutional process".

The Democratic Party in Natal warned that it could be a recipe for civil war.

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said the proposals should "form an integral part of the negotiation process" and "any impression of unilateral action should be carefully considered".

However, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the proposal was essentially a discussion document and "my attitude is not confrontational or adversarial".

To page 2

Buthelezi

He dismissed as "nonsense" suggestions that KwaZulu was adopting a "go-it-alone" or unilateral declaration of independence option.

The draft federal constitution for Natal-KwaZulu was approved by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at a special sitting yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said this approval was the "first step in a process which will establish the state of KwaZulu/Natal as a member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa".

It would include the submission for approval and adoption by the joint executive authority for Natal-KwaZulu "and submission to the South African government".

"It is envisaged that after extensive consultations followed by a popular referendum this constitution will become the supreme law of the state," he said.

Chief Buthelezi added: "It is intended that once ratified by the electorate of KwaZulu-Natal, the new constitution will stand in force, regardless of the direction taken by the constitutional process of South Africa."

The government responded cautiously, saying the proposal should be discussed at multi-lateral talks.

Gqozo suggests 'Kei Republic'

EAST LONDON. — The Ciskei government yesterday proposed the creation of an autonomous "Kei Republic" embracing Ciskei, the Border and the Eastern Cape, but excluding Transkei.

The republic would have the right to end its participation in the central authority at any time, according to a proposal by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo at a regionalism summit. — Sapa

U.S. aid for ANC, other black groups bogs down

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post

WASHINGTON—Plans to give \$10 million to the African National Congress, other black groups in South Africa and U.S. agencies to help promote democracy are bogged down in bureaucratic turf battles and objections from Republican conservatives who regard the ANC as prone to communist influences.

Most opposition to granting the money centers on stopping the share—about 37 percent of the total—earmarked for the ANC, the black nationalist organization widely thought to have the largest following among South African blacks.

Congressional conservatives seeking to block the funds contend that the ANC's American supporters have exaggerated the organization's political clout and its move toward moderation.

"I seriously doubt that the ANC would get 37 percent of South Africa's vote without the use of violence, terror and intimidation at which that group is so proficient," Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, recently wrote in a letter to Ronald W. Roskens, administrator of the Agency for International Development.

More than 20 other congressional Republicans have joined Helms in objecting to the project since AID notified Congress how it proposed to distribute the funds to help black groups organize and negotiate with South Africa's white minority government on democratic pluralism.

A senior State Department official, acknowledging the congressmen's ability to block distribution of the funds appropri-



Jesse Helms
Senator cites 'terror and intimidation'



Nelson Mandela

ated last May, said, "The program is not dead, but it is seriously wounded and bleeding profusely."

The AID proposal, prepared with the department's approval, would give \$3.7 million to the ANC; \$1 million to Inkatha, the predominantly Zulu organization headed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi; \$1.2 million each for the Republican and Democratic Party institutes that conduct training programs in emerging democracies, and smaller grants to other groups.

Supporters of the ANC, which was banned for 30 years while Nelson R. Mandela and other principal leaders were in prison or in exile, say it will face great difficulty in transforming itself into a functioning political party without money for salaries, travel, office equipment, organizing and voter registration.

But suspicion about the ANC's ideology is not the only problem the AID proposal has encountered on Capitol Hill. Rep. William S. Broomfield (Mich.), ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, wrote to Roskens that AID

has not shown that the ANC and other proposed recipients are able to absorb the funds and use them effectively.

"Political activity is not the most constructive use that can be made of these funds right now," said Sen. Nancy L. Kassebaum (Kan.), an influential Republican moderate who formerly headed the Senate subcommittee on African affairs. "South African blacks would be helped much more at this point if the money was put into educational programs and legal activities that further civil rights."

And, while they have been much more muted than the critics on the right, some congressional liberals also feel that the AID proposal earmarks too much of the \$10 million for the Republican and Democratic institutes.

"There's a feeling in some liberal circles, especially among some members of the congressional black caucus, that the money should go to indigenous, grass-roots black groups inside South Africa rather than to do-gooder white organizations in the United States, who will send people out there to preach the word on democracy like so many missionaries," said a congressional staff member who asked not to be identified.

The South Africa project originated last March when Secretary of State James A. Baker III told reporters accompanying him to Namibia's independence ceremonies that Bush administration officials thought the federally funded but privately controlled National Endowment for Democracy could perform a similar service in South Africa. Congress, spurred by Representatives William H. Gray III (D-Pa.) and Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), then appropriated the \$10 million.

UWC to inquire into unrest 2

Staff Reporter
THE UNIVERSITY of the Western Cape is to investigate the action of students, personnel and officials during last week's campus unrest, the acting rector, Professor J J F Durand, said in a statement yesterday.

The statement, issued on behalf of the UWC

Executive Council after an extraordinary meeting yesterday morning, follows an incident on Monday when students occupied the UWC administration building, demanding the immediate resignation of the Registrar (Finance), Mr J H Stassen.

Mr Stassen had alleged-

ly told police where to find students who sought protection in administration buildings during police action on the campus last Friday.

The council also called for an investigation into the police action.

In response to the crisis on the campus, the council has sanctioned the "ad

hoc" suspension of classes.

Students have been boycotting classes this week.

Professor Durand said two alternatives faced the university — the closure of the university or the suspension of academic activities. Closure was unacceptable.

He said that however

high emotions ran during protest, there were rules concerning the safety of persons and property that should not be ignored.

While understanding the emotions of students, the council recognized that student action outside the university was unlawful and condemned it.

Uhlababa isoyi lokuqala

Emvo

Feb 16 - 20

Ohlababa isoyi lokuqala
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hambeli esisemqoka ku-
lomkhosi lapho kwakufi-
nywa khona ngendolo-
lwane kufike abakwa-
Urban Foundation bezo-
boleka umphakathi wa-
kulendawo imali engu-
R73 600 ukuze kuthuthu-
kiswe lesikole. Kanti ose-
duze kaMnu. Gumede
nguMnu. S. J. Goqo
onguSihlalo walesisikole.
Bese kuba nguMnu. R.
B. Garrib owayemele
i-Urban Foundation.
Kwabami kusukela kwe-
sobunxele nguThisha-
nhloko wakulesisikole
uMnu. E. D. Mahlangu,
kanye noMnu. R. S. Ndlo-
vu ongumhlonishwa naye,
kanye nezinye izitatanyi-
swa emva kwabo.

UDF 6 charged with treason

By ANTON HARBER
and
PATRICK LAURENCE

ALL 11 detainees held under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act were released from prison yesterday and six of them — all key members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) — were immediately arrested and charged with treason in the Durban Magistrate's Court.

At the same time, detention orders issued against three UDF leaders taking refuge in the British Consulate in Durban were cancelled.

The three fugitives did not, however, leave the consulate immediately, preferring to consult with their legal adviser, Mr Zac Yacoob, first.

Three of the six men charged with treason yesterday were among the original six who sought refuge in the British Consulate on September 13.

It was therefore expected yesterday that the three men remaining in the consulate would be charged with treason the moment they left the building.

The six men who appeared in court yesterday on charges of treason were:

● The three Section 28 detainees from Natal — Mr

Mewa Ramgobin, Mr George Sewpersadh and Mr M J Naidoo, all of the Natal Indian Congress, a key affiliate organisation of the UDF and;

● Three of the Transvaal Section 28 detainees — Dr Essop Jassat of the Transvaal Indian Congress (another UDF affiliate), and Mr Aubrey Mokoena and Mr Curtis Nkondo, both Transvaal vice-presidents of the UDF.

Mr Ramgobin, Mr Sewpersadh and Mr Naidoo were among the six men who originally sought refuge in the British Consulate. When they left the consulate on October 6 they were immediately detained under the Internal Security Act.

In Johannesburg yesterday, Dr Jassat, Mr Mokoena and Mr Nkondo were re-arrested immediately after being released from detention. They were driven to Durban to join the other three to face charges of treason.

The six treason trialists were remanded in custody pending a bail hearing on December 21.

Apart from high treason, they faced alternative charges under the Internal Security Act — furthering the aims of a banned organisation and subversion.

Their court appearance is expected to lead to a lengthy and complex treason trial. Legal observers anticipate that dozens of people will be summoned to

give evidence for the State.

The three men who were still locked in discussions with their lawyers last night in the British Consulate were Mr Archie Gumede, a UDF president; Mr Billy Nair of the Natal Indian Congress; and Mr Paul David of the Natal Release Mandela Committee.

British authorities have reportedly urged them to leave and, if necessary, stand trial in open court now that detention orders against them have been cancelled.

The five men who were released from detention yesterday without being charged included three top members of the UDF — Mr Mosiuoa Lekota, national publicity secretary; Mr Popo Molefe, national secretary; and Mr Rashid Salloojee, a UDF vice-president.

The two other detainees who were released without being charged were Mr Muntu Myeza, publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), and Mr Haroon Patel, an Azapo branch chairman.

All eleven detainees who were released yesterday

□ To Page 2

*US set to 'jumpstart' SA's road to democracy

PETER FABRICIUS
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States Senate has prepared a major draft Bill to give a "jumpstart" to the South African transitional government by lifting virtually all remaining sanctions and boosting foreign aid, private investment and development loans.

The proposed legislation — to be known as the "South African Democratic Transition Act" — lays heavy stress on helping blacks and lays down a code of conduct for American government and business activity in South Africa during the transition.

News of the Senate moves comes on the eve of the visit to the United States by President De Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, who will both seize the strategic moment to tell President Bill Clinton South Africa needs all the international help it can get.

But their efforts will now hinge on the success of this week's negotiations at the World Trade Centre because Mr Clinton will want to see positive movement towards a democratic settlement.

The code in the proposed Senate legislation — which resembles one proposed by the ANC last November — would oblige US official and private US businesses in South Africa to be non-discriminatory, to pay minimum wages, to boost employment of blacks and to respect trade union rights.

This code could be controversial. Many seasoned South Africa-watchers here — such as former assistant secretary of state for Africa Mr Hank Cohen — have warned that investment codes of conduct will only discourage investment, which is scarce at any rate.

The draft bill is a bipartisan initiative by Republican Senator Ms Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas and Democratic Senator Mr Paul Simon of Illinois which means it is virtually certain to pass Congress.

Mr Simon was one of the chief proponents of sanctions against South Africa in the past and his signature on the new Bill will give special meaning to it.

It has apparently been drafted now so that Congress can act swiftly to fulfil President Clinton's promise to begin re-integrating South Africa into the world economy once a transitional executive council comes into being and a firm date is set for democratic elections.

The Bill would repeal all, or part of nine laws including the famous Comprehensive

■ Turn to page 3

SPORT

Pienaar to lead the Boks

DEON VILJOEN
Weekend Sports Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Francois Pienaar of Transvaal has been named captain of the Springboks for the first test against France in Durban on Saturday.

He beat the challenge of Western Province's Tiaan Strauss and will lead a side showing 10 changes, two positional, from the one which lost to England at Twickenham last November.

Most of the changes are in the pack. The positional switches involve Strauss and Willie Hills, switched from loosehead flank to No 8 and hooker to loosehead prop respectively.

The newcomers up front are Pienaar, lock Kobus Wiese and Rudi Visagie, and tighthead flank Ian Macdonald. Pienaar and Wiese are new recruits, but Visagie played for the Springboks in 1984 and Macdonald and hooker Uli Schmidt return to the side after last playing against Australia in the one-off test at Newlands.

The three changes among the backs are Heinrich Fuls, in for the injured Danie Gerber at centre, and Hennie le Roux and Robert du Preez as the new halfback combination.

THE TEAM

Theo van Rensburg; Jacques Olivier, Pieter Muller, Heinrich Fuls; James Small, Hennie le Roux, Robert du Preez; Willie Hills, Uli Schmidt, Keith Andrews, Francois Pienaar (captain), Kobus Wiese, Rudi Visagie, Ian Macdonald, Tiaan Strauss.

Reserves: John Allan, Johann Styger, Deon Lotter, Joost van der Westhuizen, Henry Honiball, Hugh Reece-Edwards.

Tricolores draw

■ The touring French rugby team snatched a 22-22 draw against Free State in the dying minutes of their match in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Race postponed

YESTERDAY's race meeting at Kenilworth has been postponed to tomorrow.

■ See SPORTS.

Violence foreseen, glorified

UDF men 'acted as ANC's internal wing'

By Ilse de Lange

A PRETORIA Supreme Court judge yesterday found that the state had proved that a dominant part of the United Democratic Front leadership had acted as the internal wing of the banned African National Congress.

Judgment by Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst, in the trial of 19 men on charges of high treason, subversion, terrorism and five counts of murder arising from violence in the Vaal Triangle townships in 1984, yesterday entered its second day. The trial lasted more than 37 months.

Three high-ranking UDF members, Mr Popo Molefe (national secretary), Mr Patrick Lekota (publicity secretary) and Mr Moses Chikane (former Transvaal secretary), are among the 19 standing trial. The three men have been in custody since the trial started on October 16 three years ago.

The bail of eight of the accused was withdrawn on Monday.

ANC offshoot

Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst yesterday said although talk about a united front had always been common in certain circles in South Africa, a call by the ANC in 1982 was the major factor in, if not the sole cause of, the formation of the UDF.

He said a call by the Reverend Allan Boesak was neither the reason nor the motivation why the UDF was launched in August 1983.

There was no doubt the ANC claimed fatherhood of the UDF, and claimed credit for its successes. The only answer the defence had for this, was that the ANC was "merely boasting", he said.

He said the ANC was popularised at all UDF meetings, and mentioned the disproportionate number of former ANC members and supporters, as well as former convicts who were patrons of the UDF.

ANC policy

The UDF consistently failed to condemn ANC violence, and followed the same policy as that declared by the ANC, he said.

The two organisations also used the same language, such as "regime", "enemy" (the government), "puppets", "exploited" and "oppressed".

"Freedom songs", such as "The Supreme Court is on fire" and "Sasol is on fire" were sung, and fully approved of, at UDF meetings, he said.

He said it was significant that denials by the UDF of links with the ANC and the promotion of violence were made in response to accusations by the government. In the

absence of these denials, actions would have been swift, he added.

Mr Molefe had testified he could not and would not condemn the ANC for taking up arms. The ANC's violence was blamed on apartheid, and terrorist bombings were laid at the door of the government.

The judge said it was an enigma why the UDF, if it was formed to oppose the new constitution and the "Koornhof Bills", would concern itself with such a wide spectrum of issues, including conscription and the dismantling of Black local authorities, that were also issues taken up by the ANC.

On the UDF and violence, the judge said it was symptomatic of all speeches given by UDF members and supporters that one did not hear an outright condemnation of violence.

While the UDF publicly stated that it was non-

violent, it was at the same time an apologist for the ANC's policy of violence, he said.

He said statements by the UDF on the collapse of Black local authorities hailed it as a "victory". Nowhere was an expression of regret about the murder of councillors and the destruction of property by this "so-called non-violent organisation" to be found.

"One has to conclude that the destruction of the Black local authority system of necessity entailed loss of life and the destruction of property. This was foreseen by the UDF," the judge said.

Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst dealt individually with a number of videos and tapes that were made at a series of meetings and rallies attended by the UDF hierarchy.

Revolutionary

He said speeches held and songs sung at the inauguration of the Soweto

Youth Congress in 1983, which was an important event for the UDF were pro-ANC and often revolutionary. The UDF participated wholeheartedly and never repudiated the revolutionary calls.

He said sophisticated attempts by the defence to water-down the content of the speeches failed.

He said a national conference to launch the UDF in August 1983, followed the same pattern.

At a 1984 youth meeting in Vryburg, where Mr Lekota was the main speaker, State President P W Botha was described as "a tsotsi" and Nelson Mandela was quoted.

Mr Lekota called "for the war (against the Boers) to start again".

"To address a meeting of youths with such fighting talk is like putting a match to dry grass," the judge said.

Judgment will continue today.

Union and Sasol in dispute over safety

By Sheryl Raine

Serious accusations about the neglect of safety procedures have been levelled at Sasol, owner of the Middelbult Colliery near Secunda where 30 miners died in a methane gas explosion earlier this month.

The accusations come from the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU) which represents 60 percent of the mine's 8 700 workers.

Ironically, the mine recently won a five-star rating for safety from the National Occupational Safety Association.

A meeting between Sasol and the union is due to take place today in Secunda to discuss the blast and other issues.

In a hard-hitting statement, the CWIU said it was time companies put the lives of workers above profits.

Last week the union sent an investigating team

consisting of two labour lawyers, two mining engineers and various union officials to Middelbult.

"Workers at Middelbult claim that, although modern equipment for the testing of methane gas is supplied, often safety procedures are ignored. Production is more important than safety," the union said.

Sasol replied that it was a matter of policy that safety procedures be strictly adhered to under all circumstances. A full inquiry would be held to establish the cause of the accident.

MONTHLY AUDITS

"Sasol cares for its employees and safety enjoys the highest priority," said a Sasol spokesman. He said that apart from mine safety competitions at Middelbult monthly audits by independent mine officials were carried out, as well as quarterly inspections and audits by senior management.

"Workers at Middelbult have claimed that, follow-

ing the blast on August 12, many miners refused to go underground and that management threatened them with dismissal."

Sasol has denied this claim, stating that on that day no further shifts were sent down the mine. The next day 80 percent of the afternoon shift refused to go underground and those miners who did not want to work were returned to their hostels. Before the evening shift, miners were given an oral report on how rescue operations were proceeding and 40 percent of the shift agreed to work.

On the afternoon of August 14 a written report was circulated among workers concerning rescue operations and a message of sympathy was conveyed from management to the families of the dead. Sasol requested workers to help bring production back to normal and shifts went underground as usual.

Workers complained to the union that there was no adequate compensation for death and injury.

at mine where 30 died

"Mineworkers at the Sasol mines have no insurance cover, provident or pension funds and when accidents occur their only compensation comes from that provided for in the inadequate Workmen's Compensation Act," said the union.

'SERIOUS DISREGARD'

"Given the terrible wages paid in the mining industry (minimum wage at Secunda collieries being R186 a month) and the conditions under which mineworkers work, the union believes that the lack of decent compensation shows serious disregard for the welfare of miners and their families."

Sasol said its pay package, which included provisions for compensation in cases of death or injury, compared favourably with other prevailing benefits but acknowledged a gap in pension fund benefits in the mining industry. In 1980 Sasol started a pension fund and recently started a subsidised voluntary

medical aid scheme for black factory workers.

The same benefits do not apply, however to mineworkers. Sasol said it was looking at the possibility of providing similar benefits for mineworkers but practical difficulties existed in respect of the large proportion of migrant workers in the mining industry.

In common with most of the mining industry no pension benefits existed for black mineworkers, Sasol said. In addition to workmen's compensation payments, it made ex gratia payments to dependents in the event of the death of an employee.

Employees also had the option of belonging to an employees' benefit fund. Several of the deceased in the latest accident belonged to the fund and their dependents had received benefits.

"The matter of a pension fund for the majority of workers is a difficult matter and the CWIU has never raised this subject in its discussions with Sasol to date," said the Sasol spokesman.

Unholy alliance

The year ends as it began — with the comrades at each others' throats. As last year drew to a close, one could hear the sharpening of daggers and the staking of territory amid the cheering and shouting for joy as a political colossus, their nemesis, finally fell.

They were stunned by what they had achieved. But the celebration didn't last long. Not even Christmas charity was evident. Thabo Mbeki was the glue that held them together. He was gone, finally. Peace among the comrades beckoned. It was not to be.

Those who thought Mbeki was the source of the strife within the brotherhood are mistaken. It was never about Mbeki. It won't be about Jacob Zuma either. The infighting will be worse under Zuma. He doesn't have the cunning, dexterity and yes, the backbone, of his predecessor. His only weapon is a smile. But being nice can take you only so far. Thereafter it becomes a liability. Anyway, Zuma was elected not to lead, but to obey.

No, the source of the conflict in the alliance is not the manner or style of the party leader. The fault lies with the reason, the *raison d'être*, if you like, for the existence of the tripartite alliance. It is anchored on a fallacy: that those who don't belong together, ideologically speaking, can be forced or persuaded to cling together in pursuit of power. In other words, the alliance contains seeds of its own death or disappearance. There's no ideological reason for its continued existence.

Right now the whole thing hangs on Zuma's gratitude or indebtedness; if the alliance didn't exist, Zuma would probably have ended up in prison, let alone making it to power. The battle to save his bacon was waged within the alliance; not in the ANC, where Mbeki ruled the roost. For now, though, Zuma will feel the need, the guilt, to stand by his leftist allies. That doesn't mean the skulduggery won't continue.

The alliance muddies the waters: It diverts the ANC's attention from its main goal, which is to govern the country. Instead the ruling party's top members expend valuable time on petty squabbles that have no bearing

on the lives of ordinary people.

But more damaging for the country, I believe, is the policy confusion that ensues, especially with a weak leader such as Zuma at the helm. One is left guessing as to what policies are being pursued, and who is responsible for them. Which is why, at times, ANC economic policy seems like a moving target. And who is in charge? It depends on who you're talking to.

One can understand why the ANC wants closer relations with Cosatu. The unions bring organisational skills and thousands of members to the table. What do the communists bring? Nothing, except the diminutive figure of Blade Nzimande. The communists are the archetypal parasites who live off the blood and sweat of others. There's no basis or support for their creed. It's been discredited. On their own the communists, like their brethren elsewhere, are as good as dead. Their prestige or attractiveness lies in their proximity to power.

The alliance was obviously forged in earlier, more trying times. That's history. Now it's all about the pursuit of naked power, and the privileges it provides.

This unholy alliance won't die or be broken without a challenge from outside. Like everything else in our politics, only the emergence of an effective opposition will force the ANC to choose what kind of animal it wants to be. Clarity of policy, with like-minded people to drive it, will be the death-knell of the alliance.

It's been a year from hell. Whatever happens next year, surely 2010 can't be this bad. We're taking a breather. The *FM* will be back on the stands on January 8 2010. We wish our readers a relaxed, restful festive season. Drive safely, and come back in one piece. ■



Those who thought Mbeki was the source of the strife are mistaken. It was never about Mbeki. It won't be about Zuma either

Union hits out at IFP 'patronage'

By Thabo Thulo

THE South African Municipal Workers Union (Samwu) has accused the Umzinyathi District Council of purging its top leadership of people who are not Inkatha Freedom Party members and replacing them with party members.

Samwu charges that advertisements of vacant posts in the national newspapers last week were part of this process and were in contravention of the Labour Relations Act. The union has already taken the matter to the provincial local government bargaining chamber.

Samwu spokesman Mr Mandla Cele said vacant positions were not advertised internally first, as required by the Act, and that some of the advertised positions were currently occupied.

"This led to the bizarre situation where some people only discovered that their positions were being advertised when they read about it in the newspapers," he said.

To support his charges that the IFP-controlled council was installing its members in top positions, Cele produced minutes of an IFP leadership meeting held in February in the IFP office in Dundee.

The minutes stated that it was agreed that IFP members should be employed in key positions in district councils 24 and 25 and in all councils controlled by the IFP.

A task team, according to the minutes, should be established to collect CVs and create a database of IFP people and recommend their deployment to different municipalities in district 24 and 25.

The team was also asked to recommend political capacity required to ensure that IFP people were employed. Council chief executive officer Mr Otto Kunene was tasked to coordinate the exercise.

Kunene denied that the issues mentioned in the minutes were ever discussed by his party and denied any knowledge of such minutes.

Kunene said vacant positions were simultaneously advertised internally and externally.

He said if they were first advertised internally, there would be only one applicant for each post, which would not give them a wide choice.

Kunene said after the 2000 municipal elections, all heads of department were working in acting capacities and it was up to the new municipalities to confirm positions or hire new staff.

U.S. Firms Reject Activist's New Call

REACT, From E1

endeavors, the main pillars of apartheid still remain, and something else must be done to bring an end to that despicable system that dehumanizes black people."

The Investor Responsibility Research Center, a nonprofit group in Washington that monitors corporate activity in South Africa, estimates that almost 200 U.S. corporations still do business there. Of those, 127 are signatories to the Sullivan Principles, which advocate the employment of minorities in South African enterprises and oppose segregation in the work place.

More than 100 American companies already have sold or closed down their South African operations; another 15 have announced plans to do so this year. Many of those remaining are among the biggest employers in South Africa and have been there for decades. They argue that they can better fight apartheid by continuing operations with ethical practices.

"We find it difficult to come to the conclusion

that helping blacks in this situation is counterproductive. We're hesitant to give up the fight after working there for so many years," said W. Michael Blumenthal, chairman of Unisys Corp., the large computer maker.

Mobil Corp., the largest U.S. employer in South Africa with 3,000 workers, said it would continue to "strengthen incentives to improve the quality and quantity of programs supporting the South African black community."

Other companies made similar pledges yesterday.

"Caltex intends to stay in South Africa and will continue to work for an end to apartheid, giving strong support to those dedicated individuals and organizations in South Africa who wish to bring about a just, nonracial and democratic society," Chevron said.

Despite Sullivan's request, many companies said they would continue to abide by his code.

"The principles will go on as far as Cyanamid is concerned," said Edwina West, a spokeswoman for American Cyanamid Co., a Wayne, N.J.-based chemical concern. She said

the company expects that some other mechanism will be adopted to monitor business conduct in South Africa.

"We plan to continue operating under these principles as long as it is in the best interest of our employees and our shareholders," said Goodyear Tire & Rubber Co.

Sullivan, in his press conference yesterday, said he was confident that shareholders and critics would bring enough pressure on companies that remain in South Africa to force them to reconsider their positions, and in the meantime, to continue to follow the spirit of the principles. "They kept the Ten Commandments without Moses," he said.

Experts expect many companies to stay in South Africa as long as it is profitable.

"I don't think companies are scared of losing their investments," said David Hauck, senior analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Center. "What they are concerned about is losing access to a market."

FMC Corp., a Chicago-based industrial conglomerate that has kept its operations in South Africa, said yesterday that if it decides to withdraw, it will do so for business reasons. "We continually evaluate the business and ethical reasons for doing business in South Africa, but the establishment of any

arbitrary timetable for withdrawal, we think, is counterproductive," FMC said. "We're going to make that decision independent of any pressure to withdraw."

Many of the companies that have pulled out of South Africa have done so for economic, rather than altruistic, reasons. General Motors Corp., for instance, withdrew from South Africa earlier this year, selling its plant to a South African-owned company because, a spokesman said, "We had been losing money there for several years, and there was little reasonable expectation that apartheid would be ended in the near term. We really felt we had no choice but to withdraw."

Similarly, a spokesman for General Electric Co. said that its South African operation lost money in 1985, a year before the company sold the division. "The decision was a relatively easy one to make—it was a business decision," the spokesman said.

Emhart Corp., a conglomerate whose holdings include Planning Research Corp. of McLean, said yesterday that it put its operations in South Africa up for sale in January because of potential pressures on PRC, which does business with many U.S. municipalities that prohibit dealings with companies with South African interests.

16/11/11

Ulandula ukusebenzela i-ANC ufakazi oqanda ikhanda kolukaMhlabunzima

EMGUNGUNDLOVU:- Ufakazi ophenyweni lokubulawa kwenkosi Mhlabunzima Maphumulo uphikile ukuthi wayesebenzela i-African National nokuthi wenza lokho ayekutshelwe yilenhlangano emuva kokuba ecele ukuba imkhuselise ngo-April nonyaka.

Osho lokhu nguMnuz. Sipho Madlala, othathwa ngokuthi ungufakazi oqanda ikhanda kuloluphenyo.

Ebuzwa nguMnuz. Christo van Schalkwyk, ummeli wombutho wamasotsha, uMnuz. Madlala, owaqale wathi wayekanye nabasocongi ababulala uMaphumulo, uthe izingxoxo abanazo namalungu e-ANC, uMnuz. Terror Lekota noMnuz. Jacob Zuma zazingxile nje kuphela ekubulaweni kukaMaphumulo.

Uthe kazange axoxe nabo ngokunye okwakwenziwa ngabasocongi

ngoba abazange baqhubeke bambuze ngakho.

Uthe emuva kokuba uMnuz. Lekota noMnuz. Zuma sebehambile, waxoxa "nentsha" ye-ANC ngezinye izinto ezazenziwa ngabasocongi.

Uthe kwathi lapho edalula enkantolo olunye ulwazi ayenalo ngabasocongi. UMnuz. Lekota wabuza kummeli wakhe, uMnuz. Bheka Shezi ukuthi kungani yena uMnuz. Madlala engayitshelanga i-ANC ngalokhu. UMnuz. Madlala uphikile kodwa ukuthi wake wakhuluma noMnuz. Lekota noma nomunye ngobufakazi bakhe ngesikhathi esebhokisini lokufakaza.

UMnuz. Madlala, ekuqaleni othe waqamba amanga ezintathelini ngesikhathi "evuma" ukuthi wayengomunye wababulali bakaMaphumulo ngo-April nonyaka, uthe wayehlaselele ukukhuluma iqiniso uma esenesiqiniseko sokuthi uphephiule.

Ebuzwa waayengalivezi ngani iqiniso kumaphephandaaba ngesikhathi ecashile izinyanga ezine, uMnuz. Madlala uthe wayengeke alushaye ucingo ngoba wayesazi ukuthi ucingo lweCity Press nezamanye amanye amaphephandaba "zazicushiwe."

For Chief Minister's information

our readers write

NATAL WITNESS

UDF, Inkatha and the violence

in Natal

HAD there been no curbs on the media it would have been possible for journalists to do what they can do better than the police or anyone else, that is to have investigated thoroughly the reasons for the violence in Natal and perhaps have come up with an acceptable solution long before now. The police are unfairly hampered by prejudice while the press is trusted by most people.

The fragments of information that I have been able to gather from scanty police reports in the press and from contacts with victims on both sides of the conflict indicate that the violence is a struggle between the KwaZulu government represented by Inkatha and the United Democratic Front for leadership of the blacks in Natal in the fight against the injustices of apartheid.

The problem, being one between black and black, should not be approached in a way other than that in which it is viewed by the blacks themselves. Having worked closely among most of the black tribes and nations of South Africa, in both legal and administrative capacities, for more than 40 years, ten of which have been in Natal, I would appreciate it, Mr Editor, if you will give me the opportunity to express my views in your correspondence columns, which I hope may help in contributing to a better understanding of the situation in this province.

A consideration of the circumstances which led to the confrontation between Inkatha and the UDF is essential. The area under the limited control vested in the KwaZulu Government (KG) consists of the territory north of the Tugela River known as Zululand and a number of other blocks of land scattered all over Natal which are occupied by Zulus. All blacks, Zulus and non-Zulus who live anywhere in Natal, must pay taxes to the KG. In effect, therefore, the KG's authority over blacks, limited though it may be, extends virtually over the whole province. At any rate Zulu leadership of the blacks in Natal has never before been challenged or even questioned.

For some years past blacks have been illegally infiltrating into Natal in search of work which is not available in their own states — Lesotho, Transkei and Ciskei. Thousands of these "foreigners" and their families live in Natal on farms, in the townships and as squatters here and there as near as

possible to avenues of employment. Others live in KwaZulu territory where dishonest indunas have sold homestead sites to them contrary to regulations. Not being Zulus, these foreigners feel no loyalty to the KG. It is from among these people that the UDF has attracted the large majority of its supporters in Natal. Numbers are impossible to come by because the enrolled membership of the UDF consists only of bodies and organisations, not individual members.

When the 1983 constitution, which totally excluded the blacks from any say in the government of the country of their birth was adopted by Parliament, their anger and opposition was demonstrated by the powerful support given to a new body which quickly came into being, the United Democratic Front. Its spontaneous success in attracting support throughout the country, even in Natal, was seen by the KG as a threat to its hegemony in the province. That indeed was the aim of the UDF, to take over the leadership in Natal of the anti-apartheid struggle from the Zulu regime.

Inkatha made an immediate start to enrol members and collect membership fees. Its efforts were highly successful, showing the loyalty and adhesion of the Zulu rank and file to their

traditional leaders. The nature of the powers given to Inkatha by the KG have not been disclosed but it is reasonable to deduce from its actions that it was instructed to take such steps as might be required to eject the UDF from Natal and to insist that all blacks, even non-Zulus, should cease supporting the UDF and join Inkatha. The UDF was in

many cases itself using intimidatory measures to undermine the standing and authority of the KG among its own people. Thus began a life and death struggle between Inkatha and the UDF for sole leadership in Natal in the fight against the injustices of apartheid. In this struggle both sides have not hesitated to use the weapons of intimidation — murder and destruction of homes — to achieve their ends.

It is my considered view, backed by my long experience of the ways and outlook of the blacks, that the violence in Natal will not come to an end until the UDF either ceases its activities here or agrees to accept terms dictated by the KG for it to remain here. Its unwelcome presence in Natal has resulted in unprecedented disruption and misery, even among its own supporters. They are tired of it and long for peace. The Zulus will never rest until their honour has been fully re-established. The UDF has been in Natal for a few short years. If the UDF's leaders have any humanitarian feelings they will now realise that the onus rests on them to bring peace to Natal and not to expect the Zulus to suffer national humiliations and dishonour, which is what submission to the UDF would imply in the minds of the blacks.

R.A. BOWEN
Guinice Road, Pietermaritzburg

EVRIWARE

WEEKEND Argus

Editor-in-Chief
A P DRYSDALE

122 St George's St. Cape Town 8000 488-4911

Editor
J C B HOB DAY

Umtata raid — was it justified?

TROUBLING question-marks hang over the raid by the South African Defence Force on an alleged Apla haven in Transkei. Not least of these is the age of the five people who died, all of them apparently teenagers or younger. Another disturbing factor is that the victims appear to have offered little effective resistance and the justification for their being shot remains largely unsubstantiated.

Of course, it is necessary to see the SADF action in a wider context. The proliferation of attacks on South African civilians — including such atrocities as the St James Church massacre — are cause for great concern, in particular because they were so cold-bloodedly directed against “soft” targets.

In addition, Apla remains openly committed to the armed struggle and has declared its intention on numerous occasions of continuing to strike at civilians. And there has been ample indication — including the finding of the Goldstone Commission — that Apla attacks were planned and launched from Transkei.

The SADF and the South African Police thus have a duty to protect South African citizens by any reasonable means, including pre-emptive strikes against plotters in Transkei.

The SADF says it had intelligence that dark deeds were being planned at 47 Northcrest, Umtata. Some weapons have, indeed, been captured.

The Chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, revealed that the SADF had hoped to bring back Apla cadres as living proof. It is a pity they failed in this. It would have been much better if the raid had produced more dramatic evidence of Apla activities.

Already, suspicions are roused and claims are being made that the raid was just another bit of military muscle-flexing, reminiscent of the bad old days of Mr P W Botha's “hot pursuit” attacks, so fraught with political overtones. The raid could hardly have come at more embarrassing moment for people like Mr Nelson Mandela on his European tour or at a more delicate moment in the negotiation process.

Minister of Defence Mr Kobie Coetsee might well declare the raid “a political success”. It may have satisfied some National Party supporters who hanker for a little kragdadigheid. But the impact of the raid on the negotiation process and on international opinion is likely to be negative — unless there is more convincing evidence that it was a security success.

And, for the moment, that evidence does not appear to be forthcoming.

Violence will continue — Chief

Violence in South Africa is on the increase, and will continue until blacks and whites are reconciled with each other, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said in a memorandum yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev Dr Robert Runcie, said: "Violence is spiralling upwards, and in the current spiralling violence we are witnessing evil faces of violence which were somewhat hidden before."

UPSWING

He said there had been previous upsurges of violence, but he did not believe that the current upswing in violence would be the last.

"Violence will continue escalating until blacks and whites are reconciled one to the other, and blacks and blacks are reconciled to each other about black/white relationships in South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said this reconciliation would only take place within a political framework which moved the country steadily towards becoming a just society. — Sapa.

US gets a deep look at SA — and at Buthelezi

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — In treatment accorded only to the assassination of President Kennedy, the volcanic eruption of Mount St Helens and major world catastrophes, *Time* magazine takes a penetrating look at South Africa this week and the result, to American readers, is a picture of a country hopelessly — and violently — at odds with itself.

The magazine, in 10 pages of text and colour pictures, comes to no conclusions itself, but places a strong emphasis on the likely future role to be played by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Though the lengthy reports carry interviews with and quote a wide range of prominent South Africans, including President Botha, Bishop Tutu, the Rev Beyers Naude, Dr van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Alan Paton, they focus most strongly on Chief Buthelezi, seeing him as the one leader with whom both blacks and whites might be able to talk.

Though noting his opposition to the ANC and that he has been called a "traitor", a "sell-out" and a "puppet", *Time* says both



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — an important role in SA's future?

black and white foes of apartheid know that without Chief Buthelezi's consent a solution to South Africa's problems is virtually inconceivable.

"He is pragmatic, articulate and dynamic. When Buthelezi speaks, both whites and blacks listen, yet what he has to say pleases neither audience."

It quotes Chief Buthelezi as saying: "The forces demanding the politics of negotiation are mounting. Sooner or later the politics of negotiation will be-

come a reality."

To many blacks, it points out, Chief Buthelezi's message of compromise and negotiation is not militant enough.

Chief Buthelezi says: "We do not seek cheap popularity by posturing in favour of the armed struggle when we do not have even the tools to carry it out. We have not said that we blacks may not be forced one day to take up arms. The point is that there are just no arms to take up at present."

The magazine also quotes a Cape Town businessman, Mr Jannie Momberg, saying what South Africa wants now is "an enlightened dictatorship" — not for the blacks but for the whites.

"I think we are going to have to force things through for the sake of the country," he says, and adds that if he were president he "would bring Chief Buthelezi into my Cabinet. I'd scrap the bloody three-way parliament and bring the whites, the Indians and the coloureds into one body, and then I'd look for a federal solution for the next phase, bringing in the blacks."

Foreign workers: P W warned

WASHINGTON — A State Department spokesman, reacting to Mr P W Botha's threat to expel thousands of foreign black workers, warned yesterday against the issuing of such state-

Rademeyer in court on two charges of fraud

Former assistant chief accountant of Escom Mr Gert Johannes Rademeyer appeared briefly in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday in connection with two counts of fraud involving about R7 million.

Mr Rademeyer was asked to plead and Mr Justice... hearing...

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University of Stellenbosch. "They believe they are winning the battle in the townships and now they are being given carte blanche to go all out and finish the job."

Breytenbach sees the news blackout as part of a total war that will now be waged to neutralize the "alternative" organizations.

The blackout means nothing can be published about them or the boycotts, strikes and campaigns of civil disobedience they have been organizing. The detention of their members cannot be reported, nor what is done to them in detention.

The security forces can crack down on them, even remove whole dissident communities, without the public attention provided by mon-

itoring bodies such as the Black Sash and the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee, which have also been gagged by the press restrictions.

While the community organizations are silenced and crushed, the Joint Management Committees will press ahead with their campaign of trying to win credibility for the authorities and their black nominees in the townships, says Breytenbach.

If the radical black opposition can be put out of action, the government believes it will then be easier to co-opt more compliant blacks to get its stalled "own affairs" constitutional reforms into operation at regional and national levels as well.

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, for-

mer leader of the Progressive Federal Party who now heads a new political think tank here, calls this a strategy of "repression and co-optation" that he believes will be the pattern of future action by the Botha government.

Said Breytenbach, "The government believes it has found the success formula, now they want more of it. And now that sanctions are a *fait accompli*, they believe there is no longer a political price to pay. It has already been paid. They have nothing more to lose."

Another Stellenbosch political scientist, Andre du Toit, believes Botha's personality has much to do with the swing to belligerency.

"He feels aggrieved and misunder-

stood," said du Toit. "He feels he has done more than any other South African leader in the way of reform, but he is not given due credit for this Now he is angry."

Whether through anger or cold calculation, many experienced political observers here believe Botha is setting the stage for an April election.

They believe the combination of sanctions and a tough crackdown on black revolutionaries creates an ideal climate for a call to whites, especially the Afrikaners, to close ranks behind a strong government in the face of an external threat.

"It can be a replay of Vorster's 1977 triumph," said Breytenbach. John Vorster, Botha's predecessor, won a landslide victory after crushing the 1976 Soweto uprising and running a chauvinistic campaign that exploited white resentment of the critical rhetoric of the Carter

administration and its vociferous Africa spokesman, Andrew Young.

According to Slabbert, "Botha will use sanctions against the right wing and he'll use the threat of a right-wing takeover to frighten the more liberal English-speaking voters into supporting him rather than the Progressive Federal Party. He can win himself a helluva victory."

This article was written under new South African press restrictions that prohibit the reporting of nonofficial news of violence, unlawful gatherings, strikes, boycotts and other forms of organized dissent, or of any "subversive statement" as defined by the Pretoria government, unless cleared by a board of official censors. Under the rules, it is the responsibility of the correspondent to judge what falls under the category of censorable material.