

ANTI-SANCTIONS DOCTOR WANTS TO TELL AMERICA

By SAMKELO KUMALO

A YOUNG Mozambican doctor wants to take a number of South African youths to America and other capitals "to fight against disinvestment and sanctions before the Republicans lose power".

Dr France Masango, 27, intends to lead a delegation that will approach various American senators and legislators and add his voice to those wanting to spare South Africa from the wrath of the disinvestment brigade.



FRANCE MASANGO
"Before it's too late"

vestment from South Africa."

Dr Masango, who qualified as a doctor at Mozambique's Mondlane University and later left for South Africa, told a Press conference he wanted help to fight disinvestment from everyone in the country.

"My goal is to get the best team effort to convince the Americans and the world that disinvestment will never work, as they will never get the chance to rebuild the economy and socialism will be the order of the day.

"I am sure that the Americans have the best intentions for this country, but the method is definitely incorrect.

"To this end I intend to go to Washington and, if necessary, to other major capitals and college campuses in America with at least 50 or more young South Africans of all races to show our abhorrence of disinvestment and sanctions."

Strategy

His strategy to fight disinvestment is not only to go overseas but to get congressmen and senators "to come and see the country themselves and not rely on the misinformation they are receiving".

He said that, having stayed for a long time in Mozambique, he had first-hand information on how socialist states ran their governments.

"South Africa is the best friend of America and the Western world," he said.

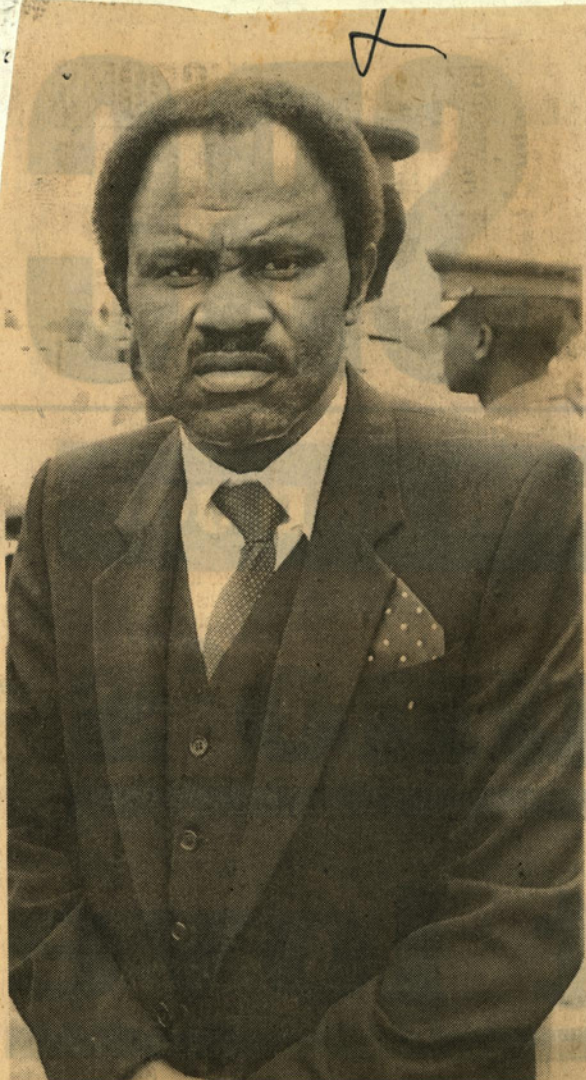
"The disinvestment lobby is creating an increasing amount of permanent unemployment and misery. Real change in South Africa can only be effective if people are employed.

"You could be shooting yourself in the foot by accepting this evil method of allowing this increase of unemployment by disin-

Phatudi's successor



Dr Phatudi's coffin is carried to its resting place



Mr Noko Ramodila . . . tipped to succeed Dr Phatudi as Lebowa's Chief Minister

YOUNG PLANNING MINISTER TIPPED AS LEBOWA No 1

By THOMAS LEKGOTHOANE

WHILE a bitter struggle is hotting up for No 1 position in the Lebowa government, Mr Noko Ramodike, young, articulate Minister of Economics and Planning, is tipped to be the late Dr Cedric Phatudi's successor as Chief Minister.

But there are other possible candidates.

Kgoshi Mokgoma Maserumula Matlala, former Chief Minister, and Kgoshi Lesiba Chris Mothiba, Minister of Finance, are also said to be in the running.

It is believed Mr M J Duba, Minister of Law and Order, and Kgoshi Boleu Harry Rammupudu, Minister of Education, are not contesting the "hot seat".

Kgoshi Matlala was ousted by Dr Phatudi in the 1973 elections, while Kgoshi Mothiba, a graduate from the University of the North, has been in the cabinet for 10 years — first as the Minister of Works.

But because of Kgoshi Matlala's intention to opt for independence, the battle will be contested between Kgoshi Mothiba and Mr Ramodike.

Although they could not be contacted for comment because they were both in mourning for Dr Phatudi, it is believed Mr Ramodike stands the best chance.

The new Chief Minister will be elected at the Lebowa Legislative Assembly on Wednesday.

Buried

● More than 20 000 people paid tribute to Dr Phatudi, who was buried at "Hero's Acre" at Lebowa-gomo on Friday. They included Mr Chris Heunis, South African Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education.

Among others were the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrikse, the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor H E Ntswanwisi, the Chief Minister of Ka-Ngwane, Mr Enos Mabusa, the Chief Minister of QwaQwa, Dr Kenneth Mopeli, Bishop Barnabas Ramarumo Lekganyane, leader of the Zion Christian Church, and senior officials from Transkei, Ksikei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

History

Mr Heunis said Dr Phatudi was a great leader and a politician, a man of high ideals, as evidenced by the social, economic and political history of Lebowa.

Mr Heunis said Dr Phatudi was against violence and terrorism, not only in Lebowa but in the whole of South Africa.

He had always believed that South Africa was one country and that all its people must share one destiny, and he accepted a federal solution as a solution which could bring together again all those areas which had been severed politically from each other through apartheid.

A tribute from the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Dr Mangosutho Buthelezi, was read by the Kwazulu Minister of Education and Culture, Dr O Dhlomo.

Concerned

Dr Buthelezi said Dr Phatudi was a non-racist, a democrat and a pragmatist who was concerned to make government the government of the people.

"While South Africa was moving again towards another explosion of escalating violence, Dr Phatudi was a prime mover in an attempt in 1983 to bring Black leaders together in a federal structure, which he believed could later be expanded to include groups in a national solution to South Africa's problems," said Dr Buthelezi.

"We were true partners in the struggle for liberation and shared goals and a commitment to those goals.

"This was demonstrated by the invitation which he extended to me to address the Lebowa Legislative Assembly in 1984."

HE looks just like any other township kid. At 13, he is only a metre tall. He usually wears his only pair of shorts and a dirty shirt. His tackies are beginning to split at the seams.

He loves to watch football and to jive to Miriam Makeba songs played by the jukebox in the township cafés. Some afternoons he plays a mean game of pinball.

But Stompo's life is not all child's play. He has become a legend in his home township of Tumahole in the Free State where he is known as the tough general of the little people's army — the powerful group of young activists, the "Under Fourteens" — who are the scourge of the vigilantes.

As leader of the Under Fourteens, Stompo has more than 1 500 children under his command. Their mission: to protect the residents of Tumahole from aggressive acts by the hated "A-Team" vigilantes and to fight for residents' rights.

But his hardline militancy has often put him in the firing line. He has lost count of the number of times he has been arrested and detained. His latest (and longest) stint was 11 months.

Stompo also appeared in court on charges of public violence, which were later withdrawn.

He earned the nickname Stompo — which means the toughest part of a tree — for his fearlessness and commitment.

The young boy said this week that he had no fear of dying. He is fearless.

"Children are better than adults because they are not afraid. Adults run away when the police come," he said.

He does not believe he will live long. Asked if he hoped one day to have a family, he said he did not think it would be possible. "They can come and shoot me any time," he said.

With the fervour of a martyr, he said: "I do not mind dying for the struggle."

Stompo moves carefully in the township and is usually protected by at least four young bodyguards. Every night he

Youngest

Membership is open to anyone under 14. Their youngest recruit is eight.

However, like millions of young boys the world over, Stompo thinks girls are "sissies" and they aren't invited to join "the struggle".

"You can't trust ladies, they tell our secrets. Also, they are not strong enough to be with us."

Cohesiveness and unity are emphasised by the Fourteens who say that if one member is detained, every member must work for his release.

The fact that young children can organise themselves effectively is something that has baffled the adults in the community.

The chairman of the Tumahole Civic Association, Adam Mosepedi, said: "Even we don't know how these children can be like this."

He said the parents wanted to see the chil-

sleeps in a different place.

His mother supports him but he is suspicious of his stepfather whom he claims is an informer and regularly beats him with a stick.

He has been an activist since the age of 10



Reports by Sarah Sussens

Pictures by Deena Shapiro

when he and his best friend Gilly formed the Under Fourteens at a time of heightened tension in the township.

The Soweto uprising of 1976 and the increasing involvement of young children in political structures in the township formed the backdrop to the formation of the group.

"We started the Fourteens at the time of unrest. They (the vigilantes) were oppressing us. At school they would ask us for money for no good reason. People were being shot in the streets," he said.

"Our families were not owning their own homes. It seemed as if the Government was not in-

terested in us."

When recruiting new members, Stompo said he was careful to point out that his group were not fighting whites. "We explain to them the tactics of the Government and the laws that oppress us. We tell them it doesn't mean that any white man is our enemy."

"We say we are fighting for equal rights and we want to be equal before the law irrespective of colour, sex or religion."

Recruits were also told that the Fourteens were not "trying to show off".

Stompo said most people in the township respected them but there were those who said they were doing what they were doing "because we are only children".

LIFE in the townships is not all play for boys like GILLY, second-in-command of the Under Fourteens

dren back at school and off the streets.

The politically active children have found themselves barred from school.

Stompo said that when he was released from detention he arrived at school and his headmistress phoned the police who ordered him off the property.

He left school last year when he was in standard two. A bright pupil, he said, his marks were usually in the top four of a class of 45.

His ambition is to be a scientist and he borrows books from friends in a bid to keep up with

his studies. He loves playing chess, a game he learnt while in detention.

While his white counterparts may be discussing their Famous-Five adventure books, Stompo studies the Freedom Charter, which he knows by rote.

Home is a forlorn two-roomed shack which he sometimes shares with his parents and his younger brother.

His days have no particular routine and he wanders the streets talking to the children.

Stompo is a disarmingly warm and trusting person who regularly flashes an impish smile. Yet when he talks it is

with the coldness of one who has no sympathy for the "enemies of the people".

Toughened by his apartheid upbringing and battered by his encounters in jail, Stompo acts like one who has seen it all...

But political scientists point out that it is well documented that children are better survivors than adults.

Dr Tom Lodge of the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand said studies from the World War 2 holocaust showed that children proved to be the best survivors.

The Under Fourteens

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, OCTOBER 18, 1987

A grim picture of youth brutalised

SUNDAY TRIBUNE 18/10/87
'They have emerged as a group not to be talked about but to be talked to — joint and equal partners'

Anger shoves the young to the fore

POLITICAL scientist Tom Lodge calls them the lost generation.

They are the legion of black children who have formed the front line in the township conflicts and who have become brutalised by the violent environment.

Unemployment, economic and social deprivation coupled with a Government clampdown on black leadership structures has produced an angry young black generation.

According to Dr Lodge and Mark Swilling of the University of the Witwatersrand, it is possible that of the 879 people killed in 1985, more than half were children.

Of the thousands detained under emergency regulations from July 1985 to March 1986, 26 percent were younger than 18 and 61 percent were younger than 25.

Dr Lodge and Mr Swilling, in an article in *Africa Report*, argue that unemployment and a "cultural revolution, a metamorphosis in values and conventions of the profoundest type" has shaped black South Africa over the past 10 years.

"Since the Soweto uprising, when a classroom rebellion broke the intimidated silence of the older generation, young people have experienced an unprecedented moral ascendancy within the black communities.

"It is perhaps most evident in people's behaviour at funerals, for on these occasions the customary deference of the young to the old has been overturned. Time was when funerals commemorated the lives and achievements of the departed with solemn and time-worn ritual. Now things are different. Funerals

are a time for looking forward not back.

"The young predominate among the speech-makers... and the coffin is no longer borne away in a creaking Cadillac but carried instead on the shoulders of young mourners wearing the

bright T-shirts of youth congresses, civic associations and the African National Congress."

After 1976 schools were rapidly politicised and during the 1980s increasingly well organised.

It is against this background that the youth revolt emerged — ranging from highly politicised and articulate schoolchildren to "bands of feral children".

The youth became an active force in township politics bringing an egalitarian rather than hierarchical social order to the townships.

Said a community leader, the Rev Molefe Tsele: "The youths are a joint and equal partner in all processes of community life. They emerged as a group not to be talked about, but to be talked to."

Dr Lodge and Mr Swilling say that unless the country's agonising conflicts are to endure indefinitely, negotiation of one form or another must occur.

But, they argue, "the

more the revolutionaries have to depend on the reckless heroism of this lost generation of children, the less they will be able to offer their opponents at the negotiating table".

Professor Fatima Meer of the University of Natal said the breakdown of inter-generational leadership and the violent conditions in the townships have produced a generation of children who are forced to form their own normative structures.

"The African townships are riddled with fear, there is a feeling that nobody is going to look after you and that everybody is against you.

"The children have the feeling that there is nobody to turn to and it is against this background that they invent their own norms.

"They learn to survive on their own terms in a situation where they are dragged into total violence.

"The only situation in which they are forced to survive is one of vio-

lence. There is nothing in their environment which cultivates a respect for authority — authority is associated with the system which oppresses them.

"One of the most disturbing aspects is that our youth has been deprived of inter-generational leadership.

"Each new generation finds itself deprived of an accessible leadership who would help them to develop an ideological framework.

"A significant minority of the leadership has either left the country or been locked up."

Professor Meer said the question was whether these children would "recover".

"We haven't got the answer. I hope somehow we can draw the children away from that environment and replace it with an environment they can have confidence and faith in.

"We need to get the youth to relate to the total South Africa and to the world outside and to take them away from the isolation of the townships.

"Africans need to be liberated from the disintegration and violence of the townships."

According to Paul Zulu of the University of Natal, the young are a particularly idealistic segment of society, relatively unburdened with social responsibilities.

In an article in *Die Suid Afrikaan*, he writes: "It is also true that their (the children's) natural sense of adventure, their willingness to take risks also plays a role.

"The thrill factor becomes crystallised and intensified when the adventure is in quest of an ideal."

However, he says, the adventurousness and idealism run parallel to and oppose something else: an existential despair, a total vacuum.

"It is an idealism which exists side by side with the youth's knowledge that, as long as the present system exists, they have no future."

Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

Neither Common nor Wealthy

EVERY two years, an odd assortment of government leaders meet at some agreeable spot where the climate is tolerable, the hotels are luxurious and the catering acceptable. Once assembled, they face a problem: what to talk about.

For, after all, a group of highly paid politicians cannot spend a whole week dwelling on the only thing they really have in common, which is the shared experience of once having had ties — some voluntary, some not; some of happy memory, some not — with Britain's faded imperial past.

In Mr Pik Botha's felicitous phrase, the Commonwealth is like an appendix; we know it is there, but we don't know why.

And so this year, as at so many Commonwealth meetings past, the delegates devoted virtually all their time to the one other issue that unites them, which is an obsessive concern with the affairs of an ex-member.

Of course South Africa is a hugely flawed, gravely troubled place. And of course the international community is entitled to express its concern about it. It is also understandable that other nations should wish to influence our affairs for the better.

Alas, this is not what we had from Vancouver this week.

As usual, there was a rattle of stones flung from glass houses. As Amnesty International points out, 33 of the 49 members of the Com-

monwealth are guilty of terrible breaches of human rights.

Most active in giving lectures on statesmanship were leaders from Africa, a continent in which 250 leaders have been ousted in coups and thousands of people have been jailed or executed since Ghana became the first among them to win independence 30 years ago.

As usual, Zambia's "President for life", Dr Kenneth Kaunda, wept as he railed against the lack of democracy in South Africa and pleaded for stricter sanctions — without dwelling too much on the fact that Lusaka's shops are full of South African products.

At the end, there was the usual statement calling for action, most of it designed more to gratify the egocentric needs of the drafters and to provide employment for their bureaucracies than actually to influence events in these parts.

Only Mrs Thatcher — as if the forbearance she displayed towards her more hypocritical colleagues at past assemblies had finally snapped — stood apart, especially on the question of sanctions, where she quite correctly argued that more prosperity, rather than less, was the best means of ending apartheid.

Commonwealth? Its members have little in common except folly, and many of its members have little wealth, save that which they gain from their links with South Africa.

THE central figure in the Frontline States' sanctions controversy remains Robert Mugabe — a source of both admiration and exasperation to those who know him.

Austere, honest, ideological, a workaholic with pretensions to being an important actor on the world stage, the Prime Minister is politically secure after nearly eight years in power, yet boxed in on all sides.

Ideologically, his committed Marxist-Leninism puts him at odds with some members of his own Cabinet and an expanding black middle-class, now enjoying the fruits of private enterprise (and patronage), and determined not to surrender them.

Questions about Zimbabwe's "Leadership Code" — under which Cabinet Ministers and politicians are expected to limit their business interests — are met with indulgent smiles and sometimes, outright laughter.

Politically, the Prime Minister is hampered by tribal constraints. Unlike Ndebele leader Joshua Nkomo, whose control as tribal leader is absolute, Mugabe is the compromise choice of the six clans who vie for control of the Shona political machine.

Shona politics, it was explained, is never static. Being a Zanu politician is like "standing on a rolling log in white water". Because Mugabe rules by consensus, he cannot easily make major policy changes or dismiss incompetent or venal col-

Mugabe — politically secure — boxed in by tribal constraints

RICHARD STEYN, Editor of the Natal Witness, *Sunday Times* 18/10/87, reports on a recent fact-finding visit to Harare

leagues for fear of upsetting one or another of the clans.

Regionally, the Zimbabwean leader is not popular. His Marxism makes Botswana and Malawi wary of him. President Kaunda has a long-standing preference for Joshua Nkomo, while President Chissano's pro-Western inclinations make him much less of a soulmate than Samora Machel did.

Mugabe's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union are strained, for opposite reasons. And his vehement refusal to be seen dealing with South Africa — which sets him apart from his neighbours — gives Pretoria an incentive to embarrass him whenever it can.

There are other bars to Mugabe's cage:

- The Church remains independent of government and is often critical.

- The Shona tribal elders

are conservative and resistant to change

- The private sector and farming community are fiercely opposed to creeping encroachment by the State

- The rural peasants are demanding more land.

Even Mugabe's critics concede, however, that his policy of reconciliation between black and white has been remarkably successful.

There must be few precedents in world history of a successful revolutionary leader inviting his sworn enemies to stay on as his guardians.

The scrapping of the entrenched white seats in Parliament raised hardly a ripple in a white community intent now on keeping its head down and leaving politics to the blacks.

Underlying Mugabe's

problems is the threat posed by South Africa. Pretoria has an almost infinite capacity for queering Zimbabwe's pitch — by squeezing transport links, fomenting disorder in Matabeleland or playing godfather to Renamo.

It is little wonder that Mugabe believes his socialist experiment has little chance of succeeding as long as Afrikaner Nationalists remain in power in Pretoria.

A much-debated question in Harare, as it is in Johannesburg, is whether Zimbabwe is on the road to becoming a truly socialist society or not.

There are many indications that the kind of Marxist model he has in mind is a less-centralised economy, like Yugoslavia's — one in which some elements of privatisation are retained in order to stimulate development.

But an influential black fi-

nancier was adamant that Mugabe would never succeed in foisting Marxism on Zimbabwe: "We are too plural, our economy is too mixed and we are too close to South Africa for that".

Zimbabwean businessmen are deeply concerned about the current state of their economy. Deprived of investment capital by Mugabe's refusal to provide foreign companies with satisfactory guarantees, and burdened by a shortage of foreign exchange and the effects of a serious drought, the economy is serious, though not dire, straits.

On the downside, Zimbabwe is over-spending on education (for understandable reasons) and in real terms is paying as much to keep Renamo away from the Beira corridor as Ian Smith was paying during his war.

On the plus side is the remarkable performance of the agricultural sector whose output has increased by 20 per cent per annum since the war ended.

South Africa should accept, as Pik Botha appears to have done, that Zimbabwe's — and Zambia and Mozambique's — bark about sanctions will always be worse than its bite.

As the dominant power, South Africa has more to gain than anyone from the economic development of the sub-continent — which is why General Magnus Malan and company should be kept firmly in check.

Hawke lashes Brits over SA

By MIKE ROBERTSON: Vancouver

THE simmering row between Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth erupted yesterday only hours after their leaders had decided not to impose new sanctions on South Africa.

Four Commonwealth leaders headed by Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke rounded on British officials for waging an "abominable misinformation campaign" against the conference chairman, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Frustrated by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's refusal to budge on sanctions, one of them, Zimbabwean Prime

Minister Robert Mugabe, accused her of being a racist who believed oppression was the lot of black people.

With Mrs Thatcher bluntly dissenting, the rest agreed in a statement to:

- Set up a committee of foreign ministers to monitor developments in South Africa.
- Increase sanctions-monitoring measures.
- Initiate an expert study on the impact of financial sanctions on the South African economy.

Guilty

All countries agreed to stepped-up aid programmes to Mozambique and the Frontline states, with Britain and Canada pledging US\$40-million to a project to reopen the Limpopo railway line.

But the statement on South Africa was overshadowed when Mr Hawke launched his attack on British officials.

He said the attempts to embarrass Mr Mulroney, including the much-publicised use of outdated trade statistics, defied imagination.



BOB HAWKE

And Mugabe calls Thatcher a racist

Appearing at a Press conference with Mr Hawke, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Mr Mugabe joined in the attack.

Dr Kaunda said the British were guilty of a deliberate campaign to insinuate that Mr Mulroney had badly mis-handled the conference.

Mr Mugabe said that, contrary to what British officials were claiming, the conference had gone well. It was Mrs Thatcher who was totally isolated.

Mrs Thatcher did not respond immediately to Mr Mugabe, but throughout the week she has infuriated Frontline leaders by hammering home their inability to impose sanctions and the parlous state of their economies in comparison to South Africa's each time they have attacked her.

Using arguments advanced originally by the South African business community, Mrs Thatcher said that only economic expansion would be able to create a

climate in which South Africa would be forced to introduce more reforms.

British officials said that no matter what was said about them they proposed to "get on with what we believe is the right route of carrying South Africa towards a non-racial democratic state on a peaceful basis".

The committee of foreign ministers will be chaired by Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark.

The committee's first task, he said, would be to identify sanctions-busters as well to act on the report on financial sanctions.

Proof

Mr Hawke quoted SA Finance Minister Barend du Plessis as saying at the NP Congress in Durban that "the effect of sanctions should not be underestimated" as proof that sanctions were working.

Once the study on South Africa's links with international finance houses was completed it would prepare the way for the introduction of financial sanctions, which might turn out to be even more effective than trade sanctions, he said.

Two years ago it was still possible for a journalist based in Johannesburg to write a broadly coherent article about the South African "reform process".

Those were indeed heady days, when editors would ring excitedly from London to pass on tips that Nelson Mandela was about to be released through the gates of Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison; when civil servants would advise journalists, with a nod and a wink, to hold space on the front page for news of the repeal of the Group Areas Act or related apartheid legislation.

Eminent persons from the British Commonwealth could occasionally be seen wandering around the place. No one ever really thought they would achieve anything much, but it was nevertheless nice of them to take the trouble to come, and observers convinced themselves it must "signal" something or other.

In South Africa there is a natural inclination to be optimistic. Apartheid is such a peculiar political system that it requires constant psychological underpinning. White South Africans of all political persuasions need to feel good about themselves lest the future becomes too dreadful to contemplate.

So liberals cling to the hope that the Government is about to confound its foreign critics and break the political logjam, while patriotic businessmen put up vast sums of money to lure "rebel" sports teams to the Republic. Few people go to watch the games, but that is by the way. The important thing is that they have come at all; "We are not alone."

Most white South Africans are feeling very good about themselves at the moment, and certainly a great deal better than they did two years ago. But their current cheerfulness is not related to the imminent prospect of radical political reform — quite the reverse, in fact.

The point is that things have settled down again after three turbulent years. The "enemies" overseas are now preoccupied with belligerent Arab states, and those pushy Americans at last appear to be getting off Pretoria's back.

The sense of panic has lifted. When President Botha stands up and tells the world: "I'll do it my

STEPHEN ROBINSON of the Daily Telegraph, London, finds the mood among the white community has brightened almost to the point of optimism in his 18-month absence from the country

SUNDAY TIMES

18/10/87

PANIC?

WHAT

PANIC?

way", his followers now believe him, and this time around they are deeply relieved. Cabinet Ministers look much happier, confident that the lid has been put back on the pot and that the much-vaunted "reform process" can be sustained at its historic pace — which means no black neighbours for the foreseeable future.

One should be suspicious of anyone who claims to have discerned a shift in the "mood" of a country, but in the case of South Africa there is no doubt something has changed in the two years since the height of the township unrest.

Two years ago social functions were dominated by talk reflecting anxiety about the unrest and fears for the future. But many of the faint-hearted who took the "chicken run" and fled to Australia or Britain are back home already; others who were on the point of fleeing have locked their Irish passports away in the second drawer down for "next time". Emigration figures, which hit a peak

during the unrest and threatened to drain South Africa of the best of its talent, have settled down.

White South Africans' response to months of sustained troubles in the townships, which sometimes spilled over into their own areas, fleetingly put the lie to the popular notion that they were unconcerned about their black compatriots. That was the most heartening consequence of the violence. But now that sense of concern has all but vanished.

Three factors have brought about the change in the mood of white South Africa. The first is the economy's modest upswing; the second, the almost unqualified success of the state of emergency in ending the township violence and, most crucially, taking it off the world's television screens. The third is the radical right's advance in the May general election.

There is nothing like a small reduction in the infla-

tion rate, a modest improvement in the exchange value of the rand and an increase in house prices to distract businessmen and white liberals from the full horror of the long-term political outlook.

In terms of established Western economic fundamentals, the South African economy is still an absolute shambles, but it is at least now stable — it no longer looks as if it will go down the tube as it appeared two years ago.

Meantime, the Conservative Party's unexpected achievement in replacing the liberal Progressive Federal Party as the Official Opposition in May has resulted in the undermining of white opposition morale.

The PFP, who for years stoically represented the English-speakers' liberal conscience in Parliament, is now in disarray, having lost four key players since the election. There is every indication that the party's dwindling band of 17 MPs in the white House of Assembly will eventually dis-

band, as more members grow weary of futile parliamentary debate.

What remains of the liberal opposition, including the new National Democratic Movement, which seeks to "build bridges through process politics" (a curious phrase and a doomed political initiative if ever there was one), has run out of ideas and is paralysed by fractious bickering.

The sobering truth to be faced by anti-apartheid South Africans of all races, and by foreign critics, is that over the past two years the Nationalist Government has been proved right on almost every count.

The liberal opposition warned the Government that the state of emergency would increase tensions and tighten the mythical "spiral of violence" concept so beloved of foreign and local observers. It did nothing of the sort.

The same critics said the emergency would increase foreign agitation for sanctions. Wrong again.

The Western nations' brief experiment with limited economic sanctions has simply proved the strict limitations of their influence on Pretoria. Nelson Mandela is still in jail and the African National Congress appears no closer to being unbanned.

But if the opposition was wrong in believing that popular protest should lead to swift internal liberalisation, the Government has yet to use the return to relative stability to fulfil its avowed commitment to political reform.

The National Party now looks more bereft of political ideas than at any stage in the past five years. President Botha has made it plain within the past 10 days that the Group Areas Act and other cornerstones of apartheid are not up for grabs.

Instead, he places great store by his proposed advisory National Council for black leaders. Even if he manages to convince a single black leader of note to join him around a table, it is hard to see what they would have to talk about.

Yet, paradoxically, the National Party looks stronger than at any time since President Botha became Prime Minister in 1978. In the townships, black activists no longer speak of "liberation tomorrow". More cautiously, they talk of freedom by the end of the century. But even that looks wildly unrealistic.

THE divisive spirit that split the Independent Movement has haunted all parties to the left of the Government for the last three decades.

At the root of the problem, meanwhile, lies the fact that the Government has been committed to an ideology which has, even by its own admission, worsened rather than healed racial divisions.

And, more important, white South Africans have been quite happy with the arrangement.

How to exorcise that spectre is a problem that has plunged successive opposition parties into bitter bickering, division, impotence — and even demise.

CATCHMENT

The struggle for the answer has, essentially, divided opposition politicians into strategists and purists.

The strategists, like Dr Denis Worrall, believe an opposition force should be placed close to the majority voting bloc in order to provide a catchment for defecting voters.

The purists, like Mr Wynand Malan, believe the full compass of South African politics should be embraced, even if white voters find it difficult to swallow for the time being.

Spectre of division has always haunted South Africa's left

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

This is not a new dilemma.

South African policies this century have been primarily about racial and ethnic separation, and so opposition politics has been largely about conciliation — something it has failed to achieve even within its own ranks.

The newly-elected National Party sought very soon to lock blacks and whites into separate racially-defined corrals — political, social and economic.

These actions threw opposition into the dilemma it remains in today: the strategic option of remaining at Government's left elbow, close to the voting majority, in the hope of attracting voters to a broader vision of the country's needs or the purist option of reaching that vision

by establishing links with the disenfranchised majority.

The UP opposition opted for the strategic option but suffered purist defections in 1953 (Liberals) and 1959 (Progressives) and again in 1975 when Mr Harry Schwarz led the Young Turks out of the UP.

HAVOC

Last week it was the turn of the latest group of reformists — Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Pieter Schoeman — to leave the strategically-oriented opposition for a broader platform.

Meanwhile, the forces that have fragmented opposition for more than 30 years were wreaking their divisive havoc in the independent move-

ment. The movement arose in the run-up to the May 6 election as a strategic alternative to the NP after the PFP had become moribund in hobby politics.

Dr Worrall set the tone for providing a new home for the large number of Nationalists who want to move — but needed somewhere to move to. The strategic plan was that after the capture of power in a following election a process of genuine negotiation could be launched.

For the first time in opposition politics it seemed there was a prospect of meaningful success when leading Afrikaners from the universities, politics and business began showing a wave of support for the independent movement.

However, Dr Worrall's co-

leader, Mr Malan, was still undergoing a purist conversion from his former ideological marriage in the NP.

When the conversion was complete, Mr Malan had reached the conclusion that the process of negotiation had to start now; that the Independents' vision of a united South Africa should be built from the bottom up; that, in the circumstances, there was little to be gained in the strategy of bidding to capture white political power.

All very well, Mr Malan's critics and the Worrall camp have said. But what will all that help when he and his group lose their seats in the next election and they become just another well-meaning sideshow in the South African struggle for power?

PATTERN

So the dilemma remains. The Malan purist option represents most closely the best sort of South Africa most of us can hope to end up living in — and the Worrall strategic option the best way of getting there.

Ensuing events and the next few years will tell whether the pattern of opposition politics has broken — or whether history is going for yet another turn of the wheel.

WHITHER REFORM POLITICS

ECONOMICALLY and socially, South Africa is somewhere between apartheid and the end of apartheid.

But the tragedy of our politics is that we do not have a credible alternative to a bad Government lacking in creative leadership, vision and credibility.

Therefore the most important task facing opposition politicians is to get the negotiation process going; to give a sense of hope to both black and white South Africans.

This I believe can partly be done by spelling out the major constitutional choices before South Africa and so raising the level of debate, creating a neutral starting point for negotiation, and allaying the understandable and real anxieties which many whites have.

The second task is to support the KwaNatal Indaba. This is the most important political initiative going.

It is an "area of moderation", and as a process and a product it sets an example for the best for the country. I believe it will work.

Also important is that the opposition should resist the growth in South Africa of a third world political culture.

The Government's attitude toward the media, state security, universities and toward



Time of decision for SA

By DENIS WORRALL

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In this regard, the PFP commands respect and Colin Eglin knows that if the Independent Movement does continue it would not consciously be at the cost of his party.

The Independent Movement which emerged from the election could have provided an alternative to the Government. It was positioned to do so. It was filling a clear gap in the political spectrum.

It is now history that in the

May election Esther Lategan, Wynand Malan and I won Afrikaans-speaking and traditional National Party support for nothing less than a commitment to end apartheid, start open-ended negotiations involving all South Africans, and build a nonracial future.

After the events of the last 10 days I am exactly where I was in the election.

Although they no doubt continue to be politically relevant, and I wish them well, Lategan and Malan have positioned themselves elsewhere.

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The gap which the Independent candidates saw in the election, and which the Independent Movement was intended to fill, remains.

There is nobody else who can act as a genuine catalyst on the National Party or provide a home for defecting Nationalists.

But this, obviously, will need lots of moral support and money and more time and energy than one person has to give.

HOW the Nats must be laughing!

The concept of an Independent Movement attracting verligte Nationalists into a resurgent opposition force has been shattered — not by the Nationalists, but by the impulsive and inept manoeuvring of the leaders of the movement themselves.

Added to this, the deceitful manner in which the three PFP members defected to the National Democratic Movement is likely to sour inter-opposition relationships for some time to come.

So much for the immediate past. What of the future?

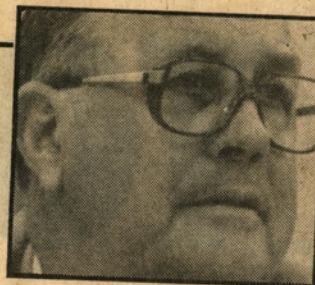
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I believe it can.

But not if people in opposition play to hidden agendas, or engage in grandstanding or one-upmanship, or look for quick fixes, or elevate their own pet strategies to matters of principle.

Like it or not, we in South Africa are in the politics of the long haul.

And that long haul will be even longer unless South Africans who share the same basic philosophy and who have the same general vision of a nonracial and truly democratic South Africa of the future are prepared to try to fashion strategies that can reinforce rather



Politics of the long haul

By COLIN EGLIN

than undercut one another.

The PFP is prepared to do this.

The PFP is committed to co-operation with others — whether inside or outside Parliament — who share its philosophy, its vision and its commitment to non-violent change.

In addition, the PFP is committed to engage and interact with others in order to reduce the level of violence and raise the prospect of negotiation.

But one thing the PFP is not prepared to do:

It is not prepared to compromise on the basic values and

principles on which it was founded.

This is not because the PFP is being precocious. It is because, while recognising that others may differ, the PFP believes that these democratic liberal values and principles provide our country with the best basis for peace and the best opportunity for fulfilling the aspirations of our people.

In its recent mission statement the PFP spelled out its vision for the future. It spelled out its mission, its tactical objectives, its role, both inside and outside Parliament. It spelled out its commitment to negotiation as the essential process for resolving conflict in our country.

The PFP's mission statement is more than a party political document. It provides a framework for action and a basis for co-operation between those South Africans who are committed to working for a South Africa where government and society renounce apartheid and respect the fundamental human rights and the dignity of the citizens of our country.

The PFP has never shirked its responsibility in the long haul of the past years. It will not shirk its responsibility in the long haul of the future.

It will be tragedy for all South Africans if the Nats continue to laugh — while our beloved country continues to cry.

THERE are certain rules to be followed for reform politics to qualify as such, although we prefer the concept of process politics or negotiation politics.

The rules are:

- Politics must be inclusive of all South Africa. All the participants of the future South Africa must be involved right from the beginning.

If the objective is to bridge and unite parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics, the organisations on the two sides of the divide should become involved in each other's politics in terms of strategies decided by themselves.

- The process must be organic, not prescriptive or regulated by the Government, or any other political grouping. There should not even be a forum. It should start with talks among the various political groupings.

- People in political organisations and not the Government should be the negotiators. The Government's role should only be to give effect to accords as they develop, as they are reached.

- Constitutional models should not be the focus, but the needs of the various political groupings. These needs include those for security in a



How we *S. Times* see the rules *18/2/87*

By WYNAND MALAN

physical sense, a better and more equitable sharing in material wellbeing, the desire to continue to be an Afrikaner or a Zulu, a Christian or a Muslim, or whatever else.

- Not only the common values such as one country, one nation and one patriotism should be developed, but also the simultaneous conciliation of different needs and values.

- The Government, to really stimulate the process, and having dropped their approach to formal structures put up by themselves, should

adopt integrative strategies concerning security and the negotiation process.

The state of emergency should be lifted. Political leaders in prison or detained should be released. Political organisations should be unbanned and people allowed without restriction to organise politically.

The special powers available to the Government should be put under the control of the courts and annually reviewed by Parliament.

The Government should act against violence. All security action should aim at assisting the politics of negotiation and further the aim of achieving the overriding goal of one nation with one patriotism.

The NDM will continue to involve itself in politics over the whole political spectrum. We will target, on the one side, organisations to move them away from dogma, away from rigidity and towards flexibility in their approaches representing the need of their supporters, as opposed to campaigning for a one-sided constitutional "solution".

The NDM will further target individuals, developing its own power base to compete in and fight elections.

SUNDAY TIMES
18 OCT, 87

ALONE AGAIN!



Only Maggie scorns summit promise of more sanctions

SUNDAY TIMES FOREIGN DESK

IRON LADY Margaret Thatcher yesterday stood defiant and alone against the rest of the Commonwealth over the sanctions issue.

The British Prime Minister made it clear that her Government would not sway from its dogged opposition to tougher economic measures against SA.

Only hours after the Commonwealth plan to tighten the screws on SA was announced, Mrs Thatcher and other Commonwealth leaders began sniping at one another.

The Vancouver talks ended in acrimony last night, with the leaders of Australia, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe — dubbed the "Gang of Four" by British spokesmen — accusing Britain of spreading "misinformation".

"We feel the Iron Lady has got it all wrong, perhaps deliberately," said Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, who called Mrs Thatcher "the odd woman out".

But Mrs Thatcher said other leaders were "making a great deal of noise" and claimed her position had been vindicated. Asked if she felt isolated, she replied: "Hardly. I think in a way we're winning the argument."

Departure

While dissenting on the sanctions issue, Mrs Thatcher went along with other Commonwealth members on plans to step up aid to Pretoria's black neighbours to reduce their dependence on the South African economy.

Britain's dissension marked a departure from the tradition of decision-making by consensus in the Commonwealth.

Afterwards Mrs Thatcher said: "They admit they could not have imposed sanctions. We knew that. I don't blame them in any way, but when you are made to face reality, it's very irritating. They are judging the social conscience barometer by how many people you can throw out of work."

Delegates admitted that sanctions could have little bite without the participation of Britain, which does more business with SA than all the other member nations combined.

● See Page 2

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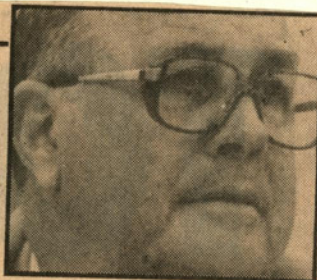
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SUNDAY TIMES

18/10/87

ONCE upon a time there was a political movement (party is too strong a word) with an identity crisis.

It knew what it was not — it wasn't any of the other parties — but it was not terribly certain what it was.

And so it compromised and made a virtue of its duality. Where other parties had one leader, it had two. But its confusion remained, for the two could not agree on which of the other parties they were most against.

But they hid their differences and smiled for the cameras and they fought first one party and then the other.

Which was a pity, because if they had decided on their prime target they would not have won this time around, but they most certainly would have changed, perhaps forever and certainly for good, the pattern of politics

FLEUR DE VILLIERS

View from London



in the country.

Instead, today, rather than dividing their enemies, they are dividing themselves.

Dark deeds have been done, bitter words exchanged and the leader who obviously wants to be master in his own opposition house has turned on the other (who would prefer one day to lead a government) and hijacked the party from beneath his feet.

And so where there was once one party (or rather one movement) today there are

two. And the sterile politics which haunt the country and hobble its political thought, seem certain to continue into the next decade.

It is an unpleasant story of gross betrayal and petty ambition. But this, after all, is politics, where such things are not to be wondered at and where careful strategic planning, the keeping of promises and the sinking of personal differences for the common weal are frequently invoked but seldom practised.

But what is the significance of this sorry tale?

After the break-up of the Alliance, the triumph of David Steel's ambition and the potential loss of David Owen's talents, South Africans can sympathise with, but not share, the anger and sense of betrayal of SDP supporters who have seen their hopes thwarted and their party destroyed by people who would rather change the opposition than change the country.

□□□

Following the ludicrous events in South Africa of the last few days, however, their sympathy should have a somewhat keener edge.

Political farce is not peculiar to the British. And even if the two events are not precisely analogous, they are close enough to have been

scripted by the same hand.

It was obvious from the start to everyone except David Steel and his Simon Pure and sandalled followers that the Alliance's only hope of changing British politics was to knock a weak and politically *passee* Labour Party out of contention and thus position itself as the main opposition party and the real threat to the Tories in 1992.

In South Africa, however, Afrikaner academics, businessmen, yuppies, students and housewives did not flock to the Independents' banner because they believed they would destroy the PFP, or (forsooth) because they were seeking alliances with the extra-parliamentary forces, but because they believed (nay, they were promised) that they would challenge the Government.

Mr Malan can correct me if I am wrong, but it was this

The real task of non-Nationalist politicians is not to silence the liberal opposition, but to change an illiberal Government

promise — real or implied — which surely persuaded Colin Eglin to risk the wrath of his party and give Mr Malan a free ride in Randburg.

As Wynand, far from wooing a single dissident Nat to his cause, scoops up a few dissident Progs instead and, woolly-minded head held high, rides nobly into the extra-parliamentary wilderness in the tracks of Van Zyl Slabbert, Mr Eglin must be

ruminating on that old South African expression: stank vir dank.

But Colin is an old enough hand not to be brought low by ingratitude and betrayal. He has been there before and he will doubtless once again pick up himself and his leaner, but arguably fitter, party and soldier on.

It is, however, doubtful whether the Stellenbosch academics who bravely part-

ed with the Establishment, the businessmen who parted with hard cash or the voters who parted with their votes all because they believed Mr Malan and Dr Lategan meant something they obviously didn't, will (or should) be so forgiving.

Mr Malan, of course, will take some comfort in the fact that Mr Ramaphosa thinks he is doing the right thing.

But Mr Ramaphosa, unfor-

tunately, won't have the vote in any meaningful way while the Government remains in power and is committed to policies supported by a majority of those who do have the vote.

It should not need repeating: South Africa is in trouble not because of bad opposition but because of bad government. Ergo, the real task of non-Nationalist politicians is not to silence the liberal opposition, but to change an illiberal Government.

It can do so either by splitting the National Party or by frightening it enough to change its ways. The Stellenbosch academics frightened the government. Dr Denis Worrall frightened the government. In his new guise and with his new allies, Mr Malan is about as frightening as a dassie.

But if Mr Malan and Co have welched on the voters,

the job they were asked to do remains: the creation of a movement between the PFP and government which will attract known dissidents within Nationalist ranks and, together in a broad Opposition church with the PFP, prod, goad, challenge and frighten the Government into negotiating a policy in which Mr Malan's extra-parliamentary friends and admirers can represent themselves.

That is going to be a lot tougher — and a lot less silly than trying to kick Dr Worrall into political oblivion (although that will probably prove as difficult as David Steel's efforts to remove the equally redoubtable David Owen).

And perhaps Dr Worrall, himself, is the man to do it. As Dr Owen observed in that other political farce, someone has to live up to his promises.

THE central figure in the Frontline States' sanctions controversy remains Robert Mugabe — a source of both admiration and exasperation to those who know him.

Austere, honest, ideological, a workaholic with pretensions to being an important actor on the world stage, the Prime Minister is politically secure after nearly eight years in power, yet boxed in on all sides.

Ideologically, his committed Marxist-Leninism puts him at odds with some members of his own Cabinet and an expanding black middle-class, now enjoying the fruits of private enterprise (and patronage), and determined not to surrender them.

Questions about Zimbabwe's "Leadership Code" — under which Cabinet Ministers and politicians are expected to limit their business interests — are met with indulgent smiles and sometimes outright laughter.

Politically, the Prime Minister is hampered by tribal constraints. Unlike Ndebele leader Joshua Nkomo, whose control as tribal leader is absolute, Mugabe is the compromise choice of the six clans who vie for control of the Shona political machine.

Shona politics, it was explained, is never static. Being a Zanu politician is like "standing on a rolling log in white water". Because Mugabe rules by consensus, he cannot easily make major policy changes or dismiss incompetent or venal col-

Mugabe — politically secure — boxed in by tribal constraints

RICHARD STEYN, Editor of the Natal Witness, reports on a recent fact-finding visit to Harare

leagues for fear of upsetting one or another of the clans:

Regionally, the Zimbabwean leader is not popular. His Marxism makes Botswana and Malawi wary of him. President Kaunda has a long-standing preference for Joshua Nkomo, while President Chissano's pro-Western inclinations make him much less of a soulmate than Samora Machel did.

Mugabe's relations with the United States and the Soviet Union are strained, for opposite reasons. And his vehement refusal to be seen dealing with South Africa — which sets him apart from his neighbours — gives Pretoria an incentive to embarrass him whenever it can.

There are other bars to Mugabe's cage:

- The Church remains independent of government and is often critical.
- The Shona tribal elders

are conservative and resistant to change

- The private sector and farming community are fiercely opposed to creeping encroachment by the State

- The rural peasants are demanding more land.

Even Mugabe's critics concede, however, that his policy of reconciliation between black and white has been remarkably successful.

There must be few precedents in world history of a successful revolutionary leader inviting his sworn enemies to stay on as his guardians.

The scrapping of the entrenched white seats in Parliament raised hardly a ripple in a white community intent now on keeping its head down and leaving politics to the blacks.

Underlying Mugabe's

problems is the threat posed by South Africa. Pretoria has an almost infinite capacity for queering Zimbabwe's pitch — by squeezing transport links, fomenting disorder in Matabeleland or playing godfather to Renamo.

It is little wonder that Mugabe believes his socialist experiment has little chance of succeeding as long as Afrikaner Nationalists remain in power in Pretoria.

A much-debated question in Harare, as it is in Johannesburg, is whether Zimbabwe is on the road to becoming a truly socialist society or not.

There are many indications that the kind of Marxist model he has in mind is a less-centralised economy, like Yugoslavia's — one in which some elements of privatisation are retained in order to stimulate development.

But an influential black fi-

nancier was adamant that Mugabe would never succeed in foisting Marxism on Zimbabwe: "We are too plural, our economy is too mixed and we are too close to South Africa for that".

Zimbabwean businessmen are deeply concerned about the current state of their economy. Deprived of investment capital by Mugabe's refusal to provide foreign companies with satisfactory guarantees, and burdened by a shortage of foreign exchange and the effects of a serious drought, the economy is serious, though not dire, straits.

On the downside, Zimbabwe is over-spending on education (for understandable reasons) and in real terms is paying as much to keep Renamo away from the Beira corridor as Ian Smith was paying during his war.

On the plus side is the remarkable performance of the agricultural sector whose output has increased by 20 per cent per annum since the war ended.

South Africa should accept, as Pik Botha appears to have done, that Zimbabwe's — and Zambia and Mozambique's — bark about sanctions will always be worse than its bite.

As the dominant power, South Africa has more to gain than anyone from the economic development of the sub-continent — which is why General Magnus Malan and company should be kept firmly in check.

City Press 18/10/87

ANC 'aped' Vietcong

By MARTIN
NTSOELENCOE

THE Rand Supreme Court this week heard that the ANC ordered the elimination of police, community councillors and other government employees after studying revolutionary methods in Vietnam.

The allegation came during the trial of eight Alexandra people facing charges of treason and sedition, alternatively subversion.

During cross-examination by the defence, Security police Brigadier Hermanus Stadler said many people died after the ANC ordered the killing of government employees.

The eight accused are: Ashwell Mxolisi Zwane, 20, Vusi Ngwenya, 20,

Andrew Mafutha, 22, David Mafutha, 19, Arthur Vilakazi, 24, Albert Sebola, 22, Piet Magano, 28 and a 17-year-old boy.

The State further alleges that the eight wanted to make Alexandra ungovernable by conducting "people's courts", threatening people who reported crimes to the police and forming street and yard committees.

Citing articles in the ANC publication *Sechaba*, Stadler said the ANC had praise for the Vietcong, which it said had patience and scored not only military victories but also political victories.

In 1984, to stimulate the "people's war", the ANC called for the destruction of local authorities.

Stadler said he had studied the ANC methods and was aware that after the 1976 unrest, Oliver Tambo and other ANC members had gone to Vietnam to study revolutionary methods.

Later the ANC instructed its organs in the country to transfer certain areas into massive revolutionary areas for the liberation of the people.

The aim was to get rid of existing structures, replac-

ing them with the "people's courts" and other structures to prepare for an ANC takeover.

Stadler added that the present unrest was a result of the UDF collaborating with the ANC.

The case continues tomorrow.