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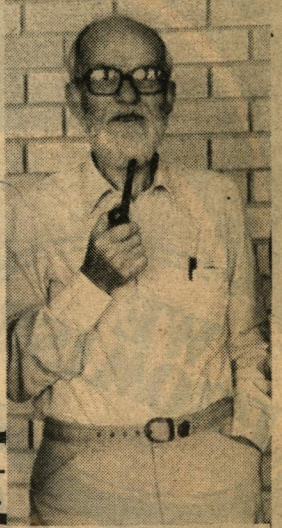
STABILITY, apart from a few isolated exceptions, was the feature of the first quarter at black schools in South Africa in 1987, according to the Department of Education and Training.

The schools "broke up" for the Easter Holidays on Friday.

Spokesman Mr Peter Mundell said: "If the department presses ahead with its initiatives and projects, if parents continue to play an ever-increasing role, and if pupils find the whole process meaningful and beneficial we should build up on the good work and things will improve."

This year pupils brought an end to two years of boycotts, class disruptions and confrontations with the security forces when they responded to calls from a number of organisations to return to schools.

All quiet in the classroom



Dr KENNETH Hartshorne ... no comment.

Demands

However, some of the key figures in getting pupils to return, including newspaper editor Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mr Vusi Khanyile and the Rev Molefe Tsele, are still detained under the emergency regulations.

And, some of the pupils' demands — the withdrawal of troops from the townships, an end to overcrowding and the shortage of textbooks at schools, unbanning the Congress of South African Students, the release of detained pupils, the lifting of the state of emergency and the re-instatement of dismissed and transferred teachers — have not been addressed.

Mr Mundell said: "We are not prepared to comment on public appeals for pupils to return to school. Our research has shown a sense of realism has returned. There has been a very fundamental change in attitudes.

"Parents are playing a more prominent role and there is a strong feeling in the community that schools must play a bigger part. Pupils, too, have rea-

FOCUS

SOWETAN Correspondent

lised that they have nothing to show after two years of boycotts and have returned to school."

On the surface, Mr Mundell's words are reassuring.

But few, if any, of the pupil demands have been met, a factor which still riles a significant number of them.

June 16

The Soweto Students Congress is to meet soon to analyse the situation.

Dr Kenneth Hartshorne, consultant to the Centre for Continuing Education at the University of the Witwatersrand, preferred to withhold any comments until the next academic quarter.

"I am not sure how long this situation is going to hold," he said. "The second quarter — which includes May Day

Pupils end 2 years of boycotts

and June 16 — is still to come. I prefer to hold my comments until I am sure about the whole scenario."

Future

Mr Leepile Tauanyane, president of the Transvaal United African Teachers Association (Tuata), said: "Our education system has suffered severe disruption for more than two years and we have already lost thousands of youngsters who will never get the schooling they need.

"Teachers, parents and community leaders must do everything in their power to get the schools humming again. We owe it to our children and their future."



Mr LEEPILE Tauanyane ... 'owe children.'

16/1/11

Soviets think ANC must change, says chief

Daily News 24/02/87
Reporter

ULUNDI: There was a growing realisation in Soviet thinking that the ANC mission in exile must mend its ways or perish, the Kwazulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said here yesterday.

In his policy speech to the fifth session of the fourth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said the euphoric assumption that the South African Government was on the run from the ANC was beginning to dissipate.

"The euphoria is now beginning to dissipate and the people will soon begin counting because of so much violent suffering for so little gain," he said.

Quoting extensively from a report from a corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Mr Gleb Starushenko, to the second Soviet African Conference last year, Chief Buthelezi said the ANC's symbolic presence in South Africa in the UDF and COSATU, was threatened by the lack of any real control by the leadership of these organisations.

He said he could send and withdraw forces, but the ANC leadership had to run behind the forces waving banners and claiming that the forces were theirs.

He said the UDF had a "severe problem" in making the country ungovernable.

If its leaderships had problems directing its affiliate organisations, it met insurmountable obstacles in directing and controlling the forces of violence it encouraged on street corners.

"Here they ride on the back of black anger and black frustration. They run behind this anger and frustrations, waving their UDF flags and then jump in front of the mobs to raise their UDF platforms," he said.

Internal support for ANC fading — Buthelezi

Citizen Reporter

ULUNDI. — The growth of the ANC's internal support in South Africa was being severely hampered by an increasing Black realisation that there would have to be negotiation with the government, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Another impediment to the organisation was the evidence of implied support for this negotiating concept from important policy shapers in the Soviet Union, he told the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Continuing his policy speech, the Chief Minister quoted further from a report to a recent Moscow conference on Soviet-African relations by Mr Gleb Starushenko, a top analyst with the USSR's Academy of Sciences.

Talking about change in South Africa, Mr Starushenko had spoken about the need to promote good relations and to eliminate mistrust between the country's various communities. This was a warning to the ANC (which rejects negotiation and is committed to violent revolution) that it would have to change its whole approach.

The Soviet analyst had added: "The new state might also be a unitary

system with autonomous components. The forms and substance of such autonomy should be defined with due regard for the will of the population revealed, for instance, in referendum, through negotiations, etc.

"Concrete issues related to the functioning of such a system" Mr Starushenko had said, "might become the object of a

national conference, its main participants being the government of the Republic of South Africa and the true representatives of the non-White population".

Chief Buthelezi recalled that Mr Starushenko had — previously in

his report — suggested that rigid models for a future South African Parliament should be avoided and that such body could, for instance, consist of two chambers ... "one formed on the basis of proportional representation and the other, pos-

sessing the right of veto, on the basis of equal representation of the four communities".

The Chief Minister pointed out that these were what he called "shades of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba and added: "We are actually seeing

Soviet endorsement of approaches which are alien to the ANC".

Mr Starushenko would not be speaking like this were there no prospect of him being heard in the ANC. The ANC's leadership was being challenged. It had to be challenged from within, and the top Soviet analyst was throwing his weight behind the challenge.

"There is a growing

perception amongst Black South Africans that we must negotiate and, short of bringing about change through a bloody and violent revolution, we have to negotiate with the South African Government.

"It is this perception," Chief Buthelezi said, "which hampers the ANC's endeavours to proselytise amongst other Black organisations."



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
... Inkatha opposition helped
to shatter PW's dream.

ULUNDI — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that neither the armed struggle nor President Botha's reform initiative could succeed without Inkatha.

He told the secretary-general of Portugal's Social Democratic Party, Mr Luis Geraldese, that it was Inkatha's opposition to the homelands policy that had ended Mr Botha's "dream" of a constellation of Southern African states.

Chief Buthelezi, who is the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said there had to be compromises and respect for all points of view in the politics of negotiation which

**No solution
87 AR
'without
24.3.87,
Inkatha**

he supported as Inkatha leader and the elected head of the seven million Zulus

Black and white leaders needed to reach consensus about what was non-negotiable.

For him, the criteria were based on whether or not the sacrificing of a principle would be self-defeating in achieving the aims of such negotiation.

He spelt out his non-negotia-

bles as:

- One sovereign Parliament in which all races shared.
- Universal adult franchise.
- The "unshackling" of black democracy — which included the release of political leaders.

Chief Buthelezi said no black leaders could negotiate with white leaders on an equal footing while black democracy remained shackled and white democracy was made relatively unfree by the absence of similar black rights.

It was therefore necessary to urge the Government to release such prisoners as jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the PAC's Zeph Mothopeng. — Sapa.

Soweto residents are anxious for an end to the rents impasse.

In a survey conducted by The Star last week residents said they were worried about the accumulation of debts and wished the authorities and community organisations would resolve the issue by treating the residents' demands as a matter of utmost urgency.

There are about 75 000 houses in Soweto, of which about 35 000 are privately owned, meaning that the Soweto Council collects rent from 40 000 houses.

Residents have not been paying rent since June last year. Their demands include the removal of soldiers from the townships, the resignation of all councillors, the unbanning of "people's" organisations, the release of detainees and political prisoners and the lifting of the emergency decrees.

None of the residents interviewed wanted to be named.

The only avenue

A Zondi man said he felt the non-payment of rent and service charges was the only and last means of protest available.

"We know that through our payments, the council is able to run the township properly. Also they know that it is hard for them to survive without our payments. Why is it then difficult for them to address our demands?" he asked.

He said it was not true that residents were making political demands because "politics determine the conditions in Soweto".

Many residents interviewed felt the Soweto Council was not representing them because its members "were not popularly elected".

"They should resign en masse," said a Pimville resident.

A Mofolo resident said he wanted to pay rent but was afraid of being assaulted by the "comrades" and of

Mounting debts worry Soweto householders

STAR - 24.08.87

The rents boycott is now 10 months old, but residents want an end to the deadlock, a survey by The Star has disclosed. Rich Mkhondo reports.

being taken to the street committee.

"I think our message has been heard. The more we refuse paying, the more we will owe the council. Even if the court action to halt evictions goes in our favour, we still have thousands of rands to pay," he said.

A Dube resident, whose electricity supply has been suspended, condemned the evictions of some residents, saying this action aggravated the problems rather than solving them.

"We all belong here — our children, our grandchildren are here to stay — so why not negotiate with us instead of carrying out evictions?" she asked.

Residents of some areas in Soweto are complaining of the irregular disposal of household rubbish and the frequent waterpipe bursts which they say are health hazards.

They say they are being forced to live under unhygienic conditions.

The council is said to be on the "verge of bankruptcy" by some sources within the council.

The Town Clerk, Mr Nico Malan, said although the council was running at a loss, it was not bankrupt.

Last month, Mr Malan said, the council had budgeted for a deficit of R26 million on a budget of almost R156 million. Income was almost



Nico Malan... "improvement of 50 percent in rent payment".

R130 million.

"The figures are alarming, but they are not critical because normally during the course of the year we are able to effect savings on expenditure," he said.

"At the moment, our debtors outnumber our creditors. The people still owe us some money and once they pay, our problems will be over."

Mr Malan said the payment of rent had improved by 50 percent. The council was now collecting R3 million a month instead of the normal R7 million.

Responding to The Star survey, Mr Malan said the council was looking at all reasonable ways of convincing residents to pay their debts.

He suggested various options for residents who feared to visit the rent offices.

- House owners can post cheques made payable to the director of housing.

- They can also make their payments at the council's city offices at 80 Albert Street.

- Soweto residents working for one company can make arrangements with their employers to deduct rentals from their salaries and wages and pay them in bulk to the council.

- House owners can pay rent through stop orders.

The chairman of the constitutional committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, Mr John Griffiths, last week warned that drastic action would be taken against rent defaulters who owe township councils more than R160 million.

(A paragraph has been omitted from this report to comply with the emergency regulations).

Pik: Govt dealing with group areas 'sincerely'

STAR 24.03.87

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

About 45 000 people living in Hillbrow were violating the Group Areas Act and only five of them had been or could be successfully prosecuted, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said last night.

He was speaking at a National Party rally attended by about 1 000 people at the Rand Afrikaans University in the Johannesburg West constituency.

Mr Botha said the Government was trying to deal with contraventions of the Group Areas Act sincerely and compassionately so as not to let unsavoury and hostile racial incidents happen.

He said the National Party did not necessarily have the answer to the problem, which was why the matter had been referred to the President's Council for investigation.

"But we do have sympathy for people trying to find accommodation because they cannot find it anywhere else. This is not strictly speaking an ideological matter Plain and simply there is an over-supply of housing for the white commu-

nity and an undersupply for coloureds and Asians, and it is worse for blacks."

Mr Botha said the Government was tackling the problem in different ways, including soon making available about half a million stands for black ownership.

He said of the 45 000 people living illegally in Hillbrow there had been only 1 221 complaints received by authorities in the past 20 months.

Of these, dockets for only 133 could be opened and of these only five prosecutions had materialised or could materialise.

Mr Botha appealed to all political parties not to try and make political gain out of the sensitive and difficult problem.

He said in his own constituency of Westdene in Johannesburg a family from Mauritius had the tyres of their car slashed, stones thrown on the roof of their home and a pig's head put on a stick in their garden.

They had moved to another area after he (Mr Botha) had been unable to persuade a neighbour to let the family live next door.

(Report by D M Braun, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Angolan forces still STAR - 24.02.87 need Cubans, says US

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Soviet and Cuban advisers have failed to develop Angola's armed forces to the stage where they can operate without outside help, says a new Pentagon report.

And Soviet-led efforts to foster rivalries between factions in the Unita rebel movement have been unsuccessful, the report states.

The report, an annual survey of the Soviet Union's military strength and its worldwide deployment of power, is to be released later today by the US Secretary of Defence, Mr Caspar Weinberger.

A section dealing with Sub-Saharan Africa says the Soviet Union's involvement in the region remained high in 1986, with support for Angola continuing to be a priority.

But, it adds, Moscow's support for counter-insurgency efforts in Southern Africa were not as "salient" in 1986 as they were in 1985 — especially in Mozambique.

In Angola, it says, the MPLA regime's counter-insurgency strategy has similar characteristics to the Soviets' war against Mujahideen rebels in Afghanistan.

Local militias and a network of informers have been enlisted to expand government control and forced resettlement is used to control the population and to deny support to the insurgents.

But Unita has expanded its operations into all provinces and, unlike the Afghan insurgent groups, has proved to be fairly cohesive, the report says.

Angolan Government forces have had little success against Unita, it states.

"They have focused on securing the few cities, towns, and industries such as oil and diamonds.

"Their campaigns have mostly been large, slow-moving sweeps during the dry season aimed at destroying Unita bases.

The report says that, in 1986, the Soviets sent additional Flogger (high-speed, swing-wing fighter aircraft) to Angola, along with HIP-H helicopters, SA-3 and SA-8 surface-to-air missiles, numerous tanks, artillery pieces and armoured vehicles.

But the Angolan armed forces have not been developed to a state in which they could be dependable and effective enough to permit withdrawal of the Cuban forces which are now propping up the unpopular regime, the report states.

The report makes no mention of covert US military support for Unita. It comes at a time when conservatives in the US Congress from both major political parties have launched a scheme to stop all imports from Angola until all Cuban troops there are expelled.

The main target of the measure is Angola's oil production which provides 90 percent of its foreign earnings.

Relly calls for change through negotiation

There should be no further delay in a process which demonstrates unequivocally the intention to move towards a new South Africa through negotiation, not mere consultation, says the chairman of African Explosives and Chemical Industries (AECI), Mr Gavin Relly, in his annual report which was released last night.

Members of the business community had a particular responsibility to lead the way towards a society based on a responsible free choice by setting the example within their organisations, Mr Relly stressed.

AECI's results for last year were a substantial improvement over those for 1985 despite "the high degree of political uncertainty that prevailed".

"A year ago I commented favourably on the contents of the State

President's opening address to Parliament, particularly the emphasis he placed on the importance of the rights and freedoms of individual South Africans.

"At the time I construed this as a significant and laudable step away from the excessive concern for group rights which has bedevilled this country for so long.

"Regrettably the positive stance in evidence at that time underwent serious reversals during the ensuing 12 months. The crescendo of official and media commentary and condemnation overseas obviously raised and encouraged expectations that radical change, if not revolution, was just around the corner," he said.

"The assumption by the Eminent Persons' Group that the future of South Africa involved only a bilateral trade-off between the Government and the ANC, and the Government's own response to

The Star Tuesday March 24 1987

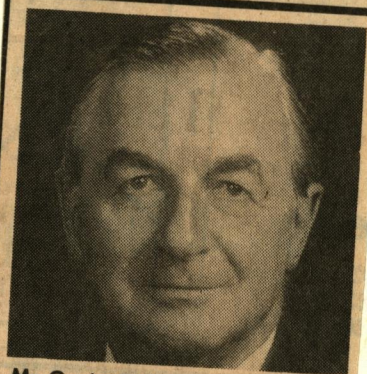
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'without delay'

this illusion in attacking ANC bases in neighbouring States, were all washed over by the wave of unrest and the consequent state of emergency and media restrictions."

He said there was no doubt that some real improvements were brought about in South African society in 1986 but the Government withdrew from its piecemeal process of dismantling apartheid so it could regroup its strategy.

On the forthcoming elections, Mr Relly said: "Irrespective of what this election will achieve, it has certainly highlighted a growing dissatisfaction among the white electorate with the pace and content of change and I believe this will have a profoundly beneficial influence on the development of a negotiating process and the mind changes which must go with it."



Mr Gavin Relly ... "the business community has a responsibility to lead."

Prince STAR to see 24.08.87 armed maids

The Star's Africa
News Service

MBABANE — Hundreds of Swazi maidens are sharpening 60 cm machetes in preparation for their welcome to Britain's Prince Charles here next weekend.

The girls, known as tingabisa (virgins) and aged from 11 to 15, have been practising their traditional dancing all week.

Each of the girls will carry one of the shiny, lethal knives.

The weapons are largely symbolic, but do have a sound practical basis. Tingabisa wear nothing during the dance but skimpy colourful aprons. This makes them vulnerable and the girls carry the machetes, by custom, to protect themselves from forbidden advances.

This display will be only part of the hectic programme being lined up for the Prince's visit. A source at the High Commission in Mbabane said: "His feet won't touch the ground."

The Prince will arrive about 5 pm on Friday and that evening attend a dinner at Waterford Kamhlaba College, just outside Mbabane.

The prime reason for his visit is to see the college, the only one of the seven-member United World Colleges group which he has not yet visited.

The group is celebrating its 25th Anniversary this month.

MULTIRACIAL

Prince Charles is its president.

Pupils come from Namibia to Ethiopia within Africa and from many other countries outside the continent.

It was one of the first multiracial colleges in the Southern African region when it was set up in the mid-1960s.

Lunch on Saturday will be taken with officials of the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC), which moved its Southern African headquarters here about four years ago from South Africa.

Prince Charles is a director of CDC, which has strong commitments in three of Swaziland's main foreign currency earners — sugar, forestry and citrus fruits.

On Saturday afternoon he will watch displays by various cultural groups — including the armed tingabisa — at the Somhlolo National Stadium in the company of the young King Mswati, who came to his throne last April at the age of about 19.

On Saturday evening he will attend a banquet, probably at the royal Swazi Spa, and probably to be hosted by King Mswati. However Swazi protocol officials have issued no details yet.

ALL SAINTS

On Sunday morning the Prince will attend morning service at All Saints's Anglican Church in Mbabane, after which he will attend a reception at the residence of the British High Commissioner, Mr Martin Reith.

Invitations to this function have been restricted to about 300 British citizens resident in Swaziland and have been much sought after.

Security against gate crashers will be particularly strict.

A High Commission official recalled that, during a similar reception there for Prince and Princess Michael of Kent just over a year ago, uninvited guests managed to intrude from a road bordering part of the residence garden.

"That's not going to happen again," the official said.

No newspaper reporters will be allowed and news coverage generally will be restricted to British and Swazi journalists and television crews.

Prince Charles' flight for his next stop, Malawi, leaves at 2 pm on Sunday.

He will call on one of the oldest heads of State in the world, President Kamuzu Banda.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

24 MARCH 1982

Group areas

WE hope the Group Areas Act will not become a damaging election issue.

Damaging in the sense that at a time when there is a decided need for signals of more and quicker reform, any clampdown over group areas would suggest the government is digging in its heels instead.

The government, we admit, is in a fix. The Right-wing parties are attacking it over Hillbrow and Mayfair, in Johannesburg, and Woodstock, in Cape Town, where races are living together.

Residential separation and separate schooling are the last bastions of separate development, in other words, apartheid.

Ministers have made it clear that they do not intend to abandon these two final separations and that each group is to live in its own area and have its own schools.

However, since mixed residential areas have developed in some places, there is no way in which Coloureds and Indians living in these areas can be removed, except at great hardship to families and at great cost to South Africa's image overseas.

Imagine forced removals applying to these suburbs in White cities. The outcry would be as bad as anything that happened when Black removals were at their height.

To allow people of other races to stay where they are will, of course, lose the NP votes to the Right, since old-style apartheid is the basis of the policies of the CP and HNP.

Nevertheless, it would be better to lose a seat or two by not enforcing the Act rigorously than to try and placate the Right by doing so. Hillbrow, for instance, is a mixed area that is very much a fait accompli. To try and unmix it would be an impossible task.

Besides, there is still the President's Council report on group areas to help determine what should be done.

And the State President himself has talked of the possibility of granting exemptions through the Administrators.

We cannot see, therefore, why Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Piet Badenhorst, should come out so strongly on the issue at this particular point except for electoral purposes.

He has denied speculation that the government plans to relax the Act in certain areas which have become integrated, by declaring them grey or open areas.

The law, he says, makes no provision for such areas.

The position in Woodstock has been investigated by the Group Areas Board and the suburb will be declared a group area for one or other race group.

In the case of Hillbrow and Mayfair, allegations have been made of large-scale contraventions of the Act and these are being investigated with a view to possible action, he says.

The government intends to take tougher action against offenders, particularly against landlords who allow premises to be occupied illegally. This could involve confiscation of properties.

We hope the government will not go to such extremes.

Group areas are no longer a holy cow, any more than the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act were holy cows before they were repealed.

Mixed hotels and restaurants, mixed theatres, mixed employment and mixed sport are now the order of the day — and mixed cinemas have been accepted even by city and town councils which fought tooth and nail against them.

As a newspaper, we do not advocate the wholesale scrapping of the Act at this point, since this would pose tremendous problems outside the places in which mixed residential areas have developed almost naturally.

But that there should be local option, allowing for grey areas, seems to be the best way out of the dilemma.

Having said that, we accept our own advice to the government and that is to allow the President's Council to report, with its recommendations, before anyone takes up a rigid stance.

Danger of letting the ANC loose in country

I often greatly admired Dr Denis Worrall, when, as South African Ambassador in Australia and Britain, he ably stood up for this country. But now I have some doubts about his political education and maturity.

He is, of course, quite right, the ANC is not only in Lusaka, Nairobi and Paris. But the ANC also has a fairly large following among the blacks in South Africa and even among the other groups.

He now wants to talk to the internal leaders of the ANC, but to what purpose? If he does, he will find some of these leaders intelligent, perhaps even charming, but the majority of them are merely cunning.

Let us assume that the ANC leaders will now tell him that they will stop all violence, which they might well do for a short while. He must then let them go unhindered among the black masses throughout South Africa, as this would be their so-called basic democratic right then.

But democracy is for democrats and the emerging masses' instincts are not yet attuned to

democracy; they are in total contrast to democratic ideals.

Dr Worrall surely does not want to allow democracy to destroy real democracy and destroy a country in the process for all its inhabitants? This is the point where history comes in as well, the history of every communist take-over.

The basic cadres for the ANC, the future communist party of South Africa, are already well prepared. One has seen that in the townships throughout the country since 1984.

So far there has been only relatively mild intimidation among the blacks, hardly any among the other groups, but there soon would be more, permitted under the democratic rights then enjoyed by the legal ANC.

But within six months, not six years, South Africa would really have become ungovernable. What had been seen so far in the townships would be seen in retrospect as mere child's play.

Like the relatively small but determined soviet cadres in Russia in 1917, which took over the large majority socialist

Menshevik Party and then the government, so would the young black cadres in South Africa, with their right street education, background and viciousness take over all black townships, home governments and then soon Zululand, removing very quickly the Buthulezis and all other moderates.

It might not yet be the end of South Africa as hitherto known but very nearly so. If so required I could give Dr Worrall a fairly accurate estimate, also the road leading to it, a painful one for all concerned.

Even Mr Robert Mugabe would soon enough regret the change to a real Soviet government in neighbouring South Africa.

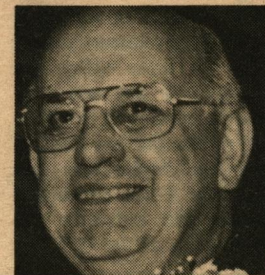
The mixture of Third World and First World elements in the only viable country in Africa does not permit unrealistic and dangerous experiments. Not even one wrong step or even promise can be undone. Not for the time being.

Albert Protter

PO Box 8152
Johannesburg

PW's election seven-single

DISCRIMINATION



State President
P W BOTHA.

CITIZEN — 24 MARCH 1987

BELONGS TO PAST

CAPE TOWN. — Discriminatory practices "belong to the past", the State President, Mr P W Botha, says in a recorded message to the electorate in his capacity as leader of the National Party.

He called for "a mandate to negotiate for a fair say for all in our mutual affairs, and self-determination to all groups regarding their own affairs".

The seven-single record is part of a R500 000 pub-

By BRIAN STUART

licity campaign by the NP Information Service, which will place about 400 000 copies in the hands of voters throughout the country.

The formal launch of the project took place in Cape Town yesterday on the eve of Mr Botha's personal entry in the election campaign. He will speak at public meetings in Lichtenburg tomorrow and in Ermelo on Friday.

The record is part of a full colour pamphlet signed by Mr Botha and the four provincial leaders of the NP, asking for support against interference from outside, and for economic growth, greater security and a process of reform.

"As governing party the NP is convinced that a peaceful process of negotiation with all representative leaders is possible,"

TO PAGE 2

Botha's 7 - single

FROM PAGE 1

says the statement accompanying the record.

"These negotiations will lead to a unique political system for the RSA. It must protect the rights of minority groups, avoid group domination and recognise the rightful claims of all our population groups.

"Above all, it must allow unlimited human dignity and full citizenship for all, as well as effective participation in political decision-making from local up to national government levels."

In the recorded message the State President has called on voters to prove to the outside world that South Africa was determined to resolve its own problems and would resist foreign demands and interference.

Mr Botha spoke of strengthening ties of friendship with neigh-

bouring states but said this could only be done on the basis of mutual respect. Therefore, there should be no misuse of neighbouring territories for terrorist attacks.

"We are all concerned about the economy of our country. But I assure you of exciting times ahead.

"We want to give even more scope to people with drive, initiative and enthusiasm. We want to cut down more on unnecessary regulations, encourage private enterprise and tap the enormous potential of this land so all its people can share in its wealth."

Mr Botha said new job opportunities will be created and the development of technology would ensure an economic upswing.

"But let's talk about the safety of our country. We must not fall prey to communism. That is why we have to broaden the base of democracy to also include Black communities.

"The NP guarantees your safety and peace of mind against internal unrest. For this we will al-

ways be an independent judicial bench. But we also need a well-trained police force and defence force.

"Discriminatory practices belong to the past.

"Today's realities call for single-minded reform and dedicated negotiations, however difficult.

"A vote for the NP will give us a mandate to negotiate for a fair say for all in our mutual affairs, and self-determination to all groups regarding their own affairs.

"Yes, it means full citizenship to all South Africans irrespective of race, colour or creed. Because to share peace you've got to share power. Yes, power-sharing, but never surrender.

"For these reform processes, we need great indaba.

"These negotiations have to produce a unique political system for the RSA. It must protect the rights of minority groups, avoid discrimination and recognise the rightful claims of all our population groups," said Mr Botha.

(News by Brian Stuart, 73 Strand Street, Cape Town.)

THE BEST antidote for cognitive dissonance — the psychological malady caused by trying to hold two mutually exclusive beliefs at the same time — is to deal with the opposing beliefs completely separately and put the conflict out of mind.

That, at any rate, is how Washington has coped with the relationship between Israel and SA for as long as said relationship has threatened controversy. Successful for years, the prescription has not been working too well of late.

Next week, the Reagan administration is scheduled to deliver to Congress a detailed report naming Israel (not to mention France and several other close allies of the US) as a chronic violator of the SA arms embargo.

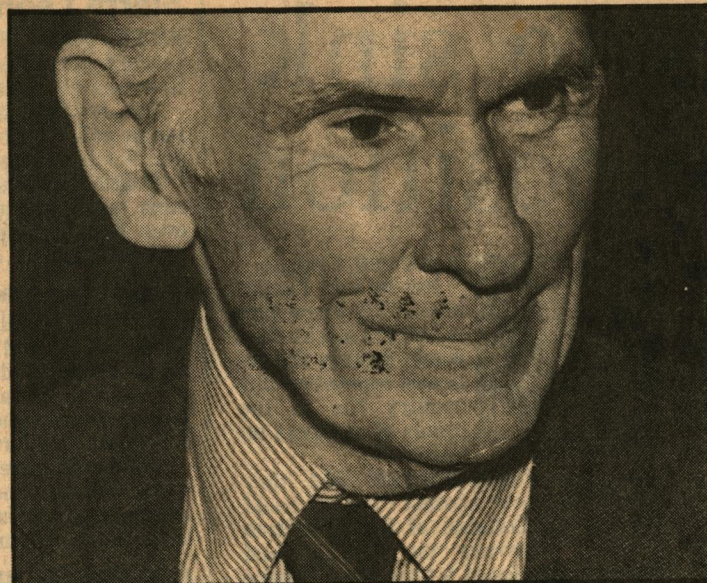
This is tantamount to a rich and powerful family having to admit to the world that its favourite son is a flagrant pedophile. What makes their admission particularly excruciating is that the family members most openly admiring of (and beholden to) the son have made careers of denouncing pedophilia.

How the US came to this pass is a study in the unintended consequences of political hysteria, in this case the stampede to sanctions.

The report, required under Section 508 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA), started life as a sort of practical joke dreamed up by one Philip Christenson, a Republican staff-member on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Christenson, an erstwhile enfant terrible who remains angry though no longer an infant, has a Puckish sense of humour and thought it would be fun to watch his masters, especially pro-Israel liberal sanctioners like California Senator Alan Cranston, blow their cerebral cortices.

Making mischief



□ SENATOR ALAN CRANSTON ... courage of his duplicity

BUSINESS DAY
out of
24 MARCH 1987
the
SA-
Israel ✓

arms partnership

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Christenson's vehicle was Maryland's Senator Charles Matthias, a moderate Republican who felt obliged to retire at the end of 1986 because the Israeli lobby, in the form of the American-Israeli Political Action Committee (AIPAC), had taken against him and he was finding it difficult to raise money for a re-election bid.

Matthias had a grudge and nothing to lose. He agreed to introduce the report requirement when the Foreign Relations Committee be-

gan work on the CAAA last August.

As predicted, the committee had a series of mild seizures which it tried to hide under a cloak of obfuscatory parliamentary procedure.

The first vote came early in the morning. Not all members were present; some of those that were were not altogether awake, or at

least pretended not to be. The amendment was accepted.

Several cups of coffee later, it was "revisited" — as they like to say on Capitol Hill — and disposed of quietly. And so it might have stayed but for Senator Daniel Evans, Republican, of Washington.

Evans, a plain-spoken sort profoundly disillusioned with life in the Senate, had joined Matthias in the original motion. He revived it

not so much to see it enacted as to express contempt for his colleagues on the other side of aisle.

Those colleagues, most notably Senators Christopher Dodd of Connecticut and John Kerry of Massachusetts, rose to the bait. In their desire to be statesman on the matter at hand, they would not be made to look like hypocrites, and demanded the vindication of a third vote.

Only Cranston, facing an uphill re-election fight, had the courage of his duplicity. The motion carried. No one was more surprised than Christenson.

The report was scarcely mentioned again as the CAAA sailed on to passage. The whole subject be-

ing taboo, it had already been debated quite enough for most tastes.

Everyone hoped that someone else would be brave enough to take responsibility for excising the offending section, or that it would mysteriously die through some technical legerdemain. It didn't, and so became law.

Even then, there were hopes that the thing could be politely glossed over — put in a safe somewhere and forgotten. When the State Department asked for the 179-day deadline to be extended (unnecessarily, as it turned out), the Foreign Relations Committee said oh, please.

Nor was there any objection to the report being classified secret, though this would probably have been necessary anyway given that it will reveal a lot of embarrassing material about the sources and methods of US intelligence.

As for the requirement that the President consider terminating military assistance to those named, in most instances hell could freeze over first.

What no one imagined was that the US-Israeli relationship as a whole, and quite apart from the embargo-busting issue, would be-

come the handwringing topic of the hour just as the report was nearing completion. This has made the blind eye option more difficult, though not impossible.

To say that there is a frost between Washington and Jerusalem is utterly meaningless. The Israelis would probably have to bomb New York before that became even halfway true.

What is the case is that Israel has lately been caught doing too many strange things within too short a space of time. And just as the rules of political theatre insist that President Reagan "apologise" for "Irangate," so — under the same specious laws — Israel's dirty linen must also be publicly laundered and the obligatory poses of shock and repentance struck by the various actors.

In real terms, the discovery that Jonathan Jay Pollard stole some of America's most valuable (allegedly) secrets for his Israeli spymasters will not lessen US support for a country it perceives, rightly or wrongly, to be almost a part of itself.

Nor will evidence that it was Israel who persuaded the clowns in the White House to trade arms for

hostages with Iran. Nor will the so-called revelation that the Israeli and South African arms industries are devoted partners.

There does, however, have to be a fuss in order to safeguard the relationship and the US\$3bn Israel currently receives each year from the US Treasury, and a fuss there will be.

We are in for a period of political *son et lumiere*. Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has already got the show under way with his emotional announcement in the Knesset that that there will be no new military contracts signed with SA, that certain sanctions will be considered and that cultural, official and tourist ties will be diminished.

Since nobody knows what military contracts are already in place or when they expire (even the compilers of the report aren't sure) Peres's meatiest promise is fairly transparent. The rest are positively vaporous.

Notwithstanding which, or the fact that the history contained in the report is damning enough that Israel's promises to mend its ways ought logically to be immaterial, the "new" policy — implemented or not — should be sufficient to take Congress off the petard it has hoist itself on.

Some members will feel moved to make "more in sorrow than anger" statements, but most can now go back to worrying about how to stop the document from leaking beyond the extremely brief public version presently being sanitised.

It will be leaked in all its glory, however, and therein lies the prospect of much unpleasantness.

There are a couple of candidates for leaker. The less likely is an US administration official critical of America's closeness to Israel at the expense of ties to the Arab world and therefore anxious to poison the well. In this regard it is interesting that the Pentagon has gone out of its way to emphasise the damage caused by Pollard.

The better bet would be a member of the Congressional black caucus, where there is little love for Israel and much hatred for SA. Furthermore, and despite pious protestations to the contrary, animosities between black and Jew run high here.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson's references to "Hymietown" and his refusal to renounce the viciously anti-semitic Louis Farrakhan during the 1984 presidential election are a symptomatic case in point.

Jackson is too shrewd a chameleon to have indulged in such slips had he not seen their political merit. Armed with the report he will be able to make real mischief.

Tutu's plea to the ANC

SEARCH SOWETAN YOUR 24/03/87 SOULS

THE Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, met African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo at the weekend and asked the ANC leadership to consider renouncing the "armed struggle".

On his return from Lusaka the Archbishop said at a Press conference that his weekend visit was consistent with his aim of meeting all the "major actors in the drama unfolding in our country" and with the decision of the synod of bishops (of the Anglican Church) that he keep in touch with liberation movement leaders.

He said it was on the same basis that he met President P W Botha twice last year and holds talks with "almost everybody".

The ANC delegation of 10 members of the executive committee was led by Mr Tambo. The talks, which lasted nearly five hours, were, he said, "very friendly, frank and full", sometimes he was addressed as "Comrade Archbishop".

"Basically I asked them if they could not review their own position and consider the renunciation of violence to throw the ball in the court of the South African Government which says it will not speak to anyone who espouses violence."

"It transpired that it would be difficult for that to happen without something dramatic having happened here. The most dramatic thing that could justify such a radical review would be, for example, the release of ANC and other leadership from jail."

Archbishop Tutu said if certain conditions, such as the unbanning of political organisations and the unconditional return of exiles, were met, there would be no justification for violence from the ANC.

Asked whether there had been any indication that the ANC would reconsider its position on



OLIVER Tambo... ANC president.

violence, he said Mr Tambo had indicated they would review their position.

"It seemed clear that for their own constituency there would have to be dramatic developments for them to be able to say they must reconsider their position on violence," Archbishop Tutu said.

He said it was important to underscore that the commitment to the armed struggle of the ANC was not a matter of principle, written into their constitution, but a matter of strategy or tactics.

Tutu on the right road

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

24 MARCH 87

In violence-plagued South Africa, the color that most often dominates public consciousness is neither black nor white. It is red. As in blood. Blood that is shed when government forces attack armed rebels, or when black nationalist guerrillas murder other blacks whom they consider to be rivals for influence or not sufficiently militant in their views and actions.

South Africa's Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu is now asking the outlawed African National Congress to abandon violence and seek a negotiated peace with the white-minority government of the country. And he is asking that the government move first by making certain gestures, including the release of long-jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela.

Not unexpectedly, the plea has elicited negative responses from both sides.

One cannot seriously expect the government of President Pieter W. Botha to offer an olive branch in the midst

of a heated (white) election campaign in which opposition to concessions to blacks seems to have emerged as the true test of Afrikaner manhood.

Nor can the battle-hardened and deception-weary ANC leaders be expected to abandon armed struggle against apartheid just because the archbishop says so. After all, for decades nobody paid any attention to the ANC when it was peaceful; only after it resorted to violence did it acquire leverage and start receiving attention.

But the archbishop shouldn't really give up.

In a couple of months, after the election for the national assembly's white chamber is over, the political climate is likely to be more conducive to his plea being heard.

The vast majority of blacks, too, is not looking for a needless continuation of the armed struggle, it is looking for an honorable way to end it.

Even in statements rejecting the Tutu initiative, both sides seem to leave the impression that the other side must make the first move.

Thus, the basic seeds for a dialogue exist. What is needed is a determined mediator. And Archbishop Tutu, even though he is a known partisan in the struggle and therefore hardly qualified for that role, nevertheless commands enough influence all over divided South Africa to at least help break the deadlock over that crucial first move.

We wish him luck, optimism and perseverance—three absolute requirements if the road away from violence is to become a reality.

BROTHER BUTHEZZI—YOU HAVE
BEEN PREACHING NON-VIOLENCE FOR
YEARS.