

SOWETAN 21 Feb 1991

# To prison in winter, shorts and barefoot

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

This was in 1964.

"My first five years on Robben Island were hard.

"I arrived there in winter in shorts and barefeet.

"You existed because you had a mind which functioned."

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

"There was ample time to read.

"In prison evening starts early at 4.30 pm.

"I remember doing Latin while pushing a wheelbarrow."

In 1963 there were only PAC members on the Island.

The African National Congress members came to Robben Island a year later.

## Studying

"Almost everybody came out of there better people.

"Nelson (Mandela) was studying, everyone else was studying.

"You had time to think through problems."

On his release in 1973 he was banned for five-years and placed under a six to six house arrest.

During this time he completed an LLB degree.

When the banning order expired, Moseneke served his articles at a city law firm, Dyason.

"They were courageous I must say.

"Not only was I black and the first black articulated clerk in Pretoria but I had a PAC background."

His admission to the bar was problematic.

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

## FOCUS



**It's a long, hard journey from Robben Island to the Pretoria Bar. ESTHER WAUGH in this second part of her story, charts the meteoric rise of PAC's deputy president Dikgang Moseneke from his days as a 15-year-old prisoner on the Island.**

his favour.

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

## Interesting

"It is an interesting parallel between Nelson and I in many respects - we are both lawyers, both black, both from Robben Island and we met each other there.

Mandela was an African lawyer in adverse circumstances with a lot of animosity around him.

"We are not a welcome species.

"That we are alive and well

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

"We need to produce even more lawyers.

"The connection is inevitable," he says.

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

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

"Because they had to prove that I was a member, one and that I advanced the cause of that organisation, which I was doing."

## Married

Today Moseneke is advocate at the Pretoria Bar.

What happened to his life since his release in 1973?

"I got married and had those guys," he says pointing to a picture of his family.

"They have grown fast - 10 and 12 years old - attending school.

"I have a wife who is still alive and well.

"I live in Atteridgeville.

"I did lots to build a legal career and kept up with the PAC.

"I was in close touch with guys in jail, those in exiles, facilitated a lot of communication between the two.

"I gave a lot of support to families of guys studying on Robben Island."

About his career in the Pan Africanist Congress he says:

"It was a fairly heavy price to pay at a certain point which I managed to translate into an advantage.

"We turned the tables against our captors."

He was surprised by his ap-

pointment to the executive committee of the PAC.

"I have been primarily a functionary.

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

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

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

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

"We introduced a lot of strong, young leaders whose faces you are going to be seeing quite a lot.

"We have introduced a lot of professionals and technocrats to come in and help pull the PAC together.

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

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

## Critical

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

"Responsibilities attached to the post are fairly obvious.

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

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

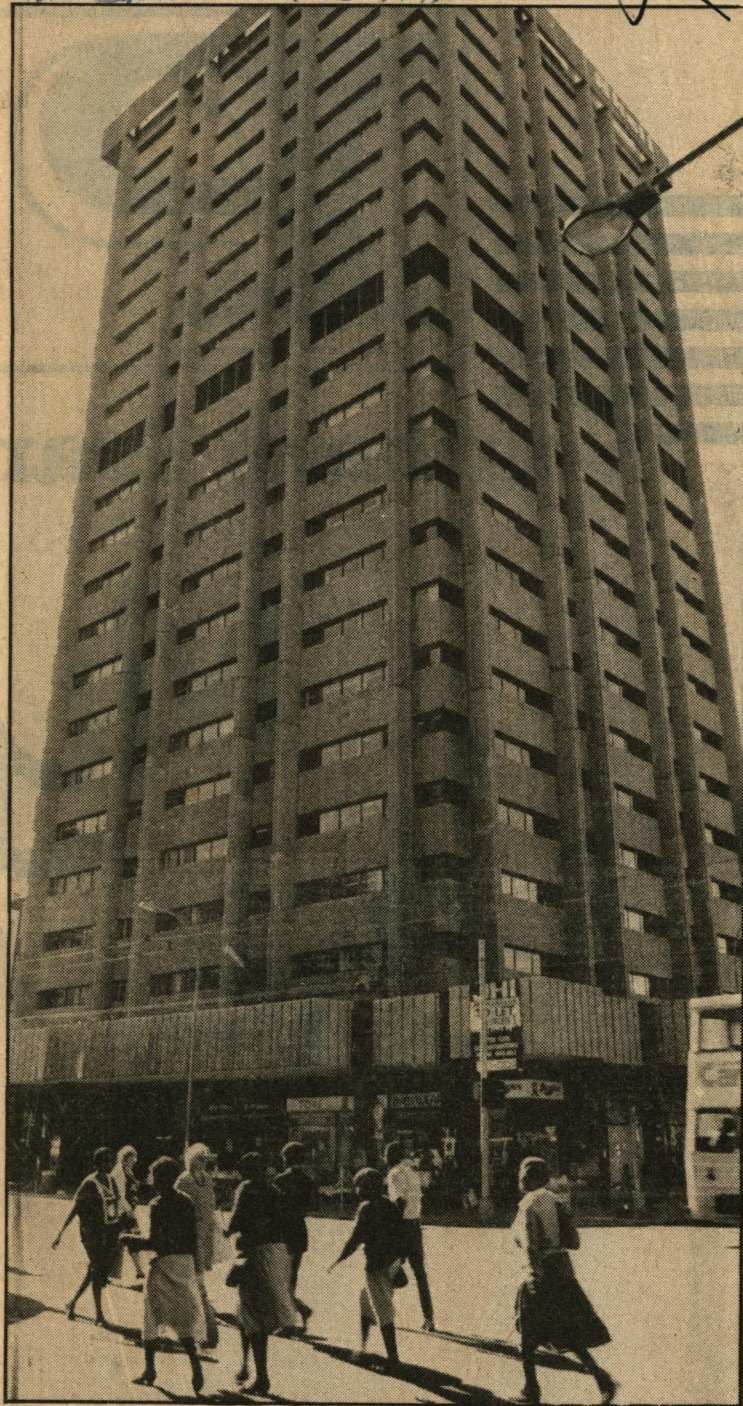
"I have fought all the battles that had to be fought.

"Now I am called upon full blast to take a political role.

"It is most daunting, most challenging."

For the next two years, he plans to "ensure visible growth of the PAC, to establish very strong party structures and try to facilitate the establishment of a Patriotic Front".





New home . . . the ANC plans to move into its new HQ in Plain Street next month. Picture: Stephen Davimes

## New HQ costs ANC R20-m

By Monica Nicolson

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

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the organisation needed more space for all its departments and settled facilities. At present, it is renting offices in Sauer Street.

A spokesman for Shell (SA) said the ANC was expected to move in at the end of the month.

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

Shell plans to move its regional branch to Baker Square in Rosebank.

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

The Shell spokesman also said the building in downtown Johannesburg had become too large for its needs.



# SACP's Nxumalo dies

*Sowetan 26 Feb 1991*  
SOUTH African Communist Party member Mr Mzala Nxumalo died in a London hospital on Sunday after a long illness, at the age of 35.

Nxumalo - author of the book *Gatsha Buthelezi - Chief With a Double Agenda* - was born in Dundee, northern Natal, and fled the country in 1976, while he was studying law at the University of Zululand.

He served the ANC in Mozambique, Tanzania, Germany and the Soviet Union

where he studied politics.

Nxumalo also served in the underground structures of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Angola and Swaziland.

He went to Britain in 1987 where he completed a PhD degree in politics at the University of Essex and the Open University.

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

# Talks of peace... but actions of war

SIR - It is my opinion and the opinion of many people in Bekkersdal that there must be peace among the Africans and war against the enemy.

But, given the situation in our township, there is little hope for peace and every likelihood of internecine violence. This could last for decades.

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

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

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

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

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

They talk peace but they act war.

They have been acting against innocent people, because they believe that these people were members of the rival organisations.

There is also a cynical motive of gaining support and membership through intimidation and harassment.

The ANC's main sup-

port and membership is in a shantytown area known as Mandela Village.

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

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

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

They now act out of desperation using undemocratic practices.

If we are to achieve peace several steps must be taken.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning must relocate these people and provide houses and adequate services for them.

There must be a commission of inquiry into alleged corruption

## No politics, pleads parent

SIR - As a deeply concerned parent, I accept it as my duty to plead with all political organisations to keep out of the education problem because presently they are worsening the situation.

There is only one possible way to uplift our educational standards and solve the crisis.

## LETTERS

to the

EDITOR

Short letters are preferred and none is considered unless it is signed, with the writer's full address. Pseudonyms may be used but are not encouraged. Write to: The Editor, Sowetan, PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000.

(local authorities) at Bekkersdal.

The rent question must be reviewed.

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

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

The media must come to Bekkersdal and learn

the facts.

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

Mr Sisulu's visit to Bekkersdal was not appreciated, because he invited only a section of our community, thus further dividing the people of our small ghetto.

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

The situation here is reaching a point of no return.

We shall talk violence, eat violence and live violence if my suggestions are not considered.

**OBSERVER  
Bekkersdal**

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

organisations is to keep politics out of our schools.

Stop our children's involvement in PTSA's, youth leagues, youth congresses and so forth.

Invest in the future and support our children in attending school.

**A SITHOLE  
Perskebilt**

## Azapo suppressed - claim

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

It is clear that your paper started giving the

ANC much coverage after the boycott in 1986 against Sowetan.

As for the PAC, that organisation was launch-

ed through the Sowetan simply because Joe Thloloe and Thami Mazwai are Africanists.

Interestingly, your publication is doing its utmost to suppress Azapo stories.

Mr Editor, have you forgotten that the BCM was a midwife to both Congresses following the 1976 riots?

Finally, by suppressing Azapo's stories, I can only advise you to stop criticising Stoffel van der Merwe for gagging the media.

**MALONE PHETO  
Nelspruit**

*We don't take up space replying to letters. The space is for our readers. But we deny all the allegations. - Editor.*



# ANC hails joint working group

THE government's decision to establish a joint working group with an ANC-led group of educationists was hailed by the leader of the 27-man delegation, ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela as a "breakthrough".

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

## Shortages

These include the immediate shortages in buildings, teachers, books and stationery in Black schools, and in the long term the establishment of a single education department and system with a single budget.

The joint working group has been directed to deal with the issues as a matter of urgency, and report to a resumption of today's meeting on a date to be decided by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

After the meeting at the State President's Tuynhuys office, Mr Mandela and his group addressed a Press confer-

ence at the University of Western Cape.

They regarded the agreement of the government, which they said had been reluctant, to the establishment of a working group as a breakthrough.

## Incorrect

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

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

"They have been brought together by the great crisis in education generally, and particularly in Black education."

Three principle issues had been discussed: A single budget for all; A single education system; and the recognition of representative structures in a new system.

## System

Professor Jakes Gerwel, Rector of UWC, said the JWC would investigate the nature, form and content of a new system of education.

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



A US newspaper makes amends, writes Ramsay Milne from New York

# High praise for Buthelezi

STAR 21 FEBRUARY 1991

If the American media has treated Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi unfairly — as the Inkatha leader has angrily and frequently claimed — the New York Times has made handsome amends with one of the most lavish displays yet accorded a foreign political figure.

In an eight-page spread, extravagantly illustrated with colour pictures and a huge, full-face, close-up of him in his tribal finery adorning its front-page, the Times magazine has devoted almost an entire issue to a portrayal of the man, who, when not ignored altogether, has been portrayed to Americans as a "puppet of Pretoria", but who now, according to the Times, is "staking a claim in the new South Africa".

It is a remarkable reversal, coming at a time when the American press, after years of almost

unquestioning support for the ANC and what Chief Buthelezi has described as vilification of himself, appears now to be looking more critically at the African National Congress.

The article, appearing in what is almost required weekend reading among the influential lawmakers and financiers in New York and Washington, will almost certainly bring Chief Buthelezi heightened prestige.

Written by the Times correspondent in Johannesburg, Christopher Wren, the article describes the 20 ANC leaders present when Chief Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela met in Durban last month listening in "stunned silence" as Chief Buthelezi reminded them of their "complicity over the years, when I was slammed, maligned, sworn at, humiliated and when attempts

were made to castrate me politically".

"There are very few members of this national executive committee of the ANC who have not at one time or another engaged in my vilification," he is quoted as telling them.

The article gives a detailed enumeration of these attacks, in which Chief Buthelezi directly names Mr Mandela, as well as Chris Hani, chief of staff of the ANC's guerilla wing, who called him "a government lackey and running dog", Joe Slovo, who had described the Zulu leader's political programme as "tribalism in disguise", and John Nkadimeng, "calling me a snake that must be hit on the head" as among his worst critics.

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

scribing him as wearing "the imperiousness of the Zulu royalty into which he was born", and stating: "His friends, among them conservatives in the United States, Britain and West Germany, applaud Buthelezi for denouncing the ANC's alliance with the South African Communist Party and find his endorsement of free-market economics more palatable than the ANC's talk about nationalisation and redistribution of wealth.

"They like Buthelezi's opposition to economic sanctions and to the guerilla struggle that the ANC finally suspended last August.

"They like Buthelezi, in short, for the very reason his enemies, at home and overseas, hate him: his ideology sounds neither revolutionary nor romantic, but pragmatically middle-of-the-road." — Star Bureau. □



## LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712  
Johannesburg 2000

# Sanctions cost me my job

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

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

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

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

22 FEB  
1991

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

Those who will criticise my opinion are those who are "immune" from this heartless exercise. Just look at Mr Mandela himself; he dresses like an acclaimed movie executive, his wife, Winnie, is always immaculate; they are a well-to-do couple.

Who pays for their expenses? Yet in the meantime he still adheres to sanctions.

We also want to live as modestly as they do. But we know we must work for our living. But there is no work. There are sanctions. Sanctions do not employ people. They take away that opportunity of tending for yourself.

Controversially, Nelson Mandela says he was quoted out of context, but I have not heard him say-

ing anything about sanctions to the contrary.

The high rate of crime in South Africa has been aggravated by the consequences of sanctions. Yet the archbishop (Tutu) is still preaching sanctions overseas.

Is this another national suicide propagated for us, the oppressed and privileged, by the lesser oppressed and privileged Black politicians? Men of integrity, men of influence?

No, no, no more sanctions please. Get along with your politics, but please do not deprive us of our daily bread.

We are not politicians. We are just ordinary workers who are striving to fend for our families. Your politics may mean bread and butter to you, but to us it is misery, destitution and poverty.

There shall be work and security, so reads the Freedom Charter.

SOLOMON TAYLOR  
WICKERS  
Fersterus

Saturday 23 February 1991 CITIZEN

# 56pc Blacks support ANC — HSRC poll

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

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

It said these were some

## Cartoon was porn

NEW YORK. — A couple in the staid Connecticut community of Danbury were horrified this week to find their two youngsters watching a videotape that showed a man and a woman copulating in a library. The pornographic tape had come from a box labelled Rusty the Fox, which Mr Larry Laslow had brought home assuming it was a children's cartoon. — Sapa.

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

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

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

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

respondents.

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

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

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



# New SA 'cannot be left to politicians alone'

By Esmaré  
van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela has made an emphatic plea to ordinary South Africans to become involved in the process of creating a democracy — a task which could not be left to politicians alone.

"We do not see the resolution of our conflict happening without public activity.

"In actions supporting the demand for a free democratic process, an end to violence, and the need for peace, all people of goodwill will have to play a role in securing this result," he told about 4 000 students at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

He delivered the keynote address at the Students' Representative Council's official ceremony to welcome first-year and returning students.

Metal detectors were used to search the large audience.

## Decisions

Mr Mandela said that all should contribute towards the process of freedom and reconstruction in a country where all would be enriched by a diversity of views.

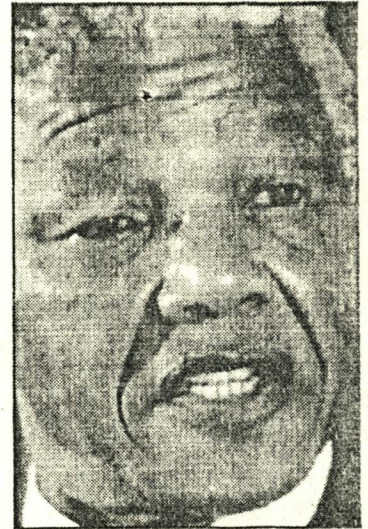
The ANC did not have all the answers. It needed specialists to assist the movement in making policy decisions and spell out options in such a way that ordinary citizens would understand them and become involved in

the political debate.

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

"Working for the ANC or Nusas or Sansco cannot be a substitute for your broader civic duty to use your time here to learn and understand how best to serve your country and its peoples."

Mr Mandela said he wanted to lay to rest the false claims that the ANC had propagated the slogan "liberation before education".



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

The Star Thursday February 21 1991

# The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

## Stench of corruption

**S**URELY the Minister of Defence, General Malan, will now have the integrity to resign — or President de Klerk will find the courage to dismiss him. The latest revelations about the sinister Civil Co-operation Bureau paint a picture of a mad-dog organisation running out of control. Around the organisation swirls the stench of corruption, not just from abuse of public money, but more so from the abuse of power. Its shadowy operatives, some of them hired killers, clearly believe they are above the law, beyond restraint.

Even after the Minister of Defence announced last year that the CCB had been operationally disbanded (whatever that means), CCB members were trying to grab nearly R4 million for themselves in unauthorised leave and pension gratuities.

Because the Minister of Finance had "other priorities", the Auditor-General's report revealing this can of worms has only been made public now, nearly four months after it was received. Parliament's Joint Standing Committee on Public Accounts will consider it only next month.

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

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

Whatever Parliament decides, the public will have no doubt. The CCB spent more than R12,5 million without proper authority over two years. The fact that some shadowy functionary or other decided that that was perfectly OK by him does not make the spending acceptable.

Not even General Malan can contort this into propriety. Neither can he argue any more — if he ever could — that his only offence was ignorance and a misguided loyalty to his own men. Things have gone far beyond that. We are not sanguine that he will see things in this light, which leaves it up to President de Klerk to act. So far he has been markedly reluctant.

Yet he must surely see that this cloud looms over his whole administration, tainting its integrity. It would be a tragedy if the image of corruption were to overshadow the drive for reform at so crucial a time for South Africa.



COMMENT & OPINION

# Replacing apartheid fruits with those of Marxism?

## Matters of fact

I am writing to correct certain misrepresentation and inaccuracies in an article entitled "On academic body servants" which was published in your newspaper on February 14. I would therefore appreciate the publication of this letter.

The Learn with Echo Supplement is not financed by the Tembalethu Community Education Centre or The Centre for Adult Education at Natal University. The supplement which aims to uplift and empower the thousands of people in the greater Pietermaritzburg area who are the unfortunate victims of an apartheid education, is in fact a joint venture set up by Echo, Tembalethu and the Centre of Adult Education. The funds are supplied by foreign go-

vernments (including the United States) and South African companies.

I must also point out that as the supplement has only been running since September 6, 1990, there was no May 16 issue. The author of your unsigned article must have been referring to the issue for January 31 which sets out the debate on Shaka Zulu.

While I am not qualified to comment on the events surrounding Shaka's rise and fall, for your unnamed (sic) historian to describe

the series as pornography because an historian puts another point of view which was backed up by the statements of men such as James King, Alfred Bryant and Mayema (sic) Fuze, indicates a narrow vision of a subject which is, by its very nature, highly controversial.

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

**JOHN DAVIES  
MANAGING EDITOR**

The Managing Editor of Echo, Mr John Davies, says in a letter to Ilanga and published on this page today that the "Learn with Echo" supplement is designed to "uplift and empower thousands of people in the greater Pietermaritzburg area who are the victims of an apartheid education..."

We have no reason to doubt that that is genuinely what the management of Echo wishes to do and we commend them for their efforts. Ilanga also publishes education supplements designed to help vast numbers of South Africans who have had to endure an inferior education.

### NOT QUALIFIED

But, we must differ with Mr Davies about what is being done in his newspaper's name with regard to the history series on King Shaka. He admits that he is not qualified to comment on the events

surrounding King Shaka's rise and fall. Given that fact, it would be advisable, we suggest, for him to have the writings of Messrs Wright and Mazel vetted by impartial and ideologically uncommitted historians before they are published.

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

### CLASS STRUGGLE

There is nowhere Marxists won't discover a class struggle and this interpretation of history is there for all to see in the pages of Echo. Just look at the issue of Echo dated February 14 if you want the proof.

No sir, it is not Ilanga that has a "narrow vision" on King Shaka - it is your two contributors, John Wright and Aron Mazel. Apartheid was an evil

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

We repeat, their efforts to date are the equivalent of historical porno-

graphy dressed up as revisionist history. Not only are they designed to indoctrinate, but they are overtly designed to denigrate political opponents.

To use the loaded pejorative of the Far Left, warlord, to describe King Shaka is obscene. There is nothing scholarly about their approach - it is propaganda. And they give themselves away in the issue of January 31. Why is a photograph of Noami Jacobson's statue of King Shaka at Ulundi used to illustrate that particular article? She is an artist and every artist will depict famous people differently. The use of that statue in juxtaposition with the use of the term "warlord" is no coincidence.

### PROPAGANDA

Just take a close look at ANC propaganda and you will understand what Messrs Wright and Mazel are up to. Their actions dovetail neatly with those of the ANC propaganda machine.

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



literate African Iron Age societies if you need convincing on this point.

If Messrs Wright and Mazel were really looking for the archetypal "warlord" in 19th Century KwaZulu history, then they might have looked at Chief Zwide of the Ndwande. It was this ruthless individual that lured Chief Dingiswayo into a trap and later beheaded him. It was the "warlord" Zwide that threatened the very existence of the Mthethwa and Zulu Chiefdoms.

#### ASSAULT

It was Zwide that first launched an assault on Chief Shaka with an overwhelming force - bent on the annihilation of the Mthethwa peoples. In 1818/19 Zwide sent his ablest commanders to wipe out the

Zulu and the Mthethwa. Chief Shaka was heavily outnumbered by three to one, but his genius as a military leader won the day as his superior tactics and unorthodox strategy brought about the utter defeat at the Ndwandwe and forced Zwide to flee - leaving Shaka as the undisputed leader of a newly-created kingdom.

Historical evidence proves, unequivocally, that Shaka was a genius of political organisation. As Professor Webb, Dr Jeff Guy and Dr Martin Hall have so ably demonstrated, the territory that is now Zululand, Natal and Mozambique was suffering from a prolonged series of droughts and decreased rainfall between roughly 1800 and 1830 at a time when the African population of the region had reached a dangerously high level in relation to a deterioration in pasturage for cat-

tle and a decline in maize production.

King Shaka used centra-

giments and only released them from service to King and country when they reached their early or mid-thirties. By thus delaying marriage and effectively curbing population growth, the King was able to avert large-scale famine that was common before he came to power in 1818.

Shaka also utilized the Zulu regiments to provide security for the Zulu people so that they could regularly cultivate their fields, reap their crops and tend their cattle without fear of raids by invaders.

#### SERVICE

But, possibly the greatest service Shaka performed

for his people was to shield them against the scourge of the wholesale slaving activities carried out from Mazambique.

The strong and centralized Zulu Kingdom with its large army staved off the penetration of slavers into Zulu territory to a very large degree.

#### PORNOGRAPHY

We repeat: the efforts of Messrs Wright and Mazel to depict King Shaka as a warlord and oppressor are tantamount to historical pornography.

The supreme irony is that the vehicle they use to indoctrinate the young with their shallow Marxist interpretation of history is a newspaper that lives off the fruits of free enterprise. And that the series is partly financed by the epitome of capitalism - the United States of America.

#### REALITY

Nothing could be further removed from historical reality and evidence. Just read the works of such eminent and authoritative writers like Professor Colin Webb, Dr Jeff Guy (author of the widely acclaimed Destruction of the Zulu Kingdom and other highly regarded pioneering works), and Dr Martin Hall, the leading archaeologist in South Africa and expert on pre-

## Remarkable comment

The Sunday Tribune last week described Cape Town news reports that members of the Democratic Party might be joining Inkatha as "patent piffle." Not a shred of evidence is offered to back up that remarkable comment. Incredible.

The comment was made in the

newspaper's "Insider" column, which, it is widely believed, is written by the editor himself. Why, one wonders, should he make such a fierce comment on a news report that his newspaper never even carried? Is it unspeakable to actually suggest that white parliamentarians might join Inkatha?

Well, one thing is certain. Whoever the author of the column was, one thing he most certainly is not is an insider. But the comment does serve a very useful purpose. It explains much of what has been happening in The Sunday Tribune in recent times.



## THE WORLD



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

*Years of bitter discrimination fail to blunt hope for reform*

**By John Battersby**

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CAPE TOWN

**T**HE De Beers, who have survived the humiliation of eviction under apartheid laws, have begun to imagine that their grandchildren may grow up in a shared society.

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

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

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

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

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

outnumber whites and blacks combined – acts as a kind of buffer that makes this the least racially tense city in South Africa.

Although the "coloreds" broadly share the culture and language of white Afrikaners, they have been subjected to the same repression and humiliation under apartheid as the black majority. The National Party moved in 1956 to manipulate the Constitution (by packing the Senate and the Appeal Court) to deprive people of mixed race of the right to vote. That sowed a legacy of bitterness and persuaded most "coloreds" to identify with the black liberation struggle.

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

## A legacy of discrimination

Pamela de Beer's anger is closer to the surface than Peter's. "As 'coloreds,' we are in the middle," she says. "The younger blacks want to turn things against the whites. They don't want to forget. Just as the Jews will never let the world forget about the Nazis, so they [black radicals] will never let the world forget what was done to them under apartheid."

Their daughters Natalie and Heidi are both married and live nearby with their husbands and children. The grandchildren have given Peter de Beer a second wind.

He has always been very much his own person, striving for a balance between his own needs and service to the community. For the past 15 years, he has been a volunteer counselor for the National Institute of Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders, and he currently serves in the organization's Cape Town leadership. For the past five years he has also run a store where recently released prisoners can get free clothing. Helping them readjust to society has advanced Peter's quest for fulfillment.

"I enjoyed that because I consider myself to be a people's person," he says. "I had very humble beginnings. I know what poverty is, and I wanted to give something back to the community."

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

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



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

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

In the past year, De Beer has begun to reap the rewards of a lifetime of hard work. He and Pamela went on their first vacation to a resort in 30 years of marriage. Now they are planning a second one.

"I have settled down," says De Beer, recalling how angry and defensive he was in his middle years. "I don't get so emotional about things now."

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

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

"He has built up some credit with us," conceded De Beer. "By announcing [Feb. 1] that he will repeal race classification during this parliamentary session, he has proved to us that he is for real."

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

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

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

De Beer's most vivid and unpleasant memory was that of government officials arriving at his small subsidized home in Diepriver 16 years ago and announcing that the neighborhood had been declared "For White Occupation Only."

"At first we pretended it was not real," he says.

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

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

## SOUTH AFRICAN FAMILIES: CRUCIBLE FOR CHANGE



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

"It was dangerous to be in politics in those days," he says.

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

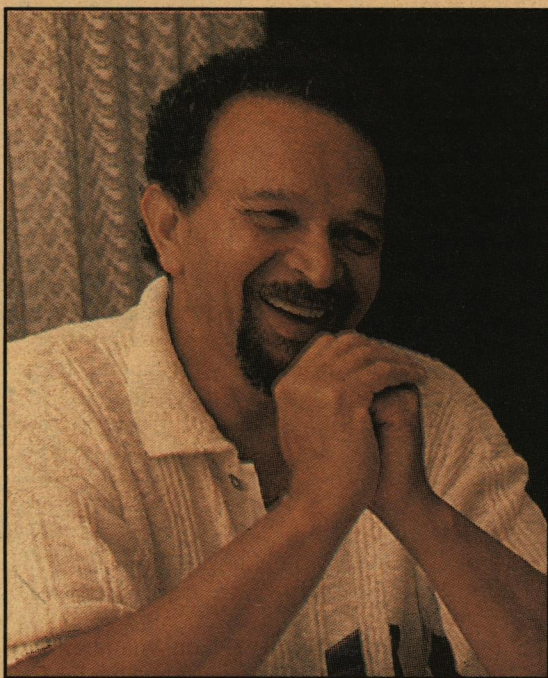
"Policies were changed to suit the white electorate," he says.

## Resisting radical solutions

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

"I was lobbied out because I was not militant enough," he says. "Black athletes who competed with whites in those days were seen as sellouts."

When the government introduced parallel houses of parliament for the "col-



**PETER DE BEER:** He was active in politics until the government banned multiracial parties in 1968. He and Pamela sympathize with the liberation cause, but have not yet joined the ANC. Peter says he tries to balance the needs of the community with his own family's goals.