

**N**URSES have a responsibility to support and care for Aids patients, more than five million of whom will die in the next five years.

This was the message in the keynote address by Mr Richard Wells, a member of the British aids advisory team, to the National Oncology Nursing Symposium in Sea Point, Cape Town, yesterday.

Mr Wells, also adviser on oncology nursing at the Royal College of Nursing in London, said many nurses were reluctant to treat Aids patients.

"We have to bring to those people unfortunate enough to suffer this problem a message of hope," said Mr Wells.

He said Aids presented the nursing profession with many questions to which there were few answers.

"At present no one knows where Aids came from, but the application of responsibility should not be a feature of our care for our patients," Mr Wells said.

He said the emergence of Aids had very little

# Nurses have duty towards Aids victims

**SOWETAN  
Correspondent**

— UK EXPERT  
ON THE DISEASE

effect on broader society and people believed the impending disaster would not be a problem to them.

"People seemed to say it was not a problem that we did not have a cure as the sufferers — the homosexuals and drug addicts — were on the fringes of society and therefore expendable.

"We saw a marked lack of government concern.

"Many countries only took notice when the virus affected the rest of society.

"Only in 1983 when the HIV virus was

identified did doctors find out how the virus could be transmitted.

"We could then dispose of the myths that it was airborne and could be transmitted on lavatory seats," Mr Wells said.

He said some people with Aids remained asymptomatic for years, while others develop Aids-Related Complex (ARC).

"Only 40 to 50 percent of people who develop Aids die.

"The World Health Organisation has found that there are five to 10 million people today infected with the Aids virus and half of them will die within the next five years.

## Punitive

"They admit that the majority of them are heterosexual."

Mr Wells said in New York one in every 86 children was born with Aids.

In Harlem, the figures were even higher and Aids had become the single largest cause of death among young women in New York.

He said the duty of the nursing profession was not to only discuss how to care for patients with Aids but where to care for them.

"Unfortunately, there are still members of our profession in favour of punitive treatment — who feel Aids patients should be removed from the rest of society.

"I am dismayed at the amazing reluctance of oncology people to treat Aids patients.

"We're frightened of them."

He said nine health workers in the world had been infected with Aids in seven years, three after accidents with equipment and four ignored the guidelines set down by the profession.

## Best

"Nine out of 150 000 nurses internationally is not bad," said Mr Wells.

The best way to care for Aids patients was to leave the control of the treatment in their own hands, he said.

"We need to give them the hope and knowledge to carry on."

He said nurses should also help patients overcome their shame.

"Besides their physical problems, Aids patients have to carry the burden of shame which society has placed on them," he said.

Oncology nurses had the satisfaction of seeing

many cancers put in their place, he said.

"We now have the problem of treating patients with incurable cancers.

"We can help by taking the hope for the future of Aids patients and reharnessing them into hope for tomorrow.

"When you are dying, tomorrow acquires a greater meaning in your life."

Nurses were supposed to respond to people's needs, Mr Wells said.

"Do we have the right to refuse to treat a patient with Aids?

"Seventy percent of Aids patients in New York are being cared for by volunteers.

"They are stealing our history and we are letting them do it.

## Ignored

"It seems we are hell-bent on proving we are not needed.

"It seems as though the people who are suffering the most are being ignored."

Mr Wells said nurses should concentrate on supporting those closest to Aids sufferers as well.

"How do you tell someone who has just lost a loved one that they may be carrying the virus and may be travelling the same road?

"We have to help these people build bridges and make memories.

"It is terrible for people to leave only memories of pain and suffering behind."

He said the world needed someone to speak up about Aids.

"Don't hide in a fool's paradise believing this is not a problem for you.

"Let us take out a message of hope to all those who have Aids and all those who care for them," Mr Wells said.



SOWETAN, Friday, April 22, 1988

# RESTRICTIONS ON ANC MAN'S BURIAL

THE Divisional Commissioner of the South African Police in the East Rand this week placed restrictions on the funeral service of the African National Congress activist allegedly shot dead by the security forces last month.

The service takes place at the Roman Catholic Church in Katlehong tomorrow.

Mr Vuyisile Bixa (23) of Credi Section was killed near Thabazimbi on March 25. He was shot with two other insurgents.

A sister of the dead man, Miss Ntsiki Bixa, yesterday said the funeral service has been restricted to no more than 200 people attending and that the ser-

By JOE MDHLELA

vice which should be conducted by an ordained priest should commence at 7am and be over by 10am.

Other restrictions, said Miss Bixa, include the ban on political slogans; that the coffin be transported from the church to the cemetery by a mechanical vehicle; and that the shortest route between the church and the cemetery be used.

The liaison officer of the SAP in the East Rand, Lieutenant Willie Meyer, confirmed yesterday that restrictions have been placed on the funeral service.



South Africa

by Gerald Shaw

# The whims of the President

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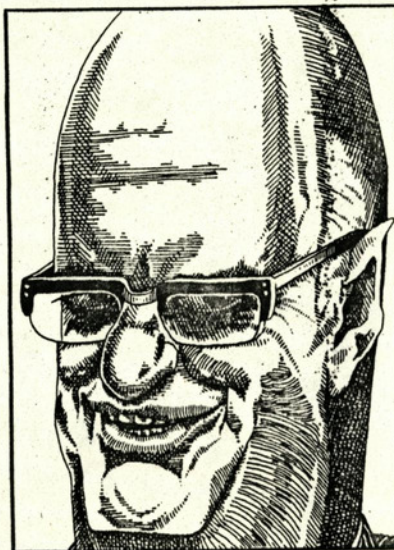
SOUTH African politics is becoming a matter of presidential whim, it seems, as the country's future is decided in a narrow circle of security advisers surrounding the state president. More and more, President Botha and one or two of his ministers in the state security council are governing by decree on the advice of the security establishment, often, as it appears, without reflecting very much on the probable consequences abroad.

They close down a newspaper or stop a Supreme Court trial, as they did last week, or perform sundry other repressive acts in the name of national security. Consider the recent restriction of 17 organisations, coming out of the blue at a time when the country by recent standards was relatively calm and peaceful. The baleful consequences abroad were evident again recently as steps began in the United States Congress to intensify the sanctions already in place in terms of the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. In the European Community, which has

never been enthusiastic about sanctions, the climate has likewise begun to harden.

If anyone would like a first-hand explanation of this rapid transformation they might consult the South Africa Foundation's representatives abroad, who happened to be visiting Cape Town last week on their annual report-back to the foundation's membership. Messrs Rudolph Gruber (Bonn), Desmond Colborne (Paris), David Willers (London) and Michael Christie (Washington) are unofficial South African diplomats who move in influential circles in their respective capitals. Each has a thorough understanding of the society in which they live and work — and sensitive antennae for detecting changing political signals.

Judging by what they have been saying in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, there has been a sharp turn for the worse just when it seemed that a new realism about South Africa was taking hold in world capitals. The shift in the EEC countries was noted by Desmond



Mr P.W. Botha

Colborne in a newspaper interview in which he spoke of the dismay in Europe at the prospect of legislation restricting funds coming into South

Africa. The EEC has protested very strongly against this proposed interference in its aid programmes.

More and more it is plain that the attitudes and perceptions of the security establishment are calling the tune in South Africa — in a fashion which can only be described as counter-productive. President Botha listens to what the military have to say, we conclude, and gives little weight to advice from other quarters. As the media become progressively less informative, the state-run television is perfected as an instrument to promote calm by alternately boring and soothing the population to sleep.

Apart from the zealots of left and right, most whites in this situation are turning aside from politics to make the best of a spacious and privileged lifestyle which is hardly rivalled anywhere in the world. What blacks think can only be guessed at. Abroad, television coverage of South Africa is currently fastening attention on the AWB and its Nazi-style antics. This is perceptive

as it is only right-wing extremism which is likely to endanger stability and the status quo in the foreseeable future, by sparking disorder and bringing the suppressed tensions in the country to a head in an orgy of violence. The ANC sees the AWB as potentially its most effective ally. Yet the AWB now seems likely to join the ranks of the banned and restricted organisations, so there is nothing much on the horizon to upset the even tenor of life in the garrison state.

Except, perhaps, the dispute over Angola and Namibia which Washington and Moscow have decided between them must now be resolved, whatever Pretoria or Luanda may say in the matter. If there is a disposition in Pretoria to thwart the superpowers in their present bent towards regional peacemaking, the going could become pretty rough. The country is in the hands of President Botha and the military and we must hope for the best.

• Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times.





SAMUEL Kolisang.



PHIL Mthimkhulu.

# Leaders hit out at P W's plan

SOWETAN, FRIDAY: APRIL 22, 1988

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A NUMBER of black leaders have scoffed at the proposal by State President, Mr P W Botha, to create a multi-racial policy making body which will include blacks in Parliament.

They feel that the deal would include those blacks who work in Government-created institutions and would not satisfy the broad mass of people who want to see their jailed leaders elected to Parliament on

a one-man-one-vote system.

Political analyst Mr Phil Mthimkhulu, who lectures at the university of South Africa, said blacks would find the new plan confusing as much as the Government's confused constitutional plans.

He said many blacks would not be interested in participating in such a body as it was tanta-

mount to being offered small concessions.

What would satisfy blacks, he said, would be universal franchise, the unbanning of political organisations and the release of those leaders who are languishing in jail so that they should come and take their place among the people.

## Question

He felt that the majority of blacks would question the existence of the President's Council and resist participating in a body that they had no hand in planning.

The Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs (Ceapa) felt the proposal was one of trying to create a quadra-cameral Parliament.

The organisation's

organising secretary, Ms Thembi Mbobo said people were not interested in advisory bodies but wanted to participate fully in Government.

The former mayor of Atteridgeville, Mr Z Z Mashao, said the proposal would not be relevant as long as true leaders were still languishing in jail.

He said: "Unless the government released all political detainees, unbanned all political organisations and individuals the proposal would not serve any purpose."

The leader of the newly formed Vaal Residents' Representative Party, Mr Samuel Kolisang, said the move was welcomed, but asserted that the government should consider releasing all political detainees.



**H**ELL, this ou, Hendrickse, you know, just does not know the trouble he is causing everybody. I mean, he is the ou who goes for a dip in the *lekker* waters of Port Elizabeth, well knowing that that is an own affair — meaning that only whiteys can do that.

And, being one of the ous in government, he oughta know that that is wrong, but he does it all the same.

Now P W does not like this at all. He thinks, well, if this ou is in my government, he must toe the line. And if he does not toe the line, he must get out.

He really gives him hell.

All in all, the matter is resolved with apologies all round, and a television appearance by ou P W telling the whole world, and others like ou Hendrickse, just what he can do to them.

Now Hendrickse is not the kind of guy who goes down without a fight. I mean, since when did a toughie like him, growing up in the rough and tumble of the coloured townships, lie down to be kicked?

The whole PE matter seems to hit back, boomerang, you know, on the Nats. Old Heunis gets a thorough knock at his election — and ou Worrall, who had been punting Nat policy in London and other places for many years, is beaten by a real close shave, you know. Now Heunis, who had seen himself as a possible candidate for the top executive position in the country,



suddenly finds that his stakes are so low that he will most likely be relegated.

He does not say so in so many words, because not many people would, but those oukes called political analysts blame PW's PE debacle for the poor performance by ou Heunis.

The chicken had come home to roost. But then PW did not seem to realise it. The point is that when those in government wished to make their point, they simply had to make a telephone call and the SABC-TV cameras would start rolling. No news was turned into good news, and any news to the contrary was relegated to a position of non-news.

It came to pass that ou Hendrickse would have another go at the Big Chief. He was given a hell of a long time on TV, and the Chief just did not like it when his side of the story was given only a few seconds.

He was fuming when he made his telephone call to the boss of the SABC. He told him that he must be given more time to tell his side like it is, you know, or else... Of course, the Chief denied that he did such a thing at all, but

# Now see what ou Hendrickse has done

we all know what a denial means in this country.

Nobody knows what transpired, but the upshot of it all was that ou Eksteen ended up in very serious trouble indeed. Apparently, the Chief had thought that he actually employed this man, and threatened to fire him. Of course, he denied it, too.

## Trouble

A usually unreliable source told me that ou Eksteen booked into a top hotel in Cape Town under a different name, and threatened to jump if he was fired. He then thought that that was not good enough, and went to Table Mountain and threatened to jump from the top there. Well, in the end, somebody actually read the employment conditions for him, and he found out that he could not be kicked out by the Big Chief, afterall, and he happily returned to the dizzy heights of

Auckland Park where he cheerfully told everybody that he was still very much in control of the situation.

But then, one must remember that ou Eksteen was a Pik Botha appointee, and when the SABC was taken out of his control, the writing was on the wall. First, old Schlebusch was given the responsibility. But he probably found it too hot. Then, because Heunis had fallen out of favour, old Stoffel van der Merwe moved into a new portfolio in the Big Chief's office.

But then the matter was still sticky. So a

whole golden handshake package was worked out. More than half a million's golden handshakes, and nothing less, was what old Eksteen settled for.

## Price

Now Hendrickse is himself could do with a package like that. Actually come to think of it, who would not? And does it matter that you and I will be paying it?

But then, that is the price we have to pay. We have not been told why, if there was a problem between

Eksteen and the SABC Board, it was not simply a matter of telling Mr Eksteen that his *skroppie* was gone, and goodbye. There is much more to it than we will ever know, and we will probably see more government people on TV and a more aggressive selling of government people will be the order of the day.

But that is pure speculation, just as it was pure speculation to suggest that Eksteen was on his way out.

Just a thought. What next is on Hendrickse's agenda?



# How council funds

Thokoza Council  
theft case

SOWETAN

## were used - witness

22/04/88

By MANDLA NDLAZI

THE Thokoza Town Council spent huge sums of money to save the lives of councillors, council police and officials during the unrest in 1986, a Johannesburg Regional Court Magistrate was told yesterday.

The money was spent, the court was told, to accommodate the councillors and their families, police and officials at some places such as hotels, including the Holiday Inn. The arrangements were made by the council's town clerk, Mrs Doris Thinane and nobody questioned her actions because it was a matter of "life or

death", the court heard.

This was said by Mr Jacob Sekete, former councillor and now administrator of the Thokoza Town Council. He said this when cross-examined by Mrs Thinane, who is conducting her own defence.

Mrs Thinane (40), is appearing with former mayor, Mr Gerald Mamabolo (43), on two counts of theft involving R667 327.

The two are appearing before Mr I J J Luther. The State alleges they stole R513 083,06 on April 19, 1986, from the council and R164 243,96 on June 9 of the same year, also from the council. They have pleaded not guilty.

Mr Sekete told the court that his house was burnt down in April 1986. He said the council police who were guarding his house had gone on strike when the house was attacked.

He said he stayed in a number of hotels with his family for about three months at the council's expense.

Mr Sekete said he could not remember the amount spent, but denied when Mrs Thinane said it was R8 000. He agreed that councillors Masondo and Mabane, whose houses were also burnt during the unrest, were accommodated in hotels and other places at the council's expense.

He said council police and officials, a Mr Mello and Mr Makhaya were also accommodated outside Thokoza at the council's expense.



SOWETAN: APRIL 22, 1988



Mr JAY Naidoo and Mr Muntu Myeza at a seminar organised by the Black Management Forum in Johannesburg.

# LEADERS SHELVE DIFFERENCES

TWO leaders this week shelved their differences to deplore apartheid and propose a new economic framework for South Africa at a two-day seminar in Johannesburg.

The adherents of the Freedom Charter and the Azanian Manifesto told a Black Management Forum seminar that South Africa's future economic framework would be determined by the black working class.

The seminar, whose theme was "The new

economic framework for South Africa", was also addressed by leaders in commerce and industry.

An adherent of the charter, Mr Jay Naidoo, said apartheid had built a layer of black petty bourgeoisie who preferred to have a stake in the present system rather than identify fully with

the liberation struggle.

He said black managers had a major role to play in bringing about political, social and economic change in South Africa.

"The future society, irrespective of the economic framework, will require trained managers. What we need to realise is that apartheid does not reward merit but colour," he said.

"The demands of the Charter provide the only viable answers to the

political and economic crisis which has plunged our country into conflict and mass suffering."

An adherent of the Manifesto, Mr Muntu Myeza, said blacks were made hostile by the oppressive and exploitative laws of the country.

Apartheid, he said, would lead South Africa into catastrophe.

Both speakers said apartheid and capitalism were inseparable systems which must be destroyed in South Africa because they had left many people unemployed.

These systems, they

added, had made the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Apartheid paid workers poor wages, offered inferior working conditions, housing and education and had repressive laws.

Educationist Mr Curtis Nkondo said the capitalist South Africa had benefited whites at the expense of the black majority.

During the seminar black managers were encouraged to join and identify themselves with community organisations.



# Illusion of power

BUSINESS DAY - 22 APRIL

1988

**D**ERIVE comfort, if you can, from the sight of President Botha enmeshed in his own bureaucracy, overwhelmed by the duties he has assumed, and resorting to his own excessive powers to create a new bureaucracy and to assume new duties.

Not long ago he thought he could be head of state, head of government and head of a political party, like an American president. He might have succeeded if he had been capable of delegation. His Cabinet Ministers, had he trusted them, could have done their jobs within the framework of his policy.

He has instead made their lives impossible by trying to dominate every aspect of public policy, down to the nightly news bulletins and by terrorising all about him. He imagines that he can, if he finds the right bureaucratic mechanisms, run the government, the country, the private sector and half the sub-continent. He is, by his own admission, cracking under the strain.

His solution is typically bureaucratic. He plans to appoint a prime minister to run the day-to-day administration as a "chairman". However, he cannot, being the man he is, quite bring himself to relinquish control; he reserves the right to supplant the prime minister as chairman "on occasion". That, as any mildly competent manager might tell him, is an arrangement guaranteed to undermine the confidence and authority of his prime minister from the start.

It is a pitiful sight. President

Botha, as always, has some commendable intentions. He is trying to get a "Great Indaba" off the ground — something similar, it would seem, to the continental congress that drew up the American constitution. We think black leaders should take him at his word and join the "Indaba", if only as a means of educating the white leadership of this country, but he does not know how to persuade them.

He also tries hard, in a crash-and-bang way, to run the country efficiently, to set sensible priorities, to combat inflation and to make a happier world. He fails consistently because his political skills are defective and because his own authoritarian personality has fallen prey to the illusions of power.

His attempt to persuade the business sector to limit wage increases is an example: he announces a "voluntary" programme of wage and price restraint and then waits for business to impose his wishes as though they are Soviet commissars. When that does not succeed, he announces legislation to compel business to obey him — as though they could obey him.

These are the actions of an exasperated man, insecure in his power and blind to its limits. His actions recall the comment of President Harry Truman who, preparing to hand over the White House to the military minded Eisenhower, murmured: "Poor Ike. He'll sit here and say, 'Do this, do that' — and nothing will happen."

Poor Ike. Poor President Botha.

## The new class

**A**N entire new class of black people, educated and highly paid, has begun to emerge from the grey conformity imposed by apartheid. They don't like to be called "middle class" because it makes them vulnerable to pressure from the mindless creatures whose notion of education is best expressed in the chant "Pass one, pass all", but they are nevertheless an emergent middle class.

That fact does not divide them from their community, but it does equip them to become leaders of that community.

The new class, whose progress was briefly outlined on this page earlier this week, has been created by a spirit of free enterprise which

has managed to find the cracks of opportunity in a generally oppressive structure of state control. Education, managerial jobs, the chance to invest in home ownership, access to credit and good old-fashioned capitalist drive are beginning to transform black society.

The new petit bourgeoisie may, for the time being, keep its head down for fear of the vengeful underclasses and the radical intellectuals, but it adds to the power of the black unions, the power of black managers and black consumers. Unless its development is aborted by sanctions or reactionary government, it is likely to become the greatest force for change South Africa has seen.



THE EXILED leaders of the banned African National Congress in Lusaka are undergoing a period of heart-searching as they contemplate their faltering campaign against the increasingly assertive and self-confident South African government.

Senior ANC members accept that the heat has gone out of the organisation's combined military and political offensive against Pretoria.

They admitted in interviews that the organisation's morale was at a low ebb, because Pretoria did not seem threatened by the ANC, right-wing advances in white politics or even sanctions.

The banning two months ago of 17 anti-apartheid organisations had seriously weakened the ANC's ability to organise within SA, I was told. It would take time for the internal opposition forces to recover from this setback, but they were expected eventually to re-group.

The ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), has failed seriously to challenge the SADF in the three years since a heightened military offensive was announced.

At a full ANC consultative conference at Kabwe, Zambia, in 1985, the leadership promised a greatly intensified military campaign. But apart from a number of audacious attacks, such as last month's car-bomb explosion in Krugersdorp which killed three people, the expectations have not been fulfilled.

The ANC has had problems with the supply and movement of wea-

# ANC in the doldrums

BUSINESS DAY - 22 APRIL 1988

STEPHEN ROBINSON of the Daily Telegraph recently visited the Lusaka HQ of the ANC. This report on his impressions has been amended in terms of South African security laws and emergency regulations

pons, and many of its cadres have been killed or captured.

ANC leaders accept there is a long way to go before the South African government would be forced to the negotiating table, and that conditions in the country would have to get a lot worse before negotiation could even become an issue.

There was thus not even an option to drop the armed struggle.

## Negligible

One problem for the ANC is the essentially schizophrenic nature of its sabotage campaign. Umkhonto we Sizwe has claimed a limited success in hitting selected targets, such as black policemen, but these attacks have negligible impact on white morale.

On the other hand, an indiscriminate terror campaign would inevitably lead to an exodus of English-speaking whites, and destroy what

remains of international business confidence.

It would also destroy the ANC's parallel political campaign designed to force the West to adopt mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against Pretoria. The total political campaign is regarded as more important than the armed struggle.

Ironically, Magnus Malan, SA's Defence Minister, made a similar point when he warned Afrikaner businessmen that the ANC was moderating its image to win friends in the West, without abandoning its campaign of violence.

The overwhelming impression gained from a visit to the ANC headquarters, tucked away discreetly in a shabby back alley in the centre of Lusaka, was one of homesickness.

No flags or banners alert the passerby to what lies behind the front gate. Inside, South African newspapers are seized upon eagerly and scoured for news of home. A bottle of Scotch whisky and 200 cigarettes, which I was asked to bring with me

from Johannesburg, were received with similar enthusiasm.

The offices have a slightly mournful feel to them, enlivened only by the colourful mixture of Southern Africa languages. Xhosa, Zulu and English are the main choices, but a smattering of Afrikaans — "the language of oppression" — can also be heard.

## Embarrassing

Apart from the inevitable dangers and hardships involved in joining the armed struggle against Pretoria, those who leave realise they may never go back home.

For all Zambia's willingness to accommodate the ANC leadership, Lusaka is a dreary, run-down apology for a capital city. SA's main black townships do at least have an excitement that is missing in Lusaka.

There is not much here to interest or stimulate people like Chris Hani, one of the young rising stars of Umk-

honto, a noted classicist who once dreamed of becoming a priest, or Thabo Mbeki, an economics graduate of Sussex University.

The Zambian economy is so badly run that serious food shortages have developed. This is embarrassing for the government, so scapegoats have had to be found.

In February, President Kenneth Kaunda launched, with much publicity, an anti-corruption campaign to punish "hoarders and black-market-teers". The President describes himself as a humanist, so the Indians were not mentioned by name in ministers' speeches or in the local Press. But no one here is in any doubt that they are the intended target of the campaign.

The Times of Zambia has reported a key speech by Comrade Grey Zulu, general secretary of Zambia's sole political party. Zulu charged that food shortages were the work of Zambia's "enemies".

Since Kaunda's campaign was launched two months ago, several Indians have had their businesses and property seized by executive decree. They have no satisfactory redress through the courts.

ANC members do not criticise Zambia for fear of prejudicing their position in Lusaka, but one senses their frustration with the sterile political environment created by Kaunda's one-party regime.

The ANC, founded in 1912, is probably the oldest liberation movement in the world. I did not have it in my heart to tell them I suspected it would be around for many years yet.



'New life' for National Council

The Natal Witness 22/04/88

# Botha's plan for blacks

## Parliamentary Correspondent

THE government has launched a new political initiative aimed at reviving earlier plans to give blacks a role in central decision making.

State President P.W. Botha outlined the plan during debate on his Budget vote in Parliament yesterday.

The plan includes a system of regional authorities for blacks outside the homelands which is intended to give impetus to the stalled National Council initiative, according to a government source.

The source said a confederal constitutional system may emerge, but it would not necessarily be the final product. The National Council — which, according to Mr Botha, may be re-named the "Great Indaba" — could come up with totally new structures.

Other proposals which Mr Botha said were under consideration include:

- The reintroduction of the post of Prime Minister to take over some of the functions of the State President.
- Provisions to allow the State President to appoint members of the executive from outside the ranks of parliamentarians.
- Changes to the composition of the electoral college which elects the State President to allow black participation — probably via the National Council.
- The reconstitution of the President's Council when its term expires in two years to bring in blacks, make it smaller and diversify its functions.

The government source said the new plan to give blacks a more significant role should be seen as a "less pretentious" initiative than the original National Council on which some leaders were hesitant to serve. He said indications were that many black leaders would serve on the National Council — or a similar body — if the government went ahead and set it up without first negotiating details.

Mr Botha said the establishment of regional authorities for blacks outside the homelands was a "logical step".

It is understood that the regional bodies could be established on the "own affairs" principle which applies to whites, coloureds and Indians.

Mr Botha said the regional bodies could also serve as the basis for the participation of blacks outside the homelands in "a formal forum for deliberation" on further constitutional change. It is understood that draft legislation to make the regional authorities possible will be introduced as soon as possible.



## PW's main points

- Regional authorities for blacks outside homelands.
- Changes to electoral college which elects State President to include blacks.
- Blacks to be included in new, smaller President's Council.
- Post of Prime Minister to be revived to take over some functions of the State President.
- New emphasis on National Council, possibly to be called the "Great Indaba".

Mr Botha said the government was not committed to the name, form, composition or functions of the proposed National Council, the only commitment was to a forum for deliberation.

He said the name "National Council" was not approved of by a number of black leaders. One had suggested the name "Great Indaba", which deserved serious consideration.



22/04/88  
 THE NATAL  
 WITNESS  
**Row over  
 unionist's  
 Inkatha meal**

**Witness Reporter**

THE attendance of city trade unionist Norman Middleton at last month's KwaZulu prayer breakfast has sparked a row over Inkatha's relations with the National Council of Trade Unions.

On Tuesday Nactu affirmed its policy of non-affiliation. Official Mr Sisa Ntshakala said there was a "general misconception" among the public that Nactu was "a big ally" of Inkatha and the organisation in some way manipulated the union federation through "remote control".

Among other things, this misconception was caused by incidents such as the attendance of regional co-ordinator Mr Middleton at the KwaZulu breakfast last month. A photograph appeared in at least two newspapers showing Mr Middleton with Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, accompanied by a caption incorrectly stating that Mr Middleton was the president of Nactu.

Mr Ntshakala said that at a time when the townships of Natal and particularly Pietermaritzburg were "in flames", it was important to stress that Mr Middleton's relationship with Inkatha was conducted in his private capacity. He had no mandate to attend the prayer breakfast and did not do so as an officer of the union.

Last night Mr Middleton said: "It is like going to church: no one goes in their official capacity."

"I never claimed I was representing the union at the breakfast."

Mr Ntshakala said Nactu was not affiliated to political organisations because its members belonged to a broad spectrum of groups.

However, it was committed to dialogue with "all the recognised principled non-collaborationist political organisations, representative of the people". Nactu officials said Inkatha was not included in this definition and that no such dialogue was in progress.

On the question of Nactu not having dialogue with Inkatha, Mr Middleton said it all depended on what the talks were about.

"In Pietermaritzburg we have had to hold talks with Inkatha on the problems we are having in which our members are being killed."

"However, when we sit down in a conference in which the liberation struggle is discussed, we will have to decide very carefully who to talk to."

THE NATAL  
 WITNESS  
 22/04/88  
**CP voices  
 fear of  
 black  
 ministers**

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party said yesterday that Mr P.W. Botha's proposals would allow him to appoint blacks as cabinet ministers.

The CP's Mr Casper Uys said Mr Botha's plans were not the "last instalment in the story". The CP had warned whites that once they took one step on the road to power sharing, they would have to go all the way, he said.

The State President should say whether blacks were going to have proportional representation in the electoral college, he said.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu said that Mr Botha's proposal was a "departure from the past".

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said: "I am ... mindful that a journey of a million miles commences with a first step and that the first step commences with looking in the right direction."

"I again repeat that when it comes to national innovations in constitutional development, black participation ... will depend upon the freedom of all black leaders to decide whether to participate."

The State President had "again sprung a surprise about which I most certainly have not been consulted", he said.

"Now that he has taken a first tentative step ... let him be ... explicit about how far he is prepared to go," he said.

Progressive Federal Party spokeswoman, Mrs Helen Suzman, said there would not be much to gain in extending membership of the President's Council to blacks, as she did not believe there was any intention of turning the council into a legislative body. — Sapa.



Afra supports Buthelezi's call

THE MORIAL WITNESS

# Impartial body 22/04/88 'should probe farm evictions'

## Witness Reporter

EVICCTIONS of farm workers should be investigated by an impartial government-appointed board in the light of the irresponsible behaviour of farmers — particularly in the Pietermaritzburg area.

This call, made by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, has been supported by the Association for Rural Advancement (Afra) — an organisation which monitors the plight of farm workers.

Speaking during the Budget debate this week, Chief Buthelezi said the South African government should establish a board to investigate the evictions "because, in many instances, the reasons for eviction were invalid".

"This matter should be given priority because our (urban) representatives are in a dilemma as to how to stop the inhuman treatment being meted out to our people," Chief Buthelezi said.

Because of the confusion that existed as to which administration — Natal Provincial or central government — should be consulted about evictions, nothing was being done to help the evicted people who were being prosecuted for illegal squatting

and trespassing, Chief Buthelezi said.

He criticised Pretoria's "blasé" approach to such ill-treatment of black people, saying that the lack of action played into the hands of Inkatha's critics.

Mr Peter Brown, a spokesman for Afra, said that any body set up to investigate evictions should have an "impartial standing".

"If such a body is appointed it should have a member of the judiciary on it to give it status and an air of impartiality," Mr Brown said.

He called on the government to release the report of the National Manpower Commission which conducted an extensive investigation into the plight of the country's two million farm labourers.

"The commission heard evidence six years ago when Afra gave evidence as well. But the government has not yet released the report which would go a long way to exposing some of the injustices suffered by farm workers," Mr Brown said.

In September, last year, Mr Greyling Wentzel, the Minister of Agriculture, said during the vote on Agriculture in Parliament that legislation to protect farm workers was on the cards.



# FEATURES

Pretoria University's institute of strategic studies put the issue into perspective a few months ago with an assessment that ANC action had resulted in the death of 80 people in the decade between 1976 and 1986 while, in only two years alone, 1984 to 1986, more than 2300 black South African men, women and children had been killed by the security forces.

It is in the face of this apparently uncompromising violence of the police and army, who can behave as they wish with effective impunity under South African emergency and security law as it now stands, that Mr Mandela has refused to accept any conditions on his release.

He says today what he was saying from the dock in the early 1960s, which is that he stands for a non-racial democracy in which white South Africans have a full part to play. "This is their home," he told an American lawyer permitted to visit him recently, "we want them to live here with us and share power with us."

All this accords with official



Nelson Mandela before his imprisonment 25 years ago: many of his followers have never seen him.

ANC policy. But Mr Mandela, in his meeting with the lawyer, went further. After the attainment of majority rule, he would not press for an uncontrolled movement of blacks into cities; integration would come "with dignity" as job opportunities arose.

This gradualist thinking places Mr Mandela to the right of his own movement and comes close to the position of the Progressive Federal Party in the white assembly and Chief Buthelezi's Zulu Inkatha movement.

As Lord Bethell, a member of the European Parliament who

was given rare permission to see Mr Mandela recently, has said, the ANC leader's ideas evoke the concept of "a national convention of the races that will draw up a federal constitution for protection of the minorities. It was precisely this national convention that was the ANC's demand in 1961, just before the armed struggle began and Mandela was arrested."

British author Anthony Sampson, who worked in South Africa in the 1950s and knew Mandela personally, wrote two years ago that "while Botha continually stresses violence when speaking about Mandela, he must know

quite well that Mandela's commitment to sabotage of government installations is far less violent than the battles now raging in the townships."

Mr Mandela's moderation — which sometimes places him in conflict with his own wife, the outspoken Mrs Winnie Mandela — is extraordinary in relation to the incarceration that he has had to endure despite the expiration of his sentence several years ago.

But the Botha Government has tried to pin another label on him, too, one marked "communist". The ANC makes no apology for its links with the smaller and much

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# Mandela, the THE AGE - 22 APRIL 1988 messiah behind bars

**T**HE one man who could reverse South Africa's long and torturous descent into despair remains unable to do anything about it.

Nelson Mandela, probably the world's best-known political prisoner, has already served more than a quarter of a century in jail. The South African authorities continue to procrastinate over his fate.

In London, the head of the British anti-apartheid movement, Archbishop Huddleston, has helped to launch a new campaign for his release with the support of many governments and the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar.

Millions of South African blacks who have never seen or heard this ageing former solicitor regard him as their messiah. Millions of South African whites whose attitudes have been manipulated by propaganda and censorship are fearful.

If Mandela is ever released, it would count as one of the 20th Century's moments of extreme tension, akin in importance to the freeing of the Mahatma Gandhi, Jomo Kenyatta or Archbishop Makarios. Some would say that it would be like the return from exile of Ayatollah Khomeiny.

All South Africa would be stretched as tight as a drum because no one, not even Mr Mandela himself as the African National Congress's inspirational leader, knows what effect such a dramatic event would have on a society that is at war with itself and has lost much of its capacity to reason.

It is an uncertainty that has caused years of agonising at the highest reaches of the ruling National Party as President Botha and the cabal of generals who are his closest advisers have tried to calculate the odds.

An international campaign to pressure Pretoria into freeing Nelson Mandela before his 70th birthday in July opened in London this week. **GRAHAM BARRETT** reports.

Which, they have asked themselves repeatedly, is the lesser of two evils: keeping Mandela in prison and risking a national uprising if he dies behind bars, or freeing him in the desperate hope that exposure will quickly tarnish the image of a leader whose isolation has kept him beyond the reach of controversy?

As Soren Kierkegaard wrote: "The tyrant dies and his rule ends; the martyr dies and his rule begins."

Mr Mandela could have walked out of Pollsmoor prison a long time ago if he had met Mr Botha's precondition of publicly repudiating the use of violence (and probably also agreeing to exile abroad).

The irony was obvious. There was Mr Botha, who presides over security forces that are internationally notorious for their willingness to kill, wound and torture civilians, including children, demanding a promise of passivity from a man who has been locked up since the early 1960s.

Nelson Mandela is no Gandhian pacifist, despite the ANC's attachment to the mahatma's methods from the time that it was formed in the early part of this century until 50 years later, when the South African police massacred dozens of unarmed protesters in Sharpeville and black political activity was outlawed.

Neither is he the monster that South African disinformation has tried to contrive. Everything that Mr Mandela has been allowed to say during the past three decades shows him to be, in the words of

Mr Malcolm Fraser's Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group: "a man who had been driven to armed struggle only with the greatest reluctance, solely in the absence of any other alternative to the violence of the apartheid system and never as an end in itself."

"We are forced to continue (with violence)," Mr Mandela said three years ago, "though within certain limits. We go for hard targets only: military installations and symbols of apartheid. Civilians must not be touched. We deeply regret what happened in Pretoria on 23 May, 1983. A bomb went off and more than a dozen

civilians were killed. It was a tragic accident."

Mr Mandela's exiled ANC co-leader and former legal partner, Mr Oliver Tambo, shares the belief that it is now necessary to meet violence with violence as long as civilians go unharmed. He, too, expresses deep regret at the fact that civilians are sometimes killed or harmed by ANC guerillas who, Mr Tambo told me last year, occasionally become so embittered by the actions of the security forces that they hit back in an irresponsible way.

This is the conundrum in which Australia's Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, became involved recently with his remark that, in South Africa, murder could be justified in circumstances of extreme provocation.



less popular South African Communist Party, members of whom sit on the ANC's executive.

"From its inception," Mr Mandela once noted, "the ANC was formed and built up not as a political party with one school of political thought, but as a parliament of African people of various political convictions, all united by the common goal of national liberation. African communists could, and did, become members of the ANC.

"For many decades," Mr Mandela said from the dock of the 1964 treason trial, "the communists were the only political grouping in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals, who were prepared to eat with us, talk with us, live with us and work with us ... because of this there are many Africans today who tend to equate freedom with communism." Mr Mandela, like Mr Tambo, is a nationalist, not a communist.

Donald Woods, a former white South African journalist whose relationship with the martyred black radical Steve Biko is celebrated in Sir Richard Attenborough's latest film, 'Cry Freedom', has put it this way: "It is ironic that moderates such as Mandela are regarded by the South African Government as dangerous troublemakers at a time when such men represent South Africa's last hope of averting an interracial explosion."

As the Fraser Eminent Persons Group report put it: "We all agreed that it was tragic that a man of his outstanding capabilities should continue to be denied the opportunity to help shape his country's future."

This is why governments in nearly every Western country have been calling for his release. It is why political opponents of the ANC, such as Chief Buthelezi, have insisted that no real political progress can be made in South Africa until Mr Mandela goes free and why even a man as conservative as the former Rhodesian Prime Minister, Mr Ian Smith, who led what is now Zimbabwe into years of violence over his refusal to countenance majority rule, said long ago that Mandela ought to be released.

It is why Mr Fraser and his EPG colleagues were so offended when, just a few hours after their 50-minute meeting with Mr Mandela in Pollsmoor prison last year, Mr Botha harangued them about the ANC leader being an extremist and a paid agent of the Soviet Union whose continued imprisonment was the responsibility of black militants who wanted him to attain martyrdom by dying in jail.

The refusal of all reputable black conservative leaders to consider negotiating with Mr Botha while Mr Mandela remains in prison has meant that Pretoria has been unable to proceed with its proposed National Statutory Council, an advisory body that in theory would bring approved blacks into the decision-making process.

None of the ANC leaders qualifies for inclusion on Mr Botha's list of candidates. Mr Mandela

would not be released so that the Government could negotiate with him. Pretoria demands an undertaking from the ANC similar to that which it once demanded of Mandela: the organisation must first renounce violence and cut its links with the SACP, conditions which are tantamount to asking the ANC to destroy itself.

That is precisely what the South African Government has been trying to do down the years as independent opinion polls (the only reliable indicator of national opinion in the absence of black political representation) consistently show that Mr Mandela is by far South Africa's most popular leader.

Even Mr Botha, in his private moments, could not believe that the ANC can be wiped out. But he does believe that it can be seriously weakened militarily and politically, preferably through a schism, and it is this condition that he is promoting by every means possible.

The latest tactic is to assassinate ANC officials as far away as Western Europe as an addition to the established practice of attacking alleged ANC targets in southern Africa through cross-border raids.

Another ploy is to encourage and direct conservative black groups that are prepared to use violence against ANC-associated organisations such as the United Democratic Front and Council of South African Trade Unions.

Mr Botha, in his recent statements, seems to be accepting that one day in the distant future his Government will have to negotiate with the ANC, and that therefore the more divided, feeble and fatigued it is, the better.

But there is a lot of life left in apartheid despite Pretoria's claims to the contrary. Mr Botha has not even begun talking to the most conservative and compliant of black leaders beyond those who run the so-called "self-governing states".

So, what next? Will the new campaign for Mandela's release have any effect other than to increase the Botha Government's isolation and paranoia? Probably not. Pretoria goes out of its way to show that it is contemptuous of international opinion. If Mr Mandela is freed, it will be because the authorities have decided that it suits them to do so.

Mrs Winnie Mandela has long believed that her husband's release would trigger a mass popular response by black South Africans. Pretoria concurs, but fears an uncontrollable explosion of violence as a result. "We do not hold this view," Mr Fraser's EPG report said. "Provided the negotiating process was agreed, Mr Mandela's own voice would appeal for calm. We believe his authority would secure it."

But, as Anthony Sampson warned several years ago, "the later Mandela is released, the more difficulty he will have in restraining the violence in the black townships, and the more he will be seen by anti-white hotheads as far too moderate, far too dedicated to multiracialism."

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Friday 22 April 1988

THE CITIZEN

## Two policemen slain

# Ciskei police hunt suspect ANC terros

By Tony Stirling

An intensive manhunt was yesterday taking place in the Ciskei for a group of suspected ANC terrorists who shot dead two Ciskei policemen and injured a third in a shoot-out near Alice earlier in the day.

and extent of his injuries were not immediately known, said the Colonel.

The names of the dead policemen will be released once their next of kin have been informed.

The remaining two policemen escaped injury.

No arrests have been made and intensive police investigations are continuing. — Sapa.

A Ciskei police spokesman, Col Avery Ngaki said from Bisho the incident took place about 4 am in the lower Gqumashe reserve near Alice.

He said five members of the Ciskei security police were conducting an investigation and, when they went to a certain house in the reserve, were "fired on by suspected terrorist or terrorists".

The person or people who fired on the police were using "heavy arms" but at this stage it is not known what type of weapons were involved.

The injured policeman was admitted to the Victoria hospital in Alice and was transferred to the Cecilia Makatwane hospital in Mdantsane. The nature



# Archbishop wants Maggie to reject speech

## Conservative councillors to snub Tutu

LONDON. — Conservative councillors in Birmingham are snubbing a two-day visit to the city by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Councillor Reg Hales, leader of the opposition Conservative group in the city council, said that although no edict had gone out to members, they would not be supporting the visit by the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

One of Archbishop Tutu's appointments in Birmingham will be the opening of a R7.4 million school named after African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Hales said Conservatives had consistently opposed the naming of the school after Mandela.

Fellow Conservative Councillor Alan Blumenthal said: "Archbishop Tutu has not openly condemned violence and terrorism and, in that sense, could be seen as condoning it himself."

Archbishop Tutu yesterday called on the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to re-

pudiate a speech on South Africa by former Tory Party chairman Mr Norman Tebbit.

The Archbishop, who is in Britain for a visit, said he was staggered and amazed after Mr Tebbit spoke on Wednesday night of the "Stinking hypocrisy" poured out about the Republic.

Mr Tebbit, a former Cabinet Minister in Mrs Thatcher's government, told a South African Club gathering in London he was opposed to sanctions.

He said the Republic needed friends and accused "hypocrites" from outside the country of meddling in its affairs, making a difficult political situation "a near impossible one."

Mr Tebbit said it was mischievous to pretend that Black tribes were the only rightful possessors of South Africa.

Archbishop Tutu said if

Mrs Thatcher did not disown the speech the conclusion would be that profit was far more important than human rights.

Some 50 opposition Labour Party MPs signed a House of Commons motion censuring Mr Tebbit.

In his speech, Mr Tebbit said apartheid was unacceptable to him and the overwhelming majority of British people.

But he said that Blacks in the Republic enjoyed a higher standard of living and higher standards of law and justice than in most African nations.

It was inevitable that Whites in South Africa should try to preserve their own security in the face of the growing majority of Black tribes, he said.

He continued: "What I do find intolerable is the stinking hypocrisy which pours out gallons of ink and millions of words in condemnation — often rightful condemnation — of needlessly brutal treatment of Black tribesmen by White tribesmen in South Africa. Whilst preserving a cowardly silence or offering a sickening, patronising, racist excuse for the genocide committed elsewhere by one Black tribe against another."

Mr Tebbit added: "I feel sick when I see those who condemn unfair discrimination persecuting a naive young girl like Zola Budd for no reason whatsoever other than that she was born in South Africa."

"And when the Olympic ideal which has been dirtied and sullied enough already by the prostitution of sport to the service of nationalism, is then dragged in to justify the persecution of an individual on the grounds of the place of her birth, I must say I've had more than enough."

Archbishop Tutu, visiting Britain on a tour of Anglican parishes, said on television: "I don't want concessions which my Master will throw from his table ... I have said all we want is to participate at the table."

"I don't want concessions from a White man. I'm not asking for my freedom from a White man that is a God-given right."

"Let me tell Mr Tebbit something — one day we will be free and we will remember who helped us in the process of becoming free," Archbishop Tutu said.

He called on Mrs Thatcher to repudiate the speech, adding: "If she doesn't, one has to take into account that she has protected South Africa at the UN Security Council, and we have to come to the conclusion that blood is thicker than water, that White people are, in effect, far more important than Black people and that profits — pounds, shillings and pence — are far more important than human lives." — Sapa-Reuters.



# ANC bomber found guilty of murder

PIETERMARITZBURG. — ANC bomber, Gordon Webster (24) was yesterday found guilty in the Supreme Court of the murder of Durban police Colonel Robert Welman, and the attempted murder of two other people.

Webster, who was found to have joined the ANC in 1984 and received military training outside South Africa, was convicted by Mr Justice McCreath and two assessors on all 14 charges against him of terrorism, murder and attempted murder, including a plan to seize hostages in South Africa to use in bargaining for other prisoners.

The trial is to resume today when the defence is expected to lead evidence on extenuating circumstances in connection with the murder conviction.

The judge said Webster had admitted he agreed with other members of the ANC to seize hostages in South Africa but maintained that no specific plan or hostages had been decided on when he was arrested while attempting to re-enter South Africa last September.

Mr Justice McCreath said, however, the evidence of a secret state witness went further and referred to a list of prospective hostages including the name of Mr Justice Shearer, who was the presiding Judge at the trial of convicted Parade

Hotel bomber, Robert McBride.

Other names were those of senior police officials who Webster admitted were all connected with the McBride trial.

In finding Webster guilty of terrorism in connection with this count, the judge said in his view it was clear that a threat of violence "at least" would have been involved in the execution of this plan.

In so far as the murder charge was concerned, the judge said although Webster claimed that he had expected and believed that both the limpet mines would detonate at the same time at the Chamberlain Road substation in January 1986, in the light of his background training and knowledge of explosives the court was of the view that he did in fact foresee the possibility that the two explosions might not occur simultaneously.

He said Webster was clearly aware of the dangers relating to the use of explosives. It was apparent from evidence that he had instructed others in the use of limpet mines and this would hardly be expected of a man who had a "scanty knowledge" of their workings.

Col Welman, Sgt Roelof van der Merwe and Mr Mervyn Dunn, a Durban Corporation training officer, all suffered severe burns when the second limpet mine at the substation detonated about 25 minutes after the first ex-

plosion, according to evidence before the court.

Col Welman died in hospital some weeks later.

The judge said on another occasion when Webster admitted planting explosives at the Shongweni/Assagay substation, it was "quite clear" that he had deliberately used different coloured lead plates on two limpet mines to ensure that a substantial number of hours elapsed between the explosions.

The judge said in the absence of any explanation from Webster, who did not testify, the only inference to be drawn was that the second bomb was placed there to cause injury to people who would be attracted to the scene.

— Sapa



# ANC MAN'S TRIAL IS NEAR END

THE defence for Gordon Webster, found guilty on Wednesday of the murder of a senior Durban security policeman, Colonel Robert Welman, is to lead evidence on extenuating circumstances when the trial resumes in the Maritzburg Supreme Court today.

Webster (24), who was found to have joined the African National Congress in 1984 and received military training outside South Africa, was convicted by Mr Justice McCreath and two assessors on all 14 charges against him of terrorism, murder and attempted murder, including a plan to seize hostages in South Africa to use in bargaining for other prisoners.

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## SAPA

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Other names were those of senior police officials who Webster admitted were all connected with the McBride trial.

## Threat

The witness also referred to various arrangements made prior to Webster attempting to re-enter South Africa.

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SOWETAN . 22 APRIL 1988

# Tutu's challenge

LONDON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday called on the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, to repudiate a speech on South Africa by former Tory Party chairman, Mr Norman Tebbit.

The Archbishop, who is in Britain for a visit, said he was staggered and amazed after Mr Tebbit spoke on Wednesday night of the "stinking hypocrisy" poured out about South Africa.

Mr Tebbit, a former Cabinet Minister in Mrs Thatcher's government, told a South Africa Club



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

gathering in London he was opposed to sanctions.

He said the country needed friends and accused "hypocrisy" from outside the country of meddling in its affairs, making a difficult political situation "a

Mr Tebbit said it was mischievous to pretend that black tribes were the only rightful possessors of South Africa.

Archbishop Tutu said if Mrs Thatcher did not disown the speech the conclusion would be that profit was far more important than human rights.

Some 50 opposition Labour Party MPs signed a House of Commons motion censuring Mr Tebbit.— Sapa.



# GREAT INDABA

SOWETAN 22/04/88

**PRESIDENT Botha yesterday announced Government proposals for a multi-racial policy-making body at central Government level and for a new post of Prime Minister.**

Giving new shape to the Government's power-sharing plans, Mr Botha said the Government wanted to appoint black community leaders to government from outside Parliament, revise the President's Council and revamp the stalled National Council, possibly under the new name of The Great Indaba.

Speaking in the House of Assembly vote on his portfolio, President Botha also hinted that blacks might be given a say in both the election of the State President and on the President's Council.

He suggested that the State President would be elevated to head a new multi-racial body including blacks from inside South Africa and the self-governing territories.

A new Prime Minister would then head the present parliamentary structure.

New elected regional bodies could be created to give blacks outside the self-governing territories a say over their "own affairs".

These bodies could then send representatives to a central forum for "deliberation" with whites on policy.

Draft legislation to implement these initiatives would be formulated in consultation with the black communities concerned and submitted to Parliament.

The detailed implementation could be worked out further in the proposed National Council — which could

be renamed The Great Indaba at the suggestion of black leaders.

President Botha saw the National Council body as similar in function to the European Parliament, with representation on a federal basis of black communities inside South Africa as well as the self-governing territories.

President Botha also suggested re-creating the post of Prime Minister which disappeared when the 1983 Constitution was adopted.

He said that combin-

ing the posts of Prime Minister and State President had created problems.

He thought the State President should be concerned with matters of general national interest and policy — such as population relations, foreign affairs and security, macro-economic policy and financial priorities and ceremonial and conventional functions.

The day-to-day administration under ministers would be the function of a Prime



**PRESIDENT Botha**

Minister appointed by the State President.

The State President would occasionally chair these meetings but would normally chair general policy meetings of leaders of the different communities.

This appeared to be a reference to the new policy-making forum he proposed elsewhere in the speech.

He said that the State President could still be elected by the present electoral college —

**To Page 2**



# People who rap Pretoria

## 'also bash SA blacks'



The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr M G Buthelezi, and members of the Cabinet and Legislative Assembly received a number of visitors from overseas in Ulundi on Tuesday. Talking to one of the visitors in the Holiday Inn was Mrs C Zikhalala, member of the Assembly for Madadeni.



From left, Mr H T Madonsela, Minister of Health, Prince Gideon Zulu and Chief Minister Buthelezi while he was addressing the overseas visitors at Ulundi on Tuesday.



Seen at Richard Bay's presentation to the Natal Finance Writers' Club in Durban are Mr Ian Smith of Business Times, Mr T Mthembu, editor of Ilanga, Mr Louis Beckerling, Financial Mail, and Mr Theo Tolmany, Town Clerk of Richards Bay.

'A CLIMATE of opinion in which sanctions become in vogue sticks with which to beat Pretoria over the knuckles is a misconceived climate of opinion,' the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, recently told a number of overseas visitors during their visit to Ulundi.

Dr Buthelezi told the visitors from the USA, Canada, Norway, Ireland and elsewhere that in their actions the international community often 'does rap Pretoria over the knuckles but it also bashes Black South Africa'. He said the view that 'Pretoria can define what can and cannot be done in the process of bringing about radical change in this country, must be scrutinised.

'It is because the world lacks faith in Pretoria's willingness and ability to do what needs to be done that it has come to hold the view that the ruling National Party must be moved.

'It makes the assumption that the forces working for change inside the country have failed and will continue to fail and it makes the assumption that all will be well if the recalcitrance of the South African Government was stopped.'

Dr Buthelezi said those who argued in favour of sanctions frequently motivated their actions by arguing that sanctions was a last-resort measure 'which must now be resorted to in some kind of desperate last-ditch attempt to avert deep tragedy'.

He told the visitors: 'As a black leader I have no doubt whatsoever that apartheid will be eradicated in

all its entirety. It is economically disfunctional.

'The economy demanded that South Africa move away from the apartheid dream of white cities becoming whiter and of white society becoming self-sufficient. The induction of blacks into the hitherto white-controlled economy was a necessity for whites.'

With reference to recent developments in SA politics Dr Buthelezi said: 'Mr P W Botha, the State President, is in a very unenviable position. He cannot remain standing where he is. The base of his political power is being challenged where he stands. He cannot move backwards as the Conservative Party wants him to do because if he did so, economic realities would crush him politically. He can only move forward and somehow manage to translate his stated perception that apartheid is outmoded and outdated into reality.'



# KwaZulu legislators unhappy over meagre budget allocation

*Zuluhand OBSERVER*  
*22/04/88*

By our Ulundi Correspondent

THE Central Government allocation of R1,4-billion to KwaZulu for the coming financial year has been met with strong criticism in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

The budget, tabled by Mr H T Madonsela, the Zulu Minister of Finance, amounts to R1,9-billion.

It consists of R1,4-million from Central Government, R115-million in loans from the Development Bank of Southern Africa and R390-million of KwaZulu's own revenue.

Delivering his budget speech, Mr Madonsela said that since Central Government had emphasised that as no additional funds would be made available during the coming year, KwaZulu faced serious financial restraint.

Although the Central Government allocation was R419-million or 40 percent higher than last year, R599,3-million had been earmarked for education.

A further R3,7-million was to be spent on job creation, R54,9-million on flood relief and R58,6-million on the servicing of an overdraft facility.

Added to this were the costs of administering the services of the townships transferred to KwaZulu control, for which Central Government had provided insufficient funds.

Mr M M September, the Deputy Minister of Finance described the allocation as discriminatory. He said the allocation was 'far from what it should be', especially in the light of the fact that KwaZulu was assisting Pretoria in the running of South Africa.

Mr S J Mhlungu, MLA for Mhlabatini, said Pretoria had made an 'insufficient allocation to meet the need of a sector of the S A population who are living in an area deliberately starved of developmental

funds for years.' He said the allocation should have been large enough to meet the crying needs of KwaZulu, which had been suffering under the policy of exclusion adopted by Pretoria.

Mr M A Nzuza, MLA for Nongoma, said KwaZulu had repeatedly informed Pretoria of its dissatisfaction with the meagre allocations. He said KwaZulu had been starved of funds 'on purpose'.

Mr Nzuza criticised the state policy of privatisation which he said was of no benefit to black business as it allowed for the creation of monopolies by the large corporations.

Allocating the funds available to the 11 KwaZulu departments, Mr Madonsela said it had been almost impossible to meet each department's needs with the amount of money available.

The allocations to the various departments are as follows:

Chief Minister R53,8-million; Interior R14,5-million; Works R410,4-million; Education and Culture R599,3-million; Agriculture and Forestry R72,9-million; Justice R12,7-million; Health R256,5-million; Police R35,4-million; Finance R126,9-million; Economic Affairs R37,4-million; Welfare and Pensions R347,3-million.