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factors dictate

roads policy

- Portions of existing roads are being included in the toll roads in order to reduce the cost of the toll roads

using toll roads and to make them commercially viable through negotiations with Tollcon
at the moment
e 3 ole |

A

ESMAN.

* viable, says a DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT
SPOK ;

o

including 2 contract for privatising the N3 from
edara to Alberton, and 2 portion of the N1 from

Johannesburg to Kroonstad for a 25 year period at it

The Government's privatisation policy of privatisation aims to reduce the N1 and N3 projects did not
reduce State expenditure, allowing

private enterprise constitute a financially viable toll project
to provide public services

...The Government's initiative: "Private enterprise, who in addition to operating

financing of road project regarding toll roads, maintaining the road and servicing

national road projects was to provide funds for and amortising the loans, also have to
obtain a re-
construction projects which could not turn on equity after tax

be funded from the fuel levy.

The State was faced with the choice of providing a

It was envisaged ; e at 200\230

would be 'included in the list of existing roads Large amount of the needed capital from taxation or

the inclusion of the existing projects, such as including sections of State-funded existing sections

Brakpan and the 20 km of road between the road. They chose the latter which con

by, the House of Assembly but oads Act was passed The contruction of new roads by the Stat
e will
y but rejected by the Houses continue, subject to the availability of funds. -

7- i, i- \201, f}epresenta i- \201v&s and Delegates.

\/' ;%f f) " i- \201 R

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FLASHBACK ... Mr Ronnie Meyor ighf), diregtor-generl of Transport Affairs, clasps hands with the chairman of Toll Road Concessionaires, Mr Ron
: â\200\230 ' McLennan, at the official opening of the Vaal Toll Plaza in July last year. :

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INKRTHA

Mandela dons the mantle
of an elder statesman

After more than a quarter of a
century in prison, Nelson
Mandela may have caught a
glimpse of freedom,

Since being transferred to a
less severe detention centre in
Cape Province last December,
the veteran South African
nationalist leader has assumed
a perceptibly more active role
in resolving conflicts among
blacks domestically and in
developing contacts with sym-
pathizers overseas, notably in
Britain.

The transition from defiant
captive to elder statesman is
apparent, Mandela's first pub-
lic initiative this year was to
defuse mounting tension in
Soweto by ordering his wife,
Winaile, to disband the coterie
of thugs which had surrounded
her. In the guise of a football
club,

The hallmark of a senior
politician was more pro-
nounced in a recent letter to
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi,
the founder and leader of the
Inkatha liberation movement.

Although supposedly a
moderate organization, it has
become embroiled in a savage
feud with supporters of
Mandela's African National
Congress in Zulu townships in
Natal. More than 1,400 blacks
have been shot, stabbed or
beaten to death in less than
two years, and the violence
shows no sign of abating.

The eloquence and modera-
tion of Mandela's letter, which
was published in South Af-
rican newspapers, drew the
respect of diplomats and other
independent observers,

Far more information than I possess at the moment is required before I can blame any of the parties involved in the deplorable conflicts now taking place in Natal, he wrote, All the same, I consider it a serious indictment

From Gavin Bell, Cape Town

against all of us that we are still unable to combine forces (to stop the slaughter of so many innocent lives ..)

He went on: The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity ... Any act or statement, from whatever source, which tends to create or worsen division is a fatal error which ought to be avoided at all costs.

Compared with the rhetoric of some of his more sectarian colleagues in the nationalist movement, Mandela's sentiments are regarded in the diplomatic community and in

Mandela: Pleas for an end to factional black violence.

liberal South African circles as a model of restraint and responsibility,

They have reinforced the view that the sooner he is released, and permitted to express his views openly, the better for everyone concerned.,

Perhaps with this in mind, Mandela, aged 70, wrote two other letters recently, One was to Sir Robin Renwick, the British Ambassador, in which he raised the possibility of a meeting between them. The recipient of the other was Lord Bethel, an MEP and prominent human-rights activist, who is understood to be close

/A Jares,

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to Mrs Thatcher. The contents of the letter to Lord Bethel have not been disclosed, but a reliable source said Mandela expressed a friendly recognition of British interest in South African issues.

The subsequent letter to Sir Robin on April 10 corrected press reports that he had written to Mrs Thatcher personally to thank her for her efforts, "If I had wanted to express my views on Mrs Thatcher's work, or on the policy of the British Government on any specific matter, I would have preferred to do so in the course of a face-to-face discussion with you," he said. He concluded with a request that his best wishes be conveyed to the Prime Minister.

Sir Robin replied immediately, returning Mrs Thatcher's compliments and stating that he would welcome a meeting, but

Another indication was received in an indirect manner that Mandela would like to confer with the ambassador, but nothing may be arranged without the approval of the South African authorities,

It is now up to Mandela to submit a formal request to the Justice Ministry for a meeting with Sir Robin, if he wishes one. Whitehall, however, regards this as secondary to the

primary objective of the ANC leader's freedom.

Meanwhile, Britain is expected to increase its efforts in view of the forthcoming change of government in South Africa, and the simultaneous retirement of President Botha,

Mandela's release is unlikely before elections expected in the autumn, and even afterwards it will be a hell of a struggle, according to a senior figure closely involved in the issue. ;

"DP changes its mind about admitting four MPs

CAPE TOWN - The DP yesterday re-

versed its decision to deny membership
of the party to P. Jan van Eek

of the party

The DP agreed to the
demand of the three national leaders,
supported by the parliamentary caucus,

that Van Eek, Charles Redcliffe,
and Archie Poole be admitted
- an

The decision was taken on the understanding
that Van Eek would agree to
abide by the DP's nomination procedures
should he wish to stand at the next election

representations: !m

MIKE ROBERTSON

and that the party was under no obligation
to accept the board's decision
if the board said so.

party members
and constituent bodies.

- It was also guided by intensive discussions
the leaders had held with the applicants
since its last meeting. At these meetings
certain doubts which formerly

had been removed.

The applicants had assured: the

leaders they accepted the discipline,
programme of action and discipline of

party.

gill; gss' [

- e

. WASHINGTON - The Soviet Union was
not opposed to the ANC's use of violence

and reports to the contrary were distorted-

. In a
letter to The New York Times published in

" on Sunday.

. He also denied hla
- scaling down the level of Its military sup-
port to the ANC

â\200\234We full

ANC, whic ude both military and

litical means,â\200\235 wrote Boris Asoyan, un- .

ll recently Soviet Ambassador to Le-
sotho, now described as a â\200\234consultantâ\200\235 to
â\200\230the Forelgh Ministry's African Countries
" Administration.

- . Asoyan also Insisted there was no
: chance of. diplomatlc relations between

C .. ORI :

overmment was,

fwrt the ; tactles of the .
Inc

f ny. ="

Van Eck said the board had shown it was

- sensitive lo the feelings of party member-.

"ship andâ\200\230the general public â\200\224 an atmbuw.
Jhaa'i-\201uured well fog the- QPâ\200\231 i

â\200\234Our - Political Statf reports the LE LP Tast "

night attacked the DP, with whom it is .
meant to'have a eo-operntlve â\200\234understand-
ing", for admitting the three House of Rep-'
resentativeu MPs to its membership,

In â\200\230a statement issued by party PRO
Peter Hendrickse, the LP said it was â\200\234res .
grettable that the DP has accepted dis-
gruntled goutical nonentitiesâ\200\235 and predict-
ed Radc \ffe would become the DPâ\200\230Q

- "l' - s

Sovlets stress sui)port for ANC

SIVION BARBER |

Moscow â\200\230and Pretoria â\200\234whllg the system
of apartheid remains intactâ\200\235

The Times had earlier quoted â\200\230Agoyan
saying Moscow might be prepared to re-
new relations If Nelson Man ela was re-
leased and Pretoria made a â\200\234commit-

ment .
leaders

A colleague of Asoyan's, Apeakln recently at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, nld â\200\234While favouring a political settlement in SA, the Soviet Union at the same time recognlled the right of the oppressed people to fight-for its freedom by all means, including the armed struggle.â\200\235

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. to talk directly with ANC i

PagÃ© 10

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SOWETAN Tuesday May 2 1989

UNIONISTS OFF
THE TRACK

SIR â\200\224 Politics of
accusation seem to be
infiltrating our black
workers unions. Besides
accusations, our unions
spend most of their time
galvanising irrelevant
radical support. This has
led the direction of our
struggle for freedom
to confusion and, in the
process, to lose its
momentum.

We are supportive to

the fact that the people of

Namibia will be obtain-
ing independence soon.
We acknowledge that
Swapo has played a part
towards achieving this
goal. Yet, we cannot
commit ourselves to the
claim that Swapo alone is
the legitimate and
authentic representative
of all Namibian people.

Unionists, in general,
have an inkling of calling
the shots, to the
employers, the govern-
ment and to the workers.
As an ordinary worker in
South Africa I do not
agree with this nianipula-
tion by these office-
bearers.

Our black unions are
becoming international
political havens, and we
seem to forget to pursue
immediate problems
faced by the workers.

The Namibians have
their own unions which
are capable of attending
to their workersâ\200\231
problems.

Virtually, all the
speakers, so far are -
inclined to give political

speeches as if we are now
being indoctrinated. All
big brass with political
aspirations are formulat-
ing ideas of how to go
about organising against
apartheid.

We as workers know
that equality on the
factory floor will enable
us to restore our dignity
and pride. The past has
taught us many lessons.
We are wary of being
used and pushed around
like goats.

SEFTON
MOGOMOTSI

= Alexandra.

C_::ew e\

of the masses

' SIR â\200\224 This is in support
' of Ngwana Bevuâ\200\231s letter
(Sowetan, March 28,
1989). It is true what
'Ngwana Bevu stated in
â\200\230his letter. The events at
that meeting clearly
showed that the biggest
enemy of the African is
the African himself.

An explanation or
apology from the
organisers of the
Detaineesâ\200\231 Day Com-
memoration has been
long overdue,
nothing has been done.
This silence has convinc-
ed us that â\200\234Bayete-Peleâ\200\235
and some of our so-called
Peopleâ\200\231s Liberatory
Congress are so fragile
and self-made that they
fear to admit that the
events mentioned in
Ngwana Bevuâ\200\231s letter
served to highlight their

lack of control over the
masses they claim.

If that event was

but .

02â\200\224 08â\200\224 T

Lack of control

organised by the church,
(I hope not) it would
have demonstrated
beyond â\200\230doubt that its

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would be on the right
track to liberation,
MALEFANE WA

XORILE

stance in the struggle for + . - Emdeni South Ext.

liberation is not above Â¢

ideological differences; }
that its mandate is from a
particular ideological
organisation and not
from the oppressed

masses of our country |

.who belong to

Christian body.

While a good number
of Sowetans believe that
the church was also
involved in the organisa-
tion of the Detainees
Day Commemoration,
it would be a good thing
for the clerics involved in
the commemoration to
dissociate.

If commemorations

such as this were used as

exercises towards
national unity and
Nation Building we

the '

YRR

Fear and loathing in a taxi
Comadrt |

" I WOULD be a bit of an exaggeration comparing them with grand prix champions like Nelson Piquet and Manini, but in the

townships they don't call black taxi drivers
bullies of the road for nothing.

The have over the
years earned themselves a reputation of
being the most

undisciplined and

reckless drivers in the
country, so much so
that one cannot
complete one's journey without noticing
at least a dozen
infringements of
traffic regulations.

I recently boarded a
Soweto-bound taxi in
Johannesburg and
lived to tell the story of
one of the most terrifying
rides I've ever had.

- I had butterflies in my
stomach from the moment the 16-seater
taxi, colloquially called a
Zola Budd, left the
taxi rank in Commissioner Street. The taxi
swerved sharply into the
busy main street as if the
driver wanted to pull off
some sort of a stunt.

I gasped for breath,
but no one noticed.

Freeway

From there everything
went smoothly as the
heavy Friday afternoon
traffic forced us to slow
down. But things
changed the moment we
reached the freeway.

We were travelling
downhill when I noticed
the speedometre needle
trembling somewhere

s ; BSIR OSSR Rs

23 BB S

from

between 140 km/h and
150 km/h. I put my foot
on an imaginary brake

pedal in a hopeless
attempt to avoid
crashing into a smaller
vehicle less than two
metres in front of us.

But, of course, this did
not help.

I closed my eyes and
memories of tragic taxi
accidents which claimed
the lives of people who
were once close to me
came flooding back,

Killed

Five weeks earlier a
former schoolmate,
Daniel Maluleke was
killed when: a taxi in
which he was travelling
the northern
Transvaal overturned
when the driver failed to
negotiate a bend.

A year earlier; a
friend's sister, who was a
nurse at Baragwanath
Hospital, died when a
taxi she was in burst a
tyre and overturned.

If this happened to
them, why couldn't it
happen to me? I slowly
opened my eyes to face
reality.

The distance between
us and the car in front
was shrinking fast.

= AR T

205 -3

Sowetan reporter, Sy Makaringe

Suddenly the driver, who
appeared relaxed,

swerved the vehicle into
the right lane.

He seemed relaxed
because he kept on
tapping his hands on the
steering wheel to the beat
of Melba Moore's hit,
Falling . For a while, my
nightmare seemed to be
over.

And it was only for a
short while.

-

. *;; Fares

Q
e were travelling/ in
middle lane as we
. were approach o
Soweto off-ramp

- Uncle Charlie's.

e

At this stage the
passengers started
forking out their fares

from their pockets. Some -

tendered R20 notes, and
others in R10 and R5
notes.

The - driver started
dishing out change as he
was changing lanes.

The way he was
manipulating the vehicle
while concentrating on
his passengers could turn
Nelson Piquet green with
envy.

This is the most crucial
and dangerous point in a
taxi journey. The driver
must make sure that he
does not short-change his

5 P

passengers. He must also |
make sure that he himself

has not been short-paid.

Acrobat

All the transactions
are done while the taxi is
in motion, often at high
speed, and most of the

time in heavy traffic or
built-up areas.

oy P
You have to be some
sort of a genius or an
acrobat to commandeer
move could prove fatal.

Why people must pay *
their fares while the taxis
are moving also beats
. a moving taxi. A wrong -

me. It appears that to

gmvi~\201w A~ -8

qualify for a job as a taxi |
driver, one must be a .

good mathematician. -

Commuters arenâ\200\231t

angels either. As Wwe |

reached Soweto, they
" ordered the driver to stop

at awkward places Or

when it is not safe.

The driver was also not
given ample time to
indicate that he was
moving off the road or
stopping. [have heard
many stories of drivers
who- were hurled with
abuse and insults after
failing to heed the

. passengerâ\200\231s instructions.

{ Our ride through
| Soweto was not smooth
| either. i

The driver failed to
| pull off the road
| completely when he
. stopped to drop off or
pick up passengers and
inviting nasty stares from
angry motorists.

He then tried to force
his way back onto the

- road as if he had the sole
right of using it.

Relieved, I alighted
thirty minutes later.

AT LEAST 12 people
have been killed in
bloody violence at the
weekend at Inanda and |

KwaMashu, scene of
bitter clashes between
opposing factions.

â\200\230Fighting broke out in
the two townships on

' Thursday night soon

after a memorial service
for slain hunger striker

Mr Chris Ntuli.

-4 i\201Stonings i

On Friday morning !
several buses were stoned '
and a man was burned to |
death after he had been i
trapped in the cab of a

burning milk truck at

- KwaMashu . . . two other %

' people were killed on
| Friday night.

'~ The South African
'Police unrest report
| yesterday said the bodies |
â\200\230'of nine people were
found at Inanda. All of
â\200\230them had head and stab
wounds.

Shots

Police said three others
â\200\224 two men and a woman
â\200\224 were found ' with

serious stab wounds and
have been admitted to
â\200\230hospital. . =
~In other incidents of
unrest reported from
Inanda police said a
group gathered illegally
and a number of shots
were fired at the police.
~Police retaliated with
shotgun fire and arrested
two men. No injuries
were reported.

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jrkatha relacts

INKATHAâ\200\231s central committee has rejected a peace _ initiative put forward by Cosatu and the + United Democratic Front, but has decided to push ahead with its own plan to end the political killings in Natal and KwaZulu.

Members of the committee meeting in Ulundi said the Cosatu/UDF initiative was undemocratically conceived.

â\200\234We as the central committee would fail to convince Inkathaâ\200\231s - general conference and Inkathaâ\200\231s democratic structures nationally that this peace _ initiative was beyond reproach and was conceived as an initiative which is unblemished in terms of anticipating party political gain in the pursuit of the cessation of violence.â\200\235

secured the support of the African National

Cosatu and UDF hid h

-

Congress for their peace initiative, and were prepared to mould it with Inkathaâ\200\231s proposed peace plan.

A team of convenors, including the Most Rev Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, was prepared to try to help bring the contending organisations to peace talks.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, KwaZulu Chief Minister and leader of Inkatha, told the

Inkatha central committee in his opening address to them that we must - distinguish between real - peace initiatives and tactics and strategies to establish party political supremacy presented. in the guise of peace initiatives.

We would be the last in the world ever willingly to destroy any prospect of moving away from political violence to the kind of peace in which democratic decisions can be made, Dr Buthelezi had said.

He attacked Cosatu officials in his address and felt the Cosatu/UDF initiative would be no more than a talking shop approach.

Inkatha's central committee commended the ANC/UDF/Cosatu

falliance on their eventual realisation that the policies of Inkatha and its president, which eschew political violence, need to be supported by all the people of South Africa including the followers of the ANC, UDF and Cosatu.

Workers\201 celebrate, Ma

NEW YORK â\200\224 On the 100th anniversary of the May Day labour holiday, police battled militants in South Korea and Turkey and workers in the Philippines threatened a general strike. Celebrations in Warsaw reflected the changes bending the socialist - world.

In Pakistan, the government marked the - day by lifting its ban on allowing trade unions to be formed by employees of the state broadcasting service and the international airline.

Spanish socialists and communists marched together through Madrid, presenting a common front against the government for the first time in seven years.

May 1 was designated as a holiday for radical labour in 1889 by the Second Socialist International.

Police said striking workers in two Korean cities battled like anti protesters

tried to stage May Day rallies there. The tensions were aggravated by the arrest at the weekend of some 6600 people who tried to hold May Day rallies.

Turkish officials said one person had been killed and 15 others injured as police in Istanbul battled with people trying to hold unauthorised May Day events. Celebrating the holiday has been illegal since the 1980 military takeover.

In Poland, the observances were more boisterous and subdued than in previous years. Tens of thousands of supporters of Solidarity held a huge victory parade to mark the day. Polish leader Wojciech Jaruzelski said such reforms were returning socialism to its â\200\234purest valuesâ\200\235, but the official observances were markedly toned down. â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

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Gorbachev. will .

â\200\230 failfwf)redicgts USs
defence secretary

WASHINGTON â\200\224 The US capital was |
startled at the weekend by new US

Own Correspondent 1

Defence Secretary Richard Cheneyâ\200\231s

Gorbachev would fail and was likely
to be replaced by a Soviet leader more
hostile to the West.

This pessimistic view was quickly repu-
diated as not being the opinion of President
George Bush.

Cheneyâ\200\231s remarks came during a televi-
sion interview where he was asked if it was
not virtually certain that Congress would
force the Bush Administration to make
major reductions of US forces in Nato.

The Pentagon chief, a conservative Re-

publican, replied: â\200\234I think that would be a
big mistake. I think it would undo basic
commitments to the Alliance, and until we
know that Gorbachev is for real and the
changes he wants to bring about are irre-
versible, it would be a terrible mistake for
us to withdraw from Europe.â\200\235

Pressed to clarify what he meant by
Gorbachev being â\200\234for realâ\200\235, Cheney ex-
pressed doubt that an efficient economy
could be created quickly in a 70-year-old
Communist dictatorship where all spark of
initiative had been stamped out.

He said: â\200\234I think you have to distinguish
ing to do
and whether or not it's actually going to
be able to do it. I

â\200\234I think the bottom line, if I had to guess
between what Gorbachevâ\200\231s

predictions that President Mikhail

today, is that he would ultimately fail. That
is to say, he will not be able to reform the
Soviet economy to turn it into an efficient,

modern society. When that happens, heâ\200\231s likely to be replaced by somebody who will be far more hostile than heâ\200\231s been in terms of his attitude towards the West.â\200\235

Bushâ\200\231s Chief of Staff John Sununu said the President and Secretary of State James Baker were hoping Gorbachevâ\200\231s movement towards reform and restructuring of Soviet society would succeed.

â\200\230Itâ\200\231s an opportunity to establish and continue a relationship that has begun.â\200\235

Budget pressures

On the question of bringing troops home from Nato, Cheney said he wanted to remind Americans the forces were â\200\234not just to defend Europe, but to defend the USâ\200\235 as part of the US forward defence strategy.

Even so, he did not think the other Allies were carrying their share of Natoâ\200\231s costs, and said pressure from Congress for troop reductions would increase in the face of budget pressures and improved relations between East and West.

AP-DJ reports that Bush declined to comment directly on Cheneyâ\200\231s comments, saying: â\200\234I never comment until I know exactly what he said.â\200\235 -

Pressed for views on Gorbachev, Bush said: â\200\234We want perestroika to succeed.â\200\235

eral elections set for May 7, 1989.

ERE IS a statement issued on March 20 by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other Anglican primates after a visit to Panama. I received it as part of an information packet distributed by the church's diocesan news service and entitled "God's people have had enough". We have been informed by various groups and organisations of the disastrous effects of the US sanctions against Panama, the state-ment says. These sanctions have led to the destruction of the country's eco-

nomy, caused immense suffering on the

poorest of the poor, increased unemployment and aggravated social problems.

It is also apparent to us that the government of Panama uses the ef-

fect of these sanctions to rally na-

tionalist support against the US. This paralyses people who, like the majority of Panamanians, are opposed to sanctions, but who are restricted from speaking out on this issue for fear of being labelled in favour of General Noriega.

We can therefore say that

these: sanctions inflict a double oppression on the people of Panama.

We believe that these sanctions, opposed by the general population

and inflicted by the US in an attempt

to force the ousting of General Noriega, must cease. The US policy has failed, and their continued imposition helps the government to direct attention from the real, serious internal economic and political crisis.

We call upon the US government,

therefore, to immediately end the

sanctions placed on Panama, so that the unjust suffering can be alleviated and so that the overwhelming domestic problems can be brought to

| light and addressed by the people of

Panama, as a sovereign independent nation, without external oppression and interference.â\200\235

It evidently occurred to their

'| holinesses that they had made a com-â\200\234| pelling case against South African sanctions also.

ought crime! Natu- rally, they were quick to stamp on

| any such notion.

â\200\230We commend the holding of gen-

They are a sign of hope for the .

Sanctions donâ\200\231t .. Beesires23 eÄi¬\201j o e work, says

â\200\224_.execept foE DA

Agfutu :

SIMON BARBER in Washington

manians â\200\230have been promised the right to vote is one of the reasons we can oppose the implementation of sanctions on Panama while supporting them against apartheid in South Africa.â\200\235

This is a somewhat desperate distinction. If, as the primates aver, sanctions have enabled Noriega and his men to â\200\234rally nationalist supportâ\200\235 and â\200\234paralyseâ\200\235 their critics, it seems unlikely that the elections will be particularly reflective of popular sentiment.

In fact, it is downright improbable, since â\200\224 as the churchmen also quite correctly point out â\200\224 the Panamanian government has detained many of its opponents without trial, forced others into exile and systematically stifled the independent Press.

SA could hold exactly the same
kind of non-election tomorrow but,
however broad the theoretical fran-

chise, by no stretch of the imagina- -

tion would it be viewed as such a
sign of hopeâ\200\235 meriting an end to
sanctions.

What we â\200\230have here, -â\200\230 in otĩ-\201er.

words, is a thoroughly predictable
piece of special pleading
use the word pre

e

JTUTU ... unjust suffering

this. Without fail, sanctions applied
to topple or improve the behaviour
of unloveable regimes â\200\224 whether in
Cuba or Nicaragua or Libya or Iran
or North Korea or SA â\200\224 have had
recisely the kind of contrary effect
imned by the bishops after their
jaunt to Panama.

Like automata, the proponents of

â\200\234sanctions in each particular instance

earn om the

others, thus condemning millions of
captivÃ© human beings to ever deeper
torment. For this our ancestors first
stood up?

The point has been reached where
reasonable men are simply surren-
dering to unreason. The latest to fall
is Mobil Oil, and heaven knows it
argued longer and harder than most.

Mobil is pulling out not because it
has been losing money in SA. It esti-
mates that between the start of the
year and the closure of the sale to
Gencor, its South African subsidiar-
ies will have earned some US\$10m,
even allowing for the punitive 72%
tax imposed by the Rangel Amend-
ment. Not an enormous profit for a
company that earned US\$2,9bn on
worldwide sales of US\$54,3bn last
year, but a profit nonetheless.

Psychology not finance underlay

the decision. The new chairman, Allen Murray, and his board simply lost the stomach for staying. In their own Olympian way, they sincerely

believed that they were contributing

to something worthwhile in SA. But Olympians can grow petulant

- when what they see as favours go

unrequited. The board wearied of the

constant abuse, the legislative pun-

ishments â\200\224 both threatened and
() 1 N 10 1 AQQ Q 9 O

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=

holder resolutions, the inordinate amount of time and energy the company had to spend defending itself in public to no effect. ;

Some predict that Mobilâ\200\231s departure will teach the sanctioneers a lesson, that Congressman Charles Rangel, author of the tax provision, may finally be persuaded to hang his head in shame. :

I thought so too at first, believing that Mobil would leave a hole too

_large to be ignored. After reflecting

on Tutuâ\200\231s Panama cant, I am no longer so sure. A constant refrain in Greek tragedy is that the hero learnt â\200\234too lateâ\200\235.

Unfortunately, it is not yet â\200\234too

lateâ\200\235. There is too much suffering

left to be done.

The sanctioneers are in business to make that suffering happen, not to be distracted by it. When the South African Chemical Workersâ\200\231 Industrial Union cries betrayal they will demonstrate that the betrayal was Mobilâ\200\231s, not theirs. They will then not rest until the company has vowed never again to transfer a single washer or word of advice to the new South African owners.

The process will continue until every last foreign company has been needled into following suit. Finally, if and when the logic plays out, the fact that foreign capital was ever in SA will be blamed as the reason for the countryâ\200\231s prolonged agony. When |

unreason rules, there is no argument
that cannot be made. - |

There is only one way that this can
be stopped. Tutu, The Rev Alan
Boesak and other black South Afri-
can leaders the outside world has
deemed credible must recognise that

. sanctions and disinvestment are

playing straight into the hands of |
their enemies, not least the security
establishment which views all forms
â\200\234empoweringâ\200\235 assistance provided
by companies like Mobil as a threat
to the state. :

Having so recognised, they must
find it in themselves to state publicly
what many say in private by issuing
a declaration as unequivocal as the
one the Anglican primates issued on
Panamanian sanctions. In many
ways, it would be a declaration of
independence. And what better occa-
sion could there be for its unveiling
than Tutuâ\200\231s visit to Washington later

this month? .

e

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Concerned by switch
to Zulu in Tvl
schools

IT would be most inter-.

esting to find out who de-
termines government
policy in this country. It
thas become virtually a full
â\200\230time occupation to keep
pace with the changes
â\200\230which take place on a
regular basis. Most of the

S

time without the know-

ledge of the voter or the

Transvaal has always
been considered as a
province where the vari-

-~ ous Sotho languages pre-

dominate, just as we find
that Zulu is the third lan-
guage in Natal. I there-
fore, welcomed the move
when Sotho was intro-
duced as a third language

our government
schools in Transvaal. But
now all of a sudden I dis-
cover that this has all
been changed, Sotho in
Transvaal schools have
been replaced by Zulu.
Why has this become
_necessary?

Is it because Zulu is to
ibe upgraded as the third
|official language of the
'RSA? If this is indeed

so, then I warn that the
government is playing a

Strengthen the position of

the Nguni in relation to

all the other Black races
and the government will
be furthering a second
Mfecane in this country;
much worse in intensity

than the one of 1820

which destroyed more

than a million Black lives.

The ethnic basis of
Black \culture and lan-
guage in South Africa is a

fact which cannot be

wished away overnight.

What happened in our
during the re-

cent Black-on-Black viol-

ence, and what is taking

place presently in the

Pietermaritzburg area
should surely be taken
notice of by government.

W KNOETZE
Gnskpp

â\200\230Tuesday 2 May 1989

THE CITIZEN

Facts refute ANCâ\200\231s
- denial of civilian ,
attack policy

By Tony Stirling

CONTRARY t
_ claims by the African
National ngress
(ANC) that it is not the
organisationâ\200\231s policy to
*attack civilian targets,
a statistical breakdown

o

of terrorist attacks in

South Africa shows a
dramatic increase in
the number of attacks
against civilians from
1985 onwards.

~ This is shown in statisti-
cal breakdowns of ANC
terrorist acts in an article
compiled by Brigadier
Herman Stadler in the an-
nual review of the Rand
Afrikaans ~ Universityâ\200\231s
centre for the study of
revolutionary activities.

Brig Stadler is the
SAPâ\200\231s leading expert on
the ANC and is frequent-
ly called as an expert
court witness in this re-
gard.

A tabulation produced
by Brig Stadler in his arti-
cle on urban terrorism in
South Africaâ\200\224 prompted

â\200\230by the record level of at-
tacks last year â\200\224 showed
that, up to the end of
1984, the number of at-
tacks involving civilians
was relatively low.

In the nine year period

.up until the end of 1984,
â\200\230there was a total of 25
such â\200\234attacks with the
highest number of eight
attacks being recorded in
1983. -

In 1985 the number of

attacks jumped to 25,
then to 82 in 1986 at the

height of the unrest, 69 in
1987 and 73 by the end of
October last year, which
saw a spate of attacks
aimed at the municipal
elections.

The statistics thus re-
flected a tenfold increase
over the past four years
against the previous nine
terms of the number of at-

- tacks.

The breakdown also
showed a sharp increase
in the number of attacks
against police and mili-
tary targets as well as
against the system, while
attacks against economic
targets rose sharply from 1981 on-
wards.

Between 1985 and last
October there were 243
attacks against police tar-
gets as against 52 over the
previous nine years and
48 against military targets
compared to six over the
same period.

Attacks against econ-
omic targets have risen
from a high of 11 in 1977
to an average of about 27
over the past eight years,
while over the last four
years there were 170 at-
tacks against economic
targets compared to 36
over the previous nine.

Brig Stadler said there
were various reasons for
the increase in terrorism
since 1985 arising out of
the unrest situation pre-
vailing in South Africa.

These included a revol-
utionary climate coupled
with intimidation which
negatively affected the
collection of intelligence,
greater numbers of ter-
rorists entering the Re-
public with more freedom
of movement, and that
under these conditions
locals were more suscepti-

ble to recruitment.

Other factors were that ANC terrorists had succeeded in forming temporary cells, more people had received terrorist training locally or were being sent for â\200\230crash coursesâ\200\235 in terrorism, and an increase in the number of people going into exile:

Nevertheless, according to Brig Stadler, the ANC had not succeeded in its objectives of making

- the Black areas ungovern-

able, or mobilising a so- |
called peopleâ\200\231s army to -

conduct a
peopleâ\200\231s war.
Contrary to claims in its

sq-called

propaganda the ANC had
not succeeded in going

over to the various stages
of revolution as envisaged

in its published strategies.
Its activities, includingâ\200\231
terrorism, were still cat-

egorised as armed propa-
ganda aimed at getting a
bigger political
base in South Africa.
The toll in human
terms of the ANC's ter-
rorist attacks over the

power

past four years has been
heavy 138 people }
killed up until last June. |

|
t

' and 962 people injured in |

the two-and-a-half years
ending in June.

But the statistics also
show that heavy damage
has been inflicted on the
terrorists by the security

forces who killed 86 ter-
rorists and arrested 333 in
the 18 months ending last
June.

â\200\231

In S. Africa, De Klerk:

Likely to Stay Course

A R Y |

Tough New Party, Chief Has Backed Botha

A9\

By William Claiborne

Washington Post Foreign Service
CAPE TOWN, South Africa, Feb.

\

4â\200\224When Frederik W. de Klerk, .

who in all likelihood will become the
next president of South Africa be-
fore the year is out, was named

minister of white education five

years ago, it was an appoxntment")

not lightly taken.

The ruling National Party, whose

leadership de Klerk inherited Thurs- -

day from ailing President Pieter W.

Botha, traditionally dis- NEWS

penses the education ANALYSIS

portfolio only to.a man

who, in the Afrikaansâ\200\231 idiom, has the

â\200\234steel teethâ\200\235 required to keep white

South African schools white,

De Klerkâ\200\231s credentials for that

task, and for protecting the other
foundations of apartheid that his
party built, are formidable, notwith-
standing his acquiescence to the
reforms that have been made in
that system of racial separatnon in
the past 10 years.

Through deed and word, de Klerk
in his 17 years in Parliament has re-
mained uncompromisingly com-

mitted to the principle the govern-
ment euphemistically calls the main- -

tenance of â\200\234own affairs,â\200\235 which to the
23 million-strong black majority
translates as racial segregation. .

It is a concept based on a deep

faith in the â\200\234group pllax" philosophy

i

and mixed-race â\200\234Coloredâ\200\235â\200\224is a sepï¬\202f :

upon which apartheid is predlcate
the belief that each ethnic group
South Africaâ\200\224white, black, Indiahj!

arate pillar of the society and should
| govern its own affairs.

During a no-confidence debate in
Parliament last year, amid opposi

tion charges that his Cabinet col-
leagues were dissembling on the
question of racial reform, de Klerk

made himself clear on the subject. . .

â\200\234The National Party demands, as
a basic pattern, that own residential
areas be maintained, that own state
schools are not threatened . . . and
this is also done by the maintenance
of own facilities.â\200\235

It is-a sentiment shared by most

of the National Party caucus in Par-

liament, even the reformist wing,

so bluntly.

But most Afrikaners have a deep
respect for what they call kragdadi-
gheid, or iron-like strength and in-
ï¬\202exibility as a leader. And strength
is not generally associated with
vagueness of principle or leniency
with adversaries.

EraE

Bothaâ\200\231s frlends and enenu&i' â\200\230Slike -

" respectfully call the president,*the '

crocodileâ\200\235 for his toughness of jidg-+
ment against those whom he feels '

. have wronged him or have failed in

their duty to support his principles.
De Klerk, despite his urbane and
personable manner, is said by his

associates to have the same quality.
although he has sought to soften his

image recently and has benefited by -
'having his political views compared

favorably with those of his opponents
in the extreme right-wing
Conservative Party.

It was this toughness, National
Party insiders said, that made de
Klerk, 52, Botha's choice as party
leader and heir apparent when: the
president decided to ease himself
out of politics at the age of 73.

When Foreign Minister Roelof F.
(Pik) Botha dared suggest publicly in
1986 that South Africa could some-
day have a black president, it was de
Klerk, according to informed party
sources, who advised the president

to force the foreign minister to make

a humiliating public retraction.

Although he has held six Cabinet
posts, de Klerk has not initiated a
single piece of legislation dealing
with racial reform, although as a
self-proclaimed team man, he has
not publicly opposed reform moves.

In the next parliamentary election,

which is expected this year and can-

not be held later than March 1990,

de Klerk will face a tough battle for

reelection in the town of Vereeniging,
south of Johannesburg, where
voters have continued to move
over to the Conservative Party.
Party strategists say it is unlikely
that he will be able to further modify

his hardline image in such a contest.
De Klerk, who is a lawyer, was

drawn into politics. His father, Jan,
was a National Party Cabinet min-
ister and president of the disbanded
Senate. The younger de Klerk was

a member of the party's youth
wing, the Jeugbond, and was active

in politics at Potchefstroom Univer-
sity, in the Orange Free State.

He rose through the party ranks,
becoming a member of Parliament

but one that is not always expressed : in 1972, and information officer of

- the Transvaal Province National

SRR H,mmmgandhomeaffanrs.â\200\235 vï¬\202

Party, upon which he built a polit-
ical base to become provincial &u

man of the party, He has held a se-
ries of Cabinet portfolios, incliding
posts and telecommunications, so-
cial welfare, sport and recreation,

â\200\230_,.,.-'.â\200\231- T P

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AL

South Africa draws near. Disabled by a stroke two weeks ago, the 73-year-old President will remain as head of Government but has resigned as leader of the National Party. - i

The new party leader is F. W. de Klerk, who as Minister of Education won applause from hardliners. His choice promises little change for the better. It does argue for a continued U.S. policy of targeted sanctions. â\200\224 . Â¢ iR

Most likely, President Botha will keep his Government post until fall elections, when Mr. de Klerk will be positioned to assume command. The prospect, regrettably, is for more unrest, stagnation, emigration and repression. ...

- When Mr. Botha assumed power, he warned that white South Africa had to adapt or perish. He shaped a new Constitution that gave the president plenary power, and extended a limited franchise to voters of mixed race and Asian descent. And he did away with hated passlaws. â\200\234 . < .- .0 .

- .* -~ But Mr. Botha and his party were baffled and angry when the outside world seemed insufficiently impressed by halfway reforms that evaded the central issue of political rights for a huge, rebellious

.- black majority. His cdution found its symbolism in - .W , ,

+- . his treatment of Nelsori Mandela. Instead of uncon- * tchange within South Africa throu gh targeted sanc- |

..+~ ditionallyâ\200\231 freeing the jailed leader of the African :

National Congress, Mr. Botha had him transferred -::difficulty of change, not its undesirability. The same

..â\200\231 on groundsof poor health to a halfway house. ' _& _xce+ =determined diplomacy tha t led to Pretoriaâ\200\231s re-

..~ - }i The deeper tragedy .is that Mr. Botha truly <"-gional pullback should 5 - U ptre Â\$- Â\$

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4 â\200\2301 â\200\230[L- L A o i Y R B .o -

AR Ko e

Twilight in Pretoria = V47 #(71%)

The end of P;es;ideï¬\201t PW EothÃ©'s reign m '

spoke for most of his electorate. On his right, extremists cried treason over any departure from old-style apartheid. More liberal whites were powerful in business but feeble in party politics. In the middle were most Afrikaners, bred to believe their privileges came from God, blaming foreign media for uprisings in squalid townships that few of them ever

visited. . :

- If outsiders erred in overestimating the power of sanctions to soften white attitudes, the Reagan Administration erred more seriously by trying to wheedle reforms through â\200\234constructive engage-
- ment.â\200\235 Mr. Botha lacked the will and political space to effect fundamental changes, with the result that South African blacks assumed that Washington was hissentpeither; =.icui ol 20T e
. As a result, even skeptical members of Congress voted to override President Reagan'â\200\231s veto of economic sanctions in 1986. The vote at least made
- plain where Americans stood on racial justice in [
--South â\200\234Africa. And in fact, foreign pressure has

helped nudge Pretoria to pull troops from Angola
- and to pledge independence for Namibia. - .

3-3.5A rightward.tilt in the ruling party would not

eaken the argument for promoting -nonviolent
~tions. Mr. Bothaâ\200\231s cautious tenure underlines the

be aimed at apartheid. - .

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S. Africa Takes Cautious Stance on Housing Laws
Acting President Heunis Attempts to Steer Between Extremes on Apartheid Restrictions

SR\

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service
CAPE TOWN, South Africa, Feb.
3â\200\224In the face of growing pressure
from both the left and the right to

â\200\231wâ\200\230...

â\200\234laws uncompromisingly or abandon

% themy the South. African ovenf;

either enforce housing segregation -

neighborhood, will address the ques-
tion of individual rights, Heunis said.

Retention of the existing segre-
gation laws contained in the Group
Areas Act will protect group nghts,
he added.

Heunisâ\200\231 speech suggested that the';.
governments legislative agenda for
racial reform in 1989 would continueâ\200\231

i ment said today if would do nenther., Â£ to be cautious and incremental,'with

1950 Group Areas Act that would,.
have severely tnghtened enforcement **
of racial segregation and forced the

. i

~ eviction of thousands of blacks livingâ\200\235
- illegally in residential areas desig- .

{ nated for whites only.

But, Heunis said, the government
would find other ways of guarantee-
ing what it calls â\200\234own community
life,â\200\235 an- apartheid code term for ra-

Â\$ cially segregaed residential areas.

. Heunis, who is leading the gov-

) emment while President Pieter W.

g Botha recovers from a stroke he

! suffered on Jan 18, said Pretoria
â\200\234wants to leave room for those who
want to exercise their individual
rights in a community context.â\200\235

He said the key to limited recog-

tion of individual rights in housing while maintaining protection for the group rights of the white minority lies in alleviating South Africa's acute housing shortage, particularly for its 23 million blacks.

A recently adopted Free Settlements law, which will create some mixed-race neighborhoods for those who want to live in an integrated

Opening 4 new session of Parliament, Acting President Chris Heunis, said the government had decided to drop a proposed amendment to the Information Minister. Stoffel van

der Merwe, Botha's point man in seeking power-sharing negotiations with the black majority, told reporters: "Of course, you cannot expect

spectacular innovations in a speech

like this."

He said that Botha, who is expected to convalesce for at least another month, was not even shown

a copy of the speech before it was delivered. Van der Merwe said the nature of Botha's illness requires that he be protected from all forms of stress, including that of reviewing a text of a speech. -

On Thursday, Botha resigned his post as leader of the ruling National Party in a move that was seen as intended to minimize the struggle to succeed him. Education Minister Frederik W. de Klerk stepped into the party post. Van der Merwe's remarks suggested that there will be very little policy input by Botha on the government's reform program in the months ahead.

Heunis's speech, which cabinet officials said reflected Botha's thinking even if he did not read it, did not ap-

pear to satisfy the demands of either liberal or conservative critics of the government's handling of the housing segregation issue. 1 Attention was focused on the issue last week when an unruly mob of white vigilantes prevented a family of Indian descent from moving into + Johannesburg's mixed-race Mayfair neighborhood, The, family)-

[
- ~

left the neighborhood after receiving death threats as a mob of whites

surrounded their house, painted
" racist slogans on the windows and

walls and hung a rope noose.

Warning that de facto integration -

of white areas by nonwhites ignoring housing segregation laws could

lead, to open race warfare, some °

conservative have

. TS SRR . B

challenged the government either.
to repeal the Group Areas Act or
enforce it rigidly. Included among
those pressuring the government
are leaders of the white supremacist
Conservative Party who have

" issued similar enforce-or-repeal

challenges regarding all the segregation laws.

In the town of Boksburg near Johannesburg, where Conservatives won the municipal election last October and immediately began reviving 1950s-style petty apartheid in public parks and libraries, there have been demands that the central gov-

ernment either repeal the 1953 Sep-

arate TR P& " -"/'.m\ G

arate Amenities Act or allow local
councils to apply it fully, even in areas that have become integrated. -

For their own reasons, white liberal politicians are also challenging the government to either enforce or scrap segregation laws it adopted. The liberals say the laws are unenforceable and the government can be compelled to repeal them.

But van der Merwe said, "The simple repeal of a law like the Separate Amenities Act would create legal uncertainty and would lead to upheaval." He said that it would take

years for attitudes of whites to
change.

St. Albansâ\200\234' Church women â\200\230to host Mrs.

ATV T Ao

- mother grandmother, " social ac- kaa Fund in New York Cxty,
| tivist and lecturer, she main- the Bishop. Desmond Tutu

: t,amsanactxverolemprovxdxng Southern - African Refugee

er 3w "'â\200\230r?'

St. Albans- Congregatlional
Church â\200\230and St Albans Family
Life Center are Jomtly opening
their hearts and doors to meet
the request of, South,, Africaâ\200\231s
first lady in the struggle â\200\230for the
freedoniâ\200\231 andâ\200\231 human- righ Es {of?
" native South.. Africans;z
The Most Honm'a

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can women wfnle
City " She will have'an oppor-
tunity to do so on Tuesday, Feb.
14 at 5:30 p.m. at the St. Albans
Family, Life Centerâ\200\231 locatei at:
172-17 Linden Blvd., St.; AL
bans, New York! 2t \â\200\234â\200\235â\200\230
â\200\234â\200\234We invite our women to turn
out in large numbers to. meet:
this graaons lady this tower of
strength,â\200\235 7:â\200\230" -
tive director of St{Albans Fam-
ily Life Center stated: â\200\234This will .
be a rare oppc . to) hear -
from a female in thg fotefront of
the struggle,â\200\231â\200\235 she continued.â\200\235â\200\231 -
' Mrs. Leah Nolizo Tutu,

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l _for the higher. education of Scholarship Fundâ\200\231 was estab-
many South African studenta. lished b}' .i Archblshop Tutu:

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"MRS. LEAH NOLIZO TUTUY
Africaâ\200\231sâ\200\231 most(, fÃ©mudaiï¬\202!:

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four children under_the oppres-
sive system. She haa,;tood pro-

husbandâ\200\231s_side as_he actively

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teacher, nurse, social activist, , workedagmnstand publicly de>
wife: of' Nobel Laureate, Ah nounced and condemnedâ\200\231 the
chbishop Desmond Tutu who is8â\204ç, racist systemusfir<f osiA Â¥nis
widely recogmzed 3 South- thle juggling dntiesaawlf,

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â\200\230Leah Tutu

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Honorary chanrpersons.
Ernestine Johnson, Elaine
Flake,: Paige Burgie, Theresaâ\200\231
Merritt Hines and Honorable
Dora Young, along with a spe-

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Operated by the Phelps- States and fully supportm -'.pleasecall (718) 523-6843

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Visit part of campaign to intensify sanctions

SA clerics in US try

NS T TN

Boy oy

to oppose apartheid

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

' WASHINGTON = South -

African church leaders
are to visit the United

States later this month as

part of the campaign to
intensify American sanctions -
against Pretoria.

The. South African

churchmen who leave

for the US - in mid-May, -
are Archbishop Desmond .
Tutu, the Reverend .

Frank Chikane, Dr

Beyers Naude and Dr

Allan Boesak

PAVE WAY

The visit is sponsored

by several prominent

American anti-apartheid

activists and organisations.

tions.

It could dramatically pave

the way for invitations to
visit the US by other

South Africans, including

possibly senior Government members.

There are indications the Bush Administration would like to meet a full range of South Africans

~.as it reviews US policy

tOWards southern Africa.
. President George Bush

Â£
Archbishop Desmond
Tutu

has been approached by the sponsors of the visit to meet the churchmen.

According to sources, the president is likely to see the churchmen, as - this -would in any case. - open the doors to invite other South Africans to -

:Washington. .

The churchmen are to .

.be the guests of Senator

Edward Kennedy at a private dinner in Washington on May 16." :

Mr Kennedy is one of 66 conveners of the American Forum on

" South Africa, to be held

on May 17.

DISMANTLE - -

The meeting, between the churchmen and more

than 90 prominent Americans, will discuss

- what can be done to help

dismantle apartheid. . .
The meeting is being

" Dr Boesak* will also at-

eid @[

co-ordinated by Trans-Africa, the lobby group -which has been in the forefront of pushing for the total isolation of South Africa and which has spearheaded demon-

strations outside the
South African Embassy.
Archbishop Tutu and

tend a lunch on May 18,
along with Professor
Jakes Gerwel, principal
of the University of the
Western Cape S

The lunch is to be host-
ed by the Capital Press
Club and a group known:
as African Research and
Communications. d

African Research and
Communications will
sponsor a fund-raising
dinner on May 18 in the
hope of collecting at least
\$30 000 (R75 000) for the
University of the Western
Cape.

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Evangelical delegatloï\202
meets with ANC in Lusaka

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A DELEGATION from Africa
Enterprise which spent several
days in Lusaka, Zambia last
week, met with the ANC and se-
cured the agreement of the Zam-
bian president, Dr Kenneth
Kaunda, to become patron of
their evangelistic mission in
that city during May and June of
this year.

The delegation was accompa-
nied by Mr Khaba Mkhize, the
editor of Echo, who told The
Natal Witness that the journey
to Lusaka had a three-fold pur-

poseâ\200\235.
â\200\234Firstly, Mr Cassidy wished to

hand over a copy of his book,

The 'Passing ' Summer, to Dr
:Kaunda. Secondly, the local

clergy of Africa Enterprise went '

to meet with their fellow evangelists from Malawi, Swaziland,

Uganda, Kenya and Zambia to prepare for the mission in May

and June.

Thirdly, they sought to meet with the ANC hierarchy in Lu-

'saka as we believed they are our |

people from home who cannot be wished away," Mr Mkhize said.

Talking of their meeting with the ANC, Mr Mkhize said that their delegation exchanged notes with the ANC delegation over the Pietermaritzburg unrest and sought ways and means of ending the violence.

In discussions the ANC had stressed that the violence in

"Pietermaritzburg was of . deep. concern to the - and the so-called

it ended the better the climate for a settlement of South

- Africa's problems, he said.

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- The question is raised by the shm., i\201

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From'n Afghāi(l?;tai;â\200\234to Paraguay,

~ has never a

ABROAD AT HOME

Anthony Lewis

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BOSTON'

Poland to Cambodia, it is a time

of extraordinary-change in theÂ\$ world. Rooted positions are yielding to the logic of history. Might that begin to happen soon in the country that *; has for so â\200\230long :stood. out against change, South Africa? .. - o at the top in white South African politics. President P. W. Botha, leader of the National Party-and the Government for the last 11 years, gave up the .

" . party position after a stroke and was

succeeded. by F. W. de Klerk. Many think the same' transition will come in the presidency before long.

Mr. de Klerk;:is: a generation younger' than Mt&Bï-\202ti-\201aâ\200\230: 52 against" 73. He is a more cosmopolitan figure, less insular and prickly in his Afri-

kaner identity,:than National Party

leaders of.the_Jast 40 rs. But he li'i-\201â\200\231d-'iev?sion of the Â¥

country without apartheid, and in the ; party caucus he narrowly defeated a more reformist;colleague. The possibility of .change lies less in Mr. de Klerk than in the situation.

Externally, there has already been-? a striking shift in-South African policy. It was a response to new realities. ., . M T L R AP 3 [N |

President Botha::was close to the : military, and for.10 â\200\230years he based* his regional policy on military force.Â\$

" He raided all, of ' the neighboring

black-ruled countries, destabilizedâ\200\235
Mozambique, invadedâ\200\231 Angola. He g
held out against international pres-
sure to let occupied Namibia become
independent. ...,

But last year thÃ©'cost of operations

Â« in Angola mounted. Cuban troops

moved into the southwest in force, "
menacing Namibia. Mr. Botha be- ?
came disillusioned with his generalsâ\200\231
promises of victory. HeÃ©:accepted anâ\200\230a
American-mediated agreement to get -}
Cuban and South African forces out of !
Angola and free Namibia. &

Mr. Botha turned from thumping to: !
courting black Africa. In 10 years he |
had never visited-a black govern- |
ment. Last fall he traveled to four Af-

rican countries. g : .
The agreememza' important 3
political implications inside South Af- g

F. L.

rica. It stopped the steady rise of mili-,
tary influencÃ©â\200\231 inâ\200\231;-the:: Government.â\200\231%
Some had'thought 'the Defense Minis-*%.
ter, Magnus Malan, would succeed
Mr.'Bothay In, the;party caucus last:
week he wt date, . _ . >
Qver the' years Mr. Botha claimeaj

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that South''Africa*faced a â\200\234total on-,
slaughtâ\200\235 from'intÃ©rnational Commu-"
nism. That wasya,justification forâ\200\231y
brutal internal_ repression. But now
the Cubans are goirig. And Soviet offi- ;,
cials have been helpful in the negotia-
tions. T LRt W * YN
It hardly follows that the Govern-
ment is about to abandon the apart-

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Pk - Blrees s â\202¬wnships patrolled by sg)- -
ke Brs, many leaders in prison, â\200\230yâ\200\230

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