Rapport 23 Mart 1986 p.2. Wallata

Deur ANNE-MARIE MISCHKE: Ulundi

DIE KwaNatal-indaba, wat oor 'n bietjie meer as 'n week in Durban begin, is 'n unieke onderhandeling-geleentheid: Vir die eerste keer kom nie net mense van uiteenlopende politieke oortuigings nie, maar ook van verskillende bevolkingsgroepe bymekaar om oor die staatkundige toekoms van hul streek — KwaZulu en Natal — te besin.

Aan die spits met die indaba is die KwaZulu-regering. waarin Inkatha die meerderheidsparty is en die deur die NRP-beheerde Natalse provinsiale owerheid. Die leiersfigure in die indaba is die hoofsekretaris van Inkatha, dr. Oscar Dlhomo, wat ook KwaZulu se minister van onderwys is, en die Natalse LUK belas met plaaslike bestuur, mnr. Frank Martin.

Aanvaar

Onder die groepe wat reeds van die 31 uitnodigings aanvaar het, is Durbanse stadsraad, dié stad se Sakekamer, die NRP en die Black Allied Workers Union.

Dr. Dhlomo sê mnr. Pat Moore van die Natalse Konserwatiewe Party het laat weet dat hulle daar sal wees - om te sê dat hulle "nie hul land weggee nie".

Onder die groepe wat dit nog oorweeg, is die vakbondfederasies Cosatu en Tucsa, die UDF en sy filiale soos die Natal Indian Congress, en die Indiërs se politieke partye met parlementêre verteenwoordiging. Die ANC en die HNP het laat weet hulle kom nie.

'n Navraag by die kantoor van die Natalse leier van die Nasionale Party, min. Stoffel Botha, het aan die lig gebring dat die NP nog nie oor deelname besluit het nie. 'n Aankondiging kan al teen Maandag verwag word. Omdat die NP die meerderheidsparty in die sentrale

regering is, is dit uiteraard 'n ingewikkelde besluit. Dr. Dhlomo sê hy hoop van harte dat die NP die uitnodiging sal aanvaar.

Nie finaal

Finale besluitnemingsmag gaan die indaba nie hê nie. Die voorstelle oor 'n enkele wetgewende owerheid vir die streek sal aan die Regering voorgelê moet word. Die leiers van KwaZulu en Natal het reeds, in weerwil van heel party beginselverskille, konsensus bereik oor 'n gesamentlike uitvoerende owerheid.

Dié voorstelle is reeds by die Regering. Die Minister van Staatkundige Ontwikkeling en Beplanning, mnr. Chris Heunis, sê die Regering sal voor die einde van die huidige Parlementsitting uitsluitsel daaroor gee.

Hulle maak voorsiening vir 'n gelyke verteenwoordiging van Natal en KwaZulu en 'n roterende voorsitterskap in 'n nuwe gesamentlike uitvoerende owerheid wat met sake van gemeenskaplike belang sal handel.

Eerste fase

Dit word as net die eerste fase beskou van 'n proses om 'n hele nuwe gesagstruktuur vir Natal te skep. Die volgende fase, die indaba oor 'n moontlike gesamentlike wetgewende owerheid, is moeilik, omdat dit ingrypende politieke implikasies inhou. Só 'n gesamentlike wetgewende owerheid kom neer op 'n gemengde streekregering in die ware sin van die woord.

Dr. Dhlomo wou niks sê oor hoe hy meen die wetge-

wende owerheid en 'n verenigde KwaNatal uiteindelik moet lyk nie. Dis besonderhede wat die indaba moet uitwerk, sê hy. Rapport het egter wisselende menings daaroor teengekom.

Sommige voorsien 'n streekowerheid met nie veel meer mag as die huidige provinsiale rade nie. Ander praat van 'n betreklik outonome owerheid, wat uiteindelik selfs 'n nierassige Natal sonder die Groepgebiedewet kan inrig, wat eendag dalk deel van 'n federale struktuur kan word.

Konsensus

Gevra oor die moontlikheid van konsensus in 'n indaba met soveel uiteenlopende menings, het dr. Dhlomo gesê hy is nie besonder bekommerd daaroor nie. Daar was ook verskille tussen KwaZulu en Natal terwyl daar oor die uitvoerende owerheid besin is, maar dis bygelê sonder dat die bestaande arbitrasie-moontlikhede - appèl na hoof minister Buthelezi van KwaZulu en die Natalse Administrateur, mnr. Radclyffe Cadman - gebruik is.

As die Regering die KwaNatal-voorstelle verwerp, sê dr. Dhlomo, voorsien hy nie dat die gebied eensydig sal optree en tog gesamentlike regering sal instel nie. Hy sê gesamentlike regering moet tande hê, wat onder meer finansiering en statutêre erkenning deur die sentrale regering beteken. 'n Eensydige besluit sal kwaNatal dus nie 'n groter werklikheid maak as die huidige informele reëlings vir samewerking nie.

Daar word bereken dat die indaba sowat ses maande kan duur, maar dr. Dhlomo sê sóveel werk is al deur onder meer die Buthelezi-kommissie gedoen, dat die indaba se werk dalk binne drie of vier maande klaar kan wees.

This disturbing view

of police behaviour

in black townships

needs to be probed

would agree that the problems in education are among the root causes of the unhappiness black South Africans

are experiencing today.

We have a Department of
National Education, "Gener-

Al Affairs".

We have a Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly — i.e. white "Own Affairs"; a Department of Education and Culture, House of Representatives — i.e. coloured "Own Affairs"; a Department of Education and Culture, House of Delegates - i.e. Asian "Own Affairs".

We have numerous education departments in the "homelands" which are not yet independent, and we have departments of education in the "homelands" which have opted for independence.

We have a Department of

Education which expressly takes care of the needs of Africans within the Republic.

The simple fact of the matter is that multiple depart-ments of education at that level are costly and ineffi-cient, and that South Africa simply does not have the manpower and the talent to staff those departments with people of adequate ability.

Impossible

It is just impossible. And ultimately, that whole machine must grind more and more slowly, and more and more inefficiently. It is true that the Depart-

ment of National Education "General Affairs" is taking more responsibility in increasing areas of common concern, but this does not alter the fact that we have a ridiculous superfluity of education departments.

And the creation of a National Certifying Council and other structures cannot substitute for what, after all, was one of the fundamental recommendations of the Human Sciences Research Council's commission of inquiry into the provision of education — that there should be one Ministry of Education and one Minister

It is not enough to have one ministry for general policy and multiple ministries (and budgets). As long as we have the present multiple system, we are going to have widespread dissatisfaction and

Costly, inefficient and unequal is what education control means

By STUART SAUNDERS Vice-Chancellor of the **University of Cape Town**

It is part and parcel of a constitution which is based on race, and a constitution based on race is unhealthy for good race relations.

It is another form of apartheid. Separate cannot be

How long will it take, under ideal conditions, to ensure an equal provision of education for all people in South Africa?

I think most people would answer by saying "two gen-erations", so that for a long time many children in "ath Africa are going to get a sub-optimal education.

And so South Africans need to believe that everything possible is being done to ensure that they reach that point of equal provision of education as soon as possible, and they will only live with the inevitable long time-lag period if they believe just that.

Intolerable

If they suspect that there is any dragging of feet, or any lack of commitment, the wait will become intolerable. And would submit that the one tangible way in which that commitment can be expressed is to remove the rainherent in the present constitutional structure which places education as an "eie saak" and, therefore, ethnically differentiated from Parliament downwards.

Until we move away from that system, we cannot have

good race relations in this country, however much one consults, talks, debates and argues, or however much money one spends.

Of course, it is commendable that so much more is being spent on black educa-tion at the moment than ever before. Of course, it is commendable that major efforts are being undertaken to up-grade teacher qualifications, both by the State and by the

Crucial

But it is no accident that the tumult in South Africa been focused on the schools ever since 1976 — and highlighted in 1985.

It is how society is viewed that counts, and you cannot fool the people of South Africa. They know what they are getting, and the crucial issue facing the country at the moment is to ensure that all the people of South Africa believe that every effort is being made to ensure a rapid march towards equality in education.

Under the present dispensation at least one Minister feels that he cannot talk to a statutory body which in-cludes members who are members of another race group, because he is an "own affairs" Minister, and yet that is the very group of peo-ple whom he should be consulting in making important

The only logical way around that, of course, is to

create yet another body representing one ethnic group only, and that would be to effect a major step back-wards!

In contrast to what happened in "coloured" education, Mr Sam de Beer's (the Deputy Minister concerned with African education) approach was more conciliatory and more intelligent. It enabled the sensible leadership given by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) to be heeded by black scholars in South Africa.

As I write this it is not clear how many of the requests of the SPCC will be met, but at least they are negotiable and one hopes that a result acceptable to all will be achieved.

This does not mean that I believe that all power should be centralised in Pretoria.

Power can be decentralised - and education is an area where this might be appropriate — but the criteria of decentralisation are im-

Scope

These include the scope of the authority decentralised and the legitimacy of the in-stitutions to which power is to be decentralised.

These cannot be deter-mined by racial criteria, by a white parliament, nor can the authority be one like the the Ministers' Council of the House of Delegates, which

does not enjoy legitimacy.

Let us not forget that while
the whites held a referendum to approve the 1983 Constitu-tion, nobody else did so.

• Extracted from Dr Saunders's presidential address this week to the SA Institute of Race Rela-

IT-took an interested, inquisitive European visitor two days in South Africa to remark on the "classic' pattern of what we euphemistically call the unrest situation.

Soviet masters, he said, were being fed by nearly every conceivable situation in the country.

He wasn't surprised that such a view was met with a glazed look of neither agreement nor disagreement - at least he took the point that South Africans are too sophisticated to fall into the trap of looking for a communist behind every bush, like we did back in the

Today, it is simply unsmart to name the enemy as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Most blacks regard it as a daft accusation — in spite of the presence of CPSU flags at funerals. They, like most whites, think that black people are inherently not communist-inclined.

An articulate black woman told me she found the word "comrade" just right as it denoted nothing more than being "friends in the struggle".

vestigation.

the guilt was immediately

placed on the police be-

cause they removed all evi-

dence of the grenade during

However ridiculous some

of these conclusions may

seem, the fact is that they

exist. And the fact that they

are being bred in situations

like the police action taken against the crowd in Ma-

melodi last Sunday is suffi-

ciently serious to warrant

Black parents who have

attempted to talk to the po-lice about local problems

fear that they will be ar-

rested because, on occa-

Discredited

Many black residents be-

lieve their local councils are in cahoots with police

or security forces against the community. Those

structures that were cre-

ated to nurture confidence

between residents and se-

curity forces have not suc-

sion, this has happened.

the investigation.

real attention.

Disconcerting

There are those older black citizens who abhor the word, but will concede that many "comrades" are doing their best to restore discipline in the townships. They are not prepared to argue about the connotation of the word.

In spite of this delicate reticence, the game of naming the enemy is still with us. It is like living in a Frederick Forsyth world of clever manipulation and melodrama in which antagonists switch roles like dancers in a tango.

The disconcerting thing about this real-life novel is that one description of the "enemy" crops up far too often: the police, and, sometimes, the army.

This view of a hostile security force intimidating and acting as an agent provocateur is very real and very sinister. Even if it falls neatly into the classic pattern of revolutionary

propaganda, it still does not ceeded, and are now totally detract from the tales emadiscredited.

nating from the townships. An ombudsman seems to For instance, the claim be the most logical answer to the appalling breakdown of confidence between the that police do not always investigate allegations on the spot is seen as non-inblack communities and the security forces. When the police visited a house that had been hand-grenaded, killing a woman,

Such an agent would certainly eliminate the present feeling that the "higher" ranks in the security forces are being kept ignorant of the "real" facts in the town-

Moderates

There is also the growing awareness of the intolerable situation by employers in the cities. The grip of fear and intimidation in the townships will soon lead to more public pressure on the authorities to prove that they are still in control and are in benevolent con-

On the grapevine between maids and madams, too, tales of horror and pos-

sible police involvement are being told.

Although there are many stories of atrocities committed by gangs — and there are no illusions about black-on-black terror - it is the belief (and we are dealing with beliefs here) that the security forces can, and do, harm innocent children and women that

needs to be examined.

In spite of the growing assumption that a middle ground is being found and formed among moderates, few blacks want to be named as moderates. Their identification with black aspirations is still para-mount, and white expectations that the moderates will distance themselves from township endorsement of strikes, stayaways or school boycotts miss the point totally.

It is only a desire to avoid bloodshed and chaos that makes black moderates hesitant. Their aim is nothing less than a decisive say in the running of township affairs and black life in general.

Police

And, whatever enemy is identified, most blacks still look towards the Government for initiatives.

The police in black communities are in a singular position to communicate with those communities. It shouldn't be beyond their abilities - or their psychological insight — to create an easier climate than exists now.

If they don't, they will continue to wear the mask of the enemy - which will, of course, suit Comrade Joe in Lusaka just fine.

Buthelezi en P.W. berge of molshope

(Rapport pg. 15 23 March 1988.)

BY die opening van die Wetgewende Vergadering van KwaZulu dié week, het hoofminister Mangosuthu Buthelezi geen twyfel gelaat oor sy ongedurigheid oor die betrekkinge tussen hom en die Regering nie.

ANNE-MARIE MISCHKE was daar en in dié artikel kyk sy na die hoofminister se huidige posisie en sy op-

DEUR die jare het ons gewoond geraak aan die eb en vloed van die betrekkinge tussen die Regering en die hoofminister van KwaZulu, kaptein

Mangosuthu Buthelezi. En ook aan die neiging dat dinge tussen hom en die Regering verkeerd loop net wanneer dit lyk of dit op dreef begin kom. Dis al weer sulke tyd, het dit dié week op Ulundi geblyk. Op die oog af het dit na kleinserigheid en geniepsigheid gelyk, dié emmer koue water wat kaptein Buthelezi as 't ware in die gesig van die Speaker van die Volksraad, mnr. Johan Greeff, gegooi het oor dié gestuur is om die Wetgewende Vergadering te open en nie iemand belangriker in kaptein Buthelezi se oë nie.

Dit was dalk so. Maar 'n mens moet dit ook saamlees met ander gebeure vroeër vanjaar, sê mense ná aan die hoofminister. Vir eers het die Staatspresident hom losgemaak van min. Pik Botha se uitlatings oor 'n swart Staatspresident en die hoofminister het slegte tekens vir ware magsdeling daarin gelees. Kort daarna reik die Staatspresident die bandopname uit van sy gesprek met dr. Van Zyl Slabbert en kaptein Buthelezi meen hulle praat van hom kompleet asof hy 'n "uppity kaffir" is. Toe kom mnr. Greeff ook nog sy Wetgewende Vergadering open, pleks van sy ou vriend, dr. Piet Koornhof. En hy word eers twee

dae voor die opening van die verandering in kennis gestel, al was die datum al hoe lank bekend.

Uit kaptein Buthelezi se toespraak blyk die redes vir sy gramskap duidelik. Naas politieke redes, soos sy eie bepaalde eise oor magsdeling en die beëindiging van apart-heid, meen hy klaarblyklik die Regering ag hom nie as

Waarskuwings

Hy is ontevrede oor wetgewing van sy raad van verlede jaar wat nog nie goedgekeur is nie, oor wat hy beskou as pogings om hom in onafhanklikheid in te lok, al is sy teenkanting daarteen welbekend en omdat sy waarskuwings in 1983 oor die nuwe Grondwet in die wind geslaan is as die "geblêr van 'n moeilike kaffer".

Gesien die lang en spanningsvolle geskiedenis van betrekkinge tussen die Regering en kaptein Buthelezi, het dit stellig tyd geword dat van die Regering en van die hoofminister se kant gekyk word waarom bevredigende samewerking ná al die jare nie bewerkstellig kan word nie. Des te meer omdat oënskynlik molshope aanmekaar die manier het om berge te word.

Aan Regeringskant kan baie redes aangevoer word waarom dit nie net die moeite werd nie, maar dringend noodsaaklik is dat die Regering en kaptein Buthelezi mekaar sal vind.

Neem hy byvoorbeeld aan die voorgestelde nasionale statutêre raad deel, kan dit meer legitimiteit aan die raad gee as wat andersins die geval sou wees. Al sê die ANC wat, hy kan nie as 'n strooipop van die Regering bestempel word nie. Hy het ten minste onder sy eie mense, die Zoeloes en die kulturele en politieke organisasie Inkatha beduidende steun. Hy is die verkose leier van die Zoeloes. In baie buitelandse kringe is daar grondige respek vir hom.

Beperkte keuse

Kyk 'n mens na kaptein Buthelezi se kant van die saak, is dit weer duidelik dat hy tans 'n beperkte keuse het. Hy kan glad nie na links op die Suid-Afrikaanse politieke spektrum beweeg nie. Hy is gewoon onwelkom in die geledere van baie swart politieke en arbeidsorganisasies -tensy hy sy posisie as hoofminister van KwaZulu afsweer en so bewys dat hy nie binne stelsels wat deur die Regering ontwerp is, beweeg nie. Daar is geen teken dat hy dit oorweeg nie.

Tussen hom en die ANC woed die stryd, wat al hoe

meer na 'n magstryd lyk, al hoe hewiger en hy is onversetlik in sy veroordeling van hul geweld.

Hy kan dus of oustryk voortgaan - in 'n spanningsverhouding met die Regering en met die linkse swart politiek - op die gevaar af dat hy aan linkse sowel as aan gematigde kant al hoe meer steun verloor en uiteindelik dalk selfs sy posisie as leier in gevaar stel, of hy kan vir die een of ander stelsel beding waarin hy met die Regering mag sal deel. As hy nie fyn trap nie, kan dit gevaarlik wees, want dit kan daartoe lei dat sy eie mense hom daarvan beskuldig dat hy na die Regering se kant toe oorloop. Dit verklaar



ten minste gedeeltelik wat op die oog af as oormatige fyngevoeligheid by die hoofminister voorkom. Hy moet ook altyd na links veg teen die stroom kritiek teen hom dat hy 'n strooipop van die Regering is.

Sy status

Dis ook 'n waarskuwing aan diegene wat meen die toetrede van kaptein Buthelezi, van waarde soos dit wel kan te kry. In die gefragmenteerde swart politiek het hy nie die algemene steun van die swartmense nie, maar wel belangrike en talryke groeps- en streekgebonde steun.

Dit doen nie afbreuk daaraan dat sy toetrede 'n bepaalde status aan die statutêre raad of enige ander onderhandelingsliggaam sal gee nie. 'n Mens moet net ewewigtig wees in jou verwagtinge oor die omvang van die status.

Die vraag is hoe dit vir hom polities moontlik gemaak word om aan dié raad, synde een van die Regering se belangrikste voorstelle vir onderhandelingsmoontlikhede, deel te neem. Hy het aangedui dat hy eers sy wetgewende vergadering en Inkatha se uitvoerende komitee moet raad-

Sedertdien het hy 'n rits voorwaardes gestel wat sy toetrede geheel en al onmoontlik laat lyk het. Tóg lyk dit nie of die nasionale statutêre raad wat hom betref, finaal van

Dit was opvallend dat hy in sy geskrewe toespraak voor die Wetgewende Vergadering Woensdag glad nie na die statutêre raad verwys het nie. Daar was net 'n vlugtige verwysing in antwoord op mnr. Greeff se toespraak. Hoe kan hy aan die raad deelneem as hy nie eens weet wat op die agenda is nie? wou die hoofminister weet.

Vrae oor raad

'n Gesprek met die minister van onderwys en hoofsekretaris van Inkatha, dr. Oscar Dhlomo, werp meer lig op die saak. Hy het aan RAPPORT gesê daar kan wel hoop vir deelname wees indien daar vooraf 'n onderhandelingsfase oor die aard van die raad is. Hy sê sy hoofminister sal wel bereid wees om samesprekings te hou oor wat die funksies van die raad sal wees. Hy sal wil weet of dit 'n arm van die Regering gaan wees en of dit bloot 'n onderhandelingsforum gaan wees. Hy sal wil weet waaroor daar onderhandel gaan word, wie almal gaan deelneem, of 'n nuwe grondwet en 'n program om apartheid uit te faseer bespreek gaan word. As dié fase bevredigend verloop, kan kaptein Buthelezi dalk gewillig wees om die raad 'n kans te gee, sê dr.

Wat egter nou nodig is, reken dr. Dhlomo, is doeltreffende skakelwerk van die Regering se kant af om onderhandelinge oor die raad aan die gang te kry.

Maar die boodskap van die afgelope week was duidelik: sonder stampe en stote sal dit nooit gaan nie.

Streekleier

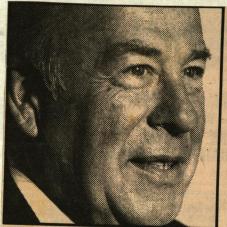
En hy het 'n waarskuwing ook: daar is net 'n beperkte tyd om 'n nuwe plan uit te voer voordat dit in onguns verval. Indertyd, sê hy, sou sy mense in die eerste Presidentsraad wou dien, maar hulle is 'n adviserende swart raad aangebied. Nou is sitting in die Presidentsraad vir hulle onaanvaarbaar. Daar was 'n tyd toe 'n vierde kamer vir swartmense in die Parlement nie na 'n slegte idee gelyk het nie, maar vandag is hulle nie meer daarvoor te vinde nie. So kan die nasionale statutêre raad ook uiteindelik

heeltemal onaanvaarbaar word. Dit geld natuurlik weerskante toe, al sê dr. Dhlomo dit nie. Daar kan 'n dag kom dat hoofminister Buthelezi te lank gewag het om sý keuses te maak en dat die tyd vir sy

rol in 'n breër Suid-Afrika verbygaan.
'n Moontlikheid wat kaptein Buthelezi tans ontgin en wat hom steeds verder van die ANC af dryf, is sy rol as streekleier. Dit was opvallend hoeveel keer hy in Woensdag se toespraak na homself as streekleier verwys

In Natal en KwaZulu, weet hy en almal in die streek, het hy 'n belangrike rol te speel. Dit sou ook vir hom moontlikheid bied om in toekomstige federale strukture 'n rol te kan speel.

Om dié rede is die komende indaba oor KwaNatal en die Regering se reaksie op samewerking tussen die provinsie en KwaZulu van die grootste belang.



George Shultz

Secretary of State willing to meet ANC: Reagan official WASHINGTON: The US Secretary of with them, certainly we should be of the objections of conservative, gap made it clear that he would

State, Mr George Shultz, is prepared to meet publicly with leaders of the African National Congress, according to a top Reagan administration official.

The official, who gave reporters here a background briefing on President Ronald Reagan's speech yesterday about South Africa, noted the South African Government had been urged to hold meetings with groups that spoke for South African blacks.

"And certainly the ANC is an authoritative voice," the official said. "So if we think they should meet

ready to meet with them."

The official, who is close to the President, said the Secretary of State was prepared to take part in such meetings.

He added, however: "They are not the only representatives by any means. There are lots of other people who need to be talked to."

American diplomats have long held secret information-gathering contacts with ANC members. But these have not been publicly acknowledged until recently largely because

of the objections of conservative Americans to the ANC's use of terrorism and its links to the Soviet Union.

President Reagan indicated a shift of policy when he said he would favour open meetings between his officials and the ANC as long as the organisation knew the US rejected its use of violence.

Today's statement by the senior official about Mr Shultz's willingness to see the ANC is a significant gain by the movement in its attempt to achieve international acceptability.

But in the speech, President Rea-

gan made it clear that he would not accept ANC violence.

Rejecting violence from all sides in South Africa, President Reagan said: "Soviet-armed guerillas of the ANC - operating both within South Africa and from some neighbouring countries - have embarked on new acts of terrorism. I... condemn that behaviour."

Earlier, he referred to the "calculated terror" used by elements of the ANC as a ploy to increase government repression and create the conditions for racial war.

Sunday Tribune COMMENT

For wherehist whom the toll tells

HEAVIES are continuing to use the Field's Hill section of the Durban-Johannesburg highway. It is their right to do so since the new bypass has been opened as a toll road. However, they are continuing to congest an overtrafficked route at great inconvenience to users who have endured the hazards of one of the country's most notorious roads for many years.

Not unnaturally the local traffic authorities, particularly those of Pinetown and the small borough of Kloof, are exasperated and have begun pulling those heavy vehicles off the road during peak hours. This in turn is creating a problem. That is the synopsis.

The history is one of serious Government bungling in the planning some 35 years ago when the National Transport Commission was allowed to override a decision by the Natal Provincial Council that the then new N3 should be built along the route the new bypass now takes. That would have left the old Field's Hill road to Pietermaritzburg through Kloof intact.

As an engineering exercise the planning was boneheaded. With an alternative of reasonable grading available, it was manifestly wrong to construct a highway that required heavy vehicles to stop at the top and to travel for two kilometres and more in low gear to ensure that they made it to the bottom in safety.

It was not only badly sited but inadequate. And it has taken more than 30 years to construct the bypass on what is one of the country's busiest and most important roads.

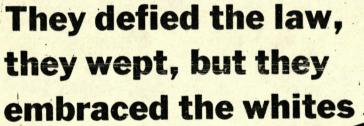
Now the Government has again acted pigheadedly by opening the road as a toll road when it is apparent that the new highway should be freely available to all the traffic passing from the largest port to the PWV industrial complex. It ignores the fact that the heavy transport is vital to the country's economy, prosperity and development since it supplies the mines and industries of the interior and ships their output through Durban harbour to the world.

The heavies are in fact the best reason for having built the bypass. They should ride it free, as should all South African motorists.

The road is not a tax-collecting device. To argue that Field's Hill offers a viable alternative route in an attempt to justify the imposition of a toll is silly since it is dangerous and, because of the toll, remains overcrowded.

The tollgate should be closed forthwith. It should be marked with a plaque explaining its existence as a monumental Hendrik Schoeman blunder and left as reminder to all who use the road of this Government's penchant for wasting public money, for bad planning and chronic inefficiency.

The day the Sunday Tribung 23 March 1986 Deople Fulled



OR 12 hours last weekend the Cape Town township of Guguletu belonged to the people. It was a day for assuaging political grief through the funeral of seven young men, alleged to have been "ANC terrorists".

It was a day in which the people policed themselves.

And it was a day in which a magistrate's order not to criticise any government "worldwide" or to display any posters and banners was defied blatant-

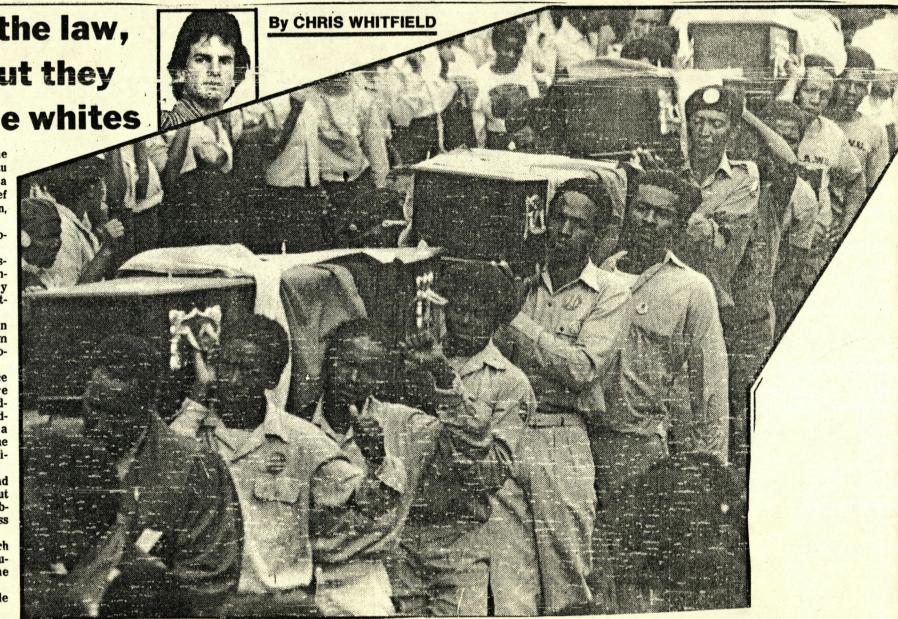
Paradoxically, it was also a day in which whites could move without harm around the streets of the dusty, impoverished township.

Outside Guguletu, at all exits, police and army armoured vehicles were reined in. During the six-hour proceedings at the Guguletu stadium a blue-andvellow police helicopter completed a few circles - but it was only after the funeral that police and township residents clashed briefly.

At the funeral parlour across the road from the stadium, organisers handed out "Free Mandela Now" stickers and ribbons in the African National Congress colours.

A black man who harangued a clutch of white journalists waiting for the funeral to begin was led away by the voung marshalls.

The marshalls stepped in again a little later to drag away a drunk.



The seven coffins were carried from their family homes into the stadium, lined up in front of the podium and draped in the ANC's green, black and yellow flags.

Squads from youth, political and labour organisations took it in turns to come out from the crowd and stand at attention around the coffins, fists clenched in

salute.

Speakers defied the magistrate's ban and criticised many governments worldwide.

Wind and light rain swept the stadium

as the crowd sat listening to the speeches and occasionally broke into singing and dancing to the chants of one speaker.

They were speeches heard too often here and the crowd responded almost mechanically to the repeated calls of

"amandla".

Speakers calling for "socialism", "communism" and "democracy" were greeted with equal fervour.

A placard called for the end of the emergency - days after it had been

called off.

A red flag, with hammer-and-sickle sketched in felt-tip pen, was flown.

The crowd in the stadium swelled to more than 15 000 with the arrival of more busloads of people as the ceremon-

ies drew to a close. The procession to the graveyard was electrifying. People swept out of their homes to join the vast crowd follow-

ing the coffins. The chanting, bobbing mass extended about a kilometre down a dusty street.

They danced past an old man, neatlydressed in suit and tie, holding his young granddaughter on his shoulder. Young and old held out their fists in the clenched salute.

A youth held up a white polystyrene "head" and pointed an accusing finger at it as the crowd spat out "Botha, Botha".

Looking down from the top of a bus we could see a spattering of whites among the black faces. The crowd grew to more than 20 000.

People smiled up and waved friendly

salutes as they swept past.

A young man told me: "It's not white people that we are opposed to. We just want to get Botha and Le Grange. Then we can all live together - white, black, brown ...

The graveyard was a shock to white eyes used to manicured lawns and marble gravestones. It was nothing more than a sandy patch with iron crosses and raised humps of sand marking the graves. At a few graves, bricks had been packed around and some flowers placed below the crosses.

After the burial, much of the crowd dispersed, but a chanting mob continued up a road in which the local police is situated. It was met by two police

We were behind the mob when chil-Casspirs. dren broke away from the group and ran past us, laughing, excited and scared. Teargas canisters were fired with a popping noise and we were caught in the choking gas.

Run for shelter

"Over here," shouted a woman as we ran for shelter. We crowded into her tiny, tidy house and she wet towels for us to wipe off the burning gas.

Later we drove around the township looking for a photographer from whom we had become separated in the cloud of

Children crowded round and gave us directions. We ended up at a school where a night vigil was to be held for the men we had recently seen buried.

"Come in and have some food," of-

fered the women.

Driving out, we passed lines of Casspirs and army Buffels. Uniformed soldiers sat on top of the vehicles. Others leaned casually against the heavily-armoured sides.

On a bridge, police with binoculars were scanning the streets we had just left. We saw they had a good view down one of the streets. They were watching a group of youths, still running, still chanting.

the wink - researcher

anti-apartheid activists with the tacit support of the police, according to a new book

Police bave rejected the allegation, saying they are opposed in principle to the formation of vigilante groups.

"We must point out. hovever, that any person does have certain rights of self-defence and protection of property," the South African Police Public Relations Division sak in a statement.

The allegation of tacit police support for the vigilante groups is made in a book by attorney Nicholis Haysom, of the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Applied Legal Studies.

Called Mabangalala: The Rise of Right-Wing Vigilantes in South Africa, it was written withit a month to document the resurgence of these groups during 1985.

It is based primarily

Political Reporter

on sworn affidavits.

"The relationship between police and vigilantes is inescanable." Mr Haysom said this week at a Press conference to launch the book.

"I am not prepared to say there is a co-ordinated campaign, but there is a pattern in which police grant vigilantes a certain licence. A reluctance to prosecute is tantamount to arming them."

Aninka Claassens, a field worker for the Transvaal Rural Action Committee, told the Press conference that research for the book had began after "sinister" similarities in vigilante activity were noted in different areas.

"At the beginning of the year it was reported that groups successfully opposing removals were being virtually annihilated," she said. "In some

cases it was believed the vigilantes were armed by the police with guns and petrol bombs:

"We have no proof of this, but the common factor is that vigilante victims are not helped by police and are often arrested when they report the assaults"

She said police had not arrested any vigilante in the Transvaal.

"Until this happens. they will continue to have implicit police sep-

In the book, Mr Haysom said that those who threatened the Government-created community councils were chiefly the victims of vigilante violence.

These included youth groups, United Democratic Front affiliates. and capable civic organisations.

Discussing the allegation of police apathy to vigilante victims. Mr Haysom referred to the "plaintive plea for belp"

by the late Chief Ampie. Mavisa.

Chief Mayisa was head of the UDF-affiliated Leandra Action Committee, which opposed forced removal from the township. In January this year, he was backed and burnt to death by vigilan-

In papers handed to the Pretoria Supreme Court, it was alleged that police had ignored two calls from the chief for help.

The book also examined Fort Beaufort, in the Eastern Cape, where community councillors were restrained from assaulting local township residents.

In some incidents, Mr Haysom said, police responded to requests for belp with such comments as: "You come here when you are in trouble, but you forget that you broke our houses."

A large section of the book is devoted to Natal, where mob action has

been among the most savage.

Responsibility for most of the incidents have been laid at the door of the Amabutho - "the warriors, bands of traditionally armed mobs. who appear to draw their style and political in-spiratic from a Zulu chanvinis

"In many of the incidents the Amabutho have been linked to persons connected with Inkatha," Mr Haysom wrote.

"Inkatha itself has either claimed that the Amabutho bave performed a useful social function, or that they have been provoked into violence; and in other cases, Inkatha has denied emphatically that the mobs have formal links with Inkatha."

Mr Haysom predicts that the rise in vigilante activity, coupled with community attempts at self-defence, will inevitably increase township violence.

Aght die in UDF,

A POWER struggle between the UDF and Azapo is believed to be behind the gang warfare which erupted in Soweto this week - leaving at least eight dead in a spate of horrific killings. had admitted that they

Now peace talks are going on between the warring factions.

The clashes were beween the Soweto-based Kabasa gang and students from neighbouring Diepkloof.

Five youths were stoned or burnt to death, and in a grisly bananarepublic style execution, three people were allegedly abducted by gang members and summarily shot.

Two of the eight victims were doused with petrol and burnt alive after a gang of pupils said by some witnesses to number 3000 - attacked a Soweto home with petrol bombs.

According to sources in Soweto yesterday, the battle for political supremacy among rival contenders has played a big role in the violence.

Gang

Azapo is said to be making a determined bid to boost its credibility among the black community in preparation for a series of planned protests leading up to the 10th anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

The UDF — allegedly with ANC prompting and Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement are the other main groupings vying for black allegiance in the townships.

UDF sources said yesterday they suspected that the Kabasa Gang had teamed up with some Orlando East students, mostly members of the Azanian Student Movement (an off-shoot of Azapo) against those in Diepkloof.

Burned

In this week's bloody fighting, two members of Sosco (the UDFlinked Soweto Students Congress) were burned to death.

A UDF spokesman, Mr Mandla Dlamini, said they had received a phone call from a man claiming to be a Kabasa member who said they would not stop "until we have killed 50 Sosco students".

"It was at this stage that we suspected that this gangster faction fight had become a revenge war by AZASM students on UDF students," said Mr Dlamini.

Azapo has denied the allegations.

But Mr Dlamini said' some Kabasa members

had been "used" in the fighting by AZASM students.

Denial

"Kabasa also denied that they had threatened to kill 50 Sosco members. We feel there were other elements who moved in when the fighting turned ugly," said Mr Dlamini.

In an Azapo-organised protest, 200 people marched through central Johannesburg on Friday, chanting slogans and singing freedom songs, to commemorate the Sharpeville and Langa shootings.

Azapo speakers at the meeting vowed "to take the struggle for liberation into the white areas".

Three people were ar-

rested by police and released after questioning.

At Wits University about 2 000 students attended a commemoration meeting called by the Black Students Society - which earlier in the week succeeded in disrupting a meeting at which a visiting Unita delegation was to have addressed students.

The students stoned a police patrol outside the campus and boycotted classes.

A crowd of students later marched through the streets of nearby Braamfontein, chanting possible for anyone in slogans and singing free- the two townships to dom songs.

nied a reported allegation by police that there was a plan to petrolbomb police houses in Soweto on Wednesday night. 'Busy'

zapo clashes

He said there could not have been time because the students were busy fighting the rival Kabasa gangsters that evening. A total of 15 cars were hijacked during the three-day fight.

"There was heavy tension and fighting on Wednesday, especially in the evening, and I cannot see how it was have been diverted to do • UDF spokesman something else," said Mr Mr Mandla Dlamini de- Dlamini. "After we saw the statement we made inquiries and the students were equally surprised at the allegation."

In Dobsonville some students wanted to join the warring Diepkloof and Orlando factions, but were discouraged by

their leaders. "What we know is that most of those arrested were taken from their homes during a house to house raid," said Mr Dlamini.

On Wednesday evening I saw many youths roaming the streets in Orlando and Diepkloof because of a faction fight between the students and the MaKabasa gangsters based in Orlando East.

SUNDAY TIMES Extra March 23 1986

Burned girl innocent'

Sunday Times Reporter
MISS Julia Sefafe, 20, a
hairdresser was murdered during the student
violence in Soweto.

Everyone in the Diepkloof area was scared to talk about the incident, except to say "she was innocent" of gang in-



volvement and was a victim of "mistaken identity".

She had just visited a friend who lived at a railway policeman's house nearby.

Another friend said:
"Someone identified her as a sell-out and that was it. Though she had pleaded for mercy she was stabbed while others doused her with petrol and set her alight. "As usual, when you see such a sight, the public is scared and nothing can be done to prevent it. But it was terrible"