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gur\)bej WRpuNE - 8 Nec
Bkiq
â\200\230House of Delegates
seeks R50 000 refund
for assustln
u}?»*"r....
THE- Inanda-Phdenix relief fund is
to demand to:see receipts-for a\200\234every
centâ\200\235 of an estimated R50 000 the
. House of. Delegates: is' claiming for-
expenses-it says: were-incurred dur-
) mgtherefugeeef stay: at: a. Verulam:
[ school.; f
Mr Y-S Chinsam .chairman of the
fund; said-that: before -the claim
would- even: be- considered \( \frac{1}{200} \) 230 \( \frac{2}{34} \) 200\\ 230 \tag{2} 100\\ 230 \)
- House' of Delegates: will have-to send
detailed accounts: with: vouchers and:
. statements. I've told them; \hat{a}\200\230You send:
: details before.we give a.single
cent.â\200\235â\200\235
. He was.\hat{a}200\234fighting: like hell\hat{a}200\235 to: get-
. more:
, from the Government
- for- the: estimated. 1 100 families: left
homeless:in the/unrest. So far, homes
have: been: found: for only about: 200
families. -.
The House of Delegates launched
" the fund. to. provide relief for all
those: affecte¢by the unrest duringâ\200\231
' August:.
. Itsdemandfor a refund of money
spent at the school has-added fuel to
- the- controversy surrounding the-
- fund.
Last week; the; Phoenix Child Wel-
fare Society withdrew from the fund.
Among: the reasons. giveh: was that
the fund: \hat{a}\200\234served as a smokescreen-
for the House: of Delegatesâ\200\235. The so-
ciety also-complained that refugees-
were only given: vouchers of R300 to
R500 that were redeemable at
Game. They could not choose where
- they could spend the money, and
only those for whom housing -had
been found were allowed the vouch-
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A: spokesman for the society said

this week that the 800 refugees for whom homes were still needed were $a\200\234$ severe health hazards $200\235$.

He. accused Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministersâ\200\231 Council in the House' of â\200\230Delegates, of breaking the promise that all the refugees would. be housed by Christmas and that they would receive adequate compensation and relief.

 $\hat{a}\200\234He$ is making political capital out of human tragedy. $\hat{a}\200\235$

This week, the Phoenix-Inanda Relief Committee representing refugees decided to go it alone after

g fugitives

being refused:a- meeting by Dick Naicker; secretary of the fund.

This: committee: represents. thosewho lost their homes dunng the unrest in-August.

Its acting chairman, Sham Ma-haraj said: â\200\234We:are-now: looking at ways that we ourselves can offet as sistance:to the people.

â\200\234The: bulk: of the people: whOr lost '
their homes. are still staying with..!
family.and friends. Some are staying in outhouses. In. other: cases, whole:
faxmlies, are: staying in-a: single. {

: \hat{a} 200\234After the Lamgsburg dlsastel',

the Government gave R82. million.

Here, the: Government has put in

 \hat{a} 200\234less than half a million, which is to-

tally inadequate. $\hat{a}\200\235$ _

Maharaj said the committee: met various welfare, church and housing; organisations this: week. â\200\234to-try to get a process: going whereby wle will get some: rehef for-the peopleâ\200\235.

Mr Chinsamy said the fund could: not allow: everyone representation.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ How: can they say they represent the refugees? If they want to be re-presented they must work through child welfare. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Sociologist Professor Fatima Meer said. the-relief fund should beimpartial and independent of political organisations. 7 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The House: of Delegates should not be handling this. They are politicising relief and using the misery of people to promote their own ends. $\hat{a}\200\235$

She said she had not been allowed to visit the refugees while they werehoused at the Verulam school. She was repeatedly told she would have to get $a\200\234$ permission from the Department of Indian Affairs $200\235$.

 $\arraycolumn{2}{l} 200\234 They became the possessions of agents of the National Party Government <math display="inline">\arraycolumn{2}{l} 200\224$ Rajbansi and his group. $\arraycolumn{2}{l} 200\235$

Professor Meer said she had a role in the relief provided for the victims of the Tin Town flood in 1976, and not a cent had been charged for their accommodation in community halls and schools. It was â\200\234absurdâ\200\235 that the House of Delegates should claimj recompense for the refugeesâ\200\231 stay at the Verulam school.

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S_UNDAY TRIBUNE, DECEMBER 8, 1985
. o e \(\alpha\200\231\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\200\224\alpha\2
Who
said
peace to
Natal?
THE: sweeping: st&ti¬\201â\200\224-
a\200\230ments- by Spirit of
â\200\230Natal (Sunday: Tribune; }
November 17) about the-
role: of:Chief Buthelezi in:.
- bringing. \hat{a}\200\230\hat{a}\200\230peace\hat{a}\200\231\hat{a}\200\231 to
Natal, presumably
through ' the intervention:
of Inkatha;: cannot: be: ac-
cepted without challenge.
- i There has beem no: of-
a\200\230 ficial inquiry into the dis-
turbances- which: reached-
a peak i August, but.
thereis evidence: which
seriously: questions: Inka-
thaâ\200\231s. alleged â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230peace-
keepingâ\200\235 role: :
For: example;, recent:
research: by the Institute
of Black Research at the:
' University of Natal found:
that only four percent of
the township residents in- -
 . terviewed: thought that
Inkatha. helped- stop: the-
riots. i
The: survey also: indi~
cated that there had been
a significant decline in
support for Inkatha in the:
townships- since: the- un-
rest began \hat{a}\200\224 from 19,8
percent to 5,3" percent
& BUTHELEZI
among those polled. The
researchers note that
a\200\234Africans saw the unrest
largely in political terms,
instigated by the police,
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and by Inkatha \hat{a} 200\235.

It is a fallacy, to believe that all is peaceful in the Natal townships—at present. A black friend

recently commented that

. the situatiom was, in

some respects, worse: than it had been at the height of the disturbances because violence was sporadic; flaring unexpectedly... Certainly, if the results of this, and other research, are anything to go by, I doubt that thecall for $\hat{a}\200\234$ Buthelezi as. State Presidentâ\200\231â\200\235 will evoke: an enthusiastic. re~ . from. blacks. For example, only 4,8 percent. of - those: recently polled chose him as- South: African: leader; as:opposed.to 54,2 percent. who: chose

" Mandela: . .

Unfortunately, because of what is, at.times, highly selective: reporting by the: local: Press, even before the recent clamps— (for example; the lack of publicity given to the research mentioned as well as: other recently—pub—. lished. research on:the: Inw anda unrest undertaken

.. by University of $\hat{A}^{\, \varphi}$ Natal . staff members), most

non-blacks: are: sadly" out
of touch: with what is.
really happening. on. their:
doorsteps. L

Flacts

Durban:

PRIME Minister Robert Mugabe has the audacit to warn that the time wi 1 come when the OAU will take economic measures against Britain.

There was a time when Mrs Thatcher allowed herself to be blackmailed by Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, supported by Nigeria and its oil, when he threatened OAU

. sanctions against Britain if the UK gave recognition to the government of Bishop Muzorewa of Zimbabwe.

The UK Government gave in to these pressures. Today, however, the oil weapon has diminished in strength and Mrs Thatcher has ome stronger. Also, Zimbabwe

UNDAS

Harare h

pure nonse¢

would have to consider her
own economy if there were
sanctions against South
Africa.:

For the sake of the people of Zimbabwe and other neighbouring countries, one can only hope that as chair-

nate of the Nonaligned Movement, Prime Minister Mugabe will come to his senses. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 224$ ONLOOK-

- ER, Pretoria.

008

THERE can no longer be any doubt in peopleâ\200\231s minds tha South Africa is irrevocably committed to ragid and drastic change in both its political and economic composition.

This came about by means

of evalutionary, not revolutionary,

is to decide the immediate future of 3 new South Africa. It is because South Africa

pressure.

1t is for that reason that we

must be very careful as to is, and must 'remalal firm who will be invited to particlg committed to a free Weste 4 pate in the final $\ensuremath{\text{C}}$

forum which style capitalism that we $4\&1\hat{a}\200\2309$;

Â¥

YOUR Hogarth (Sunday Times November 24) takes Conor Cruise O'Brien to task for suggesting the Irish situationisa $\frac{3}{200}^234$ Mickey Mouse $\frac{200}{235}$ affair compared to South Africa.

In Ireland there bave been 2 500 deaths in 17 years $\hat{a}\200\224$ an average of 150 a year. In South Africa it is 1 000 deaths in 15 months $\hat{a}\200\224$ an average of 800 a year. That is more than five ; lmles dthe rate of deaths in South Africa compared to

reland.

The Irish situation is a $a\200\234$ Mickey Mouse $a\200\235$ affair compared to the situation in this country. $a\200\224$ SIMON LEWIS,

Cape Town.

s s

e e pRT CoavaTET PR ORI posspâ\200\224â\200\224

Times December 1) are ill-

informed about black aspira-

not bring the African Nsin 201 onal (:onsrmandotheu who think and act likewise to the negotiation table in their presen state of mind.

They chose violence and Marxism as their solution to South Africaâ\200\231s Problems and, therefore, mus first reject it and uncondmonall& bind themselves to the Western capitalist sï¬\201tem before they can contribute anything of importance to the negotiation process. â\200\224 W KNOE-SEN, Graskop, Transvaal. .

@

1AM concerned at how many : white South Africans like * Keith Pulyermacher (Sunday

tions and who are our true leaders.;

He refers to a tribal leader like Chief Buthelezi as our mouthpiece with the Govern-

ment.

â\200\234"We blacks have high esteem for non-tribal leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Alan Boesak,

the Rev Dr Beyers Naude ! many, many others who

and

: haveedbeen detained and

anned.

*These misperceptions about our leaders are hampering the process leading to a pon-violent and jtust solution in a democratic South Africa â\200\224 OBAKENG RELEBELETSE, Kroonstad.

B00

3

 $\mbox{$\hat{a}$\200\224A}$ warning to white business as the sleeping giant begins

[S 9 By . [EOUOIE__. T 1 to awake ;f : . V{TA â\200\230;Orld tâ\200\230::eu:â\200\231;yâ\200\231 :roâ\200\231: er: â\200\230 . j . # gL p ALESTR AN terprise system. They are

; : selling a commodity that S oL L \mbox{LT} [Tl o L \mbox{IV} E: T is not there. Even now for Checkers

there are 500 laws retarding black business.

Dr Mouonne

. WHITES know their

i bread is buttered in Soweto and every other township. We must work hard to see that a large share of money comes home to the township.

HE black
_ consuimer has

2 been the subject of intense

market research for:
well over 10 years.
Uppermost. in everyoneâ\200\231s mind has been
the money to be
made from this enormous market.

No one predicted

boycotts instead of hooms. \hat{a} \200\231 -

Now, as boycotts sweep the country, taking in their wake many

J

Ellen Kuzwyo

£

"2 %MN DA Tp\\ RU NS &N nEs

white businesses, earlier euphoria ovet the +'sleeping giantâ\200\235 has faded.

By some oversight,
none of the analysts
predicted that this
massive market would
use whatever leverage
it had politically, â\200\235 '~ -

Warning

and academia warned corporate South Africa

to take a more dctive

Last wéekend, a ' | gathering of influentiai

i black speakers from . ' banking, commerce

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rolé in human rights or
face relentless boy- -
cotls.
The occasion was the
first major conferefice
of the new, but powet-
ful, National Black
Consurtier Association,
The conferénce took:
place a day after the
formation of the Con-
federdtiot of South '
Aftican Trade Unions
(Cosatu) Ifi the Carltonâ\200\231
Hotel, where President ./
P W Botha, more thad Lo
six years 4o, persuad:/.:
ed the corporate sectoi ©
to support his reforrï¬\201:{«%
programime.
s Now, â\200\230ï¬\201ï¬\2011f 4 decade
on, speaker after
aparthéld and South
Africaâ\200\231s brand of capl-:
ments at time\tilde{\mathbf{A}}Os close to
those of the angry and
bittÃ@r towpship youth.
VNl faterests fh
this eotntty have
twisted the rules of
capitalism, â\200\235 said Phi
talism; their senti-
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ОУ
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spedkeÃ@r deÃ@noiinced

Ку е

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2
SSUN KN
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bread is buttered in

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consumenpowen e Angryblacks are moblllslng their conectwe buylng power to combat apartheid
! Business School.
. \hat{a}\200\234We must create
. trust in this system
\ensuremath{\mathsf{agaln}} 
 Perhaps the .
â\200\234thext generation will
!benef:t But now the
damage has been done
and it canâ\200\231t be easily -
- resolved around a
table.â\200\235
To loud applatise
from the audience of
about 120 representa- 3
tives of womensâ\200\231
groups and trade
unions, he said: \hat{a}200\234All of
! you in this room dre
{ very influential. I was
in East London the
' other day and one till
out of 17 was working
ot
in a supermarket
chain. That is the
. meaning of the a\200\230black
giantâ\200\231...â\200\235
B The associationâ\200\231s el--
derly president, Ellen
Kuzwayo, dispossessed
of her family farm by :
removals, and once a !
member.:of the Com- '
mittee of 10 and impri-
soned, urged her audi-
ence to \hat{a}\200\230stand united
against the enemy\hat{a}\200\235.
a\200\234Whités know their
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Soweto and every
' other township in South
Africa. We must work
¢ hard to see that a large
share of thoney comes -
. home to thg township, \hat{a}\200\235 '
\hat{a}200\230National African
she said.
- # Dr Sam Molstéh-"
yane, president of the
Fe-
derated Chamber ofâ\200\231
Commerce and Indus-; b
try and. chairman of
the African Bank, said
black consumers andi
businessmen weÃ@re vic-.
tims of the same vi- !,
cious socid- pblltical
system.
\hat{a}200\234This country tetls
the world we are 4 free -
enterprise system.
' They are selling a
- commodity that is not
' there. Even riow there
\RRY -
RS P
black business.\hat{a}\200\235 -
* "He said politlcal
! power without econom=:
ic power was hopeless.
\hat{a}200\234The black market is
a\200\230worth R7 billion a
year. By the turn of the
. century this will haveâ\200\230,
risen to R22 billion -~
two thirds of the total.
- buying power of Southâ\200\231
. Africa. We must get
fore of this money.:
. Without a strong busi-
riess base, blacks areâ\200\231
net exportÃ@rq of capi-
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- He said 80 percent of
. Sowetoâ\200\231s buying power
was being spent in Jo-
the rich at the expense
+ of the poor\hat{200}235.
"ers to identify with the
are 500 laws retardlng__ hannesburg, â\200\234enrichmg |
black communityâ\200\231s as-
*\hat{a}\200\230; He urged black trad- '
pirations and struggle. -
Virtually every
speaker spoke about !
the humiliation and de-
gradation of black con-
sumers at the hands of
white business.
Most poignant was
the account of impo-
. verished biacks who
bought childrenâ\200\231s cloth-
ing on lay-by and sub-
missively accepted |
parcels that contained
two shoes for left feet
or clothes that were
¢
several sizes t0oo small. I
Â≫ ~® Erica Mafuna, man-′
-aging director of a
market research com-
pany, predxcted a â\200\234sub- 1
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i talâ\200\235

' stantialâ\200\235 increase in:

boycott pressure, especially on retailers operating in the black market.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Not even the Government legislates against boycott.

 $a\200\234$ Consumer clout will '

be used against businesses with long histories of racial-discrimination, poor employment practices,

and unsatisfactory cus-

tomer relations. $\hat{a}\200\230$

aging director of a

â\200\234A lot of businesses
will be put out of actign because there is
not enough communication between them
and black consumers.â\200\235

Consumer rights were invariably linked to human rights.

W Although individual blacks were powerless and poor, as a group they were powerful, said Mr R Khoza, man-

marketing company.

Food

â\200\234Blacks accounted for 46 percent of all food consumption in 1984, whites for 39 percent, and coloureds and Indians for 15 percent. In the grocery sector, blacks accounted for 55 percent â\200\230 and whites for 32 percent. If you were to bring about consumer, pressure, these sectors are where you would lean your weight.â\200\235

He said those companies that were perceived as being unscrupulous and insensitive .of black aspirations would come under pressure. It was no longer a case of $a\200\234$ let the buyer beware $a\200\235$, but of $a\200\234$ let the producer or retailer beware $a\200\235$.

Rocky

The conference was closed with Nkosi Si: kelele iAfrika.

One couldnâ\200\231t help wondering how corporate South Africa, so often poor at listening to its white consumers, would cope with the rocky road ahead.

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vaised bltter ldighter. | *igvl;i%h% hâ\200\230éâ\200\230?uitliiays{(:&ia
A -yo S 4
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| \hat{a} 200\234Tell i \hat{a} \200\224 why did the

- . 45,0

" DAILY on the radio stations and in responsible newspapers we discover that people are being shot dead and dozens detained, most 6f whom happen to be black. Two quetions should be asked by broadminded, unselfish South Africans:

W Why are these peoplé

rebelling?

The people who are rebelling unfortunately constitute the majority of

* South Africaâ\200\231s population and are denied a vote or say in moulding their future. :

They suffer under the â\200\230oppressive â\200\230apartheid Iaws whicli have banned . and jailed organisations i and people who represent their aspirations. They . receive an inferior education and hence are den. led equal opportunities. They are â\200\234dumpedâ\200\235 into barren lands and â\200\234match-boxâ\200\235 hotnes.

. For years they have

beep fed apartheid and

White time

® Who is shooting them?

BLACK ANGER ... Ouf opptessio, and fow they cannot take it any longer.

Puppets have negotiated for them within the system dand achieved

nothing. They are seeking
.llbl)et'gtlony ffoiri\ vthg

Write Editor

'SUNDAY TRIBUNE, DECEMBER 8, 1985

» Box 1491, Durban 4000

Man, YOU is cc

let riter outlines theé feelirigs of blacks suffering under the apartheid yoke

Iy v
shackie
torturé through mass

- ¢ivil disobedience.
- .. The pÃ@ople who are

0

'shÃ@oting them, ordering their detÃ@ntions, happen

10 be the architects of the

P PSS â\200\224â\200\224

168 of tyrdng and -

System. Ves, white poll.

I wonder how these '

young white men feel in

Shooting dead innocent people who are only try-

ing to win what rightfully belongs to them.

' Donâ\200\231t you whites have 4 conscience? Blacks, Indians and coloureds acknowledge that apartheid is your only livelihood and a shield to protect you all. But do you have to kill our brothers &nd sisters and silencÃ@e our leaders when all we want

' is a peaceful, non-racial,

/ dÃ@mocratic South Africa?

When aré we going to share this country? Archaeological evi-

dence has proved that the black-skinned man originated from Africa. Our roots are here.

Yours are in the West.

Chief Buthelezi has warned whites that they will be on the receiving end of black anger. For. how much longer are you going to dictate to us with a gun?

There is a God and He knows who is right.

The day is coming . ..

Never Silenced

Chatsworth

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Ι
t.
Ι
NOUTH AFRICA i8 fiot oii
the brink of revolution
or of black/white civil -
war.
The violence t:ilat' has i\hat{a}\200\230\tilde{A}@\tilde{A}@\tilde{a}\200\230
black townships, claiming more
than 900 lives sitice it began in
September last year, is unques-,
{setlous in (z'nuodg 1
tionably the mos
- ern South African history.
Unfortunately, Soiith Afriedâ\200\231sâ\200\231
a\200\234riot controla\200\235 methods havA© often
rroved to be both Acounter-produc-
ive and glrofoundly' .ddmaglhâ\200\230%to
race relations â\200\224 not to mention
the incalculable hatm they have
TineE
cC.' | 9Ls
NPT
. its pot\tilde{\mathtt{A}} \texttt{O} \mathtt{ntial} to attract the
- or even sustained outbreaks
3y JOHN KANE-BERMAN
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. Director of the SA insfituté of Race Relations .,

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tional standing, and \tilde{A}@\_'reio\hat{a}\200\231te ot 4\hat{a}\200\231
investment capital it needs,
Since the distiirbafices ih %
weto and elsewhere in 1976, South -
lAII:zca as beeti ifi a state of vio-,
are not able to prevent Spoi'adâ\200\2301jl
) Jor ar i
' ganisations using violeÃ@nce ablÃ@ to} price has been the d
â\200\230he
_ sét. My view is that it hias not, and
equilibriurn \hat{a}200\224 the authorities | f - th
erice.
The state of eftferg6nty a8 led,
".decording to a monitor kept by the
m rican - Indtitite of Race\tilde{A}\odot
;i¬\201e)aum to a drasti\tilde{A}© decrease In
\hat{\mathbf{A}}«'the . daily. iï¬\201ï¬\201lity;\hat{\mathbf{A}}«i\hat{\mathbf{a}}\200\230ratz llt'il ?re;g
e \hat{a}204¢ 1"\hat{a}200\231 '} | - where the emergen orce.
cal viol\tilde{A}@ae\tilde{A}@, biit 10 \hat{a}\200\230 Y{.\hat{a}\200\230i ost obviogu'mjcry measurable
IS 4 e detention of
e Government. ' | gome 6 000 people. . . . -
iiedtion that has drisen in |/, There is a reasonable chance
?uyeamivh,eth'erthls uglyf' i¬\201v rotest violerice will be cur-
0]
ovetthrow the
it fundamentally stable, state of | tailed in the hext few months -
" duilibriurh has been tb: |+ provided the security forces do
it seulibein o "th".e '*\a200\230\2341 eds\[-201 W\a200\230anto\% vlolenq,:e
14t equilibriumi can i fact exist} themselves. . .. o ¢ 00
at a _{\ddot{}}^{2}202&her level of political vio- The conditions for
tevolution
an was the case.in 1976. }hfâ\200\230forese'eablÃ\odot future do not ex-
\hat{A}¢ gl B 2 st : \hat{a}\200\234
Despite the fatalities that have
occurred, the State has used only a
fraction of the extensive violent
power that it could \hat{a}\200\224 and would
- â\200\224 muster, regardless of interna-
tional cost, should a serious chal-
lenge to the stability of the Gov-
ernment ever present itself.
White South Africa has been
taken aback by the depth of ha-
tred of apartheid that the distur-
bances have revealed, but the
Government shows no sign of los-
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Tfllctad o1 The CouRtEy's IRTEFRETâ\200\235

ing its will and ability to rule.
nn the opposite side, the

chances of 4 Hikjor Insuitection: ary war being raged from neigh-

uring states are slim, while the prospects of internally-based reyolution are also minimal because no group committed to such aetion has had the organisationa and logistical base that it requires.:

Internecine strife between black political groups is also a

factor militating against the suc-

cessful launch of major revolytionary action.:
Inkatha and the ANC held â\200\2304 theeting in London in 1979 to discuss a possible modus operandi which would have given the internationa lne(fltifnac % which the ANC has, and the AN the internal organisation that Inkatha has. The meeting was a failure arid since then the two organi-

sations have been at loggerheads.

il

coun

- must be the goal, but at th

If there is an incipient civil war in South Africa, its seeds are possibly germinating here.

- The ANC and some groups with ANC leanings are trying to make the country ungovernable and the economy unworkable.

However, making thé black

townships ungovernable â\200\224 Ã@ver if - this can succeÃ@d on a large scale for a sustained period, which i doubtful â\200\224 is 3 problematic strat-, gy in that it causes massive dis-ruption to the lives of ordinary township residents; who have Sometimes been the victims of coercion and violence,

Where is South Africa headed? The best scenario ¢l|ulte obviously would be a peaceful transition to a

fully democratic state governed

under a constitution acceptable to the majorltz, of all population groups within the

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katha
kі
it would be over-optimistic to sa^200^230:f-L
pose that it is in sight. It can or
(Su NDRY)
\iotime s Senvtinas i 5
be achieved by gentine negotid
ko,
\_ I beligve that the Government ^{\prime}
that need to talk
.how. r
to majdr black leaders, but
_ doubt whether, after nearly 40
years of ubilateral action, it is yet -
capable of real negotiation.
ere is nevertheless no qiies-
tion that apartheid is crimb, ing.
The problem is, that Preto
does not know ' what to replace
political apartheid with, and has 4
deep fear that to embark on a
process of real political negotia-
- Hon would involve the evential \hat{a}200\230 :
surrender of whites to black ma-" ' bances have unleashed unprece-
i ' demands from organised -
business and others for change.
... ® Where change has been intro-
duced â\200\224 for example, de-segrega- -
jority rule.
There is a risk that i^{\alpha} 0f the
Governmentâ\200\231s policy Initiatives â\200\224
such as the new regional sÃ@rvices
councils, due to be launched next
ear \hat{a}\200\224 will be counter-produc-
ve. In addition, a formidable
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. That -

task faces the country in undoing $a\200\230$ the grave damage to race relations inflicted by the introduction of the new tricameral parllamgâ\200\230nt it §yStém in Sepiember 1983, ' South Africa seems to make litical lprdgress only by march-1g up al This is not for want of warning - signs, but for want of willingness d them. ; rea nes'plté_ this, there is reason to be very cautiously optimisti¢ . about the next few years, ® Whites have not reacted with $\hat{a}\200\230$ a siege mentality to the township . - violence. : .. rightwing backlash, the distur-Instead of a massive dented tion in the social sphere $\hat{a}\200\224$ whi $\text{hav}\tilde{\text{A}}\text{@}$ adjusted to it without diffi-- ulty, suggesting that they are ca- $_{\{\tilde{A}@\hat{a}\200\230\ of\ even\ greater\ adjustment\}}$ an the Government recognises. . @1In the single area in which major reform has taken place $\hat{a}\200\224$ possible dead-ends first.-Twmet $\hat{a}\200\224$ 8 Dze. 198 & Industrial relations $\hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 224$ white and black workers, management and Government have settled down to a new nonracial system with remarkable ease. @ Despite the absence of political negoflation about power-sharing between national organisations and 'the Government, a

certain amount of neiotlatlon has .

been taking place this year at

. local level.

Negotiation is also beginning to

. take rlace at re%lonal level in bet

Nata ween the KwaZulu Administration and the Natal Provincial Administration.

A key $\[\] \]$ lut about these discussions is that none of the blacks involved can be dismissed as $\[\] \] \]$ hand-picked by the

. Government.

Some of the groups involved on the black side have political leanings or affiliations to national

to entering the

&: a\200\231ouplngs 0]

vernmentâ\200\231s constitutional dis-

cussion forum. :
One or two swallows do not

make a summer, The negotiations

that are beginning to take place

"are a fragile plant. Whether they

are fruitful and multiply depends,

not only on the willingness of the

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

parties involved to reach compromises, but also on a number of extraneous factors: continued willingness of the Government to sanction talks outside official structures; the ability of the police to desist from detaining black leaders at precisely the moment when they are involved in talks; and the willingness of national

litical organisations to allow his process to continue without feeling that leadership at the

national level is threatened or

compromised.

Above all, of course, negotiation will have to be seen to be delivering concrete political gains to

blacks. In no other way can confidence in negotiation as a legitimate policy tool be built up.

South Africans will also have to

break the tradition whereby violence, schools or consumer boy-

cotts, or any other such action, -

somehow always seems to have to occur before the talking starts. If South Africa can learn to talk first so as to avoid shooting afterwards -+ rather than shoot first and talk afterwards $\hat{a}\200\224$ there is some hope for a peaceful reform.

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SUNDAY TRIBUN }
- By Graham Ferreira:
: THE ANC say they would: I
invite everybody; includ-
. ing the HNP and
if'they ever ran a nation-
. al convention; but: the
F chances: of their accept-
'} ing Dr Oscar Dhlomoâ\200\231s
i invitation to join: a
- Natal/KwaZulu indaba:
- This week Dr Dhlomo:
said: he- would: invite: the-
ANC: to the indaba which
[ isito be calledâ\200\231 early: next.
" year to: discuss: a future
joint: legislative: body: for-
: Natal/KwaZulu: Propos-
als for the: joint body
. were- finalised: this week:
- and- are to be :
; to'the'Government soon,
- Said Dr Dhlomo: â\200\234We:
' will invite: the ANC. They
: will' decide whether to
" accept or not, not us.?\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\200\231
: _ According to the ANC
. Press Liaison Officer in
" Lusaka, Tom Sabina, the
- ANC consider the mov
- a-continuation of the e
nic system whereby
Natal would \hat{a}200\234hive off\hat{a}\200\235
from the rest of the coun-
: try as some kind of}
< a\200\234super Bantustan.a\200\235
f a\200\230a\200\234The whole thing
. Smells like another Bia-
fra to me; \hat{a}\200\235 said Mr Sa-
- â\200\234We would reject any
attempt to hive off any
. part of the country. What
- we belive in is a unified
South Africa â\200\224 a united
and just democracy.
\hat{a}200\234In any event, under
the present system most
of our leaders could not
80 to South Africa be- tl
cause they would be ar-
rested, so I donâ\200\231t see the
point of issuing an invita-
tion to the ANC unless it
is to score political
points.â\200\235
Dr Dhlomo told the
Tribune that he hoped to
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begin the indaba by March or April. 2

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We hope to achieve the final phase, that of a single elected legislative body by the end of 1986 if

: possib!e. 4 .

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. have: been:
for: aid from. the
Fundâ\200\231 because;. it has been
tive committee is partisan;
= [ of the KwaZuly
* | Heiis:alleged
. the-unrest... ...
- | self asâ\200\230 â\200\234a- man of:
 (UDF):
perceived as-
Central Comimittee: As:.
a member of the Inan-
-da~Phoenix. Relief
" | Fundâ\200\231s: executive com-
mittee; hefhelps'sctjeexr :
- those who-apply. for aid.
Arm attorney at the
:Legal Resources
Centre; Richard Lyster; !
who- is acting: for some-
- of the victims; said:
\hat{a}200\234It is most odd that a.
man who so-openly and: '
- provocatively- associat-
ed himself with anti-
UDF" township: activity
should be: in charge of
that sort of resource
and say how aid should
be distributed.
\hat{A}© \hat{a}\200\234It is improper for
someone with.that kind
of background to be:
given. that sort of dis-
cretion. â\200\235
. In August, Mr Sabelo
was photographed with
an impi of Inkatha sup- :
porters who soon after-
wards attacked mourn:.
ers at the funerals of
victims of the unrest.
The Inkatha leadership
disowned the impi, _
A few days later, a
row erupted when Mr
Sabelo warned UDF
```

relie

Sympathisers to get out of Umlazi by that week-end or face the consequences.

Paddy Kearney, secretary of the Crisis -Committee, said Umla-

too- afraid. to- apply Inanda-Phoenix Relief

-least: one-of the:members of the: execu~

. f He is. the Umlazi: representative- of - the fund, Winnington: Sabâ $\200\230$ elo,_a

to have been active

peaceâ\200\231â\200\231 and says:
he will take:legat action against
FE Althoughâ\200\234mostot.theavicï¬\201mswhue:
:_homaa4wererbnrne¢?down:were:ano'" ciated: with United Demoeratic, Front:
affiliates;: certain of the- fundâ\200\231s
township: representatives have been:
Inkatha supporters..

Mr-Sabelo: isâ\200\230a: member

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, DECEMBER 5, 1985 | : CTED ROLE

â\200\231 FOR INANDA

gees fear f fund

" SOME' victims: of township violence: in-

alleged, at

member:
Assembly:
during

hime-.

of Inkathaâ\200\231s

B Winnington Sabelo.

zi and KwaMashu' resi--

Durban City Couneil which had given the fund R100000 with the condition that it should

administered impartially. 5

Mr Sabelo has denied the allegations against him. $\hat{a}\200\234I$ never threatened anyone. $\hat{a}\200\235$

He said he had not led the impi at the fyneral. He was passing in his car when he saw photographers from a local newspaper taking pictures of the impi.

and people had approached him for help.
However, the fund had
not paid anyone in hjs
area. Only Inkatha, the
Red Cross and the local
tc;;mâ\200\230;nuxu'ty had assisted

e destitute families.

Although wg a | man of peace, â\200\234I will 'defend myself if at-tacked.

Mr YS Chinsamy, chairman of the Inan. da-Phoenix Relief

.of hostili

been aware that
. Wwere afraid t
* proach the fund,

people:
0 ap-

' $\hat{a}\202$ had got out of his $\hat{a}\200\234$ We. know a 100 < dents, whose homes had» CF and told the Photog. | families in thgoggwn' - $\hat{a}\200\230$ heen razed were sup.-.. ti¬\201raphers, they were tak. = Ships were affected. We | _posed- to apply to the - _ $\hat{a}\200\230$ tngr Propaganda pic--| asked for the details fund $\hat{a}\200\231$ s local representa.. - {Ues to seng Oversess, | 2bout two months 3 0, tives for help. However, It Was while he ywag re- | Dut we haven $\hat{a}\200\231$ t been - fany township resi- JONStrating with e, | able to get the infordents were afraid of 'hat they had taken 5 | Mation. Our e i Soaling, with them be. BOIOBTaph of him wigp | tion is non-political, and cause $\hat{a}\200\234$ they are not $\hat{a}\200\230$ heimpi behind him. | I did not realise there soen a3 im, \hat{a} » If it waspt. for me. Was a reluctance $\hat{a}\0$ 0 ap-- He said the Crisis - (here would stj); pe ~ Proach the fund

3 'ciouble here. If I gid no⢠~_He suggested those in ... Committee had written. | Stop this nonsense here. Nâ\202¬â\202¬d should approach to the relief fund asking it would have Spreag- the fund through theijr If applications could be into Isipingo ang jpâ¢o. - Wwelfare organisa-P oniored to it â\200\234without Durban. That jg who ~ tions. â\200\234We: must see to people having to apply they hate me. Only it that the families are through the fundâ\200\231s con. UDF Say that. They resettled properly.â\200\235 tacts in the townshipsâ\200\235. label me witp) sorts Dr Oscar Dhiomo, If this request was Of nonsense,â\200\235 Secretary-general of Inrefused, the committee = Mr Sabejo said he katha, said the ajlega. - Would bring the matter ~ Was the loca rep, tions against Mr Sabelo to the attention of the tative of the relief fung ~ and the presence of Ip.

| katha members on the fundâ\200\231s committee were Separate questions, â\200\234T donâ\200\231t think jt will. help to try to hound Intha,_members off the Committee. It wi] provoke ex ctly the kind ty we are try-

 \hat{a} 200\230ing to prevent, \hat{a} \200\235

Mg

> e

Fund, said he had not

Another J
vub?\} \?\\%Jï¬\201e 2
ftep forward

PEACE being the priority, we commend the meeting in Lusa-ka: of leading churchmen and leading members of the: African-National Congress. It was an opportunity Archbishop Philip: Rus sell (Anglican: Metropolitan), Archbishop: George: Daniel (Catholic); and Methodist, Presbyterian; and: Lutheran: leaders would have: been:wrong to pass up..

No-matter how strongly each of those churchmen: deplores: vio- lence: and the violence which is
. part of the: ANCâ\200\231s liberation struggle, the ANC is: a factor in this
countryâ\200\231s political equation. That
being so; nothing could be better
than that the ANC leadership:
~ should face: men whose commit. ment, body and soul, is to peace.

Each time representative South Africans meet representatives of the: ANC, as have business leaders, the PFP, and now leading churchmen, the prospect of establishing eventual dialogue is heightened.

It is proper that they should meet when they can. That President Botha and Deputy Minister Louis Nel disapprove is of no consequence. They have no right to determine who talks to whom.

Much less do they inspire confidence that they are equal to the grave challenges facing the nation today.. All South Africans have a duty to contribute to public life in some degree, but never more than when its government is floundering as is ours in the present crisis.