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Four more murdered in Maritzburg

FOUR more youths were killed at Ashdown in Maritzburg on Tuesday as "warring" Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters continued their bloody struggle for control of the township.

According to the police unrest report, the bodies of four men were found in Ashdown on Tuesday. "They appear to have been stabbed and hacked to death."

It is believed they were abducted on Monday by a group of people, said the report, "and were killed because they refused to join the group."

Meanwhile, media officer Captain Peter Kitching denied a report that the Maritzburg violence was "out of control."

"The townships are quiet during the day and trouble is only occurring at night. We would only consider the violence out of control if there was open fighting during the day and there were about 15 to 20 deaths a day."

Captain Kitching added that the deployment of Defence Force

troops in the townships last Friday did also not mean the violence was out of control.

"The police are in control of the area and the troops are not there to carry out police work. The Defence Force is only doing its usual duties of setting up road blocks and patrolling the townships," he said.

Alienation started with apartheid, says US ambassador

SA 'one of the loneliest states in the world'

A 40-year pattern of disengagement which was sometimes forced and sometimes chosen, had brought South Africa to the sad point where it was one of the loneliest states in the modern world, American ambassador Mr Edward Perkins, said yesterday.

Addressing the Vaal Triangle Technikon symposium in Vanderbijlpark on a vision of the future for South Africa, he said positive interaction by South Africa with the outside world, particularly the West, was crucial for the country's future.

Advocating a "new realism" in the relationship between South Africa and the world, he said it was impossible to believe the country could endure into the next century, if it turned its back on the West.

"It is folly for a nation to allow itself to be lulled to sleep in the false belief it can go it alone — economically, politically or socially.

"There may be some short-term gratification in writing xenophobic editorials or telling us all to go to hell, but as Chester Crocker once said 'indignation is not a foreign policy'," Mr Perkins said.

The process of alienation of South Africa, which started with the institutionalisation of



Perkins . . . SA needs interaction.

apartheid in 1948, had extended to an "alarming" degree in the last two years, during which there had been a spate of sanctions and growing diplomatic isolation.

"Far fewer official visitors venture into the country and most serious is the growing sense among South Africans — tragically mistaken in my view — that somehow their country must forge a future of its own, apart from the West."

Mr Perkins said he had al-

ready spoken and written to the effect that the West had to treat "this fascinating, fractured society in a sensitive manner.

"Similarly, South Africa cannot, in its own interest, afford to manage its relations with the other countries on this globe irresponsibly."

Mr Perkins said he doubted South Africa's ability to sustain indefinitely, the role of isolated regional superpower.

A new political system had to be a broader democracy which took into consideration the "genuine pluralism" existing in South Africa.

"It has been very disheartening to see this society turn away from the values which help people to bridge differences and forge bonds.

"The curtailment of free speech and the denial of open access to information will only stifle the creativity needed to envision the future of this nation.

"Does it make sense, as you begin to imagine a new country, to cut yourselves off from the freest, most prosperous and most productive societies in the world? I cannot believe it does.

"Rather, Western experience, both positive and negative, should be carefully used," Mr Perkins said. — Sapa.

NP Vaal Congress

Business Day.

faces a right battle

12/11/87

ELSABÉ WESSELS

THE TARNISHED image of the Transvaal National Party will be under the spotlight when the Transvaal Congress meets in Pretoria tomorrow in the wake of damaging general election setbacks.

Leading the big guns in a bid to boost provincial morale is State President P W Botha, who on Saturday will answer delegates on two special resolutions on the Group Areas issue and the development of rural areas.

The two-day congress will be officially opened at the Pretoria City Hall tomorrow night by Transvaal NP leader F W de Klerk.

'Venomous'

Still suffering under a "venomous attack from the ultra-right," to quote the provincial executive's annual report, congress delegates will have to deal with the party's reform policy, an issue on which the NP sacrificed votes to a dangerously strengthened Conservative Party.

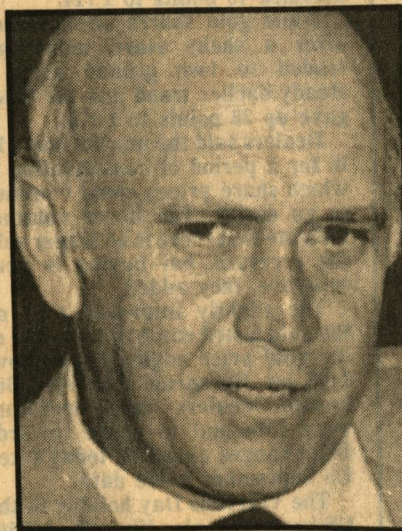
Although the NP increased the number of seats it holds nationally from 116 to 123 in the May general election, all 22 CP seats were taken from the NP in the Transvaal.

"With the vicious onslaught from the left as well as from the right, the party had to face one of its most vital tests ever on May 6," the report remarks.

Motions and resolutions on contentious constitutional issues, such as the establishment of open areas and black resettlement, feature on the congress agenda.

'Open areas'

A request to give consideration to the establishment of "open areas where people can acquire, develop and occupy property with the necessary prior notice" is called for in a joint resolution by the Turfontein,



□ DE KLERK ... opens congress

Rosettenville, Helderkruijn and Hillbrow constituencies.

The resolution also calls for the position of the Group Areas Act to be clarified as regards "non-whites residing in white residential areas".

The availability of land to all races, the extent of squatting and the movement and settlement of blacks are down for discussion in a resolution proposed by Rustenburg.

Several resolutions focus on labour, trade unions and minimum wages, including a request to prohibit recruits from neighbouring states becoming members of local trade unions.

Other labour resolutions, proposed by rural and blue-collar branches, seek a relaxation of industrial council-determined minimum wages for industries bordering the TBCV states, more flexibility in applying minimum wages and a re-evaluation of the restriction on employers in dealing with "unreasonable militant action".



□ BOTHA ... "determined action"

A Meyerton resolution on Regional Services Council (RSC) levies calls for additional finance from GST or Comprehensive Business Tax to relieve the burden on certain businesses and areas.

'Undesirable'

The issue of party politics in schools will also receive attention under a resolution requesting that only parents of school-going children be permitted to serve on school management committees.

Stringent government action on the media is highlighted in a motion thanking Home Affairs and Communication Minister Stoffel Botha for his "determined action in our internal affairs, particularly in regard to undesirable journalists and other media representatives".

There is also a motion thanking Botha for the way he puts SA's case "in a world where disinformation is rampant".

THE STAR Nov 12, 1987

SA needs 'own political system'

By Melanie Gosling

South Africa must take the democratic ideal of one man one vote and design a political system to suit the country, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Deputy Minister of Information and Constitutional Planning, said yesterday.

He told a symposium in Vanderbijlpark on the broadening of democracy in South Africa that democracy had not had a happy history in Africa. The system did not fit the political topography of the African continent. Democracy had degenerated into one-party states or dictatorships.

"That was because they were trying to apply Western political models to the exotic soil of Africa. We should not fall into that trap.

"We must, therefore, design a political system

which fits South Africa as a glove fits a hand."

This system must be worked out through a process of consultation and negotiation.

"This is what the National Council is all about. Leaders of all population groups must come together to discuss this."

Dr van der Merwe said a "huge body" of goodwill existed in South Africa, but that it was impossible to mobilise this because of a layer of suspicion between the various groups in South Africa which obscured the goodwill.

"If this goodwill remains buried beneath suspicion, not the best negotiator in the world can help us."

South Africa's future therefore depended on the goodwill of the people, Dr van der Merwe said.

Harry O: Change is imminent

By Melanie Gosling

Apartheid was disintegrating and, for good or for evil, South Africa stood on the verge of fundamental change, Mr Harry Oppenheimer said in Vanderbijlpark yesterday.

Giving the opening address at the "Vision of the Future South Africa" symposium, Mr Oppenheimer said apartheid had been a vast experiment carried out for more than a generation at huge human and material loss, and which had ended in disaster.

"It failed not so much because of its moral shortcomings as because it could not be reconciled with an acceptable rate of economic growth."

He said a vision of a future South Africa could not be separated from a vision of the future of all southern Africa.

The problems of southern Africa, including South Africa, could be tackled satisfactorily only on a regional basis.

No regional solution would be possible until fundamental political, social and economic changes had been brought about in South Africa.

"The Government's reform has until very recently related only to social and economic matters. In the political field, changes have for the most part been failures.

He said nobody would argue that the political question was not difficult. On both sides of the controversy — the far right and the far left — there was much intellectual dishonesty.

"Is there any middle ground that would satisfy the great majority of South Africans? I believe there is and I believe recent developments in kwa-Zulu/Natal can point the way."

STELLA LIFTS BAN

Sowetan 12/11/87.

ORDERS

TRANSKEIAN Prime Minister Miss Stella Sigcau has lifted all 12 banning orders imposed by the ousted Matanzima brothers on their opponents.

Miss Sigcau, who is also Minister of Police, made a special announcement on Tuesday that the banning orders were lifted with immediate effect.

All those who were banished have been informed that they should return to their homes.

The first banning orders were issued as far back as 1976 and were renewed annually by the Umtata parliament as required by the homeland's constitution.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Among those who were banished was Mr Prince Madikizela, son-in-law of former State President Kaiser Matanzima, who was served with a banning order three years ago after he had allegedly beaten up his wife, Camagwini.

Remote

An order signed by both the Matanzima brothers, Kaiser and George, said it was deemed expedient in the public interest that Mr Madikizela should leave Umtata and proceed to a remote area, Bizana, where his forefathers came from.

Others whose banning orders have been lifted

are: Mr Dalaguba Anderson Joyi, Mr Mkuseli Joyi, Mrs Notemba Joyi, Mrs Nowilo Joyi, Mr Bangilizwe Joyi, Mr Mapolisa Joyi (all related), Mr Loli Ntinde, Mr Xakalegusha Bisiwe, Mr Tembekile Nwelende, Mr Gengelele Ntinde and Mr Meluxolo Silinga.

Most of those banned were removed from their homes and banished to remote areas of the territory and each time they tried coming back to their homes, they were arrested.

Chief George Matanzima "reluctantly" resigned as prime minister in September following two weeks of political upheaval amid allegations of rampant government corruption.

Six cabinet ministers and two deputies were also forced to resign by the army, led by General Bantu Holomisa.

Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, resigned from parliament when this too place.



STELLA Sigcau . . . Transkei Prime Minister.

Mwasa to *Sowetan 12/11/87* decide on affiliation *f* at congress

THE Media Workers' Association of South Africa will decide on the question of affiliation to a federation at its annual congress in Durban this weekend.

A spokesman for Mwasa said since the beginning of the year the union had invited both the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions to address members.

This was done in preparation for a decision to be taken at the congress, the spokesman said.

"We believe that it is important for our members to know the policies of both organisa-

By **LEN
MASEKO**

tions so that when they vote they must not be swayed by extraneous forces. They must decide on the basis of what federation would best accommodate the aims and objectives of the union," the spokesman said.

The spokesman said Mwasa believed in democracy and that a decision of this nature needed members to be "properly prepared".

"Members must know both federations, their policies, history and their relationship with the liberation struggle in the community," he said.

Land, air clashes in southern Angola

SADF, Reds

BUSINESS DAY

battle for NOVEMBER 12, 1987

supremacy

PRETORIA — SA air and land forces have clashed with a combined Russian-Cuban force in a fierce battle for supremacy in southern Angola.

SA Defence Force (SADF) chief Jannie Geldenhuys announced in Pretoria yesterday that SA and SWA Territory Force (SWATF) units had engaged a joint Cuban-Russian force armed with tanks, ground-to-air missiles, Mig-23 jet fighters and attack helicopters.

SA troops stepped in to "take limited action" against the "surrogate forces" which had moved south to assist Angolan government troops (Fapla) trying to dislodge Jonas Savimbi's Unita forces from Cuanda-Cubango province in the south-east of Angola.

Geldenhuys's statement did not indicate whether SA troops had been killed or injured or whether the battle was continuing. Neither did it indicate exactly when the battle took place, saying it had been "in recent days".

Reuter reports the Angolan news agency (Angop) as saying that 230 SA troops have died in the conflict in the last few months.

An SADF spokesman said in reply:

GERALD REILLY

"The SADF makes known all its operational losses and this is a matter of public record."

BARRY STREEK and WILLEM STEENKAMP report that Geldenhuys's unexpected statement is the first direct confirmation that Pretoria's forces have been present in Angola in significant strength and that they have been in toe-to-toe confrontations with surrogate forces.

The fact that SA's contingent apparently fought on its own instead of as a stiffening for the Unita troops indicates a substantial force level of at least battle-group strength (a minimum of about 1 000 men) and probably more.

The statement said Fapla forces had withdrawn north to the Lomba River area to regroup.

"Russian and Cuban-backed Angolan forces are desperately trying to capture the Cuanda-Cubango province in southern Angola and therefore they pose a very real threat to Unita's position in the territory," Geldenhuys said.

He said SA forces wanted to prevent a

● To Page 2

BUSINESS DAY NOVEMBER 12, 1987 SA in fierce clashes with Reds

return to the situation in the early 1970s when Swapo was able to "activate the east and west Caprivi and the Kavango from Angola's Cuanda-Cubango province and directly threaten the lives and safety of innocent people in SWA/Namibia".

"The security forces' intervention is not only in support of Unita, but, as the Minister of Defence has repeatedly said, it is in SA's interest to safeguard SWA/Namibia from Swapo terrorist activities.

"MPLA control of southern Angola would give the ANC greater freedom of movement which would facilitate infiltration into SA.

"As it is the Angolan government provides them with base and training and facilities.

"The SADF action is in line with the policy of the SA government to protect its own interests wherever or whenever necessary.

"The defence force will therefore continue to act for as long as Russian and

Cuban forces intervene in south-east Angola," Geldenhuys said.

"For tactical and security reasons the defence force can reveal no further information at this stage."

Meanwhile, DIANNA GAMES reports that the battle of Mavinga, which took place in southern Angola last month, has changed the entire balance of forces in southern Africa, according to the influential London-based newsletter Africa Confidential.

It said the Unita-SA victory had resulted in the repulsion of 18 000 Luanda government troops backed by Cuban and Soviet advisors.

"There is now less pressure on the SA military, their confidence sky-high after Mavinga, to agree to an Angolan Namibian settlement," it said, effectively ending Chester Crocker's peace process.

● From Page 1

Apartheid has cost SA many billions of rand

CAPE TOWN — Apartheid cost R8bn in lost economic growth in one year, R66bn in lost growth opportunities and R3,9bn in the direct costs of implementing government race policies, Cape Town University's Michael Savage said yesterday.

He said: "Some 12c of every rand spent by the state is devoted towards maintaining and enforcing segregation, in imposing apartheid. The costs of this disastrous policy are enormous."

Savage was reacting to the statement by the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Piet Clase, that apartheid was expensive.

Clase said at the NP's Cape congress that "we have an expensive policy because we must du-

plicate, triplicate and quadruplicate.

"As a result of our expensive policy we must fight on the borders. As a result of our expensive policy we have boycotts and sanctions."

PFP federal executive chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday Clase's statement was "as shocking as it is true".

Billions of rands had been squandered on apartheid projects such as independent homelands, industrial decentralisation, pass laws, homeland consolidation and on the duplication of facilities.

Andrew said: "But the greatest costs of all have been those most difficult to measure precisely: the devastating effect on our productivity and economic growth and the tremendous harm done to good race relations over many decades."

Savage said he wanted to congratulate Clase "for at last waking up to the fact that the apartheid policies of his government are costing SA a massive amount of money which could be better spent on constructing basic institutions for a democratic society".

In terms of lost economic growth attributed to apartheid in one year — 1985 — apartheid was estimated to have cost R8bn.

Savage said: "It is also estimated by leading business people that GNP per capita would be 50% higher if apartheid did not exist."

Four stabbed and hacked to death

PRETORIA — The bodies of four men were found at Ashdown, Maritzburg, the unrest report from the police division of public relations said yesterday.

"They appeared to have been stabbed and hacked to death," the report said.

"It is alleged they were abducted on Monday by a group of blacks and that they were killed because they refused to join the group." — Sapa.

From Our Own
Correspondent

Natal's Indaba is a likely option for political reform throughout South Africa. That is the view of the former director-general of Constitutional Development and Planning, Professor Andreas van Wyk.

The leading academic placed considerable faith in the proposed National Council when he addressed delegates to the National Clothing Federation's convention at the Wild Coast.

"Compromise between black demands for parliamentary representation and white insistence on communal representation could see the start of evolution towards a system of community-based representation in local, regional and national bodies, with possible provision for an 'open group'.

"Such developments could first occur at the provincial level. An initiative such as the co-operation between Natal and kwaZulu could serve as an example."

Professor van Wyk said there was little doubt the Government's approach to constitutional reform would continue to be on an incremental one.

He said the Government had done much to show it accepted the legitimacy of black claims for political

National Council 'will bring trust and reform'

rights and the need to create political structures for them. The administration of black affairs had been changed beyond recognition.

"In a piece of massive decentralisation the provinces were entrusted with the responsibility for all local government and for black socio-economic development. The abolition of influx control was probably the most significant step of deregulation ever undertaken in South African history."

The proposed National Council would be of "utmost importance as a trust-building and reforming institution" in bringing about an alliance of moderate leaders of the various communities, said Professor van Wyk.

The recent release of political prisoners had created a more favourable atmosphere. He saw the re-introduction of elected provincial legislatures composed on a communal basis as a possible "major step of incremental reform" in line with the Government's avowed intention of building out the regional/provincial level of government to the utmost.

'COMPROMISE INEVITABLE'

"The recent inauguration of the Joint Executive Authority for Natal and kwaZulu and the State President's express depiction of it as an example which could be followed by the Free State and Transvaal shows another probable line of development."

Joint Executive Authorities could, he said, start a trend to the regionalisation of all existing units — provinces and the six self-governing states. Given blacks' insistence on parliamentary expression and the strong demands by whites for recognition of ethnicity in the form of communal representation, Professor Van Wyk said compromise was inevitable.

Referring to the Government's acceptance of open residential areas, he asked: "Is it fanciful to suggest that this opening up in the framework of group areas could eventually be followed by something similar in the framework of race classification?"

US concerned over threats of ethnic violence

WASHINGTON. — US residents of Asian ancestry face increasing threats of violence from Americans of other ethnic backgrounds, according to testimony presented to a subcommittee of the US Congress.

Congressman Don Edwards, chairman of the House of Representatives subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, called for a "national dialogue" on the issue of rising crime and threats against Asian Americans. At a hearing on Tuesday, the subcommittee was told that one of the most senior members of Congress, Senator Daniel Inouye, has been getting "hate mail."

Sen Inouye, a Japanese-American, was co-

chairman of the recent Iran-Contra hearings into secret US arms sales to Iran and the diversion of proceeds to help supply weapons to the Nicaraguan Contra rebels.

The "hate mail" questioned Sen Inouye's loyalty to the United States even though "he is as loyal an American as anybody in this room," said Congressman Norman Mineta, who is also a Japanese-American.

Sen Inouye lost an arm when he served with the US army in Europe during the second World War.

Asian-Americans just want to be treated the same as other Americans, said Sen Mineta.

Sen Mineta said some Americans are ignorant about Asian Americans. He said some Americans compliment him on his ability to speak English because they assume he is not from the United States.

Sen Mineta is a former Mayor of San Jose, California, whose family came to California 85 years ago from Japan.

Congressmen John Conyers jr and F J Sensenbrenner urged more vigorous law enforcement to show that violence against Asian ethnic minorities will not be tolerated.

The subcommittee was told that bigotry toward Asian Americans de-

creased after the second world War but is rising again.

The subcommittee was told that some Americans feel resentment because of US job losses which they blame upon imports from Asian countries. Other factors are increased Asian immigration to the United States

and the high achievements of Asian Americans in education, business and the professions, the subcommittee was told.

Congressman Robert Matsui, a Japanese-American, urged attention to the fears and hardships of the newest arrival, especially refugees

from IndoChina.

James Tso, president of the organisation of Chinese-Americans, said television commercials to recruit people for the US armed forces, aired during broadcasts of professional football games, show Whites, Blacks and Hispanics in military uniform, but no Asians.

"We'll get to the Pentagon on that right away," said sen Edwards. — Sapa-AP.

SA FORCES CLASH

CITIZEN

12 Nov. 1987.

WITH RUSSIANS.

CUBANS

SOUTH African forces have clashed with Russian and Cuban troops in Angola, the Chief of the Defence Force, Gen Jannie Geldenhuys, revealed in Pretoria yesterday.

The SA forces, he said, had been "compelled to take limited action" against the Russians and Cubans who had intervened in the battle between Unita and Angolan FAPLA troops in south-eastern Angola.

The South African involvement was "not only in support of Unita," Gen Geldenhuys said, but also to prevent Swapo from gaining greater freedom of movement to infiltrate South Africa.

"This intervention is further evidence of periodic active Cuban destabilisation in Angola which started in mid-1975," Gen Geldenhuys said.

"At that time Cuban troops assisted the MPLA to abrogate the Alvor agreement which provided for free elections and a democratically elected government in Angola.

"Russians and Cubans, using tanks, sophisticated ground-to-air missiles, fighter aircraft including MiG 23's and attack helicopters, entered the battle after Fapla was badly beaten by Unita and suffered serious setbacks after launching their offensive a few months ago.

"As a result of these setbacks they withdrew from the Lomba river area to regroup. Russian and Cuban-backed Angolan forces are despera-

tely trying to capture the Cuando-Cubango province in southern Angola and, therefore, they pose a very real threat to Unita's position in the territory.

"If the Russian and Cuban supported Angolan forces succeed in gaining control of this area which is dominated by Unita, then the situation would revert to that of the early 1970's when Swapo was able to activate the East and West Caprivi and the Kavango from Angola's Cuando-Cubango province and thereby directly threaten the lives and safety of innocent people in South West Africa.

"Furthermore, MPLA

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Clash with Russians, Cubans

FROM PAGE 1

control of southern Angola would give the ANC greater freedom of movement which would facilitate infiltration to South Africa. As it is the Angolan government provides them with base and training facilities.

"The defence force's action is in line with the policy of the South African government to protect its own interests wherever or whenever necessary. The Defence Force will, therefore, continue to act for as long as Russian and Cuban forces intervene in south-east Angola.

"For tactical and security reasons the Defence Force can reveal no further information at this stage," Gen Geldenhuys concluded.

According to a Lisbon report, Angola claims SA has lost 230 men in the fierce fighting in southern Angola during the past two months.

Quoting Angolan armed forces chief Antonio Santos Franca N Dalu, the report said Angolan troops had destroyed 11 South African AML-90 armoured cars, 24 other military vehicles and an unspecified number of light weapons, cannons and jeeps.

This showed the "ex-

cessive concentration of sophisticated equipment of the South African army in Southern Angola," Angop quoted the commander as saying.

"Two-hundred-and-thirty South African soldiers have died in the latest battles," it added.

The commander said Pretoria had deployed a further 30 000 to 35 000 troops by moving two entire combat and artillery brigades north to Angola's border with SWA.

The Angop report made no mention of casualties on the Angolan side and the government has said little about the recent battles. — Sapa-Reuter.

SA will continue to back Unita Malan

By TONY STIRLING

THE Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday that South Africa was supporting and would continue to support Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement in what is seen as a direct justification for South African involvement against Cuban and Russian forces fighting Unita in southern Angola.

Speaking in Cape Town to US visitors comprising the pro-South African Don McAlvanany group, the Council on South Africa, Gen Malan said: "As the major regional power in Southern Africa we have the responsibility to protect the integrity of the people of Southern Africa against foreign intervention and exploitation.

"We will not interfere in the domestic affairs of others, but where we are called upon to protect African freedom against the tyranny of foreign oppression, we will respond.

"That is why we support Dr Savimbi in Angola.

"Here (in Angola) we have a blatant case of Communist expansionism aimed at subjugating the people of Angola and

Southern Africa as a whole.

"The Soviet Union and its surrogates in Angola are raping Africa. There is no other word for it.

"They have caused vast areas of Angola to become a wasted, empty and broken land.

"The landscape is littered with sophisticated weapons of war supplied by the Communist bloc in great abundance," said Gen Malan.

"But there is no food and no roubles are provided in food aid.

"Millions of men, women and children roam the country hungry and without shelter and in constant fear of Communist brutality.

"In this tragic landscape of Communist tyranny and oppression — Communism visibly in action — one man stands out as the only hope for the people of Angola.

"Dr Savimbi is fighting for freedom, democracy and civilisation.

"He is not power hungry. He has offered to serve under President (Jose) Dos Santos in a government of national reconciliation."

President Dos Santos had, however, "turned his back on this offer of peace and reconciliation".

After nearly two dec-

ades of struggle for freedom, Dr Savimbi was unbent and unbowed.

"He stands for what he believes in. He is a Christian and continues to fight for his beliefs on behalf of his people," said Gen Malan.

"He is against Communism. He is against the present tyranny and oppression of the Angolan people. He is against foreign mercenary intervention in his country.

"He is for the Free World. He wants peace, progress and honour for his country and his people.

"That is why South Africa supports Dr Savimbi, and that is why South Africa will continue to support Dr Savimbi," said Gen Malan.

Support for NC — Heunis

CITIZEN 12 Nov. 87

CAPE TOWN.

There was overwhelming support for the creation of an institution such as the National Council in which all groups would participate at the top level, Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said in Sea Point at the Cape National Party Congress yesterday.

The proposed National Council emphasised that South Africa had moved away from the concept that one group alone could set up a constitutional system and make all the decisions.

The National Council would seek a new constitution for South Africa in which all would share.

In the interim period, it would give advice on matters of national interest and legislation affecting the communities not already participating in the legislative processes.

Thirdly, it would do everything to foster sound relations in South Africa.

"What we have is a democracy converting itself into a broader democracy," said Mr Heunis.

"While we must do all to increase the tempo and contents of our reform, I must warn against instant solutions."

Reform had to take place in a way that was understood and accepted by the people and could not go faster than the limitations this imposed.

"But the constitution of the future will provide for all South African citizens — everybody," Mr Heunis said in his closing address to the Congress.

It was significant that the revolutionary leaders were Whites, such as Joe Slovo.

There were thousands of Blacks in South Africa who sought peace with their White countrymen.

Mr Heunis also suggested a strong possibility

By BRIAN STUART

of second-tier legislative bodies representing all races.

He was responding to delegates who said that Joint Executive Authorities (JEAs) as in Natal/KwaZulu had no legislative functions, while the government was creating inter-race forums at the local government and national levels.

"I would concede the point," said Mr Heunis.

A system of elected officials was considered at the time the all-White provincial councils were abolished. And it was realised that there were now no second-tier legislative authorities.

"But we are busy with a continuing process," he added in emphasising that negotiations were still taking place in regard to structures at national level.

"I have no doubt that with what we are doing ... we will inevitably have to have legislative bodies in the middle."

On JEAs, Mr Heunis said the needs would differ from region to region.

Natal and KwaZulu were interwoven geographically so that their situation was unique.

In the Eastern Cape, on the other hand, there were two self-governing states. Regional co-operation would then have to take place "at another level and in another manner".

He believed it wrong that a huge province like the Cape should be governed entirely from Cape Town or the Transvaal from Pretoria. The Cape for example should be divided in some way.

At the local government level, the new Regional Services Councils (RSCs) would not only provide more efficient and cost effective services in their region, but would educate people in the processes of government.

At present there were the communities who had not been educated in the ability to govern. With the RSCs, all people were being exposed to the processes of government.

● See Page 12.

ANC will have to negotiate — Prof

Sowetan 12/11/87

THE curbing of unrest in South Africa has shattered ANC credibility, forcing the organisation to negotiate or die.

This was said by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer at the National Clothing Federation convention at the Wild Coast.

Professor Schlemmer said the Soviet Union was pressuring the banned organisation increasingly to adopt a more political approach.

The ANC, he said, had built a reputation internationally and internally as "heir apparent" to the

Government through association with the "huge wave of internal unrest and protest" which had swept the country during the past three to four years.

"Its status increased as unrest mounted in South Africa and as people abroad anticipated there

was going to be some sort of major transformation in the society they started looking to the ANC as the heir apparent."

"With curbing of unrest and protest under the state of emergency the ANC has had to enter, and will have to increasingly enter, into a new phase of strategy.

While the diplomatic wing of the ANC had expanded its international network considerably it still faced the testing task of competing with existing internal black formations.

The diplomatic wing, he said, was under increasing pressure from the Soviet Union, its main sponsor, to produce new initiatives — alternatives to insurgency and sabotage.

"In that route it is going to have to compete with internal black formations. As long as it was a purely military struggle it did not have to compete.

Support

It could present and maintain itself as heir apparent.

Professor Schlemmer said according to a recent poll the ANC only enjoyed the support of 25 percent of South Africa's blacks.

"As we get further into the process of negotiation the ANC is faced with the very severe challenge of deciding whether to come in and renounce violence or at least suspend violence and seek negotiation stay outside.

"If they decide to stay outside and operate externally, they will decline. The role of the ANC is an important but not an exclusive one. If they participate they can be as one of the potential black formations — significant not the key thing," he said.

Uchwepheshe uphawula

ILANGA NOVEMBER 12-14, 1987

ngokukhubaza i-ANC

REPORT EDWARD. — Ukuphumelela kukaHulumeni ukunqanda izibhelu eSouth Africa sekukhinyabeze kakhulu ukukholakala kwe-African National Congress (ANC) ngangokuthi seyiphokile ukuba ivume ukuba kuboniswane noma ishabalale.

Lona ngumbono ka-Professor Lawrence Schlemmer wase-University of the Witwatersrand. Ungomunye wawochwepheshe olwazini lwenhlalo yabantu futhi ungumhlaziyi onohlonze kwezombusazwe. Ungomunye weqembu labaseSouth Africa abasanda kubanezingxoxo ne-ANC eDakar.

Ekhuluma embuthanweni wosomabhizinisi abenza izingubo obuse-Wild Coast, uProfessor Schlemmer uthe iRussia njengamanje iyixine kakhulu i-ANC ukuba emaswini ewasebenzisayo kufanele ilandele imigomo yezombusazwe nempela.

Uthe i-ANC yazakhela igama emazweni omhlaba lokuthi yiyona "indlalifa" kaHulumeni wase-South Africa ngokuzihlanganisa kwayo "nokubhebhetheka kwezibhelu ezinkulu nokuzabalaza ngaphakathi eSouth Africa" kuleminyaka emithathu noma emine eyedlule.

UProfessor Schlemmer uthe: "Izinga layo lakhulu ngesikhathi ku-

bhebhetheka izibhelu eSouth Africa... kodwa ngokunqandeka kwezibhelu nokuzabalaza ngaphansi komthetho wesimo esibucayi, i-ANC kufanele futhi kumele iqale isu elisha. I-ANC seyehlulekile ngomkhakha wayo wokuba kubekho- na ukungqubuzana okuwubudlova."

Uthe noma i-ANC iphumelele ukuzakhela ubuhlobo namazwe omhlaba kodwa isabhekene nomthwalo onzima wokuncintisana nezihlangano zabaMnyama ngaphakathi eSouth Africa.

Uqhubeke wathi nje ngamanje i-ANC ixinwe yiRussia ukuba iveze amaqhinga amasha esikhundleni sobushokobezi nokucekela phansi.

UProfessor Schlemmer uthe ukuphenya okusandakwenziwa kukhombisa ukuthi bangamaphesenti angu 25 abaNyama eSouth Africa abeseka i-ANC.

Uqhubeke wathi nje ngoba iSouth Africa iqhubeka nokuba kuboniswane, i-ANC izobhekana nenselelo enkulu yokuba izehlukanise no-

÷ Iphela ekhasini 3 ÷

Uyaphawula

÷ Isuka ekhasini 1 ÷
budlova noma ibuhoxise bese ivuma ukuba kuboniswane.

"Uma i-ANC inquma ukuba yona ibengaphandle futhi isebenzele ngaaphandle, iyoshabalala. Usemqoka umsebenzi okufanele wenziwe yi-ANC kodwa hhayi ukuthi kufanele iwenze yodwa. Uma nabo bebamdibi ezingxoxweni nje ngezinye izihlangano zabaMnyama," kusho uProfessor Schlemmer.

Inkulumo yakhe uyenze ngesikhathi lapho bukhula ubufakazi bokuthi amazwe aseNtshonalanga awahambisani neze nobudlova obushunyayelwa yi-ANC ikakhulu ukubulawa kwabantu ngamathayi.

I-ANC isanda kuhlaba ukubulawa kwaantu ngamathayi kodwa lokhu akumenzanga uNdanankulu waseBritani, uNk. Margaret Thatcher, ukuba achaze i-ANC ngokuthi yihlangano yabashokobezi.

ILANGA NOVEMBER 12-14, 1987

ILANGA LITHI ...

Mabangagqojiswa New 12-14 1987 itshe abakhululwayo

UKUKHULULWA kukaMnuz Govan Mbeki obedonsa isigwebo sokudilikelwa yijele eRobben Island ekanye nabanye, kubeyisenzo esihle esenziwe nguHulumeni waseSouth Africa. Bafanele ukubongwa futhi bonke ababelokhu bebelesele nabasabelele namanje ukuba zikhululwe zonke iziboshwa zepolitiki kanye no-Dr Nelson Mandela ngaphandle kwemibandela.

UMnuz Mbeki owayengusihlalo wenhlangano eseyavalwa kuleli i-ANC, ukhululwe esedonse iminyaka engu-23 kanti uneminyaka engu-77 ubudala. Kuthiwa uMnuz Mbeki uke wakhuluma noDr Mandela kwaze kwaphela ihora emuva kokuba ekhululiwe. Kakwaziwa ukuthi bebethini, kodwa okuhle ngukuthi bakhulumile. UMnuz Mbeki ukhululwe kanye nomunye we-ANC kanye nabathathu bePan Africanist Congress.

Ukukhululwa kwabo kuthokozelelwa ngumhlaba wonke, kodwa abathokoza kakhulu ngabaMnyama baseSouth Africa ngoba kubona kukhomba izinguquko okudingeke ukuba uMongameli wezwe azishe-shise.

Nanxa uMnuz Mbeki esavaliwe ukuba kucashunwe amazwi awashoyo, kodwa sekuzwakele ukuthi isifiso sakhe ngukuba kuqedwe udlame phakathi komnyama nomnyama olubhebhethaka emalokishini abomdabu kulezizinsuku.

UMnuz Mbeki nabanye nanxa bephume ejele izinto eziningi sezaguquka, kodwa yinye into engaguquki, ngukuba abamnyama banikwe amalungelo agcwele kwezombusazwe. Yilokhu uHulumeni okudingeka akukhumbule ngasosonke isikhathi ukuthi ukudedela iziboshwa zepolitiki kakuyiqaqi inkinga uma zisazofika kubuye kudingeke ziqobhe itshe ezalishiya lingakabhoboki.

IMIBONO YABAFUNDI. LOBELA: UMHELELI, ILANGA, 128 UMNGENI R

Iphi i-Uwusa izosephula otakwini thina bonogada

Manje sesethemba ukuthi isizoba nalo igunya lokusephula kulutaku esikulo lapha kwaMasipala ikakhulukazi emnyangweni wokuvikela (security dept).

Eqinisweni lapha si-phathiswe okwezigqila, asinazwi, asinanqubeke-la phambili konke kusezandleni zabamhlophe.

Okusixakayo ukuthi thina bonogada saba abanye bezisebenzi zokuqala ezajoyina ku-UWUSA isanda kusungulwa isaphethwe uMnuz. E.Z. Chonco, saba nemihlangano emahhotela amabili lapho esakhetha khona abakhulumeli bethu (Shop Stewards), kodwa lutho inyunyana ukusayina isivumelwano kunalokho sazicijela abeLungu ukuba baqinise ibhawodi kulesihluku abasiphethe ngaso. Bahlekisa ngathi uma wenza iphutha babuze 'Where is your Union'?

Manje osekusiphatha kabi kakhulu ukuthi sebexoshe labo esabakhethile baqala ngo-ngunobhala wethu okunguyena owasivula ame-

MHELELI. — Ngizoqala ngokubongela abe i-Uwusa engaphansi kukaMnuz. G.S.T. Hadebe ngokuphumelela kwayo ukuba yamukelwe uHulumeni walelizwe njengenyunyana esemthethweni.

hlo ukuthi masijoyine i-UWUSA, kodwa asiboni zinyathelo ezathathwa inyunyana.

Manje sekuxoshwe umphathi sihlalo futhi abeLungu basasho bathi bayoze basiqede lesigungu uma singahlukani nenyunyana. Kwathina sesesaba ngisho ukunyakazisa imilomo ngoba wathi "vu" ususemgwaqeni.

Bakithi, angazi ukuthi ngingabala ngithini laphaya umuntu manje usephathiswa okwesigqila eqashwa. Inhlamba abathukwa ngayo yilo oqashayo (woMda-bu) engakhethi ukuthi kukhona nabesifazane abashadile, abuye agwazise athi abantu abalande ama-application forms kwakhe.

Hawu! bakithi iphi i-UWUSA izosephula kulezikhukhula ezemuka nathi.

Siyothokoza uma bengamema umhlangano basazise ukuthi kumi-phi, nampa abantu bakithi bephela sibhekile.

S.B.M.

DURBAN.

Kunukwa amaphoyisa kweyeNkatha ne-UDF

VUSI SOSIBO

EMGUNGUNDOLOVU. — Izinxushunxushu ezikhungethe amalokishi aseMgungundlovu zingene kwelinye izinganjengoba kulezizinsuku kubikwa ukuthi izakhamizi kazisalali emakhaya zesabela impilo yazo njengoba sekunomkhuba wokuvuswa kwabantu belele baphoqwe ukuba bahambe emigwaqeni bazingele amalungu alezizihlangano abangahambisani nazo labo ababavusayo.

Sekunezinsolo eziqinile zokuthi indaba yobudlova eMgungundlovu seyingenwe nangamaphoyisa kaHulumeni waseSouth Africa okubikwa ukuthi alekelele abe-UDF ekubulaleni amalunga eNkatha.

Ngokwemibiko etholakele sekuboshwe abantu abangu 365 ngenxa yalezizinxushunxushu, abangu 70 kubikwe ukuthi bafile amakhulu ngamakhulu abantu balimele, kwashiswa nemizi kanti nje ngamanje abanye sebelala ngaphansi kwezihlahla ngenxa yokwesabela impilo yabo.

Ephawula ngalezizinxushunxushu uMnuz. V.V. Mvelase oyiNxusa likaHulumeni waKwa-

Zulu ezindaweni ezingamadolobha nozinze khona eMgungundlovu uthe sebeke babanawo umhlangano obubizwe yiMaritzburg Chamber of Commerce ngenjongo yokubhula lomlilo kephakabafikanga abe-United Democratic Front (UDF).

Esitatimendeni esikhishwe yihhovisi likaNdunankulu waKwaZulu oLundi ngemuva komhlangano phakathi kwesigungu sikaHulumeni waKwaZulu kanye noNgqongqoshe wezoMthetho kanye nokuThula uMnuz. Andriaan Vlok nobuhanjelwe yiNgonyama yamaZulu uGoodwill Zwelithini ludingidiwe loludaba nakuba umhlangano be-

wungaqondene nalo. Ngokusho kwesitatimende isizathu esidale ukuba kuxoxwe nangaloludaba ngamahlebezi aseholakele ukuthi sengathi inhlango ye-United Democratic Front (UDF) isizwa ngamaphoyisa aseSouth Africa ekubulaleni amalungu eNkatha.

INGonyama yamaZulu izwakalise ukuphetheka kabi ngesimo esikhungethe isizwe sayo kulezizinsuku.

Kwenzeka konke lokhu nje amaphoyisa amabili kaHulumeni waseSouth Africa kulindlekele ukuba avele phambi kwenkantolo ebekwe icala lokusiza amalungu e-United Democratic Front (UDF).

ILANSA

12-14 Nov. 1987

UMengameli weNkatha usola i-ANC ngezibhelu

LANGA NOV. 12-14, '87

By John MacLennan

PRESIDENT PW Botha has again slammed the ANC and made it clear he has no intention of negotiating with the organisation.

In a hard-hitting speech, which could presage a Government crackdown, he also accused various legal organisations which work for change such as Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), the Black Sash and the South African Council of Churches (SACC) — of being guilty of undermining activities.

Speaking at the Transvaal National Party Congress he quoted from the ANC's banned mouthpiece *Sechaba* to show that the organisation has identified white businessmen and Afrikaner intellectuals as possible allies.

Sechaba's October edition said it would not be pushed into either abandoning the armed struggle or revolution. It believed the armed struggle would succeed if white businessmen and Afrikaner intellectuals could be "detached" from the "Botha clique".

President Botha said the ANC did not want to talk. It would use a negotiating table only as a means to force surrender. "We don't talk to such people".

He added: "Some people think that by negotiating with terrorist leaders we will enter a new era of peace... this is far-fetched."

He said of Idasa/Black Sash/SACC: "These leftist radicals are the biggest causes of black radicalism. They feed on each other."

Sunday Times

15 NOV 87

VUSI SOSIBO

ETHEKWINI.— UNdunankulu waKwaZulu Inkosi uMangosuthu Buthelezi uthi uzimisele ukuhlangana nanoma yimuphi umholi weqembu lezombusazwe kumbe izinhlangano ngenjongo yokuba kuboniswane wathi ngokunjalo angakwemukela ukubonisana noMnuz. Govan Mbeki owake wabangusihlalo kaKhongolose (ANC) osanda kuphuma ejele.

Esitatimendini sakhe asithumelele abama-phaphandaba nabephawula kuso ngemibiko yokuthi uMnuz. Mbeki usethembise ukusiza ekuqedeni ukungqubuzana okukhona phakathi komnyama nomnyama, uthe yena njengomholi ozinikelele embusazweni wokubonisana kanye nokusetshenziswa kweqhinga lokuthula ekuzazululeni izinkinga zakulelizwe uzimisele ukwamukela noma yini eyenziwayo ekuqedeni indluzula ekhungethe

umbusazwe wabamnyama.

Uthe yena welula isandla sobungani kuzonke izinhlangano kanye nabaholi abamnyama futhi uyokwamukela ukufika kukaMnuz. Govan Mbeki oLundi ukuze bahlale phansi babonisane ukuze naye ezwe ukuthi uMnuz. Mbeki yini angayenza kumbe ayenzayo engaletha ukuthula endaweni yaseMgungundlovu.

Uthe umphakathi wakulelizwe ubhekene namaqiniso ababayo wathi kuyisu le-African National Congress (ANC) kaMnuz. Mbeki kanye ne-United Democratic Front (UDF) ye-ANC kanye ne-Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) ye-ANC ukwenza lelizwe lingabuseki. Wathi laba sebahathatha isinqumo sokuba kubulawe bonke labo abathathwa njengababambisene nombuso wakulelizwe (cellaborater) kanti futhi yiyo i-ANC eseyisungule uhlobo lokungqubuzana emphakathini ekubiza ngokuthi yimpi yabantu (people's war).

Uthe ukwanda kwe-ndluzula kulelizwe ikakhulukazi endaweni yaseMgungundlovu kuhambisana nezifiso zalabo abahambisana nokuba izinxushunxushu zisabalale kulolonke lelizwe. Wathi sekuzanywe amaqhinga chlu-kene phakathi kwamanye okuwukuduba, ukungayi emsebenzini kanye nokuteleka okungamaqhinga aphoqelelwa ngenkani oquqabeni okugcina ngokuba kubekhona abashaywayo kumbe babulawe.

Eguqukela kwabezinhlelo zokusakaza uthe sekuyimfashini eyesabisayo ukuzwa ezinye izinhlelo zokusakaza zikhuluma "ngabaphehli bodweshu beNkatha". Wathi isikhathi esiningi abamaphephandaba sebezinikele ekuhlaleni yena kanye neNkatha njengabantu abadala udlame eNatal naKwaZulu. Uthe lokhu kugququzelwa ngabezinhlangano ezingezwani neNkatha bese nabamaphephandaba bathokoze uma o-Archbishop Tutu bakulelizwe kanye noMbeki bememezela ukuthi bazokuya eMgungundlovu ngenjongo yokudala ukuthula.

Uthe emashumini eminyaka eyedule abaholi abamnyama benze iphutha nabo ekubhekanezi nalezizenziso ezimbi zikaHulumeni wezwe ngokungacabangi ukuthi umzabalazo uyophumelela kuphela uma kukhona ubunye kwabamnyama okuyokuba ngubunye obuyokwemukeleka naphedu kokusetshenziswa kwamaqhinga ezahlukenene.

Uthe yena uzinikelele ebunyeni babantu abamnyama.

Four hacked to death as 'war' in capital townships rages on

trouble is only occurring at night. We would only consider the violence out of control if there was open fighting during the day and there were 15-20 deaths a day."

Captain Kitching said the deployment of soldiers in the townships last Friday also did not mean the violence was out of control.

"The police are in control of the area and the troops are not there to do police work."

Meanwhile, media officer Captain Peter Kitching denied yesterday's Daily News report that the Pietermaritzburg violence was "out of control".

"The townships are quiet during the day and

FOUR more youths were killed in Ashdown at Pietermaritzburg yesterday as "warring" Inkatha and UDF supporters continued their bloody struggle for control of the township.

According to the police unrest report, the bodies of four men were found in Ashdown yesterday. "They appear to have been stabbed and hacked to death."

12 NOV 87

SUNDAY TIMES

Isu lokuphatha i-JEA lingase lenabele naseNtilasifali

VUSI SOSIBO
ETHEKWINI. — Se-
kunczimpawu ezininile
ezikhomba ukuthi
uMkhandlu wokupha-
tha ngokuhlanyela
kwendawo yaKwaZulu
kanye neNatal ikakhu-
lukazi ezintweni ezithi-
nta leziziFunda ngoku-
fanayo (Joint Ex-

ecutive Authority —
JEA) ingase isetshenzi-
swe nasesiFundazweni
saseNtilasifali nakho-
na ixube izinhlanga
ezehlukene.

Ekhuluma emhlanga-
nweni weKwaZulu/Nat-
al Joint Executive
Authority, uMnuz. P.W.
Botha obusebhlo ye-
dolobha laseThekwini
ngomSombuluko odlule
uthe loluhlelo olulande-
lwe visiFunda saseNatal
naKwaZulu luyisibonelo
esihle okufanele sijande-
lwe ezifundeni, zase-
Freyistata kanye nase-
Ntilasifali.

kuleso saseNatal ngoba
banezabelo eziningi
esifundeni sabo kanti
eNatal sinye.

Uthe nokho sebeqa-
lile ukuxoxisana naba-
heli basezabelweni
ezimbili okungesaseLE-
bowa kanye nesaKwa-
Ngwane wathi sebesu-
ngule namakomiti oku-
viwona azocubungula
ukuthi kungabanjiswa
kanjani ezintweni ezi-
thinta isiFundazwe ka-
nye nalezizabelo. Uthe
basazobonisana nabaho-
li besabelo sakwaNde-
bele kanye nabaseGaza-
nkulu ngaloludaba.

Kutholakala nemibiko
yokuthi kukhona imiza-
mo yokusungula lolu-
hlelo esiFundeni sase-
Ntilasifali kanti ngoku-
sho kukaMnuz. Willem
Cruywagen, onguMpha-
thi (Administrator) wa-
kulesiFunda, isimo
abakuso bona sehlukile

Ngokwemibiko ethola-
ke ngabenhlangano
yamaphephandaba ISA-
PA iqembu eliphiki-
sana noHulumeni wa-
kulelizwe iConserva-
tive Party selicele uMo-
ngameli wakulelizwe
uMnuz. P.W. Botha
ukuba enze imizamo

yokuqeda ukusungulwa
kwalemikhandlu exube
izinhlanga lapho isibalo
sabamhlophe siba si-
ncane kuye.

Ngokusho kwesekela
lomholi waleliqembu
ukusungulwa kweJoint
Executive Authority
njengoba sekwenziwe
eNatal ngeke kuzixazu-
lule izinkinga zakuleli-
zwe kepha kuzoholela
abamhlophe kanye na-
bezinye izinhlanga ezi-
nkingeni.

Uthe iqembu lakhe
lijaluchitha loluhlelo
lokusungulwa kwalemi-
khandlu ngephuzu lo-
kuthi lulimaza ilungelo
labamhlophe lokuzimela
kanye nokusimama. Wa-
thi ngakolunye uhla-
ngothi luyisinyathelo so-
kuba kusungulwe nemi-
khandlu eshaya imithe-
tho yezifunda eyokwe-
nganyelwa ngabamnya-
ma njengeningi ezingeni
lezifunda.

UNdunankulu uhlaba abaholi abadunyiswa amaphephandaba

ULUNDI. — UNdunankulu waKwaZulu, uDr.
Mangosuthu Buthelezi ngomSombuluko ukhwela
wazehlela "kubaholi abadumileyo" abathola uku-
kholeka kuphela emaphephandabeni bebe yokwehlu-
leka kakhulu kunoma yiluphi ukhetho.

Utshele iqembu labaphathi bemisebenzi uku-
thi iningi laboMdabu base-South Africa "bavota
ngazwi linye" bephikisana nokusetshenziswa ko-
dlame nonswinyo.

Uthe yikho-ke njena ikakhulukazi udlame olwe-
nzekayo luphathelene naboMdabu belinyazwa nga-
banye boMdabu. Amavukelambuso ayenga abantu
ukuba bahambisane nezindlela zawo zodlame.

UMongameli weNkatha ubekhuluma emhla-
nganweni wezicukuthwane zakwaReckitt and
Coleman, kuhlangele noSir Michael Coleman
osehhovisi elikhulu lalenkampani eliseNgilandi.

Uthe ukubusa ngentando yabantu kuyolokhu
kuboshwe ngamaketango inqobo njena uma kuse-
khona iziboshwa nezinhlangano zepolitiki ezisava-
liwe noma lungakabikhona ukhetho lukawonku-
wonke oluvumela abamele aboMdabu ukuba bakhu-
lume ngezwi leningi.

AboMdabu baphikisana nezilokotho zabo
ekuvoteleni ukuba kubekhona unswinyo, lokhu
kukhunjiswa yizindwendwe zabantu abakhathaze-
kile ngokweswela umsebenzi ababonakala emasa-
ngweni ezinkampani zaphesheya befesele umsebe-
nzi.

Sehlile isibalo sabavuma unswinyo

ELONDON. — Isibalo
sabaMnyama baseSouth
Africa abeseka ukuba
kunswinywe iSouth
Africa kwezomnotho se-
sehle kakhulu, ngokusho
kukaMnuz. John Kane-
Berman, onguMqondisi
weSouth African Insti-
tute of Race Relations.

Ekhuluma emhlanga-
nweni weReform Club
eLondon, uMnuz. Kane-

Berman uthe uphenyo
olusanda kwenziwa lu-
khombisa ngokusobala
ukuthi abaMnyama ba-
seSouth Africa kabazi-
misele ukulahlekelwa
yimisebenzi yabo nge-
nxa yonswinyo.

Uqhubeke wathi isi-
balo sabaMnyama eka-
de bekholwa ukuthi
unswinyo luzoqeda uba-
ndlululo eSouth Africa
sesehle kakhulu.

Indodakazi kaMandela isabela impilo kayise

EWASHINGTON. — Indodakazi endala kaDr. Nelson Mandela ithi ineyiso elikhulu ngokuphepha kukayise ongumholi we-African National Congress (ANC) uma angase adedelwe ngoba iningi laba-Mnyama nabaMhlophe liyomthatha ngokuthi angase abeyingozi.

UNkk. Zenani Mandela Dlamini, oneminyaka engu 28 ubudala, uthi unethemba lokuthi uyise angase adedelwe khona maduze nje wathi: "Kungenzeka noma yinini kusukela

manje".

Uqhubeke wathi okubaxakile wukuthi uHulumeni akabatsheli lutho ukuthi uyise angase adedelwe nini. Uthe: "UHulumeni akasho lutho. Kusobala nje uku-

thi uzomane amdedele. Sengiqalile manje ukukholwa wukuthi ubaba angase adedelwe noma yinini. Akusekude ukuba akhululwe ejele".

UNkk. Dlamini uthi

uHulumeni unezizathu, ezithile afuna ukudedela ngazo uyise wathi uHulumeni waseSouth Africa akafuni ukuba uyise afele ejele. Uthe kungenxa yalesizathu azodedelwa ngaso maduze nje.

Kubulawe oweNkatha

DUDU MBATHA

ETHEKWINI. — Ibhungu elineminyaka engu 22 ubudala, ebeliyilungu eligqamile lombutho we-Nkatha ligwazwe lafa eMpumalanga eHamarsdale ngeSonto ebusuku.

Ofe ngokugwazwa nguMnuz. Zakhele Langa obedume kakhulu ngelika S'qothu. Ubehlala kwa-Ward 4 khona eMpumalanga. Kuthiwa ubevakashi e-Unit 3 ngeSonto ezolala khona. Kuthiwa kuthe ebusuku kwahlaselwa lapho abevakashi khona. Kuthiwa umufi uphume wazama ukubaleka. **ILANGA NOVEMBER 12-14, 1937**

Ngokusho kwabebelandisa ILANGA, uMnuz. Langa ugijime njalo waphikelela emzini wakwa-Dlamini oseduze kwalapho bekuhlaselwa khona. Kuthiwa uzwakale ememeza ethi "phuthumani ngafa", ngalesisikhathi kuthiwa elinye iqembu labahlaseli lavumbuka eduze komgwaqo bude buduze nalapho uMnuz. Langa abeyakhona.

Eqhuba obelandisa ILANGA uthe, bamgwaza kodwa wazama ukubaleka waze wafika egcekeni lakwaDlamini okukholakala ukuthi ubeyovusa izihlobo zakhe ukuba zimlekelele. Kuthiwa kulomuzi uface kukhona isalukazi kuphela endlini okubikwa ukuthi akubanga lula ukuthi sivule umnyango, kuthiwa bamgwaza baze bambulalela khona lapho, kwaze kwafika amaphoyisa entathakusa esezothatha isidumbu.

No. 24

BEHIND THE BATTLELINES: WHY THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC

THE VIOLENCE in Pietermaritzburg is too easily viewed as an evenly-weighted and brutal battle for political control of the area between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Equally, the fact that there is violence on both sides, fanned in recent weeks by the involvement of political criminals and thugs, lends itself too easily to interpretation by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu as 'black-on-black' strife.

Such interpretation suggests that the violence around Pietermaritzburg does not have serious political origins, or reflect understandable political and economic aspirations.

'Black-on-black' violence is a concept that attributes some kind of essence to violence involving black people, suggesting that violence, like everything else in the country, is susceptible to racial categorisation.

Comment by GEORGINA HAMILTON

Just as the violence cannot be understood simply as an evenly-weighted clash between Inkatha and the UDF, it cannot be understood as 'black-on-black' strife. Both are simply descriptions and inaccurate at that. They do not approach the terrain of analysis or understanding.

The current violence in Pietermaritzburg is not an unpredictable explosion. Officials of the Congress of South African Trade Unions have documented evidence to demonstrate that there has been a long process in the areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg in which Inkatha-supporting vigilante groups have escalated their activities in response to organisational challenges to their self-proclaimed supremacy.

Retaliation, and the initiation of violence in recent weeks, have also escalated from the UDF side. Now it is possible to play a numbers game in which numbers of people murdered or injured are given either as an indication of which side is doing the most damage or which side is most in control. Even within the limited value of such an exercise, existing evidence shows that the weight of victimisation has fallen on members of the UDF, trade unions, and their families and associates.

Much more important than numbers though, are the structures and circumstances that have produced the conflict.

It is often forgotten or perhaps not even understood that Inkatha is the governing party of KwaZulu. Throughout the state of emergency it has been able to operate openly and legally. The KwaZulu government has its own branch of the national police force. Dr

Buthezi has met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok twice this year to discuss violence and police matters. In March he asked the minister for more powers to arm his supporters. He said, "I am talking here about the need that there is for the KwaZulu government and the KwaZulu police to be put in a position to rally to the cause of the people to eradicate the kind of brutality that is now inherent in intimidation politics."

This is in stark contrast to the groups and organisations, notably the UDF and COSATU, whose activities have been severely constrained by emergency regulations that keep their leaders and members in detention, and prevent open organisation and political opposition.

While the normal processes of political organisation are allowed to Inkatha, they are denied to the UDF and COSATU. It is not a question of them being con-

strained from *subversive* activity, but from *normal* political process such as organising opposition to rent increases or to plans put forward by the Indaba.

The most publicised initiatives of Inkatha-supporting vigilantes in the Pietermaritzburg area over the past couple of years are the threats levelled by Inkatha leaders at the community of the Federal Seminary in Imbali in 1985. Inkatha's opposition to the widely-supported consumer boycott of the same year, opposition to trade unions, and widespread vigilante opposition to the formation, organisation and activities of youth groups.

What these confrontations with organisations outside of Inkatha's ambit have in common is the refusal by Inkatha supporters and local leadership to countenance opposition, or even the possibility that *not* all opposition in Natal is under Inkatha control. Attacks, both verbal and physical, have been levelled at youth

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FRONT AND INKATHA ARE AT WAR IN PIETERMARITZBURG

organisation and opposition in Natal for at least the past seven years. Their resentment increased with the formation of the UDF in 1983. Similar attacks on trade union organisations have escalated since the formation of COSATU in 1985.

Both the UDF and COSATU have berated the presence of a politics in Natal that cannot be contained in Inkatha's fold. Both are part of a national struggle that has already abandoned Inkatha to its regional and ethnic preoccupations.

The threat that they pose ideologically is almost more important to Inkatha, judging by its supporters' responses, than the actual size of the opposition. Thus the Federal Seminary in Imbali was portrayed by Inkatha supporters as a hotbed of radicalism. Its crime, it seems, was that it was a small community of people that did not actively support Inkatha within an area that Inkatha had defined as its own territory.

In the case of clashes between Inkatha supporters and students at the Nqoye campus of the University of Zululand, the offence to Inkatha was that students had created a 'no-go' area for Dr Buthezi within his very own KwaZulu.

The Inkatha terrain is both geographical and ideological. It was once supposed to have encompassed the whole of South Africa, but the strength and direction of national extra-parliamentary politics has tended to make Inkatha more circumspect of late and its supporters seldom claim to monopolise national black political aspirations as they frequently did in the late seventies and early eighties.

There are still exceptions such as Chief Buthezi's claims to overseas audiences that Inkatha's rejection of sanctions reflects the position of all black people.

Examples of Inkatha's determination to make its presence felt in areas Dr Buthezi has called 'no-go' areas for Inkatha are numerous and the clashes that

have ensued have often had tragic consequences.

Boycotts and stayaways organised by COSATU and the UDF have made Pietermaritzburg such a 'no-go' area that challenges Inkatha's claim to articulate black political aspirations there.

Despite Dr Buthezi's frequent threats to unleash the boycott weapon against whites and even Indians, when the Sarmcol boycott at Howick became clearly linked to national union strategies, and had demonstrable popular support, it met opposition from Inkatha.

In September 1985, Patrick Gumede, the president of Inyanda, explained Inkatha's attitude: "If FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions) persists in its boycott call in Natal this will mean that it will be openly challenging the Chief Minister's influence. We warned them not to push us into a corner where Inyanda will combine with Inkatha in an open battle to see who is who between FOSATU and KwaZulu leadership."

Opposition and organisation on any scale do not gel with Inkatha's projection of itself as the sole representative of 'the people'. This projection, accepted as truth in many influential quarters, is part and parcel of the basis for the constitutional formulation put forward by the Indaba.

The Indaba's regional solution for Natal is premised on the cultural and political homogeneity and unity of the black population of Natal.

The violence in Pietermaritzburg has revealed severe cracks in the supposedly monolithic dominance of Inkatha over black politics in Natal. It is likely also to reveal cracks in the Indaba plans which are as guilty as Inkatha itself of ignoring voices that do not sing the prescribed tune.

There are many initiatives afoot to find ways to mediate or stop the violence in Pietermaritzburg. The urgency for an immediate solution should not allow

the mediators to ignore the structural realities that favour Inkatha's activities and sanction its involvement in maintaining law and order, that allow the organisation influence and control over education in some townships and over the distribution of pensions, welfare and aid; that afford it many pressure points for mobilising membership.

Inkatha's preferential treatment by the Government, and the lack of practical and legal protection or means of expression afforded to other organisations has created a charged, sensitive and violent climate around Pietermaritzburg. It is unlikely to be ameliorated only by goodwill and good faith between mediating parties. Structural changes are necessary. What those need to be will only be revealed by a concerted move away from the characterisation of the conflict as 'black-on-black' to a recognition of the underlying conflicts and aspirations that such description hides.

The boys on the night watch for trouble

AND they usually attack in the early morning when we start to feel drowsy and sleep. When we have been up and on guard all night, they will burst through the door. These days we are ready. I'm not scared. It is my duty. It is past midnight. The speaker is a Jewish 15-year-old. As he talks, he fingers a rusty bush knife. He chain-smokes and his bloodshot eyes dart constantly around the tiny room.

Should he and his 10 battle-ready colleagues hear the secret alarm call, they will spring into action. A single candle in the dining room will be snuffed. In the instant they will be outside and ready to meet the "enemy".

These are a new breed of soldier-children. They are members of "defence units" born of a necessity to survive as the township war in Pietermaritzburg continues.

Scores of these cell-like bands have sprung up in recent weeks. Their locations remain closely guarded secrets.

The Sunday Tribune visited one such group this week. The venue, reached under the cover of dark, was undisclosed.

The group sat in a small stuffy room. A battered cassette recorder played muted jazz. A faint smell of dagga and paraffin hung in the air.

At the feet of each boy was a weapon. Most were homemade knives, clubs and spears. One had a firearm he would not allow anyone to touch.

They meet at dusk and stay awake until sunrise every day. Should one of the 50 or so houses under their "jurisdiction" sound the alarm the group would react instantly.

"I do this so my parents and other brothers who have work do not have to stay up all night. We stay awake by listening to music and talking. No, we are not scared - we are ready," said one.

"My home was burnt down," he said another. "They were looking for me. I am now in hiding. My parents have money elsewhere, they do not like what I am doing but they know I must."

At intervals one would get up and make tea or coffee on a primus stove. Occasionally, locals stopped in with a word of encouragement.

"No, it is not safe," a third teenager said. "It is just safer than two weeks ago. I am tired all the time..."

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A TWO-PRONGED peace initiative is under way to end Pietermaritzburg's township war which has claimed more than 70 lives in Pietermaritzburg in the past six weeks.

Late this week the city's Chamber of Commerce met members of Inkatha and later the Congress of South African Trade Unions/United Democratic Front grouping in an attempt to get the two sides to nominate representatives for mediation talks.

On a wider scale, three major churches are supporting efforts by the Rev Athol Jennings, director of the Vuleka Trust, to bring about a "peace summit" between the two groups.

"We will not be concentrating solely on the violence in Pietermaritzburg but in Natal as a whole," said Mr Jennings, whose secret meeting with the two groups is scheduled for Wednesday.

A peace service, to be led by the Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu and arranged for 2pm today at the Edendale Lay Ecumenical Centre, has run into problems.

According to reports the regional chairman of Inkatha, Velaoshi Ndlovu, said it would be better if Archbishop Tutu stayed away because of his "calls for sanctions". Mr Ndlovu also claimed that Inkatha had not received a formal invitation.

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Reports by
JEREMY MAGGS
Features
JOHN WOODROOF

political interests" of Inkatha and Cosatu/UDF to end the fighting.

They said both had "hidden agendas" which made a peace settlement in the area "vital to their future credibility".

The Natal Indaba is seen by many white people as a viable political alternative, "a source of leadership role. However, it is unable to find a workable solution in its own backyard, its effectiveness in the Indaba process might also be questioned."

Cosatu is engaged in a major membership drive in the area, and its inability to find a solution to the conflict might affect this, another source said.

According to Paul van Uytrecht, manager of Pietermaritzburg Chamber of Commerce, the chamber would like to see two representatives nominated by each side thrash out, with the help of a "process specialist or technocrat," a solution "which would at least bring about an end to the