

President Reagan signs report on global strategy

# Apartheid seen as US security threat

*Daily News, JAN 22, 1988*

**A** PARTHEID is a threat to United States national security interests in Africa, the US Government has claimed in a new report. The report, signed by President Reagan, outlines America's national security strategy for protecting US interests and advancing US security objectives around the world.

In the section dealing with strategy for Africa, the report says that domestic and external pressures on the continent pose threats to US interests in African security.

It charges the Soviet Union with viewing Southern Africa as an opportune area for its expansionist policies and accuses Moacow of sustaining a costly civil war in Angola which has shattered the country's economy and seriously degraded the quality of life for innocent civilians.

"Apartheid will not only continue to breed conflict within South Africa but is the primary cause of instability in all of Southern Africa," the report says. Economic concerns are closely inter-related with political stability in Africa — perhaps as in no other region of the world, it says.

"The US assistance programme in South Africa for victims of apartheid, enacted into law by Congress, helps prepare

**Neil Lurssen**  
**Foreign Service**  
WASHINGTON

disenfranchised citizens for participation in constitutional democracy and a free enterprise economy in post-apartheid South Africa.

"Our new programme for regional trade and transport development in Southern African states furthers our mutual political interests and enables these countries to develop alternatives to total dependence on South Africa," the report says.

The study says that low intensity conflicts around the world continue to pose a variety of threats to important US objectives. These conflicts are typically political-military confrontations below the level of conventional war but frequently involving protracted struggles of competing principles and ideologies and ranging from subversion to the direct use of military force, it says.

They have both regional and global implications for America's national security interests. "In mineral-rich Southern Africa, insurgencies, economic instability and apartheid, as well as ethnic tribal conflicts, pose potential threats to the extraction of essential raw materials and their export to industries in the West and Japan.

"The conflicts, endemic to the region, are exacerbated by the activity of the Soviet Union and its surrogates," the report notes.

In another section examining principal threats to US global interests, the report claims that regional tensions and conflicts — such as those on the Korean peninsula, in Indochina, in Southern Africa and between Israel and its Arab neighbours — threaten both international peace and the internal stability of friendly states.

"The spread of nuclear weapons to additional nations threatens to exacerbate regional conflicts and could conceivably involve the US and the Soviet Union in nuclear conflicts.

"This proliferation could ultimately make nuclear deterrence less stable.

"At this time, the most difficult nuclear rivalry involves India and Pakistan, but other areas of the world, including the Middle East, Africa and Latin America, could be subject to similar dangers in the future," the report says.

In a preface, President Reagan promises strong support for anti-Leninist movements in regions like Afghanistan and Angola but says the reluctance of the Congress to provide financial resources necessary to support US national security strategy is a cause for concern.



# Jeffy has been pounding the streets looking for a job for three years

By Winnie Graham

Mr Jeffy Mabizela has been looking for a job for three years.

The 35-year-old father of six, employed as a steak griller for 14 years, lost his job at a Robertsham, Johannesburg, restaurant when the Greek owners emigrated in 1985. Since then he has tried, in vain, to find work.

He has walked the streets of central Johannesburg asking for a job. He has tried his luck in the suburbs. He has waited, hoping, outside shops and restaurants for hours — only to make his way home without an answer.

Mr Mabizela is convinced that employers are afraid to employ an unknown Soweto man — and he did not get a reference when he lost his job at the steakhouse.

If jobs become available, he says, they are given to friends of existing staff members, people the restaurant owners believe they can trust.

Mr Mabizela is an "outsider", someone without the right friends or contacts. His chances of finding work are low, but he keeps trying.

He lives in a "back room" in Soweto. His wife and children have returned to kwaZulu to wait, hopefully, for their breadwinner to summon them back — or at least to send money for food and clothes.

After three years, they are still waiting. Mr Mabizela hasn't found a job. And if his wife and children are hungry, so is he.

"After I lost my job, I made a little money selling flowers outside a shopping centre, but since Christmas, things have been tough," he says.

"I have to find a proper job this year. I will do anything to earn a living. I cannot keep asking friends to help me with loans and food."

Mr Mabizela's story is typical of the hardships still being endured by jobless workers in the urban areas. The gradual recovery of the economy, says economists, has done little to improve unemployment levels.

Sanlam's December economic review shows that more than 1.2 million blacks, or 18.5 percent of the economically active black population, are without work or not fully employed.

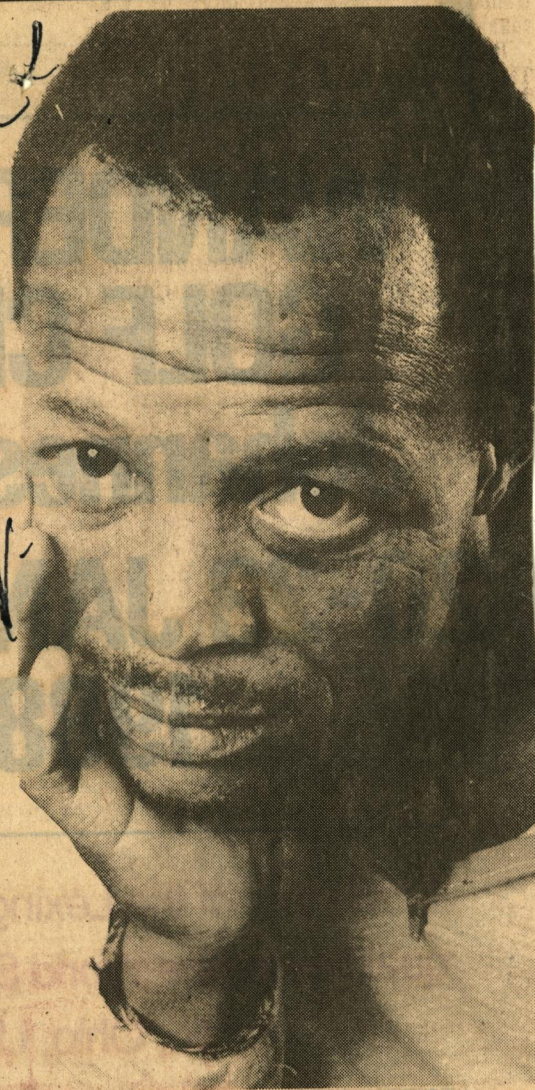
The review says it is a matter of further concern that 60 percent of unemployed blacks are under 30, and that 65 percent have either had no schooling or only primary schooling.

Central Statistical Services said recently that almost 250 000 jobs were lost in the four major work areas in the past three years.

It put the number of unemployed and under-employed workers at more than 2 million.

In three years 35 700 whites, 23 600 coloureds, 2 200 Indians and 168 500 blacks lost their jobs. In the same period 600 000 new black work-seekers came on the market but economists say, only a few were able to find full-time jobs.

Little wonder that Jeffy Mabizela must keep walking and looking.



Jeffy Mabizela, father of six, has tried in vain to find work.



# Break-up averted as Ccawusa factions settle differences

THE STAR JAN 22 1988

30 A seven-month rift in the fourth biggest affiliate of the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa), has been healed after a dispute which threatened to plunge industrial relations in the commercial and catering sectors into large-scale turmoil. The settlement will be welcomed by many in the labour relations field, including employers who were on the verge of being caught up in the conflict. The Star's Labour Reporter MIKE SILUMA examines the situation.

The resolution of the seven-month dispute in the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa) has averted a possible break-up of South Africa's biggest catering and commercial union, which threatened to seriously affect industrial relations.

The dispute was resolved in an out-of-court settlement preceded by lengthy negotiations between the two parties.

Prior to the settlement, Ccawusa general secretary Mr Vivian Mtwa had asked the court to, among other things, restrain leaders of the opposing faction led by vice-president Mr Herbert Mkhize from making statements on Ccawusa's behalf and holding themselves out as Ccawusa office-bearers.

The Mkhize group had made a counter-application seeking that the court declares Mr Mkhize vice-president, and orders Mr Mtwa to convene a national conference in terms of the union's 1981 constitution. This would render everything done in terms of the 1986 constitution — which had not been registered by the Industrial Registrar — null and void.

The parties have agreed that last year's merger between a section of Ccawusa and two other unions does not, *de jure*, exist and

that fresh elections be held for all branches by February 28, leading up to a national congress by May 15 1988.

All suspensions, expulsions and dismissals which had taken place in the different branches have been nullified.

All duties of the union's secretariat will be carried out by national office bearers Mr Hebert Mkhize, Ms Dinah Nhlapo and Mr Vivian Mtwa.

The 56 000-member Ccawusa, formed in 1975, is one of the most effective unions for mainly black workers to emerge since 1979, notably in the fight for maternity rights for working mothers.

Its members have been involved in some of the most dramatic strikes in South African labour history, including the Pick 'n Pay strike two years ago and the OK strike — the longest to affect the retail industry. Most workers in major retailers such as Checkers and the Trador group are organised by the union.

Over the past year the union scored significant victories in advancing the struggle for a "living wage", in some cases notching increases of up to R200 on minimum wages in the lowest paid categories. June 16 and May 1 are recognised as holidays in about

80 percent of the companies where the union negotiates.

This week's settlement came at a time when the conflict in Ccawusa was threatening the normal operations of the union, and when the union has just entered its negotiation season for 1988.

With each of the opposing groups in the union claiming to be the real Ccawusa, a number of employers declined to remit members' subscriptions while the dispute continued. The former element probably led to the inclusion in the settlement of an undertaking by each side that neither shall try to persuade employers not to remit members' subscriptions to Ccawusa or its branches.

Central to the conflict are two ideological positions — one in favour of co-operation with groups such as the United Democratic Front in the struggle for a more just society, the other stressing worker independence.

While the settlement may have, constitutionally, effectively restored the situation to what it was before the June 28 meeting, the difference in political emphasis has, by no means, disappeared and can be expected to continue to influence future developments within the union.



*Daily News 22/1/88*

## The Indaba: On course

THE survey showing growing support for the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba among rank-and-file Nationalists has predictably been discounted by the local NP leaders for various reasons, including the fact that the poll was commissioned by the Indaba itself. However, making allowances for such objections, it is still clear from the findings that the Indaba exercise is a most valuable one and that

more people *do* have a better understanding of what it is and what it hopes to achieve.

If nothing else, the Indaba effort is testing and promoting the power-sharing option (which the Government endorses in principle). It is important to debate the consequences of power-sharing down to its finest details. The Indaba may not be the final, definitive answer, but it is showing the way.



SUNDAY TRIBUNE 31/01/88

## Why the need for weapons at the Inkatha Peace Rally?



Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi

CHIEF Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's concern (Sunday Tribune, January 17) that some individuals and organisations are "committed to quashing Inkatha" is understandable.

I should like to point out, however, that the article he refers to in *Inqaba Ya Basebenzi* has been publicly repudiated (in a full-page newspaper adverts) by the United Democratic Front and

Cosatu, and that the Marxist Workers' Tendency is no longer "of the African National Congress". It was expelled from that organisation.

Why, given the Chief Minister's commendable calls to his supporters to eschew violence, were individuals at the Inkatha Peace Rally held at Taylor's Halt on December 16 seen to be brandishing weapons?

Durban

Curious

DAILY NEWS 22/01/88

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**T**HINGS are looking rather bleak for black newspapers in 1988. The best known editor, Percy Qoboza of CITY PRESS, died on his 50th birthday.

The editor of NEW NATION, Zwelakhe Sisulu, is still languishing in detention under the emergency regulations after more than 400 days.

NEW NATION is labouring under the threat of closure in terms of the stringent restrictions on the media.

The SOWETAN has also received a warning from Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha.

"I think it's going to be the gloomiest year for a free flow of information," says Mr Gabu Tugwana, acting editor of NEW NATION.

But the Catholic-funded NEW NATION is not taking things lying down. It is seeking a court order to interdict the Home Affairs Minister and the State President from suspending the newspaper in terms of the emergency regulations.

The case has been set down for hearing in the Supreme Court, Johannesburg, on Tuesday.

Black newspapers fear that Government action against them could close off one of the few remaining "pressure valves" for blacks and lead to more frustration and violence in the townships.

They suggest that the Government should be using the newspapers as a barometer of its reform process. If the Government doesn't know what is wrong, it won't know what to reform.

An editorial in NEW NATION says that the detention of the editor, Mr Sisulu, and other actions against the media in this country were the subject of debate at a conference on Culture for Another South Africa in Amsterdam last month.

The delegates, including almost 300 South Africans, passed a resolution to "internationalise the campaign to defend the progressive press in South Africa". They will also ask the governments of other countries to review the position of South African press attaches in their countries.

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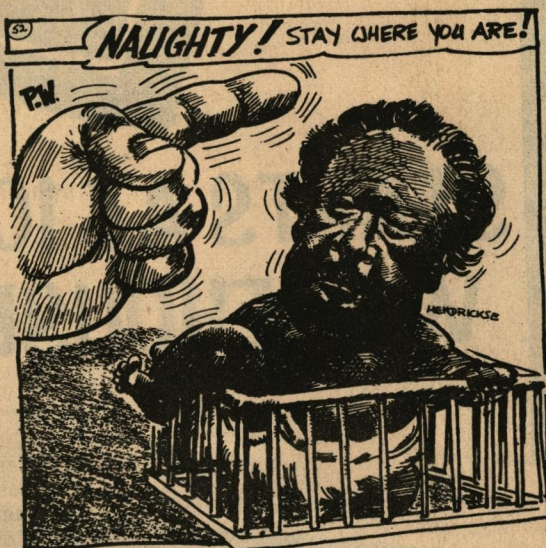
Under a banner headline, CITY PRESS reports that the outlawed ANC "has come out boldly in support of open, face-to-face talks with the South African Government".

## BLACK PRESS

Terry McElligott



# Editor's death makes it a bleak start to the new year



**SOWETAN cartoon on the ongoing clash between the State President and Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse.**

The report mentions certain qualifications, however.

The move followed a meeting of the ANC's national executive in Lusaka.

It also followed on the ANC's national convention in Tanzania last month when the organisation reviewed its strategies on the South African situation.

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The SOWETAN published a harrowing picture of a sickly pensioner, Mrs Dorah Moloto, who was among six families evicted from their homes in Soweto for rent arrears.

The incident had a heart-warming sequel. A reader was so touched by the picture that he pledged to pay the R700 owed by Mrs Moloto to the Soweto Council so that she could occupy her house again.

The offer was made by a security guard, Mr Syborn Baloyi, for whom R700 must be an enormous amount.

Perhaps it was the picture which also led the Mayor of Soweto, Mr Nelson Botile, to announce later that the evictions were a "mistake" and that the families could return to their homes.

As they say, a picture is worth a thousand words!



# *THE STAR* kwaNdebele police accused of 22/11/88 torturing and beating residents

By Joseph Mothibi, Pretoria Bureau

Tortures, beatings and mass detentions feature in a growing dossier on human rights abuses allegedly perpetrated by the kwaNdebele police against the homeland's residents.

In affidavits made available to The Star, residents talk about torture, beatings and scores of people being detained — some as young as six years old.

A spokesman for the kwaNdebele police said: "There might be cases where police have gone a bit overboard, but in general there is no torture here. People will always make allegations; it is up to the courts to decide whether or not they are true."

He added: "I can categorically state there is no unrest in kwaNdebele."

The latest in a series of alleged abuses were detailed in affidavits presented during an urgent application in the Pretoria Supreme Court this week in which the homeland police were ordered to stop assaulting two detainees.

Mr Frans Phatlane (33), a Detainees' Parents Support Committee worker, spoke of being tortured at various police stations in the homeland in October last year. He described having had wires attached to his hand and genitals, and being given electric shocks for about 10 minutes until the "pain was virtually unbearable".

He was also kicked in the left ear, and has been partially deaf ever since, according to the affidavit.

The second detainee, Mr Johannes Makitla (55), alleges that he was beaten, kicked and gagged in November 1987 while being interrogated about the death of a kwaNdebele policeman.

At one point the affidavit reads: "(One policeman) stood on one side of me and (another policeman) stood on the other side. One of them hit

me with his fist on the right eye and the other hit me with his fist on the left side. (The two) then hit me with their fists many times.

"(The first policeman) then took a piece of car tube and covered my nose and mouth. He tied the tube tightly behind my head.

"(They) commenced questioning me again as to the whereabouts of the rifles and where (a kwaNdebele man) was. I was confused and struggling to breathe."

He was pushed under a counter in the charge office at Siyabuswa and told to sleep there. He lay down as he was in "considerable pain".

"As I lay there I was kicked repeatedly in an off-handed way by black policemen as they went past the counter. On the request of one of the black policemen, the assault stopped," his affidavit said.

Statistics of recent violence in kwaNdebele are unavailable, but affidavits gathered by the Legal Resources Centre in Pretoria, in preparing a report on alleged homeland civil rights abuses for an American lawyers' organisation, tell of huge police detentions in which whole villages were cordoned off and 160 people between the ages of six and 60 were detained in 1986.

Other affidavits gathered by the Legal Resources Centre include:

- One dealing with an incident in June last year which tells how "Mbokotho (vigilantes) in green uniforms took 'Peter' and tied his hands together and tied him to a safari van. They wanted to drive and drag him behind, but then I heard someone stop this. He was beaten while he was tied up."

- An affidavit telling how two 15-year-old boys were beaten by about 10 "kitskonstabels" and policemen in front of their house for almost an hour in June last year.



TIMES 22/1/88

# Sanctions' black victims

A funny thing happened in the US Congress last month. A number of senators, desperate to secure agreement on the budget reconciliation bill, agreed almost in a fit of absent-mindedness to the most Draconian sanction yet imposed on South Africa.

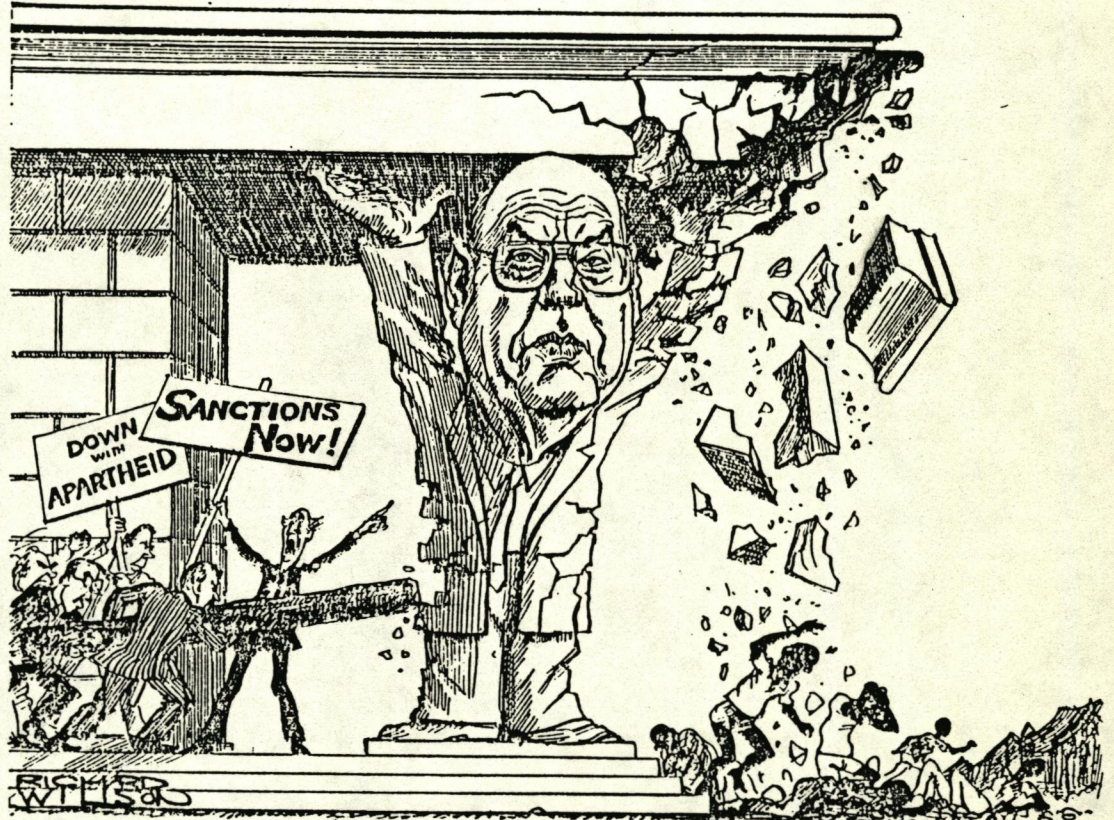
In contrast to the rhetoric-wrapped passage of last year's Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act, a clause, inserted by Congressman Charles Rangel and imposing double taxation on the 100 or so US companies still operating in South Africa, passed almost silently into law. The companies were already harried by boycott and divestment pressures in the US. Now, unwilling to carry the additional \$57 million tax burden, they will scurry for the exit, and South Africa's insulation from American influence will be complete.

The Rangel amendment appeared to elicit something less than a shrug from an administration which in 1986 had used the presidential veto to express its eventually futile opposition to sanctions. It gives weight to the bleak view that in the United States at least, sanctions are no longer a great moral question but simply a bad habit to be indulged whenever self-interest can be served by "punishing" Pretoria.

It is a view borne out by the latest and most comprehensive study of the issue, *Sanctions and South Africa*, the *Dynamics of Isolation*, by Merle Lipton, published this week by the Economist Intelligence Unit (£125). Lipton is best known for her book *Capitalism and Apartheid* in which she demolished the argument favoured by the left that capitalism is the handmaiden of apartheid rather than the instrument of its eventual destruction. Her latest study, conducted with the same relentless and clinical detachment, exposes the tawdry hypocrisy and muddled thinking of sanctions devotees who have largely ignored the central question: the impact of sanctions on South Africa.

The reason for this lacuna — one which Mrs Lipton does her scholarly best to fill — is simple and unpleasant: sanctioners tend to be less motivated by a genuine and altruistic desire for the destruction of apartheid than they are by domestic political and economic gain. In one of the few biting comments in a work which otherwise allows the facts to speak for themselves, she observes that "no one wants to bear the costs (of sanctions) unless one is prepared to reap the gains".

It is indeed instructive to compare a list of the most diligent and vocal sanctioners with those who stand to benefit most from South Africa's economic exemption. A few of the latter are listed in a table which Mrs Lipton has appended to the



United Nations to take action on "this great moral issue of our time", also benefited hugely when the US transferred its South Africa sugar quota to the Philippines; that Australia and Canada, which have led the Commonwealth sanctions campaign, stand to gain most from South Africa's exclusion from international minerals markets, or that American unions campaigned vigorously for the inclusion of iron, steel, coal and textiles on the US sanctions list but refused to support the inclusion of uranium — imported for reprocessing for third countries — because of the substantial number of jobs that might be lost?

Not all gains are economic. The need to send a message to Africa and other Third World countries is felt most keenly by those countries — pre-eminently the United States and Australia — burdened by their own as yet unresolved racist history. For the US, sanctions also serve as a symbolic substitute for a coherent African policy. In a complex, confusing and often contradictory web of motives, the thread of self-interest is the most consistent. Nevertheless, as the sanctioners — governments, local authorities, universities, churchmen and non-governmental organisations — persist in claiming altruistic motives, it is necessary to point out that their actions are and will continue to have perverse and unintended consequences, both economic and political.

These consequences, many of which have strengthened the white

establishment in South Africa and weakened the black opposition, are too many to be cited here, but a random sample should suffice. The early United Nations arms embargo turned South Africa into a major arms exporting country. The latest sanctions spasm drove up the price of platinum, one of South Africa's key exports, from \$250 to \$600 an ounce in a year. External threat put an end to the reforms which internal pressures had achieved and caused a major shift to the right in last year's general election.

By far the most perverse effect, however, has been achieved by American disinvestment. In the last two years some 170 companies have been compelled by US state and city purchasing bans and general divestment pressure to sell up. Some have simply closed their doors and walked away, putting their black employees out of work. Most have sold out at bargain basement prices to large South African companies or local management, thus creating about 100 new instant South African millionaires — all of them white. It is no coincidence that, freed from the need to please American legislators, many of their South African successors have laid off staff or cut the cost of services to the South African government, which has been forced to cut the cost of integration. An American-owned company, and one of the few foreign-owned companies, has been one of the few to cut its black employees of former American companies are not to

only victims of sanctions. By banning such labour-intensive imports as coal, iron, textiles and agricultural products, American legislators uncannily selected those which would inflict the most damage on the most black South Africans. It is not surprising that some black trade unions, like some front-line states, are beginning to show a marked ambivalence on the issue.

That ambivalence, however, is not shared by Congressman Rangel, whose amendment will create more white millionaires, throw more blacks out of work and, on the principle that the best way to convert a pagan country is to withdraw all the missionaries, reduce American influence in South Africa to zero. On the basis that the end — a transfer of power — justifies the means, dedicated sanctioners are willing to overlook the suffering they cause.

But even comprehensive sanctions, as Mrs Lipton points out, are unlikely to unseat the government although they could fuel violence throughout the region. "It is no small thing," observed Professor Peter Berger, an American sociologist, in a recent lecture, "to take actions that may cost human beings their lives and their property, and to do so without any belief in the possibility of a better world." The only way to make such a statement is to believe in a better world, and now given as an assumption.



A WEeping Mpumuza woman recently came to the *Natal Witness* offices in Pietermaritzburg and asked to telephone Inkatha president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The woman, an Inkatha card-carrying member, said she could no longer bear the harassment she was subjected to by armed men calling themselves Inkatha members who came to her home at night and ordered her to release her sons to join their "army".

Life has never been the same since forced recruitment drove the Pietermaritzburg community into an undeclared war with itself.

Pietermaritzburg has since become an island. No outsiders, except a few brave journalists, penetrate the war zone. There has been no entertainment since November: weddings, soccer matches and parties have been replaced by funerals.

There have been so many deaths that most people have lost their sense of weeping.

The first casualty of the holocaust, which is centred mainly on greater Edendale, was the family institution.

Parents have lost control over their children as they no longer live with them. Most children fled their homes as they became targets of attacks. Armed men bang on doors at night and order parents to release their children for night marches or defence units to ward off attackers.

"What should we do?" asked an Edendale widow.

"When the child refuses to go because he is scared, they assume he belongs to a rival organisation and he is taken away from his parents and hacked to death.

"But our children have already fled; we do not know where they are.

"What you tell the attackers that, they say you are hiding them and assault you or even burn the house and kill everyone.

Children as young as three are already feeling the stress of the ongoing violence. As the woman who came to the *Natal Witness* offices said: "This is unbearable. I cannot remember when last I had a good night's sleep. My three-year-old son, Siyanda, wakes up in the middle of the night screaming and asks me, 'Mama, where is Inkatha.'"

"What is going to become of my child?"

The unrest has forced many parents to disown and evict their own children. There are families where the parents are Inkatha members and the sons belong to the UDF. Rather than have their homes burnt down by either the father's or son's comrades, the son is thrown out.

Some family heads have been killed because they failed to convince their children to join a certain organisation.

Fearless children have taken to the streets and are out to fight. Gone are

# There have been so many deaths that most people have lost their sense of weeping

Armed men bang on doors at night and order parents to release their children for defence units to ward off attackers. No child dare refuse. LAKELA KAUNDA reports from Pietermaritzburg

the days when one used to enjoy looking at youths doing the *toyitoyi* in the streets.

Now, one disappears as soon as one hears the chants.

"Nothing is as frightening as hearing chants and singing in the background and you find there is no bus or kombi to whisk you away home soon.

"You never know what might happen. They might even mistake you for a *theleweni* (as Inkatha members are now called) and either molest you or force you to 'model'," a local social worker said.

"Modelling" is a new system used by the youths to combat crime. A person strips naked and, accompanied around the township by the youths, is made to shout his or her crime out to everyone they come across.

Some have said this method is less gruesome than the "necklace", though more humiliating. It has been welcomed by some, in preference to the "necklace", and condemned by others who say the *amaqabane* do not give the victim a hearing before the sentence is passed.

The "modelling" sentence is handed out to criminals, prostitutes and rude drunkards.

Smoking in buses and kombis has also been banned in Pietermaritzburg. A person guilty of that offence has to "model" between the passenger seats, to the horror of blushing fellow passengers.

'Modelling: A new system used by youths to combat crime. The accused is stripped naked and led through the streets, shouting out his crime to all who pass'

The unrest has also affected the way people dress and talk. Khaki clothing is a no-no — it identifies one with Inkatha. Yellow T-shirts are easily associated with the UDF and the wearer becomes a target of rival groups.

A man carrying a *knobkierrie* or *sjambok* is believed to be an Inkatha member, while balaclava-type woolen hats are identified with the UDF youth.

Black, yellow and gold is acceptable in both camps. You have to be with people who know your stand, otherwise Inkatha members might think you are wearing ANC colours or UDF members might accuse you of being an Inkatha member.

Speak deep Zulu and you are the biggest *theleweni*. Comrades are said to speak *tsotsi taal*, a mixture of Zulu, English, Afrikaans and some words of unknown origin.

"Eita", which used to be an ordinary *tsotsi* greeting, is now associated with *amaqabane*. One has to be careful about whom one is greeting, otherwise one ends up in Edendale Hospital or the morgue.

Pietermaritzburg people have become experts at such things.

Many families have fled to more peaceful areas to live with friends and relatives.

Those in safe areas do not want to move. About 100 flood victims, who have been housed in Edendale's Poyinadi community hall since the September floods, refuse to move and

build new homes on sites the government has given them.

"What is the use of building a house today and have it burnt down tomorrow? We'd rather squat here until the killings stop," one of them said.

Most claim to be non-affiliated, but they know how many innocent "fence-sitters" have been killed.

Graffiti on township walls show which cock rules that particular roost. Signs such as "Welcome to Angola/Tanzania/Lusaka/Zambia/Ulundi" are to be seen on the walls.

Will the children ever be rehabilitated from the trauma of the violence? Some have problems re-adjusting already and do not want to return to school.

Nkosinathi, a member of the black consciousness Azanian Students Movement (Azasm), summed up the feeling of most youths: "I do not see myself going back to school anymore.

"Firstly, I am 20 and too old to return to standard eight. Also, I do not think I can stomach to sit in front of a teacher for her to tell me that history began in 1652 with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck.

"Besides, what is the use of an education when I cannot get the job I want and cannot live where I want to. I will not enjoy the fruits of it anyway."

And what does he think the future holds for him? "It is easy. We will join the Azanian defence force after liberation. One does not need to write any aptitude test to become a soldier.

"I will have served my apprenticeship in the struggle anyway," he said.

Nkosinathi is one of many Azasm members who fled Imbali, an Inkatha stronghold, and went to live in Sobantu, a UDF stronghold. There have been constant clashes between the UDF-linked Sobantu Youth Congress (Soyo) and Azasm and many lives have been lost, though this has received little publicity in the press.

This has prompted their parents to convene a meeting next Tuesday to attempt to resolve the conflict.

Some youths are keen to return to normal life.

Those at Siyanda Secondary School in Mpumuza, near Sweetwaters, are a good example. After hearing rumours that their school may not re-open next week, the pupils quickly convened a meeting and convinced their parents that they were prepared to return to school.

The following day they cleaned the lawn and fixed the broken windows, but not before renaming the school "Tanzania High".

They have since been informed by the school inspector that the school is definitely open.

At least not everything that happens in our Pietermaritzburg is negative these days.



I would have appealed to Percy Qoboza's sense of humour to hear the unstinting praise being heaped on him since his death, on his 50th birthday, last Sunday.

As editor of South Africa's biggest black newspaper — to say nothing of his difficult personality — Percy was a contentious figure, and inevitably his actions and decisions could not please all of the people all of the time.

Many who are praising him in death were somewhat less complimentary in life.

If he could have been around, he'd have enjoyed seeing long-time political foes — some who had threatened to kill him — offering obeisance to his memory.

His high-pitched giggle would have startled the sombre mourners gathered to bid him farewell.

A staunch Catholic, Percy always believed he would be able to watch the reaction to his passing. He was less sure of where he would be watching from.

He was born in Sophiatown in 1938. His family was removed to Soweto after the destruction of Sophiatown in the 50s. He studied theology in Lesotho for a brief period, but returned to Jo'burg to become a cadet reporter on *The World* in 1963.

Five years later he was appointed news editor, rising to editor in 1974. In 1975, he was awarded the Nieman Foundation Fellowship to study political science and sociology at Harvard University.

He was arrested in 1977 and detained for almost six months without trial when *The World* and *Weekend World* were banned. He later edited *Post* and *Sunday Post*. In 1980 he was invited to become guest editor of the *Washington Star*.

His many awards included honorary doctorates from Tufts University and Amherst College, the Golden Press Freedom Award from the International Publishers Association, and the Pringle Award from the Southern African Society of Journalists.

Percy, my one-time boss while editor of *Sunday Post* and later *City Press*, was never a hypocrite and revelled in mocking hypocrisy in others.

When he made the compromises forced upon him as editor of an outspokenly anti-apartheid newspaper owned by a pro-government media group, he knew what he was doing. He never pretended otherwise.

His last years were not easy ones. Trapped between *Nasionale Pers* — which bought *City Press* three years ago as a vehicle to drive PW Botha's "reform" programme home in the townships — and a readership taking to the streets to oppose those "reforms", Percy walked a tightrope.

Physically, it drained him. His ulcer, fed by his unrepentant fondness for luke-warm Beefeater and tonic, plagued him continually.

But, like many of his journalistic generation, he never stopped to contemplate how his lifestyle was ravaging his body.

His drawers were filled with un-

opened ulcer tablets prescribed by doctors — he preferred to consume endless quantities of bicarb dissolved in warm water.

Whenever he called Manana Ndudula, his secretary, into his office, she made an automatic detour for a glass of warm water. She also kept a spare box of bicarb in her drawer.

I don't like editors as a breed, and Percy was no angel. I'm still not sure what I thought of him as a person — at times he was lavishly warm-hearted — but there is no question that he was the best editor I ever worked under.

That's true for dozens of South African reporters because PQ's contribution to South African journalism, and to his country, cannot easily be matched.

He was editor of the three most dynamic newspapers of their time. *World* and *Weekend World* were banned by Jimmy Kruger in October 1977 when Percy refused to soften the paper's coverage of the student uprising. This was despite daily calls from the justice minister.

Percy's second paper, *Sunday Post*, was the first in almost two decades to recognise the increasingly central role of the outlawed African National Congress in opposition politics. It was also first to campaign for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Largely as a result of this, the state effectively killed it off.

Then, after four years in the jour-

**MONO BADELA**  
remembers the years he spent working for Percy Qoboza, the country's best-known black editor, who died at the weekend

nalist wilderness, Percy took on *City Press*. Something of that paper's impact can be judged by the fact that, at the height of unrest in 1985, young comrades risked their lives to rescue copies of *City Press* from a blazing newspaper delivery van. The youths set the van ablaze themselves — thinking it was carrying copies of other newspapers.

Such devotion was also reflected in the hundreds of letters that flowed in to *City Press*, the vast majority of them indicating a deep trust in the newspaper.

Part of Percy's greatness as an editor lay in his giving to those with ability the freedom of the paper's columns. Young journalists grew fast under PQ. They were given responsibility their contemporaries on other papers could only dream of.

But the years, and the pressure of life under National Party management took their toll. By day, *Nasionale Pers* steadily forced Percy to weaken the paper's stance. By night, at the height of unrest, residents in Soweto begged him to be their street committee chairman.

On sensitive political issues Percy would at times ask me for an opinion. One morning he quietly called me to his office. Should he accept the chairmanship of the street committee? I told him he would lose nothing by being with his people. He may lose his job one day, I said, but he would never lose the faith and trust of his people.

I told him perhaps they needed his rich experience, and that the community knew very well he had been a foundation member of the Soweto Committee of Ten. We lived in different areas, so I cannot vouch that he chaired any meetings.

At *City Press*, Percy would escape the tensions of life by going to the blistering heat of a caravan used by the newspaper's drivers. There he would lose game after game of draughts, and rand after rand on the horses.

On Saturday mornings he would always be in a desperate hurry to finish the Sunday editorial, so he would have time to ponder his betting slips.

You will notice there aren't many of Percy's quotes in this story. It would be difficult to quote him without offending the censors.

In language, as in almost every other aspect of his life, Percy considered himself a man of the streets. He spoke a particularly foul dialect of *tsotsi-taal* to everyone in the newsroom, often visibly savouring the shock of those who heard it.

It was only in his dress that he

broke with the street-man image he relished. But even then, not completely. Some unconfirmed rumours had it that his perfectly tailored suits and imported shoes were bought "backdoor" from admirers, at a third of the shopfront value.

I started freelancing for *Sunday Post* in late 1979. A couple of months later, he 'phoned me to say: "I've booked you on a plane to Johannesburg ..."

This caused him to rise several notches in my estimation — I'd never flown before, and Percy was responsible for my first flight.

Arriving at *Sunday Post's* Industria offices for an interview, I was somewhat surprised to meet a man with skinny, shining black legs in shorts, a T-shirt and an incomplete set of teeth. However much you might admire Percy, you couldn't deny his basic ugliness.

Consistent with his hatred for formality and organisation, he chatted to me at the gate, then sent me off to be formally interviewed by his deputy, David Allen.

Some years later Percy was to ask me to fly to Cape Town and take his seat for the coronation of Desmond Tutu. Later, he decided at the last minute he could not face George Schultz on an American television programme. He simply said "Mono, don't say no, you'll do it. Go and face the man and say anything you like, but don't joke with him."



FROM time-to-time, one of President Botha's Ministers announces that SA has quit the West and become an African country. Usually, the announcement is made by Pik Botha, who has the flamboyance for the occasion.

It is nonsense, of course. SA has no intention of quitting the West, whatever quitting the West might mean. For better or for worse, the two are locked into each other.

But in a more limited sense, the announcement is not completely illogical. What Pik Botha really means when he says SA is part of Africa is, first, that SA will resolve its own problems without "outside interference," and, second, that it will resolve the regional situation in southern Africa without foreign mediators, peace brokers or conciliators.

It will find an "African solution" which will give it better terms than an externally devised one.

This latter aim is possibly realisable. But it needs to be put into perspective.

There has been some wild speculation lately over what Pretoria might or might not achieve, one example being that it will "play the Soviet card".

I referred to the "Soviet card" in a recent column. Briefly, what it means is that Pretoria, somehow, will sit down with Moscow and come to an agreement over one or other aspect of the southern African conflict. The West will then be left watching from the sidelines.

Is this realistic? The first point to note is that the Soviet Union has a reputation to uphold, particularly in the Third World, as an enemy of apartheid.

It can talk to De Beers behind closed doors about marketing its diamonds, but it cannot sit down with Pik Botha and cosily carve out a southern African peace settlement.

For one thing, it has its support for the ANC and Swapo to consider. It won't just abandon them.

The other point to note is that the Soviet Union does not want to do anything in southern Africa that will bring it into sharp conflict with the West, and particularly with the US.

In fact, the diplomatic approaches it has made in the past year or two for a southern African settlement have been addressed not to Pretoria but to Washington.

The wider consideration of détente with the US is all-important.

A third point is that the Soviet Union has already lost ground in the region. It is on the way out in Mozambique, and it carries little influence in these days of econom-

ic distress in the other Frontline states.

Except for Angola. It is in Angola that the Soviet Union will make its stand if it is not to suffer eventually a humiliating withdrawal from the whole southern African region.

Similarly, the Cubans will resist withdrawal of their troops from Angola, if withdrawal is presented as a retreat or defeat. Cuba, too, has a reputation to uphold.

The lesson, then, seems to be that if there is to be a peace settlement in southern Africa it will have to start in Angola. This is where the "Soviet card" might be played, although not in the form in which it is usually discussed.

The Soviet Union, clearly, is in the mood for a southern African settlement.

It has had enough of supporting

bankrupt clients, who turn out to be unreliable socialists anyway; it knows that even if it provides massive military support for Angola it cannot ensure an MPLA victory over the combined Unita-SADF forces; it certainly does not want to tangle with the SADF on a major scale; and there is no evidence whatever that it is prepared to have a direct confrontation with the West over SA.

In many ways, therefore, the scene is set for a settlement in Angola — except that the key piece is missing.

If South Africa can provide this key piece, the settlement will occur. Even if there are hardline elements in the MPLA government who oppose a settlement, there are

other — apparently more powerful — elements who seek one, and all the indications are that the Soviet Union will throw its weight behind them.

This is one way for Pretoria to play the "Soviet card" — through Angola, not directly with the Soviet Union itself.

The settlement which Pretoria offers Angola will have to be acceptable not only to President Dos Santos and his supporters in the MPLA, but also to Moscow. Without Moscow's concurrence, probably, there will be no settlement.

The advantage such a settlement would have is that the West, including the US, probably would not be antagonistic towards it.

The Americans might be miffed that they have been cut out of the final negotiations, but if the settlement resulted in a Cuban with-

drawal they would still claim it as a major foreign policy success.

This shows the "Soviet card" in a new light: if it is played with the West's approval, not disapproval. Pretoria then will end up with the best of both worlds.

It should be noted here that the settlement terms have changed in one very important respect. Pretoria has de-linked Namibia from a settlement.

There is no guarantee now that if the Cubans withdraw from Angola, Pretoria will automatically accept Security Council Resolution 435 and prepare for United Nations-supervised elections and the installation of a Swapo government.

Pretoria has made it absolutely clear that it will not countenance a Swapo government in Windhoek.

The key to a settlement in Angola is Pretoria's insistence that Unita must be absorbed into a "government of national reconciliation" in Luanda.

22/02/88

As Dr Andre du Pisani, of the SA Institute of International Affairs, sees it, this is Pretoria's non-negotiable condition.

Luanda, one understands, has made direct approaches to Pretoria for talks, and Pretoria, one understands further, has indicated its willingness to talk.

But meanwhile the battle continues over Cuito Cuanavale.

Perhaps Pretoria's objective is not only a military one of preventing a further Angolan army offensive next year, but also a diplomatic one of "softening up" Luanda for the tough conditions it will impose in the peace talks.

There are indications from Luanda that the MPLA might swallow a deal with Unita, but not with Jonas Savimbi himself.

If this is the case, a peace settlement depends on one of two developments: either Pretoria ditches Savimbi or it continues to "soften up" Luanda until it is ready to accept Savimbi in a "government of national reconciliation".

Another of Pretoria's conditions, probably, will be the removal of Swapo and ANC bases from Angola.

The Soviet Union might find it difficult to swallow this condition, because it would virtually put the ANC's armed struggle out of business.

These are still early days, therefore, for Pretoria to play the "Soviet card". But in the limited context in which I have described it, it must be seen as one of the cards on the table.

When it is played will depend on how hard a bargain Pretoria intends to drive.



22 JAN. 1988

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SOWETAN, Friday,

## COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

### Scrap system

**M**R CHRIS Heunis may be worried that the leader of the Labour Party, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse's, antics are delaying important reform measures affecting blacks in particular. But what Mr Hendrickse does or does not do leaves us cold.

Labour Party representatives walked out of Parliament's top-level Constitutional Affairs Committee led by Mr Heunis, leaving the meeting without a quorum.

Should the committee be unable to continue with its proceedings, the Government believes this would stall or delay the granting of freehold rights to blacks.

Mr Heunis' sudden altruism for blacks is charming but does not affect us deeply.

We are cynical about any so-called reform that Mr Heunis' government is painfully trying to effect.

So, whether Mr Hendrickse, who is not our idea of a fighter for black rights, delays the process or not, leaves us unimpressed.

It is a shame that this Government should be thinking seriously of giving blacks a right that is basic in most democratic countries.

The fact that we are the indigenous population in the country, that we are in the majority and that we have worked hard to bring the country to where it is today, makes such eagerness to grant us freehold rights sound sick and phony.

Incidentally, the Labour Party is the creation of Mr Heunis's Government.

The Government is thus hoist with its own petard. We would not be bothered if the same Government threw the said Hendrickse out of Parliament.

In fact we would encourage them to scrap the entire wasteful, farcical tricameral system.



AND Hendrickse wept. He wept because he found out that the game of politics is not as rosy as he thought it was.

He wept because he had been carpeted over for his audacity to take a swim at a beach which is reserved for those with a lighter hue than his.

He had, in fact, been told that he knew the law, had taken oath of office, and if he did not go along with it, he had to quit. It was for that reason that he wept.

And then he found out that he could also play the game according to the rules. The opportunity came when his big boss, one P W Botha, decided that it may perhaps not be appropriate to hold elections in 1989.

Of course, P W had done his homework, and knew that the Hendrickse lot and the Rajbansi lot quite frankly could do without having to have an election again, and having to face boycotts and political opposition from those who oppose the tricameral system.

### Sympathy

And then Hendrickse had this brilliant idea. His support must be forthcoming if the elections have to be postponed. All he requires now is for him to say no, and then elections must be held — a prospect that even P W does not fancy.

But what had happened was that Hendrickse believed that he would get enough sympathy for the treatment he received from P W over the swimming incident. He probably reckons that now is the time for him to go to the polls, and get re-elected.

But then some people are not so sure that

# It's enough SOWETAN to make 22 JAN. 1988 Hendrickse weep



**JOE'S  
BURG**

holding elections now is such a good idea. I mean, what with the possibility of losing in the election, and thereby losing a well-paying job with fringe benefits that they never dreamt of.

And there is also the little matter of a pension, which they would qualify for if the election is postponed. Now that is not an easy choice, you'll agree.

So that is where the problem starts for Hendrickse. You see, principles can only be entertained by people who can afford them, and at this very moment,

it seems very few people can afford principles.

It was therefore not surprising that some people believed that perhaps the matter of getting tough with P W need not jeopardise people's jobs and well-being. And so it came to pass that a resolution was tabled which suggested going easy on P W and perhaps agreeing to the elections being postponed.

The Nats were surely surprised that they have such a great ally, and decided that he was a nice guy and needed their full support. But Hendrickse thought otherwise.

### Difficult

And so began a saga which would lead to Hendrickse weeping again. The point is that all the while, Hendrickse thought that he employed his Cabinet Ministers. He calls these people "my Cabinet", and he duly expected them to be loyal to him.

Having been the person to appoint people to the Cabinet, he overlooked the little point that, in the end, the Big Bwana finally had to put his stamp of approval on the appointments.

In other words, if he did not like somebody, he could, technically, tell Hendrickse he would not approve his appointment.

But Hendrickse, thinking that he was the boss, decided to sack the man, and duly asked him to quit his lucrative post.

Our man Flint decided Hendrickse could go to hell, he was not going to quit. And, in any event, he was appointed by the Big Bwana, who is the sole judge of whether he should stay or not.

And the Big Bwana will find that our Man Flint was on his side, so it would be very difficult indeed for him to fire our Man Flint.

And so when Hendrickse decides to seek endorsement of his action against our man, he finds that Big Bwana casts doubt on whether the leader of the Labour Party has enough support. And so our Man Flint still enjoys his good day. He lives on.

The moral of the story is that Hendrickse wept again, and cried foul. But rules is rules, as someone once said. And that cannot be changed to support a person with whom you don't agree.

Not only that. The point is that Hendrickse and his lot are beginning to read the small print, and finding out what we have been telling them all along.

The "own affairs", over which they think they have full control, has turned out to be nothing of the sort.

They cannot run their own affairs at all, as they still require Big Bwana to give the final stamp of approval. You know, the kind of "you guys can do as you please, but you must get my approval" type of situation.

### Suffered

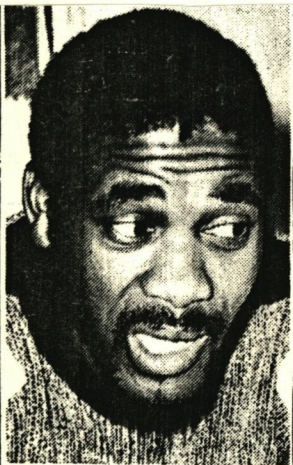
ON a more serious note. There will be many a tale of the exploits of Percy Qoboza, the late editor of *City Press* and former editor of *The World* and *Weekend World*. His death at the weekend came as a shock to all of us who knew him.

I worked with Percy for 15 years, and it was a period of learning. Learning about life, learning about people. There is no doubt that Percy had a unique style, and when he took over the editorship of *The World*, a new era in black journalism began. You could love him, or hate him, but you certainly could not ignore him.

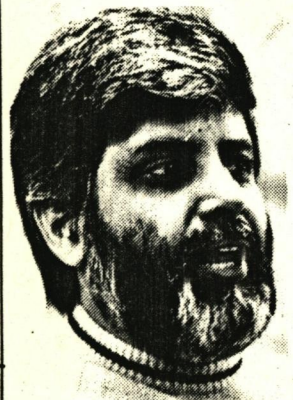
With his passing, journalism has suffered a tremendous loss. His contribution to the struggle for a just, democratic South Africa, however, cannot be erased by his death.

He will be remembered for a long, long time indeed. May his soul rest in peace.





MR Kaizer Thibedi



MR Piroshaw Camay

# Ccawusa 'committed' *Sowetan 22/1/88* to Cosatu

By **THEMBA  
MOLEFE**

**THE Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union yesterday pledged its commitment to the Congress of South African Trade Unions and called on the federation to strengthen worker unity.**

Ccawusa's Johannesburg branch co-ordinator, Mr Kaizer Thibedi, said this a day after the split that rocked the 70 000-member union was healed after seven months of strife.

"We will continue fighting for Cosatu for as long as it represents the interests of the working class.

"The settlement should be seen as a victory for the workers and a loss for the State and employers," Mr Thibedi said.

He said Ccawusa was back to the stages before the "merger" between the union and the Restaurant and Allied Workers Union on June 28 last year.

The "merger" was nullified by Wednesday's agreement between two Ccawusa factions.

The settlement became the order of the Rand Supreme Court.

Mr Thibedi said the agreement meant that Ccawusa has not adopted the Freedom Charter.

He said: "We therefore say that it must be realised that there are different political tendencies in Ccawusa and these should be respected. This would mean unity in action.

"Cosatu should not think that it is the Freedom Charter and that the Freedom Charter is Cosatu. We

should fight for a single federation of workers in the country."

Cosatu information officer Mr Frank Meintjies said the settlement should be lauded and that it had the potential of reuniting the workers.

The National Council of Trade Unions said in a statement that it welcomed the settlement of the dispute in Ccawusa.

"This out-of-court settlement vindicates the unfounded allegation that Nactu encouraged the split. We hope that those who made the allegations will now apologise to Nactu members for these smears. We pledge support to all democratic and popular forces in their fight for a just society," said general secretary Mr Piroshaw Camay.



**167 injured in violence at Randfontein mine**

# MURDER AT

*Sowetan 22 Jan 1988*

# SHAFT NO. 3

**FOUR miners were killed and 67 injured when a group of more than 400 allegedly attacked others who were drinking at a Randfontein Estates Mines' Cooke 3 shaft beerhall that is being boycotted. The incident took place on Wednesday evening, the mine's management said.**

Hundreds of miners at Cooke 1 and 2 shafts yesterday refused to work demanding to know circumstances leading to the incident at Cooke 3 shaft. The general manager at Cooke 1 shaft, Mr W J van der Meulen, issued notices in the morning urging all "striking employees participating in an illegal strike to refrain from this action."

Mr Bob Bertram, consulting engineer of the Johannesburg Consolidated Investments (JCI), the mine's owners, said three of the 67 injured miners were in a serious condition. They have all been admitted to the Rand Mutual Hospital in Johannesburg.

He said between 400 and 500 miners attacked about 150 others as they were drinking at a liquor outlet. The attackers wanted the others to leave because that outlet was being boycotted.

## By SELLO RABOTHATA

Mr Bertram said order was later restored and everything was calm.

A miner who spoke on condition that his identity is not revealed said the problem started on Tuesday when some of their colleagues were told not to go underground. No reason was given. When miners had changed shifts on Wednesday evening those who had been underground were told that other miners were waiting to fight them.

He said the group was attacked by those on the surface and they fought back. Two miners were killed during the confrontation. A number were injured.

## Grievances

It was later established that two others had died.

The miner said yesterday morning they were refused entry to the mine and told that only Zulu and Shangaan workers could go underground.

Mr van der Meulen said: "All striking workers are therefore informed that if they do not return to duty on their next normal shift they will be summarily dismissed and will have to vacate hostel accommodation forthwith."

He said management was prepared to discuss and resolve grievances but would not tolerate further disruptions to production.

The National union of Mineworkers was not available for comment.



## Cosatu, UDF lash out at Inkatha

MARTIZBURG — The Congress of SA Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front have retaliated to a statement made in the press earlier this week by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying they have evidence that Inkatha has perpetrated systematic violence in the Maritzburg area.

In a joint statement issued yesterday, Cosatu (Natal region) and the UDF (Midlands region) attempted to defend themselves against attacks in the media by Chief Buthelezi, and to chronologise the violence in the townships and rural areas around the Natal capital that has claimed at least 54 lives this year.

Cosatu and the UDF said the violence — a "tragic statement about the deep inadequacies of South African society" — had risen to its present proportions as a result of the suppression of information and lack of freedom of expression by anti-Government organisations.

### BLATANT DISTORTION

They accused the SA Broadcasting Corporation of constructing a picture of black-on-black violence "in order to focus attention away from State responsibility" and of blatantly distorting facts in order to blame the UDF and Cosatu.

Cosatu and the UDF said Chief Buthelezi's position — that the ANC had links with the UDF and was a violent organisation aimed at rendering South Africa ungovernable — was similar

to the Government's.

"Confirmation of this (the Government's) view by black leader such as Buthelezi is a powerful propaganda weapon."

Cosatu and the UDF disputed Chief Buthelezi's claim that the violence was a result of Cosatu/UDF membership.

While the two parties did not need to recruit voters, Inkatha needed a large membership, which could be used in a venture such as the 1989.

### INVESTIGATING

Cosatu said the incidents of violent deaths increased in August and September. It had brought a team of lawyers and investigators to Maritzburg.

"What emerged was a picture where certain Inkatha leaders were using violence against people who refused to join Inkatha or showed any other official allegiance."

Cosatu and the UDF claimed it was "absolutely clear that on one side it is cut-throatly alleged that violence is organised, carried out and instigated by office bearers of Inkatha".

This had prompted a spiral of retaliation by ordinary people who could see no hope of their cases being dealt with in fairness and justice by the law-enforcement agencies.

Cosatu and the UDF said they would endeavour to attract the peace talks with the co-operation of the Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce. — SA.

STAR

22/1/88