Most Whites want

By Poen de Villiers

ABOUT two-thirds of White voters in South Africa are in favour of negotiations with the African National Congress and the release of Nelson Mandela, according to the results of an opinion poll published in Rapport yesterday.

The poll was conducted by Market and Opinion Surveys (Pty) Ltd among about 2 000 White voters nationwide.

Regarding negotiations with the ANC, people voted:

- 45,7 percent in favour. on condition that the ANC renounce violence:
- 17 percent in favour without any conditions;
- 33 percent against; and
- Most of the people in favour of Mandela being released said he had to reject violence before being freed. In this regard the voting was:
- 47,8 percent in favour of his release, on condition that he renounce violence:
- 22,5 percent in favour, unconditionally;
- 26,1 percent against his release under any circumstances; and
- 3,6 percent uncertain. An overwhelming majority of people felt the former State President, Mr P W Botha, had acted correctly when he met Mandela at Tuynhuys earlier this year.

The division of the votes in this regard was:

- 63,1 percent said he had acted correctly;
- 24,2 percent said he had acted incorrectly; and
- 12.7 were uncertain.

Life back to

Witness Reporter PUBLIC transport has been fully restored in the Shongweni Valley, schools are due to be reopened next year, and homes destroyed during almost a year of political violence, are being rebuilt.

The rebuilding of the devastated valley and reintegration of once deadly political rivals into the community, follows a truce declared by local grassroots leaders of the United Democratic Front and Inkatha in late August.

Since then taxis have been returning families to the area to resume an orderly life, previously made impossible by the unabated and violent war between bands of UDF-supporting youth and Inkatha members.

In attacks on homes, lives of women and children were not spared. The schools re-mained desolate all year, businesses closed and between 50% and



The former 'military' commanders of opposing UDF and Inkatha factions in Shongweni, Mr Thulani Zulu (left) and Mr Victor Sibisi, an Inkatha chairman, shared drinks yesterday after another successful community meeting called to discuss the rebuilding of the Picture by CLINT ZASMAN

80% of the people fled the area.

However, since the August 27 peace meeting, heralded by many as historic, no incident of political violence has occurred in Shongweni Valley.

Former opponents, In-katha chairman Mr Victor Sibisi (Inkatha chairman), and UDF youth leader Mr Thulani Zulu, have worked together to bring about the transformation since declaring the truce.

Both have successfully enjoined their supporters to lay down their weapons.

At a community meeting yesterday, also attended by representa-tives of KwaZulu KwaZulu Transport which had halted its service in the area in June, both Mr Si-bisi and Mr Zulu pledged to continue working together.

Residents were told of plans to repair the schools, build football grounds, a community hall and clinic, to restore a water pipeline and have it extended to areas as yet unserviced.

Negotiations to bring teachers back to the

schools next year were also underway, residents were told.

"We are hoping to get all these things done. And things are looking good. But we will need help, not only from people in the community, but also outside. We will need funds to build will need funds to build all these things," Mr Lucky Zwane, the chair-man of the meeting said.

Police 'used Shongweni peace to salvage image'

Witness Reporter THE South African Police used the recent peace progress in Shongweni Valley to salvage their tarnished image and portray themselves as peacemakers, the local UDF

and Inkatha leaders said yesterday. Inkatha local chairman Mr Victor Sibisi and Mr Thulani Zulu, UDF youth leader, objected strongly to stories that the police had brought the arch-rivals together, and said it was a community effort sparked by an awak-ening to the futility of fighting. Mr Zulu and Mr Sibisi said Captain Ray

Harrald, the commander of the local riot unit at the time, had deserved the tribute paid to him. "But he only facilitated the peace process."

Their view was shared by local shop owner, Mr John Mkhize, who initiated the peace talks between Mr Sibisi and Mr Zulu.

Another community leader, Mr Lucky Zwane said: "The peace came from our hearts, and not a third party."

The co-ordinator of police riot units in Natal, Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen, last night disputed that police had not played a vital role. "In all our work we are trying to bring the groups together. In Shongweni we policed the area. We went in during night time and day to help the people."

Mpumalanga battle rages

Witness Reporter

MORE people died in Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale, at the weekend and yesterday streets were barricaded by burning tyres as battles between gun-toting groups of men and youth raged on for longer than two hours.

"While the fighting was going on, I was just standing there talking to people in the streets about the situation. People are really desperate and they said we must please, please help them and that life is not worth living there anymore," said Democratic Party MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, who visited the area yesterday. He said he did not how many people were injured in the violence, but said it started at about 4 pm and continued after dark.

"There was a very small police presence ... not enough to cope with the situation," he said.

Political violence has ravaged Mpumalanga for more than four years, and an estimated 2 000 people have been killed in the area.

In their daily unrest bulletins at the weekend, police cited two deaths.

Mr Cronje said a delegation of Democratic Party MPs would be meeting with a high-level police con-

LONDON — Unless the South African Government moved to liberalisation and reform, it would have to prepare to rule by martial law, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here at the weekend.

The only way for it to stop steadily increasing violence was to produce the kind of reforms which would gather increasing black support, beginning the south of the stop steadily increasing the stop steadily increasing violence was to produce the kind of reforms which would gather increasing black support, "Black South Africans will not bow down to apartheid and they have shown that the harsher the oppressive measure (against them), the more militant their response becomes."—Sapa.

Buthelezi

Policeman held on attempted murder charge

Daily News Reporters

A KWAZULU policeman has been detained and charged with attempted murder at Mpumalanga as the death toll in the latest violence there rose to 14 at the weekend.

Police said six more people have been killed there since Friday night, two houses set on fire

and three cars petrol-bombed.

Brigadier Jac Buchner, Commissioner of the Kwa-Zulu Police, said a policeman has been detained and charges of attempted murder were being investigated against him.

Brigadier Buchner said the policeman is alleged to have fired shots at a house. In the incident a young girl lost a finger.

Last night fighting broke out between rival groups in unit 3 and 4 and residents reported heavy gunfire.

Mr Peter Gastrow MP, who is monitoring the situation, said he received a number of frantic telephone calls from 6.30 pm onwards.

Houses were petrol-bombed and stoned in both units, as the factions fought running battles in the

One resident said that it was virtually "open warfare" and last night's outbreak was the worst of the weekend exchanges.

The killings continued as two major moves are to be made tomorrow to restore peace in the town-

ship. One involves five Democratic Party MPs who are due to meet senior police officers in Durban.

The other is a march, in which thousands of residents are expected to take part, to the local police station where a petition will be handed in demanding that kitskonstables and riot police be removed immediately

But last night there was widespread tension and renewed calls for the South African Defence Force to send in troops to restore peace.

One man was beaten up by a mob on Friday night before being burnt and a second man on Sat urday night was dragged out of his car, beaten up and set alight.

On Saturday night worried residents huddled in their homes fearing attacks and frenzied messages for help were smuggled out.

Mpumalanga's mayor, Mr Rodgers Sishi, believes that the troops will do a better job in keeping apart rival factions, believed to be Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters.

"The soldiers have a better record in keeping peace," said Mr Sishi.

Meanwhile Mr Willies Mchunu, spokesman for the marchers, said that the residents wanted peace and the march which is being organised by Cosatu and UDF supporters is aimed at highlighting the violence in the township.

Residents are due to meet at Mpumalanga Stadium from where they will start their march to the police sta-

Businessmen in the area fear that many of their work force will not report for duty.

The Deputy Minister of Justice and Natal National Party deputy chairman, Mr Danie Schutte, said today that he would be meeting representatives from Ulundi at their request later today to discuss the violence.

The Natal Witness, Friday October 9, 1987

Buthelezi: I have little to say to P.W.

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that he had met State President P.W. Botha for talks only three times in nine years and that they had had little to say to each other. This was because they did not want to talk about the same things, he told the National Convention of Jaycees at Umhlanga Rocks.

He warned that anyone who believed that blacks would settle for anything less than political and legal equality was making a grave error.—Sapa.



BUTHELEZI

HIS extraordinary country is beginning to recover its spirit and to gather its strength. The evidence, like spring, is popping out all over.

For one thing, the "debt problem" is evaporating like the morning mist. As Hank Cohen, the Bush administration's cardboard cut-out of Chester Crocker, told the Senate foreign relations committee last week, the "overdue" debt to American banks has been reduced to about \$700m.

That's a sum we could, in a pinch, repay overnight. Perhaps we should do so, just to make the point that we've survived the past, dreadful

five years.

The South African bankers, the captains of industry, and the academic economists will, of course, clutch their brows and wail that it's a mad way to run a Third World country. They have an economic argument, but not a political one. Predators always attack perceived weakness, never strength.

ersonally, I have been unable to understand the feebleness of our government's response to what was, after all, an act of economic warfare. When Chase Manhattan's Bob Butcher issued his famous directive to Simon Steward to pull out of this country in August 1985, we were already at the bottom of a recession, the political turmoil was at its worst, and the less committed capitalists were running for Australia and Britian.

That was the moment — my Afrikaans-inculcated Calvinist streak tells me — to offer the country blood, sweat, tears and toil, and to use the debt problem as an instrument to discipline a self-indulgent, profligate, easy-living, generally lazy, nation. The debt problem was, in political terms, the perfect excuse to keep monetary reins tight, to encourage exports, to discourage imports, and to begin to curb inflation.

Instead, our limp-wristed government — prodded, one suspects, by a kindly Reserve Bank — quickly lost its nerve, began pumping money into circulation through the inefficient

After the bleating, SA has begun to recover its spirit

KEN OWEN

mechanisms of the public service (not to speak of corrupt receptacles in the Bantustans), and stimulated renewed consumption. Off we went to the races, complaining all the while about capital shortages.

Not all was lost. One can whimper only for so long; then self-disgust takes over. This country's real leaders, who are not necessarily politicians, seem to have reached the stage of feeling anything is better than continued passivity. They are back on their feet, throwing punches.

It shows in the rapid rise of exports, achieved in the teeth of sanctions, in tidy balance sheets, in new mining ventures, in the gathering and deployment of very large sums

of capital.

The Urban Foundation's extraordinary scheme to build 40 000 low-cost houses — it pyramids R3bn for housing on an initial contribution from three foreign countries of a paltry but symbolic R8m, and everybody makes a profit along the way—reminds me that the Dutch empire was built on innovative methods of using limited supplies of capital.

Certainly it would be nice if, like Australia, we could stuff ourselves with foreign credit — "I'll eat and eat until I'm sick!" — but even the

Aussies have to repay their debts (and I doubt they can, right now). Anyway, if capital does not fall from heaven like manna, one does the best one can.

In the seventies, thanks to an eyeopening course at the Hudson Institute in upstate New York, I formed the opinion that South Africa, if only its government would apply correct policies, was capable of emulating the growth rates that Japan had pioneered: let us say, modestly, 7-10% a year.

ad we done so then, every South African would now be twice as rich as he is. But we, burdened with a government of uninformed men immune to advice, did not do so; the Koreans did. So did Singapore, Taiwan, and many other places. India didn't do badly. Brazil, with typical flair, proved that even volatile Latin countries can grow at 10% a year for quite long periods.

Our chance has been lost. The world has turned colder, and we shall be hampered for 30 years — the memory span of a generation — by isolation and sanctions, as Spain was

hampered by Western hostility to Franco. But that's no reason to lie down and die.

In some ways, indeed, the internal climate has turned favourable as the external climate has become harsh. The debt shock has concentrated the minds of the National Party leaders on the fundamentals of power. They are learning that powerful bureaucracies and big armies, far from being a source of power, are a debilitating drain on it.

Some of them have actually read Paul Kennedy's book (or the last chapter of it), "The Rise and Fall of Great Powers", which argues that empires fall when their military commitments exceed their industrial capacity. They are beginning to understand the need to put economic growth first.

So far, the army has had to sacrifice only a war in Angola, but other Nat favourites are beginning to feel the cold: the Post Office engineers can't buy all the fancy equipment they like; the municipalities, whose palatial quarters in every dorp emphasise misallocation of resources, are under restraints; Iscor and the other former havens of sheltered employment are being flogged off;

Sats can't gaily lose R3,7bn on the currency markets; even the Bureau for Information admits it must produce something of value, or go out of existence.

The government is approaching the very nub of its problem, which is the same as Mikhael Gorbachev's problem: in the modern, competitive world, economic growth cannot be sustained except in a free society. One by one, the obstacles to wealth-creation are being set aside: pass laws, job reservations, restricted shopping hours, unnecessary capital requirements, foolish municipal controls, mad building standards, and all the foolish restrictions based on the unscientific mumbo-jumbo of race.

Besides, in the past five years we have all — black and white — peered into the abyss, and recoiled. When the Urban Foundation announced its new housing project, it did so with the (qualified) blessings of Aggrey Klaaste, nation-building editor of The Sowetan, and Nthatho Motlana (remember the Committee of Ten), with Ellen Kuzwayo in the audience.

uffering and fear have herded most South Africans into the same general direction. The word "change" has become an incantation, often a chant to ward off the devils that lurk in the shadows of every South African mind, but also a reality. Indeed, "howling change" has, as Nadine Gordimer observed perceptively long ago, become the dominant South African reality.

Where this change will end nobody can foresee. But the National Party's retreat from its destructive (national-) socialist heritage gives reason to hope, for the first time, that economic growth may eliminate so many legitimate grievances sown by class and racial oppression that we shall keep the socialist Pol Pots, the Maos and Stalins, and even the Slovos, at bay.

Economic growth is an awesome force; it can transform a society in a generation, as it has done in Japan. As our beaten government retreats, it opens the way for the capitalists, if they dare, to unleash that force.



Archbishop Tutu in Durban yesterday

Violence won't Noneconey liberate S A, says leader

Mercury Reporter 'ALL pragmatism tells me that South Africa will never be liberated by the armed struggle ... Africa has begun to see that the war against the South African Government

cannot be won.' These were the words of KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to Mr Luis Geraldes, deputy secre-tary-general of Portugal's ruling Social Democratic Party and members of his Parlia-

ment, at the weekend. It had become clear to him, the Inkatha leader said, that he made the right choice in not developing violent opposition to apartheid, as the ANC had done.

'At any point in my political career I could easily have taken up a leadership position within the ANC, either in exile or in its underground operations in South Africa.'

said Dr Buthelezi. 'All pragmatism, however, told me this could not be done and I watched the South African Government grow stronger and stronger each year it was attacked by revo-

lutionary forces,' he added. The ANC and other revolutionaries are nowhere near being annilhilated and the S A Government is nowhere near being defeated militar-