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South Africa: an
unconventional
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A senior professional staff member of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committ

PHILIP L CHRISTENSON

; HOSE WHO argued back in
the early Sixties that an
end to whites-only govern-
ment in South Africa would

not come until the end of the

century were dismissed as hope-
lessly conservative and even at
times â\200\234racistsâ\200\235. The winds of
change were said to be irresisti-
ble, immediate and at gale force.

It is my personal conviction that
the president of the US who takes
office in January 1989, if he should
serve two full four-year terms,
may well be the first to welcome a
democratically elected South Afri-
can head-of-state to the .Oval
Office.

January 20, 1997, is almost a
decade from now and less than
three years from the end of the
20th Century. If mankind can put a
man on the moon with a decadeâ\200\231s
commitment, it is not impossible
that the SA of 1997 will be a coun-
try in which democracy has been
. established, human rights of all
citizens and groups are respected,
racial harmony is the rule rather
than the exception and concerted
efforts are being made to develop
the full potential of all men and
women.

It is also not impossible that SA,
on that date, will be a country in
which the children of todayâ\200\231s South
Africans, black and white, will be
locked in a brutal and bloody civil
war. \

Americans who genuinely care and wish to see this beautiful country and its 33-million inhabitants | reach their full potential and destiny must recognise, however, that it is South Africans who will make the choices. We Americans can only contribute to the atmosphere in which they make them.

If this contribution is to be meaningful, and not merely benign neglect, we need policies â\200\224 and, more importantly, practices â\200\224 that will combine a very active commitment to working to end apartheid with measured restraint in the face of pressure to usurp the right of black South Africans to evolve their own leaders and of all South Africans to participate in formulating the ultimate political structures of the post-apartheid era.

In fashioning a policy that will contribute to creating an environment in which SA can move with minimal bloodshed toward democracy, US policy-makers need to accept several realities.

One is that US-SA relations are entering their most crucial years. Another reality is that economic, sanctions cannot serve as the principal building block of a sustainable and responsible policy. =~

With further economic sanctions | now virtually eliminated as the basic building block of US {or, indeed, Western European) policy toward SA in the foreseeable future, it seems to me that those whose task it will be to forge an effective

licy for either a epublican or mocratic successor administration will have to opt for a variation of the long-standing golxcy of active participation in the promotion of internal political evolution.

Dare we say the two words that have been used recently to describe such a policy? No, we cannot.

The words â\200\234constructiveâ\200\235 and â\200\234engagementâ\200\235 are both applicable, but the combination of the two has taken on so many different meanings for so many different constituencies, both in the US and in SA,

that the term can no longer be used
in any South African context.

But whatever language is employed (a nameless policy would be best), the emphasis should be on seeking out positive opportunities to promote change in SA rather than on the negativism of economic sanctions. -

In 1983, Senator Nancy Kassebaum (Republican), then chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's sub-committee on Africa, introduced legislation creating a new programme to provide

grants of up to US\$10 000 for projects in SA that promote a more just society or aid victims of apartheid.

The size of each grant was deliberately limited with the objects of pressing the US Embassy in Pretoria into contact with a wide range of individuals and groups.

It was implicit that official US

government grants to US projects

would extend to official US interest and protection.

Too often we have missed oppor-

tunities to send a clear message of

| v L

[0 KASSEBAUM . . . grants

our opposition to apartheid.

~ For sound humanitarian reasons, we provided assistance to the victims of apartheid who were forcibly removed in 1983 and 1984 ~ from their homes in the village of Mogopa in the Transvaal to be resettled elsewhere. That money could have been better used to promote change in SA had we provided our financial and other as-

sistance before rather than after the removal.

If Mogopa had been made a focal point for some US aid programmes, the SA authorities would have had to face the decision of bulldozing projects funded by US taxpayers. Such public confrontations with the apartheid system would do much to improve US official standing in the black community in SA.

"If we can establish a minimal level of credibility among blacks, it would enhance the possibility that we might be able to play a role in furthering a less violent evolution of SA. '

This is not to say that the US should make all its decisions on the

With further economic sanctions now virtually eliminated as a basis for a policy towards SA, says Christenson, either a Republican or Democratic successor administration will have to seek out positive ways to promote change : without prescribing rather than dwelling on the negativism of sanctions

basis of black demands or expectations. Rather, we should conduct ourselves in ways that leave no

doubt that we are fully committed to a democratic outcome, in the full sense of the term "democratic" .

- There is perhaps "and I emphasise the word perhaps " a use-

ul role for Americans, official and unofficial, as interlocutors between black and white South Africans and between those inside and outside the country. :

We can play that role, however, only by invitation " an invitation that must be earned to be extended.

If SA is to avoid a violent disinte-

gration of its society, those who wish to contribute to positive change need to explore the possibilities of externa

the area of communication. There is a possible role for us in helping various factions cut through stereotypes and ameliorate some of the hostility and suspicion.

One danger that may arise over the next decade is that the US could become too deeply involved in SA's evolution, too prescriptive about the structure of a "truly democratic" government and too specific about "legitimate" and "credible" leaders.

~ Only South Africans have the right to sit down and negotiate their country's future and to determine the structure of the historic compromise needed to avoid large-scale racial violence.

I work for an institution, the US Senate, which is the product of a historic compromise 200 years ago between this new nation's large and small constituent states.

If Britain can have a Queen, and.

Under Americans a Senate that gives 40 times more influence to a voter in sparsely-populated Wyoming than to a voter in California, then it

assistance in .

seems to me that there is a broad range of "democratic" outcomes that can be envisioned in SA.

The greatest challenge to US policy-makers in the years just

ahead may be to resist the seductive lure of neo-colonialism and to respect black South Africans' ability and sole right to forge their own compromises. :

We must show uncharacteristic restraint in prescribing for SA, for two reasons:

First, 95-million black South Af-

ricans are going to have more leaders emerging than any American 8 000 miles away will be able to identify. There are and always will be a multiplicity of special interest groups in this diverse society. ;

Second, we must resist trying to choose black leaders, for the simple reason that we do not fully understand the complex criteria of

leadership in black South African

society. 4

"If we are to relate meaningfully with a post-apartheid SA, we are

going to have to start looking at :

relationships within that country through South African prisms.

s A nd this means setting aside our

stereotypes of blacks, coloured, Afrikaners, English-speakers and all other aspects of a society that

never was quite the morality play .

we perceived it to be and is becoming more complicated with each passing day.

O] Extracts from an article in CSIS Africa Notes, a publication of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Washington. Christenson served as an adviser on African affairs to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Republican members from 1981 to 1987. Be-

fore that he was associate director of

the US-SA Leadership Exchange Programme.

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< e w7 LoNG v - Times photo â\200\224 DIANE MASON

i uth African students surround Renee Gahagan, executive director

- .. South'Africa three times in.the past two years.

. ;Others. familiar withi the African school system

: . are skeptical, saying'that:while the.schools may be*

; i â\200\234ableito use some 'books for their :libraries, their

3 â\200\230classrooms " are. well-equipped with â\200\234textbooks and

they donâ\200\231t need American-hand-me-downs.

i A â\200\230Ned. Munger, professor of ;African politics at

: - -gas*offs "_c"public California Institute of Technology, says it might not

lsefu a country:where: ; be prudent to send apile.of books to South Africa

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ut what is. needed. And although

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\200\231 agrees â\200\230that black ele-

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Africa for 'distribufion *among ' St?LGVVâ\200\230IdQ, P erhgps s Ã@:a"?sâ\200\234abbve neÃ

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blackielementary and secondary - N@tionwide; booklift to - of pants,â\200\235 says Munger,

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\230,fog.qded the Cape

' - of â\200\234instruction in South African -â\200\230Sollth Africa. -~ . of-Good â\200

\230Hope" Foundation,â\200\235 -

Â¢ : schools.is English.). ; . - which donates books to South

+i; The, project is called â\200\234Be- B .+ 'African universities. â\200\224 though

. nevolence through Education in: o0 L T usually, only one of each title,

ithern. Africa,â\200\235, ;and ; if , its- founders have theirâ\200\231 Munger suggests tha

t, rather than "dumping all

vy - 7ay, " their ' grass-rootsâ\200\231 humanitarianism will be a the books at once, the D

aytona project ought first

oo icatalyst, gor; a, statewide, - perhaps nationwide, book- - to assess the need by sendin

g small test samples to

-+ Â«lift to"a-Country'that is*torn apart by political and - teachers.â\204¢ . = - .7

e Tacial; ict, but' wh test en be b i ;

"'i-â\202nixutg;cyâ\200\230 Ut v"' Â°sÂ° el : emy may = .- Gosney.says he plans to be in Dur

ban when the

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h schools have

ey Â£ 1ETâ\202-S 10 doubt about the need,â\200\235 says CUff ypo oot need, and to help inve

stigate avenues for

: Gosney;' a â\200\230Daytona Beach' lawyer who is helping distribution, - i

Bl rdinate the. project. He -cites a South African THET el o

i Institute of: Race: Relations report. that shows: that . : i el .

i nore than seven times as much-money is spent-to., - . : RS : .

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| O aps When you're talking about the blacks (in Southi ot J50, when Zulu Â¢ tour â\200\230

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3 "yAfrica), â\200\230you're â\200\230really. talking about a Third World In his speeches a

ng in casual conversation hsÃ©

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i side by side,â\200\235 say;__Gosqâ\200\231ey,- -who has traveled to 1 Please see BOOKS 2-
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BOOKS from 1-D

,stressed the importance of edu-
cation to the -future of South Af-
ri ca.

U.S. Rep. Bill McCollum, R-
Altamontt Springs, who talked
with Buthelezi in Orlando, re-
calls:

â\200\234I' was. Â»asking what are the
needs of ,the black people in

â\200\230 %-South Africa? What can we do to

Â\$ really help you? Most of (Buthe-

lleziâ\200\231s)â\200\231 time was spent talking

"about â\202¬ducation, about'How illit-

J â\200\230eracyis so â\200\230great and -there -are

a so:few. books and so few mate-

. rials. (Ve 4

. Soon after, McCollum says,,

ofi¬\201ce Contacted the Semmole
County School â\200\230Board, inâ\200\235 his dis-

â\200\234And lo and behold we

{foundâ\200\235 outâ\200\231â\200\230that every year the
#'schoolÂ\$#turn- over' a number of
- books., â\200\234Theyâ\204¢ were â\200\230more â\200\234than

willingâ\200\231 to- let:'us take them off,

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#'.Naney: R.â\200\235 Haxgh, ,textbook
manager for, the Seminole County .

School: Board - says' she is;always: . -

* interested:inâ\200\231 "finding: aâ\200\234placeâ\200\235 forâ\200\235
2school systÃ©m-canâ\200\231 .

i no*longer:useâ\200\231â\200\230 Manyare in-very',

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textbooksâ\200\231

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â\200\234:thatâ\200\231 -do:.notâ\200\231 practxce any-type of
dlmq;mauon and- finally to the
y'public; (either through sales or

-xgwea .ays) "'Then, if \we: have

3,theygare dmrdded," Halgh says.
Usuallylthls means- they are sent

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at belongs to tax- .

_ iwouldÂ¥fail 'to feel some -

-ygood feelings. to use materials if
-they have a use. rather t.han be

sdiscard

: Haxgh says she would make

another donation in the future as
long as it doesnâ\200\231t cost the
-schools any money. The taxpay-
ers should not foot the bill for
this project, she says.

Almost a year after Seminole
County agreed to donate the
books, they were- trucked.to Day-
tona Beach and heaped in a spare
room in the basement of the
-YWCA. Renee Gahagan, execu-
tive director of the' YWCA, ex-
plains that she-was drawn into
â\200\230the project by friends and by her
personal interest in educational
- programs. She worked for the
-Volusia County School Board for
17 years, and has_piloted a num-
ber of projects, including educa-
tional programs for handicapped
â\200\230children and teen parents. X

: The booklift, she says, is â\200\234an
_opportumty for r.hxs YWCA to get
involved in what they stand for
â\200\230=='T mean really involved:â\200\235 .. *-

NAMIBIA

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At her invitation, Gahagan

says that two..sororities at

* Bethune-Cookman College have .

. expressed -an interest in helping
";sort and package the books.â\200\231
5. The~books -will be sent to

.South:Africa by. regular surface

â\200\230mail; -according to Gosney. They
will be:wrapped in groups of six

â\200\234for :eight; then placed in canvas

mail bags, up to 66 â\200\230pounds of
books per ba

At a postage rate of - 55 cents
a pound, Gosney estimates that

BOTSWANA

.the â\200\230cost of mailing will be about

'\$2,000. He says. he has received

_enough donations to- cover the

cost of the first 'shipment. As for
futurÃ© shipments, he will contact
individuals, -community organiza-

tions and businesses to help raise -

the money for shipping. -

. Why send the books by ordx-
â\200\230nary mail? â\200\234Because itâ\200\231sâ\200\235 easy,â\200\235
Gosney says. â\200\234We want to have
.an initial shipment over there as
â\200\234soon-as possible. This is our pilot

program. We have yet to check -

out other methods of transport-
.ing the books, such as commer-
.cial shipping companies.â\200\235

" The books will take about 90

to 120 days to-arrive. in South .

Africa. They will be sent first to
-a warehouse in Durban, where
they will be stored until they can
be distributed.

" Times artâ\200\224 TERRY MORSE

Houston Post columnist; Don-

ald Morris, a longstanding observer of South Africa and author of *Washing of the Spears*, a history of the Zulu nation, says that sending used textbooks to South Africa is somewhat of an insult because the schools have an adequate textbook program and plenty of textbooks in the classroom. The real needs, he says, are money, teachers and advice, not old American textbooks.

Gosney disagrees. I've been in the rural areas and the huts and the homes: I know what they don't have, what they crave, he says. After food and shelter,

they crave reading material. For example, Crossroads (a government-owned black compound near Cape Town) is like a large square, bound on both sides by barbed wire, nothing in it but tin shacks, no room in between except to walk. I could take all those books we have collected and dump them in Crossroads, and I guarantee you that each one would be warmly received.

For more information on the project, write Benevolence Through Education in Southern Africa Inc.; P.O. Box 5767, Daytona Beach, Fla. 32018

South Africa

- The pr

SOUTH Africaâ\200\231s Press faces its toughest year in 1988, with several anti-

. apartheid newspapers fighting for survival in the face of Government threats to close or censor them.

â\200\234I think it's going to be the gloomiest year for a free flow of information,â\200\235 said Gabu Tugwana, acting editor of the New Nation, one of six publications which could be closed under Government moves against what it calls â\200\234subversive propagandaâ\200\231.

Rex Gibson, deputy editor of the Johannesburg Star, said there had been a pattern for many years of increasing restrictions on the Press in South Africa.

â\200\234No government, having embarked on this course, is ever happy with the

owers it has got. It always needs a little bit more,â\200\235 he told Reuters. ;

South Africa provoked a worldwide

uproar by imposing tight restrictions on the media when a national state of emergency was declared in June 1986 after months of black protest violence. - The curbs barred first-hand reporting of political unrest and severely restricted news about strikes, anti-apartheid boycotts and unofficial township structures like peopleâ\200\231s courts and street committees.

They were reinforced in August 1987 with sweeping new powers which enable Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha to censor or close down for up to three months any newspaper which he believes is fanning revolution.

A three-month ban could financially ruin a newspaper.

Newspaper editors say Bothaâ\200\231s restrictions are subjective and it is impossible to know when they have been broken.

They say the present battery of regulations already makes it difficult for newspapers to operate, with many stories cut or dropped on legal advice.

Botha can act against a newspaper which he believes consistently enhances the image of outlawed black nationalist groups, promotes the breakdown of public order or foments hatred of the security forces.

Four publications â\200\224 New Nation, the left-wing South, the far-right-wing Die Stem, and the labour journal Work in Progress â\200\224 have twice been warned by

Botha that they have broken the regulations and could be closed any day.

Two other newspapers â\200\224 South Africaâ\200\231s biggest-selling black daily the Sowetan and the left-wing Weekly Mail â\200\224 have received one warning. The Catholic-funded New Nation, South, Weekly Mail and the Sowetan are all widely read by blacks and carry some of the best reporting on life in black townships under apartheid. The New Nation, set up just two years ago, has won three journalism awards, including one from Harvard University in the United States.

Media lawyers believe that Botha will first try to impose an in-house censor on offenders and allow them to close themselves if they refuse. Newspapers like the Sowetan say they would fight Government action in court.

If Botha imposed an in-house censor, it would make the journalistâ\200\231s job impossible, Aggrey Klaaste, deputy editor of the Sowetan, said. â\200\234The guy is going to come into the office and start putting the red pen across whatever you do. The little credibility you have in the market place is gone. I donâ\200\231t suppose

many journalists of standing are going .

to work under such a situation. They are just going to leave the job,â\200\235 he said.

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

â\200\231

â\200\234For black people, papers like ours

are the only kind of avenue where they can vent some of their deeply held feel-

ings, and now it's going to be stopped.
It's just going to go underground or into
the streets and it's going to get uglier by
the minute," Klaaste said.

Tugwana said the Government
should have used the black Press as a

essure on the Press

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barometer to see whether it had moved
enough towards reform of apartheid.
"You reform what is wrong. But if you
don't know what is wrong what are you
reforming?" he asked.

Botha's regulations were presented
as directed at the so-called "alterna-
tive" Press. But editors say mainstream

dAn.) Â\$39

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY

THE National Party will not to hold a general election within the next three months and will wait until its performance against the Conservative Party in the two March by-elections has been tested before making a decision.

Senior sources within the party have pointed out !
' that the performance of the CP in Schweizer Reineke
' and Standerton, which it carried in last year's election, would have an important bearing on the decision.

Evidence of a strengthened CP will also give the National Party Government an additional lever in the battle with the ruling party in the House of Representatives, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, the sources said.

At its annual congress last month, the LP decided that it would force a general election in 1989 unless the Group Areas Act was repealed. This has led to speculation that the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, will call an early election on his terms.

Senior Nationalists expressed fears that the deadlock between Mr Hendrickse and Mr Botha on changing the constitution would exacerbate white fears by giving the image of an intransigent coloured House. This could accelerate the swing to the right and stall reform for a long time, one source said.

In this way Hendrickse will be lessening the chances of blacks being included in the power sharing process and will chase verlig Nats into their shells.

A further strengthened CP is not in the Labour Party's interests and could result in a backlash in the coloured community

No decision before March
by-elections, say sources

NP rules
out early
general

election

President P.W. BOTHA . . .
waiting for the results of
March by-elections.

Tâ\200\224 e

Observers believe that if the CP improves its position in the by-elections the Government will be placed in a dilemma as to whether an early election will best suit their interests or if a delayed election will allow them to recoup their losses.

Senior CP MP, Mr Koos van der Merwe (Overvaal), agreed that the LP actions were playing into the CP's hands because the white House which does not have the ability to change its own constitution has been emasculated.

He said the NP was going to get a big fright in the by-elections on March 2 and that in Standerton the CP would increase its majority three times, and five times in Schweizer Reineke.

Mr Peter Hendrickse (MP) has disputed speculation that Parliament will be reconvened five days early on February 1 because the NP and the LP have reached agreement on joint sittings of all three Houses.

Personally I am not aware of any meetings having taken place, let alone any agreement having been reached, said Mr Hendrickse, but stressed that the LP was in favour of joint sittings of all three Houses.

Mr ALLAN HENDRICKSE . . . thwarted Government plan to delay general election.

where they believe their stand has gained them credibility, a senior MP said. :

Rumours have been flying that a general election will be called and could be scheduled for October when countrywide municipal elections are to be held and all the machinery will be in operation.

_THE DAILY NEWS, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 6, 1988

â\200\231Dr Piet K.oornhof promises Americans a friend]
v ooy SrCngie

Piet Koornhof: Mbeki warning.

Mbeki rel :
furns sour

Foreign Service

. The ambassador said it was impor-
tant to find ways of getting the dif-
ferent parties around the table, and
once they were there the world would
see a new South Africa.

It was also important for Ameri-

_cans to ask how they could make a

major contribution to help get the pro-
cess of negotiation off the ground.

Over the years, he said, important
governmental structures had been in-
troduced at local, regional and provin-
cial level in which all South Africans
could participate â\200\224 so the problem
was in a much more advanced state of
solution than many people thought. i

WASHINGTON: Dr Piet Koornhof has
told American television viewers that
the release of African National Con-
_gress leader Govan Mbeki has failed
so far to produce the results the South
African Government was hoping for.
The release was a conciliatory
move and it was clear the Govern-
fment wanted a conciliatory move by
â\200\230other parties involvedâ\200\235. But that had
not happened, the South African am-
bassador said during a fireside dis-
cussion on the future of South Africa,
broadcast to 30 million viewers yes-
terday. ;

The two-hour discussion by a panel of five was held before an audience of some 40 people in a reception room at

Dr Koornhof's Washington residence. .

It was videotaped by C-Span, a nationwide cable channel, and broadcast twice in its entirety yesterday in the morning and in the late afternoon.

The broadcast included a 12-minute film in which South Africans of all races spoke of their hopes for a peaceful future. Dr Koornhof said he wanted the embassy to be a symbol of what South Africa was becoming in the post-apartheid era friendly, open and hospitable.

There were three approaches to change, he told viewers. The first was sanctions and embargoes; the second was revolution; and the third was the South African way, born in the country and not foisted from abroad reform.

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ment by the electorate last May @

"I can't tell you the answer, or how to unlock the situation," Dr Koornhof said.

he South African Government had made a serious attempt before Christmas when an advisory council was set up to deal with security prisoners. Mbeki's name was the first to go before that body but he was released only afterwards.

His concept was clearly that if the Government made this conciliatory move, it would lead to conciliatory moves by the other parties that would then lead to further development with regard to security prisoners. this

of the mandate given to the Govern-

new constitution to enable all the people to participate at all levels. Where conciliatory moves have been forthcoming and for the future, it is only that (process) that is hoped for. Mr Alan Keyes, a prominent conservative, former Assistant Secretary in the US State Department, was asked to dem-

tion and everything possible had

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â\200\234ons on South Africa was not on â\200\230 :

.samtâ\200\230;tÃ©osommmn ety P st Govan Mbeki: strategic I

mad solution, he said.

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. JONATHAN HOBDAY

frikaans, at the start
of its struggle for offi-
cial recognition at the

; beginning of the cen-
tury, became the symbol of a
liberation struggle.

It was the standard around
which the Afrikaner nation gath-
ered as it resisted the attempts
at domination and assimilation.

The language was constantly
assailed as pidgin-Dutch, a kit-
chen dialect. It survived, often
against seemingly overwhelm-
ing odds, by being closely and
exclusively identified with
white, Afrikaner people.

In 1925, it was finally recog-
nised as an official language
and, more than ever, it became
a prime motivating force, one of
the engines of development of
Afrikanerdom, helping the Afri-
kaner community to grow from
an era when it was hardly more
than a scattering of farmers, de-
feated in war, to its modern,
| powerful role in the sub-conti-
nent.

Afrikaans was nurtured with-

in the citadel of exclusive Afri-
kanerdom â\200\224 and this exclusivi-
ty has been jealously protected,
even to this day.

But this very aspect has now
become a threat to its survival,
according to this new book of 15
essays written by leading Afri-
kaner academics. The essays
are in both Afrikaans and Eng-
lish.

The theme of the book is that,

Afrikaans and Taalpolitiek
Edited by Hans du Plessis
and Theo du Plessis

Haum

in the process of entrenching power based solely on Afrikaner solidarity, Afrikaans lost its image as the tool of liberation and has become instead a symbol of oppression. And, by excluding other Afrikaans speakers â\200\224 people of colour â\200\224 from the white laager, it has stunted its growth.

. Today, the survival of Afrikaans depends on expanding the use of the language to other sections of the population, on breaking down exclusivity.

The academics plead for Afrikaans again to become a language of liberation in Africa.

~ Theo du Plessis, who is also

one of the editors and is a lecturer in Afrikaans socio-linguistics at Natal University in Durban, points out that Afrikaans has become â\200\234the language of reformâ\200\235. He writes of a new â\200\234language movementâ\200\235 taking place in which Afrikaans language organisations are opening up to coloured Afrikaans-speakers. Taking a leading role in this is the Afrikaanse Taalfonds, which as far back as 1975 opened its doors to coloureds and in 1985 announced a vigorous campaign to break down white exclusivity. A similar direction was begun in 1978 by the powerful Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns: It is a policy that is likely to gain

Dealing with â\200\230the taint of oppressionâ\200\231

frik

/m.;nw.

The statistics are interesting: more than five million people have Afrikaans as their home language today; of these, 2,5 million are white, 2,25 million are coloured, 77 000 are black and 15000 are Indian. But at least

-twice as many people â\200\234knowâ\200\235
- the language and should be in-

cluded in the â\200\234language pack-
ageâ\200\235.

Unless Afrikaans can broaden
its base by achieving this
greater acceptance among more
South Africans, warns Johan De-
genaar of the University of Stel-
lenbosch, it runs the risk of be-
coming â\200\234a dead languageâ\200\235 (graf-
taal). Because of â\200\230â\200\234abuse of
powerâ\200\235, Afrikaans had become
identified as â\200\234the language of
the oppressorâ\200\235.

In an effort to set right â\200\234injus-
ticeâ\200\235 being perpetrated against
people as well as against the Af-
rikaans language, he announces
that he has personally commit-
ted himself to â\200\234uncouplingâ\200\235 Af-
rikaans culture and Afrikaans
political power. However, the

. Afrikaans intellectual needed to

do more to free Afrikaans from
â\200\234the stigma that clings to it as a
result of unjustified political de-
signâ\200\235.

It is a â\200\234laudable taskâ\200\235, he
says, but not one that will easily
be completed: â\200\234What makes this
so difficult is that the liberation
of Afrikaans is indissolubly in-
terlinked with the political lib-
eration of the coloured and the
black people.â\200\235

Transkei's new
leader - plead
for investment

Daily News Reporter

TRANSKET'S new leader, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, today called on South Africans to plough money into his country where, he said, the economy had been ravaged by corruption and maladministration,

In his first official address to the nation, General Holomisa also re-assured present investors that their money was safe and that they would not lose any of their holdings. He urged them to help build a clean administration in Transkei which would be of benefit to all the people.

He said that a government official of Cabinet Minister status will tour the country to re-assure investors inside the homeland that it would be a business as usual and that approaches would be made to corporations in South Africa to also invest in the Transkei, especially in labour-intensive industries.

In his address, he also said that rebuilding the economy was the number one priority.

"We are not interested in playing politics and government, we will concentrate on developing the economy," he said.

General Holomisa said that the military council and a ministers' council would jointly run the country, at least until the auditor general had finished his investigations into corruption by government ministers and officials, before allowing free elections.

He made it clear that anyone tainted by corruption because the military was bent on ensuring a just and clean government for the country which, he said, had already lost millions of rands in shady deals by people holding responsible positions in the government.

The address was attended by members of the deposed government, paramount chiefs, civil servants, magistrates, mayors and town clerks in the Transkei.

Holomisa yet to meet with

THE meeting between deposed Transkei Prime Minister Miss Stella Sigcau and the country's new military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, did not take place as scheduled yesterday.

General Holomisa said today that although Miss

Sigcau and her predecessor, Chief George Mantanzi-
ma, had returned to the Transkei, he could not con-
tact either of them.

I telephoned Miss Sigcau at the Prime Minister's
official home, but she was not available, However, I

to the country.

I have no intention of moving into the Prime
Minister's official residence. It will be used for func-
tions and a guest house for visiting leaders, But she

+five-was-at. Edu

â\200\234The Natal Mercury, Wednesday, January 6, 1988

hatcher:
her rise
power

IME MINIS-

TER Margaret
Thatcher would

not appreciate the
comparison, but
there are similarities
between her rise to
power and that of Jo-
seph Stalin. Stalin
was able to supplant
and eventually exter-
minate his Old Bol-
shevik comrades
partly because â\200\224 un-
til it was far too late
â\200\224 they consistently
underestimated him.

Stalin sent those he de-
feated to the Gulag or the
firing squad. In our
gentler climate, the
nearest equivalent is the
House of Lords, but for
the past 12 years underes-
timating Mrs Thatcher
has been the main cause
of political death in Brit-
ain. It is humbling to re-
call that a decade or so
ago sophisticated observ-
ers hardly reckoned with
her.

She was the least well
qualified Leader of the
Opposition for 40 years
(since then we have had
Messrs Michael Foot and
Neil Kinnock). Her only
experience of Cabinet of-
fice, and she had been a very
ordinary Education Sec-
retary. She owed that ap-
pointment largely to the
need to have a woman in
Cabinet: in three-and-a-
half years she did not
really establish the po-
litical strength to outgrow
statutory-womanhood.

While in Mr Edward
Heathâ\200\231s Cabinet, Mrs

Thatcher had made little contribution to the general business of government. Indeed, she gave mute assent to most of the policies she was later to repudiate.

Stubborn
' AS OPPOSITION Lgagler

she quickly made up for -

the muteness, without convincing all the Shadow Cabinet that Mr Heath's Government had been the poorer for it. In the mid-Seventies many senior Conservatives were alarmed by her stubborn naivety. She just did not seem to understand how the world worked. Worse still, instead of listening to those who could have instructed her, she consulted odd, obscure ideologues, who only encouraged her unworldly zealotry.

Some of her colleagues took consolation in the thought that if she were to win an election, the realities of office would educate her. Others thought her ineducable, and feared that rather than bend, she would break. The second group were right - but they overestimated her fragil-

ity. She was not cast-iron,
- but tempered steel. -

London Bureau

the 1906 and 1945 Administrations - but by its second term the Liberal Government was in thrall to the Irish Question, while by 1950 the Labour Government of Clement Attlee was dead on its feet. We can confidently predict that if the Thatcher Government falls, it will not be due to exhaustion, but to over-ambition.

To grasp the full extent of Mrs Thatcher's achievement, we have to look at her opponents. However much the Labour Party denounces her, it is determined to steal many of her policies. More than any of her Conservative predecessors, she has moved the Centre ground of British politics significantly to the Right.

No intellectual

TO WHAT does she owe her successes? Above all, to her power of mind. This has been consistently underrated simply because she does not talk in the way we expect a

very clever person to: she has no sense of irony or

paradox. Despite being the first Conservative leader to use 'intellectual' as a term of approval, she is not one. Asquith

Neil
(above) and Michael Foot Britain's least well qualified Leaders

Kinnock

of the Opposition?

-has left office entirely at

delegates to the Conservative Party conference is the fact that she is Prime Minister. Again, that leads cynical commentators to underestimate her. Surely anyone who talks in that naive, almost child-like fashion cannot be taken seriously?

On the contrary, that extraordinary ordinariness is the basis of her strength. Of course she has made compromises with political reality â\200\224 some of them, such as the Rhodesia/Zimbabwe settlement and the Anglo-Irish Agreement, against all her instincts. But none of these compromises has in any way dimmed her convictions: after nearly nine years she is as much a conviction politician as ever. For her, politics is a crusade or it is nothing.

In this Parliament some of those closest to her have noticed that she is now slightly more relaxed: she is satisfied that her place in history is secure. But in private she is still talking as if she has no early plans to leave Number 10. She will want to play in the new President.

With East-West relations

/in such a crucial phase, |

and given the inadequacy of every other Western leader, she may well find a good reason to try to stay in office almost indefinitely. One would like to think that before she

. retires there will be at

least one other Nato head of government who can deal with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev on equal terms.

Next election

ALMOST all of those who
.
know her expect her to
fight the next election.
But assuming she eventu-
ally retires voluntarily,
another problem will
face her. So far this cen-
tury, no Prime Minister
his own choosing and
then had a long and hap-
py old age. Mrs Thatcher
still believes that as an
ex-Prime Minister she
could somehow become a
normal person. She told
one of her advisers that
the home she has bought
for her retirement, in
Dulwich, south London,
was very convenient for
Central London: â\200\230It'll be
easy for me to get up to
town and meet old
friends for coffee in.
Harrods at 11.15.â\200\235 One
suspects that her ener-
gies will require a more
substantial outlet.

In Britain Margaret
Thatcher has always com-
manded much more re-
spect than affection.
Abroad, however, she is
seen as a fascinating,
even romantic figure.
Foreigners tend to have a
clear-cut appreciation of
her role in British poli-
tics. They think that until
she came along the coun-
try was going down the
tube, but that she saved it

single-handedly.

Foreigners sometimes
see more of the game
than the natives do.

| %g:xnday Telegraph

4 AL

Of course, even then
she had many admirers in

. the Conservative Party,
albeit mainly in the mid-
dle and lower ranks. But

few even of her most de-
voted supporters could
have imagined that as
this New Year begins she
would be passing Herbert
Asquith's record as the
longest-serving Prime

. Minister this century,
with the longest period of
consecutive service since
Lord Liverpool.

Tireless
POLITICAL longevity is

price of exhaustion but
neither she nor her ad-
ministration shows any
signs of that. We have
never had a Government
| _ at least, not since
Liverpool which has
been so good at regener-
ating itself while in of-
fice. This makes it
formidable.

Usually, by the time a
Government has been in
power this long, with a
corresponding mastery of
the government machine,
ministers no longer know
what they want to do. The
Thatcher Administration
shows no such infirmity
of purpose. This is much

the most radical and.
"thoritative Government
we have had in peace-
time. The only rivals are

usually bought only at the .

had no interest in meta-
physics: she has the inter-
est, but not the capacity.
Where speculative think-

ers deal in doubts and fine distinctions, she seeks certainty and dogma.

However, her capacity | to master the full complexity of all the detail on all the subjects that come within a Prime Minister's purview is awe-inspiring. There have been cleverer Prime Ministers, but in that respect she has no superior. She may not have a subtle mind, but by God she has a strong one. Her mental processes depend on unremitting energy, which she possesses. For the past 12 years, she has probably worked harder than anyone else in the world engaged in brain-work. X

But her greatest asset is her simplicity. After all the detail, she loves to reduce an issue to a black-and-white choice. She is right and the Socialists are wrong. She is never happier than when giving simple moral lectures. Eyes flashing, finger wagging, she will explain why Socialism is evil.

Extraordinary
IN THAT mode, all that seems to distinguish her from a thousand female

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0 RN Yoy . s
COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160 ~

RS MARGARET 'nmlz;r\

got a tumultuous reception
when she touched on African
ground, in Nairobi on Monday.

At the same time she strongly attacked
those engaged in the sanctions campaign
against South Africa.

The British prime minister started her
African safari with yet another record
behind her â\200\224 this time as the longest-
serving British prime minister this century.

That, for us, is the nub of the matter.

For, if Mrs Thatcher has been so
successful as a leader, and if she is
accepted so warmly in Africa, she has done
little to help the people of South Africa.

All of Africa knows about apartheid in
South Africa. Mrs Thatcher herself has on
countless occasions attacked apartheid.
That is as far as her â\200\234helpâ\200\235 in resolving this
countryâ\200\231s serious problems has gone.

With the laws of this country as
ridiculous as they are, it is difficult for us to
enter the sanctions debate. |

We are nevertheless not impressed by
the British Conservative Partyâ\200\231s sudden
altruism towards the welfare of blacks who
would suffer because of sanctions.

What Mrs Thatcher and her government
should do is convince South Africa that

~ apartheid is a sin against humanity; that
apartheid has led to â\200\230many tragic
situations; that South Africa and the whole
of Africa will not be peaceful until the
apartheid system crumbles.

HE shack dwellers at Mac-
Donaldâ\200\231s Farm in Soweto are
being used as a political football by

the local authorities. :

Some of the shacks were demolished
yesterday and the 250 families still in that
area have been given until next Wednesday
to leave.

Those who qualify for accommodation
in Soweto have been promised a place at

_another squatter camp.

Many of them are not happy about going there.

The rest who, for one ridiculous reason or the other, do not qualify for urban houses have been told they would be moved to a place outside Soweto.

This shunting about of families is inhuman. v

The local authorities should concentrate on getting houses for all who need them.

_ SOWETAN,â\200\230Wednesday; Janlrary 6, 1988 _

N

AN Zattorneyâ\200\231s client ' ;

should be sure that his
communications to him
will be treated with the
utmostâ\200\235 confidentiality,
guaranteed by- law. But

does our law offer such
2 glianntee? & /88 Â°
: n an articl/e /in the

latest edition of De
Rebus, the South African
attorneysâ\200\231 journal, Mr
Nicholas Haysom says
South African law does
not adequately protect
.attorney-client confi-
dentiality.

Mr Haysom, a senior
researcher of the Centre
for Applied Legal
Studies of the University
of the Witwatersrand,
has also called on the
Association of Law
Societies (ALS) to
submit an amicus curiae
(disinterested adviser)
brief or even become a
party to proceedings
where the principle of
confidentiality is at issue.

He has called for
urgent measures to
safeguard the inviolabi-
lity of communications
between attorney and

client. ;â\200\231W 1

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System
In Commonwealth

contries such as Canada,
Australia and New

Zealand, the legal system of which are based on the British system, â\200\230Mr Haysom says there is a growing move by the courts to protect confidentiality â\200\224 nght from the first communication between attorney and client.

â\200\234The breach -of this

confidentiality may outweigh the good that may come from obtaining information which

may lead to the |

occasional conviction of a guilty person.-

â\200\234The absence of a legal guarantee of confidentiality would enable investigating officers simply to seize defence attorneysâ\200\231 notes, briefs and documents,â\200\235 says

Mr Haysom.

I.avr-clie privilege

Documents

Attorney-client confidentiality has been regularly breached in South Africa. â\200\234Attorneys have been instructed to give up documents which have no bearing on court proceedings.

â\200\234Even communications and documents which relate to litigation have been the subject of search warrants authorised not only in terms of criminal procedure statutes, but also under a host of recent statutes such as income tax and commercial discourse, a number of which expressly provide for the search and seizure of documents.â\200\235

Mr Haysom sees the problem as a clash between lawyers and the

_State over the â\200\234proper

ambitâ\200\235 of the principle
that communications be-
tween attorney and client
are privileged and cannot
therefore be infringed..
He wurgues strict
guarantees of the

confidentiality principle

â\200\234if only to preserve the

- integrity of a legal system

which demands and
allows representation by
lawyers.â\200\235 w4

it 0 -

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&

s -

1 ability in SA, Which

| those countries

| keeps public seryan

| lic mon

| misappropriations

'BUSINESS DAY, Wudmsday,

January 6 1988

commenr

o ER R e

| Public

- [l toseek tighter control over the
administration of funds which

- â\204ç Transkei or the other three

Dominally independent home-\

lands might shoy they cannot ag-

minister Properly. What is needed

. is that un-South African activity,

_ public accountability,

. _And that meang

| Venda ang Ciskei going. The

, amounts inyo]

| is public money provided by SAâ\200\231s

Â« yers. The only way to ensure

L that it is Properly spent is to make

Provide SA with

| detailed accounts of where jt goes

. and for the SA government then to

- provide Parliament, which voted

the money in the first place, with

. those accounts and the opportup-

ity to debate them. :

i 0 coups in Transk

ei, al}eged-

- the face of tempting sums of pub-

ey is the knowledge that

[Up by audits, investigations 3rd
E parliamentary scrutiny,

Protestations about the jnde.-
' pendence of the TBVC countries

- lgnore thei jr continuing financja]
dependence on SA. If it was their
money, !:hey could deal with it as

they wished, from ministerja]

T IS not eÃ enough for South Africa

- Some homelangs,

Will be shown

residences and private fa
fancy harboys

â\200\230built and unneeded aj

at, on average, half of the mon-
Spent in homeland budgets is
our money and, in the cage of
â\200\234qa . more than half.
ich gives SA a big say in the
tunes played by homeland pipers.
This financial year, the Depart-
ment of Foreign Affairs provideq
R1,69bn to the TBVC countries for
and other needs,

0 guarantee. Then SA
gives them the money to repay the
interest on those loans, which by
now total R2bn.

_Government has already set up
control measures to limit wastage
and unnecessary Spending in the
homelangs, TightÃ@râ\200\230contrq]s haye

What needs to follow is parlia-
mentary Scrutiny. Let SAâ\200\231s tax-
Payers judge whether their money
is being Properly allocated and
Wwisely spent. .

: : e

6 The Star Wednesday January 6 1988

Che Star
Stop the carnage
keep on talking

- THE SPATE of killings in the times and aggressors has a duty Maritzburg area defies com- to rise above mistrust and prehension. Whatever has been ideological differences to find done has so far failed to make 3 way to stop this tragedy. But the slightest impression on the Some leaders give an impression fighting. Police reinforcement that they will not be undyments have been sent in, Mr ly perturbed to see a perma-

- Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Law nent collapse of the peace

and Order, visited the area and talks which the local chamber Promised action to stop the of commerce has been trvyi

senseless carnage. Leaders to conduct. The slanging and intermediaries have, al- matech of the past week can

- beit with qualifications, called only help raise passions. This for restraint. : is a time for cool heads. There

The season of goodwill pro- is no political mileage to be

- duced the highest fatalities gained from deaths and injury. since the hostilities began. Attempts are being made to Forty-eight people have been re-start the peace talks; the killed since Christmas, five on police say they are taking â\200\234ad-Sunday alone. Police estimate ditiona] measuresâ\200\235 and re- 280 people have died since the viewing the manpower situa- fighting started. These are tion, The first priority must be horrific statistjcs, : to end the carnage. Then, it is

Suffering on such a scale at to be hoped, the conflicting least ought to make leaders of factions might be persuaded to the warring factions take sit down in a reasonably calm peace talks seriously. Instead, atmosphere, identify the main posturings, recriminations and Problems and seek a way insults are hurled back and round them, forth. ; Already this dreadful exam-

- When young and old are ple of â\200\234black on blackâ\200\235 vio- â\200\230killed in the most hideous fash- Hence sets a dangerous and ion and their homes put to the worrying example to the rest torch, â\200\230surely the leadership of the country. The conflict claiming to represent both vic- must be resolved soon,

lomisa Jast week,

The South African Government
. kei before jt would officially rec.
. last week, the Minister of Foreign Affaj x Botha,
an interview op â\200\234Networkâ\200\235, Mr Botha said Sou
tig% with T,

rankskei were the Same as before the coup.

ve been in contact with th
' he has the full

â\202¬ president, Paramoynt
CO-Operation of the mili
" all previous agree

ry
ments with Transkej rem
He said the New, government had indj
discussions with South Africa,
* The South African Government would Âç
New government â\200\234once we have a clear,
he situation thereâ\200\235, f

Mr Botha said
He refuseq to discuss

the politica] trouble in Trans-
kei and who held rea]

Power, saying he was â\200\234hesitant
0 discuss the internal aff

airs of neighbo
Â® The fprmer Transkeij Prime Mj

g at a private
Ba lizabeth since his
t October.,
ranskeiâ\200\231s new military Jeade
Bantu Holomisa, saj

tanzima resigned in October following de-

mands by the thep ruling party and wag Succeeded by
iss Stella Sigcau, who Was deposed by Genera] Ho-

- â\200\224 Sapa. .

SA Police |
deny
siding
with
Inkatha

Witness Reporter
POLICE yesterday
denied that they were
siding with Inkatha in
township conflict and
stressed they were there
merely to maintain law
and order.

Acting police liaison
officer, Major C. du Ples-
sis was reacting to Mon-
dayâ\200\231s statement by UDF
president, Mr Archie Gu- |
mede, that the police re-
inforcements being sent.
into the cityâ\200\231s townships
were â\200\234for Inkathaâ\200\235.

Major du Plessis said
he wanted to â\200\234put the re-
cord straight from the
police point of viewâ\200\235.
The policeâ\200\231s task was to
investigate crime and
this was done â\200\234impartial-
lyâ\200\235, he said.

The Chief Minister of
KwaZulu and president
of Inkatha, Chief Mango-
suthu Buthelezi, de-
clined to comment on Mr
Gumedeâ\200\231s statement.

According to yester-
dayâ\200\231s official unrest
report released by the
police, five more people
died in political violence
around the city. 3

This brings the death -

B L g

Three men were killed
at Mbubu when they
were attacked by a group
wielding sharp instru-
ments. A fourth man was
slightly injured and one
man arrested. i ;

In Elandskop police
found the body of a man
with stab wounds, and in
Deda the body of a youth
was found with several
stab wounds.

In other incidents of
unrest around the coun-

try police arrested six
people in Botshabelo
near Bloemfontein after
a crowd stoned several
buses. A

Police said that a pos-
sible motive for the at-
| tacks could be commuter
dissatisfaction with the
increased bus fares.

e i e
DO o s

BdaNaRdy" 6 Janiary T8s

e "i¬\201%*b\i¬\202ZE'N L e
Rights of Whites must be safeguarded â\200\224 Mayor

DURBAN. â\200\224 *=The
â\200\230Durban_City Council
will definitely not de-
part from its â\200\234open
beachesâ\200\235 policy, the
mayor, Mr Henry
Klotz said yesterday.

Mr Klotz underlined
this policy yesterday in
spite of â\200\234certain difficul-
ties relating to beach
overcrowdingâ\200\235 which, he
admitted, had been ex-
perienced during the New
Year long weekend.

Mr Klotz appealed to
Â«all interested parties, in-
cluding the Chamber of
Commerce and the pri-
vate sectorâ\200\235 for ideas as
well as â\200\234practical sup-
portâ\200\235 in finding a solution
to beach overcrowding.

â\200\234It is going to be costly,
expensive and if there are
people who are prepared
to offer financial help, we
(the City Council) will be
glad of it.â\200\235

Mr Klotzâ\200\231s view is that
â\200\234somehow we have to get
a more even distribution
of people in future, t0
avoid the incredible con-
gestion which was experi-
enced at North Beach
over New Yearâ\200\235.

His belief is that Dur-
banâ\200\231s other beaches which
are now nonracial, must
be made more attractive.
And by that, he meant
the provision of *addit-
ional facilitiesâ\200\235. :

A main North Beach
problem which Mr Klotz

found, was that paddling
pools intended for the ex-
clusive use of children
under 12, were monopol-
ised if not completely

taken over, by 24 hosts of adults, mainly Blacks. 235
234 On one of my many trips to the beaches over the New Year weekend, I instructed some beach supervisors to order these adults many of them around 25 years old out of the pools when I saw them using balls of varying sizes as make-shift means of playing a game which resembled water polo 235, the mayor said. Mr Klotz said that, as part of the plan to provide equal facilities, or as close to them as possible, at all beaches, the City Council

~ would have its next splash

230 Open 231 beaches to stay
pite overcrowding

pool built at what used to be the 234 Blacks only 235 beach near Natal Com-

234 I believe this is our 230 main problem. We have to ensure that every beach has entertainment facilities and services, and my special beaches sub-committee will begin tackling this question, probably before this month is out.

«But I stress 224 there is no question of our going back on our open beaches
plan.

234 It could be the sub-committee will begin talking this one over as early as next week. We have to find a plan, and 2 suitable one, which will allow the Blacks to be upgraded as far as beaches are con-

X

cerned. We are certainly not going to deface our beaches with barricades, or anything like that.

234 What must be overcome, in the main, is overcrowding of any one particular beach, or more.

â\200\234At the same time, we must safeguard the rights of our visitors and our own White population.

â\200\234Everybody deserves an equal chance, and equal facilities, at Durbanâ\200\231s beaches. That is the plan towards which we will be working, and I am hopeful it can largely be put right before next December â\200\224 for December and January are, and will always remain, Durbanâ\200\231s top holiday season,â\200\235 Mr Klotz said. â\200\224 Sapa

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| nationalist leader Nelson
â\200\230| be helpful. But she felt
â\200\230| had made no objection to
. | scribed the talks as very

Mrs Thatcher said she
would like to see the early
release of jailed Black

Mandela and did not rule
out making a visit to
South Africa if that would

the time was not ripe, he
added. :
In reply to a question,

Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s sugges-
tion of a possible South

& Kenyan;fi~\201ualssalctlney

. had examined ways of en-
* hancing co-operation be-
tween the two countries.

Mrs Thatcher -~ laid

wreaths at the tomb of
founding Kenyan Presi-
dent Jomo Kenyatta and

at a Commonwealth war
graves cemetery before
driving ' 50 km south of
Nairobi to visit a rural
training centre set in the
rolling scrubland of
Kenyaâ\200\231s high plateau.
There she was shown
projects such as a tannery

and joinery designed to teach modern skills to Kenyaâ\200\231s traditionally nomadic Masai. cattleherders and was presented with a knee-length bead necklace by colourfully-dressed Masai tribeswomen.

* Accompanied by her

husband Denis, the British leader later toured a tea farm and factory before returning to Nairobi to attend a State banquet in her honour hosted by Mr Moi. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

House to be recalled early amid hints of big changes

Pretoria may spring
an election this year
to foil its opponents

From David Beresford

in Capetown

1 There is increasing speculation in South Africa that the Government may call a general election this year, as well as introducing constitutional changes to end no-confidence debates in Parliament.

+ The speculation over an early election follows the recent decision of the Coloured Labour Party â\200\224 which controls one of the three Houses of Parliament â\200\224 .to block government attempts to postpone the scheduled 1989 election until 1992.

. Labour has warned Pretoria that it will obstruct the plan unless the Government agrees to repeal the Group Areas Act, providing for residential segregation.

_The ruling National Party is apparently anxious to avoid an election next year, because of â\200\230the impact it would have on its attempts to resolve the constitutional crisis over black voting rights.

It would be virtually impossible for it to tackle the issue in the run-up to an election, as it â\200\230would make the National Party particularly vulnerable to the burgeoning new official opposition, the extreme rightwing Conservative Party.

- It now appears possible that Mr Botha, in an attempt to wrong-foot his opponents, will call a snap election early in the year, â\200\230or hold it in October Wwhen the country goes to the polls for national municipal elections. A general election would be for all three houses of Parliament â\200\224 representing

whites, Coloureds and Indians.
The deadlock over the post-

ponement of an election arises because a majority is required of all three houses to overturn an entrenched constitutional clause requiring that an election be held every five years.

Although a whites-only election was held in May last year, the term of the Coloured and Indian houses expires next year.

An alternative strategy for Mr Botha is to ensure that members of the Labour Party claim government MPs are already pursuing it is to provoke a split in the Coloured House of Representatives over members' pension rights.

By law, MPs only receive a parliamentary pension after 7 years, which in the case of sitting Coloured MPs would be in 1992.

In view of the paltry votes by which many Coloured MPs won their seats in the face of a community boycott of the last elections as well as their less than admirable performances as parliamentarians, many risk losing their seats and salaries as well as pensions.

The speculation as to the ending of no-confidence debates has been triggered by an announcement that the new session of Parliament will open five days early, on February 1.

The Government has refused to explain the early opening, but opposition MPs claim that it is to introduce changes to Parliamentary procedures ending no confidence debates and strengthening the powers

of the government chief whip which were previously blocked by the Coloured House of Representatives.

Meanwhile, the South African police have confirmed that they are sending reinforcements to Natal in what the pro-government press has claimed is a secret plan to end the escalating war between followers of the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and supporters of the United Democratic Front.

The announcement followed reports that another five people had been killed in the Pietermaritzburg area of Natal, bringing the death toll to 21 reported already this year. The latest victims were all stabbed.

Police plans to end the violence in Natal always draw some scepticism; the last time they said they were planning to stamp it out, the conflict escalated to an unprecedented level.

The President of the UDF, M.r Archie Gumede, received the news of the police action with the comment yesterday that they were â\200\234reinforcements for Inkatha.â\200\235

An estimated 268 people died in the fighting during 1987, and more than half of them were in the last three months of the year.

The affiliations of those killed: are a subject of dispute. Local church groups insist that a substantial majority are followers of the UDF Killed by Inkatha, although the pro-Government press has quoted â\200\234â\200\230security sourcesâ\200\235 as saying that Inkatha are the victims.

Jon Qwelane g

PERHAPS the immediate casualty of the furiously escalating war in Maritzburgâ\200\231s black townships â\200\224 besides truth â\200\224 is Chief Mangosuthu Butheleziâ\200\231s dream of a jointly governed Natal incorporating kwaZulu.

He has convinced many whites and

all his followers in Inkatha of the ideal of a kwaZulu-Natal area, governed by a common legislature. Most of the white population â\200\224 and the provincial administration â\200\224 back the idea.

. Superficially, the struggle in Maritzburg townships is one for ideological supremacy which the stronger of the two combatants â\200\224 either the United Democratic Front or Inkatha â\200\224 must win to assert its political authority over hundreds of thousands of township residents.

But a closer look indicates it will be a war with no winner: the political implications for victor and vanquished alike would be tremendous. It could well be a fight to the death.

Says a resident who has closely followed and documented the fighting: â\200\234Victory for either Inkatha or the UDF in Maritzburg will be a great psychological boost for the supporters of the organisation and may open the way for similar showdowns elsewhere in the country where the

Buthl

s dream

dies in Natal War/

victor would want to stamp out the adversary once and for all.

â\200\234On the other hand defeat might not be interpreted as such by the vanquished. The organisation might see it as a major setback requiring adequate correction before resuming hostilities.â\200\235

The man speaking is himself not involved, but has changed cars at least nine times in the past few

onths because â\200\234I have strong reason to believe members of the one

side are convinced I take sides, sim-

ply because I have refused to be on their side. That does not mean I have agreed to side with the other group, for I -am neutral in the whole business.â\200\235

He answers his telephone to say he is not there and only when he is convinced of the callerâ\200\231s bona fides does he confide his identity.

He explains: â\200\234It is what a number

of other people do as well. How do you know the caller is not telephoning from a call-box opposite your office, only to be lying in ambush when you step out into the street?â\200\235

Ambushes are a feature of township life, a fact attested to by those brave enough to be interviewed.

People are now fearful of attending friendsâ\200\231 funerals because â\200\234too many people have been ambushed at the gates of the cemeteries and killedâ\200\235, says one man.

Another says it has happened â\200\234several timesâ\200\235, and is becoming a pattern, that people are removed from buses and taxis and butchered.

The origins of the fighting are shrouded in the ideologies of the two organisations,

Both claim to be fighting white domination and apartheid, in the struggle for liberation. But the differ-

ences between Inkatha and the UDF are almost irreconcilable.

The UDF strongly supports international sanctions against South Africa; Inkatha has campaigned against all punitive economic measures.

The UDF is opposed to racial, ethnic and cultural divisions and to the homelands policy. Inkatha has its roots in the kwaZulu homeland where it is the only political organi-

sation and its president is also the-

homelandâ\200\231s political leader.

But perhaps most glaring of the differences â\200\224 and least mentioned â\200\224 is the question of legitimacy as successor to the ideals and principles of the outlawed African National Congress.

Chief Buthelezi often recalls his

ANC membership and has said Inkatha is continuing on the non-violent path and other ideals of the early ANC movement. There is no love lost

between Inkatha and the ANC

But there is no evidence of hostility between the ANC and the UDF. Indeed, though the UDF has gone to great pains to explain it is an independent organisation with no links

to any outside body, there appear

to be similarities in their approaches: the adoption of the Freedom Charter and the opening of membership to blacks and whites.

In Natal's urban areas, particularly

Durban and Maritzburg, Inkatha is |

not the dominant force it is elsewhere in Natal.

Before the advent of the UDF there had been a level of resistance

in Natal townships. Matters gradually

deteriorated with the cooling of relations between the Inkatha leadership and the exiled ANC. Inkatha refused to support protests mounted in the townships and lost the support of the politicised youth.

Shortly after the murder in Kwa-Mashu township of Victoria Mxenge, a prominent lawyer and UDF supporter, things got bad.

A week after the slaying, houses and business belonging to Inkatha members went up in flames, and

about 20 people were killed as

Natal's black community turned on itself.

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