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Fourth year of state of emergenc

Fewer detentions,  
but the state

has other ways  
to crush dissent

With the advent of the fourth state of emergency the Government has come to rely less on mass detentions, and is using methods, such as the restriction of individual freedoms, including house arrest, for combatting resistance to apartheid. WYNDHAM HARTLEY reports on three years of emergency rule leading up to the reimposition yesterday.

IN early 1986 civil insurrection was at its height and two partial states of emergency failed to contain it. This led President P.W. Botha to impose a national state of emergency on June 12, saying that circumstances had arisen which threatened law and order and the safety of the public.

On the same day the detentions began, with more than 1000 activists being detained in a pre-dawn raid. By the time the

Ay L N A S S o S O S T S imamst s

first year of emergency rule closed on June 11, 1987 more than 25 000 people had been detained. This figure includes those detained for less than 30 days who are not recorded in official Department of Law and Order statistical releases to Parliament. The second year of the national emergency saw a dramatic decrease in detentions with 5 000 people held by the state and the third year saw this drop even further

10 June 1989

with 2000 being detained up to February 1989

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At the end of 1988 about 30% of all detentions were in the Pietermaritzburg area, the Human Rights Commission said in a recent report. :

More than 20% of the detainees are UDF affiliates, many of these being from Hammarisdale ... Inkatha members and members of the Black Consciousness organisations remain relatively untouched.

The most dramatic response to emergency detentions occurred earlier this year with the mass hunger strikes by detainees which successfully secured the release of many detainees. Most were, however, served with restriction orders upon their release.

However detention as a means of combating resistance to apartheid and the National Party Government has become less important to the authorities and has been used less and less as the emergency has continued. ;

The late David Webster, murdered recently by unknown gunmen outside his Johannesburg home, in an article published by the Human Rights Commission, said that in the last 18 months there had been a discernable drop in the militancy of extra-par-

liamentary opposition and that detentions were normally an accurate reflection of the state of the struggle.

He suggested that this could be explained by activists evolving more secretive and evasive techniques of organisation and the decline in the number of detentions can be explained by the state's use of other methods to achieve the same results.

One of the methods used was the restriction of both organisations and individuals.

This began in earnest during the run up to the municipal elections when on February 24, 1988 the state effectively banned 17 organisations including the United Democratic Front seen to be at the forefront of

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the internal resistance movement.

Also on the list were the Azanian People's Organisation, its youth wing Azayo, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, De-

taineesâ\200\231 Support Committee, the National Education Crisis Committee, the National Education Union of South Africa, and the South African Youth Congress. At the same time the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) effectively had, through a restriction order, its activities confined to the work place.

In an attempt to circumvent the bannings the Committee for the Defence of Democracy was formed in the Cape after the initial restrictions. The state took only six days to impose similar conditions on it.

Along with the organisations, individuals, including local UDF chairman, Mr A.S. Chetty, and local clergyman Reverend Simon Gqubule, were restricted to their homes.

Dr Webster wrote of the banning orders:  
â\200\234The restrictions tend to prohibit the restricted person from engaging in the activities which occupied them before their detention. This effectively renders such people unemployed, and sometimes unemployable. Zwelakhe Sisulu (editor of New Nation) is one such case, as is Raymond Suttner.

â\200\234Both are also house arrested and have to report to the police twice daily.â\200\235

He pointed also to the situation of two activists on the West Rand who have to report to the police at 10 am and 2 pm, making it impossible for them to find employment. A restricted man on Natalâ\200\231s south coast is unemployed for similar reasons and has to spend R7 a day travelling to the distant police station.

The punitive measures against organisations and individuals were all renewed when the state of emergency was re proclaimed on June 10, 1988.

The End Conscription Campaign, long a

IR S

The Natal Witness, Saturday, June 10, 1989 Page 5  
thorn in the side of Defence â\200\230Minister Mag- g ' nus Malan, became the 19th organisation to ; i be restricted and since then many more fol-

lowed bringing the total in yesterdayâ\200\231s Government Gazette with the new declaration

. this week to 32.  
According to Dr Webster the courts were  
1 of 3. also used to criminalise opposition and this showed in the sharp increase in political

trials during the three years of emergency.

- â\200\234In the year ending June 1988, for example, 51 political trials involving 165 people were completed with 80 convictions and 85 acquittals. A further 58 trials were in progress involving 232 accused.â\200\235

While detentions excited considerable controversy, so to did the emergency media regulations which prohibit the recording of unrest or reporting on police and security force a;tggns. These regulations have survived, with amendments, a number of Supreme Court challenges brought by individuals, organisations and the media.

The media regulations have been used to warn six publications about the publication of â\200\234subversiveâ\200\235 propaganda which was considered by Home Affairs Minister, Mr Stof-fel Botha, to be a threat to public safety.

Three publications â\200\224 New Nation, South and Weekly Mail â\200\224 suffered suspensions under the same regulations. A number of other publications are reported to be facing charges for publishing material prohibited by the media regulations.

The state of emergency has been used to protect two elections, the House of Assembly polls in May 1987 and the municipal elections last year. One of the reasons for not lifting the emergency is the need to control opposition to the forthcoming general election for all three houses of Parliament.

President Botha, in the end, will now be remembered as the man who failed to cross ; the Rubicon, failed to release Nelson Mandela and committed the country to a semi- L President P.W. BOTHA i permanent state of emergency. A

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| No decision on venue S|

Pi~\20lace talks may

ATRCLOITNES

xt week!

begin

by CARMEL RICKARD

PLANNED peace talks tween  
senior delegations from Inka-  
tha, the Congress of South Afri-  
can Trade Unions and the

. United Democratic Front could  
take place as early as the  
middle of next week.

Although neither side has yet

" confirmed the date or venue, it

â\200\234is understood that a meeting  
place in Natal was being dis-  
cussed.

The meeting was made pos-

= sible earlier this week when In-  
katha president Chief Mangosu-  
thu Buthelezi opened the way  
for initial talks at a venue other  
than Ulundi. )

During discussions in Ulundi  
this week with a delegation  
from the Anglican synod, he  
said he would be prepared to  
ask senior colleagues to attend  
a meeting with Cosatu and the  
UDF â\200\234at any agreed venueâ\200\235.

Negotiations between the two  
sides have been in progress  
since then, to finalise the date

- and meeting place.

The proposed meeting has  
been welcomed by the regional  
director of the Democratic

. Party, Mr Roy Ainslie, who said

~&e believed unilateral peace at-

. tempts would not work.  
- He said the only way to begin  
- controlling the violence was  
-through a joint strategy.

~ Members of Cosatu yesterday expressed the hope that the meeting would deal with specific proposals and that they

would not get bogged down discussing the issue of why Cosatu

- and the UDF had not agreed to go to Ulundi,

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/0 June /985  
Police deny 1

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banning funeral

Witness Reporter  
SOUTH African Police have denied refusing to grant permission for the funeral of Mrs Jabu Ndlovu, a key official of the National Union of Metalworkers South Africa, which was to have taken place today.

Police spokesman Major Pieter Kitching said yesterday that the application had been received late on Thursday afternoon and that it was still in the process of being dealt with.

He said that, as far as the police were concerned, they

- had not refused to grant permission and that each application for a funeral was dealt with on merit with specific regard to security.

The authority to restrict funerals in the Mountain Rise cemetery lay with the municipality's Parks Department, he said.

Director Mr Frank Quayle said that under delegation of authority he had restricted the funeral because of the risk to life and property of surrounding residents.

Mr Quayle said there were six other funerals also due to be held today around 11 am and 3 pm and that the funeral could go ahead on Monday.

Â® Major Kitching said a further two people had been arrested in

connection with the murder of  
Mrs Ndlovu.

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TIGHT new curbs including house arrest and bans on media interviews have been placed on a number of activists whosz restriction orders were due to end with the curreÂ¢nt state of emergency on

ne 12.

44 Paliee yesterday served new orders â\200\224 many containing additional clauses â\200\224 on most of the 500 people and 32 organisations currently restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

The renewals follow an announcement by State President P.W. Botha on Thursday that the state of emergency was to be re-imposed.

The most notable additional curb is a clause forbidding the restricted person from taking part â\200\234in any interview with any journalist, news reporter, news commentator or news correspondentâ\200\235,

Accordlng â\200\230o Law and |

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dier Leon. Met how-'

ever, while some restricted persons may have been â\200\234silencedâ\200\235, restrictions on others have been eased.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s not a new trend. Not everyone has been

prevented from speaking

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pende on the circum--'

stances of the individual.  
Some have had their re-

- strictions eased and

some have had them

- lifted altogether,â\200\235 Briga-

dier Mellet said last

. night. He was unable to

give numbers.

Among those served  
with a house arrest order  
was human rights lawyer  
and chairman of the  
Johannesburg branch of  
the National Association  
of Democratic Lawyers

' (Nadel), Mr Azhar Cacha-

lia.

In a statement last  
night Nadel said Mr Ca-

. chalia had been placed

under house arrest from  
8 pmt05 am every day.

Nadel condemned the  
restriction order and  
said it would make it ex-  
tremely difficult, if not  
impossible, for Mr Ca-  
chalia to practise as an  
attorney with a nation-  
wide practice.

Meanwhile, interna-  
tional reaction to Mr Bo-  
thaâ\200\231s announcement has  
been sharply -critical.  
â\200\234We consider this action  
aserious obstacle to a so-  
lution to South Africaâ\200\231s

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true dilemma â\200\224 racial  
discrimination and  
minority rule,â\200\235 the U.S.  
. State Department said.

Fifty-seven senators

. from the U.S. Congress

sent a telegram to Mr  
Botha expressing their

Turn to page 2

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lamps

eople

Constable A.W. Jaftha at the Plessislaer Police Station with a number of stolen items recovered byâ\200\231  
.the S.A.P. recently. The goods include a Soni video machine, two National videos, a music centre.  
" .and a radio cassette player. Anyone who is missing any of the above items can phone 9842 22.

â\200\224â\200\224

Tutu elected to Harvard board

CAMBRIDGE (Massachusetts) â\200\224 Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu was elected to Harvard Universityâ\200\231s governing board of overseers this week despite strong opposition from the Alumni Association. Archbishop Tutu was nominated by a Harvard alumni group which opposes apartheid and has been pressuring the university to divest \$160 million in investments related to South Africa. The election provoked a bitter public battle and Harvard officials, normally neutral in such elections, urged alumni not

vote for â\200\234single-issue candidatesâ\200\235. = Sapa-.AP, 9  
NATALWITNESS â\200\224 10 Tune

iskeians â\200\230must plough their field  
Ciskeians â\200\230must plough

BISHOP â\200\224 Ciskeiâ\200\231s rural communities have been called upon in the National Assembly to plough their fields, with one MP even suggesting land found lying idle should be confiscated. ~ - L  
He calls were made during debate of the policy speech of the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Luyanda Ngoma. Chief Z.P. Siwani proposed a bill empowering the confiscation of fields that were not tilled by

their owners. He criticised headmen for not doing"

their work in the rural areas. â\200\224 Sapa.

qVA

â\200\230Human Rights said the Government  
| m \ idespread, massive  
â\200\234violations of human rights had

v sgcironipage .

| disappointment at his decision.  
~ The Japanese government  
â\200\234strongly requestedâ\200\235 Pretoria

immediately. 3

- Reaction inside the country

~Tiaan van der Merwe said the Government was causing South Africa to be in a permanent

| state of emergency.

~ KwaZulu Chief Minister

'| Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the

~re-imposition of the state of emergency â\200\234is a tra%'ic indica-

- tion of the abnormality of our

societyâ\200\235, while Lawyers for

I sh members con-  
. demonstration in  
irg yesterday con-

| demningtherenewal.

~ torepeal the state of emergency

was mixed. Democratic Party cans.  
spokesman on Law and Order

Va71 Tr)e s /0 Jure 1891  
'Renewed emergency: mixed  
reaction within country

- The National Unionâ\204çof  
â\200\230Metalworkers of South Africa  
(Numsa) said it was a clear indi-  
cation the Government was  
â\200\230committed to the use of force to  
suppress the democratic rights  
of the majority of South Afri-â\200\231  
But the Conservative Party  
yesterday came out in support  
of Mr Botha, with Mr Moolman  
Mentz, spokesman on Law and  
Order, saying it was clear that  
the re-imposition of the emer-  
- gency was justified. â\200\230

~ The leader of the National

\_ Party, Mr F.W. de Klerk, said  
positive results had already  
been obtained from the pre-

~ vious state of emergency and a

~certain degree of stability had

' "â\200\230:.beï¬\201(-:n' iâ\200\231aÃ@hfeï¬\201bÃ@â\200\230ï¬\202"thl&?ugh the apÃ». #  
- ~plication of law and

ind order. 1

Minister of Finance Barend  
du Plessis said those seeking to  
sow chaos in the economy had to

~ bestopped. â\200\224 Sapaâ\200\230WR. p

10 june \A3H

paler shade

â\200\234"gâ\200\230â\200\234â\200\234roup areas

ake no mistake, the â\200\230free settlementâ\200\231 option means rigid controls â\200\224 and non- racial

â\200\231owns with their own local government are unlikely. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

AF' Iâ\200\230ER decades of

preaching the virtues of  
residential segregation, the:

National Party has finally

accepted there is a need to  
establish areas of â\200\234free set-

tlementâ\200\235.

It has already taken the  
first tentative steps in that  
direction with the passing of  
the Free Settlement Areas  
Act and the formation of the  
Free Settlement Areas Board  
this year.

The newly-created board is  
entrusted with the task of over-  
seeing and controlling the emer-  
gence of racially open settlement  
areas.

- Mr Heinz Kruger, the boardâ\200\231s  
chairman, said that he hoped to  
clear the way soon for the estab-  
lishment of free settlement areas  
at Countryview in Midrand, and

Diepsloot, north of Johannes-

burg.

â\200\234I am hoping to get some-  
where with those two by the end  
of July,â\200\235 Mr Kruger said. After

that, he added, the board will in- .

investigate the next three areas earmarked for possible free settlement: parts of Mayfair, Windmill Park adjacent to Boksburg, and the Warwick Triangle in Durban.

Associated with the free settlement is a related concept: voluntary association. It allows for the genesis of a new group of people who prefer not to be classified according to race, but rather as a racially open or non-racial group.

Voluntary association stands

in the same antithetical relation-

ship to mandatory race classification

as free settlement does to

enforced residential segregation.

The Government, however, is

not offering free settlement and |

voluntary association as a replacement for its policies of resi-

dential segregation (â\200\234own areasâ\200\235) and race classification. They are

propounded as an option to the

" older policies and will co-exist with them.

These modifications of, or addenda to, established policy have

.| drawn conflicting reactions. Two can be identified at the ex-

tremes.

One sees them as a bold step designed to facilitate gradual transition from the old racial order to a new non-racial society as more and more people vacate the racially segregated towns for the brave new world of free settlement and voluntary association. -

gem devised to bolster the old order.

It sees them as a strategic retreat in which some areas are

abandoned or identified for free |

settlement in order to better pro-

fect the segregated strongholds  
from underlying demographic

and socio-economic forces (the |  
rapidly growing black population  
and the emergence of a new |

lysed with docility). ,

â\200\234After examining the Free Set-  
tlement. Act and the Local  
. Go t in Free Settlement  
Areas Act' two points are certain:  
establishment of free settlement

and rapid development of non-  
racial towns, with their own  
local government structures, is  
unlikely.

I he opposing interpreta- ,

tion perceives them as a strata- -

Recent speeches dealing with

voluntary association by the out-  
going Minister of Constitutional  
Development and Planning, Mr  
\_Chris Heunis, and the new Na-  
tional Party leader, Mr F W de  
Klerk, emphasise another point:  
guidelines as to how the racially  
open voluntary group will be

. slotted into the political order at  
| national level are extremely

vague.

At local government level  
there is more clarity; the provi-

class of blacks no longer para-

areas is subject to rigid controls,

Â¥ Free Settlement Areas Act sug-  
gest that a subordinate niche has  
~ been planned for the racially

open towns.

The State President  
powered to proclaim

ment areas in an  
y part of :

Africa outside of Ktâ\200\231he lang0 g:.ttl

aside for blacks



under the 1936 Land & excluswely

"He can do so in â\200\234controlled

â\200\224â\200\224 2Tâ\202¬35â\200\235 â\200\224 e territory outside the

â\200\234black homelandsâ\200\231 which

has

been declared a â\200\234group areaâ\200\235 ?::  
any particular race â\200\224 and in

land designated for  
by one race only. b

But even the State Presid  
ent i  
bound and controlled when :i

comes to establishm  
settlement areas. i

If he wants to declare a free

| Settlement zone on land  
- nated as a white area, i 3

he can d  
So only with the concurrence oâ\200\230;  
the white Minister's Council. Â\$j.

sions of the Local Government in â\200\224â\200\234

is em-  
free settle-

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milarly, if he wants to open land

reserved for coloured or Indian  
occupation to free settlement, he  
needs the approval of the col-  
oured and Indian Ministerâ\200\231s

Councils. Â\$

That is not all, however.

Before the President can issue  
a proclamation, he must first

consider a report by the Free i) :  
| At the same time, however,

Settlement Boards on conditions  
in the land which he, the State

President, may envisage as a

area for free settlement. The  
boardâ\200\231s report must include an  
account of socio-economic condi-  
tions in the area, of the attitudes

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zones on land reserved for them

geted for free settlement; second, |  
whites are given every opportu-  
nity to mobilise opposition to any'  
move to create racially free |

" under supposedly obsoletÃ© apart-

: 'i"h'e'id doctrines.

| against any move to lower

j

of people there, and the stance of

local organisations and institu-  
tions. 7 :

The board, moreover, has to

inform the local authority concerned that it is investigating the

- Under these conditions, as Mr J :  
Olivier observes, the chances of -  
free settlement areas emerging

on a large scale are minimal.

there is to quote Mr Oliver  
again a

white conservatives mobilising  
apartheid barriers in their areas.

The only white areas where  
change may occur without too  
much organised agitation are

at risk of racial  
| animosity being stirred up by |

o

S T S

in Cape Town are two obvious .

policy of opening the area to

people of all races; it must, in

addition, give the local authority

an opportunity to inform all mu-

nicipal voters that the inquiry is

under way.

These controls or safe-

guards must be assessed, as Mr

Nic Olivier of the Democratic

Party argues in the light of two  
facts. . ; g

\_ First, whites have benefited  
most from the Group Areas Act  
and to redress the apartheid-in-  
duced imbalance white-designat-  
ed land must be primarily tar-

in Johannesburg and Woodstock

examples.

Inquiries by the board into the  
advisability of proclaiming an  
area a free settlement zone can

. be ordered by the State Presi-

local authorities and township

~ developers. But the board is not

dent, the Minister of Constitutional Affairs, a Ministerâ\200\231s Council and a Provincial Administrator.

Inquiries can be requested by

compelled to launch the inquiry;

it must, in any case, first consult

with higher authorities (the Min-

ister, the Ministerâ\200\231s Council or the Administrator, depending on |

' the nature of the request).

those where black occupation is |  
already far advanced. Hillbrow |

The Sandton City Cou ;  
thought of applying to ve e

whole of Sandton declared Kruger declines to Â¢0

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settlement area. .\Iti¬\202h..s%ys,}\_ i -men: gg fea?memav:i¬\202tlh;e manage- \)Q"\

ever, that it has had s ment commi e subordi-

%;i¬\202 Tl nate. â\200\234T only go on the facts,â\200\235 hie <3 &'\/\Q\Ci¬\201 o  
â\200\234Mr Peter Gardiner, chail declares. v YR O&

â\200\234The moment an area.be-

comes a free settlement &  
within a local authority ari  
elections take place on a u  
sal suffrage basis, all rac  
cluded, for a management

mittee.

of the Sandton manageme  
committee, explains: "It can  
before the management oI  
tee in April. It was then decide  
that the legislation did not pro-  
vide for an entire municipality "30  
applying for free settlement s : = g  
tus"35"35 \* it 0 "34Then, in addition to that"34the  
One aspect which worries Mr 12 Administrator has the authority  
Gardiner is the status of local to create "30another body, consis  
government in a hypothetically J"»"30f ing of equal representatives  
free settlement Sandton. | | from the management comm  
' The relevant law "224 the LC  
Government in Free Settlernent  
Areas Act "224 provides forithe!  
residents of a racially open ZonÃ©  
to be represented by a mang  
ment committee. A manage  
committee, however, has "¢  
'sory powers only and is subordk

Q\;"&N\> Svea |

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ONSist-

the arrangement, he says: 4  
of the main intentions was to  
make quite sure that there |  
communication and co-operati  
between the local authority .

nate to a fully-fledged municip - | the management committee.â\200\235 #  
ity. â\200\231 + Âç | \_ The City Council of Cag  
At the same time the law â\202¬ Town wants to open the ent

city to all races. It does not  
do so, however, under the

ties white voters in a newly pro-|  
claimed free settlement zone

remain on the old municip Settlement Act. It rejects the law }  
voters role. Âç | inprinciple and shares the same  
Thus, if an entire city opts for anxiety as Sandton about the

free settlement status, a m n;, | lawâ\200\231s implications for local gov-

ty of conservative white vote ernment. -  
may decide to remain on the old - One final thought: the Houses  
apartheid municipal voters' role. of Representatives and Dele-  
Consequently, as the SA Igs%; gates do not see the Free Settle-  
tute of Race of Relations notesin ~ ment Act as a path to a non:

otes  
its latest â\200\234Quarterly Countdownâ\200\235,  
the minority could elect a i  
council with the power to ove  
ride decisions of a managem  
committee representing a  
jority of residents.

cial future, having rejecte  
when it was presented to the

PoOR WACâ\200\224â\200\230!â\200\230ER  
SINCE WE BECAME

A GREY AREA ,HE DOESNT  
KNOW WHO

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Soweto figure almost doubles â\200\224 but police hit back

hard at thugs

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SEiR JuNe

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DAWN BARKHUIZEN  
and PAT DEVEREAUX

%  
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ris\_gnf,; by a staggering 94 percent,  
say latest police statistics.

This is compared to figur  
first five months of 1988, gures for the

Up to 185 cases of armed robbe  
reported in Soweto every month, antli.y veal:.i(-e  
cle hijackings have more than doubled.

\_The Soweto Murder and Robbe  
hit bagk. hard at gangsters â\200\224 esperZialsl?;a tgoI;:s  
terrorising vehicle owners. They arrested 69

Isrll::gï¬\201fts between March and the end of last

On Thursday, police :Ã@rested eight suspected â\200\234Ga-

terwaysâ\200\235 gang-rape members in So  
lieved to be linked to the se n Soweto. They are be-

7 ries of reak-i  
in the Yeoville-Berea area. %, rapes gnd byeak-ins

VIOLENT crime in Soweto has

dported to t

Of this, diamg  
about R7 milljon

In the latest robbery, police beljeye



of Mr Irvin  
"" known to th: f\_f;:)clger (53) and his

In wait while the co -

uple went into the

hing; the tota]  
r â\202¬ Brixton M  
) Since January 1 1983 to

nds made up. R12 mil

ho appear to

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crimes

lion and cash

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have lajn  
bank to draw a

haul  
rder

Witwatersrand i  
| liaison officer, Ligl?tlÃ@g?  
ant-Colone] g

dard Bank in Eloff Street  
Extension, Johannesburg.  
+"They were walking  
back to Dickie and  
Stockler Ltd in Ingleston

Road, Village Deep, when |

two men armed with  
guns darted from behind  
a car and blocked their  
way.

Spinning round, they  
found a man with a long  
hunting knife blocking  
their retreat.

The robbers demanded  
and grabbed the bag with  
the money and fled.

The couple were not in-  
jured.

There have been no ar-  
rests and it is not known

if the robbery is connect- |

ed to the wave of other  
hold-ups,

Organised crime has  
seen police at work  
around the clock, and  
plans have set in motion  
to intensify patrols in the  
central business district.

There have been  
closed-door meetings

with the Associated  
Chambers of Industries

n\\_   
devise a strategy to safe-

gy(arqĩ¬\202businesses.

' "AS a special measure,

Johannesburg police this  
week announced a new  
telephone number â\200\224  
8381178 â\200\224 solely for in-  
formation on getaway ve-  
hicles used by robbers.

So far, only one robber  
has been arrested. He  
was knocked out by a  
woman security guard at  
the Checkers Warehouse.

Lieutenant-Colonel  
Malherbe emphasised  
that, while carefully

' planned crime had shown

a sharp increase in re-  
cent weeks, there had  
been a drop in crimes  
such as thefts and house-  
breakings.

He said media publici-  
ty this week on the bank

| robberies and gang rapes

had created the impres-  
Â©Â® TO PAGE 2.





The second concentric circle deals with the united efforts of Africans on the continent. During the 1960s in Africa, one of the shortfalls of the Civil Rights Movement was the lack of the recognition of a unifying force between the revolutionary and cultural nationalist and the non-violent \* portion of the movement. In South Africa, this also

seems to be a problem. As he

(ANC) the United Democratic Front (UDF) the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Inkatha seem to be the major players. The former three have decided that a violent overthrow of the South African government is the only way to end apartheid. The latter, Inkatha, retains the initial philosophy of the ANC and is dedicated to finding a non-violent solution to the problem. Just as there were vio-

lence confrontations between

Huey Newton's Black Panther .

Another Party and Maulana .wKaraanga SUS, the same has been the case in South Af-

rica between ANC affiliated

organizations and Inkatha. The two men whose names are most closely associated with the two organizations today is Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

While one is revered, the other is ostracized

Africans A Modern

O Sun Nd 4

i session Part II

by Horace Huntley, Ph.D.  
RN ru\hm â\200\230work b

Mandela has spent the last

25 years imprisoned by the

South African government  
for advocating the end to  
apartheid. He has become

the symbol of all that op-

poses South African apart-  
heid. While he is incarcer-  
ated, his organization, the  
ANC, has been outlawed  
from operation in the Re-  
public of South Africa. On  
the other hand, Inkatha,  
organized in 1975 by Buthe-  
lezi, and although pressured  
from all sides, the organiza-  
tion has grown to more than  
one million members and  
points to successes as a Black  
voice within the confines of  
South Africa. The two  
groups have come to oppose  
each other, not differentiat-  
ing in their opposition to

apartheid, but in the meth-

ods by which it should be  
disposed of. While the ANC-

in-exile has found it rather

difficult to demonstrate what  
post-apartheid South Africa  
will look like Inkatha in the  
Kwa-Zulu/Natal Indaba is  
a model experiment in rep-  
resentative government.  
Inkatha is the most power-

ful Black political organiza-

tion in South Africa and is

- looked upon as a challenge

by those that control apart-

heid. Buthelezi was accused

- by the White South African  
Minister of Justice of broad-  
avowedly Inkatha's base from  
strictly Zulu to include all  
Blacks. The minister ac-  
cused Mr. Buthelezi of re-  
jecting his Zulu background  
because his aim was to in-  
clude all Blacks in Inkatha.  
He also suggested that the  
Chief Minister was in effect  
pitting all Blacks against  
Whites and called this ra-  
cialism. Buthelezi replied,  
Yes I am a Black man as

much as you are an Afri-  
kaner ang(a â\200\230White man - I  
am a Black man and a Zulu  
t0o.â\200\235 Butilele21 went on to  
say that â\200\234Our unity is an  
absolute prerequisite to our  
liberation. â\200\230The privileged  
- White mmorlty elite op-  
posed it because they know

- that Black unity is the key to

â\200\234our freedom.â\200\235 In this ex-  
change Buthelezi reaffirms  
what Colin Legum said in  
his book entitled PAN-  
AFRICANISM â\200\234African  
nationalism (19)& to replace  
the tribalism of the past: a  
â\200\230concept of African loyalty  
wider than the nation to  
transcend tribal and territo-  
rial affiliations.â\200\235 The Afri-  
kaner minister suggested  
that â\200\234Weare dealingwitha  
man (Buthelezi) who wants  
the whole cake, itâ\200\231s as simple  
as that.â\200\235 Buthelezi replied,  
â\200\234Notformealone. Iwantto  
share the whole cake Mr.  
Minister, all of us.â\200\235 He goes  
on to suggest that one can  
not eat of the cake if they  
are not a part of the house.

As aresult of his foregone  
position, Mr. Buthelezi  
continues to reject the idea  
of independent homelands  
that is designed to isolate  
and therefore control the  
Black majority population.  
Thirteen percent of the land

o 9.2

Rom. P4 . j

is reserved for approximately 72 percent of the population of the city whose main purpose, population. According to J.

Gus Liebenow of the United - that 200th

Field Service and Information Staff and Indiana Uni-

versity, 234The land is of such -

poor and uneven quality that anywhere from a third to a half of the male population of each Homeland has to leave the rural area in order to find meaningful employment. 235 Buthelezi feels it paramount to refuse quasi-

independence that is designed to destroy any efforts

that demonstrates move -

ment toward the 230's second concentric circle in Pan Africanist thought 2301-umty

\*\*\*\*\*i

BECAUSE MY PEOPLE  
: MUST KNOW

By Carlos Morrison

The African-American |

Community must make a firm stand behind our brothers and constantly struggling to change the drug problem in the city's housing projects. Rather than sit by and condemn all housing projects and the people in them as a hopeless problem that cannot be solved, we must seek out and support those individuals and/or organizations that are working diligently within the housing projects to bring about a positive change.

Last month, the Elyton Village community center, under the direction of Mr. William Merriweather, III, held a very successful 234Community Awareness Day 235 program aimed at informing its young people about the harmful effects of drug abuse. The program



brought together community

- weare.

sisters who are

was to show young peoplef. !  
re-Were o  
. outreach programs that they :  
qï¬\201@uld turn to for help.  
Programs such as the one  
mention are bcmg planned;\_;;,  
and developed in other  
housing projects in and  
throughout our city. Itis  
our challenge tosupportthe  
programs i¬\201nd the people

who create them In this  
way we show our full sup-  
port and concern for what

they are doing. But more  
importantly, we learn that  
there are people who work

or live in the housing proj-  
ects that are just as concern

and determined to see an  
end to the drug problem as

e 5 as