Most Whi talks

By Poen de Villiers 10 '

ANC

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

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

Regarding negotiations with the ANC, people voted:

tes want

â\200\230Mandel

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: survey

@ 45,7 percent in favour. on condition that the ANC renounce violence:

® 17 percent in favour without any conditions;

@ 33 percent against; and

@ 4,3 percent uncertain.

Most of the people in favour of Mandela being released said he had to reject violence before being freed. In this regard the voting was:

@ 47,8 percent in favour of his release, on condition that he renounce violence;

 \hat{A} ® 22,5 percent in favour, unconditionally;

® 26,1 percent against his release under any circumstances; and

@ 3.6 percent uncertain.

An overwhelming majority of people felt the former State President, Mr P W Botha, had acted correctly when he met Mandela at Tuynhuys earlier this year.

The division of the votes in this regard was:

 \hat{A} ® 63,1 percent said he

_ had acted correctly;

® 242 percent said he | had acted incorrectly; and

@ 12.7 were uncertain.

Life gets

back to normal

Witness Reporter
PUBLIC transport has
been fully restored in
the Shongweni Valley,
schools are due to be reopened next year, and

- homes destroyed-duringâ\200\224

almost a year of political

 $^{\sim}$ violence, are being re- \hat{a} \200\224 E

. built.

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

Since then taxis have

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

In attacks on homes, lives of women and children were not spared. The schools remained desolate all year, businesses closed and between 50% and Witness Reporter
THE South African Police used the recent
peace progress in Shongweni Valley to salvage their tarnished image and portray
themselves as peacemakers, the local UDF
and Inkatha leaders said yesterday.

Inkatha local chairman Mr Victor Sibisi and Mr Thulani Zulu, UDF youth leader, ob-Jected strongly to stories that the police had brought the arch-rivals together, and said it

community.

80% of the people fled the area.: However, since the August 27 peace meeting, heralded by many as historic, no incident of political violence has occurred in Shongweni alley.

Former opponents, Inkatha chairman Mr Victor Sibisi (Inkatha chairman), and UDF youth

leader Mr Thulani Zulu,

The former $\hat{a}\200\230$ military $\hat{a}\200\231$ commanders of opposing an Inkatha chairman, shared drinks

()

have worked together to bring about the transformation since declaring

thetruce. \hat{a} \200\231

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

At a community meeting yesterday, also attended by representatives .of KwaZulu, Transport which had halted its service in the

UDF and Inkatha factions in Shongweni, Mr Thulani Zulu (left) and Mr Victor Sibisi, yesterday after another successful community meeting called to discuss the rebuilding of th

area in June, both Mr Sibisi and Mr Zulu pledged to continue working to- $\hat{a}\200\230$ gether.

Residents were told of plans to repair the schools, $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ build football grounds, a community hall and clinic, to restore a water pipeline and have it extended to areas asyet unserviced.

Negotiations to bring teachers 'back to the

was a community effort sparked by an awakening to the futility of fighting. Mr Zulu and Mr Sibisi said Captain Ray Harrald, the commander of the local riot unit at the time, had deserved the tribute paid to him. $a\200\234$ But he only facilitated the peace process. $a\200\235$ Their view was

iMpumalanga:battle rages:

Witness Reporter

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

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ While the fighting was going on, I was just standing there talking to people in the streets about the situation. People are really desperate and they said we must please, please help them and that life is notâ\200\231 worth living there anymore,â\200\235 said Democratic Party MP for Greytown, Mr Pierre Cronje, who visited the

area yesterday. He said he did not how many people were injured in the violence, but said it started at

about4 pm and continued

after dark.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ There was a very small police presence... not enough to cope with the situation, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

Political violence has ravaged Mpumalanga for more th@q four years, and an estimated 2 000 people have beenkilled in the area.

In their daily unrest bulletins at the weekend,

police cited two deaths.

Mr Cronje said a delegation of Democratic Party

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 $\hat{a}\200\230$ shared by local shop owner, Mr John Mkhize, who initiated the peace talks between Mr Sibisi and Mr Zulu.

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Picture by CLINT ZASMAN

schools next year were also underway, residents were told.

â\200\234We are hoping to get all these things done. And things are looking' good. But we will -need help, not only from people in the community, but also outside. We will need funds to build all these things,â\200\235 Mr Lucky Zwane, the chairman of the meeting said.

Police â\200\230used Shongweni peace to salvage imageâ\200\231

Another community leader, Mr Lucky

Zwane \hat{a} 200\230said: \hat{a} \200\234The peace came from our

hearts, and not a third party. $\hat{a}\200\235$

The co-ordinator of police riot units in Natal, Brigadier Gerrit Viljoen, last night disputed that police had not played a vital role. $\hat{a}\200\234$ In all our work we are trying to bring the groups together. In Shongweni we policed the area. We went in during night time and day to help the people. $\hat{a}\200\235$

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Daily News Reporters

A KWAZULU policeman has been detained and charged with attempted murder at Mpumalanga as the death toll in the latest

violence there rose to 14 at the weekend.

Police said six more people have been killed there since Friday night, two houses set on fire and three cars petrol-bombed.,

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

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

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

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

Houses were petrol-bombed and stoned in both units, as the factions fought running battles in the street. e $\mathbf{0}$

One resident said that it was virtually $\hat{a}\200\234$ open war. fare $\hat{a}\200\235$ and last night's outbreak was the worst of the

weekend exchanges. -

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

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

in which thousands of residents are expected to take part, to the local police station where a petition will be handed in demanding that kits-konstables and riot police be removed immediately.

But last night there was widespread tension and renewed calls for the

South African Defence Force to send $ina\200\231$ troops to restore peace.

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

The other is a march,

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

Mpumalangaâ\200\231s mayor, Mr Rodgers Sishi, believes that the troops will do a better job in keeping apart rival factions, believed to be Inkatha and United Democratic Front supporters.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The soldiers have a better record in keeping 'peace, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Mr Sishi.

Meanwhile Mr Willies | Mchunu, spokesman for | the marchers, said that the residents wanted peace and the march which is being organised by Cosatu and UDF sup-

orters is aimed at highighting the violence in the township.

Residents are due to meet at Mpumalanga Stadium from where they will start their | march to the police station.

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

The Deputy Minister | of Justice and Natal Na-

tional Party deputy chairman, Mr Danie Schutte, said today that he would be meeting representatives {rom Ulundiat .their request later today to discuss the violence.

The Nata. Witness, Friday October 9, 1987

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

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

He warned that anyone who believed that blacks would settle for anything less than political and legal equality . ot s was making a grave error. $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa. . " BUTHELEZI

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) B is beginning to recover its spirit and to gather its strength. The evidence,

like spring, is popping out all

over.

For one thing, the $\hat{a}200\234$ debt problem $\hat{a}200\235$ is evaporating like the morning mist. As Hank Cohen, the Bush administration $\hat{a}200\231$ s cardboard cut-out of Chester Crocker, told the Senate foreign relations committee last week, the $\hat{a}200\234$ overdue $\hat{a}200\235$ debt to American banks has been reduced to about \$700m.

That $200\231$ s a sum we could, in a pinch, repay overnight. Perhaps we should do so, just to make the point that we've survived the past, dreadful five years.

The South African bankers, the captains of industry, and the academic economists will, of course, clutch their brows and wail that itâ\200\231s a mad way to run a Third World country. They have an economic argument, but not a political one. Predators always attack perceived weakness, never strength.

Personally, I have been unable to understand the feebleness of our governmentâ\200\231s response to what was, after all, an act of economic warfare. When Chase Manhattanâ\200\231s Bob Butcher issued his famous directive to Simon Steward to pull out of this country in August 1985, we were already at the bottom of a recession, the political turmoil was at its worst, and the less committed capitalists were running for Australia and Britian.

That was the moment â\200\224 my Afri-kaans-inculcated Calvinist streak tells me â\200\224 to offer the country blood, sweat, tears and toil, and to use the debt problem as an instrument to discipline a self-indulgent, profligate, easy-living, generally lazy, nation. The debt problem was, in political terms, the perfect excuse to keep monetary reins tight, to encourage exports, to discourage imports, and to begin to curb inflation.

Instead, our limp-wristed government $\hat{a}\200\224$ prodded, one suspects, by a kindly Reserve Bank $\hat{a}\200\224$ quickly lost its nerve, began pumping money into circulation through the inefficient

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

Not all was lost. One can whimper only for so long; then self-disgust takes over. This countryâ\200\231s real leaders, who are not necessarily politicians, seem to have reached the stage of feeling anything is better than continued passivity. They are back on their feet, throwing punches.

It shows in the rapid rise of ex-

ports, achieved in the teeth of sanc- -

tions, in tidy balance sheets, in new mining ventures, in the gathering and deployment of very large sums of capital.

The Urban Foundationâ\200\231s extraor-

dinary scheme to build 40 000 low-cost houses â\200\224 it pyramids R3bn for housing on an initial contribution from three foreign countries of a paltry but symbolic R8m, and every-body makes a profit along the way â\200\224 reminds me that the Dutch empire was built on innovative methods of using limited supplies of capital.

Certainly it would be nice if, like

. Australia, we could stuff ourselves-

with foreign credit $\hat{a}200\224 \hat{a}200\234I'11$ eat and eat until I'm 'sick! $\hat{a}200\235 \hat{a}200\224$ but even the

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

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

â\200\234ad we done so then, every South African would now be twice as rich as he is. But we, burdened with a government of uninformed men immune to advice, did not do so; the Koreans did. So did Singapore, Taiwan, and many other places. India didnâ\200\231t do badly. Brazil, with typical flair, proved that even volatile Latin countries can grow at 10% a year for quite long periods.

Our chance has been lost. The

world has turned colder, and we

shall be hampered for 30 years $\hat{a}\200\224$ the memory span of a generation $\hat{a}\200\224$ by isolation and sanctions, as Spain was

hampered by Western hostility to Franco. But that $200\231\$ no reason to lie down and die.

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

Some of them have actually read $% \left\{ 1\right\} =\left\{ 1\right\} =\left\{$

Paul Kennedyâ\200\231s book (or the last chapter of it), \hat{a} \200\234The Rise and Fall of Great Powersâ\200\235, which argues that empires fall when their military commitments exceed their industrial capacity. They are beginning to understand the need to put economic growth first.

So far, the ai'my has had to sacri-

fice only a war in Angola, but other

Nat favourites are beginning to feel the cold: the Post Office engineers canâ\200\231t buy all the fancy equipment they like; the municipalities, whose palatial quarters in every dorp emphasise misallocation of resources, are under restraints; Iscor and the other former havens of sheltered employment are being flogged off;

currency markets; even the Bureau

. for Information admits it must pro-

bleating,

un to B . recover 11s Spiri

duce something of value, or go out of existence.:;
The government is approaching the very nub of its problem, which is the same as Mikhael Gorbachevâ\200\231s problem: in the modern, competitive world, economic growth cannot be sustained except in a free society.

" One by one, the obstacles to wealth-

creation are being set aside: pass laws, job reservations, restricted shopping hours, unnecessary capital requirements, foolish municipal controls, mad building standards, and all the foolish restrictions based on the unscientific mumbo-jumbo of race.

Besides, in the past five years we have all â\200\224 black and white â\200\224 peered into the abyss, and recoiled. When the Urban Foundation announced its new housing project, it did so with the (qualified) blessings of Aggrey Klaaste, nation-building editor ..of

_ The Sowetan, and Nthatho Motlana

(remember the Committee of Ten), with Ellen Kuzwayo in the audience.

Suffering and fear have herded most South Africans into the same general direction. The word

 $a\200\234$ change $a\200\235$ has become an incantation, often a chant to ward off the devils that lurk in the shadows of every South African mind, but also a reality. Indeed, $a\200\234$ howling change $a\200\235$ has, as Nadine Gordimer observed perceptively long ago, become the dominant South African reality.

Where this change will end nobody can foresee. But the National Partyâ\200\231s retreat from its destructive (national-) socialist heritage gives reason to hope, for the first time, that economic growth may eliminate so many legitimate grievances sown by class and racial oppression that we shall keep the socialist Pol Pots, the Maos and Stalins, and even the

Slovos, at bay.

Economic growth is an awesome force; it can transform a society in a

* generation, as it has done in Japan.

As our beaten government retreats, it opens the way for the capitalists, if they dare, to unleash that force.

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Mercyry eporter

â\200\230ALL pragmatism tells me
that South Africa will never
be liberaped by the armed
struggle ..". Africa has begun
to see that the war against the |
South African Government |
cannot be wen,â\200\231 |

These were the words of | KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi to Mr Luis Geraldes, deputy secretary-general of Portugalâ\200\231s ruling Social Democratic Party and members of his â\200\230Parliament, at the weekend.

It had become clear to him, the Inkatha leader said, that | he made the right choice in | not developing violent oppo- | sition to apartheid, as the | ANC had done.

 $\hat{a}\200\230At$ any point in my political career I could easily have taken up $\hat{a}\200\231a$ leadership position within the ANC, either in exile or in its underground operations in South Africa, $\hat{a}\200\231$ said Dr Buthelezi. 1

â\200\230All pragmatism, however, |
told me this could not be |
done and I watched the South |
African Government grow |
stronger and stronger each |
year it was attacked by revo- |
lutionary forces, he added.

â\200\230The ANC and other revolutionaries are nowhere near being annilhilated and the S A Government js nowhere near being defeated militar. | iyt

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