

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

BOMBS or no bombs, KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief MG Buthelezi is going ahead with his rally at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre today.

The Inkatha rally at 10am comes in the wake of a "Russian" bomb blast which destroyed the toilets at Jabulani Amphitheatre earlier this week.

No organisation has claimed responsibility, but the blast has been interpreted as a threat to the rally.

Announcing the rally at Inkatha's Curries Fountain meeting on June 16, Inkatha deputy general secretary Chief Simon Gumede told the "disappointing" crowd of 4 000 there had been threats that Buthelezi should keep out of Soweto.

He vowed that the meeting would go ahead despite the threats.

A secretary at Chief Buthelezi's office told City Press the Jabulani rally was still on despite the bomb blast.

The rally will be the second rally held by Buthelezi since the declaration of the state of emergency.

His organisation appears not to be affected by the ban on open-air rallies.

Hundreds of Inkatha supporters from Natal are expected to be bussed to Soweto.

A number of Railway Interstate buses have allegedly been hired by Inkatha.

The meeting will also launch the Transvaal branch of the United Workers' Union of SA and is expected to draw a number of hostel dwellers.

Buthelezi has faced some opposition in Natal earlier this month.

I'll be at Jabulani, VOWS Buthelezi

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Natal Inkatha
followers coming
along to support
Buthelezi at his
Soweto meeting

He had to be conferred the freedom of Pinetown behind "a wall of cops" - including police snipers on rooftops.

But this did not stop anti-Buthelezi demonstrations from erupting in cen-

tral Pinetown.

And much to the surprise of bosses, workers at a Pinetown textile factory where he opened a new wing, publicly rejected him - hurling all sorts of insults at him and his entourage.

Africans cold

by Eric Marsden
Johannesburg

WHILE Denis Healey was talking to black community leaders in an upper room of Durban's ecumenical centre, a white man pulled his car up outside, shook a fist and shouted: "Lock the lot up and throw away the key."

He may not have known who was inside — similar abuse has been hurled at the centre since the state of emergency was declared on June 12. But if the shadow foreign secretary had heard, he would probably only have rushed on to the balcony to snap the protester with his camera.

When he was not expressing strong views on the issue of sanctions, which may not be recorded because of the emergency regulations,



Healey: for home consumption

Healey was busy recording his five-day tour on film.

The visit began with students offering him a half-peeled banana at Jan Smuts airport (because Healey had suggested that the country was close to becoming a banana republic) and ended with an outsize raspberry from a pro-government newspaper which labelled Healey as "a political ass... biased, vindictive, uncaring and completely blind to the realities of what is going on here".

South African television ignored the visit, except for the students' banana prank. Healey was naturally more interested in British television coverage and kept close liaison with the BBC and ITN.

At the Gandhi memorial centre he launched into a pat speech on how the house the Mahatma had built in 1903 had been destroyed last year by "unnamed thugs" whom he later identified as linked with the Inkatha movement of the Zulu leader, Chief Buthelezi. of aggressive diplomacy, the foreign minister, Pik Botha.

In the adjoining clinic he took a baby from its mothers' arms and kissed it, but the television teams were filming elsewhere. Healey was almost in his car when this was pointed out, so he went back and did it again.

In Clermont black township he posed in front of ramshackle huts, with the cooling towers of a power station behind him, "to show how these poor people were transported here and forced to live in the shadow of a symbol of white supremacy". This level of stage-management by a visiting politician has not been seen since Teddy Kennedy's visit to Crossroads in 1984.

Back at the ecumenical centre, Healey had a canteen lunch with the "Durban six" who holed up in the British consulate for several weeks two years ago. He gave Mewa Ramgobin, who is married to Gandhi's granddaughter, a copy of his book, Healey's Eye, and joked that he hoped to return when Ramgobin was foreign minister.

The vehemence of Healey's attack on Buthelezi, who is seen by most white South Africans as the black leader most likely to bridge the racial gulf, is partly explained by the fact that he spent day after day with United Democratic Front leaders who see the chief as their biggest enemy. But there is another reason.

On his last visit to South Africa, in 1970, Healey drove through Zululand to see Buthelezi, and his companion on the journey was Steve Biko. Biko made a big impression on Healey, and his death in detention seven years later hardened Healey's attitude to blacks he sees as collaborators.

Buthelezi, who was still linked to the ANC in 1970 and who retains tenuous ties with the organisation, is expected to make a strong protest to the Labour party over the shadow minister's attack on him.

There were moments of vintage Healey during the strenuous tour. He embraced Winnie Mandela and gave her a book on "wives of fame" (Mrs Marx, Mrs Darwin, etc) from Mrs Kinnock. At the treason trial in Delmas in eastern Transvaal he bought takeaway lunches for the defendants and shared the meal with them.

On his 1970 visit Healey visited Nelson Mandela on Robben island. This time a visit was refused. He took his revenge by deciding not to seek a meeting with government ministers, ending speculation about an encounter with another master

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Guardian

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SA in new clampdown on black opposition

From Patrick Laurence in Johannesburg

South Africa yesterday moved closer to the de facto banning of extra-parliamentary opposition movements with the imposition of further restrictions under the state of emergency in large parts of the Transvaal and the Free State.

Particularly hard hit by the restrictions are the United Democratic Front, the largest federation of anti-apartheid organisations, and the pro-black consciousness Azanian People's Organisation, which together form the backbone of lawful extra-parliamentary opposition to white rule.

Under the latest restrictions mere possession of T-shirts and emblems of the UDF, many of its affiliates and Azapo is an offence in the industrial areas of the Free State. Included in the list of affected organisations are several trade unions.

Similar restrictions are already in force in the eastern Cape, while it is an offence to quote officials of the nearly 120 organisations, many of them UDF affiliates, in the western Cape.

A special report by the Detainee Parents Support Committee showed that known UDF supporters account for half of the detainees.

Despite the imposition of further controls, the death toll since the declaration of a state of emergency on June 12 continues to rise. The Bureau for Information announced yesterday that a further six people had died in intra-black violence, bringing the total number of deaths since the emergency to 72, nearly five a day.

The latest killings include the death of two men in the huge township of Soweto, near Johannesburg, where tension appears to be mounting between Zulu migrant workers who support Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and black radicals. Chief Buthelezi is scheduled to address a rally in Soweto on Sunday. His opponents see the rally as an attempt to take advantage of the detention of his black opponents to mobilise his dwindling supporters there.

A man from a Soweto hostel was burnt to death and his passenger seriously injured when the vehicle in which they were travelling was set alight. In another clash in Soweto, a municipal policeman and his dog were killed when handgrenades were thrown at them by unknown assailants. They were guarding the home of a Soweto councillor.

At a press conference before his departure from South Africa yesterday, the Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Denis Healey, endorsed the warning of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group that South Africa was heading for the worst bloodbath since the Second World War. He was speaking after a four-day visit to South Africa as the guest of the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude.

Mr Healey, who was accompanied by the Labour Party spokesman on South Africa, Mr Donald Anderson, last visited South Africa in 1970. He noted several key changes since his last visit.

One difference was the emergence of black organisations with deep roots in the black community. Mr Healey cited the UDF and Congress of South Africa Trade Unions specifically. Another difference was that South Africa was "more of a police state now."

A third, he said, was the changed role of the Zulu leader and Inkatha president, Chief Buthelezi. When Mr Healey was in South Africa in 1970, Chief Buthelezi was on good terms with the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, and a "co-belligerent with the ANC," Mr Healey said. Now, however, he had been shown evidence implicating Inkatha with "acts of violence" aimed at township residents loyal to the UDF.

Mr Healey was scathingly critical of Mrs Thatcher, for her opposition to sanctions against South Africa, calling her attitude at the EEC talks "graceless obstinacy."

He agreed that President P. W. Botha's reforms were not merely cosmetic. But, he said, they did not address the real issue of majority rule.

Tambo storms foes' stronghold

ROBERT TAYLOR,
Political Correspondent,
examines the great
divide threatening Tory
unity on sanctions.

ALTHOUGH many right-wing Conservatives may see Mr Oliver Tambo as a terrorist, the leader of the African National Congress is regarded in a different light by a good number of backbench Tory MPs.

About 60 of them turned up to hear him when he went to the Commons last Tuesday evening, after his meeting with Foreign Office Minister Lynda Chalker, to address a meeting.

He made a favourable impression on most of them with his assertion that the ANC wanted economic sanctions that would merely hurt the South African economy, not destroy it.

Mr Tambo was well pleased by his reception. It looks as though South Africa House is no longer going to enjoy undisputed access to those with influence inside the Conservative Party.

No doubt Dr Dennis Worrall, President Botha's man in London, will be upset by this sudden turn of events. But he can tell Pretoria that the impetus behind last week's Tambo meeting stemmed from his own Government's mishandling of a visit to South Africa last year by a group of Tory backbenchers.

Three of the delegation, Mr Hugh Dykes, Mr Robert Adley and Mr Tim Rathbone, came to the conclusion that the Government-sponsored programme was providing them with only part of the picture, so they broke away from the main group and went to talk to black militants in the United Democratic Front. They also visited Soweto and Alexandra townships, and Mr Dykes was flown by helicopter over the shanties of Crossroads. All three were horrified at what they saw.

On their return to London, they decided to set up a group, Conservatives for Fundamental

Change in South Africa. It is loosely organised, claims to have around 50 supporters and is committed to a robust opposition to apartheid, a system Mr Dykes calls 'evil and nauseating.' But the group's members have no hard, agreed line on economic sanctions. Indeed, most oppose them. Even so, they do want further measures to put pressure on Pretoria to adopt more conciliatory ways.

To the old brigade of the British-South Africa group, such people as Mr Julian Amery, Sir Patrick Wall and Sir John Biggs-Davison, the South African cause is the end of the road for the white man's burden. But even they — former champions of white minority rule in Rhodesia — acknowledge that apartheid is indefensible, though holding that the Boers' point of view remains understandable.

Members of the group are very upset by Pretoria's dismissive attitude over the state of emergency. Foreign Minister Pik Botha's remark that Britain would oppose sanctions purely because of its own self-interest led them to protest to South Africa House. They believe the Prime Minister shares their views, and their recent visit to see her in Downing Street reassured them — even though, two days later, the Government announced that Mr Tambo was to meet Mrs Chalker.

Mrs Thatcher can count on decisive backbench support for whatever position she adopts over South Africa. For the moment, there is no danger of a damaging split, though the

forces gathered around Mr Dykes and Mr Carlisle could still eventually confront each other.

South Africa is not a faraway country about which Conservatives know little. A Labour MP, Mr Gordon Brown, has just drawn up a useful dossier, based on the MPs' voluntary register of interests, which shows 31 Tory backbenchers have directorships, consultancies or shareholdings in companies listed by the United Nations as having assets in South Africa. (See table).

These MPs include such prominent figures as Sir Edward du Cann, Mr Cecil Parkinson, and the former Northern Ireland Secretary Mr Jim Prior. His successor in Northern Ireland, Mr Tom King, is also in the dossier.

Yet the names do not suggest a right-wing monopoly of financial interests in the country. Wets like Mr David Crouch and Mr Alan Haselhurst are represented alongside stalwarts such as Sir William Clark and Sir Frederic Bennett.

More significant, perhaps, is the number of backbench Tory MPs who have enjoyed expenses-paid trips to South Africa as guests of Pretoria over the past 18 months. No fewer than 25 have done so — including the radical right-wing figures of Mr George Gardiner, Mr Harvey Proctor and Mr Nicholas Winterton and his wife, Ann.

Whether the assiduous efforts of the Botha regime will pay off is another matter. The friendly greeting to Mr Tambo last week suggests that the wind of change is blowing through the Conservative Party — to Mrs Thatcher's discomfort.

However, her husband, Denis, can be expected to keep her firm on the folly of sanctions. As a director of Burmah Oil, another company on the UN list, he is a frequent visitor to South Africa.



In the middle : Mrs Thatcher at last week's S

TORY LINKS WITH SOUTH AFRICA

List compiled by Gordon Brown, Labour MP, from information provided voluntarily by MPs in the Register of Members' Interests at the House of Commons.

Richard Alexander (Newark)
Rt Hon Julian Amery (Brighton Pavilion)
Rt Hon Sir Frederic Bennett (Torbay)
Sir William Clark (Croydon South)
David Crouch (Canterbury)
Den Dover (Chorley)
Sir Edward Du Cann (Taunton)
Michael Forsyth (Stirling)
Sir Anthony Grant (South West Cambridgeshire)
Alan Haselhurst (Saffron Walden)
Peter Hordern (Horsham)
Gerald Howarth (Cannock & Burntwood)
Charles Irving (Cheltenham)
Sir Anthony Kershaw (Stroud)

Tom King (Bridgwater)
David Knox (Stafford Moorlands)
Sir Ian Lloyd (Haverhill)
Robert McCrindle (Brentwood & On)
Sir Peter Mills (Torwest Devon)
Michael Morris (Northampton South)
Colin Moynihan (Leamington East)
Tom Normanton (Chichester)
Mrs Sally Oppenheim (Gloucester)
Sir John Page (Harrington)
Cecil Parkinson (Hemel Hempstead)
James Prior (Waverley)
Keith Raffan (Delyn)
Michael Shersby (Uxbridge)
Fred Silvester (Mansfield)
Roger Sims (Chislehurst)
Trevor Skeet (North Bedfordshire)
Bowen Wells (Hertfordshire)

Ramphal Queen on presses sanctions

By NORMAN KIRKHAM, Diplomatic Correspondent

SIR Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General, is on a collision course with Mrs Thatcher over two significant interventions he has made into the vexed question of sanctions against South Africa.

Ministers are worried about a visit he paid to the Queen at Buckingham Palace last week at which he relayed worries from other Commonwealth leaders about the British Prime Minister's reluctance to impose wide-ranging economic sanctions.

Sir Shridath's "open" lobbying is in danger of breaching the constitutional conventions which ensure that the Queen is above politics.

This concern could result in economic reprisals against Britain by black African states.

The second anxiety is that Sir Shridath is accused of stamping his personal opinion on the report of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG).

So much so that Lord Barber, the British member of the group and a former Tory Chancellor, told Tory MPs at the Commons last week that he had refused to sign the first two drafts of the report.

Senior diplomats and politicians are angry that Sir Shridath's foreword to the EPG report reflected his own views rather than those of the group as a whole.

Dissatisfaction with hard line

Mrs Thatcher and her advisers see the Secretary-General's visit to the Palace as part of an intensive lobbying effort to stir up Commonwealth pressure for more restrictions, such as a cut in air services and a ban on imports of South African fruit and wine.

It is thought in Whitehall that the Queen, who has already expressed concern over Commonwealth unity, may have been persuaded to intercede and ask Mrs Thatcher to look at the damaging consequences of the quarrel.

Sir Shridath reassured the Queen that Commonwealth governments in Africa and elsewhere would not pull out of the 49-member alliance. However, he is understood to have emphasised growing dangers that several countries would embark on economic and diplomatic reprisals against Britain.

Countries such as Nigeria and India are expected to threaten

damage to British business prospects and cuts in trade. The African Commonwealth is also expected to review the question of whether to close High Commissions in London.

Sir Shridath—who claims strong anti-colonialist and multiracial views—was once Foreign Minister in the pre-Cuban Guayan Government of Mr Forbes Burnham, serving in the former British colony during years of turbulent politics.

The gathering storm is expected to break at the seven-nation mini Commonwealth summit in London on August 2 when Mrs Thatcher will be warned of deep dissatisfaction with her hard line taken at the EEC leaders' council in the Hague last week. Her move has delayed possible action over new sanctions.

Sir Shridath called on the Queen after visiting President Kuanda in Lusaka last weekend and before going to New Delhi for talks with Mr Rajiv Gandhi, India's Prime Minister.

Yesterday he flew to Georgetown, Guyana, for talks with Commonwealth Caribbean leaders who are attending a Caricom economic conference there this week.

He declared in Lusaka last weekend that Britain must be persuaded to impose sanctions on South Africa. In New Delhi, he added that Britain would put its own economic relations with Commonwealth countries at risk if there was failure to agree.

Commonwealth officials said yesterday that the purpose of Sir Shridath's whirlwind tour—and visits to Africa by other Commonwealth envoys—was to gauge response to the report on South Africa by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group.

But one comment in Whitehall was:

"The Secretary-General is seeking to take the reins in the Commonwealth and getting into the limelight once more after Mrs Thatcher won through during the argument over sanctions at the Commonwealth meeting in Nassau last autumn."

Accusations in Whitehall that Sir Shridath is trying to orchestrate the Commonwealth protests on South Africa have strengthened because he is said to have included a fiery foreword to the report of the Commonwealth mission to South Africa without submitting the text first to mission members for approval.

One or two members of the

Sanctions dilemma

group are thought to have questioned phrases used. The foreword says, for example, that apartheid will end if necessary through a bloody struggle "whose cost in lives may be counted in millions."

The South African Government had made a calculated assault on the peace process, and sanctions and peace for South Africa had now become one and the same, it says.

The foreword also says in what might be taken as a reference to statements of Mrs Thatcher: "Those outside who say that sanctions will 'hurt the blacks' do not know how intense black suffering already is."

Mrs Thatcher is expected to try to head off the Commonwealth row by sending Sir Geoffrey Howe, Foreign Secretary, on a peace mission to Pretoria at the end of July, just before the London mini-summit.

The EEC meeting last week agreed that Sir Geoffrey would seek to start an internal dialogue between black leaders and whites in South Africa; the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners; and the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress (ANC) and other political parties.

If the mission fails, EEC Foreign Ministers will meet in three months to consider a ban on new investments in South Africa and on imports of coal, iron, steel and gold coins.

Sir Geoffrey has questioned the wisdom of the plan in private discussion with the Prime Minister. He is pessimistic over his chances of success.

Whitehall advisers are taking the view, too, that Mrs Thatcher can hardly submit to pressure for sanctions at the August Commonwealth summit when she has resisted their introduction by the EEC.

The immediate reaction in Africa and other parts of the Commonwealth yesterday was that Sir Geoffrey's trip would prove a time-wasting exercise.

One Commonwealth source commented yesterday, "We have not forgotten how Mrs Thatcher claimed victory at Nassau holding two fingers close together and saying: 'See what tiny measures we have agreed against South Africa.'"

"She will not get away with that again. The showdown will come at the August meeting.

We see Mrs Thatcher's stand as a complete rejection of the Commonwealth mission to Pretoria which she began by giving her full support."

Officials from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Uganda and Ghana have met in Harare to discuss possible closure of their High Commission in London.

A spokesman at the Zimbabwe Commission told me: "If Britain fails to announce satisfactory action there will be moves against Mrs Thatcher."

A Ghanaian official added: "If she insists on opposing substantial sanctions, then it will make it very difficult to keep our offices open."

The Nigerian Government is also reported to have been consulting Sir Shridath on what economic measures might be taken against Britain.

British officials were pointing out yesterday, however, that black African countries protesting most vociferously and demanding trade bans on Pretoria depend themselves on supply lines being kept open from South African ports.

Those threatening Mrs Thatcher were mainly recipients of generous British aid who would suffer again from trying to restrict trade with Britain.

Sir Linden Pindling, Prime Minister of the Bahamas, will preside at the London summit on August 2. Those attending with Mrs Thatcher will be President Kaunda, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, Mr Mugabe of Zimbabwe, Mr Hawke of Australia and Mr Mulroney, Canada's Prime Minister.

Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and other southern African states would all be expected to seek compensation from Britain and the Western allies if substantial measures were imposed against South Africa leading Pretoria to cut off, in retaliation, supplies to black neighbours.

Zambia, in particular, would be likely to ask for an airlift of grain and other food.

Sanctions: why Mrs Thatcher is right to

FOR THOSE of us who believe that sanctions would merely exacerbate violent extremism in South Africa—harden white determination to repress, and encourage black revolutionaries to resist—Mrs Thatcher has achieved something worthwhile at The Hague, since the decisions taken there on Friday at least put off the evil day for another three months; and there is no knowing what other international horror story may have blown up by then to deflect the world conscience, at present so unhealthily obsessed with South Africa, on to other targets equally capable of concocting the protest flavour of the month. At the moment, quite certainly, common sense would have no chance whatsoever to gain a hearing. Something approaching war hysteria has been built up by the media, with the BBC leading the bloodthirsty pack. In three months' time, however, just possibly, conditions will be marginally better for constructive statesmanship.

Buying time is, and should be, the order of

the day. If the EEC summit had agreed on implementing measures now, the Commonwealth conference next month would have indubitably asked for more. As it is, Mrs Thatcher, by refusing to waste concessions on the EEC, will have that much more to give away to the Commonwealth. To many, particularly among the chattering classes, such manoeuvrings will seem unworthy. They yearn to have something dramatic done now about apartheid. But the sad truth of the matter is that dramatic outside intervention is far, far more likely, at this stage, to worsen rather than improve the black lot.

The West went into the Vietnam war on a wave of high-minded Kennedy rhetoric about freedom and came out of it as a result of an even more tumultuous wave of misplaced moral passion. In each case terrible harm—something not far short of genocide in the case of Cambodia—was done to those who were meant to be the beneficiaries. Comparably dreadful consequences followed Western do-gooding in Iran. Will we never learn? Possibly not; but at least Mrs Thatcher has bought a bit more time for wiser counsels to try to save the South African blacks from being offered up as

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the latest sacrificial victims to the West's ever recurring imperial itch to re-shape the world in its own image.

At some point in the future, as a result of demography and industrialisation, the whites will have no choice but to hand over power to the blacks. That much is certain. But no informed person can possibly believe that that point has yet been reached. The most that the whites will concede now or in the foreseeable future would be forms of power-sharing which leave control effectively in their hands. If Western pressures were aimed at persuading whites and blacks to accept a form of democracy which stopped for short of one man one vote, that might make sense.

As it is, however, Western pressure is designed to encompass a much more

ambitious, and at present wholly unachievable aim: that of one man one vote in a unitary State. Nothing else would satisfy the Commonwealth or world opinion, both of which are not so much interested in justice for the blacks as power for the blacks—a very different not to say, in most parts of Africa, opposite ideal. Given that unreasonable and even perverse demand by Western political opinion, the task of constructive statesmanship is to play for time, as Mrs Thatcher adept at doing.

Public opinion—as against political opinion—understands and respects Mrs Thatcher's motives. MPs get very few letters about South Africa. This is not because of moral insensitivity, or apathy. In many cases it is because of a degree of moral sensitivity quite beyond the imagination of those who talk most passionately about South Africa; a moral sensitivity which takes the form of not wanting to criticise, let alone bully, the South African whites for behaving as British whites would themselves behave were they in the same tragic situation.

Avoidance of hypocrisy is a moral virtue, requiring more purity of conscience than does denunciatory anti-apartheid rhetoric, of which

buy time

Mr Kinnoch is so fond and with which he is so free. On the surface in Britain, and on the air waves, all is denunciatory froth at the present time. But underneath, deep down at the grass roots, is a much more genuine kind of soul-searching which makes many British people humbly admit to themselves that there but for the grace of God, and the accident of geography, go they.

South Africa is not a black-and-white, clear-cut moral issue in any sense of the term. No part of that dark continent can bear much scrutiny, and just as the sun goes down there with more startling speed than anywhere else, so are crusades there reduced instantly to conspiracies. Simple solutions, such as sanctions, fly in the face of reality—as well try to lighten the heart of darkness with a glow-worm. Mrs Thatcher's instinct is to resist such delusions with all the strength of will at her command. The world being what it is, the British national interests might be better served—as the Foreign Office argues—by more duplicity, hypocrisy and propaganda. But certainly not those of the South African masses.

Peregrine Worsthorne