

THE decision by African National Congress (ANC) supporters to celebrate Shaka's Day in Ntuzuma has been welcomed as an attempt to recognise the great Zulu warrior as a black hero in the liberation struggle and not a mere ethnic leader.

In an interview, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, political analyst Sipho Shezi said: 'The whole question of Shaka's Day -

in the liberation struggle - has been ethnicised in the last couple of years - from when Inkatha was formed in 1977.'

Instead of being a marcher of all black people, Shaka had been reduced to an ethnic leader of black people and Shaka was not that.

Black heroes
'He should be recognised as one of the main black heroes. He

particularly the role Shaka played

can be counted among the Luthuli's, Gandhi's, Dingaan's, Bhambhatha's.

So the significance of the ANC celebration in Ntuzuma is

ethnic leader.'

The ANC celebration also destroys the myth that the violence in the Transvaal and Natal was ethnic - a war by the Xhosa-dominated ANC against the Zulu-speaking Inkatha.

The celebration shows that

if there are any differences between the ANC and Inkatha, it goes beyond ethnicity. In Natal, one finds Zulu fighting Zulu.

bration in Ntuzuma is part of a broader campaign to bring about peace," said Shezi.

Shezi said the celebration of Shaka's Day by ANC supporters should not be seen as a new phenomena in the liberation movement.

to highlight that Shaka was not an

"So one could say the cele-

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With the birth of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) in the seventies, the South African Students Organisation (Saso) and the Black Peoples' Conven-

ANC to celebrate

"The significance of the ANC celebration is to highlight that Shaka was - not an ethnic leader."

King Zwelithini has become 'chained' to the bureaucracy of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, according to political scientist Sipho

Shezi. The ANC is celebrating Shaka Day for the first time ever.

tion (BPC) organised Shaka's Day rallies at the University of Zululand. Rallies were also held around Durban and Pietermaritzburg. But Shezi said that from 1977

onwards Inkatha and Buthelezi - for their own political ends - not only hijacked but also ethnicised Shaka's Day, resulting in people distancing themselves from

"celebrations around Shaka's Day,

commemorating the event.
Now that the ANC was un-
banned, it should spearhead

Shezi said.

:usi\202ual fashion, went overboard.

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- the Government would i\201verreacf to

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Telephone (011) 474-0128

Meetmg
overdueâ\200\231

OLITICIANS are at the best
Pof â\200\230times unpopular. In times

of crisis, when their followers
desperately look up to them for
guidance, their actions sometimes
become downright unacceptable.

The current controversy over the

- long overdue meeting between Mr
Nelson Mandela and Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi illustrates
this point.

~ The ANC maintains it will only
meet Buthelezi if he is part of a
delegation of homeland leaders. For
his part Buthelezi insists on a meet-
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of his Inkatha Freedom Party.

~ If hundreds of our people were
not dying because of the fighting be-
tween ANC and Inkatha supporters
- and because of this fighting a third
force has now emerged and is

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Unfortunately, none of the two
~ organisations can afford this type of
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weeks and thousands the past five
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violence.

If they are not, why is it dlfï~\201cult
for Inkatha and the ANC to meet,

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and why were the ANC and PAC so

nesdayâ\200\231s meeting called by Azapo. e 0

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Kla-
{ aste and Joe Thiolo. Newsbills by Sydney
" Matlhaku. Sub-editing and headlines by Ivan

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the letter will not be published.

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h'De Kler

HARARE The top
policy making body of
the PAC is not ready
yet to hold direct
talks with President
FW de Klerk

Government, the
PAC announced at

meeting in Harare
yesterday.

Mr Clarence Mak-
wetú, PAC vice president,
said talks with De Klerk
Government will be de-
cided by the PAC

* grassroot branches in
South Africa in time for a
national conference
scheduled in November.

He said the 40-

the end of a three-day

member central com-
mittee reaffirmed pledges
to continue the PAC's
guerilla campaign.

The central committee
also called for an end to

k >\

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ciesiiavote

fighting in South Africa
townships.

The PAC favoured
talks between rival groups
in South Africa, Makwetú -
added. - Sapa-AP.

' g% g 5

'Donâ\200\231t be fooled,

C\i\ G .
tells America

THE ANC wamed Â»
Americans on Saturday
not to be fooled by State
President De Klerkâ\200\231s re-
form promises during his
historic three-day visit to
Washington, which
started yesterday.

â\200\234Donâ\200\231t be taken in.
Words and deeds are still
very far apart here,â\200\235
ANC spokesman Ms Gill
Marcus said hours before
Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s departure
on Saturday night.

â\200\234While they are talking
peace, they are waging
war against the ANC,â\200\235
she added.

Mr De Klerk will be-
come the first South Afri-
can Government leader
to be received by a US

16101

sensible distance from the
Mandela visit,â\200\235 he said.

Mr Mandela was given
a tickertape parade
through Manhattan, din-
ner with Mr Bush, and
the accolade of an address
to the US Congress.

Mr De Klerk is sched-
uled to have lunch with
Mr Bush, talks with Sec-
retary of State, Mr James
Baker, and low-key meet-
ings with businessmen.

Pretoria had sometimes
found relations with the
US â\200\234like being in a cage
with an elephant â\200\224 all
you wanted to do was

C

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on youâ\200\235, Mr Van Heer-
den said.

"~ A Senior US Official
said on Friday that Mr
Bushâ\200\231s invitation to Mr

De Klerk signalled Wash-
ington's recognition of his
role in dismantling apart-
heid.

We think that De
Klerk has put South Afri-
ca on the road to a very
fundamental change, he
said.

Ms Marcus said the
ANC believed it was too
soon to ease the pressure
on the South African
Government.

Sapa-Reuter.

President at the White
House when he meets Mr
George Bush today.

This visit will have
major symbolic import-
ance for us, said SA
Government spokesman,
Mr David Steward.

Officials acknowledge,
though, that Mr De Klerk
cannot expect anything
like the welcome given to
ANC deputy president
Mr Nelson Mandela in
June.

Whatever we do, the
two visits will be con-
nected in people's
minds, said Mr Neil van-
Heerden, South Africa's
Director General of For-
eign Affairs.

But there is a little
window in time now, be-
fore Congress goes into
electoral mode, where the
visit can take place at a

avoid this thing stepping

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 474-0128

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- Mandela did it with de Klerk,

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The ANC has over the past few weeks refused to meet other black leaders to discuss the violence in the townships. Instead, Mandela demanded action from De Klerk. The Government acted, and in its usual fashion, went overboard. : Mandela should have known that - the Government would overreact to his request. He should have known that the police were itching for action, and any request he made gave | them an opening.

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However, as the curfew severely affects the revenues of our traders,

| we demand its immediate hftlng
| This aspect of the â\200\234â\200\234iron fistâ\200\235 is not

needed. :

Regretfully, we cannot call for

' the withdrawal of the other

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violence. 2 o

If they are not, why is it difficult

for Inkatha and the ANC to meet,

AC so

and why were the ANC and P conspicuously absent at- last Wed-

| nesdayâ\200\231s meeting called by Azapo.

[By KENOSI MODISANE |

rested a suspect in connec-
| :lrgl.1 with the September 13
| train massacre at Benrose
,Jg!{glgpesburg, in which 26â\200\231
people were killed - but
released him Yesterday be-
;aâ\200\234:sed survivors would not
â\200\230attend an identificati -
i . lcathn pa-
- Asked by Soweton why the man

| POLICE on Friday ar-|

&

â\200\224 Fear
Van Zweel said yesterday that wit-

â\200\234refused to attend the identification pa-
rade after the manâ\200\231s arrest.

Saturday and all did not want to come
| forward, saying they feared for their
| livesâ\200\235, she said. o
~ Van Zweel, however, said: â\200\234â\200\234Police
would definitely re-arrest the suspect if
witnesses came forward.â\200\235â\200\231 =

The Sowetan played a major role in
the arrest of the man. Last Wednesday
we were phoned by a man, Mr Dlakula

was not being held under Secti
29 of the Internal Security,A;c t::-1 |
_ lice spokeswoman Captain -Idaâ\200\230, van
,â\200\230ch:ell said: â\200\234We could not'apply
the Act because he was not arrested
g qrgecunty reasons.â\200\235â\200\231 B e
o }W_e: obviously could not hold the
'man for more than 48 hours. He could
;;31&5 t be linked to the incident,â\200\235â\200\235 Van

(not his real name), who told us he had

information which could lead to the ar-
â\200\224j rest of suspects in the

' train killings. | â\200\230

He had made a report

failed to act. he said.

| formation, which lir

~gangs of men.

nesses who had made statements had |

Police â\200\230â\200\230rounded up witnesses on |

5 â\200\230Station on the Friday

| A constable he spoke to

*| referred him to 2 V\@rram

to the police, but they had |

Dlakula gave us his in- |

certain people to the at- |

tack on passengers gy-two

We have not published
the information he gave
as it would lead to him
being known by the Kil-
lers. :

According to Dlakula,
he went to Jeppe Police

morning after the attack.

Officer Deon Wessels.

Wessels listened to
him and then asked a
black policeman to take
down the details. Dlakula
was then told to go home
and he would be con-

â\200\234tacted â\200\234when the need |

arose. _

His statement was not
recorded by the officer at-
tending him: He was sur-
prised to read in the Press.

five days later that the po-
lice were offering.a -
reward . for inform_ation
leading to the arrest of the
people responsible for the

â\200\234train slaughter. ===~

* Sowetan took Dlakula

to its lawyers Jast Thurs-

" day where he made an af-

fidavit. Our lawyer, then
phoned police head-

quarters in Pretoria.

Later in the day a

Major Olivier came to the
lawyer's office. accompanied by an officer

Dlakula immediately
recognised. the Jeppe.

. Wessels blamed - his
failure to act when
Dlakula was at Jeppe Police
Station to a commu-

from Jeppe Police Station.-

policeman as Wessels. -

tion on:- Thursday, . we
booked him, into a hotel

for. his safety; the next -

the - suspect

arrested.

* 'Explaining- why the *,
police. released. the matiey
Van Zweek said: *'The in-: "
formation could not posi-

massacre took place.
Soweto-bound train. -

-+ According to informa-
tion pieced together after
the attack, some " of the "
killers, who operated in "
two groups, boarded the:

train_ number 9436 , at #

Jeppe. Station. And the

- others joined them at

George Goch Station. >

#* The investigating of-*

ficer, Adjutant: D - Wes--
sels, can be contacted at
(011) 618-4934/5 or contact
the nearest police sta-

nication breakdown. e

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Call off dogs of war

Zulu King
â\200\230warns ANC

- By Siza Nishakala
KING Goodwill Zwelithini, King of the Zulus, issued a stern warning to the leadership of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), saying that the day he decides to call on Zulus to go to war against people who unnecessarily humiliate the Zulu nation, the consequences will be catastrophic.

Speaking at the celebration of King Shaka Day function held at Kingâ\200\231s Park, Durban, the King said: â\200\230I say to the ANCâ\200\231s National Executive that they must call off their dogs of war and their revolutionary activists and stop them from humiliating KwaZulu as KwaZulu.

The Durban celebrations attracted a
| small crowd in comparison to attendance
at similar functions lately.

A rally to commemorate Shakaâ\200\231s Day
organised by ANC supporters in Ntuzuma
did not take place.

The King strongly warned against

the current campaign to have KwaZulu
government disbanded.

The monarch said the campaign has
been orchestrated by the ANC, the United
Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress
of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu)
and the South African Communist Party
(SACP).

â\200\230Who are these products of gutter
violence to stand up and even think that
they can tell KwaZulu that it must stop

â\200\234 existing as KwaZulu? No, never in a
million years,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\230Will these people stand against us if
we go to war? Zulus must say enough is

enough. I am not saying we must now go to war. We all know the consequences if the Zulus were to dare go to war." the Zulu monarch explained.

" We are of warrior stock. We are the descendants of the great commanding

armies that roved far and wide across the

whole of Southern Africa and East Africa and even Central Africa." the king said.

Continued on page 3

New deucsy '7" %

King Zwelithini addressing the crowd at King's Park in Durban yesterday.

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The Globe and Mail, Monday,

09/25/90 18:09
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TRAVEL

September 24, 1990

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in apartheid fight
under scrutiny

Winnie Mandela to appear in court
to face assault, kidnapping charges

BY PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK
Special to The Globe and Mail

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 As African

National Congress leader Nelson Mandela toured North America in triumph in June, his wife, Winnie, was never far from his side,

Together, husband and wife were feted, showered with tickertape and

goodwill, honored as enduring symbols of the long struggle against apartheid. :

Today, Winnie Mandela is to appear in court, charged with four counts of kidnapping and four counts of assault,

The charges, announced last week, come after months of speculation and rumor about Mrs. Mandela's role in what has become known as the 'Stompie case.'

In late 1988, four youths were abducted from a Methodist Church home in Soweto and taken to the Mandela residence, where they were interrogated and beaten. Their interrogators were members of the Mandela United Football Club, a gang of Soweto toughs who operated as a kind of private army for Mrs. Mandela, :

One of the four did not survive. The body of 'Stompie' Mooketsi Seipei was discovered lying in a field several weeks after the abductions. He was 14,

Jerry Richardson, coach of the football club and a close associate of Mrs. Mandela, was convicted of Stompie's murder in August. He has been sentenced to death.

Witnesses at his trial placed Mrs. Mandela at the scene of the beatings, in the same three-bedroom bungalow in Orlando West that she moved into in 1958 as the new bride of Nelson Mandela,

The house may hold the answer to the question many in South Africa are asking. Who is the real Winnie Mandela -- the long-suffering wife of the world's most famous former political prisoner, or a criminal who, as witnesses at Mr. Richardson's trial testified, beat her victims with a whip and screamed that

they were not fit to be alive?

When she met Mr. Mandela, Winnie was South Africa's first black social worker and he was standing trial for treason, and di-

voreing his first wife, Evelyn,

Nelson and Winnie spent barcly three years logether as husband und wife. He went underground in 1961, and was arrested in 1963, In 1964, when Mr. Mandela was sentenced to life in prison, Mrs. Mandela was on her own with two young daughters,

She was not left in peace. In the ensuing ycars she was served a succession of banning otders, confining her to her home at night and restricting her from meeting with more than one person at a time. She was continually harassed, under constant surveillance, In 1969, she was arrested under the Terrorism Act and spent the next year and a half in jail, much of thaf in sali-tary confinement,

Finally, in 1977, she was ban-ished to a desolate and desperately poor black township outside the lonely Afrikaner outpost of Brandfort, in the rural Orange Free State, 320 kilometres from home. ;

Undaunted, she used her time in intcnal exile to sct up community projects and clinics, to raise money for day care. After eight years, she defied the authorities and aoved back to Soweto. :

Her return was triumphft; she had become an internatiofal symbol of the strupple against apartheid. Brash and strong-willed, she captivated the press and the people. She was the â\200\234mother of the nation,â\200\235 defiant and undefeated.

It was not long after her retum, in 1986, that she formed the Man-

dela United Football Club. The idea, she said at the time, was to

keep the youth of Soweto off the streets, to kecp them from crime. But the team turned out to be a gang, its members little more than strect toughs. Mrs. Mandela used them ax personal bodyguards. Dressed in track suits, they accompanied her to rallies and funerals and other public appearances. They never did-play foothail. - - ;

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DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has made an urgent plea for a South African equivalent of Untag, the United Nationsâ\200\231s Transitional Assistance Group, to maintain law and order while political organisations negotiate a new constitution.

- None of the countryâ\200\231s existing agents of violenceâ\200\231- including the SA Defence Force, the SA Police and the ANCâ\200\231s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe - have the legitimacy to maintain stability during the difficult process that lies ahead, he said.

The current crisis of violence has the very real potential of derailing the peace process, Van Zyl Slabbert, executive director of Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA), and former leader of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), warned in an interview in Johannesburg at the weekend

~ â\200\234â\200\234You cannot negotiate effectively - you cannot even try to normalise the situation - if you donâ\200\231t seriously address the problem of stability. You canâ\200\231t - itâ\200\231s impossible.

Negotiate

â\200\234One cannot just ignore the past. You can't pretend that.

youâ\200\231re negotiating in an entirely fresh situation. You have a history which comes into this process of negotiation.â\200\235â\200\231

The process itself, Van Zyl said, is an attempt to negotiate away white minority domination and find an acceptable constitutional alternative.

â\200\234â\200\234In these circumstances who is going to maintain stability whilst the parties negotiate?â\200\231â\200\231 he asked.

â\200\230â\200\234We haven't got an Untag that can say to the different sectors:
â\200\230â\200\234We will provide the stability,

" you sort out the politics.â\200\231â\200\231

Most observers agree that Untag successfully provided stability during the recent political transitional process in Namibia.

- *â\200\234'In the South African context you have to develop, under these very difficult circumstances, a domestic equivalent of Untag be-

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cause we certainly havenâ\200\231t got international agents that can provide us with that,â\200\235â\200\235 Van Zyl Slabbert argued.

The over-riding question now, however, was â\200\230â\200\230how do you develop a domestic equivalent of Untag in a situation where weâ\200\231ve come out of polarised confrontation between the different groups that are opposing each other?â\200\231â\200\231 .

â\200\234What of course happened, was that at the end of the Eighties weâ\200\231d reached a state of deadlock - the country was coming to a standstill, and we couldnâ\200\231t move.

Violence

â\200\230â\200\234Now, with this movement to a negotiated transition, you suddenly have a situation where the regime or the Government has opened up political space and sand to people they want to negotiate he said.

â\200\234â\200\230But you canâ\200\231t just ignore the past,â\200\235â\200\235 Van Zyl Slabbert stressed.

Âç] draw a very clear distinction between what I call constitutional and unconstntutlional agents of violence.

â\200\230â\200\230Constitutional agents of violence in any country will be the defence force, the police force, etcetera. Theyâ\200\231re constitutionally legalised to be instruments of violence.

â\200\234â\200\234In the South African case we have a crisis of constitutional legitimacy. And that crisis relates

also to the agents of violence - the SADF and the SAP.â\200\235

The problem, according to Van Zyl Slabbert, is that the SADF and SAP are faced with the impossible task of coming from a past that has been polarised politically. and now have to present themselves as non-partisan agents of violence.

â\200\234It is precisely that dilemma which has to be resolved. You canâ\200\231t say the SADF and the police have no past.

*â\200\230In exactly the same way you canâ\200\231t say MK, vigilantes, â\200\230witdoekeâ\200\231, Apla (the PAC military wing), have no past. They

~ which would be acceptuui:

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also bring their past into this process of change. They are unconstitutional agents of violence - they havenâ\200\231t got the legality of the system.â\200\231â\200\231

The biggest dilemma facing South Africa in the immediate future was how to marginalise what Van Zyl Slabbert calls â\200\230â\200\230rogue violenceâ\200\231â\200\231, and reach a new situation of stability where all parties readily accept that those people who are responsible for stability, can maintain law and order.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234Thatâ\200\231s really the problem. This means, if you look at the current situation, that you have structural conditions, you have political factors, and then you have these competing agents of violence who may or may not have sinister motives.â\200\235â\200\231

While the ANC has accused elements within the SAP and SADF of destabilising the peace process, senior members - of the Government - last week it was Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and Adriaan Vlok, Law and Order Minister - maintain there are elements in the ANC intent on destabilisation.

Stability

Against the already very volatile situation these different agents of violence – whether constitutional or unconstitutional – do not trust one another, and that aggravates the situation.

What was immediately necessary was for the different parties to first agree on how they're going to create a situation of non-partisan stability.

In other words, how do you

sort out those people who are

responsible for maintaining law and order,

– said.

How do you sort out how they can do so, in which way, and the different parties.

It doesn't help to blame one another. It doesn't help to scapegoat one another. It doesn't help to question one another's motives or intentions, because the more you do that, the more you simply highlight the inability to agree on

what kind of stability there must be

what kind of stability there must be :

And if you can't agree that, then it's just self-delusion to think that you can seriously begin to discuss how to develop a new constitution, or a new civil service, or how to negotiate anything in the economy, or housing, or education. It's nonsense.

You can't pretend that the problem of instability will just solve itself, and then you can carry on talking.

Potential

If the major players avoid coming to terms with this crisis it has the potential for derailing the discussions. Certainly.

Van Zyl Slabbert was asked why the Government and ANC continued to blame one another. He spoke about a lack of trust –

did he think it was a very serious problem?

â\200\234â\200\234You have to understand the history from which theyâ\200\231ve come.

â\200\230â\200\230Let me put it to you quite bluntly: Last year this time a young constable in the SAP could more or less be quite sure of promotion if he killed (MK Chief of Staff) Chris Hani on sight.

â\200\234â\200\234â\200\230Now it is expected of him to protect Chris Hani when he comes for talks at the Pretoria Union - Buildings or Tuinhuis in Cape Town. e

*â\200\230Last year this time a young cadre within the ANC'â\200\231s resistance movement (MK) would be expected to Kill agents of the SAP and the SADF. It was deliberate policy.

â\200\234Now it's expected of him to calm down and wait for people to negotiate transition.

**So, you have a history of suspicion. You have a history of

mistrust. You have a history of

deliberate hostile action towards one another. You canâ\200\231t pretend that thatâ\200\231s suddenly evaporated, because youâ\200\231ve suddenly dis-

- covered the word negotiation.â\200\235â\200\231

The problem had to be addressed immediately: â\200\230â\200\234You have. to say: Let us first talk about the fact that weâ\200\231ve had these hostile attitudes to one another. Let Â° agree how to solve that, and move ahead.â\200\235â\200\231 - Sapa

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try'sâ\200\231 e.xport ba.se a.ctually widened, tha.nks
tof government incentives.- Industries ne-
glected in the past have blossomed; in're
sponse to the arms embargo against it, the
country:â\200\230has â\200\230become - oneâ\200\234of ithe wo:ld'

-largest weapons makers. "

â\200\234The net lesull by been Ww.widen the al

- rea.dy â\200\230huge gap between whites and
â\200\234blacks.*The staggering black" â\200\230unemploy-'t
.- mentâ\200\224more than 50% in some areag~has...:
sharpened workplace tensions; more than .

o R e

Price of. Vlctory Sanctlonsâ\200\230i~\201H' elp'a and

{daughtegi~\202â\200\234ot 5~former Ford â\200\230andâ\204¢ GM.

* workers, flock toâ\200\231 the*S.0.5.. klitchen from

hs teel At.ls"my? duty to*won'y about:
â\200\230them," says Mrs,.Davids.;''Nobody else
*docs,' Buddenly, her â\200\230thied eyes brightenâ\200\231
wim K flash of optimism. "My Ameri-
"â\200\231she "wonders, : â\200\234do, you tmnk they'

wm ever. .come:back?" -

Across town, Welfit Oddy no longer wor-f ;

1.2 'millinnâ\200\231 man.daye were loet during the. Iles about that question. Ona'af the a
reaâ\200\231sâ\200\231

â\200\234first half'of this year because 'of strikes,â\200\235
mple the level of last year. Moreover, the
;. housing crisis is fueling township unrest,â\200\235
Squatter camps and migrant labor dormi-
-:tories have been the flashpoints of the re-
St Luenl uLgy uf polldcalâ\200\235 vwlenw, wmcn nas
;left nearly 800 blacks dead. " Â¥+

sl | shudder when'l see the black econ-
,pmy, " says Roger Matlock, the Port Eliza-
~â\200\234*beth director of the Urban Foundation, a
.privatallyâ\200\234funded -devclopment agency
< sworking toward a post- apartheid South'Af-

'rlca.nâ\200\234lt hasâ\200\231 never. been â\200\230worse.'s < i,

Sy Thatcena.inlyistrueatmesos ol
â\200\230fA ed_-â\200\230So â\200\231

; *'?.Long gone are the glorious'days when a
â\200\230surprise delfvery of hot food from the Ford;
â\200\230canteen â\200\230would â\200\230add a'veritable feast to the
â\200\234Usual. ladelâ\200\231 of" soup. â\200\230These "daysit's â\200\230justâ\200\231
<} â\200\230soun and â\200\230bread, bread and soup, The old
wood-burning â\200\234stoveâ\200\235 donatedâ\200\235 by" General
;Motors â\200\230In*1981 has seen better days.â\200\231And

.When, wonder the old women of the neigh-"
. pothood, was the last time they gatheredâ\200\231
i -for'aâ\200\231 sewing â\200\230bee; â\200\230turning the automakers"
< gerap ploth andâ\204ç)

Y â\200\230.ijle covers,:Iâ\200\230

saysi-â\202s'l-year'old â\200\230Daisy-*Davids â\200\230as - â\200\230sheâ\200\231 e
*.+ Ehowe off the. GM stove puffing away at the Â¥,

foot of: her. bed iln- her: rickety Wo-T00
;shackâ\200\231inthe*â\200\230colored,"or â\200\230mixed "race,
-part of Port: Ellizabeth. â\200\234I was so sorry 0â\200\231
\$eeâ\200\231 thenmn go.%" in ent i i
_v"/' Ford left town' lock stock and hubcap inâ\200\231
1985, flrst:merging. with:a: Pretoria-based
auto~maker, -then - disinvesting.â\200\235 entirely,:
General Motors:leftâ\200\231a year.later by selling.
./ tolocal managers,. The' departures â\200\230were:
- hailed . byâ\200\234anti-apartheid activists as. the"
rrnwnine glories of the disinvastmant r'tm-:
-: paign. But they devastated Port Elizabeth,
*- which at the time was known"as the De

- GM's successor, Delta Motors is mak~!
Ing-a:profit;- something -that :eluded 'GM
-hare far years, hut it is Aning sn with ahoatâ\200\231

1,500 fewer workers.'Ford left 5,000 people.
unemployed. The companiesâ\200\235contributions:
to community development programs van-
ished. In the cruelest irony, Ford's recrea-:
-tion:center:near the black: townshlpsewas ,
â\200\230taken over by the' pohce.,someactivists
who: among- other â\200\230things -advocated ' disin-:
- vestment were later: detalned and Interr
â\200\235gatedthere a e T A
~Mrs; Davids sits ona chair ln front â\200\230of -

her:shack:and: squmts â\200\230at'the bottom line.â\200\231s

â\200\234#Tha government ig finally talking: lo our,;
â\200\230people.. This is very good,â\200\235 she says.."â\200\230But*"
â\200\230what about my children?? Inside, two bagsâ\200\235 "

of powdered soup lean against'a wall, be-â\200\231
Jow a painting .of the:Last Supper.â\200\235â\200\231
Her

â\200\234children,â\200\235 some of them Sons and "

' prominent -whiteÂ@: â\200\234pusinessmen, â\200\234he - leans;
â\200\230In hisofficeâ\200\231 chair, satisfied that heâ\200\235â\200\231
/. has beatenâ\200\230al] that the world beyond South "

â\200\234Africaâ\200\231s borders can throw.at him. Disins &

â\200\230vestment and sanctions should have ruined.
â\200\230him, In.;t.cwd) __

â\200\234In 1985 his famlly s company, which be~,
â\200\230Â\$an as-a wagon builder in Port Elizabeth
nearly a century ago, was making 150 bod-â\200\231
-esa'day.for'Ford pickups and trucks, It'
â\200\230was'25%: of his buslness and, based on as-â\200\231

try was, ln â\200\230the: mlddle ot a recession. an
.then they take off."He'cut his work farce;
â\200\230and: scrambled to diversify â\200\230away from the

auto industry, As his losses mounted, he
settled on the production of stainless steel
"transport containers. He tgggd ag export'

g Ford»'h'adn't"igone and this opportu-
jfnity presented itself.â\230txmlght have sat backâ\230f

I'm: pleased Fordâ\231went L
/â\230When' the' whole *world
ou've: got: â\234to-survive,: BHE
â\234Outside/the factory gates.â\230the squatte
"shacks from â\230the blacktownship acrossthe;
road â\230continue thelr'inexorable advance to--
ward""his â\230property.-The mixed-race com
â\230munity dewn in:the'valley is in flames;â\231
otsâ\231 over*living *conditions â\230will kil more.
than 40 over:the next two days. Production
-guffers as'workers take off 10.defend their:
-homes. Meanwhile, the recently unbanned :
â\234South'African Communist Party canvasses.
â\230 - With the metoric +of .,
workers CONtroLni:. -

-, Mx."Oddyâ\231 manages a wltherlng smile,
ls' it .possible, â\230heâ\230 wonders, to" beat-the
-world 'but:loseat home?:

â\234Inâ\231tho "cold :officc of 'th â\230Unemploycdl
Workers Unlon. in:'downtownâ\231 Port . Eliza-

â\230beth, â\230ten blackâ\230men who know all about*.
â\230losing, sit upright and proud onâ\230white plas--*

tic chairs.-In:the. anti-apartheid â\230crusade,â\231
<'some of their comrades were killed, othersâ\231
were: lmprlsoned â\230many-went into exiie.
These men*lost: thelr: jobs They were. all
â\230Ford workers,:

-our: contribution to the struggle,â\235 says Mi-
- chael: Qwesha,â\235'a â\230young â\230manâ\231 with drea

.. loeka flo whensoth n'black barat,
. The beret is embroidered with the hammer -
*and sickle Togoâ\234of the SouthAfrican Com-â\231
munist Party;"a button-<"*ANC leads, ANC *

livesâ\235 â\224dangles from his sweater. After he'

Iost p\ls Job, he says, he was: arrested ancl

Hinder AN C

B AL NS PR P it

&.,â\231 detained without charge for ;hree years for
Â«his anti-apartheid â\230actjvity, He has been

ee, and unemployed, for a year now.
â\234â\234Whatever steps the government has
taken." he saysâ\230 "h_ave been because of us,

Bt beneath e orids thare S it
â\230terness. In unison, the, men say that Ford

.'and GM and ali the other disinvesting com-

.. panies were right to leave, but wrong in

" the way they did it. The severance pack-
â\200\230ages. they -grumble, weren't enough to

compneate loâ\200\230r the conmmg yearo vl unciur
ployment :
~+*â\200\234During our ume of working we never

had anything - to' save, anything to put
:.:a.way " says Johnny Mke, who worked for

{Ford for 22 years. Adds Prince Parlle:

rhey didn'tâ\200\231 give â\200\230us any warning. We
-were building our. future. our chĩ-\201dren s fu-
â\200\230ture, on Ford.â\200\235"!"

"That .is the probleml with capitalllsts
â\200\230says Patrick Shwempe of the Unemployed
â\200\230Workers Union, which seeks (v urganize
the jobless into a political force. *â\200\234Unem-
Ployment wasn't just caused by sanctions
and disinvestment, although that added to
lt,â\200\235 he says. â\200\230â\200\230Unemployment is a creation
â\200\230of â\200\234capitalism, to hold over the .heads -of
workers who want to strike,â\200\235. - .

":Still,: theâ\200\235 10 men .would- welcome the
.capitalists back tomorrow. They are eager
.to get back to.work.: â\200\234We have the skills
â\200\230thay nPFd .cays Mr Mka â\200\234Wa fan ha rhA
Detroit â\200\230of South Africa again,â\200\235
llt is the ANC that now must cntend
with these rising expectations. . ;

â\200\234â\200\230Every resident in the area is expectmg

an ANC government :to quickly improve
me shwaton,â\200\231s says. mMicflael Xxego, ne

'ANC's â\200\230publicityâ\200\231 officer in the Port Eliza-
.beth area.-â\200\234'But â\200\230no'one can expect the
"shacks,â\200\235 â\200\234the - unemployment, to just g0
â\200\230away. poof,. overnight.":

#Where once the ANC nought to exploft
the impoverished -township conditions to
create * social â\200\234instabilityâ\200\224â\200\230â\200\234ungovernabil-
ity was the revolutionary wordâ\200\224it is now
desperate-to maintain stability, â\200\234We are
going:'10 *inherit â\200\230most of the problems
here,â\200\231â\200\235 says chhael'Nduoe o: â\200\230me ANC'S
â\200\230youth branch.â\204¢â\200\235

- Hev catalogs the poverty around him.
Unemployment {s-running at 50%. An av-
"erage of 20 families a-day are moving into
"the -eitv, each looking for 'a joh and aÂ@
o house. The shortage of classrooms is so se-
TÂ¥vere that existing schools are being used in
shifts; -one group of students in the morn-
ing, another: in; the afternoon,. - "'

v #We have'toâ\200\231do things now," says Mr.
Jack, turning up another' street aud eas
plaining why the ANC decided to suspend

-Atsâ\200\231armed struggle ahead of all its de-
- mands being metâ\200\230 "It we delay, things only

get worse.â\200\235.

*Another comer, anomer squatter neigh-
borhood. "it's very difficult giving the or-
. dinary people what they need with limited

. resources,â\200\235 he says.â\200\231 â\200\234The needs oi our
HWe aren't asha.med of sanctions. It ls ' o

â\200\230people are 5o great. "

Belman Consumer Pnoa Indmz

" BRUSSELS~Fueled by surging energy
. prices, Belgium's preliminary unadjusted
. consumer price Index rose by 1.32 points,
" t0 145.93 points, in September. the Mimstry
*f Economy said. ..

Changing Strategy , LT B

. Having thus prodded the government,, | . _ .. :. -â\200\224=â\200\224= DR 7uhdz s =
Into action, sanctions now are prodding the | 43 /h # Qq_ =r7 A qo
ANC. Back-home after 30 years in exxi;ii - LTY

- the ANC Is swamped with its impoverished - | -
sonatitucncy'a 1'1?&?.5 â\202-A peclallons 10T 1)

bt Lot oty

: er'w i â\200\234my Bt~ Sy A " ONON. L oty N .

= gheâ\200\234,coumrjâ\200\230s futufe. is eager to restruc-, \ . T . s < .South 'A_.fr@_ga
'tq;jnte_rnaï\20longl acceptability,â\200\235_ |
- R B very that Wiy s 11 ool B Eroups, released ANC posdes e |
" heeds, an overhaul tha rely heavily onâ\200\231 | â\204¢ Â¥ , release . an-

' Ii-\201:xzn in?Zsmâ\200\230xem. But it can't begin &s ;|- 7 P rlce*of*â\200\230â\200\235â
\200\230/"iCtO"y ' < dela from 27 years in prison, began repeal- -
long ac measurea designed to Pudiisl the 71 x - SN T O LT ey ,â\200\230:â\200\231- Cr o e
s ng segregation Jaws and opened â\200\230negotia-
economy and isolate South' Africa are â\200\230still : ',SOU.th . Afnca 3 ANC +h g tions wi
th the-AJ\fc gesgâ\200\230zned to lead to &

- In place. And many countries, Sulchastltlï-\201 , Wi S ile-aiear B el g ;lg;\;l:gnsitâ
\200\230:)tggxh :.rpde Kï-\201:l;}- (wlÃ@ge powe;

- . U, "have locked in their sanctions un S g i â\200\231 . reand T . deKle rryin
+ the ANC says it is satisfied with current | . Emd_s:_,Sanct;ons AreZll repart, or s, ret
oims, â\200\230sgilelzg the first
negotfations between the government, and - a0 RN L S an, hf ;

e S Aty b A e : A

s : : 4 B > - â\200\230White House Inâ\200\231nearly half a century.-â\200\234. -
4 -â\200\230-â\200\230.TPThusâ\200\230i#the 'ANC finds itself under pres- | - g less gâ\200
\234~ d aCU.I:SCâ\200\230

â\200\230sure- 10 move-as swittly as possible in the | . â\200\224â\200\224 bty

â\200\224 Tz WALL STRGET TeuaNAL ..

B

gy e ; e â\200\235 R LI K LT

* - talks; it hopes significant progress can be | ' ik Bl ' -
*. -made by the end of me'yeg.â\200\230 To boo?i-\201 , g glhey i-\202?â\200\230Hfâ\200\230
hï-\201â\200\230BlaCkâ\200\230Malorltyv
., Degotiation prospects, the ANC last month . - Â\$ Wi ' :
% todgk the inlgative to suspend its guerrilla 3 et Vym Refor m bUt AISO GUt

' war, Mr. Mandela'also says the organiza- * | - _ Itsâ\200\231â\200\235Economlc Inheritanc
e

tion may settle for a â\200\234statement of intentâ\200\235 .
â\200\234â\200\234'fram tha government on tho ohapc of-a '
- 'new constitution, rather than actual pros
' _gress,.as a trigger for the lifting of sanc-.
- Increasing Costs ~ e

Lo *2*35". By Rocen THUROW - i

I â\200\234The realization of the'damage thatâ\200\235 ~ Staff Reporter of Tre WarL Stieer

St *

. â\200\230sanctions would do to'the economy, and to:' ' NEW BRIGHTON, South Africgâ\200\224 Mkhu-

' social stability, if they continue fo he ap--i - .sell Jack, one of â\200\230the generals

In the eco-

~Plied has brought both the government and | - nomic â\200\230way against- white â\200\230minority rule,

- -the "ANC to, their senses,â\200\231â\200\231 says Ronald*| ' points through the dusk to what appears iâ\200\231 |

. Bethlenem, an economist at one of the Â°f . be 2" junkyard of plywood sug s A,

."countryâ\200\231s big mining houses. â\200\234Neither are | . woman balancing aâ\200\231 baby on her back and *

" prepared to accept the long-term- costs of-: . @ sheet of corrugated iron on her head dis-

;' sapetions.â\200\231 oo om0 ...appears into the mess. It is her home,

"1V After more than five years of sanctions, | - â\200\234Squalters,â\200\235 says. Mr. Jack â\200\234Four or .

"â\200\234applied in varying degrees by Individual |, - .five â\200\230week . those: shacks |.weren't

" â\200\234countries, and after a huge exodus of di-' ere, T e)

. Tect Investment by U.S. corporations, the | iâ\200\231 â\200\230The battlefield inspection continyes, Un- - -

. costs are adding up. The cutting off of fl-'{ " employed men, both â\200\230young and old, loiter

- nanelal credits from the major Western. - in small. groupson every: corner."Flimsy - .:banks has triggered 2'net capital outflow'| - - shanties, :some " merely, a" patchwork of

e ",ot:â\200\230mo, re'r.han \$10 billion, mainly through 1 'Â»":â\200\234-Qi~\202â\200\230 l'dboa!_ 'd ---'bxllâ\200\230!;.\:aards.u;â\200\230f"whltgr *whites, . ,

. debt fepayment. Efforts to hold.down im-, . . -brighter'orights,â\200\235 says a detergent ad now .

portsâ\200\235to financce these payuients uave. | part:of a'living: room. wallâ\200\224ooccupy every

- strangled growth? Bilack: unemployment,â\200\235| | - Â\$Yallable Space,=y it o| ,,:_ Â¥k

- +high even before sanctions and disinvest- | | < Mr. Jack winces at the price of victory.

" ment, is rising by at least 200,000 a,years; | - -â\200\230â\200\230Sanctions,â\200\231â\200\235 he admits, "have required a

- â\200\230Without " foreign aid, development â\200\234pro-.| sacrifice. i i

+â\200\234 â\200\234grams, such as low-cost housing, are sput- | - it South:Africaâ\200\231 s â\200\230present recession,, has-

- tering. More than seven million squatters,. | v-tened by international trade and financial

l "

- lully vne-yuarter,of the black population,. | " sanctions against Pretoria for its polici esâ\200\235

" encircle the country's urbanâ\200\231areas,â\200\235 - 3 :,_gi rzï~\201g: seil_'egatfu;)

i rtng nr;nstr;%nl)ggtea.ti~\201,,â\200\230Â«

Â@ + 'n"some 'wa s:'â\200\235":â\200\234the?'FlrÃ@tTVWorld'compo-"â\200\230 ;. Diack townships of Port abeth particy-<|

nex;ltn o?ot?xle ecox)lâ\200\2310myâ\200\230-'-drtven-by the white- | - Jarly hard. So has corporate disinvestment. ;|

~owned . 'gold,â\200\235 â\200\234diamend.~ andâ\200\235 platinum -| .-, When Ford and.General Motors left town e

| minesâ\200\224has - perversely" benetited fromâ\200\231 |- four years.ago, 6,500 people lost their jobs.--

* sanctions. Local companies and business-' | " Most, 0(-them;axe;..stuli};,l;expplgxgq;_} wqayg:gfa\200\230

Â@dnen snapped up AISIVESTING compames at. | ai.nful' Pri OKIGSS._

i -fire-sale prices. lge,w':rade.â\200\230routes_,.plied by Lt MY -Ja,ck:pturns'zinpiher co mer.â\200\230-',Moâ\200\230re...;â\200\230

.~ sanctions-busting - entrepreneurs,â\200\235 opened . - - Jobless, more squatters, more s
hacks."â\200\234We ;

- almost as soon as others closed, The coun " must act quickly toâ\200\230end this sacrific
e,â\200\235 he',

L Says. â\200\234â\200\230We don't want to inherit 2 country |

- NN i

- â\200\234The sanctlons sword Is turning agalnst.Â»

-itsâ\200\230blacksmith. The African National Con-.

gress, South Africaâ\200\231s main black Iberation .

Broup, forged:itg:sanctions strategy â\200\230as a -

Â¢/ T0EADS /of â\200\230pressuring â\200\234the . government lo o

i.-abandon white-minority .rule. â\200\230And, -0 this-

' "end, It has-worked, Earlier this year, Pres-.]

X .identâ\200\230,F.W.-nder'z-Kle:k,â\200\230r_'desperate to return. '

" â\200\224

Cheers for Man

About 20

_mmaâ\200\230mdzgmo: Mande!

dela at South African

,000 supporters cheer African National Congress Â\$South Africa

m, ._.:qma.mvâ\200\230 in A :

.A Agenceâ\200\231 France-Presse â\200\230photo

nal fighting. The ANC wil

Story, Page 3...

a3

AM respor:dxng to a let-

ter by Beau Brummell,
The Citizen, September
18 (Sleeping Zulu
Giant). He claims Zulus
are the biggest ethnic
group with 7 million.

Let me put the record
straight. I am Zulu by
birth but I don't subscribe
to Inkatha. Gatsha Bu-
thelezi may command a
large following in rural
areas, but he does not
command support in the
urban areas (townships).

Townships are pro-
ANC and other progres-
sive organisations.

Inkatha is the only or-
ganisation that still re-
cruits along tribal lines.
-+ That is why Inkatha is not
progressive, because it is
a tribal organisation.

The writer, Beau
Brummell, ignores the
fact that Xhosas are the
second biggest ethnic
group with about 6 mil-
lion. .

What about the Tswa-
nas 5 million, Pedi 4,5
million, Ndebele 3 mil-

i Beware

S

lmn Sothos 3 milho
Tsongas 3 million, Ven-
das 3 million, Swazis
about 1 million.

Let him add all the
other tribes and see for
himself that there will also
play an important role in
a new South Africa.

ANC is a non-racial or-
ganisation that fights for
all Blacks, including Zu-
lus.

I am giving our Inka-
tha-crazy Whites brother-
ly advice: Zulus have
been the most violent tri-
bal group among all
Black tribes. since the
days of King Shaka.

They used to kill innocent and other poor Zulu clans.

For God's sake, do these Whites think once Inkatha takes over from progressive ANC for all, including Whites, they will be rewarded"

Those Whites who are crazy about Inkatha will be killed. Once a Zuluy,

the Zuius

dlways a Zulu, so poor Whites be careful.

SIPHO SITHOLE
Mofolo Village
Soweto

jonday 24 September 1990

THE CITIZEN

â\202¬â\202¬ Vo,

] & EEEEEEE&

in SAP now lying
Mandela

By Sapa and
Rohan Minogue
CRIMINAL elements
within the security
forces were lying low
while President F W de
Klerk was visiting US
President George Bush
and - violence would
flare up once he re-
lumed Mr Nelson
ai¬\202dela told African
\}anonal Congress sup-
porters on the. Reef

vesterday.
There would only be

peace in the country if the
sovernment and the ANC

worked together, the

ANC deputy: presxdent'.Â».,: ! :
- other organisations who

said, launching two separ-
ate ANC branchesâ\204¢â\204¢

â\200\234We are wmpelled toâ\200\235

work together through

thick ard thin,â\200\235 he said.
Â«when (Mr) De Kierk
comes back, I'm almost

willing to bet you, taeseâ\200\231

gangsters are going. to
start slaughtering again,â\200\235
Mr Mandela said in Tladi,
Soweto. where an enthu-

o PR

low:

â\200\230siastic but disciplined
crowd of 500 greeted him.

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t say he himself
is working with these
criminals. No, I still be-

lieve he is 2 man of honesty who wants to bring peace.â\200\235

The ANC and the National Party were the central organisations which were going to play a role in bringing peace to the country, and there could

be . no ,peace Wwithout

them, Mr Mandela said. There were, however,

should become involved in " the negotiation process, he said, without naming them. -

At KwaThema earlier in the day. Mr Mandela said security force measures to curb township violence (Operation Iron Fist) had been introduced for the purpose of Mr De

= ed his warning that the â\200\230 ANC would help its sup-

Â£ B

ESE

Klerkâ\200\231s visit, and would fail, despite apparent calm over the past week.

â\200\234We suspect it is the calm before the storm,â\200\235 he told about 800 ANC supporters in the East Rand township.

Mr Mandela warned that the ANC might be forced to pull out of negotiations if the government continued _ to apply â\200\234â\200\230double standardsâ\200\235 in its handling of White and â\200\230Black protesters.

Mr De Klerk should cease calling on him to control his people, Mr Mandela said. :

â\200\234Our people are people of peace. They are united, they are orderly. It is

. his forces that are killing

our people,â\200\235 he said.

Accusing the government of not using its capacity to stop the violence, Mr Mandela repeat-

porters defend themselves.

However, it would not arm people who were pol-

itically and militarily un-

{ trained, as such people

might act in an undisciplined fashion.

Mr Mandela contrasted mild police action against Right-wingers who broke up National Party meetings, with the -use of live ammunition against Blacks engaging in peaceful protest.

â\200\234White policemen in this country have been taught that any political demonstration by Blacks, although peaceful, must

=t â\200\230%.â\200\230Ã@â\200\224m
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be treated as a declaration of war on White supremacy,â\200\235 he said.

All Blacks, young and old, women and children, were regarded as military targets.

â\200\234The lives of Black people in this country are worthless as far as the White government is concerned,â\200\235 he said.

Mr NELSON MANDELA launching branch of the ANC, is dressed in 2 suit with green and gold str

HE events of the past half-
~ year' have finally vindicat-
ed the liberals in their long, -
deadly. dispute with the "

hard Left: change in South Africa
comes best as a series of incre-
mental steps, not as a â\200\234big bangâ\200\235
revolution.s* . 0 e 0"

The evidence, of course, has been

accumulating steadily for two dec-

ades. The labour movement, now the -

bastion .of Communist Part
strength, can trace its success bac

to John Vorsterâ\200\231s refusal to use the . â\200\230

full power of the state to {} t down
labour unrest in Natal in the early
"70s. s ;

Wiehahn - reforms (vigorously ' de
nounced by the Rand Daily

in negotiation and possessed of real

ower, to become an effective coun-
terweight to the concentrated power
of the corporations.

The process of evolution, one sus-
pects, is not yet complete. The union
members have become'a relatively
privileged elite, intent (as the Mer-
cedes workersâ\200\231 revolt against
national bargaining suggests) on pro-
tecting their privileges. The workers
are becoming real stakeholders in
the system, and sometimes partners
in upholding it. The closed shop is
a device directed not against
the â\200\234bossesâ\200\231â\200\235 but against the
unemployed. .-

Socialists, undaunted by evidence,
continue to deride the thesis put for-
ward by Michael O'Dowd o Anglo
American in the â\200\23160s, which postulat-
ed, roughly speaking, that economic

Erowth would shatter apartheid asit -

ad shattered all feudal systems.

The socialist theory was that no

Â£ .
minority every conceded power

(which is a lie), that all peaceful
avehues of change and resistance

were closed (another lie), and that liberation would come by revolution (a delusion). s

The liberal protest that violent change tends to establish new tyrann-

S a g e e t T R Y

Â»

That decision led inexorably to the . Â¢

{ ail at -
| the time as a palliative ploy) which ' ..
ermitted organised labour, skilled .-

he liberals lost
e argument but
ey won the war

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â\202¬59 DAY A4 S=PT G990

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nies (FranÃ©, 1789;: RuÃ©sia: 1917; -

China, 1947; Cuba, Vietnam, Mozam-

_ bique; half of Latin America) was

simply brushed aside. The strategy of the Left, including the ANC, was to

heighten tension; undermine the au-

thority of the government, frustrate

- jts social programmes, and create a

tinder-box for revolution.

" Liberals who resisted elements of

this programme â\200\224 by condemning| -

sanctions, for example, or resisting the chaos of ungovernability. or raising humanitarian objections aboutâ\200\231 methods of terror like necklacing â\200\224 were scorned as â\200\234wetsâ\200\235. -

But David Dowd, it turns out, was right. The economic growth of the '60s led to the burgeoning demand for urban workers in the '70s, to unstoppable "urbanisation that collapsed the pass laws, and to the acceptance (under President Botha) of

"the permanence of the black urban

population. Apartheid ideology, its cornerstone removed, disintegrated. All that remained was for the whites to make the final decision: fight mindlessly to the death, or (if I

may appropriate Disraeli's definition -

tion of Britain's problem in the last century as "two nations in one coun-

try) to make a common flibustier with .

: the other nation's. President Botha, in about 1986, chose the first option, - President de Klerk is embarked on

the second. .

Not all incremental change is beneficial. When I joined Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, then leader of the PFP, in fighting with all my might against the tricameral constitution, it was in the belief that it was a retrogressive change. We lost the fight, of course, but the failure of the

- tricameral system, as we predicted,

is now generally conceded

Also, the price of that retrogressive change in civil commotion and violence was terrible. But a fair as-

essment of the past decade will surely show that the tricameral sys-

tem did generate some of the unintended consequences which its defenders claimed for it. In retrospect, I would say it helped the National Party make the transition from apartheid to its present (rather muddled) ideas of liberal democracy.

That the socialists continue to deny all this evidence is not surprising, but it is piquant. After all, Marx and Engels correctly foresaw what liberalism, which they referred to as

. the rule of the bourgeoisie but

which Harold Laski called the creed

of the merchant, was doing to the

feudal world. Â¢

The Commurhs"t Manifesto says:

â\200\234The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all the instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all nations, even the most barbarian, into civilisation. The cheap

rices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters

_down all Chinese walls, with which it

forces the barbariansâ\200\231 intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate . . . it has created more colossal and more massive productive

- forces than have all preceding

generations.â\200\235

Substitute the name of arch-xenophobia Hendrik Verwoerd for â\200\234the barbarians", and the parallel is clear. As the manifesto says, under bourgeois capitalism, â\200\234all fixed, frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept awayâ\200\235.

Not only the socialists in South Africa had difficulty understanding the power of economic growth in a capitalist society to effect social change; the Afrikaans neo-liberals (or pseudo-liberals, perhaps\201s) had the same problem. Wynand Malan, before

he retreated from public life to personal introspection; kept demanding that liberals declare themselves for â\200\234the systemâ\200\235 or-â\200\234the struggleâ\200\235.

Van Zyl Slabbert, possessed of the finest analytical intelligence in our politics, perceived the issues clearly enough, but lacked the temperament for the slow, dogged business of incremental change. He, too, fell to demanding that liberals (I, in particular) â\200\234come off the fenceâ\204¢ and join â\200\234the struggleâ\200\235 or become irrelevant.

The Left is in total disarray. Its foreign sponsors have recanted or been tumbled out of power; its theories have been disproved by events; its violent strategies have been revealed as both barbarous and futile; and its most prominent leaders are hobnobbing daily with the Nats, commuting by Mercedes.

Yet the chimera of supporting â\200\230the struggleâ\200\235 still exerts its appeal. Democratic Party members â\200\224David Dalling, Jan van Eck, Pete Gas-

throw â\200\224 can't quite bring themselves
to join the ANC, but want to sidle
close.

Academics like Pierre du Toit, the
Stellenbosch political scientist, still
expound (most lately in a book enti-
tled The Mythmakers) such bizarre
theories as that liberalism employs
â\200\234Trojan horseâ\200\235 strategies to create a
â\200\234slippery slopeâ\200\235 of unintended conse-
quences, and to drag the nation down
with it.

South African liberals have won
the war, but not the argument. They
have triumphed in a nation whose
intellectuals cannot tell a liberal
from a libertarian, have never read
Sydney Hook or Isaiah Berlin, care
nothing for the struggles of liberals
in Europe and America since the
'90s; and mock the faces that have
been setting them free.

Both system and struggle have run
their course; the liberals, trapped for
so long between them, have sur-
vived. But they need a new vo-
cabulary to explain to their unknow-
ing countrymen what the fight was
all about.

e s s Pay A TEIRR I Al o e Y
s i}â\200\2301

E l;, ,Wt;'\'-â\200\230 T
Dear Sir, - â\200\230 f
IT IS sad to note that we blacks still
see ourselves and our .actions:
through the eyes of white people. We
arrot them at almost every turn
ecause we value and cherish the
â\200\234plauditsâ\200\235 they dish out to us when-
ever we echo them or allow them to
churn out their sentiments through
-us. Seldom, if at all, for the good of
our own eople

: Sudden lâ\200\230; even to ourselves the :
e

cause of t obviously orchestrated

.Â¢onflict between Inkatha and the

rest of the African/black communit
is: as white analysts and their blac
sycophants would have us believe,
ethmcnty, or tribalism if you like.
::Overlooking the intense,

flict, we even draw â\200\230as supporting .
evidence the already hackneyed is-
sue of upheavals in independent
Africa which whites almost always
parade. No, this is too easy; it is
! mlsleadmg our township folk, if not
i the whole black community; a people
: who are in dire need of direction and
i understanding of the chaos that has
i broken out in their midst.

' Urban Africans, we claim in ex-

Elainmg away this violent conflict, :
ave for years looked down on hostel
dwellers, for years had despised mi-
1 grant workers as country bumpkins.
i - But we fail, not so surprisingly, to
3 consider why the violent eruptions
; are occurring only now when we.
-have - always despised the - hostel .
{ 'dweller: In that feeble, apolitical .

way we pretend a mere meetmg be-

â\200\230tween Nelson Mandela and Chief -
" Buthelezi will provide the magic *
wand needed to resolve the problem.

- And we overlock, perhaps deliber- "'
ately, the fact that on thexr own nel-

Jok

â\200\230oong e

assion- i ~Dear Sir,
 â\200\234ate _political overtones of the .con- i.iI READ' Edward,Griffithsâ\200\231 article
 ,**

â\200\230T e

; "EthIlICItX

ther' the hostel dWellers nor lnkath.. >

. could have mounted such a sophisti-

cated and professional campaign.
 - High time we grew, and began to
 assess our situationsâ\200\231 and conditions

" from our Fef pective instead of act- :
 or,0

ing as too thers. Only then can

there be hope: for;us as'a people. - â\200\231t,,

A HARRY MASHABELA'
 !) l"u i Soweto l
 -;v:

â\200\230wrâ\200\230-s pfvv-' Wi

(September 12? on thÃ© 1981 ru by test !

. against the Al

â\200\230i remember 'the game well as | was B

here. HEN Tt 4
 At 3-16 down we were in for a .

â\200\230hiding. At 22-22 with a conversion to.

lander was petrified. When -Naas *
 missed, both Springbok and New
 Zealand supporters -were screaming

â\200\234for the final whistle} However, ther
 ,â\200\230was still 11 minutes of injury timeâ\200\235

" Referee Norling was determined t
 play on. ' ily

. In lnjury txme, Naas lucked a 70m
 clearanceâ\200\231 to touch from a penalty,â\200\231

. and Norling blew a Bok up for bemg sâ\200\235'
 . offside. If you! look'at: the replay on Â«f !

;; the video, frame by frame,â\200\231 you will {;

see the Bok was.not offside and Norl- | : ;:

ing was standing on the wrong s s:de of
 . Naas to mafe | .this decision. -

- I spoke to Alan Hewson about the
 penalty in 1981 at the World Cup. He

- says he never even knew there wasa e

dlspute over lt it

|1|'

Blacks in Auckland. I Â»

eni¬\202e% D&w

not.root o

9q0

PO Box 113835

Â¢To et thmgs lnto perspectlve, one
..should look at the fourth test played
"at Ellis Park in 1976 against the All
Blacks. They were robbed blind by
the referee.

Complain to a Kiwi about 1981 and
they simply refer you to 1976. So we
must not feel too hard done by. We
robbed them in_ 1976 and they robbed
us in 1981

RS LI IRUTIRS I1 DAVIES
B Ak "â\200\231 Randburg

â\200\230DDDD

! 1 REFER to an article whlchV%

"come from:Naas, every New Zea- :
v Beared on the front page of Business

Dear Sir,

on July 31 1990 entitled "Top
C man says SAP backed assaultâ\200\235.

The article said: â\200\234ANC leader Pen- â\200\230
uell Maduna alleged yesterday that "

the SA Police backed a weekend as-
sault on him, which he believes was
. aimed at ug ettmg the ANC/ govern-
ment negotiation process. .

'â\200\234Maduna said the attackers then
! fled. Two young white men in a near-
4 'by car, who he believed were SAP

members, also drove off. Maduna

. said he had not yet reported the at-
. tack to the police, as he had believed
they were behind it. .

At the time Brig Haynes denied
any police involvement and ap-
pealed to Maduna to report the mat-

RONKC

f

AR A

24 Q EPT _
violence

ter so it could be investigated
*The attack on Mr Maduna was

_â\200\230, investigated by the Soweto Murder

and Robbery Unit. A man has been
arrested and will again appear in
court on September 27. Three other:
suspects -are being sought by the "
Murder and Robbery Unit. These .
suspects are known robbers and they
are also being sought in connection
with other robbery cases. There was
police involvement in the attack

: on .Maduna.

â\200\234The allegations made by Mr Ma-
duna are typical of the usually wild

- and unsubstantiated allegations levelled -
" â\200\230elled at the

place by organisations
such as the

" Mr Maduna had no concrete
grounds on which to base his allega-
tions of police involvement. Further,
> he alleged that the assault was per-
petrated with the intention of â\200\234upset-
{)ing the ANC/government negotia-

- tion process.â\200\235 This is an extremely
" serious and irresponsible allegation.

Surely it would not be asking too
much of Mr Maduna to publicly apologise
for his unfounded attack on the
police. After all, he didnâ\200\231t hesitate to
discredit the police

This type of propaganda attack on
the SA Police usually results in sus-
picion being cast on the police and is
responsible for false perceptions be-
ing created. It also hampers the po-
lice in maintaining law and order.

This may also tend to jeopardise
the co-operation which any police

â\200\230o tremel

force needs from the public in its
fight against crime.

HD STADLFR

Major-Gen nl

Pretcrin

Bsin ala

Dear Sir,

DANIELLA SLON touches a very
.valid point as to basic econorhics
education (Letters, September 12).

Ignorant people are economically

~hoodwinked left, right and ceritre.

For example, the Commllssmnep for
Inland Revenue proclaimed in alet-
ter to me in support of VAT: â\200\234It is not
a tax on production but a tax on
consumption.â\200\235 This contention is, ex-
dangerous.

Production and consumption must
out of necessity always be in bal-

* ance. So tax on consumption equals

tax on production.

Consequently VAT, just like GST,
reduces production and ultimately
might even stop it altogether.

Daniella Slon needs to be careful

"whom she trusts with this â\200\234educa-

tionâ\200\235, as economic myths and ignor-
ance abound, even in high circles.

JAN ZANDERS

Belgravia

Koon

Dear Sir,

ON SEPTEMBER 14 you repnrtd
â\200\234ANC warns govt of mass actionâ\200\235.

If the ANC genuinely wants peace
surely it should refrain from the
mass meetings, calls for mass-ac-
tion, stayaways and the strikes initi-
ated by Cosatu.

All of these raise the leve! of emo-
tion, anxiety and aggression.

ROSANNE REED

Benmore

V502, 504007 i
Price of Victory.
South Africaâ\200\231s ANC

Finds Sanctions Are

YOS KWK

A Blessing and a Curse |

:}}h&f; Hg}p the Black Majority |
Win Reform but Also Gut |
Its Economic Inheritance |

A Void Left by GM and Ford |

Thes
â\200\234X

RoGer THvsew

Steff Reperior of Tre WALL Strert JovRvaL |
Jf Rep 5 !

NBW BRIGHTON, Stih Afriea â\200\224Mkhy.
seli Jack, ane @ gengrals in the eeo-
hunle war agalost white rinestty tule,
pAInes through the dusk ta what sxeaps o
be 2 junkverd of plywood and fn &
womzn Lalancing 2 baby on her iwek and
a shaet of Sorrugstad won @ ber head dis-
Appedrs ines the mees, It i nome,

â\200\234Squalters,â\200\235 says My, Jock. â\200\234Four or
five weeks ger, thoe shacks werent
there,â\200\235

The bartiefield speetion continues, Une
employed men, kot youny ead old, lotter
in small groups s every carmer, Mlimey
shantes, some merely 2 paterwork of
casiboarg - Gillboards-- â\200\234whiter whites,
brighter brights,â\200\235 saye 2 deterper: Ad now
part of a living room wall-~ecoipy every
available spuue, ;

M. Jack winess at the prige of viewory,
â\200\234Sancuons,â\200\235 he sdrmits, â\200\234havÃ© required 3
gacrifice,â\200\235

Somth Africaâ\200\231s presen: recession, has-
tened by internations! frads and Snaneist
sanctions agalnst Pratoris forits palietes
of racial segrogation, hes kil the blighted
black tewnsnipe of Fart Elizabeth partica-
larly hard, So has eorporate disinvestment.
When Fard and General Motors left town
four years agm, 6300 people lost their Jobs
Bosl of thern are still unemploywsd toaay,
Painful Progress â\200\230

Mr. Jack niene 2nother Â¢o More
jobless, toore squatters, more shacky. "We
MUt 2CL quickly to Ã©nd this sadrificaâ\204¢ he
Szxs. â\200\234We donâ\200\231t want lo {nherit & country

n rilrs â\204ç .

The sanetions sword is turning seaine
its blackzmith, The african Nartanz] Con.

*e53s, Sooth Africaâ\200\231s main black Hheration
group, forged s sancnons steadepty 28 3
ineanÂ® of prewouring the govarnment o
abandon white-rinonity mde. And, to this
end, lt has worked, Barilor this veear, Pres
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ANC. Back home after 30 years iy exie,

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tice the eztiny R0 better mset biack

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fareign inbesrment, Bu il can't begls as

iong as measures dÃ@slgnsd to pomish the
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in pigce. And many countries, such as the
U.S., have locked in their sznefens potl
Uiz ANC saye i is satisfied with covrent
fegotiations betsvveen

the black oppasition.

Thuis. the ANC finds irself ander pres
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stire 10 move as swittly as
tadies lt honas significant progress can bhe
made by the end of tha Vear. Tn hooet
legutiation prospacts. the ANC lasr month
ok the inltiative tn suspend ite guerriiia
war. Mr. Mangela aleo says the arganizas

thom may settle for a 'srarement of {ntentâ\204ç

teoit: the Movernmeat on the shape of a

aew conettution, eathor than acheal
Â£TEES, as 7 trigger for the Hfdng of sane
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Inereasing Cogts 5, '
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sucial stability, 1 they contdnue 20 be ave)

pited MRS brought batn the gnvernment mia

the ANC to thelr senzee saye Ranalg Â©

Bethiehem, ap eeconomist at one of the
CounTTyY's big minine hooses. *â\200\230Nelther ams
prepared Â£9 gocept the Jang-temn easts of
sanctione. â\204ç

Afler tmore than five vears of sapations,
splied 0 varying degrees by indtvitng;
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TRCL WnveTTent by U.S. ecorporahions. the
Caxs are adding up. The cumng off of Â\$-
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of racre than 310 billion, mazinly Wrough:
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Sirangled growrhÂ® Black unemployments,
high even hefore snnetione and distnvest.
ment, s rising by ac least 200,064
Withont foreigv aid. development
STanS, Sueh a2 low-cast houstne, are sput
tering. More than sevan rrillion agnatiers,
fully onequarter of the binek oopalaras,
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Lo same ways, the Firet World comso-
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men snapped up disinvesting compaies at
fite-sale prices, New trade rontes, plied by
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Please Turn 1o Page A M. Columns }

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A hand for de Klerk

: E RESIDENT de Klerk today begins the first

visit to the United States by a South Africar

leader since the policy of apartheid was legally

formulated in 1948. His meeting with Mr Bush will mark recognition by the worldâ\200\231s most powerful country of the great distance South Africa has travelled under his presidency towards dismantling that inhuman system of government. Yet he will receive none of the adulation accorded to Mr Mandela during his American tour this summer. That is to be expected: a victim of apartheid who remained true to his principles through more than 25 years in jail obviously inspires more â\200\230enthusiasm than a reforming member of the white establishment. Yet it will be a pity if Mr de Klerk returns home without having persuaded the Administration and, more particularly, Congress that their attitude towards South Africa is lagging behind current realities. ' :

One of those realities is the Presidentâ\200\231s need for a substantial gesture of help from the West to convince a nervous white electorate that the high risk strategy he has adopted is paying off; so far nothing that has been done, whether his reception in foreign capitals or the piecemeal abandonment of sanctions, has been sufficient, in moderate, white South African eyes, to offset the recent terrifying increase in violence. Depressingly, black members of the American Congress have cancelled a planned meeting with Mr de Klerk, appar-

ently because of Pretoriaâ\200\231s Draconian steps to contain killing in the townships. In ostracising their visitor, they are making the same mistake as the African National Congress: blaming the government for the violence instead of acknowledging that black, as well as white, thuggery lies behind it.

Rather than censure, more than a polite pat on the back, South Africa needs money to meet the enormous, and justified, economic demands of the black majority. A key move in that direction would be the resumption of lending by the International Monetary Fund, both to offset what could soon be a large balance of payments deficit and to send a signal of confidence to private investors. At present that is prevented by conditions governing the dismantling of economic apartheid under the 1983 Gramm Amendment. It is doubtless too much to expect Congress to consider repeal of this legislation before elections in November. But neither the White House nor Capitol Hill should forget that rapid economic growth is essential if Mr de Klerk and

Mr Mandela are to sell a political settlement to their followers, and that the time for achieving that settlement is short. It would be tragic if Western hesitation were to torpedo the best chance South Africa has had

of creating a non-racial, democratic society.

A job for the Prince

HERE is the warmest public sympathy for the Prince of Wales in the main Ly asee e VLS