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Triomf: he7 bitterness

Describing the destruction of Sophiatown a few years after the Group Areas Act's enactment in 1950, well-known poet, journalist and author Don Mattera wrote: "We gave way. There was nothing we could do, although the bitterness stung in us. We stood. Dust clouded our vision. We held back our tears. It was over in minutes."

Mattera remembers vividly the bitter experience of forced removal. "We must never forget our past because our memory is our weapon," he says.

"My grandfather arrived from Italy in the early 1900s and settled in Plein Street, central Johannesburg where he had a balloon-making machine. He met my grandmother and moved to Sophiatown in 1913."

Mattera spent most of his childhood in Sophiatown in a huge 12-roomed home his grandfather had built. "My uncles, aunts and a number of other families of different races lived on the property.

"My first encounter with the Group Areas Act was in 1957, and it was hard and painful. I was still at school and was leader of a gang known as the Vultures. I was a street fighter and a pretty merciless one. When forced evictions began it was the most bitter war the Vultures waged. The authorities could not let Sophiatown survive because it signified an alternative to apartheid.

"It was a melting pot for groups of different political persuasions. The ANC were organising and it was in this area that the strikes and boycotts began. They could not allow such a community to survive. The evictions began with permit raids. Police raided at night and their first targets were the so-called African people.

"Everyone watched as the 'skiet commandos', on horseback, bashed down doors and hauled people out of their beds, shining torches on their faces. Children watched wide-eyed while mothers cried and fathers were stripped of their man-

hood. The political organisations were peaceful and did not have the ammunition to fight. But we (the Vultures) were so bitter that we never thought of losing or dying, so we armed ourselves.

â\200\234We would take oil and spread it across

the roads when the skiet commandos arrived for their blitz. The horses would slip and weâ\200\231d attack the officers. We also used guns, and five gang members died fighting against forced removals.â\200\235

â\200\234Then in 1959 the bulldozers came and my family was separated.

â\200\234The Act has effectively destroyed homogeneous societies by snatching peopleâ\200\231s property. To add salt to the wound, the homes are then given to the whites.â\200\235

--

'Thevâ\200\230.Ã@roup;vâ\200\230

Don Mattera.

The newly declared areas, he says, are given names that perpetuate white hegemony and white superiority. â\200\234Sophiatown, when declared a white area, was renamed Triomf! The Group Areas Act made me hate the whites even more.

â\200\234In 1962 I was dumped in a small house in Western coloured area ... We became exiles in our own land.â\200\235

Western area was a â\200\234dirty ball-game. All so-called coloureds were dumped in this melting pot of human excrement.â\200\235

The psychological effects of being uprooted, frustrated and alienated resulted in senseless violence as people waged war against each other, Mattera says.

He moved to Meadowlands to live with

@ Picture by Alf Kumalo.

a woman but was kicked out because â\200\234a so-called coloured person could not live in a so-called African townshipâ\200\235. Â»

Mattera now lives in the sprawling coloured township of Eldorado Park.

â\200\234Group Areas is not just the expropriation of property, it is the destruction of every aspect of humanity. Peopleâ\200\231s minds become twisted and racial antagonism is nurtured by such laws. The rot is so deeply embedded that present SA society has to be totally altered and reconstructed on an entirely different basis.â\200\235

Mattera says the Group Areas Am-

mendment Bill is like a snake. â\200\234We must
not be fooled by it â\200\224 it may change its
skin but it has not lost its poison.â\200\235

reas Act is fhe' â\200\234'destruction ' every aspect of humanityâ\200\235â\200\231, says M
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S,

PW need not look far for

One wishes Mr P W Botha suc-
Cens In his atiemprs lo estabiish
friendly relations with African
leaders outside South Africa.
There is little doubt that if Pres.
ident Mobutu of Zaire does visit

major black ally

South Africa then it will be an

event of considerable impor-

tance, demonstrating to local

blacks that South Africa and its

Government are acceptable to

. Independent black nations. Thig
must redound to Mr Botha's
credit, ' -

But one wonders

Botha seeks friends so far away,
when a black leader of the first
importance is to be found no
. further away than Ulundi
Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
Chief Buthelezi commands an
enormously powerful bage, his
Inkatha movement and the Zulu
. - nation, With an allft' ke that,

" Mr Botha could real ithumb his
uuse al the local black Artics,

" I am aware that Chief Buthe-
lezi has sald that he will not
- @ven contemplate diseussions
with the. South African Govern-

. Tnent until' certain conditions

" are met the release of Nelson
Mandela, the abolition of the
..Group Areas Act, ete, but Chief

Buthelezt is a politician and I

i

why Mr :

beg leave to doubt his apparent
burning desire to have Mandela
strutting across the local stage.

Compared with Buthelesi,
Mandela is a small boy and his
antics, however much orches-
trated and built up by local mal-
contents, whom we all know,
will really cut very little jee
once the initial excitement and
incitement have waned,

As for the demand for the

~ S LR

prior repeal of the Group Areas.
Act, 211 political demands are
negotiable and I have no doubt
that an acceptable formula on
this issue can be worked out, . -
The real obstacle as I see it &
whether Mr Botha and his Cabi-
net can accept Chief Buthelezi
as amabeoldlewqual-without'

- reservations and afford him

Cabinet rank and responsibility.
If the Nationalist hierarchy.
could bring themselves to ac-
.cept this, then the entire South
African scene would change:
overnight and the urgent need to
rush around Africa seeking
black allies would become less-
important, because we would
have the most powerful ally:
right here. vu vur vwa duursiep, g

Can Mr Botha bring himself
to do it? Will Chief Buthelexi acg
cept? That depends on the ap-
proach and the sincerity of the
Nationalist government. The
prize of the prize is incalculable

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Victoria

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Veteran

CARS have burned where bougainvillea now
blazes pinkly in a sharp spring sun. And bullets
have blasted through the glass panelled door
where the diminutive, pale-faced Professor now
stands, smiling her welcome.

- And like security police-
men and Winnie Mandela
before me, I step into the
cool tiled sparseness of the
Meer abode, and feel . . . at
home.

There's somethin com-

fortable and comforting
about the slight thread-
bareness of the blue velvet
chairs, the time-worn pal-
lor of the Indian rugs, the
glow of a basket of small,
ripe oranges, and the sol-
emn young face of the man

in a graphic upon one

wall.

" Early Verster, surely. And

of her son? s
Yes that's Rachid. It's

goo&:..l to have the memory

Rachid is in exile in
England and the two live
for each other only as
voices on a telephone line.
We are both poor writers,

says the author of numer-

ous articles and books.
She has four grand-
children,

These are the children of .

sociology researcher and
Wits lecturer Shamin Marie,
and Cape Town legal re-
sources lawyer Shenaz â\200\224
daughters, who as toddlers
played tram conductor with
the J)olice guard at their fa-
therâ\200\231s bedroom door.

Ismail Meer, attorney
and banned official of the
Indian Congress, was un-
"der house arrest after a
major operation, too ill to
be moved. With 155 others,

he was accused of treason
after participating in the
Congress of the People in
1955. :

But Fatimaâ\200\231s political
memories stretch far further
back than that. :

' *My first concept of the

problems of this country

came with children walk- *

ing past our house and

- shouting â\200\234coolies!. We'd

give as good as we got
though, just as loud:
â\200\234white cockroaches,â\200\235 we'd
yell, â\200\234white cock-
roaches!â\200\235â\200\231

Fatima addressed her

first audience at the age of . -

16: â\200\230It was during the 40s, -

and the Indian people :
. were threatened with a

land act that would segre-

gate them and give them a .

qualified franchise. We re-
jected it and launched a
passive resistance cam-
paign.

â\200\230My family was all very
political, and my uncle
wrote the speech, and I de-
livered it to a crowd of

thousands. It felt very .

good.â\200\231

Then there was the time at

the start of Fatima's ban-

ning order, when she went
for white to defy it.

At that stage I was not
allowed to write, so I
would put on jeans and a

. big straw hat to look like a

middle-aged white woman,
and go around demolition
sites looking for materials
to build an African school.

You see, I believe passion-
ately in education the
raised living standard it
brings is the only solution
to the population explo-
sion that threatens to hur-
tle us all into a resour-
celess future.

Irene, the African maid who

brought the tea, and her

three teenage sons.
Irene's sons attend

Phambili, which Fatima

takes as a measure of her
person's faith in the con-
roversial school she be-

Person to person

Glynis
Horning

Eve Monday Glynis Horning plugs

into the

personalities in our

ity. Tgnis

week: internationally known
sociologist, active community worker,
veteran anti-apartheid campaigner and
author, PROFESSOR FATIMA MEER.

Ohlange School at

Inanda still has the

stained-glass windows she
found at the Edward
Hotel, and it is one of her
proudest memories that
she was its architect, con-

tractor and forewoman, directing the building operations right through that time.â\200\231

While she was at it, Fatima also built the substantial quarters beside this shady bench where our tea-cups cool. It is home for

gan last year â\200\230in an effort to improve the African matriculation standardâ\200\231. She withdrew from it in all but an administrative function this June, and has now closed it until the end of the month.

â\200\230I organised videos, started a computer programme and tried to develop AVs, facilities not enjoyed in other schools, and in my first year we achieved a 41 % Matric pass rate compared with

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an average of around 25 % elsewhere. Then this year

* things went sour.â\200\231

The pale face darkens. â\200\230Some 95 % of pupils want to get on with their studies and exams, but thereâ\200\231s a handful that just seems to want to cause trouble â\200\224 and the others are afraid to take a stand because they don't know what powers lie behind them. You cannot blame them.â\200\231

Fatima believes the 5% are part of a campaign to discredit her by the State on one hand, and far left students opposed to American aid on the other.

â\200\230I'm now accused of misappropriating funds â\200\224 but I often advance the costs of running the school from my own savings, because I must submit slips before I can claim back money from US Aid.â\200\231

For a moment the energy is gone, and a small, drawn woman sits before me.

Being locked up in the Fort was fine, because you knew who was persecuting you, and anyone you re-

.
spected was with you. But this business is aimed at creating doubt in the minds of those who matter to me, and that's what hurts.

I don't need this in my life. I love teaching and lecturing, and I have so many books in my head.

First of these will be a play on Mandela: The one way to make him come alive in front of the people!

The vitality floods back.

Two generations have grown up during Mandela's incarceration, and they have been so brutalised by circumstances that they are indulging in the violence he predicted, and to prevent which he began the sabotage for which he was locked away destroying things, but not people!

He wanted to open the Government's eyes to see the future, but they slammed the door on him.

Yet, she observes, when she strolls me to the gate, righteousness and logic must win in the end. I live in hope.

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NE of the major
Protestant Churches in Southern

Africa, the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, has been challenged by its chief pastor to become truly integrated at the local level. The challenge was made last Saturday by the Executive President of the Methodist Church

of Southern Africa, the

Reverend Stanley Mogo-
ba, when he addressed the opening session of the Representative Session of the Conference in Queenstown.

His call followed a direct appeal made by

" him during his induction address in which he indicated that it was no good for a church simply to condemn laws such as the Group Areas Act. What it should be doing, he said, was to move into the grey areas which had

arisen in the inner cities where people of all races were now living to minister to that exciting crucible of social change the beginnings of a new South African society.

Mr Mogoba noted that the Methodist Church of Southern Africa had, in recent years, created geographic, non-racial circuits, which comprised a number of different local churches, usually made of different racial groups. He recognised that there had been sharing and, more than that, often a most laudable giving of resources of the one to the other.

But he added: I am nevertheless, generally

speaking, not satisfied
that the coming together
of such local churches
has been of such a nature
that different races, with
their different back-

grounds and - cultures,
have â\200\234influenced one
another as richly as
possibleâ\200\235.

He believed this was
because the creation of
these so-called geogra-
phic circuits had often
been used â\200\234simply as an
excuse to perpetuate the
apartheid system.â\200\235

He pointed that many
such circuits still
illustrated the racial
nature of South African
society .

. â\200\234And so while we have
papered over the
aparthejd cracks at the
circuit level, the wicked
sin of racism, indeed the
heresy of apartheid
which we have condemn-
ed as a Church, continues
to be perpetuated,
whether we like it or not,
to a greater or lesser
extent in our local
churchesâ\200\235.

Mr Mogoba said that
while these were hard
words, they had to be
acted on, not just at a
national conference such
as the one being held at
Queenstown, but in local
churches. Inevitable
problems that would
occur as local churches
became integrated, such
as the use of different
language<~in the Church
and the problem of
different styles of
worship, would have to
be addressed and
overcome.

Mr Mogoba cited the
need for his own
denomination to take
such a bold step in the
emerging new South

- spel

e

Pastor Mogoba
Is outâ\200\231

his stance

THE Reverend Stanley Mogoba.
were dying to return

~ of political prisoners in
Africa as one of five steps .

which could lead to a new
Africa.
The first such step

would involve the release '

South Africa. He
indicated that contrary
to popular belief and
propaganda, political
prisoners wanted â\200\234the
very best for this country
which they love so dearly
and for which they have
paid so dearlyâ\200\231â\200\235â\200\231. He
pointed that some of
them represented some
of the best sons of Africa
and that their contribu-
tion would be vital for
the dawn of a new Africa.

â\200\234We may not all agreg
in the detail but in the
general we all desire a

new Africa, free of
oppression, fear and
violence.â\200\235

Elaborating on his
theme â\200\234the victorious
hopeâ\200\235, Mr Mogoba said
a second step needed for
the creation of a new
Africa in the context of
southern Africa, would
be for the Government to
grant amnesty to all
exiles. His experience

_told him that such exiles

-

-ground and fearing to

home.

â\200\234â\200\234If an offer of amnesty is given itâ\200\231ll bring a lot of goodwill,â\200\235 he said.

Thirdly, the new Methodist president said, it was essential for real freedom to be created. In an obvious reference to the present state of emergency, Mr Mogoba said that the present clampdown on free expression â\200\234â\200\234is a clear symptom of the fear and hatred that is suffocating our livesâ\200\235.

The clampdown, he said, was no solution. There needed to be freedom of expression, of movement and of political life. This meant that all- organisations should be unbanned â\200\234so that all our people can think freely and critically instead of going under-

discuss and analyse options.â\200\235 Fourthly, he called for

the creation of a constituent assembly which was truly representative.

â\200\230â\200\234â\200\234The Government knows it has to stop fooling around with its plastic contribution that has already collapsed. Anyone looking at its absurd machinations to woo the coloured and Indian representatives in the tricameral parliament can see that.

â\200\234It appears, however, that the Government is too close to the wood to see the trees that are about to topple onto its head as it plays around

with amendments to laws
such as the Group Areas
Act, which, as we all
know from the actions of
ordinary men and
women, is as meaningless
as the tree from which the
pulp from which its
paper was made was
written on.

â\200\234â\200\234The Government
would be wise to adopt a
new reality and scrap the
constitution, start real
negotiations, and launch
into a new Africa forallâ\200\235.
Mr Mogoba said that the
Government had recog-
nised the need to reach
out to Africa itself.

â\200\234President Bothaâ\200\231s
forays into Mocambique,
Malawi and Zaire
illustrate this. But for this
to be really meaningful, it
must move away from
the baaskap policies of
own and general affairs
â\200\230which -are just different
figures of speech .for
apartheid. It must give
new substance to reform.
It must restore the
respected meaning of
that word. It must
change â\200\224 and change
fundamentallyâ\200\235.

Mr Mogoba said that if
these five steps were
taken a new transfor-
mation in the lives of
South Africans would
begin. Blacks would be
happy. And from the
happiness of blacks
would come the freedom
of whites.

In addition there

Treason trial
s postponed

20/,

THE Bethal treason trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court
has been postponed to October 24 for the defence
counsel's final argument.

Counsel for the State, Mr H J Prinsloo, said in his
final argument that the State had proved beyond
reasonable doubt that the three accused were guilty of
treason.

Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, Mr Acton Maseko
and Mr Simon Dladla have pleaded not guilty to
several charges of treason and terrorism.

Mr Prinsloo said the three joined the African
National Congress and their actions identified them
with the banned organisation's unlawful aims.

They had conspired to overthrow

"Government by violent means.

. Evidence of a conspiracy, confirmed by defence
witnesses Mr Jacob Zuma and Mr Ronnie Kasrils, had
been placed before the court, Mr Prinsloo said.

Mr Maseko was found in possession of a Makarov
pistol and hand-grenade of Russian origin at the time
of his arrest.

: M- Dladla and Mr Maseko were responsible for
four landmine explosions in the Breyten and
Volksrust districts, he said.

According to the State, the evidence of a key
State witness, X1, placed Mr Ebrahim as a senior
ANC member in 1982, and he was therefore criminally
responsible for those terror attacks. Sapa.

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CLOSER links between
KwaZulu and Transkei
were forged in Durban
yesterday when Chief
Mangosuthu Gatsha
Buthelezi and Major

1General Bantubonke

Holomisa met for talks.

They said afterwards
that the two governments
hoped the spirit of good
neighbourliness they
wanted to create between
them would be rein-
forced by people from
the two areas who lived
and worked alongside
each other.

Chief Buthelezi made

that the Matanzima
regime was no longer in
office in Transkei.
Relations between
KwaZulu and Transkei
sourred when Paramount
Chief Kaiser Matanzima.
went back on a 1973 oath
not to take independ-
ence. Umtata later
banned Chief Buthelezi's
cultural organisation,

{ Inkatha. 1984 Sowetan
Correspondent. -ZOM

RIASERrr Plea to

| These include: i
1. A revived, -reunited
and rededicated Church, |
2. which include 3. the |
unbanning of the
4. Methodist Church of
5. Southern Africa in

Methodists

it clear he was not sorry |

'taken place in

6. good citizens 7.
,punished because they do

8. From page 6
Sewz ey 17088
Beweging and others
such as the Wit Wolwe
and those who gave them
moral support.

â\200\234If ever there was a
group of people bent on
destroying our country,
it R these misdirected
Alices in Wonderlandâ\200\235.

Turning to the
economy of South
Africa, Mr Mogoba said
that this was not the time
to allow emotional
politicians to be given
â\200\234heroicâ\200\235 respectability.
â\200\234Instead, their obsolete
and unproductive ideas
should be relegated to the

-dustheap of historyâ\200\235â\200\231.

Nevertheless, said Mr
Mogoba, even amidst the
signs of the bleak
situation confronting the

country, the debilitating |
â\200\234land soul-destroying

that have
the
Maritzburg/Durban re-
gion during this year, the |
spectre of young men and
women having to do |
military service in order
to fulfill the needs of one
or other political
ideology on one or other
side of the border, and
extraordinary cases of
being

massacres

not want to take other
peopleâ\200\231s lives, there are
signs of hope.

Transkei.

Â® The revival of the
negotiation option: He
noted that earlier this
year he had called for
collective mediatorship
to resolve the national
crisis in South Africa. At
the time he was ignored
by many who had
â\200\234written me off as
insaneâ\200\235.

â\200\234Those who did not go
that far maintained a
stony, uncharitable
silence. But if people who
are poles apart can
negotiate with one
another, why is it

impossible for people
(who share one mother
country to sit down and
resolve our national
crisis?â\200\235

- Mr Mogoba warned
that every delay in this
. crucial and unavoidable
' exercise in negotiations
would cost the country
dearly in human lives and
| resources, Â« j
' Â® The releasÂ¢ of Govan
Mbeki had also provided
| a tiny sign of hope. The
Methodist Church had

. long called for the release

of all political prisoners,
especially Nelson Ma-
ndela of the ANC and of
Zephania Mothopeng,
president of the PAC. |
Â® The phenomenal
- growth of the Church in
Mocambique â\200\234was one

- of the miracles of our

timeâ\200\235. The fervour and
,enthusiasm there in the

Church was unpreceden-
ted.-

19\200\234 3

Y o i

&b No. 30669

By Anthony Roblnson in Johannesburg

PRESIDENT P. W. BOTHA of

| South Africa \200\230returned to "Pre-
- toria\200\231 yesterday -amidrising

drift,\200\231and rehance on:the hars

-Botha is being urged to\200\231aban
" don efforts to regain the\200\231 loyf-:.-,
alty of anti-reform white con-

speculation \200\230that "10 days .of

instead on building: a \200\230reform-

orientdted . power bage: domesti-

- cally and a more open foreign

o P C)

meetings \200\234with.. European busi- :~~ policy

_nessmen, politicians andibank-

ers, rounded off by-a five: hour
stop over in: the Tvory: \200\230Coast, .
could lead:to \200\230hew efforts to
revive domestic\200\231 reform

The stop- over in \200\230the vory.

Coast, on the way home:from-a
visit to West Germany -and -
Switzerland -which began with -
the funeral-of Mr FranzJosef
Strauss, was President\200\235Botha's
fourth visit to an African head -
of state in recent weeks:

\200\230After almost two\200\231 ye

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emergency;; regulations st
maintain order;- Presiden

The aim of the foreign policy
is securing acceptance of South

- servatives and concentrate -

' Botha visits ralse hopes '

lster and other senior officials,
â\200\230 was- meeting: - ~the Ivorian &
~eader, :the - ANC: Was playing 1

host. to Dr' Danie Craven, presi-
-dentâ\200\235 of, the South. â\200\230African.

it Rugby, Board

. Africaâ\200\231s regional economic and;;
- military- status, and - its future:-

.development.
The hastily nnprovlse Ivory

Coast visit,-made at the invita-

. role â\200\230as a partner in regionallâ\200\230
- ditional -positions on â\200\234violence
.and"a â\200\230socialist economy AnHa|1 -
-unitaryÂ@ black ruled state, â\200\230was

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" tion of President Felix Houphet -
â\200\230Boigny, wasâ\200\231 partiof the: effort.-
. \$ports boycott:

to. slough off years-of officialâ\200\235
ostracism and .continuing hos-
. itilityâ\200\234to public dealings with

the â\200\234Apartheid Republicâ\200\235:fro
bodies- like the Organisation'o

African Unity . and the African.

-ANC, .

-ANC-about creating" truly non-
' :â\200\234.racial sporting bodies m South
= &k Africa :
â\200\230dent â\200\230Botha,â\200\235 accompanied: by%

Mr Pikâ\200\231 Botha the Foreign Min Continued on Page 28

â\200\230The - ineeting took place 1n1
â\200\230Harare amid:signs. that the.
itself . under pressure'_

from: Moscow to: modrfy its'tra-

preparing *â\200\234softenits |
long- standing support of a rigid

â\200\234The â\200\230meeting. follovvs Dr Cra

cismâ\200\234fromright-wingâ\200\231; whites
and negotiate:directly: with the

= For; South Afncans obsessed

.....

Â© Monday October 17 1988 -

45p

venâ\200\231s. decision to ignore . criti- | i

S Afrlca reform hopes rise

Continued from Page 1

with sport, it"is proving diffi-
cult to assess which is the

- more important: the breach of-
â\200\230South â\200\230Africaâ\200\231sâ\200\231 political isola-
tion in â\200\230Africa, or the :prospect .
of ANC approval for a resump-
â\200\230tion . of International rugby

links.
.In " both cases, :

sweeping gains in the Trans-

'_vaal and Orange Free State
which give it control of key

however

future developments are. likely
to hinge on the the Govt's willingness to release Mr Nel-
son Mandela, the jailed ANC leader, - shortly after the October:
26 municipal elections; *
even if the right wing white,

Conservative Party makes
ers, coupled with the new-
found willingness of Black
- African leaders to deal openly

cities and towns. .

President Botha has been
arguing . the case for foreign
investment in regional .eco-
nomic development projects at
a time when - the economic
costs of South Africa's pariah

- status have been underlined by

the manipulation of anti-apart-

heid ' sentiment "by Consoli-
dated Gold. Fields to stave-off a-
- hostile takeover by South Afri-
can controlled Minorco, .. -
South African diplomatic ;.

sources hope that arguing the

anti-sanctions case: directly to:

Western politicians and bank-

_Jericho
believes- that sanctions will
cause apartheid suddenly to
.collapse the had lost credibility. |t
.:What remains to be seen-is. |
-whether the opposite approach - {}
-of .encouraging Pretoria will" [
lead to faster domestic reform |
accompanied by an end to the
war in Angola and indepen- |«

With the South African Gov-
ernment, will weaken the sanc-
tions and disinvestment lobby.

Pretoria has noted with

interest the recent remark by

Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British
Foreign secretary, that what |::
he termed the trumpets of |i-

school - which |

dence for Namibia.

Ew i7aprc B

' Celebration over
border issue

Mereury Reporter

IN AN impassioned speech to the community of the Ingwava magisterial district at the weekend, KwaZulu Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi celebrated the defeat of the Government's intentions to turn this border region of KwaZulu over to Swaziland.

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Dr Buthelezi said the Government's intention had been to provide Swaziland with an access route to the sea. first by declaring the [ngwavuma district an independent state, then by handing control over to Swaziland.

' one wanted to join hands with us in our noble fight,' he said.

~

Our brothers in the external mission of the ANC were very ambivalent about the whole issue ... because they still wanted to continue to have Swaziland as a sanctuary from which to launch attacks on their targets in South Africa.

For this they were prepared to close their eyes if the worst happened, and you were sold to the Swazis

Dr Buthelezi said the KwaZulu Government and Inkatha fought successful traditional two-horned battles in the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg against what he called the Government's iniquity, and against the Government's resulting appeal.

Mr Pik Botha gave him assurances after the defeat of the Government in the Appeal Court that if the Swazis want an outlet to the sea, they should talk to the Zulu nation,

