

Most unions hit by recession

Lost jobs cut into Cosatu's membership

COSATU — until recently the fastest growing trade union federation in the world — could be experiencing an overall decline in membership as a result of massive retrenchments.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said the overall rate of growth of Cosatu had definitely slowed down due to retrenchments arising out of the recession.

But he said the overall growth trajectory was upward as the federation was making gains in previously unorganised areas. He cited the public sector and the agricultural sector as two areas where Cosatu was making inroads.

But sources in Cosatu affiliates said that, although there were new growth areas, the impact of retrenchments on Cosatu had

DIRK HARTFORD

been "massive" and there was a real fear that the federation was currently in a "negative growth phase".

Cosatu's major affiliates — the NUM, Numsa and the SA Clothing and Textile Workers Union (Sactwu), which collectively represent more than half of Cosatu's total membership — have all suffered heavily from retrenchments.

Both the NUM and Numsa have also made significant gains in new areas. The NUM has picked up tens of thousands of members in platinum mines in the past year and Numsa has recently gained "thousands" of members in the motor industry — where it recently balloted for strike action.

And Sactwu, which has organised about 90% of the hard-hit clothing and textile industry, has made gains in the leather industry.

Nevertheless, an estimated 35 000 workers in the steel and engineering industry will be retrenched this year, the same number as were retrenched last year.

And at least 20 000 workers will have been retrenched in the mining industry by the end of the year.

In the clothing and textile industry, about 20 000 workers are also expected to have been retrenched by the year-end.

In all these sectors, the forecasts are of even more retrenchments.

The situation is not much better in the building, retail, food, pulp and paper and service sectors. Cosatu unions organising



□ To Page 2

Leiers het begrip vir Buthelezi, sê Pik

Politieke redaksie

PRETORIA. - In sekere kringe in die buiteland en selfs onder Afrika-leiers is groot begrip vir hoofminister Mangosuthu Buthelezi se houding oor onderhandelinge, sê mnr. Pik Botha, Minister van Buitelandse Sake.

Verskeie Europese leiers en Afrika-leiers het by die ondertekening van die Mosambiekse vredesooreenkoms in Rome sterk belangstelling in die situasie in Suid-Afrika en veral dr. Buthelezi se posisie getoon.

Min. Botha sê baie beskou dit as 'n nuwe struikelblok in die weg van

onderhandelinge. Hy het aan hulle verduidelik hoekom dr. Buthelezi die standpunt ingeneem het, en die saak in perspektief probeer plaas.

Min. Botha het gister op 'n nuus-konferensie op die lughawe Jan Smuts gepraat ná sy besoek van vier dae aan Rome, waar hy die ondertekening bygewoon het.

Die gebeure in Angola en Mosambiek is 'n uitdaging aan Suid-Afrika om die geweld in die land te beëindig. Buurlande verwag van Suid-Afrika om 'n groot rol te speel in die ekonomiese heropbou van die streek.

Min. Botha sê die ooreenkoms baan die weg vir verskeie nuwe moontlikhede in Mosambiek. Handel kan toeneem, die herstel van die Cahora Bassa-projek kan duisende nuwe werkgeleenthede skep en vakansiegangers van Suid-Afrika kan ook toeneem.

Min. Botha het in Rome ook 'n kort gesprek met pres. Robert Mugabe van Zimbabwe gevoer. Die vooruitsigte vir diplomatieke betrekkinge met Zimbabwe is goed, maar Suid-Afrika sal nie "druk" daarvoor nie. Sake moet hul natuurlike verloop neem, sê hy.

'Nuwe grondwet moet God erken'

Kerksakeverslaggewer

SOVEEL as wat in die huidige grondwet van Suid-Afrika oor die Christendom of die Drie-enige God gesê word, moet in 'n nuwe grondwet behoue bly, is die standpunt van dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi oor godsdiensvryheid en die nuwe grondwet.

Hy het in 'n onderhoud met Die Kerkbode, weeklikse koerant van die NG Kerk, na aanleiding van spanning oor huidige onderhandelinge, onder meer oor sy Christelike standpunte gepraat.

Hy het gesê godsdiensvryheid is die vryheid van mense om God (hul Maker) te aanbid op die wyse wat vir almal aanvaarbaar is. Soveel as wat in die huidige Grondwet oor die

Christendom gesê word, moet in 'n nuwe grondwet behou word.

"Omdat ek 'n Christen is, het ek nog altyd geglo dat ons ons probleme op 'n vreedsame wyse kan oplos. Ek glo dat God in beheer is. Ondanks al die negatiewe gebeure op die oomblik, hou ek steeds vas aan die hoop in die lewende God. Ons as Christene kan dié hoop nie laat vaar nie.

"Meer as 70% van die Zoeloe-volk is Christene. Die Anglikaanse Kerk hier was die eerste om 'n swart biskop, dr. Alpheus Zulu, op te lewer. Nog 'n swart biskop is Laurence Zulu. Duisende afgeskeide kerke bestaan in Zoeloeland en hulle vermeerder steeds," het dr. Buthelezi gesê.



DR. BUTHELEZI

I

Profile

Lotus's Agent for Change in South Africa

When the Lotus Development Corporation opened an office in South Africa last year, it took along Mackie McLeod to run its social investment trust, one of the do-good programs that many companies operate there. Mr. McLeod, left, was an obvious choice for the software maker: a computer hacker

with long ties to Africa, experience in grassroots organizing and a knack for networking. He also happens to be an African-American and an anti-apartheid activist. Thanks to Mr. McLeod, social investing in South Africa, long the domain of mostly white managers, may never be the same again. By Myra Alperson.



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Lotus Development Corp.

Letters

Level the play

Are there really no black or white sportswomen in South Africa?

No women runners, cyclists, swimmers, golfers, netball players, tennis players, softball, bowls, mountaineers, hockey players?

Where are our women! Where are the sponsors? I'd like to see our sportswomen regularly on the TV screen during prime-time news coverage.

How long will it still take "TopSport" to "level those playing fields" and give women's sport a fair deal in media exposure?

Noreen Auerbach

Berea



"Ethel the Aardvark" van Aarde.

Say no, SABC

Just as we, the weary punch-drunk viewers eventually persuaded M-Net to dispose of the shouted inanities of John Robbie's rugby commentary, so too we will eventually persuade auntie SABC to deliver that wistful "Big Bad Old Troll" Quirk, "Ethel the Aardvark" van Aarde and the excruciatingly hyperbelous "Captain Marvellous" Locke back to the claying mud of mediocrity from whence they came.

Keep up the good work...

Jock

Member of the Wolfaart/Costa
Untag Syndicate
Lombardy East



"Captain Marvellous" Locke.

Pay respect

Depeche Mode may feel that certain Christian practices are harmful to society.

Yet, surely, they must recognise the beauty in the idea that one man's supreme self-sacrifice can be the salvation of many.

Even if one does not believe in the reality of an idea, one can still respect its beauty. Some of the images of "Enjoy the Silence" could have been omitted, if not for theological reasons, then for aesthetic.

Those images were like sand in a bowl of strawberries and cream.

Peter Horszowski

Johannesburg



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400 left homeless after fire sweeps through Grabouw squatter settlement

DALE KNEEN

Weekend Argus Reporter

ABOUT 400 people have been left homeless after a fire swept through a squatter settlement at Grabouw and razed their homes.

Two people, an elderly woman and a child, were slightly injured in the fire at the settlement adjacent to Old Cape Road about 2am yesterday.

Mrs Sophie Zozo, whose spectacles were burnt, cut her right leg and an unidentified child was treated for a respiratory problem after inhaling fumes.

Some of the 50 burnt shacks had just been rebuilt after municipal workers demolished them two weeks ago.

The settlement is close to another squatter area where municipal workers wearing Ku Klux Klan-style hoods demolished shacks on Wednesday.

Most of the people living in the settlement are from Ciskei and Transkei and many of the men are

The farmers should provide shelter!
employed as labourers on farms nearby.

Community leaders attempted to establish how the fire began as squatters began re-erecting shacks among smouldering debris yesterday afternoon.

Mr John Lackay, of the Grabouw Community Organisation (Graco), said he suspected the fire was "part of a plan to get rid of the squatters".

Many of the people living in the settlement, however, placed the blame on a man with a history of erratic behaviour whom they described as insane.

Mr Phillip Nopulula, 30, said he was almost asleep when he heard someone scream: "Get out, get out, there's a house on fire!"

He said he got dressed and went outside to investigate and saw "huge flames" coming from the house where the "insane man" lived.

"A group of men had gathered around the house and were telling people to fetch water to put out the fire," said Mr Nopulula. "I ran to some of the houses to wake people up and try get them out of their houses before I went back to mine."

"I managed to get my wife, Patricia, and two children out of the house as well as some clothing."

"Fortunately the fire had been put out before it reached my house, but other people were not that lucky. They have lost everything."

□ **DEVASTATION:** Right, Mr Gaylard Nebelele with son Thandikaya at the spot where their home once stood.





LAST RITE . . . Mr Nelson Mandela sprinkles sand into Mr Chris Hani's grave during the funeral at the Southpark cemetery in Germiston yesterday afternoon as the Slain SA Communist Party leader's family watches. Mr Joe Slovo, at Mr Mandela's shoulder, waits his turn to make his last farewell gesture.

|||
 Let Not My
 Country Die
 — says
 writer Credo
 Mutwa in his
 book
 published
 earlier this
 year. This
 reproduction
 of the cover
 picture
 appears
 courtesy
 Skotaville
 Publishers.

|||



KwaMashu residents watched in horror as the body of this alleged
 Inkatha man was necklaced in June last year, before the State of
 Emergency was declared. Do we want these gory incidents to continue
 unabated? Write to Echo and give your sincere view.
 Picture courtesy of Sbu Mngadi of *City Press*.



DAVID C. TURNLEY/Detroit Free Press

Lephinah and Aiken Zondo, parents of Andrew Zondo, who was hanged for planting a bomb that killed five.

Little do the people know how I've ridden this ANC horse for years to carry the SACP to final victory in the hidden agenda stakes.

HANDICAP

2

**HORSES
SCRAPPED**

By Lack
of
Interest

Nelson is definitely the best horse for our future course.

Even an old war horse like me can teach his son a trick or two when it comes to the wisdom of sanctions and investment.

No.16

SLO JOE

No.15

PATRIOTIC FRONT

No.2

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No.26

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No.3

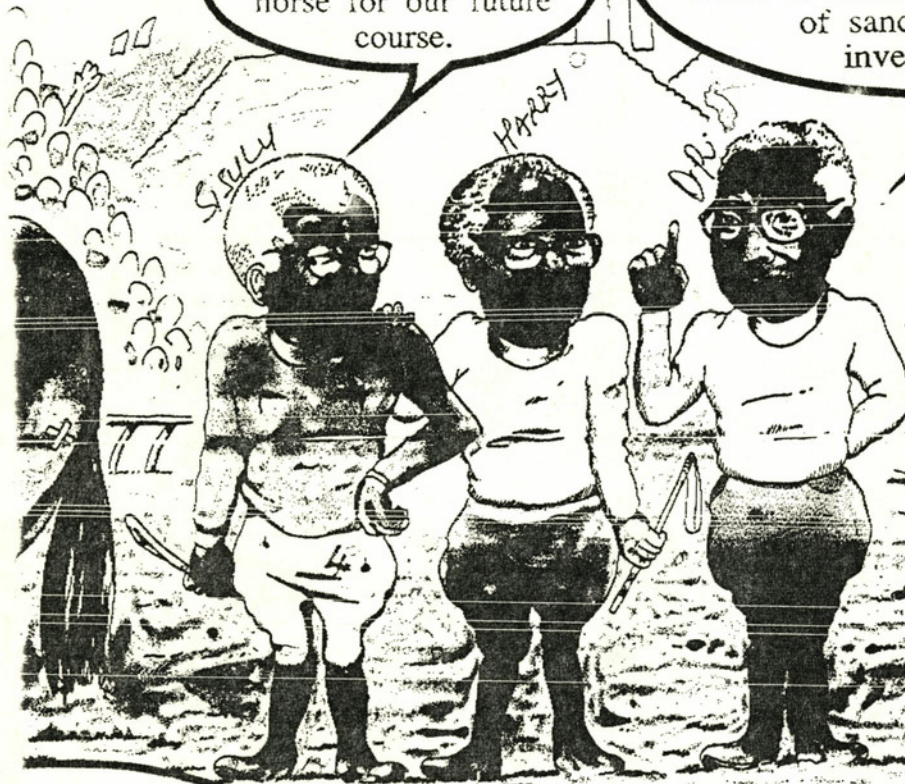
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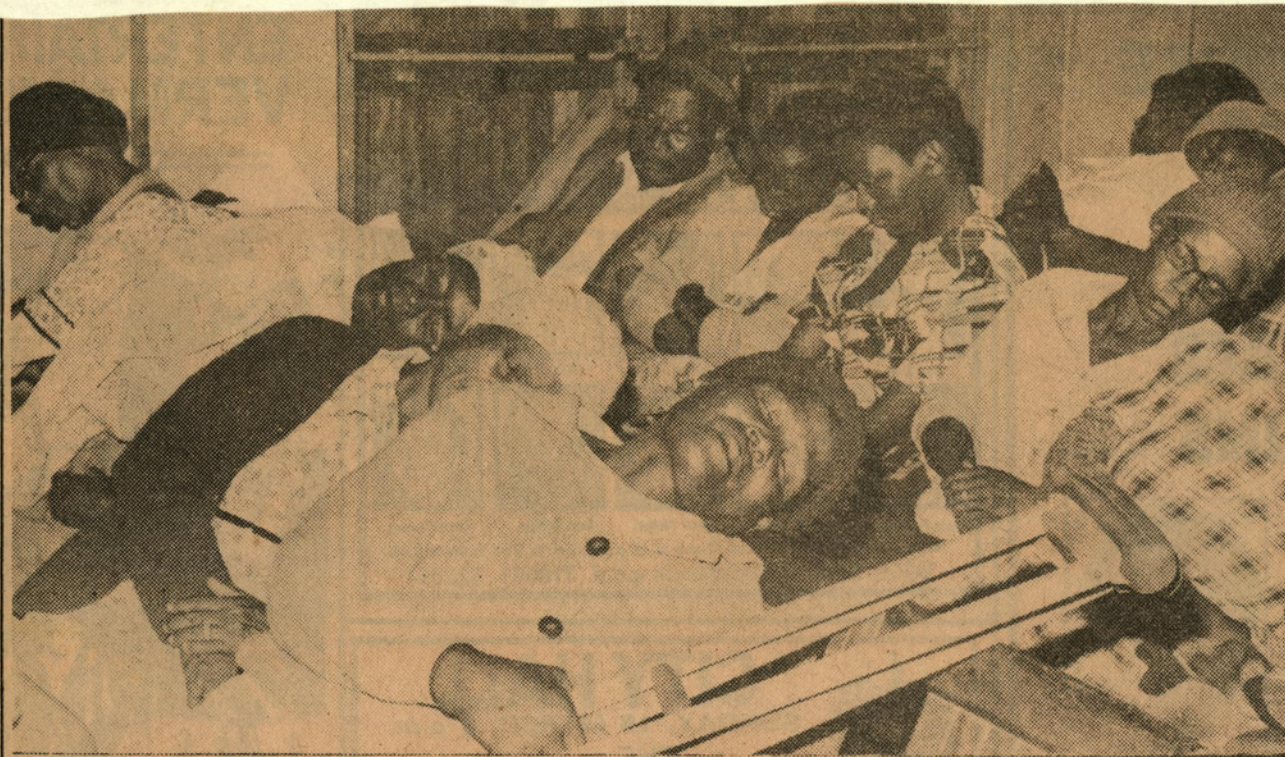
Why is Winnie always next to Chris HANI in public?

Is Madiba, nearly all the the ANC team members? Isn't it we had our Jockeys?

No wonder they call this race a handicap, with fat cat Joe in the saddle.

Careful that you don't bring the house down Winnie.





Long wait for black pensioners

SEVERAL of the pensioners were exhausted when they arrived at Klaarwater and quickly fell asleep on the benches.

Mercury Reporter

ABOUT 200 black pensioners — several blind, others frail with age — spent Monday night at the Klaarwater community hall to ensure that they received their pensions yesterday.

A lay preacher, Mr Joseph Mphunyuka, 67, himself a pensioner, led the people with hymns and prayers.

'Many of the people here have had to walk very far and several were exhausted when they arrived. The singing and prayers give the people strength,' he said.

Mrs Beatrice Khumalo, 62, blind and infirm and wrapped in an old blanket, lay quietly on a bench in the large hall. Her position in the queue was about 150th.

'Sometimes there are mistakes and old men and women then have to wait till the next payout two months later. Four months without a pension is a long time to suffer,' he said.

Pensioners in the hall came from Thornwood, Inteke, Molweni, Shongweni, Clermont and even as far as Inanda.

When a Mercury team visited the Klaarwater community hall about 200 people had already found positions on the benches that had been set aside for them by the Port Natal Administration Board. Two policemen were on duty.

Mrs Sarina Kumalo of Klaarwater said the people were very grateful to be allowed to sleep in the hall.

For several the long wait will be a small sacrifice after almost two months of poverty.

The pensioners began arriving on Sunday and marked their positions outside the hall with stones and cardboard boxes. When the doors opened on Monday night they took up their positions on the benches or on the floor of the brightly lit hall.

Mr Mphunyuka said people were desperate to secure good positions in the queue.

Collect

He said the pensioners received their payments every second month only and could do so at three places between March 10 and 16.

'The next time they collect their pensions will be on May 12, that is why even the very ill are here. It's their only hope,' he said.

One of the problems faced by latecomers was that if the pay-out officials ran out of time or money, those still waiting would be told to return the following day. This could involve extra travelling expenses which none of them can afford, he said.



PENSIONERS receive spiritual comfort from a lay preacher, himself a pensioner.



MANY of the black pensioners curled up on benches or lay on the cement floor to keep their positions in the queue.

Pictures by Elijah Zondi

Leader Sets Course At a Gold Colossus

Continued From First Business Page

stamp. Earlier this month Mr. Oppenheimer, who is 79, told a gathering of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa that the African National Congress sought "an economic system that would destroy everything that we in this room stand for" and so business should offer it neither "moral support or material support."

Those comments seemed to reflect annoyance at Mr. Relly's actions. Mr. Relly, that is to say, might well have begun filling his own boots at Anglo American — but not without an occasional rebuke from the cobbler who had fashioned the corporate leather.

Despite such rebukes, however, it is not to be inferred that Mr. Relly is viewed in South Africa with less than respect. Leadership SA, a glossy business publication, focused on President P. W. Botha and Mr. Relly in successive cover stories, implying that Mr. Relly's ascendancy in the business world was of the same order as Mr. Botha's political status.

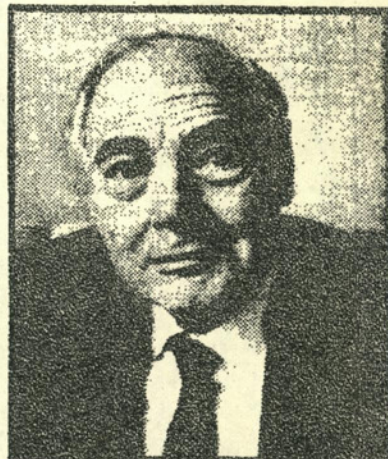
For many outsiders — and some people inside Anglo American — the main question since Mr. Oppenheimer withdrew first from the chairmanship of Anglo American in 1982 and then from its closely linked sister organization, De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., in 1984 is the extent to which his successors have been able to operate autonomously.

Mr. Relly and his counterpart at De Beers, Julian Ogilvie Thompson, find the question mildly irritating because it has been asked so often — and because, perhaps, it is the kind of question that chief executives elsewhere might not have to face. But both, in the patrician manner of the upper echelons of 44 Main Street, the corporate headquarters in Johannesburg, seek to answer it graciously.

"His presence," Mr. Relly said of Mr. Oppenheimer's role these days, "is always an enormous support and encouragement, so the leadership could not be more satisfactory. I am very lucky indeed that I have him fit and well and enthusiastic."

While Mr. Oppenheimer has withdrawn from the chairmanship of both Anglo American and De Beers, he maintains control of his family's private company, Ernest Oppenheimer & Sons, of which both Mr. Relly and Mr. Ogilvie Thompson are directors. Mr. Oppenheimer's son, Nicholas, aged 37, is a deputy chairman and runs the Central Selling Organization in London, the sales subsidiary of the De Beers diamond enterprise.

In the chain of interlocking interests, Ernest Oppenheimer & Sons owns roughly 8 percent of Anglo American, which in turn holds 34.2 percent of De Beers, while De Beers has a 38.5 percent stake in Anglo.



Gregory Heisler

Harry Oppenheimer, the former chairman of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa.

Motor Company of Canada.

Anglo American controls 39.7 percent of Minorco, which in turn has stakes in concerns that include three United States companies: the Engelhard Corporation, the Inspiration Resources Corporation and Phibro-Salomon Inc.

Despite the low price of gold, Anglo American's earnings in the latest fiscal year received a great lift in rand terms because of the low value of the South African rand in relation to the American dollar. The group's after-tax profit in the year, which ended last March 31, totaled 737 million rands, then worth roughly \$386 billion, from companies including those that produce 37 percent of South Africa's gold and 24 percent of its coal.

Jo-Anne Collinge looks at the clash between the NP's and ANC's pledges on property

So what

Land reform v security of title

GOVERNMENT land reform programmes and the constitutional protection of property rights sound like different aspects of a single cause, right?

Wrong — easily a dozen times wrong, says the land reform lobby. Nothing is more certain to hamstring Parliament's ability to redistribute land and house people than an unqualified protection of property rights in a Bill of rights.

The ANC, itself part of the land reform campaign, carries a heavy load for protecting the landless and homeless in the constitution-making process.

It would probably like to purge the property clause from a future Bill of rights — after all, some countries get by without one.

But the National Party and the Government would no doubt put all their muscle into opposing this. The assurance to white property-holders that their title is safe has become a virtual refrain of the De Klerk campaign for constitutional change.

Furthermore, the South African Law Commission report not only recommends that property rights be protected and that compensation for expropriation "in the public interest" be referable to the courts, it sees in the ANC's draft Bill of rights a plan for "naked and arbitrary nationalisation of whatever nature without the courts being able to protect those prejudiced in any way".

The Wits Centre for Applied Legal Studies recently convened a conference of organisations who are determined to dismantle the

apartheid land legacy. They debated hotly on how a Bill of rights could pass muster with the Nats as regards property and yet serve the dispossessed.

These were some of the moves they proposed:

- That land be treated as a special instance of property and dealt with separately in a Bill of rights. Various lawyers pointed out that "property" had been taken to mean physical entities such as land and housing; and intangibles such as copyrights, employment rights, social security benefits and shares in a company.

Land, it was argued, had particular characteristics that set it apart from most other property —

not least of them its finite quality and its position as an absolute necessity of life.

- That certain forms of affirmative action be specifically related to land rights. The ANC's Albie Sachs noted that a Bill of rights could be employed variously as an offensive and defensive weapon. And several contributors argued that the propertied classes had been outstandingly successful in invoking Bills of rights to defend their property.

In India a property clause that Prime Minister Jawarhalal Nehru — a convinced socialist — regarded as the key to implementing land reform, proved a formidable weapon in the hands of the propertied classes. University of the Western Cape legal expert John Murphy related that India eventually dropped the clauses from the constitution in 1978 "after 30 years of wrangling with the Supreme Court. Before their repeal

... India's judges showed themselves more inclined to favour individual property rights than the imperatives of social reform".

Affirmative action provisions on land would make the Bill of

rights a potentially offensive weapon for the dispossessed.

- That the question of compensation be looked at afresh. Firstly, that it apply not only to those whose land might be expropriated or otherwise removed under the post-apartheid regime, but also to historic dispossession under apartheid. Secondly, that the compensation level be determined in such a way that financial considerations do not become an insurmountable obstacle to land reform.

Those arguing for land redistribution flatly rejected the notion of compensation at market-related prices, which applied for 10 years in Zimbabwe and effectively throttled the process of land reform. The ANC has proposed that a notion of establishing "an equitable balance between the public interest and the interests of those affected" should be the basis of compensation. The Law Commission argues this method defies objective testing by the courts.

- That the constitution be used to redirect judges' attention to forms of land rights other than conventional freehold title. The diversity of "real" land rights — which relate to the way people occupy, use and gain access to land — must be placed side-by-side with the abstract notion of ownership embodied in title, argues Unisa's Dr Andre van der Walt. This means a wider range of people would have a claim to land they had occupied — perhaps for generations

— without title; and that security of tenure could be guaranteed to such landholders. Dr van der Walt and others propose a land claims court or tribunal as a means of refining "pluriform" concepts of ownership.

The ANC, which found itself under fire from various quarters in relation to its original property clause, is redrafting the land and property provisions in its Bill of rights proposal. Still incomplete, the redraft takes account of many of the above arguments.

It unequivocally protects the homes of all people, rich and poor alike.

It also directs the legislature very clearly to make land laws that will embody the principle of equity and will facilitate "provision of adequate housing for the whole population".

It obliges parliament to set up a land claims tribunal which will, among other things, investigate restoration of land to those subjected to forced removals or appropriate compensation where restoration is not feasible.

A separate property clause is being contemplated. And Mr Sachs hinted that the ANC would not seek State intervention in the area of what he termed "commercial property" — debentures, shares and various business interests. "It's the area least open to constitutionalising," he commented. The Left had learnt that tight government control of markets was not viable. "We think that it should be open."

There is no way that resolution of the land question can avoid hurting somebody — either the homeless and landless will remain

so, or someone has to give. What the ANC seems to be calculating is whether, with their homes and their business interests guaranteed, the present ruling group might not be prepared to forfeit a measure of land — against some compensation — in the name of righting wrongs and securing a future society. □

11

Sowato

2



Action stations . . . armed riot police wait to search peak-hour trains at Soweto's Mamlankunzi Station yesterday afternoon.

Picture: Joao Silva

Word die steun van die vernaamste rolspelers in die twee kampe bymekaar getel, lyk dit só: Die Regering en die ANC kan gesamentlik aanspraak maak op 64%. Die syfer vir die IVP en die KP is 14%.

Word gekyk na die steun vir die belangrikste politieke persoonlikhede – pres. F.W. de Klerk, mnr. Nelson Mandela en dr. Buthelezi – word die gaping groter.

Volgens die RGN-peiling steun 41% van alle kiesers mnr. Mandela. Die syfer vir pres. De Klerk is 24% en dié vir dr. Buthelezi 9%.

Altesame 56% van alle swartmense steun mnr. Mandela. Pres. De Klerk word deur 8% van die swartmense gesteun en dr. Buthelezi deur 13%.

Pres. De Klerk word deur 58% van die blankes gesteun, 67% van die bruinmense en 66% van die Asiërs. Mnr. Mandela word deur 1% van die blankes gesteun, 10% van die bruinmense en 3% van die Asiërs.

Die RGN-peiling bevind dr. Buthelezi se sterkste steun is in die plattelandse gebiede van KwaZulu, waar dit wissel tussen 40 en 45%. In metropolitaanse



MNR. MANDELA . . . 41% steun.

van dr. Buthelezi se strategie is om – net soos die Regering met die referendum en die ANC met sy veldtog van massa-aksie ná die verval van Kodesa 2 – sy magsbasis te probeer konsolideer en vergroot.

Daarom speel hy op die etniese snaar die sowat agt miljoen Zoeloes is immers die getalrykste etniese groep.

IN die naweek het dr. Buthelezi onder meer gesê hy wil aan sowel die Regering as die ANC sê: "Dit is nou jul beurt om te hoor wat ons eise is."

Die Regering sal ongetwyfeld hierna luister.

Terselfdertyd is in regeringskringe die besef dat die vredesmomentum wat op Kemptonpark met die ANC bereik is, nie verlore kan gaan nie.

'n Bosberaad tussen die Regering en die ANC – die twee magtigste politieke rolspelers – word dan ook beplan om verdere stukrag te gee aan pogings om veelparty-onderhandelinge weer aan die gang te kry.

Mnr. Cyril Ramaphosa, die sekretaris-generaal van die ANC, het die naweek die hoop uitgespreek dat grondwetlike onderhandelinge vóór die einde van die jaar hervat kan word.

Page II

Leaders pin hopes on Labour MP to save UDF from Government action

By Chris Whitfield

BRITISH Labour Party MP Donald Anderson, who arrives in Durban today, will be sent home with a message from black South Africans: "Help us save the United Democratic Front."

Dr Farouk Meer, the Natal Indian Congress's Press liaison officer, said the NIC and UDF hoped Mr Anderson would tell the outside world of Minister of Police, Louis le Grange's "determination to ban the UDF and thereby eliminate all means to peaceful change".

"We hope that people like Mr Anderson will be able to gain international support for the UDF and help to protect it from the oppressive actions of the South African Government," he said.

Mr Anderson will be a guest of the UDF during his four-day stay.

He is to join The Three still at the British Consulate — Paul David, Archie Gumede and Billy Nair — for prayer this evening. He will also try to visit the three men who were detained last weekend as they left the British Consulate. They are NIC members Mewa Ramgobin, George Sewpershad and M J Naidoo.

In Durban tomorrow night, he is to attend a UDF, NIC and United Committee of Concern rally at St Anthony's Hall.

UDF legal representatives are trying to gain permission for Mr Anderson to visit the organisa-

tion's leaders in detention. He will also be taken to townships in the Vaal Triangle and near Durban.

It was not known yesterday whether Mr Anderson would meet Government representatives. A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said the Minister, Pik Botha, had not been asked for an interview and did not expect a request.

Dr Meer said The Three's legal representatives would discuss the trio's position and the role of the British Government. He hoped the talks would lead to the British Government taking a constructive role to resolve the impasse.

He hoped Mr Anderson would be able to impress on the Western world the need to move beyond mere condemnation of apartheid and detentions without trial "toward effective action against the South African Government".

"This is based on the premise that Western countries have huge financial interests here. To say they cannot go beyond diplomatic protest is to tell blacks they are willing to condone apartheid," said Dr Meer.



□ Donald Anderson ... wants to hear The Three's opinions

B. Day

Local deals hinge on Codesa

ADRIAN HADLAND

It was the Thornhill report submitted in 1990 which framed the options for metropolitan forms of government in SA. In the report, it was envisaged that all the major city regions in SA should form metropolitan chambers with the central goal of bringing "fragmented communities together to seek a common destiny and thereby to act as a mechanism of reconciliation".

But the process of reconciliation has been hampered by not only a crisis of delivery but also, says Slabbert, a crisis of legitimacy.

With the Black Local Authorities Act of 1983 destined for the legislative rubbish heap, and with white councillors facing six or seven year terms before the next round of municipal elections, it is difficult to ascertain who is representing who.

The Soweto Civic Association (SCA) has called for the mass resignation of black city councillors as a precondition for the continued life of the chamber and the lifting of the rent boycott. The TPA has rejected this. White city councillors have been crossing the floor, resigning from



□ SLABBERT

party caucuses or becoming independents at an alarming rate, unsure of their parties and constituents.

The white councils, some of which are not financially viable — particularly on the Cape coast and Transvaal — have had considerable trouble convincing themselves and their increasingly militant ratepayers, that the path towards nonracial metropolitan government will not affect their own resources too much.

Part of the difficulty is that until a new national government structure can be worked out at Codesa, local government has been left without a context. It has not been decided whether there will be a strong central government with weak local authorities (as the ANC would prefer) or the government's preferred option of the opposite scenario. With both of these definitions up for grabs, the role of first-tier metropolitan chambers is increasingly uncertain.

Slabbert says the sooner an interim government is established and the earlier nonracial municipal elections can be held, the better for legitimate local government.

Last week the SCA, citing a lack of any improvements in services, rising tariffs and continuing black local authority corruption, pulled out of the Greater Soweto Principal Parties, a group responsible for overseeing the

normalisation of affairs in Soweto, and pulled down the metropolitan chamber with it.

Chamber CEO Vic Milne said this week he was confident that negotiations could resurrect the chamber in the short term.

As Slabbert points out, "the chamber was born in crisis, has endured in crisis and will continue in crisis. There is no other alternative but to keep on talking. The problems which the chamber tried to face will continue to be there and when parties come round to talking again, as eventually they must, the problems will be greater not smaller."

Milne believes there are vital lessons to be learnt from the problems experienced by the chamber. "Most negotiators are going to have to learn from what has happened here. It takes a while to get to know each other, understand problems and find some common ground."

Thornhill suggests the chamber was too hasty in its formation and should have concentrated on establishing nonracial local authorities before making the leap to a metropolitan body.

The quicker Codesa can establish an interim government and constitution — which, unlike the current constitution, includes local government within its ambit — the easier it will be to tackle the crises of delivery and legitimacy which continue to plague the normalisation of life in SA's cities and townships.

LETTERS

THE suspension last week of the activities of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber has important implications for the future of local government in SA.

The reimposition of the rent boycott, the faltering of negotiations between civic associations and local authorities and renewed allegations of black council corruption have become the traditional topography of local government affairs.

The chamber's chairman, Van Zyl Slabbert, describes the real cause of the breakdown as a "crisis of delivery".

Public and official expectations regarding both the provision of township services — which have not improved noticeably in recent months — and the corresponding payment of rent and tariffs, which have dropped in Greater Soweto from 60% to less than 30% since December last year, have not been fulfilled.

This "crisis of delivery", says Slabbert, is likely to be a recurring theme, on a regional as well as on a national level.

Founded as a result of the Greater Soweto Accord of 1990, the metropolitan chamber was to provide a model for the way things should be done. As Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs head Chris Thornhill points out: "If the chamber is successful, it could provide an important negotiating mechanism for other local authorities in densely populated areas".

Lubowski: 'no trust' between Malan and FW

10/1/3

► From Page 1

had to work with Namibian authorities to allow justice to take its course.

Mr de Klerk said he had been advised that the auditing procedures for secret funds were adequate, and that the Auditor General had confirmed his 1988/89 report that the relevant statutory provisions governing the Special Defence Account which funded the CCB had been complied with.

If the Harms Commission showed up inadequacies in the auditing and control systems, they would "receive my urgent attention".

Mr de Klerk said it was a pity that the Democratic Party had dealt with the hit squad issues "in such a sensational manner" as such matters should be dealt with more circumspectly.

Nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the dynamic process of renewal which was in progress, Mr de Klerk said. "Unwise handling of allegations about political murders and crimes have the capacity to become an obstacle and cast a shadow over exactly that."



Mr de Klerk

Mr de Klerk said he would not be party to the protection of Ministers if there was evidence of malpractices or crimes against them.

But he emphasised that the opposite was also true.

General Malan and General Jannie Geldenhuys, head of the SADF, had served South Africa with great distinction. The country was indebted to them and they deserved better than to be the subject of a hunt by innuendo and conjecture.

This point held true for the security forces also, Mr de Klerk said, adding that they should not be discouraged or plunged into uncertainty or dishonoured.

President de Klerk said soon after he took office he had studied the workings of the security forces, including the Special Forces, but the CCB was not mentioned to him.

Early in January General Malan had informed him of the CCB and the allegations against it. General Malan informed President de Klerk and a few of their colleagues on the immediate steps he had taken to investigate the affair. Mr de Klerk gave instructions that these investigations had to go to the heart of the affair. President de Klerk and the Cabinet were kept informed.

President de Klerk said he had, in November last year, instigated a full investigation into covert operations of the Security Forces, and told the Cabinet. He expected a report on this soon.

Covert operations needed careful and firm management, President de Klerk said. They had to be limited to the absolute minimum.

Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Zac de Beer, co-leaders of the Democratic Party, said the DP were slightly more pleased than displeased by what President de Klerk had said.

They shared his point that criminality would not be tolerated, and his insistence that covert operations would be limited. This was a big change from his predecessor, they said.

The assuring of Cabinet control over covert operations was very positive.

They felt the police and the Harms Commission would now get more co-operation than they otherwise would have got from the other government departments.

They said President de Klerk had not personally

W / Mercury 11/2/11
By Steve Matthewson

THE head of Mkhonto we Sizwe, Mr Chris Hani, yesterday hinted that the ANC would resume the armed struggle after April 30 if the Government did not meet its demands to 'remove obstacles in the way of negotiations'.

Addressing more than 2 000 students at the University of Durban-Westville, he said the Government still had to release all political prisoners, grant full indemnity to returning exiles and remove all forces from the townships.

'If these commitments are not honoured by April 30 the people must review them. The oppressed are fully justified in using all forms of struggle including taking up arms.'

'... it will be left to the members of the ANC to decide whether or not enough ground has been covered towards the building of a constituent assembly.'

Loyal

Mr Hani reiterated that the armed struggle had been 'suspended' and not 'terminated'.

On the role of the military, he said the ANC 'totally rejected any suggestion that the S A Defence Force should be the future army of S A'.

'It has always been a loyal subject of the white State and we cannot imagine that in a democracy it will become an army of the people,' he said.

Mr Hani added that MK too would also have to be disbanded after democracy had been achieved.

However, he praised the sacrifices made by MK soldiers and believed that the country would not have

moved towards democracy if it were not for them.

'A lot of people today tend to belittle the contribution of Mkhonto we Sizwe and some dismiss it as a rag-tag army.'

'But through the darkest hours it has been the conscience of the people. The attacks on Sasol, on police stations and the very headquarters of the SADF imbued the people with a new hope.'

'Those bomb explosions which shattered the calm of night in the white suburbs of Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town were a call to action,' Mr Hani said.

He warned that situations like those in South American dictatorships, where army generals have lead military coups against their governments, must not be allowed to develop in South Africa.



Mkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Chris Hani addresses students at the University of Durban-Westville yesterday.

16/11/11

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Barnard's book hides truth

Allow me a few comments on Hans Pienaar's review of Niel Barnard's book, *Peaceful Revolution* (Niel Barnard provides a revealing peek into the negotiations leading to '94, November 30).

There is deep irony on display in the title. Between 20,000 and 30,000 people died during violence leading up to election in 1994. Some

Mandela. Ask former president FW de Klerk to confirm this, as he did when he announced the unbannings. Mandela himself confirmed this in writing.

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AJ Konigkramer

Lauretta explores plight of black women

Lauretta Ngcobo is, ironically, probably better known as a writer in Britain than in South Africa, the land of her birth and the subject of much of her writing.

Her first novel, *Cross of Gold*, was banned when it was published in the early seventies, and her second, *And They Didn't Die*, which was published by Skotaville last year, was all but smothered by the local small-publishing-house-poor-publicity syndrome.

But her anthology of black British women's writing, *Let It Be Told*, which was published by Virago in 1988, has enjoyed a wide currency in Britain, and she has written many articles and has talked at a great many British and European conferences on the intricacies of being black and feminist — subjects which rouse her to speak passionately.

Lauretta, who now speaks with a faint British accent, was born in rural Umzimkulu in 1931. "I am still very much rural-based," she says.

Like her mother and grandmother before her she attended Inanda seminary — "a much-loved school in our family" — and then read for a BA and education diploma at Fort Hare University.

She worked for the National Institute for Personnel research of the CSIR in Pretoria for five years and, after getting married, returned to Durban where she taught at Chesterville.

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political activities in the PAC, "the children at the school looked to me more and more" — and so did the special branch.

In 1963, a teacher tipped her off that the special branch were about to arrest her.

She fled the country — "I escaped on the 11pm KwaZulu train to Swaziland" — and five hours later the police arrived at her home.

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It was there that she began to write

seriously. "I started working on a rambling story that became my first novel, *Cross of Gold*", which she describes as "very much a response to my isolation".

"Going out of the country I found I had shut the door; that led to a kind of internal debate."

As her husband broke with the PAC, she was not involved directly in the struggle against apartheid, but she spoke about South Africa on several platforms, and became involved in feminist and other issues.

Now, 31 years after she left, she and her family hope to come back soon.

"The children want to come back, because they grew up in an atmosphere of a family fighting for a cause, but they are dreading it because they do not know whether they will fit in."

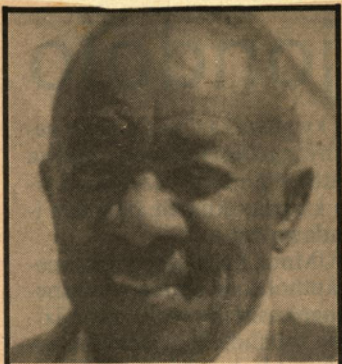
She too has her qualms. She is very worried about the ongoing violence and the rise of tribalism, and she admits she now has a foot in both countries.

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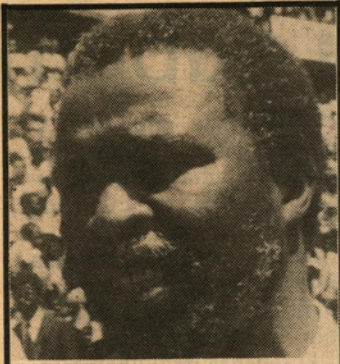
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At the moment she is researching a new novel about an African woman of royal blood who fought the Portuguese when they first arrived in Angola about 500 years ago.

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UMnuz Alfred Nzo
kuyambhedela



UMnuz Thabo Mbeki
inkakha kwezangaphandle



UMnuz Joe Modise
cishe angaliboni



UMnuz Harry Gwala
ubhodla amalangabi



UMnuz Chris Hani
yisilomo entsheni



UNKk Winnie Mandela
kalufakwa

lengqungquthela ye-ANC



Ngu:
Chris
Hlongwa

ki, uMnuz Gwala ungophambili kwabalenza lokho.

Nokho njengomuntu osakhiwe kaningi njengesidlamlilo esingenakhono lesikhathi sezingxoxo, nokuqhakambiswa kobuholi bakhe kwiSouth African Communist Party inhlangothi yamakhomanisi, naye kungenzeka angakhethwa njengephini likamengameli.

UMnuz Zuma uyingxenywe ye-ANC ephuma ekudingisweni, uMnuz Gwala uyingxenywe yeqembu eliphuma ejele. Yize kungaba nokuphikisana kwabantu ngeziqu zabo, kodwa womabili lamaqembu asekhombise ukudlondlobala ekukhetheni.

Iweni ezikhundleni. Akhombisa nokuzwana kwemiqondo, uma kuqhathaniswa nabakade beyidudula ngaphakathi kwezwe.

Kuzovela-ke engqungqutheleni ukuthi izinhlangano ebezishayisana ngezifuba namaBhunu nodlame, njenge-United Democratic Front (UDF) neCongress of South African Trade Unions, kuzihambela kanjani okhethweni.

Abantu abafana noMnuz Archie Gumede obengomunye womengameli be-UDF noNk Florence Mkhize kuthiwa bazoba kulengqungquthela kuphela njengezithunywa nje ezingenavoti.

Empeleni eNatal akaveli amathiphu ashisayo abaholi balezizinhlangano ezizibandakanywe iminyaka ne-ANC abangase bakhethelwe ezikhundleni eziqavile.

Izikhundla-ke ezizobe zidlalana imilala kuzo, yilezi: esephini likamengameli (esiphethwe

nguMnuz Mandela), esikano-bhala jikelele (esiphethwe nguMnuz Alfred Nzo) nesekela lakhe kanye nesikamgcinisekhwama jikelele (esiphethwe nguMnuz Thomas Nkobi).

Abanye abathishwa ukuthi bozongena kulezizikhundla ngo:

* Mnuz Walter Sisulu oneminyaka engu 79. Ubalwa kwabanomoya ofanele izingxoxo. Nguye obethweswe umthwalo wokuvuselela i-ANC ngaphakathi kwezwe. Kodwa abanganeliswa ngamagalelo abakholwa ukuthi akathi shu kuHulumeni, bamchitha kanye nabanye okuthiwa sesidlulile isikhathi sabo.

* Mnuz Hani (49) oyinhloko yophiko lwezempi uMkhonto weSizwe kusukela ngo 1987. Uyikhomanisi elinogazi entsheni yona enganasineke namaBhunu.

* Mnuz Cyril Ramaphosa (39) ongunobhala jikelele weNational Union of Mineworkers. Usanda kukhethwa ngo'eletu'

ebuyiselwa esikhundleni sikano-bhala jikelele kulenyunyana enamandla. Uyilungu le-ANC esifundeni saseGoli nasezindaweni ezilizungezile.

* Mnuz Popo Molefe (39) oyisekela likasihlalo we-ANC kulesisifunda saseGoli. Ubungunobhala jikelele we-UDF.

* Mfu Arnold Stofile obungunobhala jikelele we-UDF eBorder.

Abanye baseNatal, nabo abasebancane ngeminyaka yobudala, abangase bakhethwe bangene kwi'khabhinethe' yabangu 20 yesigungu ngo:

* Mnuz Blade Nzimande oyilungu lesigungu se-ANC emaphakathi nesifunda. Ufundisa eNyuvesi yaseNatal kanti uzwana kakhulu noMnuz Gwala.

* Mnuz Jeff Radebe osanda kudedelwa eRobben Island. Uyisekela likasihlalo wesifunda esiseningizimu. Ubengummeli.

Sekucishe kube yinto esinganakuphikiswa ukuthi kukhona abaholi asebemnkantshubomvu

okuzothiwa - uma kusetshenziwa amazwi elinye ishoshozela - mabathole umhlalaphansi nomabhe kuthiwani.

Abacishe bangaliboni elidlayo ngoMnuz Alfred Nzo (66) ongunobhala jikelele walenhlangothi, kanye noMnuz Thomas Nkobi (69) ongunomcinsikhwama jikelele. Amalungu alenhlangothi ababona bethambe kakhulu ezivumelwaneni namaBhunu kanti futhi kungabazeka ngisho nekhono nje labo lokwenza imisebenzi ebhekene nezikhundla zabo.

Sebengene

Ukhetho-ke luzoqhubeka kuvele sekukhona abangasalungeleni ngenxa yokuthi izikhundla abakhethelwe kuzo kumanje zibagunyaza ukuthi bafakwe esigungwini sikazwelonke. Bangu 28 kanti bangosihlalo kumbe onobhala bezifunda ezingu 14 ze-ANC. Bango:

Mnuz Jacob Zuma noMnuz

S'bu Ndebele (ningizimu Natal), Mnuz Harry Gwala noMnuz Moses Cele (maphakathi neNatal), Mnuz Terror Lekota noMnuz Thabo Mokgethoa (ningizimu ye-Orange Free State), Mnuz Kgalema Motlanthe noBarbara Hogan (eGoli namaphethelo), Mnuz Matthew Phosa noMnuz Joe Nkuna (mpumalanga Transvaal), Mnuz Zachariah Molekane noMnuz David Davids (ntshonalanga Transvaal).

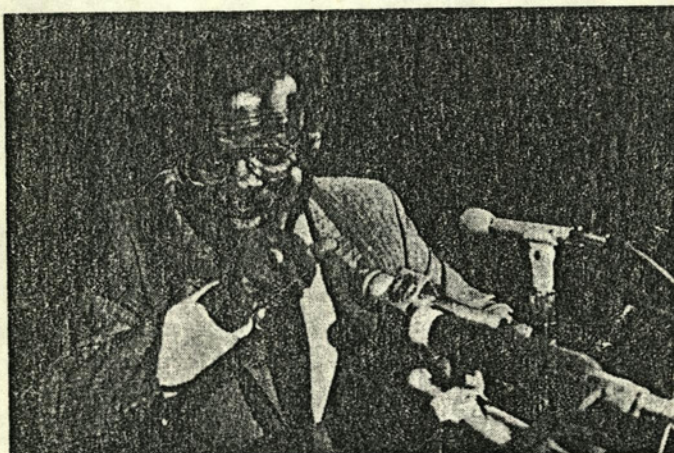
Mnuz Joel Netshitenzhe noMnuz Collins Chabane (nyakatho Transvaal), Ruth Mompoti noMane Dipico (nyakatho Cape), Mnuz Christmas Tinto noMnuz Amos Lengisi (ntshonalanga Cape), Mnuz Benson Fihla noGugile Nkhithi (mpumalanga Cape), Mnuz Arnold Stofile noLucille Meyer (eBorder), Mnuz Ezra Sigwela noMnuz Phumzile Mayati (Transkei), Xoliswa Dukwana noNakana Masoka (nyakatho ye-Orange Free State).

LETTERS

South Africa

SIR—Xan Smiley's survey on South Africa ("The blacks' rise", February 1st) was not, I hope, taken seriously. He observes that "all will not be lost" if South Africa is handed over to the pro-violence African National Congress (ANC). At best, says Mr Smiley, the ANC would be "au-

defend myself when it compares me to Zimbabwe's Bishop Abel Muzorewa and Mr Joshua Nkomo. This is a tactic of denigration used by the ANC in its broadcasts from Lusaka and elsewhere. Your survey omitted to note that I lead the biggest membership-based black political movement in the country—Inkatha. Our paid-up membership



Watch out for the Zulus

thoritarian". The "ANC instinct would be to dominate the press, the judiciary, the army and the police". How right he is. History has shown that men who use terrorism as a means to power invariably rule by terror once they are in power.

Your survey, alas, forces me to

is 1.2m and growing—not shrinking. The KwaZulu/Natal option is not, as your survey puts it, "pie-in-the-sky". It is becoming closer and closer to reality.

I am chief minister of South Africa's 7m Zulus—the largest ethnic group in the country. I am a direct descendant of the founder of the Zulu nation, King Shaka, and am a traditional as well as an elected leader of my people. Bishop Muzorewa and Mr Nkomo were not, unfortunately for them, in the same position.

You rightly note that I have a large white constituency. What is so wrong with that? Come the day of liberation, when negotiation and reconciliation will be crucial, your survey pours scorn on the idea of a black leader "... being suffocated by white kisses...". Comments such as this come perilously close to racism.

Ulundi,
South Africa

MANGOSUTHU G.
BUTHELEZI

*Cymer
for
KLA
members*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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There is deep irony on display in the title. Between 20,000 and 30,000 people died during violence leading up to election in 1994. Some "peaceful revolution"!

Included among the dead were more than 400 leaders of a political party that was in opposition to the current ruling party.

Barnard knows the identity of the movement that did the bulk of this killing.

He also has intimate knowledge of the many tonnes of illegal weapons that were smuggled into the country for the express purpose of killing political opponents.

It is poppycock to claim as he did that 40 tonnes of documents were destroyed in army furnaces to destroy the identity of his secret agents — it was done to conceal the true history of exactly what happened on the road to democracy.

He writes his memoirs on the transition on the basis of what he chooses to reveal, while hiding the critical documents he destroyed from those who might have a different view.

Barnard's arrogance is breathtaking. Whatever former president Nelson Mandela might or might not have said to him at the start of the Codesa

Mandela. Ask former president FW de Klerk to confirm this, as he did when he announced the unbannings. Mandela himself confirmed this in writing.

Barnard has done the cause of history a disgraceful disservice by overseeing the destruction of documents he had no right to destroy.

AJ Konigkramer
Durban

President nukes top offic

Thanks for publishing Anton Eberhard's authoritative and penetrating article, which says all (SA is switched on to Mahlobo's wheeling and dealing in nuclear bid; November 30). President Jacob Zuma's desperation to force nuclear through at any cost totally reinforces the suspicion that he has already been paid out for this deal by the Russians.

This was the rumour at the time of Pravin Gordhan's sudden recall from overseas and dismissal from the finance ministry.

I am unable to think of Zuma as our presider anymore — just a despicable saboteur.

He should have been behind bars long ago, not debasing an honourable title and being allowed to continue abusing its powers beyond imagination.

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