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South African Activist Blames ANC for Violence

SOUTH AFRICA, From A13

and the Inkatha Freedom Party and too little on the ANC.

Such "one-sided" reports "can easily fan the flames of violence," argued the author of the institute study, Anthea Jeffrey. "Those who feel they are constantly and unjustifiably accused of fomenting the violence may feel there is little point in continuing to participate in the peace efforts, or may have difficulty in restraining supporters who feel outraged."

The institute report has drawn widespread criticism, not just from the human rights organizations it attacks but from the institute's own research staff—eight of whose 12 members sent a memorandum to institute Executive Director John Kane-Berman calling the report "partisan, weak on methodology, and misleading."

Others allege that Kane-Berman, the dominant force within the institute since he became executive director in 1983, commissioned the controversial study as part of a campaign to resurrect the reputation of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to whom Kane-Berman has been close for years.

Once these charges and countercharges started to fly, Suzman, who had aspired to be a hands-off president—"My only real job is to give the annual presidential address"—decided she had no choice but to jump into the fray. She reviewed all the claims and, in a letter that went out this week to institute members, came down heavily on the side of the institute report. Its findings "have been vindicated every time," she wrote.

"Unfortunately, it has become fashionable in liberal circles to make excuses for the ANC, to say, oh well, they were in exile for so long, or they were fighting a wicked regime," Suzman said in an interview at her home.

"As far as I'm concerned, you can't exonerate the state for the violence, you can't exonerate Inkatha, but you can't exonerate the ANC either," she continued. "The real problem now is that violence has become so ingrained that even if the leaders wanted to stop it, I'm not sure they could. There are too many avengers, too many criminals, too many local warlords. Maybe you could have stopped it in the mid-1980s, when it first got out of hand, but I'm not sure you can now."

The violence has been taking an average of nearly nine lives a day for the past two years. Most of the deaths are related to the ANC-Inkatha power struggle centered in Natal and here in the industrial heartland of the Witwatersrand. On that point, everyone agrees. Beyond that, explanations diverge sharply.

In the version that Suzman and the institute report embrace, a principal trigger of the violence has been the coercion, intimidation and vigilantism of ANC supporters as they try to make the townships "ungovernable" by closing schools, boycotting stores, waging strikes, withholding rents and threatening homeland leaders. Blacks who do not want to go along with such tactics are branded collaborators.

In the version subscribed to by most human rights groups, the principal cause of violence has been the vigilantism of the black puppets of the apartheid regime, who have used strong-arm tactics to repress legitimate political dissent.

In her presidential address this summer, Suzman warned that unless the violence ends soon, allowing a stalled economy to start producing jobs again, "whoever does inherit this country, be it an ANC government or any other, will inherit a wasteland, an ungovernable country inhabited by millions of undisciplined youths to whom a culture of democracy is meaningless."

SACP looks at its strategy for the future

THE South African Communist Party (SACP) is grappling with establishing its own political identity and perspectives, it emerged from closed-door discussion at its recent Durban congress.

"The political conditions have changed. Some old forms of struggle are not appropriate. Today we either resort to old tactics or go to the other extreme of passive 'negotiations.'

" New forms of engaging the 'enemy' which does not involved sacrificing our bargaining power must be developed so that effective democratic transformation occurs."

This frank and new strategic positioning of the SACP emerges from a speech delivered in a closed session by Mr Pravin Gordhan, veteran SACP organiser and strategist, at the congress held in Durban.

Gordhan said for South African socialists, three elements emerged as absolutely crucial to the continued growth and relevence of the SACP: their political and strategic clarity, their link and roots among the masses and their ability to engage in action.

He urged all South African communists to undertake a careful analysis of the objective conditions both external and internal and examine how these affected the struggle, the cause of socialism and the SACP itself.

"South African socialists have a formidable, triple responsibility: to achieve national democracy, develop a new vision of democratic socialism and formulate a new path to socialism," Gordhan said.

Gordhan told delegates that it was now imperative that the party developed and projected its own policies and perspectives which guided socialists in South Africa, and ensured a qualitative input into the transformation process.

"One of the many lessons from the collapse of socialist regimes of Eastern Europe is that of theoretical sterility and dogmatism. The refusal to be open and change. Among other lessons is the devastating consequences of a corrupt, opportunistic careerist leadership and cadreship. Not only did the party in that situation become alienated from the masses, the party leadership and bureaucracy began to feed their own interest rather than that of the people," Gordhan said.

The congress was repeatedly told by delegate after delegate that it is the historical mission of the party to develop the revolutionary forces and a powerful organisation capable of harnessing and leading the forces for democracy and socialism. Gordhan said this is the task that faced the SACP today.

He warned the congress that with the far reaching changes in the world and in South Africa, "we in the SACP must examine our conrete conditions scientifically and be open to reviewing and reformulating old perpectives."

"If the SACP is to be a different kind of Party, it must ensure that its leadership and cadreship is honest and dedicated to the masses. There is no room for careerists whose only interest is the seizure of organisational positions to further personal interest. There is no room for power-mongering which divides and debilitates the organisation," Gordhan warned.

He said if the SACP were to survive the formidable challenges it was faced with today, its members must be practical and action-orientated men and women.

"If their daily work, they are among the masses - organising them, listening to them, teaching them and developing their capacity to build their own future. This task lies ahead of us. This is the way we will once again build confindence in socialism and build our party as a party worthy of our people's support and participation." Gordhan said.

South African Students' B-CC Scholarships Unused

By MARIA De VARENNE

DAYTONA BEACH — Despite being given four year scholarships to attend Bethune-Cookman College, two South African students will not be coming to Daytona Beach this fall.

One student, a female, has opted to stay in South Africa and complete her education in a nursing program. The other student, a male, has been delayed in South Africa because of problems processing his documents.

The two youths were awarded Bishop Desmond Tutu Southern African Refugee Scholarships, but officials at the scholarship fund headquarters in New York City have refused to release the names of the two students.

The executive director of the scholarship fund, Bernice Powell, said the document processing delay is common among refugee students. "They have more problems getting their documents together than other students because many of the refugees don't have pass-

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☐ Students

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ports," Powell explained during a recent telephone interview.

"It takes longer to go through the process of getting their visas and transcripts together. It's not unusual at all, and we're looking forward to his arrival in time for the spring semester," Powell said.

If the male student had arrived in time for the fall semester, his scholarship would have cost B-CC $6,000 to cover tuition, room and board. B-CC administrators could not be reached for comment.

During a previous interview, B-CC President Oswald P. Bronson said he accepted the two students "on faith." Bronson said funds for the scholarships could be raised if the students spoke at Daytona Beach churches intersted in South Africa's conditions. The church speeches would enhance the public's knowledge of the South Africans' plights and would inspire donations, Bronson said.

The scholarship fund was established by Tutu, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, in 1984 in cooperation with Phelps-Stokes, which is headquartered in New York. Phelp-Stokes is a nonprofit organization that has been aiding black Americans, Africans and native Americans since 1911. Tutu is a South African Leader who believes in the nonviolent destruction of the apartheid system.

Tutu founded the fund to provide educational opportunities for South African and Nambian political exiles. Close to 1 million of these exiles, between the ages of 18 and 24, are living in refugee camps in Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Tanzania.

Phelps-Stokes is administering the fund and selecting the scholarship winners. In cooperation with the University of Botswana, Phelps-Stokes developed a test modeled after the College Entrance Examination Board Standard Achievenment Test. Most applicants have obtained the equivalent to U.S. high school levels of education and are fluent in English. Student selections are based on test results, writing samples, interviews and desired areas of study.

Sickened by 'brave effort' of terrorists

I AM sure that the hearts of every reasonable South African will go out to the Ebrahim family who saw their loved ones so severly brutalised during the recent bomb blast.

The thought that two unborn twins who were so looked forward to by their parents were also victims of this sick maniac's "brave" effort to promote the cause of the terrorists, is nauseating to say the least.

Is this part of the ANC's new strategy of the ANC-what have unborn twins got to do with the suffering that terrorists believe will "soften up" those who still enjoy their braaivleis and five star hotels! Most unlikely.

When the news of the bomb blast came over the air I was sitting next to an 84-year-old lady who would normally not want to harm a fly, her reaction was. "Why doesn't the government shoot all the louts that go around planting these bombs." So much for intimidating the White group. More and more people are calling for an eye-for-an-eye, that is for sure.

The sickening part of all this is that on the day the innocent Ebrahims and others were destroyed, I received a Church newsletter in my post box suggesting that apartheid is the cause of all the violence. Much like suggesting that as long as there is apartheid then these thugs can continue slaughtering people at will. (Any people — even the unborn who must surely be the most innocent.)

As I write this letter no mention as yet has been made by the BBC or the VOA about this dasterdly deed. In fact Mrs Tutu's arrest by the Johannesburg Traffic Dept received greater coverage than the bomb blast did.

I am also waiting to hear voices of the different church leaders. When are they going to condemn this savagery?

My wish is that the perpetrators of this dastardly deed are caught and strung up from the highest gallows in the country — even if the United Nations hold 10 emergency meetings to save them. We cannot allow innocent people to be cut down like wheat by a sickle.

ALAN C BROWN
Bloemfontein

Shadows of death

Brian King

Strife-torn Natal is teetering on a knife-edge — and a miracle is needed to stop it plunging into bloody anarchy.

From all quarters, it's clear Natal is facing the biggest crisis in its history:

☐ Pietermaritzburg mayor Pat Cornell this week warned of a "new Dark Age" coming if the spiral of brutality and killing continued.

☐ Chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee (NKRDRC) MC Pretorius says the peace accord in Natal has reached a "critical stage" in its history.

☐ Ageing ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala says the atmosphere in Natal is so highly charged that "you could light a matchstick and everything would explode".

☐ Isipingo mayor Ronnie Naidoo this week claimed the government was "losing its grip" in trying to end violence here.

☐ Many youths around Durban townships are telling unrest monitors: "There's no way out but to fight."

"The situation is very tense," acting chairman of the Natal Church Leaders Group Bishop Norman Hudson told the Sunday Tribune after an anguished two-hour NCLG meeting on Thursday night.

And many people in the street are sick of the violence.

Peace Now, a national petition campaign which started in Natal this week to decry "the obvious lack of concern of politicians of all parties in resolving the many crises that afflict this country", predicts it will have 10 000 signatories by next weekend and reports that the overwhelming response is that everyone is fed up with the violence.

An Omnichek survey this week confirms this: polls among black men indicated a marked slump in confidence in three key leaders — President De Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A groundswell of disenchantment also showed this week with "moderate, peace-loving women" announcing a planned peace tour from Durban to Pietermaritzburg and Empangeni on November 6 and 7, organised by Women For South Africa in collaboration with the South African Communication Service's Durban office.

Tensions — already at breaking point over this week's spate of massacres, the killing of ANC leader Reggie Hadebe and the assassination attempt on IFP leader David Ntombela, an executive member of the NKRDRC — were only strained further by the ensuing political rows.

Among these, IFP central committee executive committee member Dr Ben Ngubane slammed Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburg, saying it was "patent nonsense" that the IFP appeared unwilling to meet other warring parties.

And President De Klerk's offer of R25 000 for information leading to the arrest of Reggie Hadebe's killers was also slammed by the IFP as "a disgraceful display of selective morality" which the government was using to "woo the ANC into a cosy alliance with itself ..."

Some steps aimed at countering violence emerged this week:

☐ National Peace Committee chairman John Hall is working hard to put together another peace summit.

☐ Unrest areas are to be declared in Natal, says President De Klerk.

☐ "High density" police patrols are to be initiated "to stop the infiltration of MK members" from the Transkei into Natal. Head of the Internal Stability Division of the SAP General Johan Swart said 300 members had been deployed in Natal in recent weeks and more would arrive over the weekend.

☐ The Defence Force is to "double the number of troops currently deployed in Natal in support of the South African Police", President De Klerk announced.

☐ The Natal/KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee, fully backed by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa), launched a "major new initiative" to end the bloodshed. This includes moves to establish another 12 Local Dispute Resolution Committees in Natal and the establishment of four "operations centres" within four weeks. Organisations hosting meetings at which more than 10 people will be present are asked to contact the NKRDRC at (031) 327684 for security reasons.

☐ President De Klerk is to ask Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to become "more personally involved" in the Goldstone Commission's investigations into violence in Natal.

☐ A "bosberaad" is planned next week between the ANC and the government.

☐ The Natal Church Leaders Group intends following up its recent "useful" discussion with leaders from the ANC's three Natal regions with meetings with other groupings in Natal on the same issues discussed with the ANC: the escalating violence; the impasse in constitutional negotiations; and the proposed march to Ulundi.

The ANC believed it could be the work of a Third Force that knew the movements of peace workers.

And General Holomisa, who works closely with the ANC, warned that any action by South Africa against Transkei nationals would be severely dealt with. "If they do that to our nationals, we will do it to theirs. Let it be recorded: Fire with fire."

But perhaps one of the most puzzling aspects of the alleged Transkei connection are claims of a former SADF spy, Pte Emmanuel Nkosinathi Mkhulisi, who infiltrated alleged anti-IFP insurgent camps on the Natal/Transkei border. One was at a TDF base at Saint Paul where he claimed MK cadres were being trained, and the other an ANC base in Lusikisiki — visited regularly, he claimed, by MK commander Chris Hani.

Pte Mkhulisi gained the confidence of the ANC to such an extent that he was allowed to take photographs of their marches. He would hand over one set and the negatives to the ANC, and another to his handlers in the SADF.

He was exposed last month and severely beaten up by TDF soldiers, before being released with instructions to spy on the SADF. His "abduction" created a furious war of words between the Transkei and South African governments.

However, SADF spokesman Colonel John Rolt said he was unaware of photographs of ANC camps in the Transkei taken by Pte Mkhulisi.

This has sparked off angry IFP reaction, with demands that the SADF release all their evidence. "If they had done so in time, many of the recent massacres would not have happened," said spokesman Ed Tillet.

But whoever is to blame, Dr Ngubane — one of the most respected KwaZulu cabinet members — said there was undoubtedly a move away from the townships where violence was already endemic with attacks now spilling into the IFP-controlled rural areas. He said the strategy was obvious.

"If you kill community leaders, that community becomes rudderless and this is where we believe the ANC will try to step in and wrest control.

"The ANC say they will win at the ballot box in Natal/KwaZulu. Why then are they killing our people? They would not have to if they truly believed they will win."

He said this was one of the prime reasons for the IFP demand that MK be disbanded. "The ANC Natal Midlands leadership have said that if MK were disbanded they would become 'loose cannons', instead of operating within ANC structures. Consequently we must assume that the recent massacres of IFP leaders are on ANC orders.

"The difference between the IFP and the ANC is that we operate on the ground. Our branch leaders live with their communities, they share in their sufferings — and perhaps that's why they are more vulnerable. We do not have an elitist group, like the ANC leaders, who live in wealthy suburbs.

"That's why they're targeting KwaZulu. The British said last century that when they defeated the Zulus, they would control South Africa. The ANC believes the same, but it's not going to happen."

However, he said although South Africa was already involved in a low intensity civil war, despite the tragic events this week he did not believe this would spark into a full-blooded conflict.

"I don't think that the rest of the world will allow it to happen. Should South Africa go under, it will drag the rest of Africa down with her. This whole region's future relies on this

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THE MOURNING AFTER . . . survivors and relatives of those who died in the attack on a home in Mpushini near Folweni last weekend.
Picture: Peter Duffy

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Shock effect sought

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One senior intelligence official described ANC guerillas as "bomb commuters" and said, "As a military movement — well, they haven't got a military movement."

But police added that every ANC action, regardless of its success, meant valuable publicity for its cause. Bombing government installations and utilities results in coverage by the South African media — and the number of such incidents has increased dramatically in the past two years.

As whites, "we are so conditioned," said one colonel who specializes in counter-intelligence, "we think if the lights go off, it's an ANC explosion."

But experts say the ANC's armed struggle operates with two main handicaps:

- Manpower. The police and the South African Defense Forces together could mobilize close to a half million men. The ANC's guerilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), probably has about 5,000 active, trained "cadres," about half of them sitting in camps in Angola.

- No rear base. South Africa has successfully pressured its neighboring countries into denying the ANC open military bases. Not only do the ANC guerillas have to enter South Africa clandestinely; they often must operate secretively outside the nation's borders. Their weapons usually have to be smuggled in separately.

As a result, Umkhonto (MK) cells of three to six cadres each often are left on their own to make decisions about target selection, timing and other operational details.

"If you sit still, you're nothing," a police official said. "But once you start passing out pamphlets, training people or whatever, you expose yourself" to a large network of police informants in the townships and to the nation's harsh security laws that provide for indefinite detention without trial of anyone police wish to interrogate in terrorism cases.

And unlike other Third World nations where guerilla wars succeeded, South Africa is a relatively developed country that offers little rural "bush" in which large numbers of insurgents can hide.

The result, said a police official, is "they still cannot get a guerilla war off the ground."

John, who defected seven years ago, was one of about 10,000 young blacks who fled South Africa during the 1976 Soweto uprising in which 576 people were killed, according to official figures. Many of those who fled joined the ANC, and that 1976 group now forms the core of the ANC's experienced cadres.

The riots, he said, "played quite a role in influencing me." ANC recruiters, he said, "saw I was ripe."

John was approached and befriended by an ANC recruiter. When he agreed to join, he met four other recruits and an ANC man who drove them to the Swaziland border.

They stopped about half a mile from the border post, and the recruits walked through nearby bush to the border fence and jumped over it. They met the car on the other side of the border.

A mini-bus eventually came and took the men to Matola, Mozambique. "I found quite a lot of people like myself, waiting there, sitting there," John said. In the morning, the group would do exercises, wash and eat, then take political classes. Afternoon readings, he said, included selections from Karl Marx and Mao Tse Tung.

About one month later, those selected for military training boarded a commercial flight to Luanda, the capital of Angola.

John said he trained at a camp at Funda, about 12 miles from Luanda, which is on the Atlantic coast in northern Angola.

At one time there were three ANC camps in the south, police said. But after a South African air raid several years ago (which the ANC says was botched), all were moved north of Luanda, which is out of South African bomber range and is protected by Angolan MiG air cover.

South African authorities said they have identified at least five ANC training camps presently in use in Angola, most of them in the north.

ANC leaders privately acknowledge the existence of camps, but spokesman Tom Sebina said the number and location "has been speculation. We never disclose that."

The ANC denied a Free Press request to visit training camps, saying that Angola was sensitive about press visits because it has never officially acknowledged that the facilities exist.

John complained about conditions at Funda. "It was very, very hot," he said. "The mosquitoes easily penetrated the mosquito nets." The latrines were fly infested and the food mostly consisted of surplus canned rations from East Germany, he said.

The recruits washed in a river, he said. "When you washed, you had to have a bodyguard with an AK47 guarding you," he said. "If a crocodile came, he would shoot it."

John said senior cadres would tell complainers, "The struggle is not a bed of roses, comrade. You'll be free tomorrow."

Sebina would not discuss specific complaints about the camps, but said: "The ANC does its best to provide high standards of living conditions for its combatants wherever they are located."

John had no complaints, however, about the quality of the training, which experts say is top notch.

Instructors were mostly senior ANC cadres and Soviet bloc trainers, many from Cuba, which has about

25,000 troops in Angola helping Marxist President Jose Eduardo dos Santos fight Jonas Savimbi's UNITA rebels.

At some camps, the ANC recruits share facilities with Angolan and Cuban troops, South African police say. Police also say that some ANC cadres fight with the Angolan forces against UNITA, which the ANC would neither confirm or deny.

Recruits are trained in use of the AK47, the Soviet-made Kalishnikov automatic assault rifle. ANC members also are instructed in the use of pistols and RPG rocket launchers, explosives, and everything from first aid to surveillance, code breaking and photography.

Specialist training, South African police said, is given to promising recruits at camps in Teterow, East Germany, and Prvolnye in the Soviet Union. Sebina confirmed that "there is some training in socialist countries."

John said he eventually was assigned permanently in Mozambique. Not long after he returned to Mozambique, he decided he wanted out and fled to Komatipoort, South Africa, where he gave himself up to police.

He said he had some personal grudges against the ANC, but he also was receptive to the standard police recruiting approach, which goes something like this: If the government is getting around to making needed racial reforms, albeit slowly, why kill yourself for no pay, living in exile, when you can make good money working for us?

A police counter-intelligence expert said he had been able to "turn" about 100 ANC members with that approach and use them in counter-insurgency efforts.

In the ANC, "I cannot be able to own anything," John said. "The constant indoctrination is, your car is not yours, your house is not yours. Everything belongs to the people."

Most ANC cadres are more committed to the cause, however. If anything, said ANC members who requested anonymity, there isn't enough action. South African police said they doubted that there were more than a few dozen cadres inside South Africa at any given time.

ANC leaders noted that the government's own figures show a sharp increase in the number of incidents of terror and sabotage, from four in 1976 to 135 in 1985 and 228 last year.

The ANC normally targets public utilities and government installations, and attacks police and other security officials. Cadres are taught to avoid civilian casualties if possible, but explosions at supermarkets and restaurants have gained some of the most publicity.

Land mines are used by the ANC in rural areas. Fatalities have included nine white people who died in explosions in northern Transvaal Province in 1985 and five blacks who died in a single explosion in August. A black man was killed near Messina, near the Zimbabwe border, on May 4.

The government says there have been 149 land mine explosions in South Africa since January 1984, but could not give a comprehensive casualty figure.

The ANC claims that white farmers, often the land mine victims, are trained in paramilitary fashion by the government as part of its network of border security control.

In one of the more spectacular actions, several men wearing police recruit uniforms walked into the police station in Umtata on July 30, pulled out AK47s and hand grenades and began firing. Three Transkei police officers and four civilians were killed and another nine people were injured.

That incident led to the police sweep that resulted in the arrest in December of the Rev. Casimir Paulsen, the Mariannhill priest who is a Detroit native. He was released in March. No one has been charged in the attack.

Police did make arrests in each of the two incidents that resulted in the most civilian casualties in the past two years — a bombing of a shopping center in Amanzimtoti in December 1985 that killed five people, including a two-year-old, and injured 61, and a car-bomb blast in Durban in June 1986 that killed three women and injured 69 people.

In both cases, the accused told the court that they had violated ANC policy by attacking civilians and regretted embarrassing the organization. Robert McBride, the Durban bomber, said he was afraid he might face ANC disciplinary action, perhaps even the firing squad.

McBride, 23, had one of the more noteworthy cadre careers. In April 1986, McBride's ANC controller, Gordon

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BUSINESS DAY, TUES FEBRUARY

SA is an also-ran in the American presidential stakes

SIMON BARBER in Washington

AS OF last night's Iowa caucuses, the American election season is well and truly rolling. SA has been notably — but, please, not strangely — absent from the campaign discourse. The chances are excellent that it will continue that way. Which, contrary to the conventional wisdom, is a pity.

It is easy to dismiss the quadrennial spasm through which this country selects its President as an exercise in gaudy cynicism, with candidates marketing themselves like cans of "new, improved" deodorant spray and attempting to be all deodorants to all armpits.

This view is facile. It is encouraged by an intellectually indolent Press that covers the candidates as though they were teams in the National Football League.

The focus is almost never on what the contestants fundamentally have to offer, but on whether or not they will win and how the esoteric mechanics of their tactics and style contribute to victory or defeat.

For a large number of those who take part with their votes or by getting themselves elected as delegates to the party nominating conventions, what is going on here is, fortunately, more than a game.

Extraordinary as it seems to have to say this, it is about how the country is to be governed for the next four years.

So however fatuous the proceedings may often appear, serious business is being contracted. The system affords no similar opportunity for a national debate, or at least for the airing of ideas on a national basis. And, whatever the outcome, SA is an issue upon which fresh ideas need desperately to be aired.

Before going any further, I should stress that this is not a clarion call for Pretoria to crank up its dismal public relations engine, or, God help us, for Ambassador Piet Koornhof to heave himself more vigorously into the public eye.

This is a private American matter, and government and its gauleiters would be best advised to shut up. As they should have noticed by now, they are not convincing. But I digress.

SA, thus far, has been a "professional" subject, dominated by those — activists, academics, businessmen and a handful of officials and politicians — who make their livings and careers from it.

These groups, and their respective interests, have fought themselves to a virtual standstill. Their debate, inasmuch as there ever was one, has become ossified.

The range of options they have collectively come up with is narrow, comprising in various brews two basic approaches: sanctions and disinvestment on the one hand and on the other, what is politely, if condescendingly, known as "aid for disadvantaged South Africans" suppliable both directly and through the continued presence of US corporations.

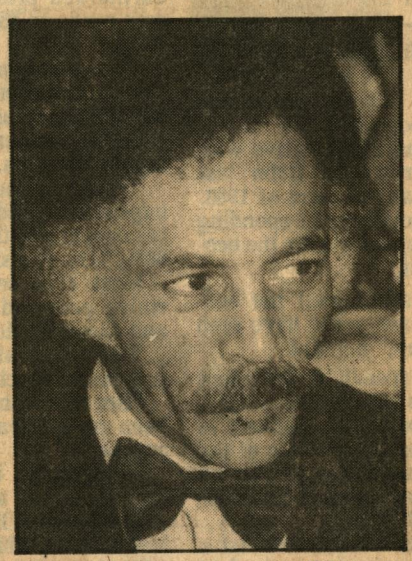
The only thing upon which Congressman Ron Dellums and the Reagan administration fundamentally disagree is the mix. Dellums wants all sanctions and no aid for corporations. Hence his Bill to repeal the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) and place SA, but not its minerals, beyond the solar system.

The US administration, looking for consensus because it has run out of the energy and imagination to do anything else, favours a bit of both.

The public has yet to be consulted in any meaningful sense. Yes, there have been numerous polls, but they have all been flawed by their questions being devised within the terms of reference set by the "professionals". And even if those terms were the only conceivable ones, the results have hardly been conclusive.

An NBC News/Wall Street Journal survey taken in August 1986 (prior to passage of the CAAA) found that 58% of Americans believed that "a trade embargo would not make the SA government end its policy of apartheid"; 55% also said that "a trade embargo would hurt the economic situation of blacks in SA".

The same survey found 49% in favour of the proposition that "American companies should not continue to do business in SA," with 32% taking the opposite view and 19% unsure.



DELLUMS . . . wants all sanctions and no aid for corporations

A Gallup Poll taken for the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations in November 1986 (the CAAA was now law) found 57% in favour of sanctions and just more than half of those opting for "a ban on all trade and investment".

So what is vox pop saying? Let's have a policy that we know won't achieve its stated goals and will hurt its supposed beneficiaries into the bargain? There is confusion here.

Last July, the Roper Organisation asked respondents the following:

"Some people say US investment in SA helps the blacks because it provides jobs at higher pay and better conditions than South African firms provide. Other people say it hurts blacks because it reinforces the power of the white minority government and thus the apartheid system of segregation in SA. How do you feel?"

For the record, the results were: US business helps blacks (24%); hurts blacks (31%); haven't followed the situation closely enough to say (26%); mixed feelings (14%); and flat out don't knows 5%.

Far more telling, however, is the question itself and its tendentious summary of the arguments.

The pollster is not specifically to blame. He is merely reflecting how stultified the debate has become. His job is not, after all, to propound new or original theses on the subject or to canvass lines of reasoning not already prevalent.

Here he is saying, is a capsule of what the "professionals" think. Select — pre-packaged — your point of view.

In this election year, there is a genuine opportunity for a candidate, especially a presidential nominee, to expand this wizened universe of American thought on SA.

The pulpit exists should anyone want to take advantage of it.

No Democrat, one can be sure, will do this. The party's platform plank on SA will almost certainly be drafted by the Reverend Jesse Jackson with heavy input from TransAfrica's Randall Robinson.

It will stress sanctions and that favourite Democratic cop-out, multilateralism. Let's convene a conference of allied leaders and/or African heads of state to hammer out a co-ordinated policy. Let's introduce resolutions in the United Nations Security Council. Let's . . . well, need I go on?

The Democrats' chief contribution might be in putting SA on the agenda at the right moment. Getting the Dellums Bill or some variant before Congress as both parties prepare for their conventions in June, with a final vote set for September — that would be useful.

It would provide a peg for the Republican nominee to take this stand:

"My Democratic opponent, ladies and gentlemen, seems determined to ensure the survival of apartheid and to consolidate power and wealth ever more firmly in the hands of the white minority.

"I pledge today that my administration will liberate where he would enchain, will create owners where he would make serfs, will empower where he would impoverish, will strive to achieve justice where he would encourage ignorance and bloodshed.

"I understand why so many black South African leaders say they want what my opponent is advocating. It is because we, as a party, have been too slow to heed their frustrations and pay attention.

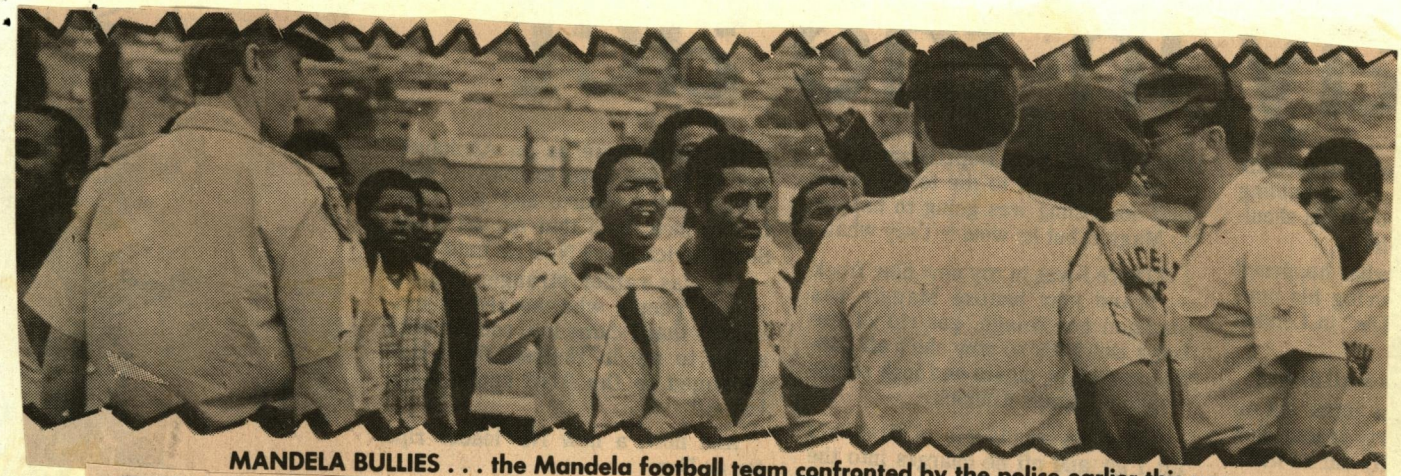
"If I am elected President, that will change immediately. And we will do much more than simply listen.

"My administration will seek to promote a real revolution in SA, a revolution under which all apartheid's victims are enabled to take charge of their destinies and to be free of oppression .. a revolution in which all South Africans, black and white, will be released from the bonds of the past to prosper in the pursuit of happiness.

"One of my first acts in office will be to establish a freedom trust which will be funded from both public and private sources.

"Its purpose will be to help capitalise black South African businesses with low interest loans and to enable South African unions and other employee and community organisations to buy substantial voting equity for their members in employers' companies. I will also urge the World Bank to make similar loans . . ." And so on.

Don't worry. It's not going to happen.



MANDELA BULLIES . . . the Mandela football team confronted by the police earlier this year.

Stompie — an activist at 10

AT THE age of 14 Stompie Moeketsi had lost count of the number of times he had been detained.

A legend in his Free State home township of Tumahole near Parys, he became an activist at the age of 10 when at a time of tension in the township he formed and became the leader of the "Under Fourteens", a powerful group of more than 1 500 young activists.

The mission of this group of eight to 13-year-olds was to protect residents of Tumahole from aggressive acts by vigilantes, and to fight for their rights.

The "Under Fourteens" emphasised unity and cohesiveness, saying that if one member was detained, every member must work for his release. They baffled adults in Tumahole with their ability to organise themselves so effectively.

The chairman of the Tumahole Civic Association, Mr Adam Mosepedi, was quoted as saying: "Even we don't know how these children can be like this."

Stompie was said to be a disarmingly warm and trusting person. Nevertheless, as the group's tough general, he earned his nickname — which means the toughest part of a tree — for his fearlessness and commitment to their cause.

"Children are better than adults because they are not afraid," he said. "Adults run away when the police come."

He did not move anywhere in Tumahole without the protection of at least four young bodyguards, and slept in a different place every night.

Stompie was a hardline militant, but used to tell new recruits that not every white man was their enemy.

Able to recite the Freedom Charter by heart, he used to say he was fighting for equal rights: "We want to be equal before the law, irrespective of colour, sex or religion."

He left school in 1986, when he was in Standard 2. He was a bright pupil — his marks were usually in the top four in a class of 45 — and wanted to be a scientist.

He would borrow books from friends in a bid to keep up with his studies and loved chess, a game he learnt while in detention.

Stompie moved to Johannesburg last year, saying he wanted to go back to school.

Finding nowhere to live, he went to the Orlando West Methodist church house, from where he was allegedly abducted in December.

It is not known whether he continued his activities in Soweto, but bishop of the Methodist Church, the Rev Peter Storey said yesterday: "He was not politically active to my knowledge."

Stompie, who was often quoted as saying "I don't mind dying for the cause," did not believe he would live long.

Once asked whether he hoped one day to have a family, he said he did not think it would be possible. "They can come and shoot me any time."

'STOMPIE' MOEKETSI . . . 'Children are better than adults because they are not afraid.'

MURDERED . . . Dr Asvat. The club attended his funeral in ANC colours.

RIFT . . . Mr Ismail Ayob no longer handles Mrs Mandela's legal affairs.

Warnings of bloodshed as troops mass ahead of ANC march

SHOWDOWN OVER CISKEI

By BILL KRIGE

A MAJOR test of strength between the ANC and the government loomed yesterday as ANC activists sought to mobilise support for tomorrow's march on the Ciskei capital of Bisho amid warnings of bloodshed.

As tension rose in the area, the SA government declared a state of emergency in the 207km "white corridor" which separates Transkei and Ciskei.

Police — including members of the crack Task Force — and SA Defence Force reinforcements have been deployed from East London to Queenstown, and helicopters and fixed-wing aircraft have gone to the region.

Anxious MPs in the area condemned the ANC's march as "confrontational".

Roadblocks

"I have a nasty feeling about this one," said Mr Keith Matthee, former Ciskei Minister of Justice, who lives in King William's Town.

Earlier the SA Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, declared the magisterial districts of East London, King William's Town, Stutterheim, Cathcart and Queenstown unrest areas.

"The security forces have taken the necessary measures aimed at preventing violence and are ready to deal with any situation which may arise in the affected areas," Mr Kriel said. "No activity which could result in loss of life, injury or damage to property will be tolerated."

The measures — including roadblocks, special patrols and aerial reconnaissance — were introduced as the ANC geared up for what it hopes will be a massive demonstration against the Ciskei capital led by S Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani.

The march — in which the ANC hopes 100 000 people will take part — comes barely a month after frantic diplomatic activity orchestrated by Foreign Minister Pik Botha averted a clash between 50 000 demonstrators and Ciskei security forces.

Blame

A member of the ANC national executive committee, Mr Raymond Suttner, said on Friday night that top officials of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance had been "going from village to factory" to mobilise marchers.

He said that if there was "a bloodbath" the blame would have to be borne by President De Klerk, as the government of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was without support.

The ANC has appealed to all Ciskei civil servants and members of the security forces to disobey orders and to join the march by "freedom-loving people".

A memorandum from the ANC alliance which was submitted to the SA government on Thursday proposed the ousting of Brigadier Gqozo's administration and its replacement by one formed in consultation with all representative organisations.

The memorandum also called for the repeal of Ciskei security legislation and the withdrawal of South African military officers, who were the "masterminds behind the current violence and instability".

Yesterday Brigadier Gqozo made an urgent appeal to the National Peace Committee to adjudicate activities of the ANC alliance on the ground that it was in conflict with the Peace Accord.

The Ciskei government

□ To Page 2

Ciskei march

□ From Page 1

proposed a six-month moratorium on all activities making Ciskei ungovernable so as to allow interested parties to "negotiate a new dispensation".

Democratic Party MPs Eddie Trent (PE Central), Errol Moorcroft (Albany) and General Bob Rogers (Walmer) said that the ANC's planned march and occupation of Bisho was "confrontational in the extreme and liable to precipitate violence".

Other ANC NEC members taking part in the march include Ronnie Kasrils and Thozamile Botha.

In his statement Mr Kriel said the security measures introduced yesterday were not aimed against democratic protest, "and will in no way affect those wishing to exercise their democratic rights in a peaceful, legal and non-disruptive manner".

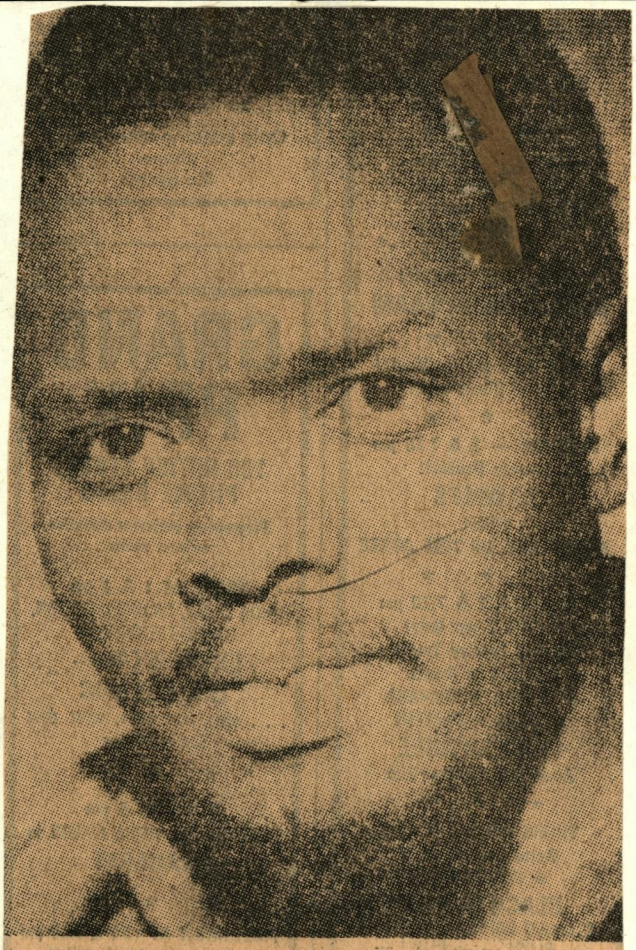
However, the ANC said the measures were clearly designed to harass and impede people travelling to Bisho for the march.

In a statement issued yesterday the ANC alliance demanded "that the apartheid regime withdraw these measures and allow us to continue our peaceful activities".

The statement said Mr Kriel's declaration of unrest areas was "provocative, aimed at hindering our people from mobilising for the march and travelling freely on the day".

On Friday night Mr Hani — who has been on a tour of the Eastern Cape to whip up support for the march — told a meeting in Queenstown that 15 leaders from the ANC, Cosatu, SACP and the SA National Civic Organisation would lead the march.

He said he was aware that employers would dismiss workers who stayed away to take part in the march, but that if this happened workers "would have to take appropriate action".



MR STEVE BIKO

Shock and outrage at verdict

WASHINGTON — The United States yesterday sharply atacked the verdict of a South African court which cleared police in the death of Black leader, Mr Steve Biko, and charged there was compelling evidence of official irresponsibility.

"It seems inconceivable on the basis of evidence presented that the inquiry could render a judgment that no one was responsible," State Department spokesman, Mr Hodding Carter, told reporters.

He added: "We were shocked by the verdict in the face of compelling evidence at the least that Steven Biko was the victim of flagrant neglect and official irresponsibility.

"Even if individual responsibility was not established, Mr Biko's death resulted from a system which permits gross mistreatment in violation of the most basic human rights."

The Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Richard Moose, who is responsible for African affairs, told reporters:

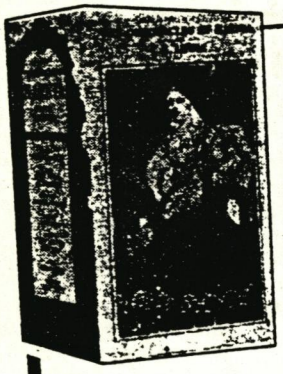
"There's a particular horror about the kind of violence perpetrated on Biko. To take a helpless man, keep him handcuffed and naked and treat him in this manner . . . there was very heavy evidence, even if not proven, that violence was perpetrated against him."

He described the verdict as "really shocking".

In Britain, the chairman of the Labour Party, Miss Joan Lestor, said: "I am not surprised. It is outrageous, to say the least, that a man can be beaten to death and allowed to die — ill-treatment and brutality were obviously proved. It is outrageous that no one was found responsible."

Mr Bob Hughes MP, the chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said: "It doesn't come as a surprise. This is the most disgraceful miscarriage of justice I have ever heard of. The evidence extensively reported here demonstrated quite clearly that he died because of maltreatment by the security police." — Sapa-Reuter.

Stories which get kids thinking



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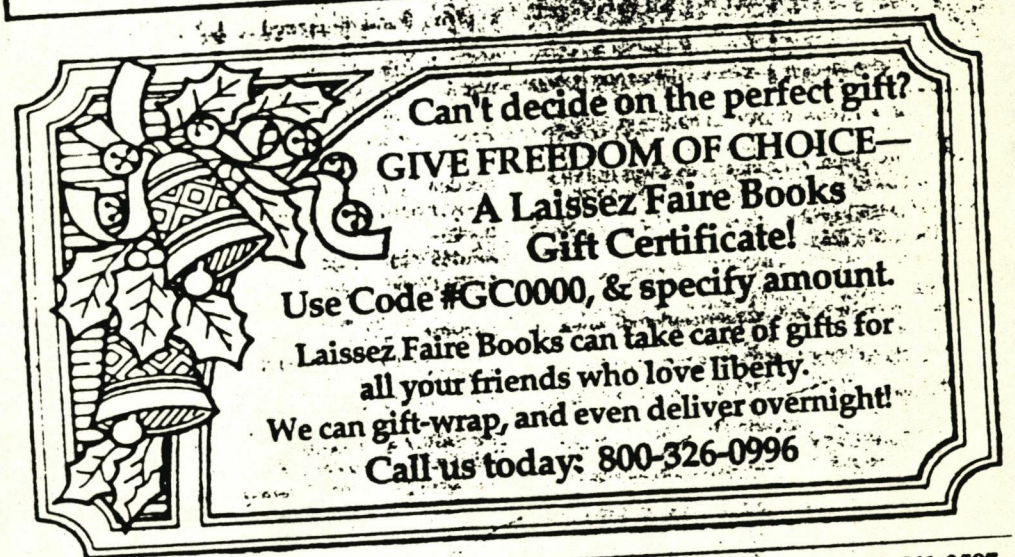

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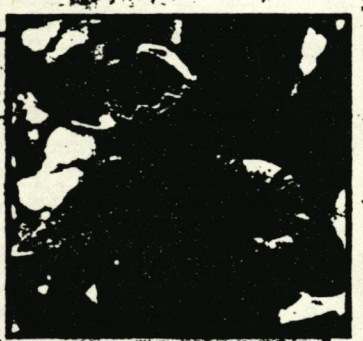

For those on your gift list who are too busy to read, audiotapes are great for use while exercising, traveling or commuting!
—see page 21

Siphoning off some cream

Marie Strachan

The driver of a petrol tanker delivering fuel in the Zululand Bay area was caught red handed stealing diesel.

A representative of the municipality said they received a call from someone from the Department of Environmental Affairs, who were in Richards Bay on an inspection, after they noticed a white bakkie dropping off three 220-litre drums along the R34 near the N2.

'We went out to inspect the drums and came across a tanker at the drums, which by that time were filled with diesel. We contacted the relevant petrol company and while waiting for a representative from the company to arrive, the white bakkie approached. When the driver saw us, he did a U-turn under the bridge and drove away,' said the officer.

'The petrol company took down the bakkie's registration number and will be investigating the matter. They are taking this incident very seriously as this works out to about R1900 worth of fuel which the driver is probably selling for about R500.'

Ryan Vermaak of Emric Motors, who was also on the scene said the tankers' outlets are always sealed but their inlets are not sealed as these are non-return valves. 'What they did was push sticks into the valve allowing the diesel to leak out, filling the drums. In total they had siphoned off about 650 litres of fuel, at R3.50 a litre, that's not bad going.'

Asked if the petrol station owners would notice if the drivers had short supplied them, Ryan said they receive around 45 000 litres of fuel every three to four days. 'We lose a lot through evaporation, at least 4 000 litres a month. That's why we're complaining because the margins are so low on fuel.'

Drama as Ulundi council meets

Vusumuzi Mdletshe

The Ulundi council meeting held last week nearly turned nasty when one of its councillors questioned the decision taken by the executive committee (exco) to advertise the post of the town manager.

Another contentious issue was the demand by Councillor Tutu Buthelezi to be awarded 'all council contracts'.

Cllr MN Msibi argued that the matter of new staff appointments should have been discussed with the entire council first before making it official. He said the eight-exco members have no right to take such decisions by themselves.

The council therefore should have a caucus meeting before officially announcing that the town manager will be employed.

Another drama erupted when the ex-leader of Ulundi Ratepayers Association, Cllr Mtwana Tutu Buthelezi, son of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Minister of Home Affairs, who on several occasions accused former councillors of letting water and electricity costs escalate, demanded that the council award him with every tender available.

He argued that he is a part-time councillor and is a well-known contractor. According to the Code of Conduct for councillors, a councillor may apply and compete like others if not more than twelve councillors object.

Meanwhile, Ulundi Mayor Prince KB Zulu, boasted successes achieved within the first months at office. He said in an interview later, that the decision to expand Ulundi as a town has been reached.

Ulundi will now have three more sections added to the existing ones. On top of that, the mayor committed himself to taking care of the poor through their indigence policy.

He said they are in a process of identifying the most needy people.

The mayor has a six-year plan to make Ulundi one of the best tourist attractions. With the premier's visit to China, Ulundi is also likely to be a powerful industrial town, the mayor hoped.

Young Buthelezi wants all contracts

Help for abandoned babies

Ailsa Windsor

Yet another telephone number to add to the list provided in the Child Abuse supplement included in the Zululand Observer's Monday 4 June edition is that of Nakekela Creche (035) 792 4071.

The Creche is based at Nqwelezane Hospital and

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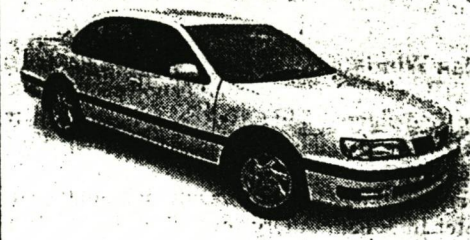
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s stalls immigration bill

nd working in the country may ave risen tenfold. Its budget has allen in real terms since 1994.

The bill proposes to remove the nmigration function from the de-artment and vest it in an immigra-on service with the same au-onomous powers as the SA Rev-nue Service.

It is five years since a green pa-er outlined the new approach, wo years since a white paper was pproved by the cabinet and al-nost a year since the publication f a draft bill. Why is the legislation ogged down? Part of the answer ppears to lie in residual antago-ism and suspicion between the FP and ANC in government.

Open conflict has broken out etween the recently installed ANC hairman of Parliament's home af-airs committee, Aubrey Mokoena, n the one hand, and IFP leader nd Home Affairs Minister Mango-suthu Buthelezi and his adviser, Mario Ambrosini, on the other.

Mokoena's complaint is that home affairs has sidelined Parliament and took particular umbrage at the publication of a draft bill before the white paper was process was completed. His response was to call committee hearings, after two earlier sets of public hearings and two opportunities for written comment. Unsurprisingly, it heard much the same evidence.

Mokoena then produced a report which, it is said, focuses almost exclusively on process and is silent on the proposed law itself. He now wants to start the law-making process from scratch.

The publication of the draft bill before the white paper was tabled in Parliament seems to have heightened ANC suspicions that a ministerial cabal is railroading the proposed law. Buthelezi also erred by refusing to allow his ANC-linked director-general to testify at the committee.

But none of this would have mattered if the minister was an ANC man and Ambrosini was not involved. Ambrosini is seen as a foreigner of dubious motives meddling in SA politics. Mokoena has demanded a review of his employment status and attacked his dealings with traditional leaders.

Precisely because Buthelezi is not of the ANC, the Immigration Bill is the only major post-1994 legislative project not to pass through the ANC's national executive committee and other decision-making forums. ANC MPs appear to have made no effort to establish the party's position. The legislation, in ANC eyes, lacks legitimacy.

The same lack of preparedness and political suspicion have been evident in the cabinet, where the draft bill was tabled in August this year. In an unprecedented display, assembled ministers went through the bill line by line. Sixty amendments were requested and made.

Then, as if the policy was coming before the executive for the first time, ANC ministers Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma, Kader Asmal and Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi are understood to have raised fundamental objections of principle. Dlamini-Zuma apparently questioned the entire policy of attracting skilled foreigners, arguing that this might undermine the economies of poorer countries by encouraging a brain drain to SA.

Apart from the party politics, government's policy equivocation seems to spring from a go-it-alone mentality that wants to train locals and is reflexively hostile to the importation of foreign expertise.

This is not the pattern elsewhere. Increasingly there is a global market in skills. There are no scruples about where the skills originate.

Remarking that "showdowns have their value in politics", one insider said the blow-up in the committee might serve to break the impasse over the bill. The hope is that after a cooling-down period, the next parliamentary session will see a less narrowly partisan approach.

SCRAP
KWAZULU
POLICE

[redacted]

New York Times

South Africa Rebels Say They Will Meet Business Delegation

LUSAKA, Zambia, Aug. 30 (Reuters) — The African National Congress, the guerrilla organization fighting the South African Government, asserted today that it planned to talk with a group of South African business leaders soon on the prospect of dismantling the apartheid system.

The spokesman for the congress, Tom Sebina, said the planned meeting reflected its policy of holding talks with all sections of South African society that favored the abolition of apartheid.

He declined to identify companies or individuals that would attend the meeting, or say when or where it would be held. But he said that it would take place "in the very near future," and that some of the business leaders wanted it to be in Lusaka, where the African National Congress has its headquarters.

"We are prepared to talk to anyone in South Africa from the business community or any other community if they think by talking to the A.N.C. they will be contributing to dismantling apartheid in South Africa," he said in an interview.

Mr. Sebina said many South African companies now regarded apartheid as an intolerable burden that could lead to economic disaster. The financial turmoil of the last few days, with the rand falling to new lows, strengthened this feeling, he added.

On Thursday four South African business organizations, both white and black, urged the Government to talk with black leaders, including those in jail, to resolve the crisis.

The African National Congress is banned in South Africa, where it is officially regarded as a Communist group dedicated to the violent overthrow of the Government.

In a statement, the congress fiercely attacked the Inkatha movement led by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, a Zulu, accusing it of cooperating with the police against anti-apartheid groups. The mainly Zulu movement, unlike the African National Congress, is opposed to violence and to economic sanctions as a means of dismantling apartheid.

Funeral Attacks Condemned

The congress statement said the Inkatha leadership had condoned attacks on crowds attending funerals of people who had been killed in riots.

"It is nothing less than the most abject treachery," the congress said, "for any black person, let alone one who claims to be a leader, to enroll as an auxiliary of the racist police force.

"By choosing to join the racists in the persecution and repression of members of the democratic movement, the leadership of Inkatha has placed itself in the camp of the enemy," it said.

The statement, signed by the group's secretary general, Alfred Nzo, said such actions "shall not easily be forgotten nor shall they easily be pardoned."

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Government should meet dignitaries: deputy director of Foreign Affairs

STATE TRIES FOR ANC INVITATION

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DAILY NEWS 28/06

VASANTHA ANGAMUTHU
Daily News Reporter

THE Government made a last-ditch attempt this week to get invited to the African National Congress annual conference, which begins in Durban on Tuesday.

In a letter to the ANC, the deputy director of Foreign Affairs, Mr J.H.A. Beukes, said it was "proper" that Government representatives be present to meet foreign dignitaries.

An ANC source said that the organisation had received a page-long letter from the deputy director, making a case for the need for members of his department to be present at the conference.

In the letter, which was faxed to the ANC head office earlier this week, the deputy director said it was crucial that Government representatives attend the conference to meet the hundreds of high-profile guests, including heads of state, who would be present.

The ANC source said that the letter had been ignored by the organisation and was an attempt by the Government to make contact with foreign governments that had refused invitations by the South African Government to visit this country.

"The letter stated that it was imperative that the Government of the country being visited by representatives of foreign governments be there to meet them," he said.

The ANC national executive committee met on Tuesday to decide on invitations that could possibly include the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

However, there is still no indication whether the two organisations have been invited.

The ANC source said it was likely they would not be invited.

16/1/11

Sanctions are crumbling

THE African National Congress would have improved its international credibility if it had supported the selective lifting of sanctions, says veteran Africa specialist Colin Legum.

Writing in the latest issue of the London news magazine *New African*, Mr Legum says that in the crumbling of sanctions the ANC has suffered its most notable defeat so far.

"If the ANC had read the signs correctly it could have gained greater international credibility by taking the initiative in advocating a policy of selectively lifting sanctions instead of

OLIVER TAMBO

FW DE KLERK

So ANC should face the facts

as had in establishing tself as a disciplined nd coherent political arty with a proven mass ollowing.

Mr Legum, one of he most respected commentators on African affairs, was for many years publisher of the authoritative annual survey, *Africa Contemporary Record*.

He notes that the ANC is laying much of the blame for the eroding of sanctions on the European Community's decision to begin phasing them out.

Scapegoat

"But while the West Europeans are a convenient scapegoat, the reality is that the East Europeans, including the Soviet Union, and especially African governments, have done more to erode sanctions over the last six months than the European Community."

Dependence

Mr Legum recalls that Pretoria was invited to send an observer to the recent meetings of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, (SADCC) which was formed partly to lessen dependence on South Africa, and the Preferential Trade Area (PTA).

And SADDC members have agreed to begin integrating their power systems with Eskom's.

"The opening of trade and co-operation links between South Africa and the rest of the continent are potentially far more important than the putative ending of sanctions with Europe.

"In a very real sense, therefore, it can be argued that the most serious breach in sanctions has been the result of the changing policies of African governments."

The ANC is unlikely to be more successful in persuading the Europeans and North Americans to maintain sanctions than it was with the Africans, Mr Legum says.

Economy

However, the crumbling of sanctions is unlikely to help South Africa's economy in the near future, he says.

Investors are deterred by political uncertainty and this will be the case while there is no positive outcome to negotiations for a new democratic constitution.

"This still gives the ANC the whiphand in the negotiating process.

"The bottom line is that there can be no meaningful progress towards achieving stability in South Africa without agreement between the Government, the ANC and other opponents of apartheid." - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

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S. Africa moves to end white rule

In Russia, isolation weakening hard-liners

By Jack Kelley
USA TODAY

MOSCOW — President Boris Yeltsin gained political ground against Russia's recalcitrant, hard-line parliament Thursday, calling for presidential elections two years early.

Yeltsin's move for a presidential vote next June helped further isolate Russian legislators, holed up in the parliament building in defiance of Yeltsin's dissolution order.

The Russian president dissolved Russia's communist-dominated parliament Tuesday, setting elections for Dec. 11 in an attempt to rid the country of its political gridlock. The parliament declared the move unconstitutional and proclaimed Vice President Alexander Rutskoi in charge.

But the parliament appears increasingly isolated as the army, central bank and government publicly support Yeltsin. A Danish poll released Thursday shows:

▶ 84% of Russians say Yeltsin remains president.

▶ 16% say Rutskoi should be legally in charge.

▶ 52% support Yeltsin's move against parliament.

Also:

AP

AT THE KREMLIN: Russian President Boris Yeltsin holds a book given to him Thursday by American millionaire George Soros, right. Soros has donated millions to former communist countries.

By Juan J. Walte
USA TODAY

▶ Pro-parliament gunmen tried to storm the Moscow headquarters of the commonwealth military command, wounding two policemen in a gunfight. Police fought off the takeover, news reports said.

▶ The ruble dropped 18% to an all-time low: 1,299 rubles bought $1.

Parliament's increasing isolation is reflected in the 2,000 or so pro-communist demonstrators outside parliament, who say they'll continue their 24-hour vigils this weekend.

"Yeltsin has committed a coup," said Russian parliament deputy Volkov Stanislav. "It's time to stand up for what is right and say 'Bye-bye Yeltsin.' He is a former president."

Russia's conservative parliament, elected during the Soviet era, wants to repeal or slow Yeltsin's economic reforms, which have raised prices 2,000% and plunged thousands into unemployment.

But the vigil seems more a reflection of communism's standing in Russia than a seri-

Senate OKs reduced foreign aid bill

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

The Senate Thursday approved a $12.5 billion foreign aid bill that allows President Clinton to deliver commitments to Russia, Egypt and Israel, but strips most other allocations to bare bones.

Clinton has made it clear his top foreign policy objective is helping the former Soviet republics reach for democracy and a market economy.

Both the House and Senate left his $12.5 billion aid package intact, although the two chambers must reconcile a $500 million difference in total foreign aid by Oct. 1. Both versions fell short of the administration's $14.4 billion request.

The package includes funds to help Russians privatize their old state industries, boost trade and investment, develop democratic institutions, clean up dangerous power plants and develop management skills.

"We cannot, should not and would not try to direct Russia on its path to reform," U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering said from Moscow. "But we can smooth the way. We can make the journey easier."

Israel's $3 billion and Egypt's $2.1 billion allocations stand.

Shock report details 'frightening account' of sexual depravity at Wits University

CHRIS BARRON
Weekend Argus Correspondent

SHOCKING disclosures of sexual depravity at Wits University have been made in a report on sexual harassment on the campus.

The report, released this week, is the upshot of an inquiry started at the university in 1990 after persistent reports of sexual harassment and discrimination on campus.

Evidence heard by the inquiry gave a "frightening account" of events at Wits residences over a number of years.

What the report calls "an ongoing process of maintaining a pornographic culture" at university residences included live sex shows, pornographic publications, verbal abuse, victimisation and rape.

According to evidence from a student who was in residence from 1986 to 1990:

■ Strip shows were held regularly. At one show, held off campus, the stripper engaged in sexual intercourse with two students in view of all present.

■ Prostitutes were hired to provide live sex for students.

■ On various occasions students engaged in group masturbation and oral sex in full view of their peers.

■ Students were asked to give R5 to procure a prostitute for a member of a residence house committee as a birthday present. Many students felt intimidated into giving this money, in spite of objections.

■ Students defecated and urinated in other students' beds.

Students from other residences revealed how:

■ During Orientation Week at three well-known residences, first-year students were subjected to "intensive initiation into a pornographic culture".

■ First-year students were told the main object of the week was to sleep with as many students from a female residence as possible.

■ Students were taught to sing "foul, disgusting" songs which portrayed women as sex objects. These songs were sung to female students.

The inquiry also heard how magazines "of a pornographic and depraved nature" were produced by one men's residence in 1989, 1990 and "allegedly" in 1991, in which certain female students were named or easily identified and were "scurrilously attacked".

The chairman of the inquiry, Professor June Sinclair, called this behaviour "very worrying and unfortunate, and something we want to eliminate".

A Wits SRC member, Mr Ryan Gilbert, said that although the revelations contained in the report were "shocking", he did not think sex-related problems at Wits were as bad as at other campuses in the country.

The report found that sexual harassment, assault and abuse were among the least reported offences on campus, and concluded that present disciplinary procedures did not "adequately" address the problem.

The report emphasises the relationship between on-campus sexual harassment, which mirrors trends at other universities around the country, and the violence "which has come to permeate the very fabric of our society".

It suggests a link between the increased sexual violence at universities and "the social-psychological trauma" of transition which often leads to "displaced aggression expressed outside the formal political or economic realm".

Sinister force

"All this violence, it's the Third Force. I firmly believe it," said Eric Jansen, a Cape Town ANC supporter. "It began when Nelson Mandela was let out of prison and it is carried out by the white government. They want to show the world: See what savages these blacks are? How can they run the country?" Most whites dismiss the notion of a Third Force as nonsense.

"I have no doubt what we are witnessing is a power struggle between the Zulus and the Xhosas. It is a power struggle obfuscated by talk of a Third Force, but to my mind it's a very straightforward, very violent struggle for power," said Clive Derby-Lewis, a spokesman for the white Conservative Party.

Associated Press / 1991

CHILDREN'S PLEA: A children's march in Johannesburg in 1991 addressed black-on-black violence, which some blame on white provocateurs working in league with the government.

Others aren't so sure. "When a carload of men pulls up to a bus stop and machine-guns everybody in the queue, or when armed men get on a commuter train and let loose with guns or knives — that is completely indiscriminate violence. Nobody can know the political beliefs of the victims," said Zach de Beer, leader of the liberal Democratic Party.

"All you can say is, all the victims are black. And so the theory is, that the people behind the killers are whites belonging to right-wing forces who are trying to destabilize the country. Other than that, nobody's got a clue."

Evidence surfaces

In recent weeks, however, strong evidence has emerged implicating white security forces in the murders of several activists.

■ Last month a white police officer was sentenced to hang for the murders of 11 blacks, including six women and children, in a 1988 raid on a rural Natal township called Trust Feed.

Cmdr. Brian Mitchell and his men surrounded a house they later said they believed was full of armed ANC terrorists. They opened fire through the windows with pump-action shotguns.

"We are satisfied that there was screaming and groaning from the women and children, and that all the special constables must have been aware of it. Despite this they persisted with the attack at a time when they could no longer have believed — if they ever did — that it was terrorists they were attacking," Judge Andrew Wilson said, passing sentence.

■ Earlier this month, the weekly newspaper New Nation published a document purported to prove that South Africa's State Security Council was involved in political assassinations.

Suspicion centers on Gen. Christoffel van der Westhuizen, now chief of intelligence for the South African Defense Force. The document said Westhuizen ordered the killing of black activist Matthew Goniwe in 1985 and of white academic David Webster in 1989.

Last week in Helsinki, Finland, ANC president Nelson Mandela directly accused South African President F.W. de Klerk of being behind the violence.

"It's a serious responsibility to accuse a head of state of himself fueling violence, the killing of innocent people, but facts indicate that De Klerk himself is involved in this," Mandela said. He offered no proof.

Last week the president ordered a judge to reopen the investigation into Goniwe's and Webster's murders.

But there is another point to be considered: The killers are nearly always black, too. Whether they are paid by whites to do murder remains unproven, but the fact that they are murdering fellow blacks is beyond dispute.

It is a fact that saddens Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

"We still want to have to ask ourselves," Tutu said at a recent conference on black township violence, "What has happened to the humanity of our people, that they may be ready to be bribed into killing their fellow blacks?"

ALL GO SO WRONG?

Stoffel van der Merwe tries to explain
PAGE 17

Secret Koevoet base linked to Boipatong

By EDDIE KOCH and PORTIA MAURICE

THE Goldstone Commission this week uncovered a covert Koevoet unit at a Gold Fields mine hostel in the eastern Transvaal after being tipped off that the squad had been ferried into the Vaal to take part in the Boipatong massacre.

The discovery — which may corroborate information that security forces were involved in the massacre — has highly damaging implications for President FW de Klerk's government. The presence of a "third force" on a British-owned mine will also have major international repercussions.

More than 40 members of the police counter-insurgency unit, including two white officers, were found in a hostel room at the Greenside colliery near Ogies when the commission swooped on the the mine premises on Wednesday afternoon.

At a special hearing of the Goldstone Commission in Pretoria yesterday, police admitted the unit of ex-Koevoet men existed. But they denied the men were linked to violence, saying they were used to combat stock-theft in the area.

The African National Congress says it has witnesses who will testify before the commission of the unit's role in the Boipatong slaughter.

• Continued on PAGE 2

...neasy truce ... a police...s guard at kwaMadala hostel, trigger finger at the ready

Photo: ERIC MILLS

S' Town voters divided over Momberg switch

SIMON'S TOWN constituency members of the Democratic Party are divided over the recent defection of their Member of Parliament, Mr Jannie Momberg, to the African National Congress (ANC).

The local committee of the Democratic Party, in a press statement to the False Bay Echo "deeply regrets the fact that Mr Momberg has taken the action he has, as well as the circumstances which led to his suspension. The Committee also regrets the fact that its members were not adequately and timeously consulted about Mr Momberg's intentions."

The Committee further stated that it supports all efforts made to move South Africa to a fully representative democracy. "We particularly support moves towards bringing together polictically like-minded South Africans. The committee believes however, that Mr Momberg was elected on a DP manifesto and believes that he is now obliged to resign his seat and to fight it on the principles and policies of the organisation to which he now belongs."

The issuing of the statement and subsequent handling of Mr Momberg's suspension from the party has led to the resignation of four members of the DP local committee, with a further resignation expected shortly.

Mr Momberg told the False Bay Echo that he intends to continue to represent all the people of the Simon's Town constituency, as he has in the past and can be contacted at his new offices in Windsor House, or by phoning 782 3494. He confirmed that a public meeting will be held in the near future. The date will be advertised.

Vice-Chairman of the Committee, Mr Demetri Qually points out that while Mr Momberg has been obliged to vacate the DP offices in Fish Hoek, the Simon's Town branch of the Democratic Party continues to function according to its stated principles, and operates with the same phone number. Member of Parliament for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle will handle any problems for which members of the constituency require the services of a Democratic Party MP. He can be contacted via 782 3127.

See pages 3, 5 and 6

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SA's youth 'has leading role in shaping future'

Staff Reporter

A NATION-WIDE research programme aimed at effectively harnessing one of South Africa's greatest assets — its youth — has been announced.

Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert will head a steering committee to direct the "co-operative programme on the youth" which is expected to publish its findings in the middle of next year.

The programme is the initiative of the Human Science Research Council.

The steering committee under Dr Slabbert includes 18 academics, youth leaders and representatives of major political groups, including the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Among the members is Professor J P De Lange, who chaired the De Lange investigation into education, which made recommendations to the government in 1981.

Dr Slabbert said young people could play a crucial role in the process of socio-political change.

As South Africa went through a transitional phase its youth would be confronted with challenges unknown to previous generations, he said.

But not enough was known about South Africa's youth — what their aspirations, fears, skills and attitudes toward opportunities in social, economic and political spheres were, he said.

The research programme aimed to make reliable information available to communities, as well as decision-makers in private and public sectors, he said.

Researchers from around the country have been invited to submit proposals on a wide range of topics in the fields of economics, politics and social aspects.

Dr Slabbert said the youths' involvement in society would determine whether South Africa would experience economic growth, political stability and successful community development.

Slabbert to give key address at festival

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert will deliver the key address — on *The State Of The Nation* — at the winter school during this year's National Arts Festival here in July.

He is director of planning and policy of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa).

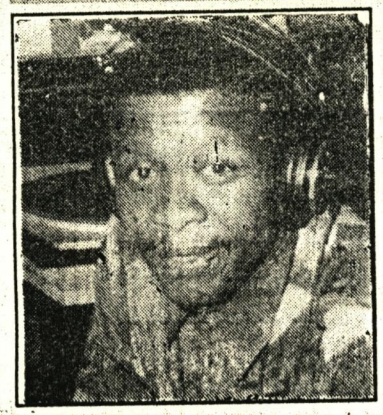
The school will also present a lecture series on the position of women.

Several writers will speak during the school's sessions. Nadine Gordimer will deliver the acceptance speech she gave when receiving her Nobel Prize for literature in Sweden. — Ecna.

Stop 'war talk' plea to Buthelezi

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Isaac Moledi

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi came under a scathing attack during last night's *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show.

Callers criticised the IFP for withdrawing from the constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre and accused it of "fomenting clandestine war against the people".

Raised fears

They also raised fears that there won't be free and fair elections in April next year if the present level of violence continued unabated.

Abel of Kagiso said Buthelezi and the IFP were to blame for much of the violence in the country. He said Buthelezi's aim was to "settle a score with the ANC". "At first it was Buthelezi who said he was in defence of all the minorities in this country. But now he has changed and talks about the threat of war," Abel said.

Brenda of Sandton, Johannesburg, said the problem with Buthelezi was that he was looking for a major stake in a newly-elected government after next year's elections. I appeal to Buthelezi to come to terms with his conscience. His constant attacks on the ANC and threats of civil war on the people of this country is caused by the fact that he is being labelled as one of the major role players," she said.

Vulgar language

Tshidi of Hillbrow appealed to Buthelezi to stop using aggressive and vulgar language.

She also asked him to stop displaying his ignorance whenever he was interviewed on TV.

Tebogo of Diepkloof, Soweto, was surprised by yesterday's TV announcement that 50 people had been killed since September 2, the day the whole country was celebrating National Peace Day.

"I thought September 2 would rescue us from this crisis.

"The killing of 50 innocent people since September 2 has squashed all hopes I have entertained that peace will at the end rule in the country," he said.

He blamed the "system" for not doing its job, as perpetrators of violence were still roaming the streets without being arrested.

Chief Buthelezi

THE CITIZEN

COMMENT

Should quit

THE domestic fate of Mrs Winnie Mandela, the wife of the African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela, has been decided by Mr Mandela.

They have separated.

The legal fate of Mrs Mandela, who faces a six-year jail sentence for kidnapping and being an accessory to assault, will be decided on appeal.

Whether she will be prosecuted as a result of allegations made against her in connection with the murders of teenage activist, Stompie Seipei, and Azapo sympathiser, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, will depend on police investigations and the Attorney-General.

Her fate in the ANC will be decided by Mr Mandela and the ANC.

We say Mr Mandela because we do not believe the ANC will act against his wishes should he decide that Mrs Mandela should remain actively involved in the organisation.

On the other hand, in his reasons for parting from her, he stated that "tensions have arisen owing to differences between ourselves on a number of issues in recent months".

If some of these issues involve her politica role, then Mr Mandela will not intervene i the ANC should decide to rid itself of Mr Mandela, who is a handicap to it.

ANC spokesman, Saki Macozoma, said yesterday Mrs Mandela remained an employee of the ANC.

The ANC would not judge Mrs Mandela over her legal troubles, which were for the courts to determine. Her separation from Mr Mandela would also not affect her position.

However, the fact that Mrs Mandela is appealing in a case in which she was sentenced to imprisonment, and additional allegations have been made against her, must surely be pertinent.

But even if she wins her appeal and nothing results from the latest allegations, what has happened, the hatred and distrust of sections of the ANC, and the poor public image she has will count against her.

Furthermore, as she is now separated from her husband, she no longer has protection within the organisation from the consequences of her actions.

It will be difficult for the ANC to restore confidence in her, let alone keep her on as an employee.

Those members of the ANC who want her out are unlikely to hold back.

If the knives are not sharpened for her now, they will be.

Mr Mandela would do well to encourage Mrs Mandela to withdraw from the ANC of her own free will, since it would be better that she did so now rather than be forced by circumstances or opposition to do so later.

However, she is a very headstrong woman, as her career has shown, and she has never listened to advice from him or anyone else.

Thus, we do not think she will resign.

It will then be left to the ANC to rid itself of her.

There will be young comrades and other militants who will oppose this. She also has a considerable following.

She is head of the ANC's Welfare Department, despite opposition to her appointment, and was elected to the National Executive Committee.

But the position has changed dramatically in recent weeks. She is no longer just a controversial person who has offended many people, including members of the ANC, by her arrogance and outbursts.

She is now a convicted person, with further allegations being made against her.

For the sake of Mr Mandela, who is a candidate for the State Presidency in the new South Africa; for the sake of the organisation which he leads at a delicate stage in the negotiations for a new South Africa; and for the sake of the country, which could well do without her abrasive political presence, she should quit or be expelled from the ANC.

Mr Mandela showed dignity and anguish in announcing their separation and paying tribute to her for what she has meant to him and the liberation struggle.

Now it is for the ANC to take the matter to its logical conclusion and free itself from the shadow that Mrs Mandela casts over it.

Summit setback for FW

FROM PAGE 1

conference repeatedly and vehemently denied they were forming an alliance, they were united in their opposition to unilateral agreements reached between the SA Government and the African National Congress to the exclusion of all other political players.

Dr Mangope said he objected strongly to the manner in which the agendas of certain organisations were being decided upon and implemented "behind closed doors".

This feeling was echoed by Brig Gqoza who said he had been utterly disappointed with the manner in which the South African Government had "slowly but surely been selling us out to the policies and demands of the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance".

The moving force behind yesterday's meeting, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, slated President De Klerk for what he called the appeasement of the ANC, which would mean eventual ANC political dominance.

He said three of ANC's demands — on the issues of violence, hostels and cultural weapons — included in the "Record of Understanding" reached between Mr De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on September 26, had been deliberately posed as an attack on the credibility and the integrity of the IFP.

President Mangope in his turn said he believed there was a real danger of a decision-making precedent developing under the guise of records of understanding.

"This would increasingly see decisions being taken and implemented by the South African Government and the ANC which exclude the input and agreement from the rest of the important players," he said.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said the presence of so many political parties and organisations supporting the basic idea of self-determination accentuated the reality that enduring and lasting peace in South Africa was not possible without the co-operation of these parties that valued one or other form of self-determination.

The three homeland leaders also stressed their support for a federal system of government in the new South Africa, with some form of guaranteed autonomy for each state.

The conference resolved to send a representative delegation to the SA Government to request that the government not proceed with the forthcoming special parliamentary session which is due to start on October 12 and which is expected to see the passing of legislation enabling the creation of an interim government.

The delegation would also call on the government to stop the implementation of the "Record of Understanding" reached between the government and the ANC.

Answering questions, Chief Buthelezi said the forum's suggested scrapping of Codesa did not mean they intended to go back to square one, as many of the agreements reached during Codesa sittings could be built upon.

Chief Buthelezi said the discussions had not been aimed against the ANC as such.

"You must remember this meeting did not scrap Codesa — that was done when the ANC sank Codesa."

Dr Mangope said the meeting would not consider itself bound to any legislation passed during the forthcoming session of Parliament, should the government proceed to table and pass such legislation without consulting the delegates to yesterday's meeting.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday was "quite historical", as it was the first time the CP had been exposed to discussions "of this nature and at such a level".

"The discussions were frank and incisive and we have covered a lot of common ground."

He said there were obviously terminological and cultural differences which could be discussed in a friendly and understanding manner, but the way had now been cleared for future discussions.

The deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, expressed his delight at the way the discussions had been conducted.

"The solid front now being forged and the united consensus displayed by so many different parties simply cannot be ignored in future anymore.

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 474-0128

Stop the violence

Citizen

WE hope the call Nelson Mandela made at the Sayco congress that political violence between the various groups should stop will be taken seriously. The violence in Natal and KwaZulu is enough.

However, much more is needed and other organisations must be brought in. Although Mandela has met Azapo, the ideal is for the setting up of committees in our townships consisting of African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Black Consciousness Movement members.

These committees would then monitor the violence and take appropriate action.

Few people are aware that a low intensity war is going on between various organisations throughout the country.

In Randfontein, BCM and ANC fighting has left at least four people dead. ANC and PAC factions in Krugersdorp have been at it the past week. This is merely the tip of the iceberg.

When organisations fighting for a democratic South Africa fail to recognise the democratic right of their rivals to exist, we wonder if they do not merely want a change in the jockey, but that the horse remain the same.

In other words they do not want oppression removed, but want their turn at it.

Taking into account what has happened in many African countries after they were liberated, concerns by the community on whether the liberation struggle is about peace and development are thus well-founded.

As we believe that the struggle is about progress and human dignity, we support Mandela's plea. The litmus test, however, is making peace between political organisations a reality.

Several killed in mines unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — Several black miners had been killed yesterday in unrest at the Western Areas Gold Mines, police said last night.

Indications are that between six and eight miners at Waterpan mine near Westonaria had been killed and at least 135 injured. Police and mine officials confirmed that people had been killed but would not give details.

The Public Relations Directorate of the South African Police said unrest had broken out at the Waterpan mine at 1.30am.

Police had been called in at 7.30am to restore order and had used teargas, rubber bullets and buckshot. The spokesman said some of the rioters had been killed, some hurt and two policemen had been injured.

The unrest followed clashes between miners and police on Monday which left 111 injured at Rand Mines' Durban Deep mine at Roodepoort and more than 250 miners injured at Anglo American mines near Welkom in the Free State.

The violence occurred as a wave of unofficial strike action swept across the mining industry, coinciding with the country's first legal strike by black miners which ended in settlement yesterday.

A JCI statement said serious industrial unrest had broken out at the northern division of the Western Areas Gold Mines in the morning and continued for most of the day, with several buildings being destroyed.

Workers said the burning started after police had teargassed the strikers at 3am yesterday. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

● **Settlement in miners' strike; page 2**

Page 111

☐ **SCENES FROM THE KILLING FIELDS:** Violence in Natal is spreading like a veld fire and fears are growing that it could blaze into a full-scale civil war.

Stick-in-mud Buthelezi puts FW in tight spot

☐ In spite of the relative success of this week's summit, F W de Klerk remains wedged between a rock and a hard place with little room for manoeuvre.

A report by **JOHN MacLENNAN** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

PIVOTAL to President F W de Klerk's political strategy is a scheme to get the Inkatha Freedom Party back to the talks, but he cannot do this unless the ANC-/SACP alliance — his fellow conspirators as far as Chief Minister Buthelezi is concerned — is prepared to make new concessions.

And there is no indication that the ANC is willing to do so.

An extraordinary leak from this week's talks at Tuynhuys between the government and a KwaZulu delegation shows that Chief Minister Buthelezi still stands by political views which are seemingly set in granite.

Without him, all observers agree, no settlement can succeed.

The best that can be said after the meeting is that talks are still continuing and that the IFP and the government will try to avoid "future divisive disagreements".

The underlying differences remain, however, and there is no indication that the deadlock can be resolved. To compound Mr De Klerk's problems it has become obvious that the majority of his caucus share Mr Buthelezi's objections to the latest draft of the constitution as well as the way in which it is being drafted.

Senior critics within the NP fear a majority ANC/SACP government will be able to scrap it after elections and go for a one-party state — in spite of agreements which might be signed and sealed at the talks.

Mr De Klerk now heads a lame duck government (all its important decisions will soon be made in consultation with the new transitional executive) and he also has to play the unfortunate role of the man in the middle. This is costing the NP support.

He must also be deeply upset with the criticism he has received from both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and, at this week's meeting, from Mr Buthelezi.

This week's Tuynhuys confrontation illustrates the pressure he is now facing. Even though the two sides issued a joint statement which said they would try to settle "misunderstandings" through talks, the IFP then went on to release a lengthy statement read by Mr Buthelezi.

The talks were tough. The meeting, which lasted eight hours, came close to breakdown before negotiators drew up a joint and innocuous statement which committed both sides to yet more talks on the negotiations as well as violence.

In what can only be termed an attack, Mr Buthelezi went for the NP, its negotiating team and Mr De Klerk personally.

He once again slammed agreements reached in behind-the-scenes negotiations between the ANC and NP and warned he felt so strongly about secret deals between the ANC and NP that he would resign as leader of the IFP if it did not continue to back him in his stand.

"I am not going to be responsible for implementing decisions reached behind closed doors with the ANC-/SACP alliance, and then being rubber stamped by the multi-party negotiations. I would rather leave my positions than allow myself to be used as a pawn."

He said he was absolutely opposed to these agreements. And he added:"No amount of pressure from within, or from the international community, will have any effect on me. I cannot be pressurised into persuading the people of this region (KwaZulu) to commit suicide."

Mr Buthelezi characterised the talks as a waste of time. He warned that if World Trade Centre decisions were "rammed down the throats of people who rejected them and were not involved in their production" then the current low intensity civil war would explode into the uncontrolled violence of a full-scale civil war.

Mr Buthelezi is clearly angry because he feels he was sold out by Mr De Klerk and the government and this has to be addressed before there can by any talk about the politics of the future.

"There was everything that led to rapidly spreading perceptions of a South African government sell-out to the ANC/SACP alliance...," he said.

It is ironic that while Mr Buthelezi believes Mr De Klerk has given the alliance carte blanche, Mr De Klerk's other critics note he has given Mr Buthelezi a veto over negotiations by guaranteeing that agreements must have his approval.

Mr Buthelezi's demand is that a constitutional convention examine all the work produced through negotiations. At the same time leaders would decide on what can be salvaged and provide instructions for writing a final and federal constitution.

Mr De Klerk was not able to agree to this bottom line. Instead two committees are to re-examine five areas of the constitution — the constitutional state, the constitutional court, universal fundamental rights, comprehensive constitutional principles, as well as the powers, functions and boundaries of regional governments.

This is not what Mr Buthelezi wants and prospects are therefore not optimistic.

LETTERS

SA is hovering on the edge of catastrophe

CHIEF Awolowo has said that Nigeria is "no more than a geographical expression", while Sir James Goldsmith at a lecture in London recently described the US as no more than "a populated space". What does this make South Africa?

All I can say is this: Yugoslavia, an artificial, post-World War 1 construction, has far more homogeneity than South Africa.

The Serbs, Croats, Slovenes and Islamic Bosnians are all of Slav stock and all speak Slavonic. Modern history has proved one thing clearly — that each of these related nations is prepared to spill its blood to secure independence.

Foretaste

After the collapse of Soviet communism, George Bush and James Baker exposed a lamentable grasp of history when they said that they would "rather deal with Belgrade" than recognise half a dozen independent nation states.

In the case of Yugoslavia, the fight for sovereignty has cost tens of thousands of lives, the devastation of the countryside and the economy and the destruction of several ancient cities.

What we have witnessed in Yugoslavia is a foretaste of things to come in South Africa — unless we change course while there is time.

Talk of a unitary state and a government of national unity when there is no unity is irresponsible and dangerous.

The differences in race, colour, religion, language and culture in South Africa are far more marked than in Yugoslavia.

The Flemings and Walloons in Belgium are restless. In Italy the Lombardy League is calling for the separation of the north from the south. We could well live to see two Italies: the one prosperous and powerful, the other inundated with immigrants and heading for the Third World.

That South Africa will break up is inevitable: it is merely a question of when and how.

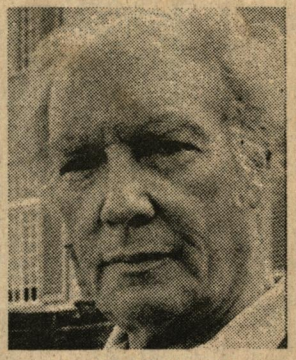
If the present talks were directed towards setting up separate states within a broad confederacy with discussions as to what powers should be retained in Pretoria or relegated to the new states, one could be full of hope for the future. As it is the air is heavy with foreboding.

Like the proposed referendum, the election will be a dangerous irrelevance.

Inkatha, Cosag and the conservative parties will boycott both and probably the PAC with them.

The odds are no better than even that the election will take place on April 27 1994. If it does, it will be a charade and about as effective as the ones in Angola and Nigeria.

South Africa is on the edge of a catastrophe.



JOHN ASPINALL
Blueprint for SA

The only way to defuse the situation is to give the Afrikaners their Volkstaat and the Zulus and their English-speaking allies their own country in Natal.

Boundary discussions should now be well on the way to map out these two new states.

The Western Cape must also forge its own destiny. The coupling of the white and Cape coloured races is in the process of taking place.

President Mangope should soon slide off with most of Bophuthatswana consolidated into a new state. Gazankulu and Kangwane should either amalgamate with their neighbours Mozambique and Swaziland or join a Northern Nguni and Sotho federation with Lebowa.

A Greater Xhosaland could include East London and no doubt Nelson Mandela would be its first president. In the multiracial complex of the central Transvaal the problems would be manifold but not insoluble. What Canberra is to Sydney, Washington to New York, Brasilia to Rio de Janeiro, so could Pretoria be to Johannesburg.

A loose confederacy would bring many advantages to South Africa. Each state would have its own police and militia and contribute towards a central defence force. The truth is that many of South Africa's most powerful groupings will refuse to accept the authority of an ANC government and open rebellion will follow the setting up of a unitary government.

The mid-90s will see one of the greatest expectation crashes of recent political history.

The ANC and the NP will both shrink when the process begins. When they see that few, if any, of the election promises can be delivered, the Tswana, Sotho and Shangaan support will melt away from the Xhosa-dominated ANC.

Rescue

At this point, if not before, the Xhosas themselves will shed their white and Indian caucus of advisers with a vengeance.

Alexander Kerensky and Mikhail Gorbachev were decent men and great optimists. The former believed he could handle the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks — the latter that he could put a human face on a dead creed and ignore Yeltsin. Both were proved spectacularly wrong ... history cast them aside.

President de Klerk is cast in the same mould. Of the three only Mr de Klerk is in a position to rescue his reputation by changing course and scrapping the talks. He should abandon the election and frame a confederal constitution without further delay.

A question that is constantly asked in South Africa today is whether, in the event of a civil war, the Americans would send in "peace-keeping forces", under the banner of the UN.

My belief is that, in spite of the temptation to appease the black vote, the incumbent Democratic administration will do nothing other than perhaps send arms as well as money and carry on training "bodyguards" for Nelson Mandela.

The black and liberal vote has nowhere else to go in America and the Democrats have little chance of losing it by inaction.

Operation "Restore Hope" in Somalia has backfired on the Americans. The American empire is in a phase of "humanitarian" expansion but I doubt if it would dare impose its melting pot anti-culture by force on South Africa.

If General Aideed, a small tribal chieftain whose territory has been invaded, can defy American power so effectively and for so long, what would be the response of the Afrikaner and Zulu nations to an American intrusion? One dreads to think of the carnage that would follow.

The extreme reluctance of the US to risk its citizens' lives in external wars where its commercial and strategic interests are not at stake is likely to preclude such an outcome.

Fortunately the destiny of South Africa is likely to remain, more or less, in its own hands. — **JOHN ASPINALL, London**

☐ *The writer is a multi-millionaire British casino entrepreneur and animal lover.*

Big Mac not the last word in hamburgers

THE Business Times report "A bite out of McDonald's" (August 29) reflects the lack of entrepreneurial spirit in this country.

Chicken Licken franchise owner George Sombonoa is prepared to spend a fortune defending in court his right to use the US-based McDonald's Corporation trademarks to sell hamburgers. Anyone who has eaten a McDonald's hamburger knows that they have tasted bigger and better hamburgers, but this one compares most favourably regarding price.

To avoid a costly court battle, the sensible thing would be to introduce a brand new hamburger under a new trade name.

The point is that McDonald's should not be the last word in hamburgers, and that competition producing better hamburgers under an appealing name has a whole world to conquer instead of a country ravished by unemployment, starvation and violence. — WIMPY BURGER, Green Point

1992

Sick of ANC arrogance

FROM PAGE 1

created expectations after the September 26 talks when it gave a public undertaking that it would examine its programme of mass action.

"We can play with words but everyone understood that the ANC would review its position.

"I regard their statements after the first executive committee meeting as totally unsatisfactory. South Africa expects the ANC to become a political party and operate peacefully.

"I cannot accept a party involved in the negotiation process can say 'I am marching to topple your government'. That's not democracy.

"It is time for the real leaders of the ANC to discipline their grassroots followers and regional and dissident radical voices in the top executive.

"The ANC must get its house in order."

The government would take firm steps against marches which were expected to lead to violence, as this was the government's duty, Mr De Klerk said.

The decision to sign documents releasing political prisoners was one of the most difficult in his career, Mr De Klerk said.

"I understand that the release of criminals is upsetting to the broader community. I must still sign the documents and must say it is one of the most difficult decisions in my career, on whether it should be done.

"Can we ever reach reconciliation as long as we are divided into various camps and agitate about people sitting in prison for acts they committed in a time of conflict which was compared by many to a state of war?"

He said agreement could either be reached on releasing all prisoners with political motives, or those who disagreed with the government could be kept in prison while the National Party remained in power.

The second option would not work. However difficult it was to release murderers according to specific norms laid down, it was the best of both options.

"We have to make sure that it is done on the basis of political motives and no matter how wrong the deeds, there must be a procedure of identification to ascertain who to release."

He said it was unfortunate that a mistake or two had been made with recent releases. The matter was, however, being investigated and "we have learnt from this mistake".

"These decisions to clean the slate were an essential step in the best interests of long-term stability and I ask for understanding of this."

– Sapa.

SA sick of arrogance of ANC — FW

EAST LONDON. — South Africa was sick and tired of the African National Congress' inflammatory speeches, its arrogance and its intolerance in recognising the rights of others, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

"They must stop their nonsense and stop their underground activities. There is no room for underground activities in South Africa."

Mr De Klerk, speaking at the Cape National Party congress in East London, noted the ANC had

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SA's youth 'has leading role in shaping future'

Staff Reporter

A NATION-WIDE research programme aimed at effectively harnessing one of South Africa's greatest assets — its youth — has been announced.

Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert will head a steering committee to direct the "co-operative programme on the youth" which is expected to publish its findings in the middle of next year.

The programme is the initiative of the Human Science Research Council.

The steering committee under Dr Slabbert includes 18 academics, youth leaders and representatives of major political groups, including the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Among the members is Professor J P De Lange, who chaired the De Lange investigation into education, which made recommendations to the government in 1981.

Dr Slabbert said young people could play a crucial role in the process of socio-political change.

As South Africa went through a transitional phase its youth would be confronted with challenges unknown to previous generations, he said.

But not enough was known about South Africa's youth — what their aspirations, fears, skills and attitudes toward opportunities in social, economic and political spheres were, he said.

The research programme aimed to make reliable information available to communities, as well as decision-makers in private and public sectors, he said.

Researchers from around the country have been invited to submit proposals on a wide range of topics in the fields of economics, politics and social aspects.

Dr Slabbert said the youths' involvement in society would determine whether South Africa would experience economic growth, political stability and successful community development.

Slabbert to give key address at festival

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert will deliver the key address — on *The State Of The Nation* — at the winter school during this year's National Arts Festival here in July.

He is director of planning and policy of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa).

The school will also present a lecture series on the position of women.

Several writers will speak during the school's sessions. Nadine Gordimer will deliver the acceptance speech she gave when receiving her Nobel Prize for literature in Sweden. — Ecna.

CHRIS WHITFIELD and ANTHONY JOHNSON report from Johannesburg

SAS Codesa II fails to leave the harbou

CODESA II was billed as the ship upon which South Africa would speedily be carried on the journey to an interim government of national unity.

Instead it emerged this weekend as a splendid vessel lacking the propellor needed to get it out of the harbour.

The reason why the process stalled at the World Trade Centre had less to do with differences of principle than with the pursuit of power by the major players at the negotiating forum.

If any lesson emerged from the two days of frustration and disappointment, it was that it is extremely difficult for parties to navigate the tricky currents that are part and parcel of the negotiation process while being on an election footing.

A Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin, whose intervention probably prevented the plenary session from degenerating into a wholesale slanging match, put it: "When the chips are down it seems that politics has more to do with power than principle."

He pointed out that while parties were competing for support outside the negotiating forum they were at the same time trying to decide on a future constitution through which they were going to express power.

Mr Eglin had intervened during the plenary session on Saturday evening when it became evident that the two major power blocs were threatening to turn the public proceedings into something akin to a rowdy election meeting.

His speech, and his tireless efforts to draw the parties together towards a compromise during the ding-dong battles in Working Group II, brought home to delegates how excrutiatingly close it apparently was to striking a deal.

But in hindsight it is now obvious that the efforts of Mr Eglin and his DP colleagues to fashion an 11th-hour compromise were probably doomed from the start.

He was caught between the irreconcilable agendas of the Government and the ANC.

The Government and its allies are clearly determined to string out the process on the transfer of power to the majority for as long as possible and ensure that they are not rushed into approving any step that they could later come to regret.

The ANC and its Patriotic Front allies were, on the other hand, locked into the extravagant promises they had made their followers about the speed at which they would be given the opportunity to vote for a constituent assembly and then a fully democratic government.

Compounding the difficulty in reaching consensus now is the fact that two distinct power blocs have begun to crystallise around the National Party and the ANC.

The ANC-Patriotic Front axis includes the SA Communist Party, the Natal Indian Congress-Transvaal Indian Congress, the Transkei Government, the Venda Government, the Intando Yesizwe Party (KwaNdebele), the Inyanda National Movement (KaNgwane), the Labour Party, and the United People's Front (Lebowa).

Clearly the most influential ally the Government has is the Inkatha Freedom Party — although it often finds itself completely alone among the 19 parties to Codesa on some issues. At times it even attacks the Government on specific matters.

The Government is obviously able to call on the support of the National Party and increasingly from the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Ximoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu), the Dikwankwetla Party (QwaQwa), Solidarity, the National People's Party,

The Government does not enjoy unwavering support from all these groupings but can invariably count on their backing when it comes to issues of regionalism and protection of minorities.

The National Party says that a result of this crystallising coalition they are often bound to take serious note of the divergent demands of its new-found allies, making the process of finding common ground with the ANC bloc all the more complex.

Although the breakdown at Codesa II among the parties is nine-one-nine — with the DP standing alone in the middle — the NP axis cannot boast the same levels of popular support as the Patriotic Front can command.

The numbers game is clearly

SAPA reports from Johannesburg

Wee notice leaves advice to weapon-bearers

GRAFFITI artists, taking advantage of a lull in proceedings at Codesa II, added advice to a notice in the gents' toilets.

The notice formally requests gentlemen users not to overburden facilities by tossing cigarette butts, hard paper and the like into the urinals. Added one wit: "Including working group documents, traditional weapons."

Meanwhile, Nigerians, lavishly moustacheod Frenchmen, an inscrutable bunch of orientals (most taken to be Koreans — but maybe waiters from Fordsburg) and a mass of colourful cosmopolitans jostled good naturedly in a queue for lunch.

You had a choice of hot or cold buffet ... and most of us went for both. The very French Frenchman stuck to Gitanes.

Outside, Christian protesters demanded the presence of God, Zulus demanded their king be there, and a derelict demanded to know what was going on.

"It's Codesa II," we told him.

"Codesa too what?"

Back inside, disaster!

No agreement — and that means none — in Codesa Working Group Two.

"What's that mean?" asks a head that sticks itself into the Sapa news room.

"Errr," we say.

Amid all this, an Inkatha official enters our news room to issue a statement on the assassination of the IFP chairman on Friday morning in troubled Alexandra township, north of Johannesburg.

In the middle of negotiating peace, we report death. Another one.

But the death of Simon Nxumalo doesn't halt things.

The halls of the World Trade Centre echo bleeper calls, running reporters, note books flapping in their wake, hurtle to meet deadlines. There's no death, but a furious kind of living here.

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important at Codesa which operates on the basis of consensus, but it does not provide a useful index for popular support among the millions of South Africans anxiously monitoring Codesa's progress.

Another factor that has bedevilled negotiations in the crucial Working Group II has been a clash of personalities. With the Government's top negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, away on sick leave the relatively inexperienced, Dr Tertius Delport, was thrust into the hot-seat.

He found himself up against the ANC's most hard-nosed and experienced bargainer, former union boss Cyril Ramaphosa, and by the end of the week appeared rattled in what he himself described as "pressure cooker conditions".

Some of the negotiators said Codesa II could have produced an entirely different outcome if the negotiating skills and diplomatic talents of Thabo Mbeki and Roelf Meyer had been harnessed in Working Group II.

All eyes will now be on the Management Committee, which has stepped in to try and repair the damage caused by the breakdown in Working Group II.

They will simply have to succeed because, as the DP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, noted: "There is no reasonable alternative to Codesa."

Or as President de Klerk put it to the more than 400 negotiators in the cavernous World Trade Centre in his closing address: "We are in one ship. If it sinks we will all drown."

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Response to mass action

SADF CALLS UP MEN ON STANDBY

By Sapa-Reuter and Citizen Reporter

THE South African Defence Force yesterday confirmed Citizen Force and Commando Force members have been placed on standby in time for the African National Congress mass action plans next week.

"Citizen Force and Commando elements are being called up, or are being placed on standby in certain specific areas," SADF spokesman, Col John Rolt said.

He explained that the step had been taken to put the SADF in a position to support the police where and when necessary during the coming weeks in maintaining peace, stability and law and order.

The call-up decision followed ANC-Cosatu threats of imminent mass action to protest against the failure of Codesa II to install an interim government.

"For security reasons"

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SADF call-up

FROM PAGE 1

Col Rolt declined to divulge any information relating to call-up areas or troop strengths.

Telegrams were sent to thousands of Citizen Force and Commando members yesterday ordering them on stand by next week.

"You should regard this as a possible emergency . . . your contribution will be in service to your country," the Air Force said in a telegram to a man on the reserve list after two years of full-time military service.

"As you are aware, mass disrupting actions are planned in the Republic of South Africa. These actions can result in major disruption of essential services," the telegram said.

A Defence Force spokesman said some reservists would be called up for active duty from Monday and others were told to be on stand-by for rotating periods of 72 hours each.

About 500 000 Whites were on the reserve lists of the Army, Air Force and Navy, he said.

A senior Cabinet source said the government would tolerate some mass pressure from the ANC, but would not allow illegal actions likely to inflame township violence that has already killed over 1 000 people this year.

"The government has its own constituency to think about. We can't let ourselves be made to look like clay in the hands of the ANC," the source said.

"We are worried, well, let's say concerned, about what will happen. If things turn bad, it could seriously delay a negotiated settlement," he said.

A Ministry of Law and Order spokesman said the police would launch an advertising campaign tomorrow and Monday calling on people taking part in mass actions to do so in a peaceful and responsible manner.

"The police are geared to cope with any situation which might arise and will maintain law and order."

He called on those taking part in, and organising mass action to respect the rights of others who did not want to participate.

The police would ensure that services such as public transport, were not disrupted.

"While the SAP recognises the right of those wanting to participate in mass action, it is aware of the potential such actions could have, causing disruptions, violence and death.

"Not only have organisations planned mass action for next week, but there are a number of strikes, and potential strikes — such as the strike at Transvaal hospitals — which are based on political demands which could further fuel a volatile situation."

The police pointed out, however, that mass actions which took place last November over VAT, although not of the size of the actions, expected on Tuesday, were in general peaceful and without intimidation.

AP Laserphoto

Victims mourned in South Africa

Classmates hold candles near the caskets of three youths who were killed last week by police in Cape Town, South Africa. The funeral Saturday attracted more than 10,000 mourners, while thousands more attended services for two other victims. Story, Page 6.

Shelter provides little protection to homeless teens

By Hanke Gratteau

Abused and neglected teenage boys are being housed by the state in an overcrowded building in a dangerous neighborhood with inadequate educational opportunities, haphazard medical care and possible health and safety hazards, state records show.

Conditions at the Cleaver Shelter, 1125 N. Cleaver St., a home for abused and neglected 13- to 20-year-old males, are documented in reports prepared by the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services [DCFS], the state agency that operates the facility.

"In some ways, Cleaver is worse than any prison," observed attorney Benjamin Wolf, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's Institutionalized Persons Project, who has investigated conditions there.

Yet none of the youths living at Cleaver is guilty of any crime. Some are orphans. Others are runaways. The majority are victims of parental neglect and physical or sexual abuse. They were removed from their homes by judges and placed in the temporary or permanent custody of DCFS.

At times during the last two weeks, as many as 70 youths, some forced to sleep on rollaway beds and sagging couches jammed into makeshift dorms, were living at Cleaver. The facility has permanent space for 30 boys. Hundreds of the youths have run away, state records show.

Problems at Cleaver are widely acknowledged among police and court personnel who work with

Continued on page 8

Smokkelkroeë druk besig in Alexandra

JOHANNESBURG. – Alexandra, swart woonbuurt naby Sandton, het gister op Sowetodag bykans tot stilstand gekom, berig ons korrespondent.

Die meeste fabrieke in die gebied was gesluit en inwoners wat tuis gebly het, het binnenshuis gebly. Taxi-staanplekke was dolleeg en die meeste winkels daar was gesluit.

In die strate het kinders met koeldrankblikke en tennisballe sokker gespeel. Die Polisie was in groot getalle in die gebied ontplooi, veral naby die berugte Madala-hostel.

Smokkelkroeë was druk besig. Geen voorvalle van geweld is by die Polisie aangemeld nie.

Polisieman verwys vrae oor veiligheid na ANC

VERSKEIE mense wat gister inligting oor die veiligheid van sekere gebiede in die Skiereiland van die Polisie in Caledonplein, Kaapstad, wou verkry, is na die ANC verwys "omdat hulle weet waar die moeilikheid sal wees".

Genl.-maj. Nick Acker van die Polisie het gister in 'n verklaring gesê die Polisie het dié saak onmiddellik ondersoek nadat 'n verklaring van die ANC daaroor uitgereik is.

"Ons het vasgestel dat slegs een lid van die Mag daarby betrokke is. Dringende stappe is gedoen om die saak reg te stel en departementele dissiplinêre aksie is dadelik teen die persoon ingestel.

Polisie dankbaar oor vreedsame verloop

DIE Kommissaris van Polisie, genl. Johan van der Merwe, het gisteraand sy dank betuig aan "elkeen wat 'n bydrae gelewer het om alles vreedsaam te laat verloop" tydens gister se landwye massa-aksie, berig ons politieke redaksie.

Genl. Van der Merwe het in 'n verklaring gesê na raming het minder as 80 000 mense landwyd aan massa-optrede deelgeneem, terwyl verskeie beplande optogte en byeenkomste nie plaasgevind het nie.

Tot 6 nm. is geen noemenswaardige voorvalle by die Polisie aangemeld nie. Die Polisie is dankbaar hieroor en is vasbeslote om enige geweld met alle mag te bestry.

ANC intimideer lede van Inkatha – jeugleier

JOHANNESBURG. – Die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty (IVP) het gister op 'n nuuskonferensie hier bekend gemaak dat berigte van intimidasie en geweld teen sy ondersteuners deur lede van die ANC reeds van vroeg gisteroggend ingestroom het, berig ons korrespondent.

Mnr. Themba Khoza, president van die IVP-Jeugliga, het gesê in Umlazi naby Durban is mense op pad werk toe aangeval.

Verslae is ook ontvang van pendelaars wat van bewegende treine gegooi is.

Mnr. Khoza het 'n ernstige waarskuwing tot die ANC gerig om af te sien van intimidasie en geweld.

Ramp as geweld wit buurte tref, sê Mandela

Politieke Redaksie

JOHANNESBURG. – Pogings om die geweld in die swart woonbuurte na blanke gebiede te versprei, moet sterk teengestaan word, het mnr. Nelson Mandela, president van die ANC, gister op die groot ANC-saamtrek in die Orlando-stadion in Soweto gesê.

Sowat 30 000 mense het die saamtrek bygewoon, wat die ANC se veldtog van massa-aksie teen die Regering ingelui het.

Mnr. Mandela het gesê 'n ontstellende neiging het in sekere kringe ontstaan wat wil hê dat blankes aangeval moet word uit reaksie teen die geweld wat tans in die swart gemeenskappe woed.

"Die ANC sê so iets sal 'n ramp van die ergste omvang wees. Die geweld in Suid-Afrika sal nie gestop word deur onskuldige mense dood te maak nie. Die ANC is gekant daarteen dat onskuldige mense – blankes sowel as swartes – vermoor word."

Mnr. Mandela het gesê magte in die land – dit kan agente van die Regering wees – wil hê dat dat die mense mekaar moet dood maak. Hulle sien eerder daarvoor kans as om die mag prys te gee.

Hy het gesê daar is ook hernieude aandrang op die ANC om terug te keer na na die gewapende stryd omdat die onderhandleinge dan nie die gewenste resultate oplewer nie.

"Die ANC weerstaan daardie aandrang. Ons sê vir daardie mense: as julle die onderhandelinge vinniger wil laat vorder, hier is massa-aksie, kom neem deel daaraan."

Mnr. Mandela hetr sy volgelinge vermaan om gedissiplineerd op te tree in hul veldtog van massa-aksie. Hulle moet dit veral vermy om by geweldpleging betrokke te raak omdat dit "aan ons vyande" 'n rede verskaf om mense dood te maak en die skuld op die ANC te pak.

Mnr. Mandela het gesê die geweldpleging teen die swartmense is geen ongeluk nie. Dit is doelbewus beplan en die ANC het geen twyfel daaroor dat die Veiligheidsmagte betrokke is daarby nie.

Toe die Polisie 'n paar dae gelede 'n groot klomp wapens by ondersteuners van die Inkatha-Vryheidsparty afgeneem het, het die ANC dit verwelkom, selfs al is dit nou eers en nie reeds in 1984 gedoen nie.

"Ons was egter verstom toe ons sien dat die Polisie 'n paar dae later daardie selfde wapens aan die IFP gaan teruggee. Dit is baie moeilik om te verstaan wat gaan aan in die kop van dié Regering," het mnr. Mandela gesê.

Pres. F.W. de Klerk val die ANC aan oor massa-aksie, maar oor die gesiglose *vigilante* wat mense na willekeur vermoor, sê hy niks nie.

17692 Burger

MASSA-AKSIE

Sterftes sal Regering se skuld wees – ANC

DIE mense van Suid-Afrika en die internasionale gemeenskap sal pres. F.W. de Klerk en sy ministers verantwoordelik hou vir enige lewensverlies of beserings wat kan spruit uit die oproep van Burgermaglede met die oog op die massa-aksieveldtog, het die ANC se Wes-Kaaplandse streekkantoor gister gesê.

Volgens ons politieke redaksie het die hulpsekretaris, mnr. Willie Hofmeyr, in 'n verklaring gesê dit is 'n poging om die stemlose massa met 'n massiewe magsvertoon te intimideer. Dit lyk of die doel daarvan is om die mense van Suid-Afrika hul onbetwisbare reg te ontneem om hul teenkanting teen die Regering se beleid en optrede te demonstreer.

South Africa's 2 Top Black Leaders Urge End to Strife

■ **Ethnic violence:** The summit between Mandela, Zulu Chief Buthelezi is first significant reconciliation attempt.

By SCOTT KRAFT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

DURBAN, South Africa—Nelson Mandela and Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, in a historic accord aimed at ending one of South Africa's bloodiest conflicts, called on their supporters Tuesday to stop attacking each other.

"We have reached a breakthrough and we can only hope that [peace] will be the result," Mandela told a news conference after 10 hours of talks between the African National Congress and Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

"You can see, not only from the warmth between us but from our body language, that the meeting was a complete success," said a smiling Buthelezi. "There was no acrimony whatsoever."

But Buthelezi cautioned that the agreement did not necessarily mean that the internecine violence will end immediately. "We don't think that we can just wave a magic wand" and make it stop, he said.

The summit between the two most powerful black leaders in South Africa, after more than a decade of bitter feuding between their organizations, marked the first significant attempt at a reconciliation between the ANC and Inkatha since the ANC was legalized and Mandela was freed from

Please see SOUTH AFRICA, A20

Poor Comrade Slovo

STILL on matters religious, SA Communist Party national chairman, Joe Slovo, told a meeting of churchmen in Durban this week that Jesus Christ was a communist.

For someone who professes to be an atheist, the mere recognition of Jesus Christ — let alone His alleged ideological inclinations — must be the supreme example of a contradiction in terms.

JOE SLOVO
Contradiction

Zimbabwe's observer is a soccer fanatic and a man of fire

THE Rev Canaan Banana, Zimbabwe's former and first president, who will be in South Africa this week as part of the Commonwelth observer team at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), is a football fanatic, poet, songwriter and a proponent of liberation theology who thinks the bible needs rewriting.

Behind the smile and the gentle soft-spoken approach of the Methodist minister and unversity lecturer, is a man of fire.

He never stopped hitting out against apartheid during the seven years he was president and constantly called for churches to play a more active role in freeing South Africa and Namibia from white rule.

In his mid-fifties, Professor Banana, as he is now termed , once said apartheid, conceived in violence, could only be destroyed in violence. He compared the guerilla fighter to Jesus, saying both were ready to lay down their lives for others.

A former detainee, President Banana started his own football team when he became titular head of state and once jokingly said he would like to be buried at the National Soccer Stadium where as an invisible twelfth man he would help Zimbabwe.

He has recently been the focal point for criticism for the tax-free benefits he received when he gave up the presidency to make way for

Prof Canaan Banana

Robert Mugabe, now the executive president.

Mr Banana's BA honours degree in theology was obtained from the Unversity of South Africa when he studied as an external student during his detention by the Rhodesian government.

In an interview at the weekend, Mr Banana told the national news agency that he believed the people of South Africa had the capacity to resolve the tragic crisis that had engulfed the country for years.

He said the policy of reconciliation had worked well in Zimbabwe.

Before he left State House at the end of 1987, he played a leading role in helping to bring together the parties led by Mr Mugabe and Mr Joshua Nkomo.

Another member of the the commonwealth, Judge Telford Georges from the West Indies, served as a judge in Zimbabwe for three years, the final six months as Chief Justice. He was Zimbabwe's first non- white head of the judiciary.

When he left in 1984, he said there had at times been problems in enforcing judgments but open conflict had been avoided.

He said the Supreme Court was the ultimate protector of indvidual rights laid down in the constitution.

When Codesa opens in Johannesburg on Friday, it will be under the watchful eye of illustrious observers from a range of international organisations.

The observers will be just what they say they are: observers, not participants or monitors or advisers — not initially, at least.

Pretoria wrestled with the decision to admit international observers, although not quite as hard as it wrestled with the decision earlier this year to allow the UNHCR (UN High Commissioner for Refugees) to assist with the repatriation of exiles to South Africa.

It still nurtures deep, primeval fears about "foreign interference," the most dramatic manifestation of which was its torpedoing of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group's visit to South Africa a few years ago.

Times have changed since then. The dividing line between "foreign interference" and South Africa's reacceptance into the international community is a blurred one these days.

S African wages code broken

By Michael Holman

OF THE 142 British companies that submitted reports under the EEC code of conduct for those with interests in South Africa, 63 pay their workers less than the code's recommended minimum, according to an assessment published today.

The findings come from an analysis of the reports by the Labour Research Department, an independent trade union research organisation.

The community code sets out minimum standards on pay, employment conditions and trade union rights. Companies with subsidiaries (at least 50 per cent shareholding) employing over 20 black workers are asked to submit a voluntary report on their performance to Britain's Department of Trade and Industry, which publishes the results.

Labour Research calculates that over 3,300 black workers employed by the 63 companies are being paid under the recommended minimum.

A growing number of companies with big interests in South Africa need not report at all, Labour Research points out, because they have reduced their status to associate level — more than 10 per cent but less than 50 per cent shareholding.

Divided land: despite moves to remove instances of petty apartheid, elements of it linger on. Will they disappear naturally?

DAILY TELEGRAPH

South Africa: why I have changed my view

By JOHN CARLISLE MP

The secretary of the parliamentary British-South Africa Group, currently split into moderate and pro-Pretoria factions, has been a leading light in the latter camp. But here he explains how a recent visit to South Africa altered his perceptions.

WHITE South Africans are used to such terms as "farce", "cosmetic" and "too little too late". But a recent visit to that country has convinced me that their general election on May 6 will mark a watershed in their turbulent history. Whatever view may be taken from the West, all South Africans now believe that their future destiny is to be shaped by the ballot box decision of three million white electors.

As a frequent visitor to the Republic, and as an active proponent of South African Government policy, my recent trip has changed my view on the mechanics needed for necessary change. The country is no longer hesitant that reform has to take place: it knows it is inevitable. From senior National party figures to black community leaders, everyone agrees that constitutional reform must come, and must come quickly. I am now convinced that they must seriously contemplate some measure of power-sharing.

What is apparent is that the old policies are now irrelevant and ineffective. Sanctions have not moved the South African Government, and will not do so however severe their imposition. Violent revolution has not overthrown the establishment, and is unlikely to do so while security forces and police remain loyal to their employers. Further legislative changes to remove the pillars of apartheid, such as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, are not now necessary prerequisites to peaceful change, for they will disappear naturally. Western disinvestment, though uncomfortable, can be overcome by internal funding and a redirection of resources.

This is not to say that violence has never had any impact, because it has—on the innocent victims of "necklacing". Yet surprisingly, more blacks than ever before are applying to join the police force, and the sign on the entrance to the Crossroads squatter camp says "UDF Dog-Tutu — No Entry".

As far as ordinary people are concerned, sanctions have meant loss of employment to a population which enjoys no welfare benefits. The dilemma is that of the black trade union leaders who are reluctant to be anti-sanctions because the West and the Commonwealth would see such a stand as pro-government.

On the political front, some players will disappear, but others will emerge. State President P. W. Botha has completed his duty and will go soon. He has lost the confidence of his own party, antagonised the business section and run out of enthusiasm. His achievement of a tricameral Parliament and his stout resistance to the extreme Right wing will ensure that he is remembered as the architect of change. He has performed his duties with honour, but should now retire gracefully.

Emerging behind him is ex-Ambassador Worrall, a charismatic figure whose only mistake so far has been to leave the National Party. Outside it he will find difficulty in persuading the 40 or so "New Nats" that his is the banner to fight under. But if he is still there after May 6, he will be guaranteed a crucial position in the new South Africa.

But it is the non-white population who obviously hold most of the cards. Blacks will number 50 million by the year 2000—and already half of their number are aged under 16. The massive figures of Buthelezi and Mandela dominate opposing factions, but they are united in their search for fairer representation. The difference is between an African National Congress policy of intimidation, violence and intent to overthrow the establishment, and the Zulu acceptance of an "Indaba" solution that could give equal representation to all parties, including the minorities.

The position of the ANC is crucial, yet one key word prevents them from joining constitutional talks. President Reagan, Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl agree with the South African Government that the ANC must abandon violence before they are accepted as participants in any talks. The Eminent Persons' Group and some FCO officials have modified that demand to "suspend". It is now up to Mr Botha to swallow and adopt the latter inter-pretation.

This would have two immediate effects. First it would put the initiative on the ANC to respond, and to state whether they are genuine in their desire to share power.

Second, the South African Government would be seen to be making an offer that is realistic and sensible, however difficult they would find it to make such a proposal.

Assuming the ANC's acceptance of these new conditions, international witnesses (not the UN or the Commonwealth, but more probably Britain) would then be required to monitor the sincerity of actions on both sides. There could be failure the ANC may now be unable to control their own forces—or may have no intention of doing so. But they should not be given a second chance. The South African Government may fear their Right-wing electorate to such an extent that such a concession would prove impossible. But this will probably be their last electoral victory.

The final solution is not for us to judge—it must be the decision of all the South African people. What is required of us is understanding, patience and advice, based on historic experience in the African context.

I left South Africa excited at their optimism. There is a real feeling that at last a new life is just around the corner. I did not detect tension, just nervousness and uncertainty that an early political settlement was imminent and inevitable.

SOWELL

From page D1

Standing on this powder keg, Mr. Mandela has to try to convince the white population of South Africa that blacks want only freedom, not revenge, looting or political spoilation. If he fails, the exodus of whites leaving South Africa can grow from a trickle to a flood, with the Nazilike remnants in white extremist terror groups making the country virtually ungovernable with guerrilla warfare.

The damage done by the white terrorist fringe, which has already flexed its muscle with disruptions and violence, may be vastly exceeded by the quiet but deeper damage done by the departure of other whites with the scientific, technical and managerial skills needed to maintain or raise the standard of living in South Africa.

Even in the worst days of apartheid, far more blacks immigrated into South Africa than left it, partly because the standard of living was higher than elsewhere on the continent.

Those for whom South Africa is all symbolism and shibboleths have not concerned themselves with such issues, any more than they have concerned themselves with the far worse treatment of blacks by other blacks in Uganda or the Congo Republic. But, for those whose concern is the fate of tens of millions of flesh-and-blood human beings in South Africa, Nelson Mandela represents a last, forlorn hope for the country's future — and Winnie Mandela represents what can happen if he fails.

Schreiner warns Natal/KwaZulu

Witness Reporter

ANY co-operation between a nominated Natal executive and the elected KwaZulu Legislative Assembly could lead to nothing more than bilateral agreements, the chairman of the Buthelezi Commission, Professor Deneys Schreiner, warned yesterday.

Addressing the Polticial Science Association of South Africa conference in the city, he said this would be "another form of rejection of direct black involvement in decision making, even if the Government were to place members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on the nominated body".

One of the main thrusts of the Buthelezi Commission had been the combining of the two representative bodies in the region into one. "This would be a regional experiment which could provide an adaptable model for further regional accommodations elsewhere in the country," Prof. Schreiner said.

Whites faced with 2 choices

Witness Reporter

SOUTH Africans must either reject democracy, or find a way by which all people can enjoy full and equal citizenship Professor Robert Dahl, a U.S. theorist on democracy, said yesterday.

The interests of all the peoples of South Africa could only be protected if all are full and equal citizens, he added.

To claim that white South Africans had protected black interests, or were likely to do so in the future, was a falsity that not many whites could delude themselves with, he said.

Ex-policeman burned alive by township mob

JOHANNESBURG — A 23-year-old former policeman was this week kidnapped and burned alive in Pretoria's Mamelodi East township after his home was attacked by a mob of more than 300 youths.

Mr Billy "Bisto" Riba of 11 083 Mamelodi East was last seen by his family on Tuesday evening when the youths attacked his home with an assortment of weapons, set it alight, and took him away.

Mr Riba was attached to the Murder and Robbery Squad in Pretoria until he resigned due to pressure from residents in February this year.

Police confirmed the attack and have launched an intensive search for his body.

His sister, Miss Doreen Riba, said she saw the heavily armed mob forming barricades on the street.

"They smashed the window panes, broke the doors and destroyed furniture before ordering us out of the house and setting the roof alight."

She said the mob doused her brother with petrol and ordered him to get out of the yard while he was on fire. "That was the last time we saw him."

The following day the family searched for him but found only the remains of his burned clothes. — Sapa.

SAP, ANC in peace bid

PRAKASH NAIDOO
Weekend Argus Correspondent

■ The ANC and the SAP are working jointly to bring about community-based policing.

DURBAN. — The African National Congress is working on proposals to develop a closer working relationship and stronger procedural structures with the police, which could see a dynamic new approach to policing in the country.

A special sitting of the Goldstone Commission in Mooi River was adjourned on Wednesday to allow the ANC and SAP to put together the proposals that, if accepted, could lead the way to the first community policing programme.

Giving evidence before the commission, the deputy regional commissioner for the Natal Midlands, Major-General Wynand van der Merwe, said stringent new regulations relating to the searching of property had been implemented since he took office in January this year.

This came into effect after several residents of the strife-torn Bruntville township complained angrily about the "search-and-seize" methods used by police soon after a hostel in Mooi River was burnt down.

After hearing evidence from residents last month, the chairman of commission, Mr Malcolm Wallis SC said that a senior police officer should be called to explain the police procedures when houses are searched.

On Wednesday General Van der Merwe said that since taking office, he issued instructions to the effect that no property is to be searched without the owners being present or unless police were accompanied by a neighbour.

"What concerns us, General, is that before you came and put an end to this, the people before you thought this type of behaviour perfectly acceptable," said Mr Wallis.

In a series of hard-hitting questions the general was also asked to explain the rationale of arriving to search people's homes at 5am, which Mr Wallis said was "the kind of behaviour one would expect from the KGB".

Mr Wallis also questioned General Van der Merwe at length about what procedures were in place to deal with members of the force who went against orders, and the SAP's ability to monitor public complaints about security force misconduct.

While conceding that the report-back system was not the most efficient after such searches, General Van der Merwe told the commission that a team of officers had been appointed to look into the matter of public complaints and to devise ways of dealing with them. Mr Wallis said it was obvious that there was "horrifying breakdown" of relations between police and the community and suggested that the search-and-seize procedures needed to be discussed with the community before it being implemented.

General Van der Merwe conceded that the problem in Bruntville was largely due to the lack of trust of police by the community. The proceedings were adjourned for about four weeks to allow both police and the ANC to forward proposals on some form of joint structuring.

Argus 29.4.

Steps could be taken to avoid dead end — FW

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has indicated that the government could go ahead with transitional arrangements if the multiparty negotiations do not come to firm conclusions by the end of May.

He was speaking in his regular question session at a joint session of parliament.

Mr Hennie Bester (DP Green Point) asked Mr De Klerk what the government would do if the multiparty negotiations did not agree within five weeks on significant steps he had envisaged.

He wanted to know whether the government would then, as a matter of urgency, be prepared to take steps to set up an interim transitional authority.

Mr De Klerk said a lot would depend on the progress made in the five weeks. The government had never thought that it should he rigorously tied to such a period.

If after that period a breakthrough point had been reached attempts would be made to promote this.

But if the negotiations were near to a dead end the government would have to give serious attention to seeing what sensible initiatives could be taken to ensure progress.

Mr De Klerk was asked about a recent statement by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he was not in favour of the drawing up of a constitution by a legislative assembly.

Mr De Klerk said Chief Buthelezi was not only his responsibility. It was also the duty of others in the negotiation forum to persuade all particioants to become fully involved.

Mr De Klerk told Mr Douglas Gibson (DP Yeoville) that he did not think negotiations to draw up a new constitution need take a year. It was important that a new constitution should be the result, not of "storm tactics" but of fundamental and bona fide negotiations.

Mr WP Doman (Nat Vasco) asked Mr De Klerk about the "inciting" statements by people like Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Peter Mokaba and Mr Tony Yengeni.

Mr De Klerk said the statements were being investigated in terms of existing legislation, as were some by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The police would co-operate with the Attorney-General and there was the possibility of prosecutions.

Mr De Klerk told Mr Desmond Lockey (Labour, Northern Cape) that it was up to parliament to cut his salary.

Mr Lockey wanted to know why Mr De Klerk, as head of "this corrupt and bankrupt government" demanded more taxes while he refused to pay taxes.

Mr De Klerk said the government was annually allocating more money to the disadvantaged, to better health and educational facilities and to the elimination of discrimination.

It was therefore a distortion to imply that taxes were being spent on corruption.

As far as his imcome was concerned, he paid taxes on his private income.

SECOND BURIAL . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela (centre back) follows the coffin of Mr Solomon Mahlangu, an activist who was executed for murder in the 1980s. His remains were exhumed and reburied yesterday in Mamelodi township, where he lived formerly.

Picture: AP

Argus 29.4.

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SA braced for a scorcher this year as El Niño bites

Temperatures in Johannesburg and Pretoria this week already nudging towards record levels

By Melanie-Ann Fehrs
Environment Reporter

The heat wave which sent temperatures skyrocketing throughout the country over the past four days is just a taste of the long, hot and dry summer South Africa faces from November onwards.

Yesterday the maximum temperatures in Johannesburg (30,3C) and Pretoria (35,2) were the highest recorded for September in the past 13 years.

The heat wave was caused by hot air moving over the country, but temperatures are expected to drop by about five degrees today.

However, the Weather Bureau again warned of the approach of the El Niño phenomenon, which is expected to bring above-average temperatures and extreme drought.

Meteorologists cannot say how hot it will be, or how long the phenomenon will last, but indications are that this year's El Niño will be the strongest ever – worse even than that of 1982/83, which caused damage of about R10-billion in South Africa.

El Niño – produced by a significant increase in sea-surface temperatures, which in turn leads to changes in the global wind patterns – is expected to peak at the end of the year but will be strong from December to March.

Yesterday, more bad news on the weather front came from the World Wide Fund for Nature, which released a report in Gland, Switzerland, saying 1997 would be the second-hottest year in history as a result of global warming.

Some of the highest temperatures recorded during the heat wave, which has roasted the country since Thursday, were in the Northern Cape, north of the Orange River, and Mpumalanga, where temperatures reached highs of 40C by Saturday.

By 2pm yesterday, maximum temperatures recorded in Pretoria surpassed the record high of 33,5C on September 29 1983 – during the worst El Niño year recorded this century – and Johannesburg's was only one degree lower than the high of 31C recorded that year.

▶ More reports ... Pages 4 and 6

Since then she hasn't looked back and today Ms Zama serves on seven bodies — deputy chairwoman of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers; a trustee of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy; a trustee of the Street Law Project; a director of the Greater Durban Marketing Authority; a council member of M.L. Sultan Technikon as well as a member of the cellular telephone panel and a director of the Post Office.

So how does a progressive, left-leaning activist justify participation on a panel looking into luxury cellular telephones? Are there not more pressing needs that the present government could be spending millions on?

"Communication is essential to the development of this country, we don't want to be inefficient like the rest of Africa," she responds. "When I opened an office of my legal practise in Umgababa I was incredibly frustrated because there were no telephones there.

"Every time I wanted to communicate with the office I had to drive there, wasting time and money."

This will not only benefit the rich, she believes. According to Ms Zama, communities in outlying rural areas not serviced by telephones could really benefit from being part of modern communication lines.

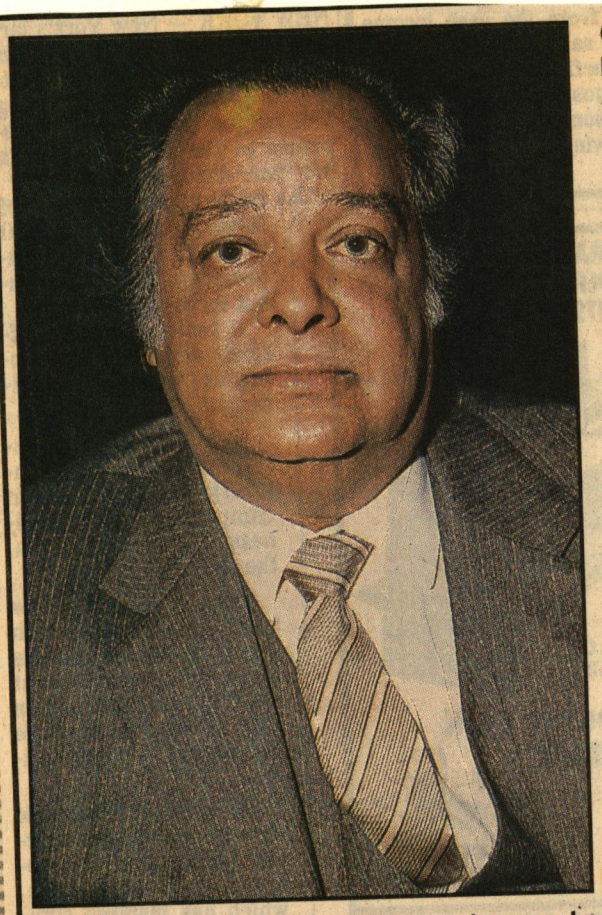
Obviously ambitious and one of the few recognised African women leaders in Natal, does she intend to stand for Parliament in elections? "Definitely not," she retorts.

A political achiever yes, but no crude party political hack is Linda Zama.

Saved . . . a groggy moggie owes its remaining eight lives to Benoni firemen who rescued it from under a bed in a blazing Crystal Park home yesterday. The fire broke out at about 3 pm when a gas cylinder exploded, blowing part of the roof away. The cat was found vomiting from smoke inhalation and had to be revived with oxygen before being rushed to the vet. Picture: Bernard Gunzenhauser

(4)

Sir Sonny sanctions a battle to the end



Sonny Ramphal . . . no regrets over the way he handled the South African issue.

In an interview with **RICHARD DOWDEN**, Sir Shridath "Sonny" Ramphal looks back on his 15 years as Commonwealth Secretary-General.

Last week Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister, gave a grand dinner-party for 70 guests in honour of one of her least favourite people.

Sir Shridath Ramphal ends 15 years as Secretary-General of the Commonwealth at the end of this month and the Prime Minister, to the surprise of many, decided to give him a farewell dinner fit for a head of state.

The text of her speech has not been released but was reported to be full of praise for the man who has been one of her bitterest critics. She referred to their past differences but declared her admiration for his work.

If the dinner was intended to flatter Sonny Ramphal into letting bygones be bygones, it did not work.

He said yesterday that Mrs Thatcher's failure to support sanctions against South Africa had cost three years, "with all that bloodshed and bitterness . . . and we are yet to tell if they weren't all-important years".

He said that if Britain had taken a stronger stand, Europe, Japan and the United States would have followed, which would have forced Pretoria three years ago to take the measures it has now introduced.

Sonny Ramphal accused the Prime Minister of "pulling the rug" from beneath the feet of the Eminent Persons Group, the team sent by the Commonwealth to negotiate a solution in South Africa in 1986.

"The EPG policy was dialogue and sanctions, but she sent the message to Pretoria that they didn't have to worry about sanctions from Britain," he said.

Mr Ramphal said that from the start Mrs Thatcher was "lacklustre" about the Commonwealth. At Lusaka in 1979 he had tried to explain that Africans did not think of the Patriotic Front in Rhodesia as terrorists; they were regarded in the same way as the Allies viewed the Yugoslav partisans.

"She bought it then, but we lost her to the people she knew in South Africa like Helen Suzman and Laurens van der Post . . . She again viewed the ANC as terrorists . . . and what she wanted to do was to reform the parliament so people like Helen Suzman had a greater say and gradually the Africans would be brought along.

"It was a kind of liberalism and we never weaned her away from it.

"She was against apartheid, it offended her as very inefficient and the lack of democracy offended her, but I don't think she ever realised the social conditions in which Africans lived."

For Sonny Ramphal, the Nassau conference in 1986, when the Commonwealth consensus on sanctions was threatened, was the make-or-break moment. He said he would have resigned if the Commonwealth had decided to compromise with Britain over sanctions.

From the moment he started, he never saw the job of Secretary-General as that of holding the Commonwealth together at any price.

The Queen has always been an important ally and is regularly briefed by him on Commonwealth matters. Sonny Ramphal yesterday praised her work.

"She turned what was a non-job into something very meaningful. Looking back over 15 years I think of many occasions when I was glad she was around . . . exercisng an influence for continuity — that was crucial."

Always a high-profile political activist rather than a diplomat, Sonny Ramphal said he had no regrets about the way he had handled the South African issue.

His replacement, Chief Emeka Anyaoku, elected in preference to Malcolm Fraser, the former Australian Prime Minister, is unlikely to speak out in such strident tones. A Nigerian, Chief Anyaoku has been deputy Secretary-General for 13 years and is known for his self-effacing diplomacy. — The Independent.

LOCAL COUPLE TALK ABOUT MEETING AFRICAN CHIEF

Say Sanctions Hurt Black S. Africans

The popular perception that sanctions imposed by Congress against South Africa and the withdrawal of American financial investment there will help improve the lot of the Black South African in his struggle against the White South African government, is far from helpful in practice.

AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

This is the opinion long expressed by Bruce and Doris (Mr. and Mrs.) Burke of Honesdale RD 4, principal figures in Open Bible Ministrties, Inc., which has for years been in direct personal contact with blacks in southern Africa.

The Burkes, recently returned from a Florida meeting with African Chief Mongosuthu Gatska Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Natal, South Africa (in the U.S. for talks with governmental officials including President Reagan) say their feeling that sanctions and divestiture in South Africa hurt the wrong people, is reinforced by what the Chief reports.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Chief Buthelezi personally shared with the Burkes the adverse effects in unemployment and starvation, that sanctions and disinvestment are already having on the 80 million blacks in southern Africa, "the very people they were supposed to help," the Burkes noted.

Because of their continuous involvement in southern Africa through Open Bible Ministries, Inc., (OBM) the Burkes are informed and fully aware of current events in that region. Many articles and a book have been written on the subject and are available from Mission Headquarters in Honesdale. OBM has been ministering in several nations of southern Africa over the past fifteen years.

TWO MEETINGS

The Burkes who developed a personal acquaintanceship with Chief Buthelezi during several trips and a lengthy residence in South Africa, were guests at a private dinner honoring the Chief and his wife, Princess Irene, at Daytona Beach, FL, on Friday, Nov. 28.

The following day the local couple attended a banquet held at Indigo Lakes, FL, again honoring the Chief and attended by the Mayor of Daytona Beach, officials from the Florida state government in Tallahassee and Florida Congressman McCullum.

During his three-week stay in the US and Canada, Chief Buthelezi had numerous interviews and speaking engagements on TV, radio, college campuses and business groups. He also met with President Reagan and leading government officials in Washington, DC.

Eric Ngubane, the Chief's personal aide, has maintained a close friendship with the Burkes through the years since early 1970 when he was their intrepreter in Soweto, South Africa, before he was called to serve the Chief at KwaZulu.

CHURCH MEETINGS

Bruce & Doris Burke also held meetings in churches in Orlando and had opportunity to speak several times at Clearwater Christian College in Chapel service and classroom instruction. They have been invited back to the College to participate in the annual Missions Conference early next year.

On their return trip, the Burkes stopped at Washington, DC, to meet with officials of the South African Embassy. The Burkes are strong supporters of President Reagan's constructive engagement policy towards South Africa and Chief Buthelezi's stand on peaceful negotiations with the Pretoria government. All are opposed to US Congress-imposed sanctions, disinvestment, ANC terrorists activities and Soviet Communist infiltration of the area.

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WITH AFRICAN CHIEF — Bruce and Doris Burke of Honesdale RD 4 are pictured with KwaZulu, South African Chief Mongosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi and Princess Irene during a recent dinner meeting in Florida.

S. Africa rivals seek military support

By Tina Susman
Associated Press

ALEXANDRA, South Africa—Leaders of warring black factions asked for military and police reinforcements Sunday to help end battles that killed 33 people and turned this Johannesburg township into a virtual war zone.

Delegations from the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party urged security forces to keep supporters of the two groups a "safe distance" from each other while efforts to implement a cease-fire are under way.

At a press conference, the delegations urged supporters to put down their weapons. But as they spoke, scores of Inkatha supporters wearing red headbands lined a nearby dirt road, spears and axes in hand.

Black factional fighting has continued throughout South Africa despite similar peace calls.

The appeal for more police and soldiers was unusual. Both groups have accused security forces in the past of siding with the opposing side in township battles.

The head of the ANC delegation, Popo Molefe, said both sides concluded that reinforcements were necessary but that troops must exercise restraint.

His Inkatha counterpart, Musa Myeni, said, "What we are concerned about is the protection of human lives here."

Neither would say what led to the uprising in Alexandra, the only township inside the Johannesburg city limits.

People began fighting with guns, knives and sticks before dawn Saturday. Police Col. Johan Mostert said that by Sunday evening, 33 people were dead and more than 50 injured.

Inkatha members in a workers' hostel accused ANC supporters in a nearby squatter camp of starting the fighting. ANC supporters made similar claims.

On Sunday, roads leading into the township were blocked by military vehicles and lined on both sides by soldiers in full combat gear. Armored personnel carriers rumbled along the dirt roads, watched silently by Inkatha men on guard outside their shack homes.

Many women and children sought refuge in the township clinic, where military ambulances stopped occasionally to unload new casualties.

More than 5,000 people have died since factional fighting broke out in 1986 in the traditional Zulu homeland of eastern Natal province. Most Inkatha supporters are members of the Zulu tribe, South Africa's largest. Xhosas and other blacks generally support the ANC.

Both groups oppose apartheid but differ on how to fight it and on policies for a future South Africa. The ANC favors some degree of government economic control, while Inkatha backs free market measur

The fighting, which spread to the Joha nesburg area last August, generally viewed as a struggle for power between t country's two biggest black oppositi groups.

U.S. aid for ANC, other black groups bogs down

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post

WASHINGTON—Plans to give $10 million to the African National Congress, other black groups in South Africa and U.S. agencies to help promote democracy are bogged down in bureaucratic turf battles and objections from Republican conservatives who regard the ANC as prone to communist influences.

Most opposition to granting the money centers on stopping the share—about 37 percent of the total—earmarked for the ANC, the black nationalist organization widely thought to have the largest following among South African blacks.

Congressional conservatives seeking to block the funds contend that the ANC's American supporters have exaggerated the organization's political clout and its move toward moderation.

"I seriously doubt that the ANC would get 37 percent of South Africa's vote without the use of violence, terror and intimidation at which that group is so proficient," Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, recently wrote in a letter to Ronald W. Roskens, administrator of the Agency for International Development.

More than 20 other congressional Republicans have joined Helms in objecting to the project since AID notified Congress how it proposed to distribute the funds to help black groups organize and negotiate with South Africa's white minority government on democratic pluralism.

A senior State Department official, acknowledging the congressmen's ability to block distribution of the funds appropriated last May, said, "The program is not dead, but it is seriously wounded and bleeding profusely."

Jesse Helms

Nelson Mandela

Senator cites 'terror and intimidation'

The AID proposal, prepared with the department's approval, would give $3.7 million to the ANC; $1 million to Inkatha, the predominantly Zulu organization headed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi; $1.2 million each for the Republican and Democratic Party institutes that conduct training programs in emerging democracies, and smaller grants to other groups.

Supporters of the ANC, which was banned for 30 years while Nelson R. Mandela and other principal leaders were in prison or in exile, say it will face great difficulty in transforming itself into a functioning political party without money for salaries, travel, office equipment, organizing and voter registration.

But suspicion about the ANC's ideology is not the only problem the AID proposal has encountered on Capitol Hill. Rep. William S. Broomfield (Mich.), ranking Republican on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, wrote to Roskens that AID has not shown that the ANC and other proposed recipients are able to absorb the funds and use them effectively.

"Political activity is not the most constructive use that can be made of these funds right now," said Sen. Nancy L. Kassebaum (Kan.), an influential Republican moderate who formerly headed the Senate subcommittee on African affairs. "South African blacks would be helped much more at this point if the money was put into educational programs and legal activities that further civil rights."

And, while they have been much more muted than the critics on the right, some congressional liberals also feel that the AID proposal earmarks too much of the $10 million for the Republican and Democratic institutes.

"There's a feeling in some liberal circles, especially among some members of the congressional black caucus, that the money should go to indigenous, grassroots black groups inside South Africa rather than to do-gooder white organizations in the United States, who will send people out there to preach the word on democracy like so many missionaries," said a congressional staff member who asked not to be identified.

The South Africa project originated last March when Secretary of State James A. Baker III told reporters accompanying him to Namibia's independence ceremonies that Bush administration officials thought the federally funded but privately controlled National Endowment for Democracy could perform a similar service in South Africa. Congress, spurred by Representatives William H. Gray III (D-Pa.) and Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), then appropriated the $10 million.

SA slammed in UN resolution submitted by Botswana

UNITED NATIONS. — The UN General Assembly placed the situation in South Africa at the top of its agenda for discussion yesterday after being requested to do so by Botswana.

On the motion of Mr Legwaila Legwaila, permanent representative of Botswana to the UN and chairman of the Africa group of nations, the General Assembly will suspend its general discussion of world affairs and hold an emergency session on South Africa.

United Nations sources say there is likely to be a single address — by Mr Legwaila — before an omnibus resolution on South Africa is submitted for general approval.

The resolution, the sources say, is likely to be approved by acclamation and then the security council will be called into session next week to spearhead further action against the Republic.

Resentment

The draft resolution submitted by Botswana on behalf of the African group is a wide-ranging one and will, analysts believe, cause deep resentment in Pretoria.

It has assumed added urgency this year because of the continuing reports about unrest in South Africa appearing in the international media and, closer to home, the terrorist bomb attacks in New York that are attributed to anti-apartheid agitation.

Against this background, the Botswana resolution commends "the united resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa" against the new constitution, and recognises the "legitimacy" of their struggle against apartheid.

It expresses "alarm" at the "aggravation of the situation in South Africa, in particular the wanton killing and maiming of defenceless demonstrators and workers on strike as well as the imposition of virtual martial law conditions intended to facilitate the brutal repression of the Black population."

After referring to the "massacre of the oppressed people," the resolution goes on to urge all governments and organisations to take what is termed appropriate action to "assist the oppressed people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle for national liberation."

It also calls on the Security Council, as a matter of urgency to consider the serious situation in South Africa and to take all necessary measures.

Zambian attack

The Zambian Foreign minister, Mr Lameck Goma, called on the General Assembly this week to reaffirm its rejection of South Africa's new constitution, which, he said, only further entrenched the apartheid system of racial separation.

In an address to the Assembly, he said: "It does not at all constitute a step in the right direction as some apologists for the racist regime claim. It is a retrogressive step that simply further entrenches apartheid".

"Zambia calls upon the General Assembly to reaffirm its rejection of the new constitutional set-up of South Africa," Mr Goma said, alluding to action taken by the UN body last November before the constitution went into effect.

Mr Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister, addressing the General Assembly denounced the "racist Pretoria regime" and clearly sought to link it directly to the US.

He said South Africa had been "all but formally named an historical ally of the US" and charged that it was seeking to maintain a colonial yoke on SWA/Namibia.

Mr Gromyko said that through what he termed overt and "interventionist" action, South Africa was "threatening the independence of Angola and other neighbouring African States." In a loaded aside, he added: "This regime could not indulge in lawlessness were it not for the complicity of some countries."

There could be no doubt that the people of SWA/Namibia would attain freedom and independence. "In the present day world, the colonial policy of South Africa and its patrons is historically a doomed anomaly". — Sapa.

Stinks

AMERICAN anti-apartheid protesters are going to move their sit-in demonstrations to South African offices throughout the United States.

Other targets will be the offices of banks and corporations that do business with South Africa.

Mr Randall Robinson, executive director of Transafrica, the Black lobbying group organising the demos, says: "We will continue to demand the release of the Black labour leaders who are being held illegally."

However, this is just the immediate objective.

The campaign also aims at the eventual dismantling of apartheid and an end to the Reagan administration's policy of constructive engagement with South Africa.

That this campaign is supported by the Rev Jesse Jackson, who tried unsuccessfully to obtain the Democratic Presidential nomination, was to be expected.

Mr Jackson likes to ride on the anti-South African bandwagon. He still wants to visit South Africa. We say keep him out. We have enough trouble as it is without having him come here to cause more.

That Bishop Desmond Tutu also supports the campaign does not surprise us either.

"Thank you for protesting South Africa's evil and immoral policies by demonstrating at embassies and consulates," he told those assembled at a service in his honour in Washington's National Cathedral.

"Whatever you do to protest this evil system does not go without notice to those it is being done to."

Bishop Tutu is becoming quite objectionable in everything he says or does abroad, attacking this country at every turn and encouraging everything from disinvestment to embassy and consulate protests.

If he does not look out, he will earn himself the label not just of a turbulent priest, but of a pestilential political one.

But back to the demos.

A South African diplomat says: "If these guys want to get themselves arrested, then so be it. They're not affecting our lives in any way."

Which is a cool assessment of what is going on.

Mr Brand Fourie, South Africa's Ambassador in Washington, makes it clear that South Africa will not be told what to do by any pressure group anywhere in the world.

The campaign is simply an attempt to drag the South African issue into American politics.

The Blacks in America voted solidly for Democratic Presidential candidate Walter Mondale. President Reagan, however, won a second term.

Now the Black lobby wants to do everything it can to embarrass and pressurise him. One of the ways in which it hopes to do so is to demonstrate not only against South Africa but against the President's constructive engagement policy.

At the same time the Black lobby is gearing itself to resume its campaigns on domestic issues including welfare, job creation and school bussing.

Explaining why Blacks had returned to public protest and civil disobedience, after the civil rights campaign which saw Blacks become congressmen and mayors, Mr Robinson said: "There is no worse ignominy than to be ignored.

"There is a feeling in the Black community that we have to return to direct action . . . we have to go back to the tactics that worked for us 20 years ago."

We say to Mr Robinson: Keep your nose out of South Africa's affairs.

What has to be done will be done right here, for our own reasons, in our own manner, since nobody can resolve our problems for us — or pressurise us to resolve them according to the wishes of foreigners.

Perhaps the best summing up of the embassy and consulate campaign was given by a liberal commentator, Mr Jack Germond, who said that, despite his sympathy for the protesters, the sit-ins were "political garbage".

He might have added that most garbage —like the sit-ins — stinks.

Son-in-law takes President to court

By Stan Mzimba

AN Umtata attorney, Mr Prince General Madikizela, has brought an urgent application in the Supreme Court, Umtata, challenging his banishment to Bizana by his former father-in-law, Transkei President Kaiser Matanzima.

Mr Madikizela, who has since divorced his wife, Camagwini, claimed in papers that President Matanzima acted beyond his powers in issuing the order and that it was part of a private vendetta against him.

☐ Kaiser Matanzima

This was denied by the President. He claimed Mr Madikizela had been involved in activities against the state.

Mr Madikizela contended that the order served on him on October 9 had not been countersigned by a Minister of State. He said that in terms of the Republic of Transkei's Constitution Act of 1976, such an order had to be signed by a Minister.

Mr Madikizela said President Matanzima, as President, was strictly required to act on the advice of the executive council.

He said that during March, he caught his wife with another man in their house, and again with the same man in a basement car parking lot in Umtata.

On both occasions, Mr Madikizela said, he had attempted to arrest the man, but his former wife had come between them and had been injured in the scuffle. Mr Madikizela was later accused of having assaulted her.

He said in papers that President Matanzima had sent for his father and told him he was going to break his son's neck for what he had done to his daughter.

In his replying affidavits, President Matanzima claimed he had information that Mr Madikizela was involved in activities which were aimed at the disruption of law and order in Transkei and the overthrow of the state.

He said he had carefully and responsibly considered all the information placed before him. He had decided it was in the interests of the public to order that Mr Madikizela be removed from Umtata and returned to his original home in Bizana.

He denied he was involved in a private vendetta against him.

He said: "In my view, a reasonable and responsible president in my position would have come to the same conclusion as I did. I should add that the decision to make the orders was not lightly reached."

Mr Madikizela claimed that President Matanzima's eldest daughter, Mrs Xoliswa Jozana, had told him she had questioned her father about the banishment.

Her father had allegedly told her: "What else could I have done? This was the only way I could protect my daughter."

SA, UK in row over interview

LONDON — The South African fugitives holed up in Britain's Consulate in Durban breached their assurances by giving an interview to British television, the Foreign Office said today in response to South Africa's protest over the roof-to-roof interview.

The interview with one of the three fugitives was filmed during the weekend by Independent Television News, Britain's commercial TV network, whose correspondent Peter Sharp was on a roof opposite the Durban Consulate speaking to the dissident on the consulate roof.

South Africa protested to Britain yesterday, saying the interview was evidence that the British diplomatic building was being used for hostile propaganda.

Meanwhile, opposition Labour MP, Mr Donald Anderson, said he was unsure whether he would be permitted to visit the three fugitives in the consulate.

Mr Anderson, a foreign affairs spokesman for the opposition Labour Party, said he planned a four-day mission to South Africa and wanted to meet the three in the consulate as well as the three who left its sanctuary last week and were arrested.

"That's assuming I'm let into the country," Mr Anderson said.

Pretoria was urging Britain not to permit what the South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, called a blatantly political visit to the consulate, although Mr Anderson had the right to enter South Africa without a visa.

While the British Government made clear it would not stand in Mr Anderson's way, it distanced itself from
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SA 'would be best served by US-style free Press'

One of America's most respected journalists, Mr Howard Simons, managing editor of the Washington Post, has been appointed curator of the Nieman Foundation which each year chooses 18 journalists — 12 from the US and six from abroad, including one South African — to spend a year at Harvard University, studying subjects of their own choice and reflecting on their profession. A Nieman Fellowship is one of the most sought-after prizes in the world of English-language journalism and the man who directs the programme is generally regarded as being at a pinnacle of the profession, writes Neil Lurssen of The Star's Washington Bureau. Here are extracts from an interview with Mr Simons in his Washington Post office where he played a vital role in directing coverage of the Watergate scandal that ended the presidency of Mr Richard Nixon.

QUESTION: Is it realistic to expect that Press freedom as it is known in the US should exist in other countries with their own unique problems — such as South Africa?

ANSWER: The American perspective of journalism is different from a South African perspective. I do not think I should be on my white charger at full gallop imposing my absolutist First Amendment views on the rest of the world.

The First Amendment to the Bill of Rights (which guarantees Press freedom in the US) is a prerogative that no other industry in this country has — and no one else in the rest of the world has as far as I am concerned.

I take the narrow view that the First Amendment is what differentiates this country from all other countries. Therefore it is our most precious commodity.

I do not feel I can impose that upon South Africa or Uganda or the Soviet Union or Norway or France or anywhere else. Having said that, I wish I could.

I would think that South Africans would be best served with the same kind of free Press that is allowed to be excessive, allowed to make mistakes, allowed to be rambunctious and cantankerous — all because that is more important than silence.

I think you ought to be allowed to publish and then get punished rather than the other way around.

Q: As a South African journalist, I was surprised at some of the racially inflammatory comments published in major US newspapers during the recent mayoral election in Chicago. I believe responsible South African editors would be reluctant to print such material for fear of inflaming race tensions.

A: Well, we on this newspaper, for instance, are careful in tense situations not to use inflammatory language, not to use inflammatory photographs. But these are not concrete rules. We set nothing in concrete.

And the reason for that is simple — no two situations are really, truly, ever alike, ever, ever.

Again, having said that, I still think withal that South Africa would be better served by a free Press.

There is something wholesome about a society that feels so good about itself that it could put up with child pornography, that it could put up with obscenities, and with purported national secrets (being published).

I say "purported" simply because if you have been in Washington as long as I have, you discover that most national security labels are put on things to save embarrassment and not to really protect a true national secret.

And you also discover to your horror that secrets are rarely ever published in newspapers — they walk out the front door.

We have only to go to Simonstown to discover that for countless years the secrets of the South African Navy walked out the front door.

They did not appear on the front pages of the Argus Company's newspapers.

Q: Your successor as the Post's managing editor (Mr Leonard Downie) said recently that after Watergate too many reporters tried to emulate Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein and that things got out of hand. What do you feel about this?

A: Right smack in the middle of Watergate, I said that it would lead to a shark frenzy (among newspapermen). Everybody would think there was a bloody body in the water and start swallowing it without even chewing on it.

It was a mass, almost hysterical effort to emulate, to replay, the Woodward and Bernstein success in Watergate. Many persons turned over rocks — and when they discovered there was nothing under the rocks, the investment was so big they had to write about it anyway.

That was immediately after Watergate. American journalism has settled back now to a far more sensible, intelligent approach to what is known as investigative reporting.

The simple definition of investigative journalism was that you either put someone in jail or got someone out of jail. We now write about large issues — whether it is the environment, or health care, or white collar crime, or bureaucratic ineptitude.

Q: How do you feel about your pending move from daily journalism to academic journalism?

A: I have been at this newspaper for 23 years in daily journalism and I am sure I am going to have withdrawal symptoms.

The Nieman programme — I was a Nieman 25 years ago — is so prestigious, Harvard is such an absolutely wonderful institution, that the thought that I can influence 18 superb journalists every year and send them out to do First Amendment battle is quite delicious. I'll have a pulpit.

SEVEN DAYS

Behind the headlines

ANDREW DRYSDALE

IN case you hadn't noticed, **Nelson Mandela** has been in town.

We knew in advance that he was coming, of course. He duly arrived ... late. Africa time prevails, as patient but exasperated schedule watchers have almost routinely come to expect. Whatever the reasons for delays, the ANC and other political organisations newly on the public scene need to pay rather more attention about keeping people waiting.

Be that as it may, the reception from the faithful at the airport was exuberant if somewhat disorganised. A platoon of boy soldiers managed to get their picture in the paper though they didn't get to go through their paces with their wooden AK-47s. In the bad old days, I dimly remember, the Nats had youthful uniformed Voortrekkers as standard bearers at comparable political occasions, so some things don't change.

What has changed, however, is the official security cover provided by a mellow yellow SAP helicopter swinging overhead as the Mandela entourage makes its way downtown. That, and on the ground, a joint presidential-style bodyguard drawn from the police and the ANC's own protection unit.

So much for the trimmings. What of the man?

Clearly, Nelson Mandela is on the stump in the Western Cape, unashamedly out to woo electoral support in an area of the country which could well be marginal, a close run thing, on election day. Since we don't see as much of him in these parts as do the Vaalies and others, it was important to the ANC's fledgling campaign here for the leader to be visible. And that he most certainly was, visible and vocal.

He pressed flesh, made speeches, gave interviews, made impromptu contact wherever he went. He does so with flair, a winning mix of authority and informality. For a man in his 70s, he is remarkably resilient and energetic.

Nelson Mandela is a commanding presence.

F W de Klerk, by comparison, has an engaging presence. That is not to demean his style, for he is of compelling charm, immense dignity and courtesy, and a formidable political opponent.

Perhaps because of his generation, Mandela tends to cling to remnants of past expression ("Europeans" — oops! — "or whites ...").

"I asked De Klerk ..." or "I told De Klerk," he will say.

De Klerk, on the other hand, is meticulous about referring to Mr Mandela.

Either way, I have an idea that no matter what the party policies — who understands the gobbledegook, anyway? — many a voter will be swayed by the personality and character of these two champions of the political joust. Both in their way represent what many people want to believe in — and trust.

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'Sanctions to go by month end'

JOHANNESBURG. — The green light for sanctions to be lifted before the end of the month was signalled last night by ANC chairman and head of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki.

And ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the ANC expected to announce a final deadline for the lifting of sanctions today.

Last night multi-party negotiators agreed to a Transitional Executive Council.

"This means we have taken another step closer to the lifting of sanctions," Mr Mbeki said, addressing the opening of a "Made in the USA" trade exhibition at the World Trade Centre.

Sanctions would be lifted before the end of the month, he said.

Mr Mbeki said the US had played an important role in imposing sanctions against South Africa in the 1980s.

Black empowerment

He urged American firms exhibiting at the trade fair to use the opportunity to establish ties with the country.

He said US firms could play an important role in achieving black economic empowerment.

"What will be very difficult here will be the rebuilding and reconstruction of this economy," he said. "We look forward to your help."

The ANC also announced it would give special tax advances to companies investing in South Africa after the elections, provided they helped uplift and train the local population.

Addressing a packed Livingston Leandy corporate presentation at the Durban Country Club last night, ANC media liaison officer Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation would also guarantee that investors would not be prevented from taking profits out of the country. He said South Africa needed a growing economy.

'Speak out — or we'll inherit a wasteland'

It will take more than leaders shaking hands in front of television cameras to bring about peace, says peacemaker ROBERT CONWAY, executive director of the South African Foundation for Conciliation. Here are extracts from his message to women this week in an address to the Federation of Women's Institutes.

CAN we have a peaceful future in South Africa?

Every time I examine this question, I am convinced there is no chance of a peaceful outcome unless the negotiation process succeeds. What does this mean?

It means negotiations must be totally inclusive and be perceived by all the interest groups to be fair. It must deal properly with their concerns and fears.

If successful, the negotiation process will lead to peace in South Africa. If not, it will tear this country apart in a very short period of time.

■ What are the ingredients for a successful negotiation process?

Negotiation means finding ways to deal with your differences. There are no good or bad guys in a negotiation situation. It is not that one political party is right and the other wrong.

Setting unrealistic time limits is foolish in the extreme, and runs the risk of excluding important interest groups. Witness the current comments about Inkatha's participation:

"They must be part of the process, but we cannot allow any party to hold up the negotiation train," it is claimed.

There is much faulty thinking in this approach to negotiations. The train can still crash.

We all need to make our voices heard about a proper, fair and inclusive negotiation process, for, if it is merely left to the politicians and their agendas, we will end up inheriting a wasteland.

The Federation of Women's Institutes with its proud record of concern and involvement is ideally placed to make its voice heard and its influence felt in this regard. You must not fear to speak up and to take a stand.

It will take more than leaders shaking hands in front of television cameras to bring about peace. Superb and efficient organisation is going to be necessary to deal with the concerns and interests of the conflicting parties.

■ Why is violence so prevalent?

When the old rules of politics have broken down and the new political system has not yet been established, severe uncertainties and expectations are created.

Violence has soared in this environment and is worse than in the old days of apartheid. The nature of violence has changed, however, from a conflict between the government and the liberation forces to a more disparate fight among a wide variety of players with various motives, tactics and objectives.

Sensing that power may be within the grasp of the black majority acts as a catalyst, thereby bringing rivalries to the surface and increasing the stakes. In fact, the ANC, the IFP and the NP are locked in a high-stake competition for political power and ascendancy.

In this environment it is clear that the Federation of Women's Institutes must play a role. You need to get out into the rural areas and educate people about tolerance, and discuss with them the dynamics of the violence situation.

You should run workshops on how people negotiate their differences and resolve conflict.

■ Are free and fair elections going to be possible?

Not with the negotiation process in its current state. Once this is properly sorted out, voter education is going to be essential. There is confusion, mistrust and a total lack of confidence at present.

BUSINESS DAY — JOBURG
10-APR-87

SA study proposes development aid to replace sanctions

MIKE ROBERTSON in London

A NEW study by the University of Birmingham Graduate School of International Studies argues the poverty of current strategy towards SA. Sanctions, it says, reinforce extremism and will lead to chaos defeating the stated aim of bringing about majority rule. The authors argue instead for massive targeted aid, linked to a commitment from government to work towards majority rule by a specified date.

Speaking in the House of Commons last year former Foreign Secretary Francis Pym saw the options facing the West on SA as tantamount to a "Catch 22" — "either we apply sanctions and hurt the innocent or else we do nothing".

Now the debate in the West has moved to just how severely sanctions should be applied.

But in a paper released yesterday, the authors argue that not only are sanctions wrong, but that Pym was wrong too when he said the alternative was doing nothing.

Professor Neville Brown and Yu Ying Brown, in a paper published by the University of Birmingham Graduate School of International Studies, propose that the West should offer South Africa large-scale development aid in exchange for a commitment to work towards majority rule.

The authors, who visited SA last year, argue that the year 2000 is an appropriate date to complete the transfer of power.

They say the view that the country's internal problems can only be solved internally suffers from an array of skewed perceptions.

"When an existing order is poised as delicately as is the South African between adequate adjustment and deepening instability, any influence from within or without could tip the balance decisively."

The world, they say, has become so alive to the SA situation that dissociation from it is logically impossible.

The authors argue the belief that sanctions alone can induce the dismemberment of apartheid "stems essentially from the gauche and obsolete concept of pleasure-pain psychology".

In a section titled "The Poverty of Current Strategy" the authors say the current debate on SA is bogged down over just how severely sanctions might be applied.

Former Australian Prime Minister Malcom Fraser is quoted as saying: "It is not just a question of turning the screw steadily, it's a question of a hard blow."

However, the authors argue that "there is no single economic blow that might cripple the economy of SA.

"And even if there were some punitive measure, economic or whatever, that was sharp and decisive in its direct impact, still its indirect effect would ramify unpredictably.

"Besides which, any blows aimed at Pretoria are liable to do more damage to certain other Frontline states.

"This would apply even if the RSA did not deliberately wage economic warfare against them, if she simply took limited measures to buttress herself.

"Nor should we discount the Republic's ability to combat the outside world economically, through the leverage it exercises on metal markets."

The authors argue that punitive external pressures will result in white South Africans swinging to the right.

This greater determination to resist punitive measures was not just a function of immediate self-interest but a righteous anger at being the subject of vulgar double standards.

A sanctions-provoked scenario they envisage includes the condoning of white vigilantism and a negative revaluation of pass law abolition and easing of influx control.

No one, the authors say, should assume that white SA goaded rightwards would become too unstable to continue — especially as the possibility of subverting the armed forces was not feasible.

Nor could any civilised beings profess themselves relaxed about a slide into a revolutionary mess.

"Ten to 30 years of struggle would launch virtually all concerned into an era of utter misery, an era in which true majority rule receded beyond the most distant horizon."

The most urgent need in SA, the authors argue, is to check the gyration to extremes.

"An approach that ought to commend itself is the introduction into the West's strategy of the principle of persuasion.

"Large-scale aid, targeted on black education, housing and employment opportunities, should be offered to the country along with a concurrent suspension of economic sanctions and the provision of military guarantees against overt external attack.

"The *quid pro quo* would have to be a firm and overt commitment to progress steadily towards genuine majority rule by a specific date.

"Only the continuation by African National Congress factions or whoever of a general campaign of insurgency would be taken as a valid reason for delaying this consummation."

The authors suggest a monitoring agency, a multi-national equivalent of the Economic Co-operation Administration (established to implement the Marshall Plan after the Second World War) be set up.

Similar aid could be offered to neighbouring states in exchange for their political systems becoming more broadly representative.

While Pretoria might find a timetable hard to swallow, making this conditional on the cessation of insurgency would be to follow the precedent of the Malaysian insurgency in the 1950s.

"However, White South Africa may not respond positively to the prospect of even this form of intervention until it comes to feel less the subject of double standards in many aspects of report and comment."

While Pretoria argued a more fair comparison of its record was that between SA and the rest of Africa, the authors argue a more suitable comparison is that between SA and Israel.

"It is in the best interests of absolutely everybody that Israel's records within the 1967 ceasefire lines henceforward be scrutinised as closley as SA's in regard to settlement policy; right of peaceful demonstration; electoral choice; educational integration; prison conditions; free trade unionism; medical attention; Press freedom; judicial impartiality; and all the other indicators of the prospects for the under-privileged.

"Israel might better stand comparison in certain respects, notably media access; SA might in quite a few others."

The author's argue it is easily within the means of the Atlantic Alliance and Japan to fund the plan they propose. For Britain, they argue, it would be demonstrably less burdensome than trying to maintain punitive economic measures.

They dismissed as "silly" the argument that apartheid could not be reformed, only overthrown.

"Certainly apartheid does not lend itself to reformulation, for better or worse, as do many other political or social principles. But it is a play with words to suggest that it disappears at once or not at all."

The authors argue that in SA the yearning for the politics of moderation was shared widely enough to give something to build on.

"What one is grappling with is what former World Bank President and US Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara used to identify as the Action-Reaction phenomenon: the tendency for hawks on each side of a divide to reinforce each other.

"The necklace murderers and the AWB need one another as, in the Middle East, Ariel Sharon and Abu Nidal need one another."

The author's concede that trying to transform the scene into one in which the doves reinforce is fraught with difficulties — not least that reform measures were perceived by blacks as "crumbs from the master's table".

However, they argue, international monitoring with the goal of majority rule by a target date may afford a framework within which genuine dialogue might more readily develop.

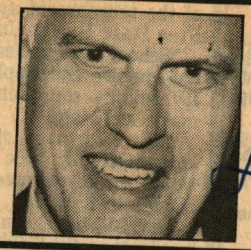
Their proposal, the authors say, will prove an acid test for those in the anti-apartheid movement.

They urge that a distinction be drawn between those who give it their backing because they want to see a non-racial democracy prevail in SA and those who are indifferent to this aim — because they are imbued by the ideology of Marxist revolution.

Quoting Merle Lipton they stress it is important to be seen to be fair to white SA — not abandoning principles, but abandoning the practice of double standards, the continual shifting of ground and raising the ante.

The practices that convince whites their critics want to punish, not reform them.

□"Sanctions or Targeted Aid" is published by Muirhead Foreign Policy Papers, University of Birmingham Graduate School of International Studies. NEVILLE BROWN has a personal chair in International Security Affairs at the University of Birmingham. He has worked for the Institute for Strategic Studies and was chairman of the Council for Arms Control. His wife, YU YING BROWN, is an accomplished Far Eastern Scholar.



Sympathy, not big headlines greeted the ANC leader in BONN, says **Rudolf Gruber** of the South Africa Foundation

NELSON MANDELA was made welcome for two days as an official guest of the Bonn government.

Although his presence was reported in the media and space was given to his call for continued sanctions against South Africa, at no stage, however, was he headline news.

This was not for want of sympathy with him, let alone because he failed to impress. Quite the contrary. It was simply that issues nearer home loomed larger. The German question swamped everything.

The key issue at all meetings, needless to say, was the question of sanctions. While the liberal SPD endorsed the standpoint taken by the ANC, the Christian Democratic Union repeated its known reservations on this score.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl himself had never been a believer in the coercive measures taken by the European Community in 1986 and he now agrees with those who feel that the conditions laid down at that time for their repeal have been fulfilled — if not to the last letter, then certainly in substance and in spirit.

He concurs that President De Klerk needs support against his domestic detractors. Chancellor Kohl believes a new non-racial order in South Africa would have no chance of survival if its economic health were impaired.

Given the inevitability of a black-led administration in the country, he feels it makes no sense to worsen the social and economic problems it would inherit merely in order to harass the existing government.

There would seem to have been no meeting of minds between Nelson Mandela and Helmut Kohl on this subject, though the latter undertook to bear in mind what he had been told when preparing his position for the EC summit in Dublin at the end of June.

Economic Co-operation Minister Jurgen Warnke, whom Nelson Mandela had approached for assistance in repatriating and housing 20 000 ANC exiles, took an even more forthright view.

Token

What was the point, he asked, of spending public money on such a purpose when the jobs which the returnees would need for their livelihood could not come into being for want of foreign capital or investor confidence? It was like driving a car with one foot on the accelerator and the other on the brake pedal.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, in contrast, is inclined to leave matters as they are. Trade sanctions, he claims, no longer hurt. They were never more than token measures anyway and South Africa has overcome them.

International bank loans are admittedly another matter, but it was the market and not governments which witheld lending facilities from Pretoria, he feels.

Contrary

Companies with assets in South Africa could still invest their profits and could even import fresh capital in the form of plant and equipment when their commercial viability required such a move. That this was not happening, was a reflection of investor confidence.

Mr Genscher believed apartheid had to be recognised as the primary agent for disinvestment, and its removal was thus the first priority. The best hope for such an outcome by peaceful means was Nelson Mandela and, since he too was politically at risk, the best course was to refrain from any action that would weaken his position.

Even if Nelson Mandela were not the next president, a black man would certainly hold that office and, since the black majority was overwhelmingly in favour of sanctions, it was counter-productive and contrary to self-interest to oppose it on this score.

President De Klerk had indeed shown courage, and deserved recognition and support for what he had done; but such a response should not be at the expense of his opposite number. But Mr Genscher feels he has already been given his endorsement in the form of his recent overseas trip.

Provided Paris takes the same view, Mr Genscher is likely to carry the day. His adherence to sanctions is not based on immutable self-interest.

Element

If a weighty majority in the EC Council of Ministers were to side with London and Lisbon on this issue, that would be a new element to take into account.

Between retention and repeal, any intermediate stages are conceivable. A compromise which yields ground on the substance while retaining the shadow, or vice versa, could thus well emerge.

ALWAYS a stagey city, Paris was at its stagiest when Nelson and Winnie Mandela began their world tour in the French capital.

They strode across the wide stage of a famous Parisian landmark at a slow and stately pace to meet President and Mrs Mitterrand — all against the backdrop of an illuminated Eiffel Tower and to the sound of 100 violins playing "Nkosi Sikelele-i'Afrika".

There were ringing speeches and symbolism aplenty designed to recall that this was the capital city of the Rights of Man, receiving the world's best known ex-political prisoner who became man of the moment.

Message

That this megastar treatment has not turned Mr Mandela's head, and that he retains his dignity, directness and charm, says almost as much for his psychological solidity as does his apparent lack of prisoner's bitterness.

Handed the stage in Paris, Mr Mandela used it to great effect in putting over his message: "Keep up sanctions pressure", and "Don't abandon us in the last mile of our marathon".

It is a theme he later hammered home in addressing other audiences. At the European

THE CITIZEN
COMMENT

Shun ANC

SHOULD anyone talk to the African National Congress while it is engaged in acts of terrorism?.

You would have thought it self-evident that one shouldn't, since how can you have talks with a terrorist organisation when, even as you meet its leaders, some innocents might be killed or maimed?

Besides, why give credibility to an organisation that uses violence to achieve its political aims, that plants bombs in shopping centres, in restaurants, in cars, in an amusement arcade and elsewhere?

Why turn the men with the guns and the limpet mines into ordinary, acceptable participants in the efforts to establish a new order?

Why go soft on the ANC when its terrorist campaign is aimed at undermining the will to resist, undermining the morale of the public, and creating uncertainty, doubt and in some instances fear?

The issue has been raised again, this time by Professor Johan Heyns, the moderator of the NG Kerk, who has an "ethical problem" over the fact that the government expects the ANC to forswear violence before it will negotiate with it.

It is like asking an alcoholic to stop drinking before you will talk to him, he says (a nonsensical comparison, since an alcoholic harms himself and his family and does not, like the terrorist, kill and maim people deliberately.)

The renunciation of violence, according to Prof Heyns, will be a result of, rather than a precondition for, negotiation with the ANC.

Since he carries authority, no doubt he will persuade some NGK adherents that the government's opposition to talking to the ANC is wrong.

It will be a pity if he does, as there can be no reconciliation if the ANC carries on with its violence.

It is interesting to note that although the government is against clerics, politicians, academics and rugby administrators trekking to see the ANC, the participants do not see anything wrong with such meetings.

In fact, they're darned pleased with their discussions.

However, some of the businessmen who pioneered the trek to Harare to meet the ANC had cause to regret their meeting with the organisation, since it gave the ANC a credibility it did not deserve.

The British and other governments opposed to terrorism were encouraged to have their own talks with the ANC, because if South Africans found this acceptable, why shouldn't they go ahead too?

Soon the isolated chats became a procession of meetings — in Dakar, in Harare, in West Germany.

And the talks continue, the most recent being between legal academics and the ANC.

The approach is usually based on the claim that there can be no settlement without the ANC.

Therefore, its views and policies on a wide range of subjects are necessary.

Some of the participants believe the ANC, in fact, will become the government; therefore it is vital to know what will happen if it does.

A man like Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, actually believes he has persuaded the ANC to stop its attacks on civilians, whereas his opinion, as a White liberal, counts for nothing among hardened Black nationalists who are terror masters.

There was a time when the government seized the passports of people who had anything to do with the ANC, or who went abroad to foul up this country's image or plead for sanctions or other punitive measures.

Today, such action is seldom taken, and those who want to chat to the ANC feel there is nothing to stop them doing so.

However, they should be in no doubt that the public in general rejects such talks while the ANC commits acts of terrorism — and the first bomb that goes off during or after such talks causes revulsion against those who participate in the discussions.

Our view, like that of the government, is the ANC must first renounce violence before it can play a part in negotiating a new South Africa. Meanwhile, it should be shunned.

THURS. 2 MARCH

Strike threat over crisis in education

THE South African Democratic Teachers Union said yesterday its 40 000 members would take to the streets later this month to protest against the Government's failure to resolve the education crisis.

Sadtu said it would stage protest marches and rallies and pickets on May 21 and 22.

In a statement, the union cited "the inability of the present education departments to effectively address the debilitating crisis in our schools".

Sadtu said it would also protest against the alleged victimisation of teachers and "the miserly 8,8 percent salary increases with which the Government endeavours to pacify hard-pressed teachers".

Education and Training Minister Mr Sam de Beer said yesterday that Sadtu's threat of a strike had been unexpected because they were on the verge of concluding an agreement with the Department of Education Training.

Introducing the debate on the DET Vote in Parliament, he said he noted the strike threat "with alarm".

The union had made the threat ostensibly because they want to force the DET to recognise them and their right to strike.

● To page 2

Strike threat

●From page 1

"This has been an unexpected development because Sadtu was on the verge of concluding an agreement with the department.

"At the last minute they made an about-turn on a draft memorandum of agreement that had been negotiated with the department," De Beer said.

The department would continue to negotiate with Sadtu about recognition and the many other issues they had raised.

The department had negotiated formal agreements with all recognised staff associations, the first of which was signed last week. - *Sapa.*

Slaying plunges council into turmoil

The killing yesterday of Mr Edward Manyosi, Soweto council's management committee chairman who was tipped to be the new mayor, has plunged the council into turmoil and the township into uncertainty, writes Langa Skosana.

Mr Manyosi was slain shortly after attending a caucus meeting of his group, which voted that he take over the reins of the township from the incumbent, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala.

The two men had once been friends and allies in the council but became bitter enemies about a month ago because of differences in approach.

Yesterday at a meeting of the council it became clear that some councillors did not want Mr Tshabalala as their mayor.

They told him bluntly that his term of office as mayor had ended and that new elections should be held immediately.

Mr Tshabalala suggested a postponement of the elections to next year but his colleagues said the elections should be held on Monday.

Although the death of Mr Manyosi should have strengthened Mr Tshabalala's position as boss of Soweto, he found himself having to convince his critics that his party had no part in the killing of Mr Manyosi.

He extended condolences to Mr Manyosi's widow, Mrs Joyce Manyosi, and their family, adding that Mr Manyosi had been a friend who had stayed at his home when he was sick.

But this did not convince some councillors.

When Mr Tshabalala pleaded with them to send a delegation to the Manyosi family to ask what part the council could play in Mr Manyosi's funeral plans, the councillors said he should have gone there himself.

Yesterday Soweto was silent, shocked amd uncertain after the news of Mr Manyosi's death.

The struggle for leadership in the council started about a month ago when Mr Manyosi and three other veteran civic politicians were expelled from key positions in the ruling Sofasonke party in the council.

Led by Mr Manyosi, they sought an alliance with other parties and independent members in the council in a bid to oust Mr Tshabalala.

They formed a new party, which is still to be named.

They were expelled because they were said to have defied Mr Tshabalala's authority.

Mr Manyosi denied these allegations and instead accused Mr Tshabalala of not understanding how to run a modern city like Soweto.

Last week, during the council's monthly meeting, the issue of re-electing Mr Tshabalala arose but the meeting ended in disarray when councillors started insulting each other.

Solomon Ka Dinuzulu: The last of a dynasty

AFTER the death of the great Zulu chief Dinuzulu, many Natalians feared for the accession claims of Manzolwandle, an elder son, but the South African Government of the time preferred Solomon Ka Dinuzulu, who was also known as Nkayishana and Mpumuzana.

This appointment was apparently at the insistence of the then Chief Native Commissioner of Natal, C.D. Wheelwright, with the approval of premier Louis Botha.

Some Natalians criticised the appointment because it was thought that it sought to revive the royal state of Usutu, of which territory Solomon was put in charge.

Solomon had gained much administrative instruction from his father and in European style he was able to restore and maintain the prestige of the Zulu royal house. He was generally regarded as exerting a good influence upon his people.

Installed in January 1917, his greatest achievement was possibly the welding together of the somewhat fractious Usutu and Mandlangasi tribes of Zululand, these having been hostile for over half a century.

Solomon was also responsible for the Zulu national institute for chiefs and the Zulu national congress, but other similar organisations he crushed with little compunction.

For a man who first saw Natal after the return of his father from exile, he took a deep interest in the day-to-day affairs of his Black subjects.

There were some who said that he was a young man of impressionable character, some argued that he was irresponsible (and pointed to the Prince of Wales *cause celebre* of 1925) and there were others who said that for a poor nation he was far too extravagant, the number of his wives being variously estimated at between 30 and 63.

In return for his appointment he allowed members of his nation to proceed on active service during World War 1.

Although his rule was comparatively uneventful, he nevertheless stamped his personality on those over whom he was chosen to rule.

He died in the Louwsberg district in March 1933 and was succeeded by his minor son. Some regarded his death as the end of the Shaka dynasty.

Swazi coup fears

Assassination: troops called out

Foreign Service

MBABANE: Well-armed troops have been deployed at key points in Swaziland following the assassination of the kingdom's deputy security police chief, Superintendent Petros Shiba.

Early yesterday soldiers set up sandbag defences around Manzini's Matsapa Airport, sparking rumours that the murder may have been part of a coup attempt.

However Swazi Police commissioner Mr PM Simelane said last night that he was convinced the African National Congress was responsible for Mr Shiba's death. Mr Shiba played a prominent role in raids on ANC members early this year after a Swazi government clampdown on the organisation.

A hail of machinegun fire killed Mr Shiba as he left a function held at his Mbabane headquarters on Friday night.

Police, who have launched a massive hunt for his killers, carried out a house-to-house search in Mbabane's residential suburbs. Residents said the police were asking in particular about old Toyota cars similar to the one used by the killers.

Sources close to the Swazi Police speculated yesterday that the gunmen might have been acquaintances of the superintendent — possibly even members of his own force. They said the attackers seemed to have been well-informed about Mr Shiba's movements.

He left the party at the Swazi Police officers' mess about 9.30 pm, and as he was driving away, an old vehicle drew up alongside his car and its occupants opened fire. Three bullets struck Mr Shiba in the chest and one in the stomach. He slumped into the lap of a colleague who was in the passenger seat.

LETTERS Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Struggle to free masses won't stop

Cape Times 4.5.

From LIZO NKONKI, regional secretary, South African Communist Party, Western Cape Region, (Salt River):

THE struggle to liberate the poor and exploited from the clutches of capitalist exploitation will not be deterred by right-wingers as represented by Koos Vermeulen — who are but an extension of the De Klerk regime.

It was irritating to listen to Vermeulen on the Newsline programme, at pains to justify violence as a legitimate means to prevent a communist take-over.

Chris Hani was assassinated because, more than any of our present leaders, he articulated the interests of the oppressed and exploited masses.

Chris, the revolutionary, is the progeny of the revolutionary masses and the De Klerks and Waluses of this world will not cause the SACP to discharge its vanguard or stop it from ensuring that the masses of working people attain genuine emancipation.

We need to remind the ruling class that 90% of the SACP members are endemic Africans and therefore we have the birthright to articulate the ideology of our choice.

We are critical Marxists who are not apologetic of our socialist origins and internationalism.

We have taken note of the setbacks of socialism but also salute its unchallenged positive aspects in uplifting the working people from the squalid conditions of capitalism.

In our country, more than seven million people are unemployed and millions have no shelter.

The high child mortality rate, poor health facilities and grinding poverty all represent the viciousness of capitalism in our country.

This violent system of exploitation has maimed thousands since the unbanning of the liberation organisations.

Our people will not be fooled by devils who invoke Christianity in defence of oppression and exploitation.

Many of the members of the SACP are believers; what unites us under the banner of the SACP is our commitment to eradicate oppression and exploitation in South Africa.

In this noble struggle no force on earth will stop us.

Our cause is the cause of millions of people. In Chris Hani's tragic death we draw everlasting sustenance!

Students becoming more political — SRC leader

By Susan Pleming

Students at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) are becoming more politically aware, said the newly-elected president of the Student Representative Council (SRC), Mr Grant Rex, last night.

Speaking after he was elected as president at the SRC's first meeting, Mr Rex pointed out that the majority of the new SRC members were supporters of the National Union of South African Students (Nusas).

"No SRC can ignore the political situation in South Africa and we plan to educate students on political matters," he said.

In the most contested election in recent years, 22-year-old Mr Rex said that nine of the 24 candidates for the SRC elections had opted for a political SRC this year.

Mr Rex said that most Wits students had adopted an anti-apartheid stand.

"There has been an increasing tendency for students to see the importance of opposition to the present ruling party."

Sanctions also have African foes

By Robert J. Caldwell
Editor, Opinion Section

Mounting political pressures are forcing President Reagan and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to accept some version of what they both oppose — economic sanctions against South Africa.

The Commonwealth, and just possibly Queen Elizabeth II, pushed Thatcher last week into acquiescing in sanctions. Congress, reflected in a nearly unanimous Senate Foreign Relations Committee, seems almost certain to do the same to Mr. Reagan.

But if imposing economic sanctions against the pariah regime in Pretoria is becoming irresistible, is it also the best way to promote peaceful change and an end to apartheid in South Africa? And, moreover, are sanctions and divestment the only morally defensible and politically decent positions for opponents of apartheid?

The answers offered by some whose anti-apartheid credentials are impeccable may seem surprising. But, in fact, some of apartheid's bitterest critics oppose sanctions and oppose divestment. What is more, they may be mounting something of a counterattack against the seeming consensus for taking a wrecking ball to South Africa's economy.

A notable example is Helen Suzman. A white liberal, Suzman is a member of the South African Parliament, a leader of the opposition Progressive Federal Party and an outspoken foe of apartheid since she entered South African politics in 1953. In a recent essay written for the *New York Times Magazine*, Suzman defended President Reagan's policy of constructive engagement and predicted more violence and more oppression of South African blacks if that country's white minority government is forced by international sanctions into a siege economy.

She also argued that sanctions could produce appalling economic hardships, not only for South African blacks but for the tens of millions of blacks living in neighboring countries that are dependent on the South African economy.

"Unpalatable as it may seem to the sanctions lobby, the most practicable way to get rid of apartheid and to achieve a nonracial, democratic society in South Africa is through an expanding, flourishing economy," Suzman wrote.

Her objections to sanctions are shared by Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, a former leader of the Progressive Federal Party and, like Suzman, a white liberal fully committed to ending apartheid. Indeed, Dr. Slabbert recently resigned as party leader to offer himself as a mediator between South Africa's contending forces.

Another seemingly surprising opponent of sanctions and divestment is South Africa's best known writer, Alan Paton. Paton's anguished 1948 protest against apartheid, his novel *Cry the Beloved Country*, stirred a generation to resist racial injustice.

Writing last year as divestment demonstrations occurred almost daily in Washington, D.C., and on American college campuses, Paton wrote this about economic sanctions: "There is only one firm statement that I can make on disinvestment — I will have nothing to do with it. I will not, by any written or spoken word, give it any support whatsoever.

"I hold the belief ... that the (Afrikaner) National Party has at last decided for moral and pragmatic reasons to do better. Now is the time, therefore, for the nations of the West to bring the greatest moral and pragmatic pressure to bear on us. That excludes sanctions such as disinvestment. Re-education and punishment do not go together.

"If the nations of the West condemn us, they will only hinder the process of our emancipation from the bondage of our history. But if they stay with us, rebuke us, judge us and encourage us, the chances are that we shall do better."

Suzman, Slabbert and Paton are white, which might tarnish their credibility for some in the West. But opposition to divestment and other forms of economic sanctions also includes goodly numbers of South Africa's blacks, most notably Chief Mangosuthu G. Buthelezi. Buthelezi, dismissed by some in Europe and America as a de facto collaborator with the Pretoria government, is nevertheless the acknowledged leader of 6 million Zulus, South Africa's largest black tribe.

Buthelezi opposes apartheid and advocates negotiations leading to a new constitution, a multi-racial government and power sharing. He also preaches non-violence and argues that divestment and other economic sanctions against South Africa "will compound the present misery of blacks."

To be sure, many other South African blacks — Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for example — support sanctions, condemn Buthelezi and bitterly resent the Reagan administration's resistance to imposing punitive measures against the South African economy.

But it is hardly clear that a majority, or even a plurality, of South African blacks support divestment and sanctions. A survey conducted last month by the respected polling organization MORI for the *Sunday Times* of London found that blacks themselves were divided deeply on sanctions. According to the poll, a majority of those blacks expressing an opinion opposed sanctions. Thirty-two percent were against divestment and other sanctions, 29 percent favored sanctions and 39 percent had no opinion.

The same poll found 45 percent of South African whites either opposed to apartheid or disenchanted with it, and 56 percent favoring the release from prison of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela. But, despite growing white opposition to apartheid, only 5 percent of South African whites favored sanctions, while 92 percent opposed them.

What many, and perhaps most, South Africans of all races could agree upon is the point made recently by Suzman. She lamented that the Pretoria government was effectively nullifying the debate over sanctions by providing too little reformist ammunition for the opponents of sanctions. Suzman wants the Akrikaner government of President P. W. Botha to release Mandela, accelerate the dismantling of apartheid, provide blacks better housing and education, and grant political rights to the black majority.

"It may well be," she wrote, "that all such arguments (against sanctions) fall on deaf ears, and that they are advanced in a lost cause. Nevertheless, they deserve to be made in the interest of millions of moderate South Africans of all races who abhor apartheid, who have long fought the abominable practices of race discrimination and who are striving for a peaceful transition to a nonracial democracy. For them, at least, it is surely not too much to ask that they be spared the violence and misery of a scorched-earth policy."

SORRY! ORIGINAL BLURRED TOO.

S African toll 131 in six days

JOHANNESBURG: South Africa's worst township violence in three years had by yesterday left at least 131 dead since Friday, when the date for the country's first non-racial election was set.

The election will be held on April 27 next year.

The anger that erupted into bloodletting in townships and villages for six consecutive days jeopardised the carefully constructed compromises being hammered out in the multi-party constitutional talks.

At least 69 people have been killed — shot, hacked, burnt or beaten to death — in Katlehong and Thokoza both near Johannesburg since Friday.

Another 47 people have been killed in Natal and 15 in the western part of Cape province.

Almost all the deaths are blamed by South African authorities on the rivalry between Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party, both battling for territory, influence and eventually votes.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha has refused to endorse the April 27 date.

The Times

Start the real debate on federalism

International commentator and journalist R W JOHNSON doubts whether South Africa can remain a single country without a federal system.

THE GREAT DEBATE

THE debate over federalism needs to come out of the closet. Until now there has been too much shadow-boxing about whether federalism is a backdoor route to the preservation of bantustans and minority privilege.

The real debate is not about that but about whether a South Africa without federalism can remain a single country at all. The taboo on frank discussion of this issue simply has to go: it is no good pretending that we do not live in a world where countries are sub-dividing like amoebas, or that the pressures which apply to them don't apply with at least equal force to South Africa.

The old Union of South Africa, which effectively glued four different countries together, has lasted only 82 years to date — which, in historical terms, means that the glue is barely dry.

South Africa would do well to reflect on the lessons Germany has to teach about federalism. As every schoolboy knows, Germany was constructed as a single state by Bismarck who welded the disparate states together as the lander (provinces) of the new Reich.

This he did essentially by Prussianising the key institutions: the Prussian king became the German Kaiser, the German army was built on Prussian lines, and Prussian blueprints were used in every field. This authoritarian style was accepted by the lander essentially because Bismarck's long, unbroken record of military triumph and economic prosperity made them all feel strong and rich.

In 1918, however, the Bismarckian state met military defeat and economic ruin. In effect the lander felt the contract had aborted and the Reich began to fall apart: Germany lost all its colonies, the French took back Alsace-Lorraine and separate republics were declared in Bavaria, Saxony and Thuringia.

In the end the much reduced Weimar Republic survived only because it conceded much greater federal powers to the lander.

This situation was anathema to Hitler who was nothing if not a passionate devotee of the unitary state. For a while he too made the Germans feel strong and richer, but the Third Reich also ended in defeat and misery: again, the implicit contract failed.

This time the Poles snatched away territory in the East and even the Germany which remained was cut in two. The Western rump opted again for a federal state — which succeeded mightily. East Germany opted for highly centralised government — which once again ended in disaster and collapse. German history teaches only federal lessons.

The old Union of South Africa had its implicit contract too: there was to be absolute white supremacy and equality between Boer and Brit. Within those limits, however, a federal discretion was to be allowed to the provinces. The Cape could keep its ideosyncratic franchise and marriages across the colour line could continue as they always had.

Natal could treat and mistreat its Indians in its own way and, uniquely, maintain a powerful black monarchy in its midst. The OFS and Transvaal could comport themselves as befitted two former Boer republics.

In some ways this implicit contract was actually strengthened by the National Party after 1948. White supremacy was reinforced and the state patronage of Afrikaners gave Boer-Brit equality a social and economic as well as a legal dimension.

But in other ways the contract was subverted. In essence, the Transvaal was our Prussia, Verwoerd our Bismarck, and apartheid the Prussian blueprint on which the state had to be made anew. Gradually the country was Transvaalised.

We became wearily familiar with the notion that the country's leader was almost invariably the Transvaal leader of the NP. The power of the provinces was cut back and back, always to the benefit of Pretoria, until, infamously, the provincial councils were abolished altogether.

Worst of all, race relations were recast along Transvaal lines. No matter that in Natal such relations were a delicate three-cornered affair or that in the Cape they were shadings along a single spectrum.

In the Transvaal there was a harshly simple confrontation of black and white and the preferred white way of dealing with this was territorial segregation: when the homelands were finally set up, six of the ten were in the Transvaal.

Some of the worst traumas of apartheid occurred when this simple Transvaal model of setting boundaries between races was applied to already densely integrated urban communities elsewhere. It was one thing to demarcate off the Transvaal's rural Africans into homelands or custom-build large numbers of townships along the Reef, quite another to tear out the integument of long-settled cities by clearing coloureds from District Six or Indians from Durban's Berea.

Verwoerd and his successors got away with such atrocities partly because they strengthened white supremacy but mainly because under their rule South Africans, especially white South Africans, felt they were getting richer and stronger. Under P W Botha this gradually ceased to be true: although the Prussianisation of the state reached unexampled heights, the state itself was shaken as never before.

Now F W de Klerk has reneged on the implicit contract even further. Far from getting richer, per capita incomes have seen negative growth for three years now; far from getting stronger, the armed forces are being cut to the bone. Most of all, of course, the end of white supremacy is in sight.

Not surprisingly, the unity of the old Union has started to unravel. A claimant white right demands wholesale secession into a Boerestaat, the threat of a KwaNatal UDI exists at one remove, Bophuthatswana dreams of uniting with Botswana, and the non-African majority of the Western Cape has begun to remember what good sense the old Cape Colony made as a separate country.

Not surprisingly, the NP too has had a death-bed conversion to federalism. But we have seen nothing yet: an end to white supremacy may be promised, but it has yet to occur.

When it finally does the most fundamental part of the old contract will disappear and there will be a quantum leap in secessionist tendencies on every side. Those who want to hold South Africa together as a state at all — never mind a unitary state — must abandon the bogus debate over federalism and begin the real one now.

'Stay away' men jailed

TWO MEN who prevented people from going to work in September were yesterday sentenced to R300 (150 days) plus 12 months jail suspended for three years by a Johannesburg Regional Court magistrate.

Bhekuyise Khumalo and Benjane Hlongwane, no ages or addresses given, pleaded not guilty before Mr P C B Luyt to a charge of stopping people going to work and threatening them for going to work on September 16.

Garage attendants Mr Johnny Mogane, Mr Jacob Setladi and Mr Wilson Mahabile, said that on the afternoon of September 15 two men approached them and asked why they were at work.

They said Khumalo and Hlongwane told them not to go to work the next day if they did not want to die. Mr Mogane said he saw a knife protruding from Hlongwane's belt. He said the two men said that they were giving them until 6.00 pm, after which they do not want to see them at work again.

STAND-STILL

The manager of the garage, Mr R Schultz, said that at 6,00 pm he noticed that cars had come to a stand-still, and his three attendants stood dumbstruck.

He saw two strange men talking to the attendants. "I sensed something was wrong so I went to fetch my revolver. When I returned the two men had left. Johnny, one of the attendants, told me that they had been threatened by the two men."

Mr Schultz said he got into his car and went after the two men. He stopped Khumalo, who had a knife, near the garage.

Khumalo and Hlongwane said they were attacked by four men near the garage. They said that they had gone to the garage to wash blood from Khumalo because he had been injured in the attack.

Suspicion of police on rise, McCauley tells FW

THE Rhema Church's Pastor Ray McCauley yesterday said he had sent a message to State President De Klerk noting a growing perception among moderates that allegations of police/Inkatha collusion in violence "are not wild political propaganda".

The message was sent in the wake of the Boipatong massacre.

"I visited Boipatong on Friday afternoon and spoke to many of the residents and prayed with them," Pastor McCauley said in his message to Mr De Klerk.

"Having heard their first-hand accounts of what happened I am deeply disturbed because it appears the police failed in their primary duty of protecting innocent citizens.

"There is a growing perception among moderate Whites and Blacks that the allegations of police/Inkatha collusion are not wild political propaganda, but are, in fact, true and the government is, in fact, party to promoting violence.

"I am not in a position, nor do I have all the facts, to make a judgment on such allegations — but I implore you to urge the police to do their job properly."

The pastor also warned Mr De Klerk that the patience of "moderate thinking people is running out".

"Having spoken to people at Boipatong, it is clear confidence in the police force is at an all time low," he added. — Sapa.

LOCAL COUPLE TALK ABOUT MEETING AFRICAN CHIEF

Say Sanctions Hurt Black S. Africans

The popular perception that sanctions imposed by Congress against South Africa and the withdrawal of American financial investment there will help improve the lot of the Black South African in his struggle against the White South African government, is far from helpful in practice.

AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

This is the opinion long expressed by Bruce and Doris (Mr. and Mrs.) Burke of Honesdale RD 4, principal figures in Open Bible Ministrties, Inc., which has for years been in direct personal contact with blacks in southern Africa.

The Burkes, recently returned from a Florida meeting with African Chief Mongosuthu Gatska Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Natal, South Africa (in the U.S. for talks with governmental officials including President Reagan) say their feeling that sanctions and divestiture in South Africa hurt the wrong people, is reinforced by what the Chief reports.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Chief Buthelezi personally shared with the Burkes the adverse effects in unemployment and starvation, that sanctions and disinvestment are already having on the 80 million blacks in southern Africa, "the very people they were supposed to help," the Burkes noted.

Because of their continuous involvement in southern Africa through Open Bible Ministries, Inc.. (OBM) the Burkes are informed and fully aware of current events in that region. Many articles and a book have been written on the subject and are available from Mission Headquarters in Honesdale. OBM has been ministering in several nations of southern Africa over the past fifteen years.

TWO MEETINGS

The Burkes who developed a personal acquaintanceship with Chief Buthelezi during several trips and a lengthy residence in South Africa, were guests at a private dinner honoring the Chief and his wife, Princess Irene, at Daytona Beach, FL, on Friday, Nov. 28.

The following day the local couple attended a banquet held at Indigo Lakes, FL, again honoring the Chief and attended by the Mayor of Daytona Beach, officials from the Florida state government in Tallahassee and Florida Congressman McCullum.

During his three-week stay in the US and Canada, Chief Buthelezi had numerous interviews and speaking engagements on TV, radio, college campuses and business groups. He also met with President Reagan and leading government officials in Washington, DC.

Eric Ngubane, the Chief's personal aide, has maintained a close friendship with the Burkes through the years since early 1970 when he was their intrepreter in Soweto, South Africa, before he was called to serve the Chief at KwaZulu.

CHURCH MEETINGS

Bruce & Doris Burke also held meetings in churches in Orlando and had opportunity to speak several times at Clearwater Christian College in Chapel service and classroom instruction. They have been invited back to the College to participate in the annual Missions Conference early next year.

On their return trip, the Burkes stopped at Washington, DC, to meet with officials of the South African Embassy. The Burkes are strong supporters of President Reagan's constructive engagement policy towards South Africa and Chief Buthelezi's stand on peaceful negotiations with the Pretoria government. All are opposed to US Congress-imposed sanctions, disinvestment, ANC terrorists activities and Soviet Communist infiltration of the area.

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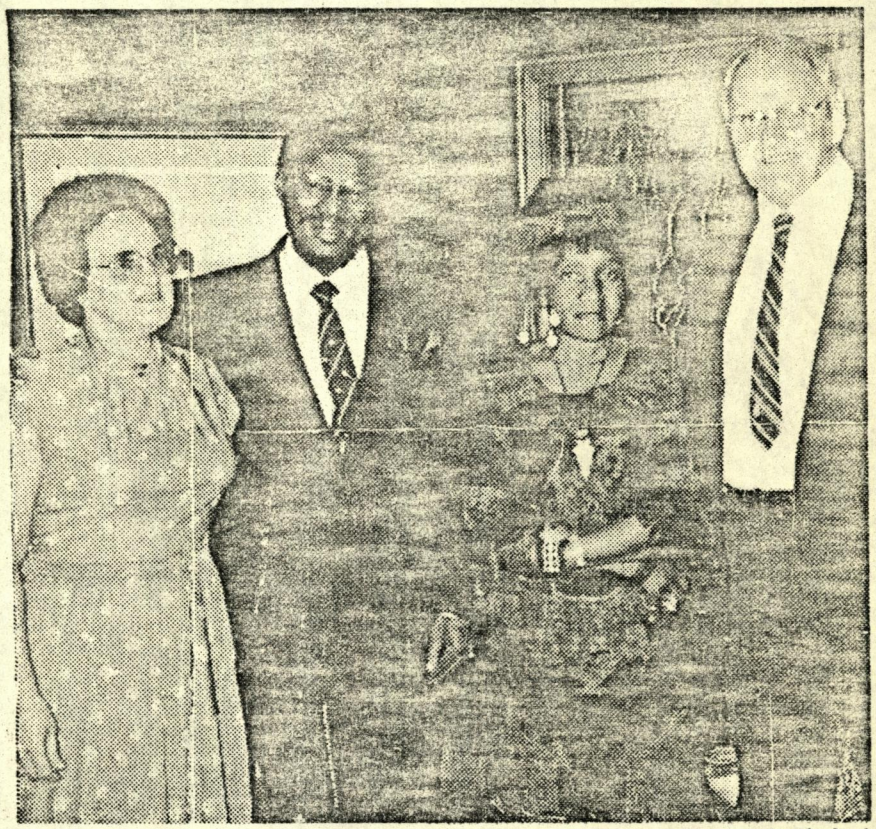


WITH AFRICAN CHIEF — Bruce and Doris Burke of Honesdale RD 4 are pictured with KwaZulu, South African Chief Mongosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi and Princess Irene during a recent dinner meeting in Florida.

Schools plan: Mixed response

FROM PAGE 1

ERS's recommendations would be costly for parents since free education would be limited to seven years.

"The majority of Whites cannot afford it."

The recommendation that a new education model should further national unity was totally unacceptable. The CP would never allow educators to indoctrinate their children in a new nation.

The DP education spokesman, Mr Roger Burrows, said his party, particulary welcomed the recommendation that race should not feature in its structure.

The DP was "extremely pleased" that there would be a central education authority as well as regional departments.

It was also pleased to note the detailed recommendations in the discussion document on the devolution of decision-making to the school management councils.

It supported the recommendation on the significant shift in secondary education and the full recognition given to the manpower needs of South Africa.

However, the document was extremely thin on pre-primary education and made little mention of specialised education.

The party would accept the opportunity offered by the Minister of National Education, Mr Louis Pienaar, to make comments to the Committee of Heads of Education Departments.

The TFC has reserved judgment on the report and strongly deplored leakages about the report beforehand.

Professor Hennie Maree, chairman of the TFC, said the leakages had detracted from the legitimacy of the investigation by the Committee of Education Department heads which led up to the report.

He said the TFC also deplored the fact that some "interested parties" had not taken part in the deliberations, and added that it had made it quite clear from the outset that it believed that any new education system must have a broad basis of acceptance.

He said that even before ERS investigation was started, consensus had been reached in discussions with the various Education Ministers and the State President that it could only be successful if maximum involvement of all interested parties could be obtained.

"Therefore, it is a matter of grave concern that not all the interested parties could be involved in this investigation."

But the TFC, as an interested party, had co-operated and its representatives had sat on committees which had investigated specific matters, as well as the integrating committee which collated all the information into one document.

"However, this does not necessarily imply that the Council as a body accepts or supports everything contained in the report," said Prof Maree.

The TFC would now study the released "discussions document" and make inputs, are requested.

The National Education Co-ordinating Committee yesterday criticised the proposals as thoroughly inadequate and not at all a new or strategic attempt to restructure education in South Africa.

The NECC was especially critical of the government's proposal to provide free basic education only up to Standard Five.

NECC spokesman Mr Mel Holland said the rich thus would get general education and continue to dominate economically.

The poor would leave school young and enter the vocationally-oriented streams paid for by the private sector or underfunded by the State.

Making Standard Five the highest level of compulsory education for the majority would not redress racial imbalances at higher levels of skills, he said.

Although the NECC had urged a high level of general education, followed by technical and other kinds of specialisation, making Standard Five the cut-off point did not allow this, he said.

Further criticisms were that no plans had been put forward to transform the present quality of education, nor to address the historic imbalances in the provision of textbooks, classrooms and teachers.

Mr David Maepa, chairman of the Soweto Education Co-ordinating Committee also criticised the proposals.

He said that as far as disadvantaged Black students were concerned, the recommendations were "at best misguided intentions, and at worst mere re-arrangements of furniture in an old and discredited house".

"They will only serve to shift the focus away from the popular call for one Ministry of Education for all South Africans," he said.

The Pan Africanist Student's Organisation strongly rejected the education renewal strategy document saying that it was an insult to the people.

General Secretary, Mr Lawrence Nqandela, said yesterda y that under the present rule in the country there could never be any alternative education of some kind.

"Colonial education cannot be done away with under the present government. The PAC believes in education for liberation and believes that the two are indispensable.

"Any education system in any given country supports the interest of the ruling government and the South African racist regime is no exception."

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry welcomed the educational renewal strategy and urged for its speedy implementation.

JCCI president, Mr Mike Cato, said the Chamber welcomed in particular the new emphasis the strategy placed on the vocational and technical training of individuals.

"Basic literacy and proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic are fundamental needs of every human being but thereafter the requirements of our future demand technical skills."

Siaka Stevens, former leader of Sierra Leone

FREETOWN, Sierra Leone (AP)—Former President Siaka Stevens, who led this West African nation for 17 years, has died at his home after a brief illness. He was 82.

An official government statement did not mention the cause of death.

Mr. Stevens, who died Sunday, was one of the few African leaders ever to relinquish power voluntarily.

He became prime minister of Sierra Leone in 1968 after a military coup and assumed the presidency on April 21, 1971, two days after the country became a republic.

Mr. Stevens was president until November, 1985, when he transferred power to his handpicked successor, Maj. Gen. Joseph Momoh, the armed forces commander.

Mr. Stevens, described in "Who's Who in Africa" as "a bluff, friendly, approachable, pragmatic socialist" was born Aug. 24, 1905. He had made a name for himself and secured a following as a trade unionist when the British still ruled Sierra Leone.

As British rule ended, Mr. Stevens refused to join a three-party coalition that was to assume power. Instead, he formed the opposition All People's Congress.

Mr. Stevens was on the sidelines on April 27, 1961, when Sierra Leone became independent and Sir Milton Margai became the country's first prime minister.

Siaka Stevens in 1977

Mr. Stevens' party won the March, 1967, general elections, but shortly after Mr. Stevens was sworn in as prime minister, he and other officials were arrested by the chief of the army.

After a month of infighting among the military that saw power change hands at least three times, a military-led National Interim Council took control and returned the leadership of the country to Mr. Stevens' civilian government.

He survived two coup attempts, in September, 1970, and March, 1972.

SA facing anarchy, claims Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — South Africa is on the road to Beirut-style anarchy, Chief Buthelezi has warned.

He told the Institute of Management Consultants of SA in Johannesburg, where the kwaZulu Chief Minister was nominated Man of the Year last night, that black politics was rapidly being radicalised and black-white polarisation was "deepening before our eyes".

Unless urgent steps were taken to "unshackle black democracy" the country would soon reach the point beyond which there would be widespread bloodshed.

"A great many blacks, and some whites, are arguing that we have passed that point and that the Government must be removed by violent means."

The root of the violence, he said, was the Government's refusal to negotiate a package deal meaningful to blacks.

Chief Buthelezi was still opposed to violence: "Violent solutions will only lead to post-apartheid violence. We need to reconcile South Africa to make the national effort we will need to reconstruct this country."

The minimum conditions for reconciliation, he said, were the release of all political prisoners, the recognition of South Africa as one land with a sovereign parliament based on a system of universal adult franchise, and the modernisation of the country as an industrial democracy.

Soweto bloodshed

16 people die in clashes, 14 injured as police fire buckshot

The Argus Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — At least 14 people were injured when police fired buckshot at Soweto residents after intervening in gun and stone throwing battles between residents and Meadowlands Hostel dwellers.

Earlier, at least three people were injured when shots were allegedly fired from the hostel.

By last night, the weekend unrest-related death toll in Soweto was 16, police said, with eight killed yesterday.

● Five people died when they were attacked by a group armed with pangas early yesterday.

● Two people were shot dead in Orlando East.

● One man was killed near Dube Hostel when gunmen fired on a group.

The Soweto Civic Association accused police of siding with hostel dwellers. But police denied the allegations.

The chairman of the Killarney branch of the SCA, Mr Weston Shabangu, claimed thousands of Inkatha supporters were brought to Meadowlands Hostel under police protection yesterday morning "to kill" residents.

Mr Shabangu said shots were fired from the hostel less than 12 hours after between "8 000 and 10 000 warriors" had arrived from three hostels near central Johannesburg.

Police liason officer Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo denied that hostel dwellers had been brought in by police.

He said that many hostel dwellers came out of the hostel when police arrived yesterday morning to search for weapons in the hostel and in surroundng Mzimhlope, Killarney and Meadowlands.

RESCUE: A critically injured man who was shot in the head is carried away from the scene of a clash between Meadowlands Hostel dwellers and residents.

During the search firearms were confiscated, but nobody was arrested, he said.

The shooting in which the three residents were injured began about 4pm, disrupting a civic meeting — attended by a Star reporter — convened by the SCA to help find a solution to the ongoing violence.

With the first sounds of gunfire, people at the meeting ran towards the hostel. Residents and hostel dwellers started hurling stones at each other.

When police arrived, they ordered the residents to disperse. When the call was ignored, police fired teargas.

During a subsequent argument with police, a resident was arrested. Captain Mariemuthoo said that the man had attempted to stab a policeman.

After other residents had tried to wrest him from police they fired buckshot, injuring 14 residents. Most of the injured were hit while running away. The Star's reporter saw the incident.

However, Captain Mariemuthoo said teargas was used to disperse the crowd.

● Sapa reports from Maritzburg that Mr Philip Powell, the first white to be appointed an urban representative of the KwaZulu government, was one of three people injured in a shooting attack at Imbali near Maritzburg last night, according to KwaZulu MP Mr David Ntombela.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Henry Budhram confirmed that Mr Powell, his bodyguard Mr Philane Zuma and another man, Mr Michael Mkhize, had been admitted to Grey's Hospital with gunshot wounds.

The men had been at a day-long rally at Imbali.

The exact circumstances of the shooting were not known.

Lieutenant Budhram said it appeared shooting had broken out after the rally and the injured men were apparently caught in the crossfire. They were under sedation and unable to answer questions.

Mr Powell is about 28, and is a former president of the conservative National Students' Federation. In May 1991 he was appointed the Natal midlands urban representative of KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The NSF, founded in 1984 by Mr Powell and others, was thought by some opponents to be a front for the National Party. Mr Powell said the organisation was funded by firms and businessmen whom he could not name.

ANC slams 'necklace' threats

Political Staff

THE ANC today dissociated itself from threats that it would make Bophuthatswana ungovernable through necklace killings and bombings.

The threats were made by ANC Western Transvaal leader Mr George Mathusa at the funeral of former Bophuthatswana hunger striker Mr Bushy Molefe in Rustenburg at the weekend.

He is reported to have said: "In South Africa we did it through our necklaces and bombs; we can easily repeat it here."

But ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus condemned the statement.

"Necklacing is obviously not our policy and we'll hold discussions with the person concerned," she said.

SA's solution 'obvious'

NELSON Mandela told Canada's ambassador to South Africa recently that the African National Congress wants a one-man, one-vote system on a unitary basis. He knows that this will give the ANC unfettered power.

If the Moors could rule Spain for five centuries on the basis of an extreme devolution of power, as indeed they did in Morocco and Tunisia and some of the other countries under Saracen control, there must be something in it for it to have lasted so long.

The Afrikaners, Zulus, Tswanas, Ciskeians and many other groups are not going to accept Xhosa domination and will institutionalise violence if that comes about.

If a federal or confederal system were agreed upon Codesa would merely have to draw more definitive boundaries and determine the federal powers and level of taxation, which would be the very minimum. The drawing up of constitutions would then devolve upon the states, which could each get on with the main job at hand.

The solution is so obvious that one is amazed that the matter is even being debated at all. Why must we go through a Cyprus-style war before that conclusion is reached?

WELL SAID
Durban

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

NP isn't justified in telling ANC to dissolve MK

THE rationale of Codesa is the search for and the formulation, through negotiations, of a new South African government.

Put another way: The National Party is not a representative government. The African National Congress negotiates with the NP because the latter is occupying what the ANC also claims as "its own" — not because it recognises the NP as a legitimate government.

The NP at Codesa is an equal partner. It does not enjoy privileges which usually flow from a social contract (that is, those enjoyed by a legitimate government), which means that the SA Defence Force and SA Police are private forces of the NP. Is the NP therefore justified in telling the ANC to dissolve the MK while it does not do the same with its private army?

On the same basis the KwaZulu Police is in fact a contingent of the SAP under Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi. This is so because KwaZulu is part of South Africa and not an independent country. KwaZulu therefore also has a private army with Dr Buthelezi as its chief of staff.

We know that Dr Buthelezi and Hernus Kriel will always argue that their forces are apolitical and impartial, but who is going to believe that since these officers take orders from them and not from the ANC or other parties? Besides, the record of the police itself does not credit them with impartiality.

One has no reason not to believe the ANC when it says it has suspended the armed struggle. We have not heard about MK indiscretions or its "terrorist" activities for a long time. The same cannot be said of the KZP, SAP and SADF.

So much for FW de Klerk's integrity and the irreversibility of the process.

HARTLEY P GUNGUBELE
Engcobo

SA now has 'democracy, African style' and we are all too apathetic to protest

SOUTH Africans of every colour and creed are becoming a nation of spineless jellyfish who are too apathetic to emit even a peep of protest.

Consider the following:

This country, and the so-called government, is being dictated to by the ANC/SACP alliance, Cosatu, MK and every other radical organisation in every respect. That's "democracy" — African style.

"Mandela demands . . .", "Cosatu demands . . .", "We demand . . .", is splashed across every newspaper and our TV screens. "Nocsa has decided . . .", "Sam Ramsamy and his committee have decided . . .". That's "democracy" — African style.

Our national emblems — the flag, our anthem and the Springbok are to be replaced by something else in sport because Mr Ramsamy and Mluleki George (who is he, anyway?) have decided they are "racist" symbols. That's "democracy" — African style.

I'm surprised that they, between them, did not go so far as to decide that our sporting fraternity would wear ANC colours, march under MK's flag and sing *Inkosi Sikelele i'Afrika*. That would be "democratic" — African style.

There's no doubt that if a single voice of protest were heard from the millions who, contrary to Mr Ramsamy's and Mr Muleki's beliefs, do NOT accept their dictatorial decrees and want to retain our national symbols, a national stayaway from work will be called by Jay Naidoo and his cohorts.

Never mind whether the majority of people want to work and earn money to feed their families — they will soon be subdued by threats of violence if they do not go along with these decrees.

As for what is happening in schools, universities and the townships — here misguided and downright lazy "heroes" engage in acts of violence, intimidation, murder and robbery. They demolish everything in sight (after all, they didn't pay for it, so who cares?) and destabilise society because, like a bunch of spoiled brats who throw tantrums every time they can't get their own way, these misfits demonstrate typical examples of "democracy" — African style.

And what do the masses do about all the above? Sweet nothing, because everybody is too scared to get "involved". Everybody, the government included, is ignoring the fact that the ANC/SACP alliance and its affiliates are using every means of entrenching themselves deeper and deeper.

J VAN RENSBURG
Bluff

Squatters kill policeman

By Carol Hills, Rika van Graan and Sapa

SQUATTERS killed a Soweto narcotics bureau policeman, Lance-Sergeant Raymond Maritz (24), after he fatally wounded a drug dealer in Klipspruit yesterday morning.

Sgt Maritz and two police assistants were about to arrest the dealer for selling them dagga for R20 when the man pulled out a knife and stabbed Sgt Maritz in the eye.

Squatters then charged the policemen and Sgt Maritz opened fire on the dealer, hitting him in the chest and killing him.

Sgt Maritz ran to his car and was driving off to summon help when he hit a boulder lying in the road.

The squatters dragged him from the vehicle and shot him with his own firearm.

The two police assistants ran for help. Soweto police spokesman, Colonel Funyana Zwane, said one of the assistants was robbed of his 7,65 mm pistol.

TO PAGE 2

Policeman killed

FROM PAGE 1

One of two policemen who answered their call for assistance was robbed of a shotgun.

Sgt Maritz was taken to the Garden City Clinic, where he died of his injuries, said Col Zwane.

Sergeant Maritz was born to be a policeman, his heartbroken fiancé, Susan Lendrem (23) said last night. "It was his life and I had to adapt to it," she said.

Sgt Maritz was the son of Mr Dirk Maritz and his wife Maureen, who farm on the municpality's farm near Vanwyksvlei, south of Johannesburg.

He was one of three children.

His colleagues last night described Sgt Maritz as a very lively person and an excellent policeman.

He joined the Sowetos Narcotics Bureau about two years ago, an officer said.

Susan told The Citizen she was informed of the tragedy shortly after it happed. She rushed to the Garden City Clinic. As he was in the operating theatre, she was not allowed to see him before he died.

The young couple became engaged on November 27 last year and had planned to get married on October 31 this year, she said.

"We knew each other for four years, and it will be very hard to get over his death. We had so many plans for the future and now it was ended in such a way."

According to the official police unrest report, three people — two who had been shot and one stabbed — were found dead in Alexandra township, on Saturday.

The latest deaths brought to five the number of people killed in Alexandra since Workers' Day on Friday.

Four other people were wounded in the township.

In other violence on Saturday, a man was hacked to death at Tokoza on the East Rand, and another was found shot dead at ZonkeZizwe, in the same area.

S. African rebels predict slow victory

Blacks would approach the government not with spears, but "respectfully, as loyal subjects, with the intention of airing their grievances and removing the obstacles of poverty, prejudice and discriminatory legislation."
— John Dube, first president of the African National Congress, in 1912.

By LARRY OLMSTEAD
Free Press Africa Bureau

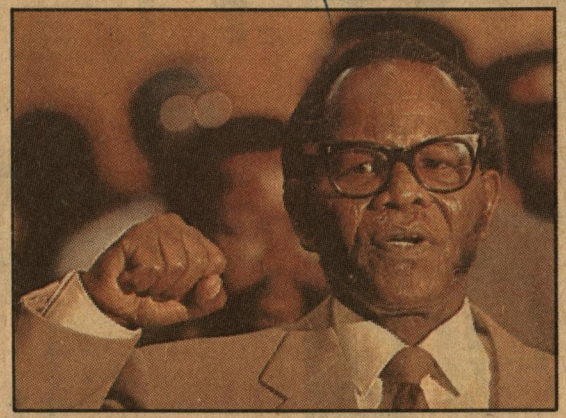
JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Seventy-five years later, poverty, prejudice and discriminatory laws remain in South Africa. So does the African National Congress.

ANC members today fight not as loyal subjects, but as outlaws in their own land, their leaders jailed or in self-imposed exile hundreds of miles away.

The respect due the white-led government has turned into attacks like the May 20 car bombing at Magistrate's Court in Johannesburg that killed four white police officers.

While the notion of loyal subjects who peacefully pursue political reform has passed with time, replaced by an aggressive, often violent liberation movement, the ANC has grown in stature, winning some acceptance and a measure

See **ANC**, Page 14A



ANC President Oliver Tambo

S. Africa rebels find progress slow

ANC, from Page 1A

of credibility with major Western states, including Britain and the United States.

Although they are not the only players with which the South African government must reckon, they are a key to dismantling the apartheid system of racial segregation and replacing it with a political system that enfranchises South Africa's large black majority.

To find out more about the African continent's oldest black liberation movement — what motivates it, how it operates, and whether it might soon be able to wrest power from the government — the Free Press, over eight months, visited various ANC facilities, read dozens of documents and interviewed dozens of people in five nations: South Africa, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Britain.

Among those interviewed were ANC members and officials, activists, analysts, diplomats, government and security officials and regular South Africans.

The reporting confirmed what Solly Smith, the ANC's representative in London, would term "the centrality of the ANC" to the South African question — that it is an important player and cannot be ignored.

But it also has pinpointed obstacles still facing the congress 75 years after it was founded, 27 years after it was banned, 26 years after it began an armed campaign against the government in Pretoria and 23 years after its well-known leader, Nelson Mandela, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

In contrast to the ideals expressed by the first president, those who now fight for what the ANC says is its goal — a non-racial, democratic South Africa — find there is defiance, hope, sacrifice, a conviction that victory is certain and the frustrating reality that no one knows when it will come.

For example:

- Khethiwe Mboweni has been jailed several times for activist work and her fiance, Stephen Marais, is serving a seven-year prison term for transporting arms that were used in an ANC bombing. She said their activism must continue, and "I wouldn't forgive myself if . . . my children are still going to face the same evil system that I'm facing today."

- Mandela waits behind the walls of sprawling Pollsmoor Prison near Cape Town. At 68, he works out regularly, reads newspapers and keeps well informed in hopes of playing a role in securing political rights for his people. "I think that there was a time when they got pretty close to releasing him," said his friend, Oliver Tambo, the ANC president who lives in exile in Lusaka, Zambia. But there recently have been no positive signs, he said.

- When Francis Meli fled South Africa in 1963, he thought he soon would return to a liberated nation. "I was thinking in terms of three years," Meli said, interviewed in exile in London. "We thought that by '66, we'd be over with the whole thing."

The "whole thing" seems far from over, but Meli, now a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee, patiently helps create policies that he hopes will contribute to the downfall of the South African government.

Analysts say the obstacles that could prevent the ANC from achieving its goal of a non-racial, democratic South Africa until well into the next century include these:

- Ineffective military action. "They have, up to today, not achieved any major military success," said Wim Booyse, a former University of Pretoria researcher and now with the International Freedom Foundation, a conservative lobbying group.

"You ought to have a continuous armed offensive, not a sporadic one, across the country," said Thabo Mbeki, the ANC information and publicity director. "We have not managed that. So long as we don't manage that . . . the struggle won't move as fast as it ought to."

- Conflicts with other black South African political groups, including the Inkatha movement of internationally known Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

- A lack of clarity about the ANC vision for South Africa. This raises suspicions among Western countries. But such clarity is needed, some say, to broaden the ANC's base of support inside South Africa, particularly among whites.

- A government that has campaigned on all levels — political, legislative, military — to try to discredit the ANC, particularly within South Africa, and to disrupt its activities.

Interest in the ANC has been heightened worldwide as political turmoil continues in a nation where nearly three-fourths of the population is denied basic political rights.

In the past year, Tambo has met with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, boosting the group's international prestige.

The South African government blamed the ANC for the need to impose a nationwide state of emergency on June 12, 1986, and has tightened strict laws aimed at ANC activities. The ANC's response was a record number of sabotage and terrorist attacks in South Africa in 1986.

The government made the ANC a focal point of the campaign for the May 6 white Parliamentary election, telling voters that liberal opponents are too cozy with the ANC and that the governing National Party would never surrender the country to the terrorists.

Opposition parties complained that they were hampered from countering that National Party strategy because of laws that restrict public discussion of the group.

Much of the material in this series could not be printed in South Africa, where laws prohibit quoting ANC leaders such as Tambo, Mandela and Joe Slovo, who is also head of the South African Communist Party and until recently was chief of staff of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

On Feb. 20, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok banned newspapers from quoting Tom Sebina, the ANC spokesman.

But those laws have not prevented the ANC from being a topic of news reports and discussion in South Africa, frequently in accounts of bombings, land mine explosions and attacks against police and other government officials.

For instance, on April 8, white police officer Danie Boshoff was killed in a shootout near Ventersdorp, west of Johannesburg. Two alleged ANC suspects in the slaying subsequently were killed by police.

On April 13, Robert McBride, 23, an ANC cadre, as its guerillas are called, received three death sentences for set-

Sick of ANC arrogance

FROM PAGE 1

created expectations after the September 26 talks when it gave a public undertaking that it would examine its programme of mass action.

"We can play with words but everyone understood that the ANC would review its position.

"I regard their statements after the first executive committee meeting as totally unsatisfactory. South Africa expects the ANC to become a political party and operate peacefully.

"I cannot accept a party involved in the negotiation process can say 'I am marching to topple your government'. That's not democracy.

"It is time for the real leaders of the ANC to discipline their grassroots followers and regional and dissident radical voices in the top executive.

"The ANC must get its house in order."

The government would take firm steps against marches which were expected to lead to violence, as this was the government's duty, Mr De Klerk said.

The decision to sign documents releasing political prisoners was one of the most difficult in his career, Mr De Klerk said.

"I understand that the release of criminals is upsetting to the broader community. I must still sign the documents and must say it is one of the most difficult decisions in my career, on whether it should be done.

"Can we ever reach reconciliation as long as we are divided into various camps and agitate about people sitting in prison for acts they committed in a time of conflict which was compared by many to a state of war?"

He said agreement could either be reached on releasing all prisoners with political motives, or those who disagreed with the government could be kept in prison while the National Party remained in power.

The second option would not work. However difficult it was to release murderers according to specific norms laid down, it was the best of both options.

"We have to make sure that it is done on the basis of political motives and no matter how wrong the deeds, there must be a procedure of identification to ascertain who to release."

He said it was unfortunate that a mistake or two had been made with recent releases. The matter was, however, being investigated and "we have learnt from this mistake".

"These decisions to clean the slate were an essential step in the best interests of long-term stability and I ask for understanding of this."

– Sapa.

SA sick of arrogance of ANC — FW

EAST LONDON. — South Africa was sick and tired of the African National Congress' inflammatory speeches, its arrogance and its intolerance in recognising the rights of others, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

"They must stop their nonsense and stop their underground activities. There is no room for underground activities in South Africa."

Mr De Klerk, speaking at the Cape National Party congress in East London, noted the ANC had

TO PAGE 2

Sowetan

GERRIT VILJOEN

Support local authorities, Minister pleads

SOWETAN Correspondent

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen has appealed to black communities to support their local councils to ensure sound local government during the transition to a new dispensation.

The call comes in a statement after talks on Monday between Viljoen and Deputy Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and a delegation from the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, led by its president, Mr PD Nhlapo.

Viljoen said he had "emphasised the essential role of black local councils and the councillors in ensuring an orderly progress to a new and just South Africa and appealed to them to continue their very important task".

He said he explained the Government's aims in creating a peaceful climate for a negotiated settlement and informed Ucasa about recent developments in the negotiation process, particularly regarding local authority affairs.

"I gave the assurance that the functioning of all local government systems must and will continue in an orderly way until a new constitution, also for local government, has been properly and legally negotiated," Viljoen said.

DAILY NEWS

Western eyes fall upon two political murders and human rights abuses

Savimbi is about to face the music

Jonas Savimbi has asserted that his Unita movement is not on the point of collapse but the heat on him to account for murders in his organisation is not off. **DALE LAUTENBACH** of The Daily News Africa Service reviews the story so far.

INTERNATIONAL voices, particularly from the United States, are demanding that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi account for murders in his organisation but South Africa has remained mysteriously quiet about the apparent misdemeanours of its former ally in Angola.

Important American newspapers have noted the potential embarrassment to the US administration as the image of the friendly guerilla leader it backed in the Angolan war crumbles in the face of evidence about murder and human rights abuses in the so-called democratic Unita.

The US channelled hundreds of millions of dollars to the movement as its Cold War surrogate in Angola. By way of damage control, the US administration is now exerting highly publicised pressure on Dr Savimbi to account for himself.

South Africa also poured an untold sum into its military operation with Unita in Angola during the 16-year civil war. But the cost to South Africa was also one of lives. In spite of this, all queries to the Department of Foreign Affairs as to what kind of explanation they were going to call for from Dr Savimbi have met with a blank.

The story is much the same on the question of Malawi. The international clamour against that country and apparent human rights abuses is growing. Leading trade unionist and opposition activist Chakufwa Chihana was arrested on his return last week and there are fears for his life. But still South Africa has not challenged the Malawi administration that was one of its few African friends during the "total onslaught" years.

Pressure from the US on Unita is continuing in the form of a visit to Luanda by Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen. He arrived in the Angolan capital on Monday on a mission to stress the US demand for an explanation following Dr Savimbi's admission that two senior members of his organisation had been killed by Unita's hand.

Dr Savimbi said that as leader of Unita he accepted "moral" responsibility for the slayings but sought to distance himself saying no leader could know everything that went on in his movement. He said that Tito Chingundji and Wilson dos Santos, former Unita representatives to Washington and Lisbon respectively, had been murdered in Unita's bush headquarters at Jamba last November.

And he blamed General Miguel N'Xau Puna, who as head of Internal Affairs, defected from Unita at the end of February and with fellow defector and Unita co-founder Tony da Costa Fernandes, effectively blew the whistle on Unita.

Hard evidence, accountability and responsibility have been on shifting grounds ever since the murders hit the news afresh in the first week of March following the defections. But in his response to the announcement of Mr Cohen's visit to Luanda and the US insistence that a full investigation take place, Dr Savimbi was probably his most revealing yet.

In an interview last week with the Lisbon daily newspaper, Publico, he said he was prepared to accept an international inquiry into human rights abuses, provided that it investigated other Angolan parties, no doubt meaning primarily the ruling MPLA.

But then even more revealingly, coming from a man who was supported by both the US and South Africa as the democratic hope for Angola in the face of a communist dictatorship, he said the inquiry should not take place until after the Angolan elections now scheduled for September 29 and 30 this year.

He felt an investigation now would distract Angolans from the main objective: elections.

Clearly this position reveals little grasp of basic democratic principles: Vote for me now and we'll address the bothersome little matter of human rights later, is essentially Dr Savimbi's message.

The New York Times has commented, in a piece entitled Deaths and Desertions may Undermine Angolan Rebel Leader, that Dr Savimbi's direct responsibility for the killings should not be underestimated.

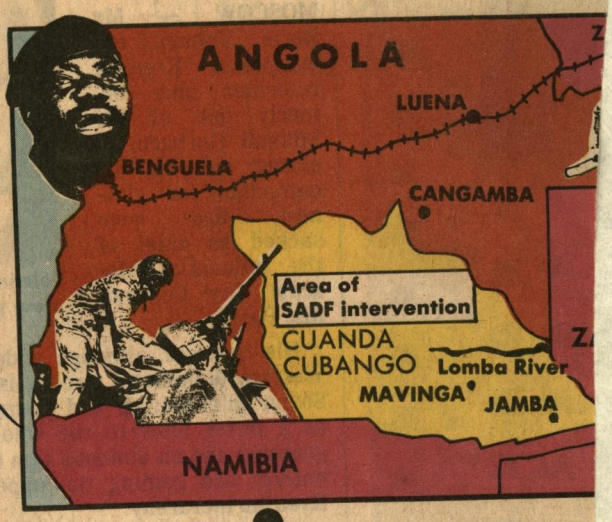
The nature of his guerilla movement, said the NYT, was based on the Maoist concept of "people's war" in which absolute discipline and unquestioning obedience was expected.

"To foster loyalty, Unita has created a cult of personality around Savimbi that approaches what the Chinese lavished on Mao tse-Tung."

MPLA bolstered following setback in campaign

STAR

SADF in fighting against Russians



By Craig Kotze

South African and South West Africa Territory Force troops are still locked in battle with Russians and Cubans in south-east Angola.

Defence sources say this is the implication of a key phrase in a detailed statement issued by General Jannie Geldenhuys, Chief of the South African Defence Force yesterday.

General Geldenhuys said the SADF would "continue to act" for as long as "Russian and Cuban forces intervene in south-east Angola".

The sources said this meant the battle was continuing.

The SADF, asked today whether major battles were still in progress said it had "absolutely nothing to add to General Geldenhuys's statement of yesterday afternoon".

Reuters news agency said the "unusually detailed" nature of General Geldenhuys's statement was an indication that major battles could still be in progress, and seemingly intended to prepare South Africans for news of casualties.

Yesterday General Geldenhuys said SADF forces and those of the SWA Territory Force backed Unita in fighting Russians and Cubans during battles in south-east Angola.

It was the first time the SADF had confirmed direct intervention in support of Unita.

It followed an SADF denial earlier this week of clashes with the MPLA in Angola by its forces and those of the SWATF.

Yesterday Angola claimed that South Africa had lost 230 men and large amounts of equipment — including armoured cars and cannon — in fierce fighting over the past two months.

Denied claims

An SADF spokesman denied the claims. He said the SADF had made known all its operational losses. "This is a matter of public record."

Admitting direct South African involvement in the Angolan civil war, General Geldenhuys said SADF and SWATF forces intervened after Russians and Cubans joined the battle when the recent Angolan Government offensive was defeated.

The MPLA offensive in October has been described as the biggest to date in the 12-year civil war.

Repeated allegations of SADF involvement on Unita's side have been rejected in the past by the SADF with proclamations that the claims were designed "to divert attention from well-publicised Unita successes".

The general said the recent "limited action" against the Russians and Cubans was to prevent the takeover by the Luanda government's MPLA forces of the Cuando-Cubango province and the subsequent reactivation of Swapo insurgent activity in the Caprivi and Kavango in Namibia.

He said the overrunning of Cuando-Cubango would also give the ANC "greater freedom" in infiltrating South Africa.

Describing the SADF/SWATF intervention, he said the Russians and Cubans used sophisticated ground-to-air missiles, MiG23 fighter aircraft, attack helicopters and tanks after the defeat of the MPLA by Unita.

"In recent days elements of the SADF and the SWA Territory Force were compelled to take limited action against surrogate forces which intervened in the battle between Unita and the Angolan forces, Fapla.

"This intervention is further evidence of active destabilisation in Angola which started in mid-1975."

SA must have 20 years of sustained growth: Relly

WITHOUT a 20-year period of sustained economic development, South Africa stands no chance of reducing its population growth and improving the prospects for its environment, Anglo American chairman, Mr Gavin Relly, said yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of the book, South African Environments into the 21st Century," at the Rosebank Hotel. Mr Relly said that at the root of most environmental problems in South Africa and the world were too many people producing too many children, causing too much pressure on the environment. Less income simply meant more people and vice-versa.

"Man-made impediments to economic growth such as sanctions imposed from abroad or internal restrictions on Black and White entrepreneurs arising from an over-regulated society, can therefore do nothing but worsen the overall picture for this country.

"This conclusion also points to the importance of universal access to the country's resources by the population as a whole - whether it be education, health, the economy minerals or land. For a demographic transition to smaller family sizes to occur quickly, the fruits of labour must be spread across all layers of society."

Mr Relly said that this meant the granting of opportunities to everyone living here to participate in the wealth-creation process.

"One of the original scenarios developed by our global scenario experts back in 1985 was an 'industrial renaissance'. In it the new technologies and new value systems favourable for economic growth created a renaissance of industrial development in the 1990s, "Mr Relly said.

"I think that their views have been somewhat modified by such phenomena as global warming - or as it is sometimes termed 'the greenhouse effect' —and the depletion of the ozone layer.

"No doubt, our experts would now insist that the renaissance must be led by environmentally-friendly technologies as opposed to energy-sapping ones."

Mr Relly said that it might well be, as scientific evidence of a causal link between global warming and the burning of fossil fuels mounts, that the two principal issues of the 1990s will be energy conservation and the development of alternative energy sources to fossil fuels.

As the authors say, "the cake we eat in 50 years' time will have to be baked in a different way and contain other ingredients". Sapa.

Improved exports avert a crisis

SA's trade surplus drops to R1,89bn

Business

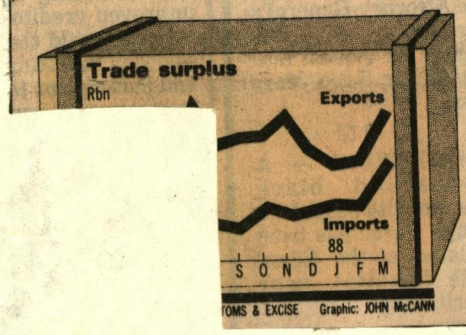
GRETA STEYN

SURGING imports coupled with slow growth in exports caused SA's trade surplus to plunge to R1,89bn in the first quarter of this year compared with R3,6bn in the first three months of 1987.

But the trade balance has not shrunk to crisis levels yet, thanks to an improvement in exports in March. Exports increased by R630m from February to R3,96bn last month.

The trade surplus for the month was R696,5m — up from February's R647,1m. But imports surged in March, rising by R578m from February to R3,27bn.

Though the current account on the balance of payments (BoP), which includes payments and receipts for services, is not yet known, economists' estimates range from a small surplus to a small deficit.



The monetary authorities are unlikely to tolerate the situation, even if the current account is not yet in deficit, and are expected to announce a comprehensive package to protect the BoP this week.

Southern Life economist Mike Daly says: "The surplus on the current account is in a classic squeeze situation and the position, crucial for interest and exchange rates and the duration of the economic upswing itself, will need to be closely monitored."

Sanlam economist Johan Louw believes the current account could be in deficit to the tune of R350m — the first quarterly deficit since the end of 1984. In his view, the authorities are in a difficult position.

Louw says: "They have to cool down the economy but would like to avoid an 'overkill'."

Old Mutual's David Mohr says the "painful experience" of correcting the BoP and inflation problems that followed the 1980/81 and 1983/84 upswings are still fresh in the minds of policymakers. Thus the BoP will continue to

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Sweethearts no more?

Whatever happened to what the Nat Government and its sweetheart, the African National Congress, fondly called the Record of Understanding?

For those who might have forgotten, the Record of Understanding, a sort of wedding vow between the aforesaid partners, made provision for the banning of the display of cultural weapons in public, the fencing of hostels - as if their inmates were some kind of sub-Nat\ANC species - and other matters which civil servants might describe as "issues of mutual concern".

Now it seems that whenever the ANC is on the march cultural weapons are brandished with gay abandon without as much as a peep of protest from Messrs Violence Monitors Incorporated.

Perhaps we should ask our constitutional anthropologist who haunts the Memorial Tower, where King Shaka's impis once roamed, for advice. Perhaps she could divine the significance of the ANC seemingly discovering its roots.

Perhaps she could tell us why the vast outpourings of experts on violence whenever Zulu people in particular carried their "cultural weapons", have now totally dried up.

Has there been a misunderstanding over the whole issue? We eagerly await her pearls of wisdom. She might care to title her thesis for the benefit of the populace: ''How to bear cultural arms in public – a case study in a misunderstood understanding''. Or, ''How to call a Roelf Meyer spade a Ramaphosa.''

SEVEN DAYS

Behind the headlines

ANDREW DRYSDALE

IN case you hadn't noticed, **Nelson Mandela** has been in town.

We knew in advance that he was coming, of course. He duly arrived ... late. Africa time prevails, as patient but exasperated schedule watchers have almost routinely come to expect. Whatever the reasons for delays, the ANC and other political organisations newly on the public scene need to pay rather more attention about keeping people waiting.

Be that as it may, the reception from the faithful at the airport was exuberant if somewhat disorganised. A platoon of boy soldiers managed to get their picture in the paper though they didn't get to go through their paces with their wooden AK-47s. In the bad old days, I dimly remember, the Nats had youthful uniformed Voortrekkers as standard bearers at comparable political occasions, so some things don't change.

What has changed, however, is the official security cover provided by a mellow yellow helicopter swinging overhead for the Mandela entourage all the way downtown. That, and on the ground, a joint presidential-style bodyguard drawn from the police and the ANC's own protection unit.

So much for the trimmings. What of the man?

Clearly, Nelson Mandela is on the stump in the Western Cape, unashamedly out to woo electoral support in an area of the country which could well be marginal, a close run thing, on election day. Since we don't see as much of him in these parts as do the Vaalies and others, it was important to the ANC's fledgling campaign here for the leader to be visible. And that he most certainly was, visible and vocal.

He pressed flesh, made speeches, gave interviews, made impromptu contact wherever he went. He does so with flair, a winning mix of authority and informality. For a man in his 70s, he is remarkably resilient and energetic.

Nelson Mandela is a commanding presence.

F W de Klerk, by comparison, has an engaging presence. That is not to demean his style, for he is of compelling charm, immense dignity and courtesy, and a formidable political opponent.

Perhaps because of his generation, Mandela tends to cling to remnants of past expression ("Europeans" — oops! — "or whites ...").

"I asked De Klerk ..." or "I told De Klerk," he will say.

De Klerk, on the other hand, is meticulous about referring to Mr Mandela.

Either way, I have an idea that no matter what the party policies — who understands the gobbledegook, anyway? — many a voter will be swayed by the personality and character of these two champions of the political joust. Both in their way represent what many people want to believe in — and trust.

'Sanctions to go by month end'

JOHANNESBURG. — The green light for sanctions to be lifted before the end of the month was signalled last night by ANC chairman and head of foreign affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki.

And ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday the ANC expected to announce a final deadline for the lifting of sanctions today.

Last night multi-party negotiators agreed to a Transitional Executive Council.

"This means we have taken another step closer to the lifting of sanctions," Mr Mbeki said, addressing the opening of a "Made in the USA" trade exhibition at the World Trade Centre.

Sanctions would be lifted before the end of the month, he said.

Mr Mbeki said the US had played an important role in imposing sanctions against South Africa in the 1980s.

Black empowerment

He urged American firms exhibiting at the trade fair to use the opportunity to establish ties with the country.

He said US firms could play an important role in achieving black economic empowerment.

"What will be very difficult here will be the rebuilding and reconstruction of this economy," he said. "We look forward to your help."

The ANC also announced it would give special tax advances to companies investing in South Africa after the elections, provided they helped uplift and train the local population.

Addressing a packed Livingston Leandy corporate presentation at the Durban Country Club last night, ANC media liaison officer Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation would also guarantee that investors would not be prevented from taking profits out of the country. He said South Africa needed a growing economy.

Go-ahead

SANCTIONS TO GO ...
Thabo Mbeki

Accord reached on interim govt

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators last night approved the Transitional Executive Council Bill, after dramatic last-minute meetings between the government and the ANC averted a breakdown in talks.

The adoption by sufficient consensus of the draft TEC Bill was greeted with a standing ovation by negotiators. The bill will now be sent to Parliament.

Asked later when he thought the TEC would be up and running, the government's senior negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said "a fair guess would be the middle to end of October".

The government and the ANC reached a compromise after six hours of negotiations.

Earlier there was concern that negotiators might not achieve agreement. The talks were adjourned for several hours yesterday afternoon after the government and the ANC asked for time behind closed doors to try to resolve two outstanding issues between them.

Only two of the 23 delegations, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, opposed the adoption. The Pan-Africanist Congress and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions.

The chairman of the day's proceedings, National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers, described the adoption of the draft bill as "an important achievement for the negotiating council".

"We have sufficient consensus," he ruled.

The TEC and its seven sub-councils will oversee the run-up to the April 27 election.

The State President's powers to declare a state of emergency have been separated so that he now has to consult the law and order sub-council. The TEC can revise the decision and overturn it with 80% support.

In the required TEC majority, a 75% consensus, rather than the initial 80%, is needed for decisions.

A 75% consensus is also required in the law and order, and defence and intelligence sub-councils, if they are limited to eight members.

Other sub-councils with six members — finance, foreign affairs, regional and local government, and the status of women — require a two-thirds majority.

Therefore it would require three sub-council members to prevent a decision, effectively making a 50% consensus in the smaller sub-councils.

The draft TEC Bill joins three other pieces of draft legislation for the interim period to be dealt with at a special sitting of Parliament next Monday.

These are the draft Independent Electoral Commission Bill, the draft Independent Media Commission Bill and the draft Independent Broadcasting Authority Bill.

Mr Meyer told a press conference afterthe consensus that the adoption of the draft TEC Bill "is a major achievement for this negotiating process".

He said that on the one side the government's clear objective was "to ensure that the TEC will not be an alternative government or replace the executive of the country, and from the perspective of other participants to create a mechanism that will ensure free and fair elections".

"We (the government) are satisfied that this bill does not provide for a substitute of the government in any way whatsoever, or joint control of the security forces," Mr Meyer said.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "It is a historic mqment for those who have struggled against apartheid, because the adoption of the draft TEC Bill is one of the final steps in bringing down the apartheid edifice."

Senior negotiators envisage holding the plenary session of leaders after the September special session of Parliament, but before a second special session planned for the end of October. — Sapa

● Buthelezi: SA in civil war now — Page 2

Senseless blood-letting – ANC

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

After Nelson Mandela's weekend admission that ANC members were also involved in violence, the ANC yesterday strongly condemned recent attacks, and called on affected communities to resist being drawn into an increasing cycle of violence.

Commenting on recent killings in Port Shepstone, Evaton and Sebokeng, the ANC said the "senseless bloodletting" could be the work only of those who sought to undermine the peace process.

The ANC said recent developments — "acts of provocation such as in Eikenhof, aimed at precipitating massacres against blacks" and the spate of murders in the Vaal townships of Evaton and Sebokeng— indicated a worrying trend.

The organisation said the Port Shepstone massacre — in which 10 young men were killed — followed joint ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party peace initiatives in the area.

The ANC expressed its condolences to the bereaved families, and called on everyone to resist attempts to suck them into the violence.

"We are certain that perpetrators of these heinous acts will in time be fully exposed. Only those who want to postpone the transformation of our country into a democracy stand to benefit from such evil deeds."

The Rev Danny Chetty, director of Practical Ministries, yesterday said a highly professional group aiming to destroy successful peace efforts was responsible for the Natal South Coast attack.

This, he said, would clear ordinary ANC and IFP members from blame because they were not militarily competent enough to carry out such a sophisticated attack.

Addressing a rally in Mamelodi on Sunday, Mandela admitted that some ANC members were involved in violence. The ANC, he said, would take disciplinary measures against such members and would even expel them from the organisation.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi made a similar admission.

Circulate Business Day 16/9 Please take the time to read this significant article.

With the Compliments of DENNIS GORDON

South Africa's white revolt

☐ TREURNICHT ... growing support

☐ TERRE'BLANCHE ... support growing

A R KENNY, writing in the Spectator, finds the great threat comes not from black miners but from right-wing white workers

SOUTH AFRICAN revolution is coming, but everybody is looking the wrong way. The black miners' strike once again turned the heads of South Africa-watchers in the wrong direction.

Our little Eastern Transvaal fastness made the main international news with a violent incident at the coal mine that supplies our power station. There was no such interest in the far more ominous event in May of this year, the white election.

This election revealed with chilling clarity the most dangerous fact of South African politics; politically white SA is divided not by language, not as between town and country, not by region — but by class.

All white opposition to apartheid comes from the rich middle-class; the white working-class is rock-solid in favour of it.

Throughout the country there is now a great tidal movement of white workers towards the extreme pro-apartheid parties, a movement compared with which the antics of the ANC are a sideshow and which more than anything else menaces SA's future.

The easiest way to see this is to superimpose a map of the white political constituencies upon an economic/geological map of SA. You will see immediately that support for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) is reduced to a few rich middle-class constituencies in the big cities, the swimming-pool constituencies.

You will see that support for Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party (CP) follows the coal seams. Where there is coal there are mines and heavy industry and a white industrial proletariat which now votes CP.

The map will show you, too, that the most enthusiastic support for hard-line apartheid comes not from the farmlands but the industrialised areas.

Throughout the economy the divide is the same. The boardrooms and reception areas are open to all races; the factory floors have "White Men" and "Non-White Men" lavatories.

The senior managers might vote PFP; the welders and fitters used to vote for the Nationalist government and are now voting CP.

White university students are trickling into the multi-racial United Democratic Front (UDF); white workers are pouring into the AWB.

The AWB — led by Eugene Terre'Blanche — is a straightforward fascist party: nationalist, racist, socialist and big on the historical destiny of the volk. It is also, I believe, the fastest-growing political party in Africa.

The class divide over race in SA is far wider than any class divide in Britain.

There is nothing at all unusual about the racial attitudes of white working men in SA.

I worked for some years at a factory in the north of England and I am now working at a power station in the Eastern Transvaal, and in their attitudes towards race, and indeed everything else, I find the white worker from Lancashire and the white worker from the Transvaal to be as alike as two peas in a pod.

By far the most serious insurrection that SA has ever faced happened in 1922 when the country was faced with an armed rebellion of white mineworkers. The workers rose up in arms when the mine owners on the Rand decided to allow black miners into jobs until then reserved for whites. The Smuts government backed the mine owners and had to use troops and artillery to put down the workers' rebellion, with a large loss of life.

Some of the white workers were communists and their interesting rallying cry was: "Workers of the world, unite and fight for a white SA!" Some died on the gallows

singing the Red Flag — working-class martyrs dedicated to apartheid.

The NP that came to power in 1948 carried the mantle of these martyrs.

But over the last decade or so the NP has lost its raw working-class appeal and has become gentrified, prosperous and reform-minded. Many of the men at our power station regard P W Botha as a "kafferboetie" and increasingly the NP are regarded as a bunch of rich careerists who, at the behest of the international community, are preparing to sell out the white working man to the blacks.

My employer is now an "equal opportunities employer" and has rejected job reservation for whites. I attended a meeting of our shift when the production manager explained the new system to the operators, black and white.

I watched the white workers as he spoke. Fearing the loss of their jobs if they dissented, they listened in silence, their faces like stone. That week there would be another 100 new recruits for the AWB. In the May election the lads voted overwhelmingly for the CP.

Liberal opinion, at home and abroad, shuns white workers completely. South African liberals and socialists, who find blacks exotic and pitiable, find the white workers merely vulgar and ignorant. Various pilgrimages of foreign anti-apartheiders never consult representatives of the white working-class — in many ways the most important "shade of opinion" in SA.

The worst snobs in this regard are the Marxists, for whom the white worker is a forbidden non-subject. It sometimes seems that the only thing which unites Marxists the world over is a deep loathing for the working-class.

However, the Nationalist government might well have managed to push through racial reforms and keep its working-class support but for one crucial new circumstance: sanctions.

Sanctions have been brilliantly successful in strengthening the facist parties and in damaging the prospects for ending apartheid. When the NP began its programme of reform, it promised that white living standards would not suffer.

In fact the reforms were immediately followed by sanctions (a line of causation that the fascist parties have gleefully pointed out) and living standards among the poorer whites have fallen.

And as they become poorer and feel themselves more threatened by a hostile outside world, the white workers are turning for protection and understanding to the AWB.

SA faces two, and only two, possible outcomes for as far into the future as it is possible to see — democracy or white tyranny.

Democracy can only be established with the consent of the white working-class, without whom industry could not operate and whose sons and brothers fill the lower ranks of the police and armed forces.

This consent is obtainable. In all my conversations with the workers and operators here I find them reasonable men, even if their racial perceptions are different from my own. Their relations with the black workers are usually easy and cheerful — in sharp contrast to the excruciatingly awkward relations between liberal white academics and black students at the University of Cape Town, where I studied.

Like working men everywhere they are immune from *folie de grandeur* and they do not dream about a Great White Empire in Africa. It's the little things that matter to them. They would be quite happy to consider power-sharing but not social integration. For them the important thing is to keep their whites-only schools and pubs and lavatories.

Black workers are more worthy of our sympathy because they are worse off than the white workers. But white workers are more worthy of our attention because they, unlike the blacks, have the potential for mustering irresistible industrial, political and physical force.

When the black workers at the mine which supplies our coal were nearly all on strike, our coal flow from the mine continued unaffected. If there were a strike of black workers at our power station, we would not lose a MW-hour. A white strike at either plant would shut it down instantly and completely.

When I climb on to the roof of our power station I can see at least four others in the distance. Over the horizon lie the other stations of the Transvaal and the huge oil-from-coal-plants. This area, which provides more than 80% of SA's electricity and all of her oil-from-coal, now lies under the political control of the CP and the AWB, and the control is spreading into the rest of SA's industry.

In the pits and factories and turbine halls about me I seem to see the spectre of 1922. The shadow of the AWB now falls over the whole of northern SA, from the Kalahari to the Swaziland border and it is lengthening southwards.

Unless the debate about SA changes, there are dark days ahead.

R20 000 school blaze 'arson'

QUEENSTOWN — Damage estimated at R20 000 was caused when part of the Nonese Lower Primary School burnt down following what is believed to be an arson attack.

A police spokesman said six classrooms, the principal's office and a store were completely destroyed.

The fire was noticed by a routine police patrol at 10.45 pm on Friday. The Queenstown Fire Department does not answer calls to the township for security reasons and it was left to the police and onlookers to try to extinguish the flames.

The spokesman said it was impossible to say at this stage what had started the fire, but it was believed to be the result of arson. No arrests have been made and investigations are continuing.

The fire at Nonese is the latest in a series of arson attacks on schools in the locations surrounding Queenstown.

St Andrew's Mission was extensively damaged by fire recently in what was believed to be an arson attack.

A week after this incident the Van Coller Higher Primary School was damaged when fire destroyed a classroom and its contents.—Sapa.

THE CITIZEN

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Speak out against forces of darkness

I WISH to express my support to the challenge laid down by Rev Ray McCauley, of the Rhema Bible Church to Mr Nelson Mandela in regard to his stance towards Christianity and freedom of religion in the new South African political dispensation.

The ANC's alliance with the atheistic SACP and Mr Joe Slovo's outrageous and blasphemous statement that Jesus Christ would probably be a member of the ANC's military wing in today's South Africa is cause for grave concern for committed Christians.

As a loyal and active lay member of the Roman Catholic Church, I call on all believers, urgently, to stand together as one people at this important time in the history of our country, together with Rev McCauley, Prof Johan Heyns and others, to leave aside all theological differences, and to speak out against the subversive forces of darkness whose hallmark is ambiguity and double-talk.

It is vital that at this time the churches give their united support to the courageous initiatives of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and other leaders such as KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with a moderate, godly and non-violent outlook.

JOHN LEE

Johannesburg

FROM PAGE 1

South African sex survey row

"It's diabolical," said Mrs Margaret Ambler, Durban city councillor and nurse.

"It smacks of the kind of arrogance and paternalism that is almost synonomous with what the Government has become. It goes against the grain of civilisation that any government department should have the right to demand that people answer questions of such a personal nature — unless they are the Gestapo."

Mrs Ambler said she would have no quarrel with any research organisdation who stopped her and asked her if she would mind replying to questions without having to supply her name, because she would be given the choice to reply or not.

"If I were to be asked to reply to this questionnaire, I would refuse and I would go to jail on principle rather than pay the fine," she said.

Mrs Nomathambe Sithole, director of the Council for Higher Education, said "the most horrible part of the thing" was that people would be compelled to reply to the questions.

"The department may have reasons for the survey, but it should be on a voluntary basis.

"It is an intrusion of the most intimate part of one's life. If people want to reply, they can do it. But they should have the right to refuse."

She would refuse to reply to the questions and she would refuse to pay the fine.

Mr B. K. Dludla, chairman of the Durban and District Council of Churches, said the questionnaire was "devilish and absolutely uncalled for."

It would be only a doctor — and at the request of his patient — who would need information of that kind.

"There is certain personal information that nobody should be forced to reveal. This time the authorities have gone too far molesting innocent people for no other reason than statistical information.

"Each human being is a divine creature and they seem to have forgotten that God has the supreme authority," Mr Dludla said.

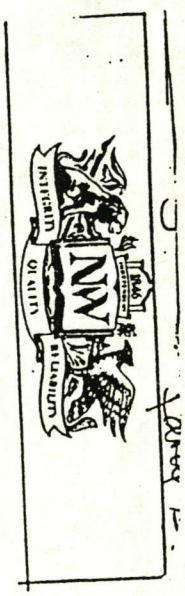
A Durban lawyer pointed out that it was recognised in all civilised countries, including South Africa, that communication between husband and wife was privileged.

"The principle of the law is that marriage is sacred. If a woman can be forced under penalty of a fine to disclose details of her marital life, the sanctity of the marital relationship would be impaired," he said.

• **Fertility farce: Page 24.**

Scene set for terror

Disclosures that the right wing apparently now has more militarily trained men than the armed wing of the ANC can only further alarm those who already view the future with foreboding. For far from being dissuaded from acts of aggression by such an even balance of forces along the arguments of the nuclear MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction) lobby, the scene could easily be set for more acts of terror as the police predict. The right wing can no longer be dismissed as an ineffectual fringe element. Parallels with the Ossewabrandwag (OB) during the last world war are also not apposite. Fifty years ago conservative Afrikaners were more confident about their station than is the case today. Then, bolstered by a seemingly invincible ally in the shape of Nazi Germany, the Ossewabrandwag saw the enemy as crumbling British imperialism. Their acts of agression against the State, because they were so certain of eventual victory, lacked the lethal viciousness we have come to associate with right wing actions today. Even so, General Jan Smuts, then prime minister, found it necessary to incarcerate large numbers of OB's in Koffiefontein concentration camp. Modern rightwingers, confronted with an inevitable black-led future, are not nearly as confident of victory. Hence their actions are characterised by panic, over-reaction to events, and a willingness to use the tools of modern terrorism on an indiscriminate basis. The arrest of several rightwingers in connection with recent bombings shows the police are aware of the gravity of the situation, and are taking the threat from this quarter as seriously as from the left wing. Terrorists, of whatever ilk, cannot be tolerated in democratic societies and the police must be congratulated on their successes.



TRAINING WITH IRA TERRORISTS...

LOCAL COUPLE TALK ABOUT MEETING AFRICAN CHIEF

Say Sanctions Hurt Black S. Africans

The popular perception that sanctions imposed by Congress against South Africa and the withdrawal of American financial investment there will help improve the lot of the Black South African in his struggle against the White South African government, is far from helpful in practice.

AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

This is the opinion long expressed by Bruce and Doris (Mr. and Mrs.) Burke of Honesdale RD 4, principal figures in Open Bible Ministrties, Inc., which has for years been in direct personal contact with blacks in southern Africa.

The Burkes, recently returned from a Florida meeting with African Chief Mongosuthu Gatska Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Natal, South Africa (in the U.S. for talks with governmental officials including President Reagan) say their feeling that sanctions and divestiture in South Africa hurt the wrong people, is reinforced by what the Chief reports.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Chief Buthelezi personally shared with the Burkes the adverse effects in unemployment and starvation, that sanctions and disinvestment are already having on the 80 million blacks in southern Africa, "the very people they were supposed to help," the Burkes noted.

Because of their continuous involvement in southern Africa through Open Bible Ministries, Inc., (OBM) the Burkes are informed and fully aware of current events in that region. Many articles and a book have been written on the subject and are available from Mission Headquarters in Honesdale. OBM has been ministering in several nations of southern Africa over the past fifteen years.

TWO MEETINGS

The Burkes who developed a personal acquaintanceship with Chief Buthelezi during several trips and a lengthy residence in South Africa, were guests at a private dinner honoring the Chief and his wife, Princess Irene, at Daytona Beach, FL, on Friday, Nov. 28.

The following day the local couple attended a banquet held at Indigo Lakes, FL, again honoring the Chief and attended by the Mayor of Daytona Beach, officials from the Florida state government in Tallahassee and Florida Congressman McCullum.

During his three-week stay in the US and Canada, Chief Buthelezi had numerous interviews and speaking engagements on TV, radio, college campuses and business groups. He also met with President Reagan and leading government officials in Washington, DC.

Eric Ngubane, the Chief's personal aide, has maintained a close friendship with the Burkes through the years since early 1970 when he was their intrepreter in Soweto, South Africa, before he was called to serve the Chief at KwaZulu.

CHURCH MEETINGS

Bruce & Doris Burke also held meetings in churches in Orlando and had opportunity to speak several times at Clearwater Christian College in Chapel service and classroom instruction. They have been invited back to the College to participate in the annual Missions Conference early next year.

On their return trip, the Burkes stopped at Washington, DC, to meet with officials of the South African Embassy. The Burkes are strong supporters of President Reagan's constructive engagement policy towards South Africa and Chief Buthelezi's stand on peaceful negotiations with the Pretoria government. All are opposed to US Congress-imposed sanctions, disinvestment, ANC terrorists activities and Soviet Communist infiltration of the area.

x x x x x

WITH AFRICAN CHIEF — Bruce and Doris Burke of Honesdale RD 4 are pictured with KwaZulu, South African Chief Mongosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi and Princess Irene during a recent dinner meeting in Florida.

SA chiefs appeal to King

ABOUT thirty Swazi Chiefs from many parts of South Africa have placed themselves and their followers at the disposal of King Sobhuza II in view of the present unfavourable political climate in their areas.

Two Chiefs who spoke on behalf of their colleagues reported that things were fast getting out of hand and called upon the King to consider ways and means of resolving the crisis by exercising his powers.

The Chiefs pointed out that as they were merely overseers of Royal subjects in their different areas, they felt duty bound to come back and report to the King the difficulties they were experiencing, so that the blame could not be placed at their doors should anything worse happen in future.

The Chiefs, who were accompanied by their councillors, had not been invited to Swaziland by King. The visit was entirely at their own initiative.

Replying to the Chiefs' report the King appreciated all the steps they had taken in coming to him when they realised things were not moving the right direction. He said the steps were in complete accord with Swazi Law and Custom.

The King also disclosed to them that negotiations on the Swazi Nation land in South Africa had already been opened with appropriate authorities, and that he would inform the Chiefs of the outcome. He gave no further details.

Praising the Chiefs for their decision to come to him, King Sobhuza said their presence was a source of great encouragement to him personally as it gave him an assurance that in his attempts at trying to resolve the land issue he had the support of the people.

The King also disclosed that whenever he raised this issue, some people in certain quarters raised questions: "Where are these Swazis he claims to be speaking for?"

As a result of their doubts, he said these people have tended to dismiss all he tried to say because they believed he was speaking for nobody but himself.

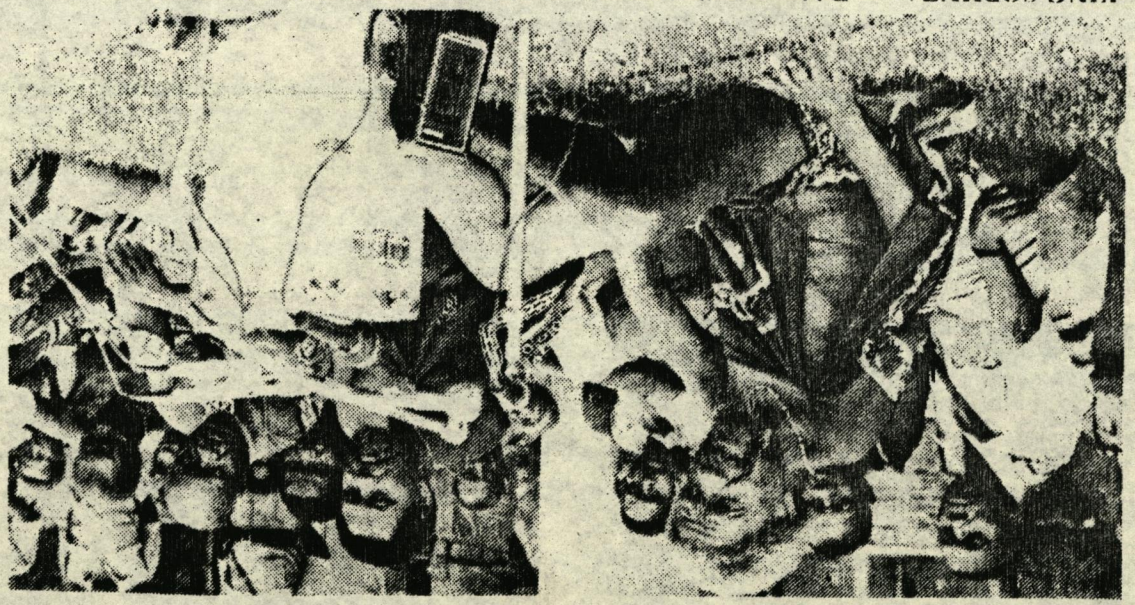
The King also praised the Chiefs for their adherence to the old Swazi philosophy of resolving disputes peacefully.

He told his listerners who included Senior Princes (Emalangeni), Councillors and senior government officials, among whom was the Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla, that banging tables and boycotts in an attempt to resolve differences has often brought negative rather than desired results.

During the meeting, the King formally introduced Prince Mabandla as the Kingdom's new Prime Minister and also told the Chiefs that he had decided to meet them in the precinct of the Lozitha Palace in order to acquaint them with the building.

The Chiefs came from such controversial areas as Ngwavuma and Pongolo between Swaziland and the Kwazulu's Bantustan, Elutaka in Piet Retief, South Eastern-Transvaal, Embuleni, Mjindini-Nsikazi in the Eastern Transvaal.

The King's Representative in the Rand, Dr. Gama was also present at the talks.



KING SOBHUZA on Friday reacting to an appeal by Swazi Chiefs in South Africa, calling upon him to exercise his powers as things in their respective areas are getting out of hand. Also present among the Chiefs was King Mzimba of the Tembe tribe whose land stretches from the Pongola to the sea. Next to the King is Prime Minister Mabandla and Justice Minister Polycarp Dlamini. (Report right). *THE SWAZILAND OF - 18 FEB 1982*

SAA eyes shares in domestic airline SAX

MANDY JEAN WOODS
Weekend Argus Reporter

SA AIRWAYS is considering taking up its option to buy shares in the country's newest domestic airline, SA Express, in which African National Congress-aligned Thebe Investments is the majority shareholder.

A meeting with SAA and SA Express (SAX) executives is scheduled for next week in Johannesburg.

According to SAX chief executive Bill Deluce, the memorandum of understanding between the two airlines allows for SAA to become a "substantial minority shareholder" in SAX.

"Originally, SAA indicated to me they would be interested in taking up the offer in early 1995, but then they called me and scheduled a meeting for next week to discuss the matter," Mr Deluce said.

At present Deluce brothers Bill and Bruce and South African chartered accountant Mark Gray are partners in Canadian-based Lardel Holdings, a 49-percent stakeholder in SAX.

Thebe Investments, which is the investment company of the Batha Batha Trust of which Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu are trustees, has a 51-percent stake.

Financing of all capital equipment (half a billion rands) is coming from Canadian aircraft manufacturer Bombardier and the start-up capital being put up by the two SAX shareholders is R14million, Bill Deluce said.

☐ **GREEN LIGHT:** Tokyo Sexwale . . . gave go-ahead for aircraft contract.

SAX aims to take off mid-March with SAA expected to withdraw from two of its nine domestic routes (Kimberley and Upington) and operate perhaps only one or two flights a day during peak times on two others (George and Bloemfontein) to allow SAX to enter the domestic market.

SAA said it had "long recognised the need to develop the quality and quantity of air services to smaller communities. SAA recognises that as a global carrier it cannot serve every single route effectively".

SAX has placed orders for 12 new De Havilland Dash 8 passenger aircraft to use in South Africa. This has been the cause of some controversy in the past few weeks.

Shortlisted for the lucrative contract were De Havilland and Franco-Italian manufacturing consortium Avions Transport Regional (ATR). ATR said it was contacted in late November by Thebe board member — ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale — and told it had been awarded the R500 000 contract. Two weeks later it was publicly announced that manufacturer Bombardier had secured the contract.

Mr Sexwale acted on a mandate from the Thebe board, according to ATR. Questions regarding this were put to Thebe and passed on to Mr Deluce for reply. He claimed that while ATR initially submitted the best offer, the board decided in the final analysis to award the contract to Bombardier.

ATR noted in its statement that Mr Deluce operated 37 De Havilland Dash 8 aircraft in Canada. ATR said it was surprised to learn "on the radio" that it did not have the contract as it had been informed by Mr Sexwale. Mr Deluce denied this, saying he personally phoned ATR president Henri Paul to notify him of the board's decision to award the contract to Bombardier.

Mr Sexwale could not be reached for comment.

S. Africa deploys troops to KwaZulu

Peace effort or bloody shov down?

By JOHN DANISZEWSKI
Associated Press

PRETORIA, South Africa — President F.W. de Klerk declared a state of emergency and ordered the army into the Zulu stronghold of Natal on Thursday, directly challenging the fiery Zulu leader who opposes the upcoming all-race elections.

De Klerk's move was aimed at stemming the violence in the province and ensuring Natal residents could vote. But it could result in a bloody showdown with Zulu nationalist leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his warriors.

Buthelezi, who also heads the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party, called the troop deployment an "invasion" of KwaZulu, the Zulu homeland within Natal. He said the sight of South African soldiers would only stoke his followers' wrath.

Speaking on state television Thursday night, Buthelezi said further talks between him and the government on whether Inkatha would drop its boycott of the April 26-28 elections were unlikely.

Buthelezi said his party was "being coerced into the (electoral) process through the barrel of the gun." He questioned whether fair elections could be held under a state of emergency.

"What is being done is really comparable to someone holding a woman for someone to rape that woman. It amounts to that for us," he said.

Buthelezi and his nephew, Zulu

Please see **Emergency**/page 4A

Shooting

Mangope can't stop the march of democracy

ANTON FERREIRA of Sapa-Reuter in Mmbatho.

LUCAS Mangope's nominally-independent Bophuthatswana black homeland was the nearest thing South Africa had to an apartheid success story.

The Sun City hotel and casino resort just two hours drive from Johannesburg offers visitors a glimpse of the comfortably divided South Africa apartheid's architects dreamed of.

But the outward glitter failed to dazzle the homeland's two million people, and demonstrations have erupted with anti-government protesters demanding quick incorporation back into South Africa.

The grinding poverty of enforced segregation was never far away in any of the other six pockets of black land comprising the unrecognised sovereign state of Bophuthatswana.

Only a handful of the tribal territory's people work in the hotels and casinos where South Africans — white and black — go to play. The rest eke out a miserable existence on barren land scattered north, west and south of the industrial hub of Johannesburg.

"Bophuthatswana is a farce," Democratic Party spokesman Peter Soal said. "As soon as the election is over it will be a part of South Africa again."

Mr Soal predicted that Mr Mangope, the former schoolteacher who has ruled the homeland with an iron fist since its creation in 1977, would be driven out by popular opposition.

"Mangope won't last. He has never had the support of his people and now I think a wave of mass uproar is going to drive him out to his villa in the south of France," he said.

South Africa went to Mr Mangope's assistance in February 1988, when black soldiers took over the government and threatened to shoot him in a sports stadium.

Hundreds of rebel soldiers were arrested by South African troops before then president P W Botha flew in to appear before reporters with Mr Mangope and declare: "We, I mean they, are back in control."

In terms of an interim constitution prepared to guide South Africa to democracy after the first all-race elections in April, Mr Mangope has only six weeks left to rule.

Bophuthatswana, like the other nine black homelands created under apartheid, is due to disappear.

Although Mr Mangope has vowed to fight for the independence of his homeland, constitutional experts say he cannot stop the march of democracy.

The homeland has been paralysed by a strike by civil servants demanding to be allowed to take part in programmes that would protect their jobs and pensions in a democratic and united South Africa.

Mr Mangope has refused to recognise or take part in the democracy elections from April 26 to 28 and has refused to allow the ANC to campaign in his territory.

He told senior officers in his army on Wednesday he would fight for his independence even if he had only 50 men left.

But South Africa's Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned in an interview yesterday that Pretoria would not rescue Mr Mangope again

Casinos and rich platinum mines helped make Bophuthatswana the most successful of the homelands invented to permanently separate blacks from whites and confine them to 13 percent of the country.

But Bophuthatswana continued to rely on South Africa for handouts to cover more than half its expenditure.

"Pretoria liked to use Bophuthatswana as a showcase for apartheid, but the theory that it was economically viable was a myth," Mr Soal said.

"Bop was never viable, apartheid was never viable, and within six weeks they will both be gone," he said.

Argus Correspondents PATRICK LAURENCE and JUSTICE MALALA report from Mmabatho.

BOPHUTHATSWANA police last night reasserted control over the territory's capital and the twin town of Mafikeng, driving looters off the streets and capturing some of them.

The police action followed a day of high drama in the homeland, with Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana government in crisis.

Earlier in the day protesters swarmed through the streets of Mmabatho — and an estimated 100 junior police officers switched sides, taking part in riotous scenes in the capital.

It became evident that security force loyalty to Mr Mangope may have been wavering when the dissident policemen submitted a memorandum complaining that he was using them as "political tools".

After the memorandum had been handed over to him, South African ambassador Tjaart van der Walt said: "The turning point is surfacing. It has always been there but it is becoming more visible."

He described Mr Mangope as a "Christian gentleman", saying: "I love him but he is living in a different world ... I (have) failed to convey a sense of reality to him."

Last night's reimposition by the police of their authority followed an apparent lapse in morale by the 600-strong force in Mmabatho, causing them to watch benignly as jubilant citizens went on a looting spree in the main shopping complex shortly before dusk.

Chanting and singing, crowds of looters clearly interpreted the security force inactivity as proof that the Mangope government was toppling.

Motorists drove through the streets hooting wildly and giving the thumbs-up, signalling their joyous belief that the government had finally fallen.

The belief that Mr Mangope had been toppled hardened to near certainty as reports spread that he had left Mmabatho by helicopter for his home district at Lehurutsi, near the Botswana border. Bophuthatswana sources insisted he had not fled, but had planned to go to his Lehurutsi farm even before the looting took place.

After dusk yesterday police moved in to guard property in Mmabatho and Mafikeng, where dozens of young men were captured and made to lie on the pavement at gunpoint.

But the situation remained grave for Mr Mangope. Many policemen appeared to be fraternising with civil servants and students intent on overthrowing his government.

Bophuthatswana government sources insisted that Mr Mangope retained the loyalty of the majority of the army. Military analysts say there are 5 300 policemen and 3 000 soldiers in Bophuthatswana.

Yesterday's eruption in Mmabatho followed the shifting of sides by the dissident policemen.

In a dramatic about-turn about 3pm, youths who had been fighting against members of the police force were surprised to see a convoy of hooting Casspirs joining them. Dancing and ululating followed.

The junior policemen had joined the workers after handing over their memorandum to the South African ambassador. In it they demanded free political and media activity in the homeland and asked for the intervention of the Transitional Executive Council in the homeland crisis.

Divided land: despite moves to remove instances of petty apartheid, elements of it linger on. Will they disappear naturally?

DAILY TELEGRAPH

South Africa: why I have changed my view

By JOHN CARLISLE MP

The secretary of the parliamentary British-South Africa Group, currently split into moderate and pro-Pretoria factions, has been a leading light in the latter camp. But here he explains how a recent visit to South Africa altered his perceptions.

WHITE South Africans are used to such terms as "farce", "cosmetic" and "too little too late". But a recent visit to that country has convinced me that their general election on May 6 will mark a watershed in their turbulent history. Whatever view may be taken from the West, all South Africans now believe that their future destiny is to be shaped by the ballot box decision of three million white electors.

As a frequent visitor to the Republic, and as an active proponent of South African Government policy, my recent trip has changed my view on the mechanics needed for necessary change. The country is no longer hesitant that reform has to take place: it knows it is inevitable. From senior National party figures to black community leaders, everyone agrees that constitutional reform must come, and must come quickly. I am now convinced that they must seriously contemplate some measure of power-sharing.

What is apparent is that the old policies are now irrelevant and ineffective. Sanctions have not moved the South African Government, and will not do so however severe their imposition. Violent revolution has not overthrown the establishment, and is unlikely to do so while security forces and police remain loyal to their employers. Further legislative changes to remove the pillars of apartheid, such as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, are not now necessary prerequisites to peaceful change, for they will disappear naturally. Western disinvestment, though uncomfortable, can be overcome by internal funding and a redirection of resources.

This is not to say that violence has never had any impact, because it has—on the innocent victims of "necklacing". Yet surprisingly, more blacks than ever before are applying to join the police force, and the sign on the entrance to the Crossroads squatter camp says "UDF Dog-Tutu — No Entry".

As far as ordinary people are concerned, sanctions have meant loss of employment to a population which enjoys no welfare benefits. The dilemma is that of the black trade union leaders who are reluctant to be anti-sanctions because the West and the Commonwealth would see such a stand as pro-government.

On the political front, some players will disappear, but others will emerge. State President P. W. Botha has completed his duty and will go soon. He has lost the confidence of his own party, antagonised the business section and run out of enthusiasm. His achievement of a tricameral Parliament and his stout resistance to the extreme Right wing will ensure that he is remembered as the architect of change. He has performed his duties with honour, but should now retire gracefully.

Emerging behind him is ex-Ambassador Worrall, a charismatic figure whose only mistake so far has been to leave the National Party. Outside it he will find difficulty in persuading the 40 or so "New Nats" that his is the banner to fight under. But if he is still there after May 6, he will be guaranteed a crucial position in the new South Africa.

But it is the non-white population who obviously hold most of the cards. Blacks will number 50 million by the year 2000—and already half of their number are aged under 16. The massive figures of Buthelezi and Mandela dominate opposing factions, but they are united in their search for fairer representation. The difference is between an African National Congress policy of intimidation, violence and intent to overthrow the establishment, and the Zulu acceptance of an "Indaba" solution that could give equal representation to all parties, including the minorities.

The position of the ANC is crucial, yet one key word prevents them from joining constitutional talks. President Reagan, Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl agree with the South African Government that the ANC must abandon violence before they are accepted as participants in any talks. The Eminent Persons' Group and some FCO officials have modified that demand to "suspend". It is now up to Mr Botha to swallow and adopt the latter inter-pretation.

This would have two immediate effects. First it would put the initiative on the ANC to respond, and to state whether they are genuine in their desire to share power.

Second, the South African Government would be seen to be making an offer that is realistic and sensible, however difficult they would find it to make such a proposal.

Assuming the ANC's acceptance of these new conditions, international witnesses (not the UN or the Commonwealth, but more probably Britain) would then be required to monitor the sincerity of actions on both sides. There could be failure the ANC may now be unable to control their own forces—or may have no intention of doing so. But they should not be given a second chance. The South African Government may fear their Right Wing electorate to such an extent that such a concession would prove impossible. But this will probably be their last electoral victory.

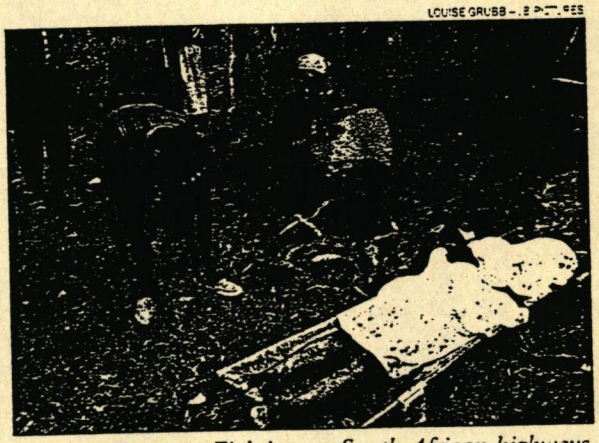
The final solution is not for us to judge—it must be the decision of all the South African people. What is required of us is understanding, patience and advice, based on historic experience in the African context.

I left South Africa excited at their optimism. There is a real feeling that at last a new life is just around the corner. I did not detect tension, just nervousness and uncertainty that an early political settlement was imminent and inevitable.

SOUTH AFRICA'S ROAD TO VIOLENCE

"Hell Run" is what South Africans are calling a stretch of highway leading to Durban, a beachside resort. Both black and white drivers have had their cars stoned and hijacked, and some have been dragged out and beaten. Durban's Natal province may be moving toward a civil war between supporters of the African National Congress and the rival Inkatha movement. At a funeral this week for a local ANC chief, ANC President Nelson Mandela is expected to unveil a peace plan for the province. Inkatha is unlikely to join in; its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has withdrawn from national constitutional talks, charging that the ANC and the white-led South African government want to exclude others from power.

LOUISE GRUBB—[illegible]



Travelers, beware. *Fighting on South African highways*

F ALLAN—AP

Sick of ANC arrogance

FROM PAGE 1

created expectations after the September 26 talks when it gave a public undertaking that it would examine its programme of mass action.

"We can play with words but everyone understood that the ANC would review its position.

"I regard their statements after the first executive committee meeting as totally unsatisfactory. South Africa expects the ANC to become a political party and operate peacefully.

"I cannot accept a party involved in the negotiation process can say 'I am marching to topple your government'. That's not democracy.

"It is time for the real leaders of the ANC to discipline their grassroots followers and regional and dissident radical voices in the top executive.

"The ANC must get its house in order."

The government would take firm steps against marches which were expected to lead to violence, as this was the government's duty, Mr De Klerk said.

The decision to sign documents releasing political prisoners was one of the most difficult in his career, Mr De Klerk said.

"I understand that the release of criminals is upsetting to the broader community. I must still sign the documents and must say it is one of the most difficult decisions in my career, on whether it should be done.

"Can we ever reach reconciliation as long as we are divided into various camps and agitate about people sitting in prison for acts they committed in a time of conflict which was compared by many to a state of war?"

He said agreement could either be reached on releasing all prisoners with political motives, or those who disagreed with the government could be kept in prison while the National Party remained in power.

The second option would not work. However difficult it was to release murderers according to specific norms laid down, it was the best of both options.

"We have to make sure that it is done on the basis of political motives and no matter how wrong the deeds, there must be a procedure of identification to ascertain who to release."

He said it was unfortunate that a mistake or two had been made with recent releases. The matter was, however, being investigated and "we have learnt from this mistake".

"These decisions to clean the slate were an essential step in the best interests of long-term stability and I ask for understanding of this."

– Sapa.

SA sick of arrogance of ANC — FW

EAST LONDON. — South Africa was sick and tired of the African National Congress' inflammatory speeches, its arrogance and its intolerance in recognising the rights of others, State President De Klerk said yesterday.

"They must stop their nonsense and stop their underground activities. There is no room for underground activities in South Africa."

Mr De Klerk, speaking at the Cape National Party congress in East London, noted the ANC had

TO PAGE 2

'Some SAP members reject outside help'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression (IBIIR) says it is hampered in implementing the aims of the National Peace Accord by the negative attitude of some members of the South African Police to "outsiders" assisting them.

"One of the essential elements of the National Peace Accord is the impartiality of the police and their willingness to accept help from organisations and individuals working in various communities," the IBIIR report for March records.

"Our experience is that we have been unable to assist members of the SAP to the best of our abilities due to their negative attitude towards 'outsiders' assisting them."

Police repeatedly used the media to encourage witnesses to come forward and assist with investigations, the IBIIR report observes. "When attempts are made to facilitate this, we often find ourselves arrested or accused of tampering with or changing statements."

Captain Steve van Rooyen of the police division of public relations reserved comment on the allegations, saying he would like to see the full IBIIR report before responding.

The following examples of friction between board members and the SAP are cited in the report:

● An IBIIR researcher involved in investigating the shooting of an ANC member in Sharpeville was allegedly "accused by a member of the SAP, in front of an Inkatha Freedom Party hostel, of being involved in the burning down of IFP houses in the area".

● During the course of the Goldstone Commission hearing on Tokoza, an IBIIR researcher was accused by counsel for the SAP of telling witnesses not to co-operate with the police. The report states that this researcher was persistently followed by two white men in a minibus while she was taking statements from potential witnesses.

● At Carletonville, where the IBIIR has assisted a police investigation of alleged torture and extra-judicial executions by the Welverdiend unrest unit, no fewer than nine people who participated in the investigation or who laid a complaint against local policemen were arrested and/or charged in a court of law.

"To date two people have had their charges withdrawn following a recommendation by the Attorney-General, two were acquitted and one was discharged following the presentation of the State's case."

The IBIIR report states that Carletonville residents are beginning to ask what is the price of co-operating with the investigation. "Witnesses have been threatened and warned that they are 'not far off from the mortuary'."

The board's researcher and the local ANC chairman were told that a certain suspended policeman had plans to eliminate them as they were the cause of the suspensions of members of the force, the report claims.

Winnie slates 'ANC whisperers' to press

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A defiant Winnie Mandela received a tumultous welcome from the African National Congress in the Natal Midlands when she arrived in Ndaleni township near Richmond yesterday.

Dressed in full ANC colours, Mrs Mandela was cheered by thousands of young people and women.

This was was her second public appearance following Nelson Mandela's public announcement of the couple's separation, and mounting allegations of her involvement in torture and murder.

She shared the platform with ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba and ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala in what was billed a commemoration service for those who had lost their lives in the violence in Richmond's township.

However, speakers at the rally made it apparent that the rally was a platform to test Mrs Mandela's support in the region, a gamble that seemed to have paid off.

Most speakers blamed the media for the damage done to Mrs Mandela's reputation.

She made reference to unnamed ANC sources quoted in newspapers, whom she called the "shadowy people in the ANC who are whispering to the press" and asked: "Is it better for a leader to be trusted by the editor of a newspaper or by the people?"

Mrs Mandela also launched a stinging attack on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President de Klerk.

"In Sharpeville this weekend, Inkatha and the police killed a whole family while de Klerk and Gatsha were worshipping in Moria.

"That prayer of theirs is absolutely meaningless. They do one thing and they say another."

She concluded: "I will never abdicate my responsibilities. At whatever cost, I will see to it that your poverty is alleviated."

● See Page 7

Some cheer heroes, others see bloodstained hands.

"I've got no regrets at all for what I did in good faith," said Mr. Mncube, who is 32. "When we were fighting against the regime, we knew of course that some innocent lives would be lost."

In all but a handful of cases the victims were blacks, like the farmworker who stumbled over one of Mr. Mncube's mines, or the shopper slain by another newly released prisoner for failing to honor a consumer boycott.

The African National Congress contends that these prisoners are effectively prisoners of war, whose acts were justified because more peaceful means of political activity were banned. The congress does not regard Mr. Strydom — a member of a little-known paramilitary faction called the White Wolves — as a political prisoner, but as a racist psychopath.

"There's no guarantee that if he comes out he will not shoot more black people," said Cyril Ramaphosa, the congress's secretary general, before the release. The congress's guerrillas, he said, acted under the discipline of the organization. "McBride will not go and plant another bomb," he said.

Mr. Strydom's crime was so cold-blooded that for a time after his arrest even his comrades in the white separatist fringe kept their distance.

After listening to his description of blacks as subhumans and his explanation that he was trying to incite a race war, the judge pronounced Mr. Strydom beyond rehabilitation and sentenced him to death eight times. (The eighth victim was killed as target practice before his big rampage.)

His sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

Today, however, representatives of several rightist groups were on hand to honor a man they consider true to his convictions, if a bit extreme in his methods.

While many whites have reacted with horror at the liberation of so many anti-apartheid guerrillas, most of Mr. Strydom's supporters said it was only fair, and some grudgingly applauded the African National Congress for indirectly assuring Mr. Strydom's release.

"I'm glad Robert McBride is out, and the others," said Trudie Rautenbach, Mr. Strydom's mother-in-law, who waited with a delegation from the quasi-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement. "Everyone wants to fight his own battle. It all depends who is the strongest at the end of the day."

In the waiting crowd Mr. Strydom's admirers applauded his marksmanship, the consistency of his views, the drama of his courtroom defiance. But even some of the right-wingers who waited to applaud his release, however, fumbled to explain the political logic of a random killing spree.

'Stress' Is Cited

"As far as I'm concerned, all these guys are post-traumatic stress guys," said Koos Vermeulen, 43, head of the World Apartheid Movement, which is waiting for the AIDS virus to decimate the black population so it can restock Africa with whites.

Robert van Tonder, the leader of a tiny group of white separatists called the Boer State Party, suggested that Mr. Strydom was "a very sensitive young man" who was "destabilized" when his police work required him to visit crime scenes where whites had been killed by blacks. Mr. Strydom was asked to leave the police force after he tried to have his "beheading" snapshot blown up to poster size.

The killer's mother-in-law scoffed at the talk of instability.

"He wasn't mad and just ran and shot," she said. "It was very well planned to make a point." The point? "We will never bend our knee before a black Government in this country."

Among a delegation of 10 students from University of Pretoria who came to glimpse Mr. Strydom, there was unanimous support for his goal of a white South Africa, but some misgivings about the means.

"Killing people, I can't say that's right," said Gert Goosen, a 20-year-old business student. "But what he stands for, that's fine with me."

Mr. Goosen added, "I think it's fair to support him like all the black people supported Nelson Mandela when he got freed."

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Election date on the line

Stumbling talks slow timetable

PROGRESS in the negotiation process has been tentative and President De Klerk is no longer so confident that multiparty negotiations leading to elections will begin next month as scheduled.

This follows a host of complexities which have bogged down preparations for negotiations after a promising start to the year.

Mr De Klerk said in parliament this week that problems had arisen with negotiations and it was possible they would not begin in March in terms of his timetable, although he still hoped the talks would begin by then.

After being upbeat about his timetable for change when he opened parliament a week earlier, Mr De Klerk said this week he had not claimed his timetable was "the law of the Medes and Persians" but his goal was to realise it.

Negotiations sources point out that before the talks proper can begin a planning conference, agreed to by the major parties, first has to be held.

Originally it had been hoped this conference would be held by the middle of this month. Early this week Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer suggested it would be held a little later in the month. However negotiation sources now believe it can't happen until the end of the month.

■ The race to hold nonracial elections early next year has slowed as negotiators grapple with complex realities in "talks about talks".

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

This would make it difficult for the multiparty negotiations due to take over where Codesa left off, to begin by March as first planned.

Issues delaying multiparty talks have emerged in bilateral talks between the government and African National Congress and between the government and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The arrest of three alleged members of ANC armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe for arms smuggling this week is not regarded as a threat to negotiations, but could have a delaying effect.

However, the ANC and the government are only now beginning to discuss the key areas of power-sharing, regional government and future control over the security forces.

These have to be sorted out before the ANC is prepared to join the government in the first phase of power-sharing in a transitional executive council which Mr De Klerk envisages to be in place by June.

Compounding difficulties between the ANC and the government is the fact that the government and the IFP have not yet even begun to discuss these issues. Their negotiations have so far centred on the convening of the planning conference which the IFP wants to use to discuss nitty-gritty constitutional issues as well.

This could turn the planning conference itself into a contentious issue, bogging down negotiations further.

There is a growing feeling in negotiation circles that the IFP may have to be dropped from negotiations after a respectable period if it continues to be seen as obstructionist.

The IFP still opposes elections for a constitution-making body. It wants a new constitution to be drawn up by a non-elected multiparty body.

The government is due to hold another round of talks with the IFP tomorrow and later in the week with the ANC.

Tiro death

South African protest to UN

New York Bureau

NEW YORK, Friday. SOUTH Africa has sent a strong letter to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim of the United Nations to counter suggestions that Pretoria was implicated in the letter-bomb killing of Mr Abraham Tiro in Botswana.

Mr V. R. W. Steward, acting head of South Africa's Mission to the U.N., said in the letter he had been instructed by the Government to inform Dr Waldheim that it "takes the strongest exception to the imputations and insinuations of South African involvement in the death of Mr Tiro."

This was a reference to a communication sent by Botwana's UN Ambassador, Mr Thebe Mogami, to the UN apartheid committee and the discussion that followed in the committee.

The South African letter left it unclear whether exception was taken to the Botswana statement or to the apartheid committee debate or both. It gave the appearance of Pretoria not wishing to strain any further its relations with Botswana but leaving both the Botswana Government and the Apartheid committee to wear the cap if it fitted.

CIRCULATE LETTER

At the same time Pretoria, which has always strongly supported moves in the UN to outlaw terrorism, reiterated its opposition to any form of it.

Denying categorically that South Africa was directly or indirectly responsible for Mr Tiro's death or had in any way connived at it, Mr Steward asked Dr Waldheim to circulate the letter as an official document of the UN General Assembly.

"South Africa has frequently expressed its strongest opposition to and condemnation of acts of terrorism of any kind," the letter said. "Acts of this nature are indefensible and inexcusable and cannot under any circumstances be condoned.

"The South African Government accordingly also condemns this particular outrage by whomever it may have been committed."

See Page 16.

SABC refuses to run Perskor adverts on Rhoodie's Info book

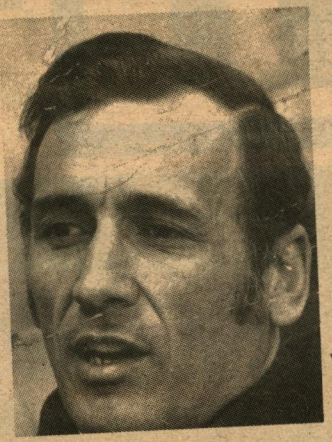
PERSKOR, the giant Afrikaans publishing house which refused to publish the political dynamite in Dr Eschel Rhoodie's book, was itself gagged by the SABC this week — and on the same subject.

The SABC's acceptances committee for advertisements on TV turned down a request by Perskor to televise 18 ads — at a total cost of R30 000 — showing Dr Rhoodie in a face-to-face confrontation with the assistant editor of the Sunday Express, Mr Kitt Katzin, the man who broke the Information Scandal and exposed Dr Rhoodie.

Perskor, which is publishing the non-political content of the Rhoodie book, intended using the campaign to publicise the book and asked the Sunday Express whether Katzin, who won the Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery Award for enterprising journalism for his disclosures on the Information Scandal, would question Dr Rhoodie on some of the aspects of his book.

The Sunday Express agreed — on the condition that its questions would not be censored.

After discussions with Perskor and Dr Rhoodie, a draft script, intended only to give an idea of some of the questions



● Eschel Rhoodie ... different views

Sunday Express Reporter

Katzin would put to Dr Rhoodie, was submitted by a TV production company on Perskor's behalf to the SABC this week.

But the Sunday Express had made it clear to all parties that the questions were preliminary ones, and that alternate and more incisive questions would be devised at a later stage.

Nonetheless, Dr Rhoodie undertook to answer all the questions which the Sunday Express believed it should ask him — and the draft was then submitted on Perskor's behalf.

The script introduced Dr Rhoodie by saying that his controversial book would implicate many people in powerful positions.

He also referred to the "wasteful manipulation of public funds" which the Information Scandal had created.

Katzin was introduced as the journalist who was "relentless in his pursuit of truth and justice", and who was now playing Devil's advocate with Dr Rhoodie's revealing book.

The purpose of the ads was to capture a flavour of looking at Eschel Rhoodie from two different points of view — through Dr Rhoodie's eyes, and through the eyes of a newspaper adversary.

But the SABC acceptance committee rejected the questions on the grounds that it did not want to involve the TV service with a political scandal.

This was despite the fact that the initial questions, though only in draft form, were softened even more by the TV production house in order to meet the 30-second slots for each commercial.

AGENCY
2nd FLOOR, LIONEL HOUSE, PICKERING ST., DURBAN
(Clipping Bureau formerly at Essenwood Road, Durban)
PHONE 370403. Telegraphic Address: "NEWSCUT"

Clive Walker

Date

'Sell horn to save rhino' bid stuns experts

Linda Vergnani and Garner Thomson

AN international rumpus has been raised by a proposal that the Natal Parks Board (NPB) and other conservation bodies should sell their stocks of rhino horn to the highest bidder in an attempt to save the rhino.

The row was sparked by a statement made by Mr Paul Phelan, chairman of the Game Rangers Association of Africa.

Mr Phelan said a controlled selling of rhino horn by conservation bodies, such as the NPB, should be legalised to prevent rhinos from being wiped out by poachers.

If parks boards were permitted to sell rhino horn it could flood the market and make it unprofitable for poachers.

The NPB has one of the biggest stocks of rhino horn in the world — 878 horns weighing more than 2,5 tons.

The current wholesale price of rhino horn is about R2 000 a kilogram and it can retail for up to R41 000 a kilogram.

Dr George Hughes, deputy director, environment, of the NPB said: "Does he honestly believe that by selling our stocks we will bring the price down? The only way rhino poaching can be stopped is by a concerted action by governments."

Dr Hughes said South Africa was a signatory to the Convention on International Trading in Endangered Species (CITES).

"The official CITES view is that if there is any entry of legal horn on the international market, it will simply exacerbate the pressure on vulnerable populations."

In Geneva, CITES expert Mr Chris Huxley said: "It can only make the situation worse, and things are desperate now.

"Black rhino in Africa for example have been reduced from about 90 000 to somewhere in the region of 4 000 in 15 years."

Mr Phelan said the problem of storing a valuable commodity had been highlighted by the theft this week of 54 horns from the Pilanesberg National Park in Bophuthatswana.

Stocks of rhino horns should be sold to the highest bidder.

Dr Martin Brooks, South African representative of the rhino and elephant specialist group of the IUCN, said if conservation bodies sold rhino horns it would disrupt the whole international campaign to save the animals.

The World Wildlife Fund was sponsoring a consultant who was encouraging traders to use alternative products for things such as medicines and dagger handles.

Mr Clive Walker, a spokesman for the Rhino and Elephant Foundation, said:

"The matter needs to be looked at a lot more carefully in the light of information from the East about changing demands and attitudes."

Mandela's triumph!

Klerk's sincerity and the commitment of both the Government and the ANC to find peaceful solutions through negotiations.

Secondly, his appeal for the maintenance of sanctions until profound and irreversible change has been achieved was hugely successful. This was a daunting task since many European countries believed the time is ripe to reward Mr de Klerk for his brave reforms.

Mr Mandela reasoned that sanctions had been introduced to eradicate apartheid, a goal which has not been achieved.

While the sanctions controversy dominated the headlines and led to much criticism in the mainstream South African media, the ANC delegation quietly got on with the job of securing investments in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Millions of rands are believed to have been lined up for investment in a post-apartheid economy.

And in a significant softening of ANC policy, Mr Mandela told Western bankers and businessmen the ANC is not married to the concept of nationalisation, but will consider all economic options provided they fulfil the requirements of ensuring a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Sanctions

He assured the economic powers the ANC does not want to wreck the already embattled South African economy, but wants to create a stable political climate which will instill confidence in investors.

The ANC's view on sanctions seems to have met with some understanding from a rather unexpected corner — the South African Government.

Sources indicated that the Government, in discussions shortly before the ANC's tour, indicated it understood the reasoning behind the call for continued sanctions.

The organisation's new international status could ensure better international understanding of the country's complex problems and could strengthen the mutual drive of the Government and the ANC to reach a speedy solution.

Swazi land deal widely condemned

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: Widespread condemnation has met the Government's decision to cede large tracts of land in KwaZulu and the eastern Transvaal to Swaziland, a move that could have serious international repercussions.

The announcement yesterday by Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, that the Ingwavuma area of KwaZulu and the Kangwane homeland are to be given to Swaziland follows years of behind-the-scenes negotiations.

The Government's decision has been made in the face of out-right rejection of the plan by the governments of KwaZulu and Kangwane.

Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, Leader of the Opposition and Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, today condemned the move and the manner in which the Government had handled the situation.

They both demanded that the Government should have either elections or a referendum in the two areas before ceding any land to Swaziland.

Problems

Dr Slabbert said in an interview today that he found the whole manner in which the decision had been taken "disgusting."

"Not only has the Government, in the case of Kangwane, blatantly contradicted its own policy but it has also gone against the people of KwaZulu and Kangwane."

Dr Slabbert warned that he was very concerned that in both KwaZulu and Kagwane "we are going to have unrest and problems." "The Government must be made aware of this."

Mr Raw said in an interview that any unilateral settlement of the long-standing border dispute which did not take into account the wishes of the people affected "can have very serious implications for the Government and on race relations."

He pointed that the Prime Minister, Mr P. W Botha, had given him public assurances during the recent session of Parliament that areas would only be incorporated of "their own freewill."

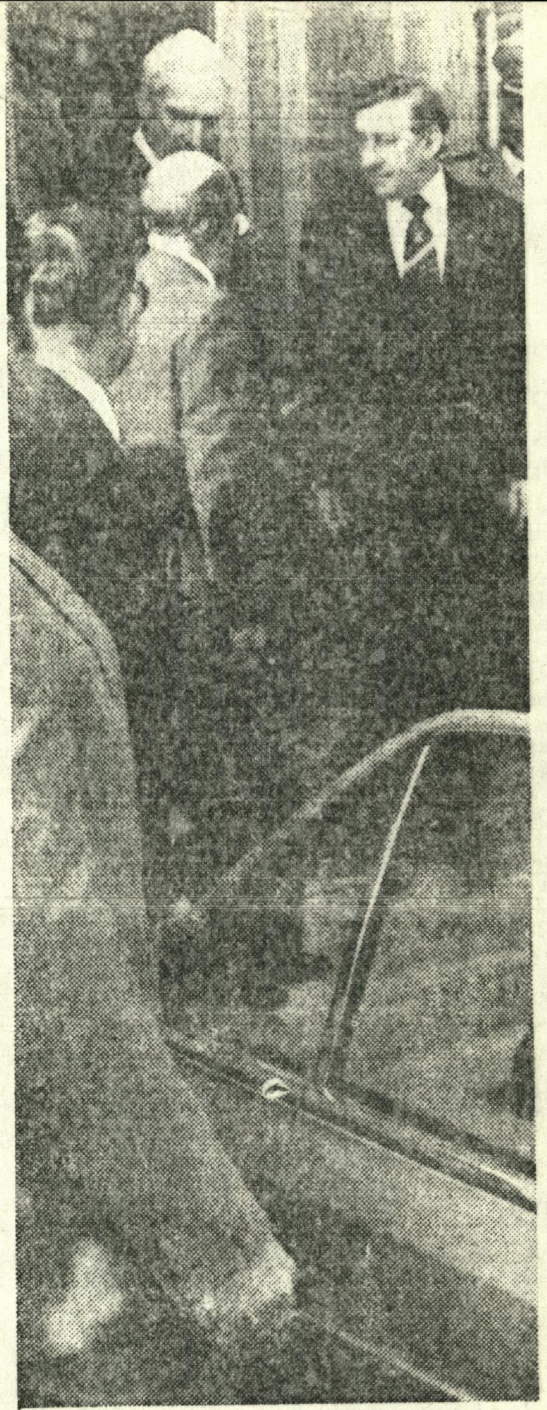
Ancestors

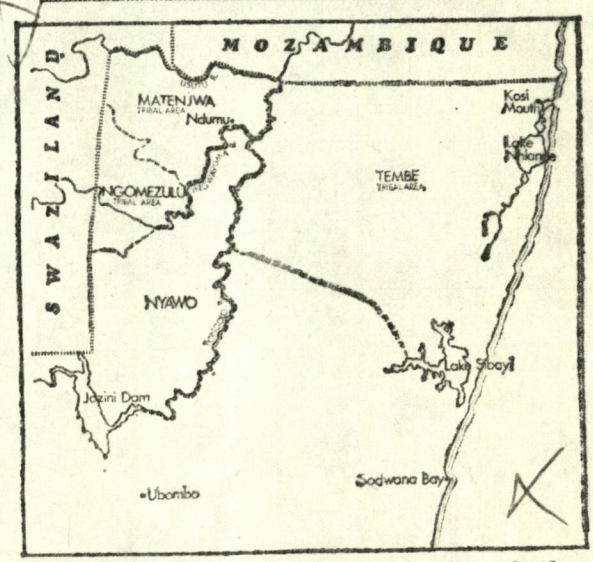
The move also met with shocked reaction from the Natal provincial executive which was not even consulted about the Government proposal to give KwaZulu Natal land as compensation for the land being ceded to Swaziland.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini said yesterday that the area being given away belonged to his ancestors long before whites set foot in it.

He told Dr Koornhof: "What we cannot stand is that our land inside the borders of South Africa is given to the Swazis and this without any reference to us."

Conservationist Mr Ian Player said it was wrong to hand over a part of South Africa to a foreign country and that the decision could radicalise the Zulu people.





This map of the northern tip of the province, where it borders Swaziland and Mozambique, shows four tribal areas that may be excised from KwaZulu and given to Swaziland, giving that land-locked country a route to the Indian Ocean

Koornhof heckled, jeered over proposed land changes

Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: The Government's decision to excise the Ingwavuma area and hand it to Swaziland created an uproar both inside and outside the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly here yesterday

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, was frequently heckled in the Assembly During a short break demonstrators burst into the front of the building and shouted slogans at him as he tried to telephone the Government to obtain some concessions.

Later, Dr Koornhof was deeply offended at laughter and jeers from the floor of the house when he insisted he was a Christian.

In terms of a final written agreement made with Swaziland on June 8 the South African Government had already agreed in principle to hand Ingwavuma over to Swaziland when the area has been surveyed, subject to Parliamentary approval.

Legislation would be introduced as soon as possible and would come into effect on a date to be decided by the State President.

The Nsikazi, Nkomazi, and Umswati areas in Kangwane and the Ingwavuma regions were all to be given to Swaziland.

Dr Koornhof said that after speaking to the Parliamentary caucus he had been in touch with his Government and offered KwaZulu the Makhatini Flats with an area of 20 000 ha and a further 2 500 ha which was part of the Ubombo range both of which were to have been excised.

He was authorised to offer the possible inclusion of the Umfolosi, Hluhluwe and Mkuze game reserves to be governed jointly by KwaZulu, the Natal Provincial Administration and the Natal Parks Board.

Other areas originally earmarked for excision, but which would now remain part of KwaZulu were: Reserve Number Two, south-east of the Mkuze game reserve; the area around Sordwana Bay including Sordwana Bay; and north-east and west of Hluhluwe game reserve and the area west of Ulundi.

Dr Koornhof said in order to finalise the border adjustments it would be necessary to transfer Ingwazuma after its excision to the Department of Co-operation and Development for administrative purposes.

justice

"This means that existing services such as justice, health, welfare and education will continue as before, and the conditions of civil servants will remain unaffected."

For the time being the only change would be that the powers now vested in KwaZulu in respect of Ingwavuma would be transferred to the Department of Co-operation and Development.

"Rumours have led the people of Ingwavuma to believe that they will have to sacrifice their land if the border adjustment is concluded.

Dr Koornhof said the adjustment of borders would not mean resettling the people at present living in the region. They would simply become citizens of Swaziland.

"They need not fear economic deprivation because the South African Government would now arrange for Swazi citizens to have the right to find employment in South Africa," he said.

Hospital services, educational, industrial, development and many other subjects would be dealt with in final agreements between Swaziland and South Africa to avoid disruption and hardship.

Appealing to Zulus to view the matter in a responsible way, Dr Koornhof said: "I sincerely pray, (jeers) and hope that we will be calm and collected and that wisdom will prevail.

"May God bless you all . . . (loud jeers)," he concluded.

● Koornhof in the lions' den: Page 15.

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

Sharing in disaster

JUST when we thought it safe to venture into the future, up comes Nelson Mandela with another threat of nationalisation. And no sooner has he spoken than loyal lieutenants muddy the economic water even more, adding confusion to consternation.

Vague as the ANC's policy is, it had seemed to be moving away from the discredited notion that ordinary people benefit when public-service bureaucrats take over from private enterprise. One has only to look at the ineptness of State-run industry in many parts of the world, under all sorts of governments, to take this point.

Or that, at least, is what we had begun to think. Then, on Friday, Mr Mandela exhumed again the specious proposition that his government would nationalise mines and financial institutions because there was no other way.

The kindest thing that can be said about the suggestion is that he didn't really mean it; that he was casting a forlorn bone to his own diehards, some of whom live in a socialist past and still itch to get their hands on wealth, ostensibly so that they can channel it to the poor.

Where else, pray, has the process worked? Who is going to actually run the complicated conglomerates which are essential to growth?

Certainly we must hope Mr Mandela was not serious. If he was, we can forget about prosperity in the new South Africa. But merely by reiterating the threat, Mr Mandela causes harm. International investors grow nervous again; more wealth-generators start to pack their bags; precarious business confidence falters anew. The country cannot afford the setback.

The ANC, too, is harmed by appearing to dither on so crucial an issue. It is nonsense to pass the buck to big business, which has been invited to offer its own suggestions. What else can it offer than the proven effectiveness of a market system (given the acceptance that we haven't enjoyed such a creature in this country)?

If this is not to be the starting point for such essentials as job creation and wealth redistribution, then the ANC must say so, and pay the price. It cannot simply drift along as a party in search of a policy.

Election date on the line

Stumbling talks slow timetable

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Weekend Argus Political Staff

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This could turn the planning conference itself into a contentious issue, bogging down negotiations further.

There is a growing feeling in negotiation circles that the IFP may have to be dropped from negotiations after a respectable period if it continues to be seen as obstructionist.

The IFP still opposes elections for a constitution-making body. It wants a new constitution to be drawn up by a non-elected multiparty body.

The government is due to hold another round of talks with the IFP tomorrow and later in the week with the ANC.

P-2

From - P (1)

strategy in consulting local authority and gauging local opinion is pathetic.

With respect, a government is elected to lead, not to follow.

We all know at the bottom of our hearts that the Group Areas Act will eventually suffer the same fate as the pass laws, the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act.

Why delay the inevitable, since the hardship suffered by the non-white people of South Africa as a result of the Group Areas Act far exceeds any perceived benefit to whites in maintaining the law?

We make an urgent appeal to the Government immediately to scrap the Group Areas Act in its entirety in the interests of fairness, justice, peace and social reform in South Africa.

BUTHELEZI BROODS
FROM PG 1

(2)

Adil Bradlow

Steps to progress: President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela at the end of three days of talks in Cape Town, overshadowed by the continuing violence in Natal

As international sanctions are lifted, R. W. Johnson looks at the real problem facing South Africa ... ity

Snub to Buthelezi raises danger of breakaway by Natal

MANY in South Africa believe that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, together with his allies on the white right (plus Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei), can torpedo any deal the government makes before the elections in April.

There is, in government and African National Congress circles, many a backward look at the beginning of talks in 1990, with a belated realisation of how foolish it was then to keep Chief Buthelezi, the leader of the predominantly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party, at arm's length. As one of the legal experts at the constitutional talks put it to me: "We should have made him feel part of the whole planning process. Instead [Nelson] Mandela [the African National Congress president] treated him like a leper, while the government was more worried about conciliating the ANC than about that insult to Buthelezi. As a result Buthelezi himself never attended the constitutional talks. Now we're all paying for that lack of commitment." Certainly, it is an ironic sight to see ANC radicals, who once insisted there could be no talks with Chief Buthelezi, now demanding that he return to the talks with them. If Inkatha cannot achieve a satisfactorily federal deal, it could carry out its threat to boycott the April 27 elections or use mass action to attempt to prevent them being held. Both courses seem unlikely: they would split Inkatha, which includes many moderate, nay conservative, elements who would be horrified at such confrontational tactics, and the elections would go ahead anyway, though amid violence. In Inkatha's absence, the ANC would easily win Natal, Chief Buthelezi would lose his base and his party would thus pay a high price and still suffer disaster.

Secession would, at that point, be a more logical choice: Inkatha would pay a high price for that, too, but it would at least be in pursuit of a great prize. An independent Natal, seven-tenths the size of England, with the two biggest ports in Africa, a considerable industrial base, coal, sugar, timber and plentiful water, could well become a fast-growing part of the Indian Ocean rim, assuming that it could gain international recognition and that law and order were restored. But secession would, at the minimum, mean a bloody showdown with Natal's large local ANC, and probably with forces from the rest of South Africa as well. Inkatha's military capabilities are by no means certain to be equal to such a task, and the loss of life could well be huge. It is, though, important to realise that a military showdown of some kind in Natal probably cannot be avoided. Chief Buthelezi is prone to begin any meeting by listing, with bitterness, the 300-odd Inkatha officials who have been assassinated in recent times. Whatever the ANC says, there seems little doubt that this is the result of programmed hit-squad activity far greater than even the security police got up to in the bad old days. Already the ANC has more of its guerrillas in Natal than elsewhere in South Africa. They and their Inkatha counterparts are full of talk about how their opponents are using such muscle to intimidate residents and create no-go areas. Moreover, the concentration of Zulus on the Reef means that if Natal blows up, the East Rand townships will explode. There is word that the ANC, anticipating this, has already agreed to support Mr de Klerk in declaring a state of emergency if need be.

London: John Major said last night he would welcome South Africa back into the Commonwealth. After meeting President de Klerk, he said that Pretoria was "firmly on the road towards full, non-racial democracy. The progress made within South Africa has opened the way for her to take her place in the international community."

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Inkatha leader, appealing to supporters in Stanger, Natal, for funds to set up legal armed units to protect Zulus

Divided land: despite moves to remove instances of petty apartheid, elements of it linger on. Will they disappear naturally?

DAILY TELEGRAPH

South Africa: why I have changed my view

By JOHN CARLISLE MP

The secretary of the parliamentary British-South Africa Group, currently split into moderate and pro-Pretoria factions, has been a leading light in the latter camp. But here he explains how a recent visit to South Africa altered his perceptions.

WHITE South Africans are used to such terms as "farce", "cosmetic" and "too little too late". But a recent visit to that country has convinced me that their general election on May 6 will mark a watershed in their turbulent history. Whatever view may be taken from the West, all South Africans now believe that their future destiny is to be shaped by the ballot box decision of three million white electors.

As a frequent visitor to the Republic, and as an active proponent of South African Government policy, my recent trip has changed my view on the mechanics needed for necessary change. The country is no longer hesitant that reform has to take place: it knows it is inevitable. From senior National party figures to black community leaders, everyone agrees that constitutional reform must come, and must come quickly. I am now convinced that they must seriously contemplate some measure of power-sharing.

What is apparent is that the old policies are now irrelevant and ineffective. Sanctions have not moved the South African Government, and will not do so however severe their imposition. Violent revolution has not overthrown the establishment, and is unlikely to do so while security forces and police remain loyal to their employers. Further legislative changes to remove the pillars of apartheid, such as the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, are not now necessary prerequisites to peaceful change, for they will disappear naturally. Western disinvestment, though uncomfortable, can be overcome by internal funding and a redirection of resources.

This is not to say that violence has never had any impact, because it has—on the innocent victims of "necklacing". Yet surprisingly, more blacks than ever before are applying to join the police force, and the sign on the entrance to the Crossroads squatter camp says "UDF Dog-Tutu — No Entry".

As far as ordinary people are concerned, sanctions have meant loss of employment to a population which enjoys no welfare benefits. The dilemma is that of the black trade union leaders who are reluctant to be anti-sanctions because the West and the Commonwealth would see such a stand as pro-government.

On the political front, some players will disappear, but others will emerge. State President P. W. Botha has completed his duty and will go soon. He has lost the confidence of his own party, antagonised the business section and run out of enthusiasm. His achievement of a tricameral Parliament and his stout resistance to the extreme Right wing will ensure that he is remembered as the architect of change. He has performed his duties with honour, but should now retire gracefully.

Emerging behind him is ex-Ambassador Worrall, a charismatic figure whose only mistake so far has been to leave the National Party. Outside it he will find difficulty in persuading the 40 or so "New Nats" that his is the banner to fight under. But if he is still there after May 6, he will be guaranteed a crucial position in the new South Africa.

But it is the non-white population who obviously hold most of the cards. Blacks will number 50 million by the year 2000—and already half of their number are aged under 16. The massive figures of Buthelezi and Mandela dominate opposing factions, but they are united in their search for fairer representation. The difference is between an African National Congress policy of intimidation, violence and intent to overthrow the establishment, and the Zulu acceptance of an "Indaba" solution that could give equal representation to all parties, including the minorities.

The position of the ANC is crucial, yet one key word prevents them from joining constitutional talks. President Reagan, Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Kohl agree with the South African Government that the ANC must abandon violence before they are accepted as participants in any talks. The Eminent Persons' Group and some FCO officials have modified that demand to "suspend". It is now up to Mr Botha to swallow and adopt the latter inter-pretation.

This would have two immediate effects. First it would put the initiative on the ANC to respond, and to state whether they are genuine in their desire to share power.

Second, the South African Government would be seen to be making an offer that is realistic and sensible, however difficult they would find it to make such a proposal.

Assuming the ANC's acceptance of these new conditions, international witnesses (not the UN or the Commonwealth, but more probably Britain) would then be required to monitor the sincerity of actions on both sides. There could be failure the ANC may now be unable to control their own forces—or may have no intention of doing so. But they should not be given a second chance. The South African Government may fear their Right-wing electorate to such an extent that such a concession would prove impossible. But this will probably be their last electoral victory.

The final solution is not for us to judge—it must be the decision of all the South African people. What is required of us is understanding, patience and advice, based on historic experience in the African context.

I left South Africa excited at their optimism. There is a real feeling that at last a new life is just around the corner. I did not detect tension, just nervousness and uncertainty that an early political settlement was imminent and inevitable.

30 shot in Soweto

Fighting breaks out between residents, hostel dwellers

MORE than 30 people were injured when police fired birdshot during running battles between residents and hostel dwellers in Mzimhlophe, Soweto, late yesterday.

The fighting broke out after a mass meeting at about 4pm to discuss how residents should defend themselves in the wake of fresh attacks by Meadowlands hostel dwellers.

The meeting held at Thabaneng Primary School in Orlando West fell apart after a report that hostel dwellers were attacking residents.

By RUTH BHENGU

A brief shootout took place between the residents and the hostel dwellers and the police shot teargas at the residents to disperse them.

The altercation between the police and the residents started after the police tried to arrest a man.

The residents hurled themselves at a police vehicle and a tug-of-war developed with the police pulling the man from one side and residents pulling

To page 2

30 shot in Soweto

From page 1

on the other.

Mzimhlophe and Meadowlands were tense as some residents packed bags and moved away in anticipation of an attack during the night.

Some were barricading the streets while others, most of whom had spent a sleepless night, braced themselves for an attack.

Earlier in the day at about 6am, truckloads of armed men had entered the hostel.

Police spokesman Captain Govindsamy Mariemuthoo the SA Press Association that police and the South African Defence Force launched a massive search of houses in Meadowlands early yesterday several firearms were seized. There were no arrests.

SHOOTING

They demanded that certain senior officials, including Mr Mangope and Minister of Foreign Affairs Rowan Cronje, resign their positions.

In the late afternoon rampage which followed, the city's main shopping centre, Mega City, was almost cleaned out.

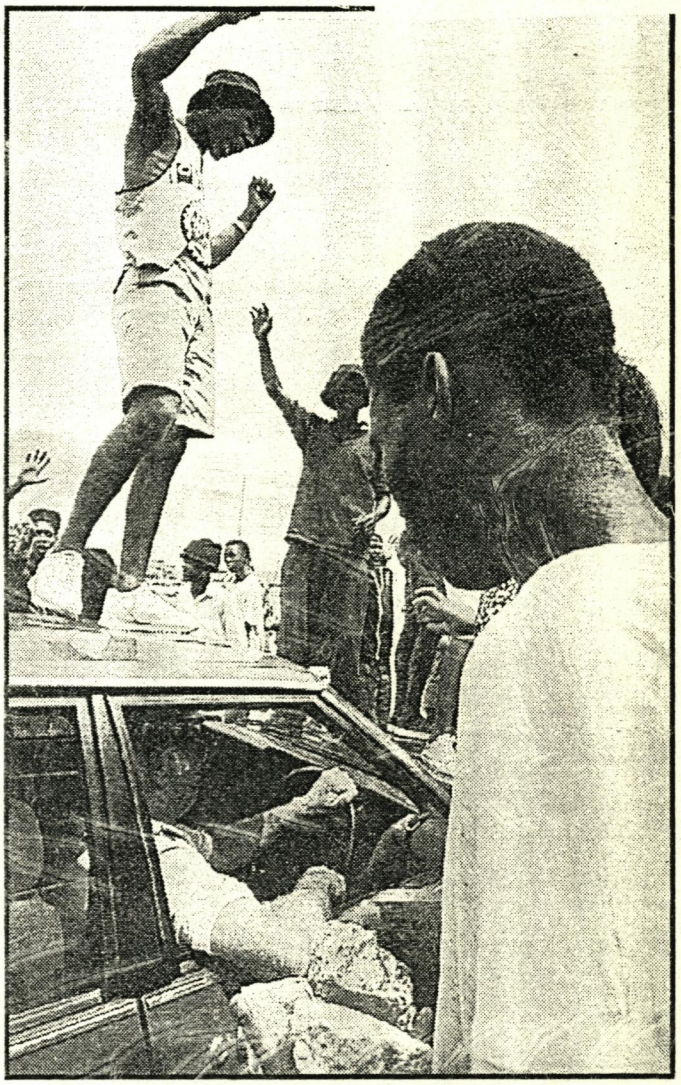
As the sun went down, women and children could be seen carrying blankets, groceries, clothes and other goods to their homes.

At the entrance to the University of Bophuthatswana a vehicle thought to belong to police was set on fire. Later an abandoned Casspir was set on fire.

Business in the two towns was paralysed by the consumer boycott.

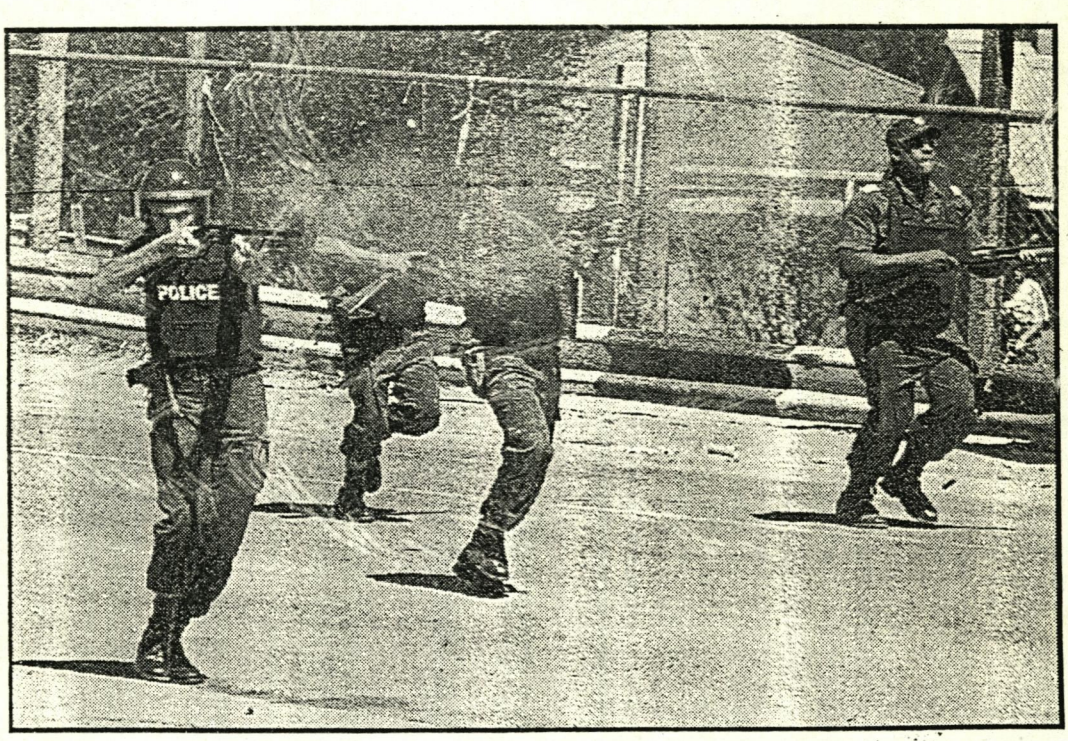
The junior officers' volte face was the culmination of a day marked by clashes between the police and residents as police tried to clear debris from Wednesday's clashes. Police had intermittent battles with youths in both Mafikeng and Mmabatho during the day.

State President's office spokesman Richard Carter said President De Klerk was being "briefed regularly through the day" on the developments in Bophuthatswana. "He spoke to (ANC president Nelson) Mandela telephonically and they shared their concerns about the situation there."



Picture: Argus Group Picture Service

NARROW ESCAPE: A motorist is harassed by protesters. He was allowed to drive away unharmed after the demonstrators were satisfied he was not a government offical.



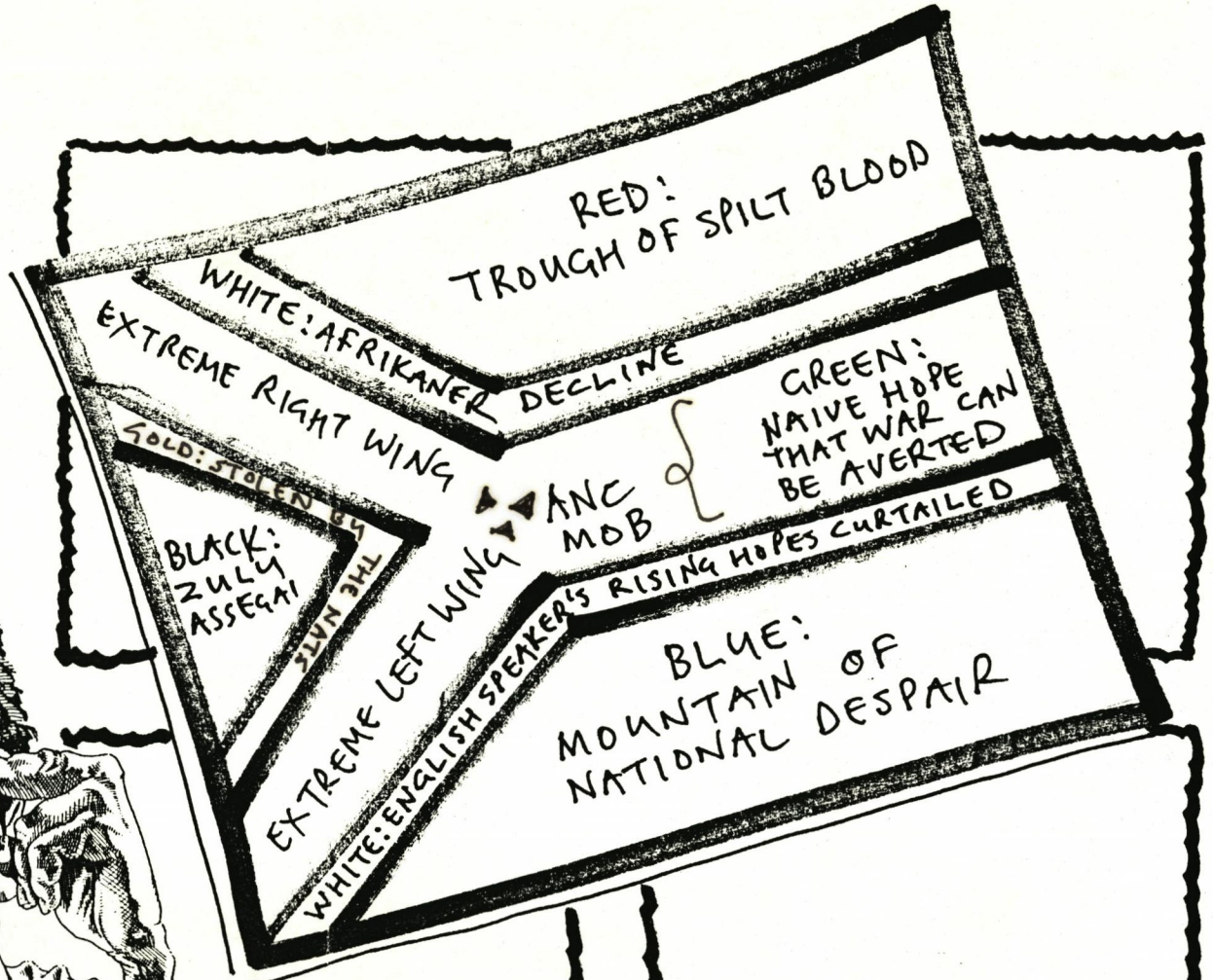
Picture: Argus Group Picture Service

PULLING THE TRIGGER: Bophutatswana police open fire on protesters.

SOUTH AFRICAN

FLAG Analysis

IS IT THE CARLTON CENTRE ON ITS SIDE?-- A SYMBOL OF THE NATION'S ECONOMIC FUTURE



OR THE Y-FRONTS OF THOSE MEN WHO'VE SADDLED US WITH OVERPOPULATION?

OR IS IT A CATTY --SYMBOLIZING OUR NEW DEFENCE FORCE?

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South Africa's future on trial

In the last few days we have seen a travesty of justice — and the collapse of standards that this country may well now be facing.

Let me start at the beginning. Mrs Mandela, along with three other accused, faces charges associated with the death of teenager Stompie Moeketsi brought to her home in Soweto, more than a year ago. There he was whipped, beaten and kicked into unconsciousness.

Grisly

Later he was found murdered in a shallow grave. The leader of Mrs Mandela's personal bodyguard, Jerry Richardson, has been sentenced to death for the murder of the boy, but he has alleged that Mrs Mandela joined in the whippings and beatings.

Fairly straightforward, if grisly, you might imagine. Yet, in what appears to be an organised strategy to frustrate the ends of justice, witness after witness has been murdered, kidnapped or intimidated — until the State finds itself barely able to proceed with this case.

What is happening here in Johannesburg is as gruesome and chilling as the contents of a Mafia fiction thriller.

From the very outset, it was clear that carefully planned attempts — suspected to be by elements within Nelson Mandela's African National Congress — were being made to eliminate evidence.

A Soweto doctor, Dr Abu Baker Asvat, believed to have seen Stompie Moeketsi in a comatose state after the youth had been assaulted and who was visited by Mrs Mandela, was shot dead in his surgery. A man suspected by the police of the murder of Dr Asvat and about to be apprehended, was himself murdered.

Fear

In the current trial, four co-accused who were to have been arraigned with Mrs Mandela and whose evidence would have been of value to the prosecution, jumped bail and failed to appear.

On Monday this week, State prosecutor Jan Swanepoel informed the court that a key witness, one of those assaulted in Mrs Mandela's home along with Stompie Moeketsi had disappeared, supposedly kidnapped while visiting the Methodist Church Mission in Soweto from the safe house where he had been kept.

The trial was adjourned while police investigated. Yesterday morning came another shock announcement by prosecutor Swanepoel — the other two witnesses to the beatings inflicted in Mrs Mandela's home had refused to testify, saying they feared for their lives.

'My Lord, I cannot proceed with my case when my witnesses are in fear of their lives,' Swanepoel told the judge. Again the court adjourned.

Outside the court a deafening roar of approval went up among the throngs of protesters, supporters of Winnie, the Mother of Africa.

White passers-by understandably steered well clear. The mood was, and has been ever

Supporters outside have already reached their own verdict

whites — are asking why the police have not been more vigilant, why the authorities have not acted, why everyone in power seems to be turning a blind eye.

And the answer is that President de Klerk, with his dreams of a new, united South Africa, cannot afford to upset the applecart, however rotten.

Salute

Anyone who has read Tom Wolfe's Bonfire Of The Vanities will recognise the same manoeuvrings within a cocoon of unreality in which justice is being held to ransom for racial and political reasons.

Mrs Mandela, who is alleged to have carried out other kidnappings and who rough-rode her way around Soweto, is widely disliked because of her excesses and her arrogance in general.

When her influential husband appointed her 'Social Welfare Director of the ANC' — a sort of cabinet position within the party — there were protests.

But the ANC political machinery has been geared up to defend her in this trial. And the white establishment seems unable to interfere.

As she steps out of the family's red Mercedes outside the Supreme Court each morning, usually accompanied by her husband, the crowd greets Winnie Mandela with chants of 'Amandla' (freedom) and 'Viva Winnie Mandela!' Mrs Mandela, always splendidly dressed in high fashion, responds with a clenched-fist salute. The crowd swarms around their heroine, singing and waving banners that say 'release our mother'. It is, frankly, chilling.

This ANC-style justice is what sends shivers down the spines of the old-guard conservative whites. It fuels the attitude the world condemned when Right-wing opposition walked out of parliament just a week ago, as President de Klerk announced he would introduce legislation to abolish apartheid totally by the end of this year.

Justice

And it is beginning to make the liberal white faction, so far supporting de Klerk every step of the way, extremely nervous. Understandably so.

Whatever the anathema of apartheid, and the need for it to be destroyed, there will be no easing of racist attitudes if a future black government fails to replace it with true democracy and an impeccable judicial system.

ANC behaviour in the Winnie Mandela case holds out little hope that justice will emerge unscathed in this trial. The events of the last few days signal that South Africa under black rule might be no better than it is under white rule.

The nightmare ahead is that it could conceivably be a great deal worse . . .

Falling for the old remedies

IT'S the ultimate in nightmare scenarios — being trapped in a plummeting lift.

If you're in this situation, is there any way you can save yourself — or at least minimise the injuries? As revealed in a flurry of recent newspaper correspondence, there are some who think you can.

Apparently, there are several steps you can take if the lift starts to fall. The safest position is one where the knees are bent slightly, rather than braced and tight. This should prevent the thigh bones being driven up into the abdominal cavity.

But cold water has to be poured on the widely-held idea of jumping upwards just as the lift hits the ground. The jump would be very difficult to time, and you could easily land on the floor in a dangerously uncontrolled way. Besides which, if you had time to think about doing this, the lift would have fallen too far for you to reasonably expect survival.

Don't despair though. Stephen Lutman of Faversham, Kent, escaped from a falling goods lift in 1962. When the lift hit the bottom, it bounced back up on the springs in the shaft.

He went much of the way up again — and felt horrible deja vu as he came down once more. This ghastly process was repeated three or four times until the lift finally came to rest.

Incredibly, Mr Lutman escaped unscathed. He had a little difficulty in crawling from the wreckage, but those slightly bent knees saved the day.

SINCLAIR McKAY

'Struggle must go on'

JOHANNESBURG. — The acceptance of a transitional executive council was not a transfer of power and the struggle to remove those preventing a democratically elected government should continue, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba said yesterday.

"The implemenation of a TEC is a dangerous phase in negotiations," Mr Mokaba said at the opening of a Congress of South African Students branch at the Witwatersrand Technikon in Johannesburg.

The liberation struggle would "have to shift to a new phase to further remove from power all those opposed to true democracy", he said.

He said a government of national unity could not be a coalition. Those parties represented in it would have to be junior and not equal partners. — Sapa

Deal raises hope for investment

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The drive to raise foreign finance is likely to get a boost this month when agreement is signed on $5 billion in foreign debt caught in the standstill net.

The Reserve Bank indicated yesterday that it was possible to make a deal even before government, ANC and business representatives left for the United States later this month to market the country to the international financial community.

A source close to the negotiating team said consensus had been reached between the major political players. This followed months of delay while Souh Africa's creditors waited for approval from the ANC and other key political organisations.

Bankers said the conclusion of a deal effectively ending the debt standstill would play a major part in unblocking new foreign finance.

Creditors implement strict rules in dealing with standstill countries. An agreement would spur them to raise the limits, unlocking new private finance to bolster dwindling foreign reserves.

The flow of funds would be boosted by the ANC's call for the lifting of sanctions. This should give SA access to IMF and World Bank funds.

Pik Botha: ANC to blame for loss of jobs

PRETORIA. — The ANC has cost South Africans many jobs and the National Party will be making this clear in the coming election, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said here yesterday.

Replying to a question at a news conference, he said the ANC had played a negative role regarding economic growth and development in South Africa and the Southern African region.

If the ANC called for the lifting of sanctions it would have no effect.

"You can imagine that if the viewers in Europe see what is happening and how people are being killed at random, they are not going to invest irrespective of what the ANC or anybody says."

Sanctions would only really be lifted if the fighting in South Africa stopped.

What's more the issue of sanctions had become rather irrelevant because sanctions had practically been lifted everywhere.

"I think the ANC made a mistake if they thought they were the sole party that could suddenly, dramatically ask for a lifting of sanctions.

"That card has been played. It's gone. They've lost it. And not only have they lost that card. They must be blamed for the situation that investments have not come into the country earlier." — Sapa

Constand Viljoen: No call for civil war

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday he still had great hopes for the future and would not at this stage tell Afrikaners to make war.

He was speaking last night on the SABC's Agenda programme.

Although Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg's recent warning that the installation of a transitional executive council could spark civil war should be taken seriously, Gen Viljoen said it should also be remembered that Dr Hartzenberg had been speaking as a politican to party faithfulls.

"If I as a military man would make the same remark it would be much more serious," he said.

Dr Hartzenberg had not declared war, but had warned that Afrikaners could revolt if their ideals were disregarded. But war was not necesarily the best way of achieving the Afrikaner's goal of self-determination, as negotiations would have to follow even after a war, Gen Viljoen said. — Sapa

Status of Zulu women will change

DAILY NEWS

Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: A breakthrough for women's rights was achieved yesterday when the Code of Zulu Law was changed — which will alter the status of thousands of black women previously condemned to be perpetual minors.

The Zulu code, established by Sir Theophilus Shepstone last century, prescribed that "the legal guardian of a married woman is her husband".

This section was deleted from legislation yesterday, because as the Minister of Justice, Mr Salane Mthetwa put it: "It is contradictory to the whole essence of the KwaZulu Act on the code of Zulu Law, which was primarily adopted to emancipate women."

In the past, the Zulu code relegated a woman to the position of a minor when she married.

This prevented her from owning property or carrying out financial transactions without her husband's signature on her behalf, and kept her in subjugation to the wishes of her spouse.

Mr Mthetwa said the effect of the old legislation was to "keep our womenfolk as perpetual minors".

Other speakers said the legislation had been foisted on the Zulu people without consultation, and was contrary to Zulu culture.

Mr Winnington Sibelo, the member for Umlazi, said the law had been imposed on the Zulu people by Sir Theophilus Shepstone in about 1895.

"It has been oppressing and enslaving our Zulu females," he said.

Altering the Act meant that women could now acquire land and did not require a guardian to sign it for them on their behalf or produce an emancipation document.

He said it would affect thousands of women who would now for the first time be able to manage their own affairs.

Additional funds needed to combat cholera in KwaZulu

Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: Additional funds totalling R4 200 000 to cover the cholera epidemic were appropriated for the KwaZulu Department of Health and Welfare yesterday.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Hugh Madonsela, proposed the Second KwaZulu Additional Appropriation Bill to cover the year ending March 1983.

He said: "The increase in the vote is due to the revival in cholera outbreaks during the year."

These could not have been foreseen, he said, and extensive measures had to be taken to combat the disease.

The member for Mhlabatini, Mr M.M. September, said the expenditure was justified.

"And we can expect this to be an ongoing thing in this country, because we lack the basic infrastructure and facilities for health," he said.

The Department of Agriculture and Forestry was also awarded an additional sum of R2 000 to pay for the costs of the plant nursery at Ulundi which was being used to beautify the grounds of the Legislative Assembly.

Mr September said it was fitting to decorate the Assembly grounds to make it an honourable place and he hoped it would be an ongoing process.

He suggested the nursery should grow indigenous trees which members could draw from to take back to their areas of KwaZulu.

Offensive 'Non-European' cut from the statute book

Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: The title, "Non-European", was scratched out of the KwaZulu statute book yesterday, because it was seen as offensive.

In amending the Stock Theft Act, codified in 1959, the phrase "Non-European" was omitted so that the provisions of the sections would now apply to all races.

In moving the KwaZulu Criminal Law Amendment Bill, a member of the house said: "For a long time this law affected us, and the word was seen as insulting to us."

He said the term "lowered one's dignity" and there were many other such laws containing words coined by the Republic of South Africa which were annoying and "disgusting".

Life in jail

TEL AVIV: An Israeli military court has sentenced two Palestinians to life imprisonment for the murder of a West Bank Village League leader.—Sapa-Reuter

Shell Rattled by International Boycott

SHELL, From A1

ternational oil plays in fueling the South African economy.

"Shell petroleum is in the vehicles that lumber into the black townships to bring the soldiers that are arresting and killing people," charges Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica and one of the organizers of the Shell boycott. "It plays a pivotal and strategic role in propping up the South African government."

So far, Shell officials are playing down the boycott, saying there is no evidence that it is catching on or hurting the company's overall sales. Yet there are growing signs that the campaign has rattled the world's second-largest oil company.

In South Africa, Shell executives have talked recently about the international "onslaught" facing the company. At least partly in response, Shell South Africa Chairman John R. Wilson has become increasingly outspoken in his public denunciations of apartheid and South African government policies, embroiling him at one point in a dispute with President P.W. Botha that made front-page headlines.

And in the United States, company officials are openly expressing fears that the boycott might escalate and hurt the independent dealers and jobbers who operate about 11,500 Shell gas stations. At least two of those dealers, one in West Virginia and another in southern Illinois, have dropped their affiliation with Shell over the protests.

"The boycott is a concern to Shell," said Tony Cimino, a spokesman at Shell U.S. headquarters in Houston. "This could adversely affect the business of our dealers and our jobbers. They're the ones who see the picketers and have the customers turned away . . . and they've done nothing to deserve this happening to them."

The campaign against the company was born in January after the predominantly black National Union of Mineworkers in South Africa issued a call for help to its international affiliates over the Rietspruit coal mine incident. But the idea for a worldwide boycott against Shell—strongly pushed by United Mine Workers President Richard Trumka, who also has battled Shell over lingering contract disagreements in this country—immediately appealed to antiapartheid activists because of the company's preeminent position in the South African oil market.

In fact, Shell is only one of several international oil companies that operate in South Africa (Mobil, Caltex, British Petroleum and French-based Total are the others). But Shell, with an estimated $400 million in assets and more than 2,500 employes, is the biggest and most entrenched. Shell South Africa co-owns the largest oil refinery, co-manages the largest offshore oil import facility, operates a major oil pipeline, owns 853 gas stations and has extensive investments in chemical and asphalt plants as well as coal, lead and zinc mines.

Shell officials in London and The Hague—the company's dual headquarters—contend that acceding to the boycotters' demand for a pullout would have no effect on the South African government. Shell's oil facilities would simply continue to operate under different ownership, they say.

BY JAMES A. W. ATHERTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

From left, Trans-Africa's Robertson, United Auto Workers' Owen Bieber and UMW's Trumka with a "Shell discredit card" at January press conference.

"In our view, disinvestment would be nothing more than an empty gesture," said Michael Herbert, the director of Shell external affairs, in a telephone interview from London. "It would result in nothing more than the replacement of the Shell emblem with somebody else's—and that somebody else might not be as enlightened an employer as we like to think we are."

However, Shell officials acknowledge that the boycotters' focus on the supply of oil has placed them in an awkward position. South Africa has virtually no indigenous crude oil and Shell, as with all the major oil companies, resolutely insists that it does not import crude petroleum into the country—a restriction imposed by all OPEC nations as well as the U.N. General Assembly, which has been urging an international oil embargo on South Africa since 1963.

That leaves open the question of where and how Shell South Africa obtains the oil that it refines and markets in the country. The company says it can't say. The reason: an array of South African laws that strictly prohibit domestic companies from disclosing, even to their corporate parents, any information about the country's oil supplies or whom they sell to.

In a recent interview with an in-house company magazine, Royal Dutch Shell President Lo van Wachem said Shell South Africa must "abide by the laws of that country." As a result, he added, he could say only that the South African subsidiary gets its oil from unspecified "third parties," adding that "we . . . do not know from whom or from where the oil comes."

"Nobody in this office or in The Hague knows where the oil comes from," Herbert said. "Obviously, Shell South Africa knows, but they are not allowed to tell us. . . . I realize that doesn't sound very credible and this is one of the problems we face. But it does happen to be true."

Such comments have been greeted with varying degrees of disbelief and derision by the company's critics. "I find it preposterous that a corporation the size of Royal Dutch Shell does not know where one of its wholly owned subsidiaries procures its oil," said Kenneth Zinn, international representative and Shell boycott coordinator for the United Mine Workers. "They [Royal Dutch Shell] are responsible for the actions of their company."

Meanwhile, Shell officials counter that there is more to the boycott against them than the oil issue. In particular, they say, the campaign has as much to do with union politics in the United States as it does with South African apartheid.

One of the key organizers of the Shell boycott is Richard Trumka, president of the UMW, which has been engaged in a longstanding dispute with the A.T. Massey Coal Co. in Richmond, half-owned by Shell U.S. Massey was the only major coal company to refuse to sign a 1984 wage agreement negotiated by the UMW with Bituminous Coal Operators Association, resulting in a 15-month strike against some of the company's mines. The strike was called off by Trumka last December and the dispute over the wage agreement is now in the courts.

Massey officials note that the Shell boycott was organized by Trumka in January, one month after the end of the strike against Massey. "People can draw their own conclusions," said Paul Barbery, general counsel of Massey. "But you have to assume that part of their [the UMW's] problems with Royal Dutch Shell is because of their unhappiness with A.T. Massey."

Trumka was unavailable for comment on this issue, according to his press spokesman. UMW officials contend that the Massey dispute is unrelated to the Shell boycott. The officials do acknowledge, however, that the union was interested in singling out Shell because of the Rietspruit incident and the company's role in exporting what the union considers "slave labor" coal into the United States, an issue that became moot last month when the Congress passed economic sanctions forbidding further coal imports from South Africa.

Whatever the issues behind the boycott, it appears to have spurred Shell officials in South Africa into talk, if not action. As president of the Federated Chamber of Industries (the South African version of the Chamber of Commerce), Shell South Africa President Wilson made headlines in July with a public statement condemning the government's "strategy of political repression and economic isolationism"—a stance that earned him a stinging rebuke from President P.W. Botha.

And in an August speech to his senior managers, Wilson explicitly warned that Shell may also be forced to disinvest if the Botha government does not speed up political reforms, release political prisoners and negotiate with parties representing "all shades of opinion."

"Why is Shell taking a high-profile, political stance?" asked Wilson, according to a text of the speech. "The answer can be summed up in one word: survival. . . . The situation is not comfortable. Shell's position is not comfortable. The threat of disinvestment is real."

Shift to left by key S. African church council taken as sign that change is too slow coming

By Ned Temko
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

The debate inside South Africa's politically powerful Christian churches is shifting dramatically to the left.

Where once conservative and liberal clergymen battled between backing apartheid and racial equality, now the contest is increasingly between support for "reform" or for rebellion, to alter South African society.

The latest development in this regard came this past weekend. The South African Council of Churches – the umbrella group of English-speaking churches, long critical of government race policies – inched a step closer toward accepting the use of violence to overthrow the current system.

The move came at the council's annual meeting. By a large majority, it "adopted for urgent reaction" from member churches a statement that was drawn up earlier this year with the exiled, outlawed African National Congress in Lusaka, Zambia. The statement, while not directly associating the SACC with political violence, would in effect accept the use of violence by the ANC. The reasoning was that "the nature of the South African regime" requires "the use of force" by "liberation movements" to secure change.

The council declared explicit support for peaceful antigovernment protests, notably rent boycotts in many black communities.

Ironically, the council move comes on the heels of a leftward shift by the Dutch Reformed Church. The DRC – so pivotal an institution for the country's dominant Afrikaans-speaking whites that it is sometimes called "the government at prayer" – last year broke with its longstanding en-

Please see CHURCH back page

CHURCH from front page

dorsement of racial segregation.

At its annual synod, the DRC handed the church leadership to longtime race-reform advocate Johannes Heyns. The congress stopped short of endorsing liberals' calls to declare apartheid a sin. But it did, more quietly, withdraw Scriptural support for the system of race segregation. It also said individual nonwhites could apply for membership in white DRC congregations.

Old-guard resistance to the move, having simmered for months, boiled over a week ago when some 3,000 of the DRC's estimated 1.5 million Afrikaner members split to form a whites-only Afrikaans Reformed Church.

The fact that, at least so far, the breakaway has remained a splinter faction underscores the degree to which many Afrikaners have accepted the need to move away from rigid race segregation as a national credo. A young Afrikaans journalist, Elsabe Wessels, argued in a weekend commentary that the breakaway could in fact "free" the rest of the DRC to move much further forward in breaking with apartheid. "Concern about a right-wing schism," she said, "should not defuse the DRC's responsibility in seeking true reconciliation based on spiritual oneness."

But the SACC shift has underscored the danger that the DRC's change may have come too slowly, too late, to allow South African churches to join in building bridges to heal this divided society.

Major council figures like Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Colored (mixed-race) clergyman Allan Boesak feel that the DRC must at a minimum fuse with its separate, racially determined nonwhite "daughter churches" before it can play such a role. Dr. Boesak heads the Colored DRC.

Similarly skeptical is Beyers Naude, a white DRC minister who broke with his church over apartheid in the 1960s to form a Christian Institute and was officially "banned" in 1977 for five years. He is reported to be among some 50 Afrikaners who plan to participate in a key political conference with the ANC later this week.

Both Mr. Tutu and Boesak have remained careful to dissociate themselves personally from political violence. But both have in effect blamed government policy for forcing the ANC to take up arms. In the past few weeks, Tutu has said he fears "time may be running out for a peaceful resolution" and he could envisage a time in which he would indeed endorse violence as the only way of ensuring a "just" South African society.

Much in the future political role of the churches may depend on the ongoing debate within the DRC, where a liberal minority is pressing for unification with Boesak's church and with the separate reform churches for blacks and ethnic Asians. The liberals must bide their time until after 11 regional DRC synods later in the year. Many analysts expect further right-wing breakaways – or takeover attempts – at some of these conferences.

Journalists in South Africa operate under official press restrictions.

SUNDAY TIMES -

Savimbi warns the West

UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has warned all players in the Namibian settlement stakes that they deal him out at their own risk.

By BRIAN POTTINGER: JAMBA

And he flatly rejected any partition of Angola — a proposal that Unita believes is gaining currency in the latest round of United States/South African/Angolan negotiations.

Refusal to bring Unita into direct participation in the Namibian settlement talks would lead to a dramatic escalation of the Angolan civil war, the leader of the 40 000-strong Unita army intimated yesterday.

Dr Savimbi told 46 South African and foreign Pressmen at his headquarters in southern Angola that by December he would have 7 000 additional troops to throw against Luanda.

The Jamba Press conference came at the conclusion of an extraordinary congress of Unita — the first in its 18-year history.

At the root of the problem is Unita's growing fear that it will be frozen out of an Namibian/Angolan settlement and left diplomatically and militarily isolated in their grinding guerrilla war which they believe they are winning.

Fortress

The uncompromising Unita stand will be carefully weighed by Pretoria — traditional allies of Unita — in the negotiations on an Angolan proposal to withdraw Cuban troops north of certain parallels.

The proposal has immediately led to speculation that the MPLA Government is intending to fortress itself in the Angolan economic heartland and Unita believes this is the first step to a formal partition.

Key points made by Dr Savimbi yesterday:

- **Unita would take every military advantage possible in the event of a Cuban withdrawal if it was not consulted about the terms of withdrawal.**
- **He refused to accept a partition of Angola into an MPLA-held north and a Unita-controlled south,**
- **He rejected any idea of extending Angolan citizenship to Cuban non-combatants.**
- **Claimed that new logistical routes had been established to supply his army in the event of implementation of Resolution 435 in Namibia and a consequent cutting-off of existing supply lines.**
- **Withdrew his offer to enter reconciliation discussions with the MPLA Government until they gave positive proof of their intention to create a Government of National Unity.**

Dr Savimbi slammed the Lusaka Agreement whereby South African forces are being withdrawn from Angola as a "dilly-dallying manoeuvre".

The bellicose Unita stand comes at a time of great flux for the organisation.

Guerrilla operations have taken them to the gates of Luanda and inside, but on the diplomatic front Unita believes that the latest round of negotiations could rob them of the gains made in nine years of war.

The ebb of Unita fortunes is reflected in their leader.

A brisk and at times brusque Dr Savimbi yesterday contrasted with the relaxed and expansive leader who met the Press in July.

The fact that Unita claims it has already established alternative supply lines suggests that it believes an agreement prejudicial to itself is imminent.

Ties

In a speech to 7 000 Angolans at the Jamba Stadium and at a later Press conference Dr Savimbi showed failing patience with the US.

Although welcoming President Reagan's re-election, he demanded the State Department's attitude towards Angola and Namibia should be unequivocally clarified and the "sooner the better".

Dr Savimbi reaffirmed his close ties with South Africa — claiming that relations with Pretoria were good, describing State President PW Botha as "my friend".

Significantly, he acknowledged that Mr Botha had his own country's interests to consider and that he did not expect him to sacrifice those interests for Unita.

Dr Savimbi said Unita would have to be a party to all negotiations affecting the future of Namibia and the corresponding withdrawal of the Cubans.

"We insist that all the parties involved should recognise Unita as a central factor with sufficient means to influence the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola."

Dr Savimbi declined to respond directly to the Cape Verde talks as he had not been informed officially.

But it is understood the South African Government has unofficially informed him of the Angolan proposals.

"I don't want to rock the boat, I want to be part of the boat," Dr Savimbi said.

He rejected US signals that Unita should not press Luanda too hard because this might delay a Cuban withdrawal.

He claimed it was military pressure which had forced the Angolan Goverment to negotiate seriously about Cuban withdrawal.

"You're a nice guy when you are losing but a bad guy when you are strong," he observed.

Seeking fame on TV

Soweto

SIR — As a blackman in this country I feel very distressed and hopeless because of people who are seeking fame by appearing often in SABC TV and Radio blaming organisations like UDF for violence and disturbances which take place in urban areas.

Those people are forgetting one thing: That in a socially divided country like South Africa where the majority is oppressed, and discrimination is legalised, violence cannot be avoided even detention and shooting cannot bring peace in this country.

To my surprise those people are not doing a thing in bringing freedom to their black brothers who are suffering. Instead they are exploiting them.

I dislike to appeal mostly to homeland leaders to concentrate on their homelands affairs and keep away from people who are suffering and struggling for their freedom.

My last advice to them is that they must work hard for their fat cheques from Pretoria.

Worried South African
TEMBISA

Softly, softly treads the 'Red Bear'

Africa Service

ADDIS, ABABA, Wednesday.

THE Russian bear is walking softly in Revolutionary Socialist Ethiopia.

It is pushing at the open door offered by the socialist policies of the military government which overthrew Emperor Haile Selassie two years ago, while supporting elements which aspire to the government's overthrow and its replacement by Russian-style communism.

Diplomats in Ethiopia's capital, Addis Ababa, believe that the Soviet Union's dual role in this primitive, strife-torn country has its modern equivalent only in the brilliance with which the late Emperor played the East-West aid game.

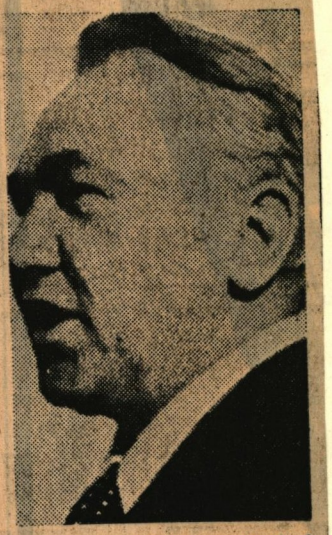
Many heads have rolled since the military took power in what was called a "creeping coup", but through all the bloodshed some element of stability has emerged. In the ruling Provisional Military Administrative Council a relatively stable triumvirate had emerged to control Ethiopia's destinies.

Heading it as chairman is Brigadier General Teferi Bante, a tall, quiet hard man with a capacity for thought, a retiring nature and tremendou self-confidence.

FARMLAND

Flanking him are Major Mengistu Haile-Mariam, the front man, the strong man and first Vice-Chairman of PMAC, and the second vice-chairman Lieutenant-Colonel Atnafu Abate, who prefers running the army to running politics.

With advice from a politburo of left-wing socialists, provided by the



Mr Figret Tabeev, who led the Russian delegation in Addis Ababa.

now predominate in the All-Ethiopia Socialist Movement, which advises the rulers in policy and reforms and which is in the line to provide a civilian government if and when the army relinquishes power.

At the same time the Soviets covertly support and encourage the underground Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party, which takes an even more extreme socialist line and is run mainly by people trained in the United States, although this doesn't stop it having the hammer and sickle for its party insignia.

While just about every politico in Ethiopia is currently shouting "long live socialism and the Soviet Union", and it is an all-smiles relationship between the Russians and the PMAC, Soviet policy is indirectly responsible for

All-Ethiopia Socialist Movement, they have launched an ambitious social reform programme which, if fully implemented, could do much to improve the lives of Ethiopia's 26 000 000 people — a people who in the ceurrent decade, have been described as "galloping madly into the 12th century".

Land reform measures have eliminated the feudal peasant-master relationship which existed over most of the country. Everybody is entitled by decree to live by and profit from his own 10 hectares of farmland.

Some 60 000 young Ethiopians have been trained and sent into rural areas to provide education and help improve farming standards. The widespread famine of two years ago has been virtually eliminated. Arrangements have been made for the division of the country on broad tribal lines into a series of regionally autonomous states.

GRABBING

The main problem is that, generally speaking, it isn't working very well.

All over the country peasants have been grabbing their 10 hectares without waiting for an official allocation or worrying overmuch about who owns them. Many are attempting to grab the same plots.

Co-operative farming schemes are being blocked by the widespread sabotaging of agricultural equipment and the burning of crops. And with former large landholdings being eliminated export crops are dwindling as peasant farming takes over.

Regional autonomy moves are being sabotaged by Eritrean seccessionists on the one hand and leaders of bandit armies in a chain of feudal kingdoms on the other, the latter being about the only people in the country who do not profess to be socialists or communists in one form or another.

And the shadow of the Soviet Union hangs over everything.

To the Soviets, Ethiopia has come cheap. For many years it picked up promising students and sent them to Moscow and Eastern Europe for higher education. These students the two gravest crises now facing "socialist revolutionary Ethiopia".

On Ethiopia's eastern borders Russia equips, trains, advises and finances the army of Somalia, one of the most powerful in Africa and which backs a government claiming vast areas of Ethiopian territory.

EQUIPMENT

Nevertheless, while Russia gets all the glory in Ethiopia, the United States, which spends millions of dollars yearly on financing and equipping the Ethiopian army, gets the kicks.

Earlier this year the United States agreed to re-equip the Ethiopian army and it is reported that its average annual allocation of 22 million dollars for new Ethiopian military equipment will be increased to some 300 million dollars within the next two years, when Ethiopia will receive large amounts of military hardware destined originally for Vietnam.

Diplomats believe that, embarrassed by its dependence on the United States while pursuing socialist policies, the PMAC had asked Russia to take over the commitment, but had been smilingly turned down.

MILITARY

Asked why they think the United States continues giving so much with very little return, some neutral diplomats say they believe America reckons that in a major crisis it could use the threat of withdrawal of military support to influence the government. Important Ethiopians say privately that if America thinks that, it is being naive.

When the Soviet-backed Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation jointly with the South African ANC held its anti-South Africa international conference in Addis Ababa recently, at least three leaders of delegations from Communist countries congratulated Ethiopia on becoming "a stronghold of revolutionaries" since the emperor's overthrow.

As one Western observer remarked: "They should know".

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16/1/20

Saying 'yes' isn't easy after 40 years of pain

WEEKLY

The Dutch Reformed Church, which upheld apartheid for so many years, will have to provide tangible evidence of its "about turn" before being re-admitted into the fold of the South African Council of Churches. By PAT SIDLEY

IT CAME as a shock to many to hear in this era of "reconciliation" that the South African Council of Churches had not welcomed the application of the Dutch Reformed Church to join as an observer member.

For those looking for an insight into popular reaction to President FW de Klerk's reforms and the National Party's attempts at negotiations, the debate at the conference provided some real insight.

At its annual conference last week, the SACC decided to postpone deciding on the application for a year, during which time the DRC was to "attend to certain matters". To put it more bluntly, the DRC's apparent move at reconciliation was rejected.

But to anybody sitting through the week of the conference and listening to the tenor of the debates, it came as less of a surprise.

For the delegates, many of them black, voteless, detained and tortured by police who belonged to the DRC, it was too much to take it back without some explanation to show the DRC was sincere in its moves.

The DRC had decided at its synod last year to apply for observer membership. It had been a landmark synod in which the DRC had made large strides towards declaring apartheid a sin — but had circumscribed its definition of apartheid so that many, including the white DRC's black sister church, rejected the moves as insufficient.

It had also made some moves towards unification with its black sister churches — but these, too, were hopelessly inadequate from the perspective of those churches.

Earlier this year, the executive committee of the SACC had recommended to the conference that the DRC's application be accepted — it was a move, according to insiders, supported by SACC general secretary Rev Frank Chikane, who has too much to do with DRC assessor and former moderator, Professor Johan Heyns.

At last year's historic National Conference of Churches at Rustenberg, the DRC itself had confessed to the sin of apartheid. This had unleashed other similar confessions and helped produce the declaration of the Rustenberg conference which was, in itself, a long confession.

But the sister churches of the DRC had not accepted the sincerity of this — and they had good reason. The white church — aside from its track record on the issue of apartheid — had resisted all attempts to unite with its black churches into one non-racial reformed church. It was a complaint the sister churches (the Dutch Reformed Mission Church and the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa) brought to the SACC and which fell on fertile ground.

UNDER FIRE ... Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, strove too soon for a peace deal Photo: KEVIN CARTER

Early on during the SACC's conference, Chikane found himself under fire for his role in the various committees which have sprung up within the clergy to negotiate some kind of peace deal. The forum for some of the meetings has been the steering committee of the Rustenberg National Conference of Churches. On the committee is Heyns, along with the Rustenberg co-chairman, Dr Louw Alberts — a conservative lay theologian. Chikane is the other co-chairman.

Recently, both Alberts and Heyns have been on a facilitating committee with Chikane which arose out of State President FW de Klerk's Conference on Violence and Intimidation.

SACC delegates queried the apparently sidelined role their organisation was having to play. The SACC, delegates noted, was the institution which had consistently called for justice and peace and campaigned for an end to apartheid and its violence. Now these Johnny-come-latelys were suddenly espousing the same aims — and reaching the media more frequently than Chikane in that context, with no acceptable track record.

It was a point made by Dr Beyers Naude, honorary life president of the SACC, who told delegates that it was widely perceived that the SACC was being sidelined and that other forces with unexplained motives seemed to be taking over. He said he had doubts about the motives of the DRC was beginning to question De Klerk's integrity.

At the end of the week the "Rustenberg debate" had turned into a motion which restricted the SACC general secretary's moves in connection with the Rustenberg committee, but allowed him the freedom to work as a peace negotiator in the broader context of the facilitating committee, which on June 22 had had spectacular success in bringing together everybody — except the far right — to discuss peace initiatives.

All these emotions and more arose in the debate about the DRC.

The motion for acceptance of the application had few supporting it and an amendment proposed by the assessor of the (coloured) Dutch Reformed Mission Church, one of the DRC's sister churches, failed too.

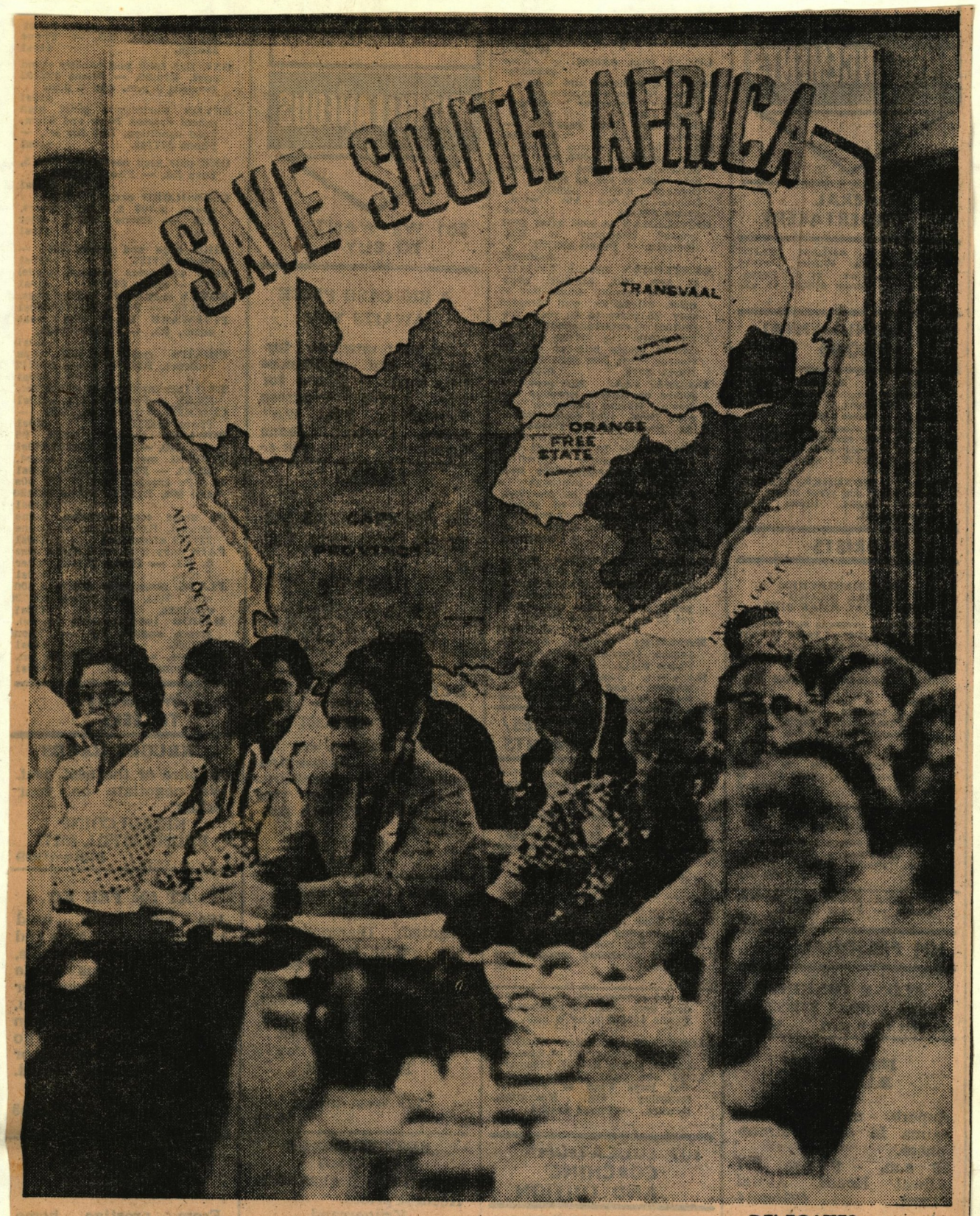
The motion eventually passed was posed by Dr Nico Smith, a white former minister of the DRC, who became disaffected with it and is now on the moderature of the (African) Dutch Reformed Church in Africa. Only one vote opposed the motion in the end.

Before the application is reconsidered next year the DRC has been asked by the SACC to:

- Issue a clear statement that it is withdrawing its previous accusations against the SACC.
- Provide a clear and public motivation of its reasons for applying to become an observer member of the SACC.
- Enter into discussions with its sister churches to normalise relationships between them.
- Declare its willingness to criticise this and any future government in terms of the Gospel.

The view of the conference was summarised by Anglican Bishop Duncan Buchanan who said: "We are trying to find a way of saying 'yes' while we are wrestling with the pain of 40 years of attacks and brutalisation by the Dutch Reformed Church."

All the delegates stressed that they wanted to see the DRC back in the fold of the SACC but with tangible evidence that it meant what it said.



DELEGATES to the Natal Congress of the United Party are pictured beneath the map depicting the "Save South Africa" theme of the congress.

S.A's RACE TO AVOID WAR OR REVOLT

SOUTH AFRICA was involved in a race against time to avoid war from outside and revolution from within because of the Government's disastrous race policies, the Transvaal United Party leader, Mr. Japie Basson, MP, warned yesterday at the party's Natal congress in Durban.

Mr. Basson said the party's slogan should be: "South Africa, broaden yourself, or perish."

There were people who believed in the myth that the Prime Minister was about to enact a political strip-tease with totally new policy directions.

But Mr. Vorster had actually shown that there was no real substance in his promises to remove discrimination or to his so-called detente policy.

As a result he had lost credibility in the world at large and only a new government could get South Africa out of the mess it had been placed in nationally and internationally.

Collapse

This was why the initiative taken by Sir de Villiers Graaff to establish a new party had to succeed.

Mr. Basson said those who had watched southern Africa's political developments must have noticed that party programmes were collapsing one after the other — as in Rhodesia and South West Africa.

In South West "events have simply compelled them to step outside their party programme, to leave all their holy cows behind, and to negotiate in the Turnhalle for a new South West which will differ radically from their political dreams and which never even featured in their nightmares."

The National Party had never succeeded in drawing South Africa's English into the administration of the country although they represented 40 percent of the population.

If Mr. Vorster could not accommodate the English speaking people, what chance did he have with the other groups?

Both Mr. Basson and the Free State deputy leader of the Party, Mr. Willem Barnard, reported that their parties totally supported the Graaff initiative for a new Opposition party.

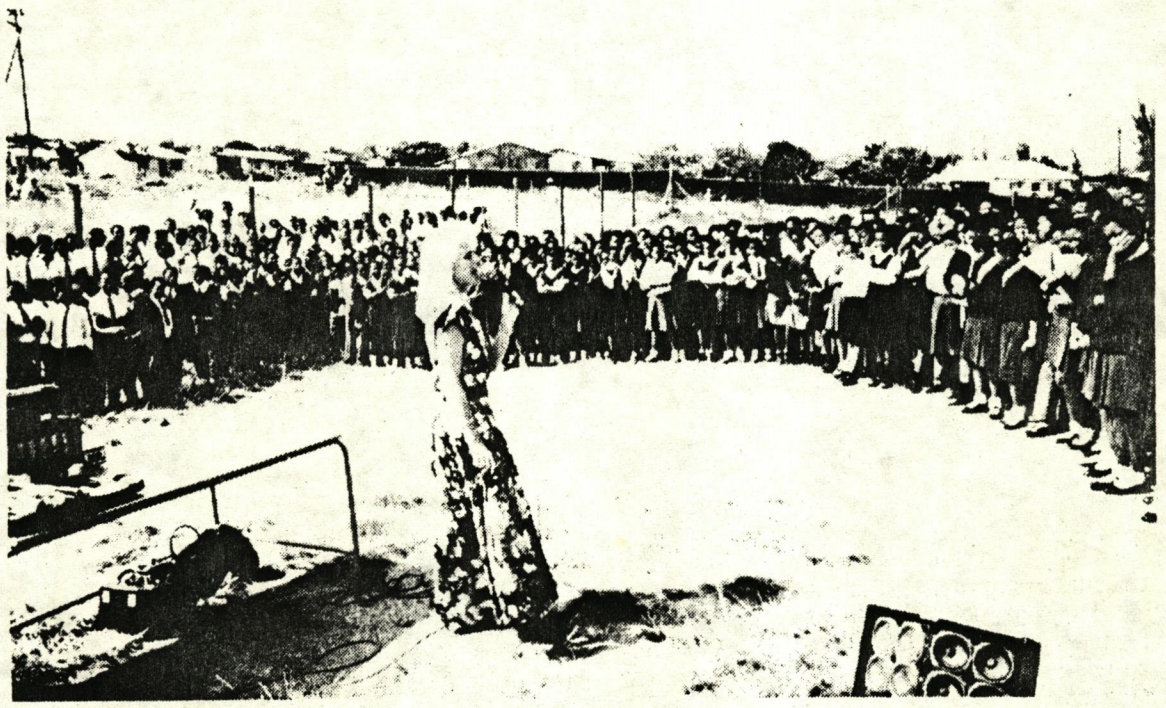
However, Mr. Ron Reynolds, MPC, drew strong applause when he said: "there is a limit to the price we are prepared to pay to attract others of different political persuasions.

"Some people will do us no good."

Sør-Afrika, et land i vekkelse og terror

Vi har våre fyrstikker og vår bilhjul. Vi skal vinne til slutt. Våre aksjoner skal tvinge dem til å gi seg i revolusjonens navn. Slik hørte vi Winnie Mandela, Nelson, Mandelas hustru tone ut sitt budskap under ANC's vaiende faner og det russiske røde flagg med hammer og sigd.

Finn H. Friis Larsen



Solvei Friis Larsen synger for studentene på en skole i Natal.

Samtidig lød budskapet om forsoning og frelse fra en fotballstadion i Johannesburg. 35.000 mennesker var samlet til Harmoni '90, et felleskristelig møte, hvor man sang og lovpriste Herren. Det eneste sørgelige ved dette møtet var at ANC og Mandela nektet de sorte kristne å delta. De uteble da også i frykt for represalier.

Det er blandede følelser vi sitter igjen med etter vårt måned lange besøk i Sør-Afrika. Min hustru Solvei Annette og jeg besøkte 19 byer. Vi hadde 27 møter og 3 fulle dager med TV-opptak for både den hvite og de sorte kanalene i Johannesburg og Pretoria.

Menigheter i framgang

Det var underfullt å legge merke til den fine vekkelsesånd som rådet i møtene. Det er i dag mange store menigheter i Sør-Afrika. Den største av dem er Rhema i Johannesburg under ledelse av pastor RayMcCauley, en menighet som startet for 10 år siden. Den søndagskvelden vi besøkte menigheten var det ca. 4000 tilstede på møtet. Det er en menighet som i likhet med de fleste karismatiske menigheter, er godt besøkt av hvite, sorte og kulørte. Det er en stor gruppe mennesker fra India og Asia som man karakteriserer som kulørte. Det raseskille som vi tidligere har hørt om, er nå heldigvis nesten borte.

Hele skolen frelst

Da vi var i Escort i Natal, ble vi invitert av britiske misjonærer til å være med dem inn i den sorte bydelen, hvor de har drevet misjonsvirksomhet en del år. Dette er en bydel hvor evangeliet har fått godt feste. Der er det også fred. For kort tid siden forsøkte noen fra ANC (African National Congress) å lage til bråk og demonstrasjoner også i den bydelen, men de ble regelrett kastet ut av området. Problemet i Sør-Afrika er ikke svarte mot hvite, men svarte mot svarte.

Vi besøkte flere skoler hvor vi vitnet om Jesus. Vårt mål var et gymnas for spesielt flinke sorte elever. De var i alderen 17-20 år. Det var nydelig vær, så vi foreslo å ha konserten/møtet utendørs. Vi hadde med eget høytaleranlegg og playback og rigget det opp på skoleplassen. Solvei sang og jeg vitnet om Guds nåde. Den første som offentlig ga til kjenne at han ønsket å gi sitt liv til Jesus, var skolens rektor. Deretter var det en del naboer som løftet sine hender som tegn på at også de ville ta imot Jesus som sin frelser. Plutselig kom Den Hellig Ånd over oss på en hlet spesiell måte. Samtlige 350 studenter løftet hendene, og vi ledet dem alle i synderens bønn. Det var stor begeistring da vi forlot den bydelen. Vi er svært takknemlige for at misjonærene vil hjelpe dem i oppfølgingsarbeidet. Tenk, hele skolen ble frelst! Visst er det vekkelse!

Finn H. Friis Larsen i samtale med Kong Goodwill.

Sort innflytelsesrik leder

Den aller første samlingen vi hadde i Johannesburg før vi begynte vår turné, var kun for predikanter og deres hustruer. De innviet oss i Herrens tjeneste og ba spesielt om at vi skulle bli brukt til inspirasjon og fornyelse. En av pastorene kom da med et profetisk budskap hvor Herren talte til oss om at vi skulle møte en sort leder med stor innflytelse. Vårt møte med ham vil få store konsekvenser, ikke bare blant de sorte, men for Sør-Afrika i sin helhet. vi har lært oss å ta en personlig profeti med knusende ro. vi er ikke typene som kun bygger på profetier. Men dette skulle faktisk skje. Bare en uke senere var vi i Durban, hvor vi møtte Peta Hulett. Hun er en hvit dame som i lang tid har arbeidet blant de sorte i Natal-området. Plutselig sa hun til oss at hun hadde en følelse av at vi burde møte Kong Goodwill. Han er konge for Zulu-nasjonen som er den største sorte befolkningsdel i Sør-Afrika med 7,8 millioner mennesker. Hun ringte og fikk gjort avtale om at vi hadde audiens hos kong Goodwill i hans palass første påskedag for en time. Men når man er i audiens hos kongen, er det han som bestemmer når tiden er omme for besøket. Vi hadde inngående samtaler om troen på Jesus Kristus og fikk det bekreftet hva vi hadde hørt, at han er en personlig kristen. Ette 3 timer sa han: – Jeg tror dere må møte Chief Minister Buthelezi. Han er zuluenes politiske leder med hovedsete i Ulundi. Dersom man tror hovedkvarteret deres er en liten stråhytte langt inne i jungelen, tar man feil. Det er et moderne bygg med over 3000 ansatte. Det får det norske regjeringsbygg til å se ut som et lite anneks.

Chief Minister Buthelezi hadde nettop vært i Durban og møtt en delegasjon av utenriksministere fra EF-landene. Men han ga oss nesten 2 timer. Vi hadde lunsj sammen og samtalte om den politiske situasjonen for de sorte i Sør-Afrika. For oss var dette naturligvis som et eventyr. Vi fikk førstehånds informasjon av den politiske lederen for den største sorte befolkningsgruppen i Sør-Afrika. Etter kort tid forsto vi at Buthelezi også er en gjenfødt kristen og døpt som troende. Vi endte våre samtaler med å holde hverandre i hendene og be for hverandre og be om fred for Sør-Afrika. Den Hellig Ånd falt på oss, og vi hadde en underfull stund i Herrens nærhet.

Til Emanuel Minos med hilsen fra

Henrik Friis Larsen

MISJONS-MIKS

Dører åpnes i Øst-Europa

Nye dører har åpnet seg i Øst-Europa. Hvilke muligheter har vi til å nå denne delen av verden med evangeliet?

Det som skjer politisk i Øst-Europa overskygger en annen revolusjon, nemlig menneskenes søken etter en kristen tro. Lengselen etter å finne de verdier som ligger til grunn for det som skjer i Øst-Europa i dag kan man ikke undertrykke.

Billy Graham
til Trons Segrar.

De kristne i øst-Europa kan lære oss ikke å synes synd på oss selv og vår situasjon. Våre venner i øst sløser ikke bort tiden med å tenke på det som har vært. De snakker ikke om forfølgelser og markedsfører ikke sine lidelser. De er bare opptatt av de åpne dørene de ser foran seg.

Luis Palau
til Dagen, Stockholm.

Det er vår og en ny tid i Øst-Europa. Åpenheten minner meg om da Afrika ble åpent for misjon for 100 år siden. Øst-Europa og Sovjet er i dag og kommende tider en stor misjonsmark!

Aril Edvardsen
til Kristelig Pressekontor.

Den nye situasjonen i Sovjet har ført til et samarbeid mellom bibelmisjonene. Høsten 1989 var det to møter mellom bibelselskapene og østmisjonene i Norden for å koordinere arbeidet med nye muligheter og felles prosjekter. Å nå Sovjet med 20 mill. bibler og nytestamenter er målet på noe lengre sikt.

Johannes Østtveit
til Ropt fra Øst.

Vi er i ferd med å våkne opp i en helt ny verden. Det er ikke lenger den frie verden på den ene siden og kommunistene på den andre siden. USA og Sovjet vil spille på samme lag, og verden vil ikke bli delt opp med de samme grensene som tidligere.

Tom Houston
til World Evangelization.

TRIBUNE
COMMENT

Suspicion of FW lingers on

THERE seems little doubt that Mr Nelson Mandela has a lingering suspicion that President FW de Klerk might know more than he is telling when it comes to township violence.

What he exactly said at the Press conference in Oslo on Friday night has been obscured by subsequent statements and explanations. But there is little doubt that the thrust of it was that forces against democracy were destabilising the peace process, that there was white involvement, that the security forces were involved in this, and that the State President must share the responsibility for the bloodshed.

These are harsh words, whether meant as a personal attack on Mr De Klerk or not, indicating that there is still deep suspicion of government intent.

This does not augur well for the constitutional negotiations. The violence continues to bedevil progress towards an interim government; it is also a vital factor in preventing outside investment to lift the economy.

If any of the country's security forces are involved in some sort of destabilising exercise in the townships, it is the responsibility of the State President to end it.

Whatever the situation, the suspicion of Mr Mandela and his supporters needs to be allayed if the trust which is so vital in the search for a national accord is to be restored.

Marching into the future

SNAFU seems to sum up aspects of the present structure of the South African Defence Force. Conscription of whites remains, but the SADF has taken a welcome softer line by recognising the right of refusal to serve on grounds of conscience. Since there is no Population Registration Act it is difficult to see how "white" could be legally defined, and so many young men are bucking the call-up system that it is said to be "falling apart".

At the same time there is widespread suspicion and hostility among civilians towards a force perceived to be a racially loaded arm of the government. It is also obvious that such a defence force would be unacceptable to the interim government in the offing.

Against this backdrop it is good news that SADF generals have begun talks with the ANC about the shape of a post-apartheid army, but even here there are mixed signals. After a bullish announcement, outgoing defence minister Roelf Meyer emphasised that there could be no integration of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the Defence Force, and spoke instead of rationalisation. The ANC for its part has declined to comment on Mr Mandela's indication this week that it is dropping the armed struggle option.

Stability in any country's defence is vital, for practical and tactical reasons. Restoring confidence in the SADF depends on involving all of our society in it. If that cannot be done in terms of the present constitution it should at least be targeted in a clear statement of intent from the major parties involved.

COMMENT

Stop throwing cash at them

THE bellicosity of the Inkatha Freedom Party grows daily more reckless, and the actions of its youth wing approach treasonable insurrection. The challenge can no longer be ignored.

The youth brigade, egged on by more adult leaders, plans to march tomorrow on Shell House, headquarters of the African National Congress, in the heart of Johannesburg. Its leaders say they will defy a police ban to do so.

They also plan a week of rolling mass action to bring the country, or at least its leading metropolis, to a halt. Their attitude is defiant and confrontational, and their aim is to stop or disrupt the country's first free elections. They are willing to risk bloodshed and to precipitate civil war to do so.

They cannot be allowed to succeed. The birth of South African democracy cannot be made hostage to violence. Inkatha has ceased to be a mere political problem; it has become a problem of basic law and order.

The police are deploying massive resources to stop the march on Shell House. That is proper, but it is important for the future to combine firmness with restraint. It is especially important to prevent wild shooting or mass killings such as occurred in Johannesburg a fortnight ago. The march must not give martyrs to the future.

At the same time, it is not sufficient simply to break up concentrations of marchers or demonstrators with tear gas, and allow them to reassemble elsewhere, or to make the notorious hostels a base for future raids and sallies. It is necessary for the police to disarm as many people as they can, and to arrest those who break the law.

But police action alone will not end this incipient insurrection. The power of the Inkatha Freedom Party to sow mayhem in the Transvaal derives in very large part from the immense flow of public money — more than R4-billion a year — from the government to the Zulu bantustan.

That flow of money should have been cut off months ago. The tasks of paying pensions and salaries, and especially of controlling the Kwazulu police, should have been taken over by the central government months ago.

Our progress towards democracy, not to speak of our lives and property, is now threatened because President de Klerk tried as long as he could to preserve Chief Buthelezi as a future political ally against the ANC. That endeavour has proved vain.

Even that expedient reason for keeping Chief Buthelezi afloat has fallen away.

In about a fortnight's time the new government will begin to take control of Kwazulu from Ulundi. There is no need to wait.

President de Klerk owes it to the nation, and to its hopes of free and democratic elections, to cut off all state support for Chief Buthelezi's regime: money, personnel and facilities, and access to credit. He owes it to the nation to do so immediately.

Only when Chief Buthelezi's reign of terror in Ulundi is brought to an end will we know how many Zulu people truly support him. Only when his administration is allowed to collapse will the Zulu people be able to join the rest of South Africa in their march to freedom.

Until then we shall depend on an overworked police force, and an army spread thin, to hold the line against the mayhem which, clearly, it is Inkatha's intention to sow. Until then, we shall depend on the fortitude of the people of Johannesburg to keep this economy ticking over, and this country functioning.

All these people have a right to expect President de Klerk to stop fiddling while Rome burns.

THE EDITOR

SA security police implicated in parcel bomb killing

A DESERTER from the British armed forces has revealed evidence implicating the South African security police in a parcel bomb explosion, officially attributed to right-wing fanatics, which killed an ANC sympathiser in Durban in October 1990.

The case became a *cause célèbre* in South Africa in part because the victim, Nic Cruse, was white – which is unusual in political killings – and also because two of three right-wingers charged with the murder, Adrian Maritz and Henry Martin, went on hunger strike last year for more than 60 days. Upon being released on bail, the two fled with false passports to Britain, where they both live now as free men.

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

Interviewed by a BBC2 *Assignment* documentary to be broadcast tonight, Mr Maritz and the British servicemen – who asked not to be identified – independently corroborated each other's allegations that the security police had planted the bomb and then organised a cover-up.

Mr Maritz, who claimed to have been working as a military intelligence operative, denied he had had anything do with the Durban bombing: "It's very simple . . . The chap that did it is a warrant officer in the security police. His father is a colonel . . . and they are protecting him like they've always done."

The British serviceman, who is in his early twenties, deserted and fled to South Africa in August 1990. Here he met one of the leaders of the far-right World Apartheid Movement, to which Mr Maritz was linked. He obtained work as a military trainer for Eugene Terreblanche's AWB, the white supremacist Afrikaner Resistance Movement.

In November 1990, the serviceman was arrested in connection with the Durban bombing. He was held in protective custody until the end of last year when British authorities intervened and he was allowed to return home.

Interviewed in London, he went further than Mr Maritz, identifying the officer as Steyl Abrie: "When I was arrested on 12 November 1990 the police interrogated me about my involvement in a bombing in Durban which killed a man, Nicky Cruse. I told them I had no involvement with the bombing but that I knew Adrian Maritz, Henry Martin and Louis van Schalkwyk, and a security police officer, Warrant Officer Abrie, had involvement in the bombing.

"I told them who built the bomb, who delivered it and that Warrant Officer Abrie wrote the address on the bomb and sent it to a Johannesburg post office. On three occasions when I was in custody I asked the South African police what they were doing about Abrie and they gave me a cold blank stare. Basically I had to shut my mouth and keep quiet about it."

Further substantiating these allegations, the BBC investigation into the Durban bombing revealed that details of the computer company to which the parcel bomb was sent had been on security police files. It was believed that the company kept records for the ANC's military wing.

An Identikit compiled by eyewitnesses of a young male face bore no resemblance to the three arrested men, all of whom are middle-aged. According to Mr Maritz, the police are also witholding a handwriting sample and fingerprint evidence linking their man to the murder.

Last week the police revealed for the first time that Warrant Officer Abrie had been suspended but, declining to respond to a list of questions in any detail, did not clarify whether he was still under suspension today.

The killing machine, page 11

If you dre
Oysters we

USA TODAY

PETER FABRICIUS in Washington

SA may have to scrum for investment

DURING a hearing of the US House of Representatives on South Africa last week, New Jersey Representative Robert Torricelli said he was sure Nelson Mandela had called for the lifting of sanctions now so that he could "catch a running pass" when the ANC came into government next April.

Mr Mandela hoped to launch investments whose benefits would be felt when the ANC assumed a share of power in April, he said.

Mr Torricelli was concerned that Mr Mandela would not receive his pass in time. Before businesses would move, city and state sanctions would have to go, often a lengthy process.

The California legislature — which blocks investment from the state's giant pension funds — does not even sit again until 1994, and the Texas legislature not until 1995.

Mr Torricelli contemplated federal legislation to over-ride the 179 state and local sanction measures but most congressional observers believed such a move would fall foul of the constitution.

Now the anti-apartheid community is adding further obstacles to investment in the form of investment codes of conduct for US businesses in SA. One such code could well be attached to the US Congress bill to lift remaining federal sanctions against SA.

The Senate has already passed a version of the bill which retains a mild existing provision obliging US businesses to abide by the State Department's behavioural guidelines.

The guidelines — which basically require fair treatment for blacks — fall away after SA's first election when, it is presumed, a democratic government will be able to determine its own behavioural codes.

But Congressional sources say the House of Representatives is about to present a different version of the bill sponsored by the Congressional Black Caucus. The black caucus seems to want a code with no sunset clause and which will therefore continue indefinitely.

Meanwhile, among the 179 state and local jurisdictions which have SA sanctions, a similar move has begun. Massachusetts has already replaced its sanctions with an investment code.

The irony is that the ANC — which, after all, authored the sanctions campaign — is against the codes of conduct. In appearances in Congress last week both ANC economics chief Trevor Manuel and Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo opposed such codes.

Both pointed out that SA would lay down its own code of conduct for investors. For the US to have its own code in addition would discriminate against US business and discourage investment, Manuel said.

The effect would be aggravated if a plethora of different state and local sanctions sprang up to confuse US business further.

Astoundingly, the black caucus seems, so far, to have ignored the ANC's entreaties. It is not clear why. Some conjecture that the ANC has not made its opposition clear enough, others believe that the black caucus is miffed because the ANC did not consult it about lifting sanctions.

Still others believe the black caucus is responding to the lobbying of anti-apartheid groups here who fear the "apartheid industry" and their jobs will disappear if they do not have something — like monitoring an investment code — to keep them busy.

Some suggest that the inceasingly-powerful black caucus is merely flexing its muscle by putting its stamp on one piece of legislation it knows it can control. Most agree that the black caucus will prevail because Congress defers to it on the SA issue.

The SA Foundation's Washington representative, Michael Christie, is alarmed. "This is a serious matter. It will be a real disincentive to US businessmen.

"A lot of excitement has been generated about portfolio investment. But the real prize is the return of companies — people who will bring investment, jobs, knowledge and the involvement of the US."

Even the portfolio investors are likely to hang back a while, however, despite some euphoric noises. At a conference on institutional investment organised by former US ambassador to SA Herman Nickel last week, Kenneth Costa of the giant securities firm, SG Warburg's, described the SA share and bond market as "almost intoxicating in terms of return on investment".

But when Carol O'Cleirecain, the no-nonsense Budget Director of the City of New York, in effect demanded that the investment experts put their money where their mouths were, they were rather less eager.

Ms O'Cleirecain — one of the managers who together control over four trillion dollars of US pension funds — asked Mr Costa and representatives of other big investment firms whether they were really ready to invest in South Africa.

"Not yet" summed up their hesitant responses.

The problems were the familiar ones; political violence and lingering uncertainty about the policies of a future government — despite impressive convergence on economic policy by the ANC and the government.

This is not to disparage the extraordinary efforts of Mr Mandela, President De Klerk and other South Africans here over the past two weeks. They succeeded in putting SA firmly on the investors' map.

But it looks after all, as though that was not an American-style running pass which Mr Mandela threw here last week. It was more like a rugby-union put-in to the scrum. Plenty of hooks, rakes, kicks, gouges, punches, fumbled passes, tackles and further scrums can be expected before the try line looms.

And surely not by April 27

DAVID ALLEN reflects on the state of democracy in South Africa.

SOUTH Africa can never complain about being short of advice on how to sort out its problems. What is lacking though is the catalyctic spark of genius it will take to precipitate out from the confusion of thought a coherent, workable system.

How far off that spark still seems.

One delegate who attended last year's conference of the Political Science Association at which he presented a paper, commented afterwards that not even at that august meeting of fine minds was there even the glimmer of a solution: "They are still too busy," he said, "trying to agree on what the problem is."

Just how far off that spark is can be gauged when listening seriously to what intelligent, informed people have to say whenever they are put on the spot to suggest how they would change things if only given the opportunity.

"The solution lies in sharing," is an absolute favourite, irritatingly intoned as if it were an original thought.

As a statement it is undeniably true. But, because of a dearth of ideas on how to *achieve* it, most discussions on sharing invariably end up being about as inspiring as yesterday's mashed potato.

A measure of the current levels of insight, knowledge and wisdom running through public political debate was reflected in the millions of words that were written and spoken about last year's municipal election.

Although it was hailed by many as a "watershed election", the level of analysis was shockingly mediocre. Diffuse, evasive and lacking in any discernable coherence, it left the electorate with no clearer understanding of the issues than it had before.

Nor, I suspect, do many of the new crop of councillors.

Much the same applies to debates on other topics such as humanism, liberalism, capitalism, free enterprise, and that other oft-voiced "solution" — democracy. By the time dinner-party thinkers have done their work, these concepts are left with about as much appeal as does Chris Heunis's vision of a better South Africa.

So many words, so much argument, so little enlightenment.

BALLOT BOX AS TYRANT: The essence of democracy is one man one vote, but South African voters have never evinced the slightest inclination to share the franchise. When they talk of sharing the vote, or sharing anything else, they usually mean sharing with their own kind.

Political scientists are feeling it. So are ordinary, non-academic voters. As that election, and countless others before it, have testified: the electorate will leave everything more or less the same until someone comes along with something better to believe in.

Many have seriously bid to be that "someone". Denis Beckett is among the latest. But judging by his new book, a 200-page thesis arguing that democracy is what South Africa needs, he is not going to be.

The best thing about this book is that it is well-timed. With the memory of the recent municipal elections still fresh; the announcement of a new delimitation; the on-going speculation about the next general election, Nelson Mandela's release and the unbanning of the ANC; and the spirited challenges to the government from the Conservative Party opposition and the Houses of Representatives, seldom has our political system been subjected to such intense public scrutiny.

But, as with so much else spoken and written today about our political plight, this book does nothing to advance the debate.

Beckett begins by stating in his introduction that he would prefer to live in a country where there is "a stolid democracy where the fights are fought by ballot box and council chamber.

"That is what this book is aimed at. That is the only thing this book is aimed at. I do not take any side of any issue. I argue solely for installing the ballot box as tyrant — a tyrant so terrible that none can prevail without it, a tyrant so powerful that each of us can find fruition with it.

"What follows is the skeleton of a principle which has been neglected in the South African debate: the extreme empowerment of the citizen."

Again, undeniably true, but naive. South African voters — bar a comparatively few exceptions — have never evinced the slightest inclination to share their ballot boxes with the rest of their countrymen which, surely, is the very basis of a vigorous democracy or, as Beckett puts it, the "supreme tyranny" of the ballot box?

The "extreme empowerment of the citizen" is indeed a worthy ideal, and one which many South African voters claim to support.

But close questioning soon reveals that by "everyone" they usually mean everyone *of their own kind*. When the concept is expanded to include everyone else too, enthusiasm for the citizen's empowerment noticeably wanes.

At no time in the history of the Afrikaner has the citizen ever had anything approaching "extreme empowerment". The elders of family, church and state saw to that and still do. They made the decisions, took the initiative, and decided between right and wrong.

Much the same was achieved in the English-speaking community by the elders of business and the old-boy network, only with somewhat more refinement and subtlety.

In the black community, the burden of making decisions was lifted from the shoulders of the masses by chiefs and tribal elders, and in more recent times, by the political warlords of the townships.

Looked at in this way, there is a surprising degree of cultural similarity between our various groups.

Thus have the majority of South Africans lived for centuries in the sunshine of blissful contentment, happy that their best interests were being served by "those who know best". No evidence has yet come to light showing that a majority would have it any other way.

That is why in South Africa, unlike the United States which is more or less the same age, English-speaking political opposition since 1948 has been, and still is, sadly ineffective and the most often-heard cry from the voter on our problems is: "What can I do about it?"

Rather than "extreme empowerment", the citizen has had extreme impotence and his cry is eloquent confirmation of it.

If South Africa's voting elite were the democrats they claim to be, how has the National Party been allowed to retain its unassailable position for 40 years given that it is directly responsible for the state the country is in and which they (now) concede needs to change?

How has the ruling party been allowed to get away with using delimitation to emasculate the voters who do not support them?

How could they be permitted to deprive a majority of this country's people of the vote, of access to land and of a string of rights usually enjoyed by citizens?

Why have the country's best brains and talents — the most influential sector of our voting elite — largely kept themselves above and beyond trying to influence the status quo even though they know, probably better than most, the extent to which the country is at risk?

Why, when we have been hammered for years by the overwhelming social, political and economc problems that have been generated by our regime's policies, do only about half of the registered voters bother to pitch up on election days?

More to the point: if we are the democrats we claim to be, why have two organisations who actually have universal franchise as part of their official policies — the ANC and the PAC — been bannished into exile?

We know about their attachment to violence as a political weapon. But the histories of these organisatins show that violence came only after — many years after — it became clear that their attempts to talk to Pretoria about the plight of their people would get nowhere.

And why did the one-time official opposition in Parliament, the PFP, once flirt with the idea of votes for all, then change its mind rather smartly, and ever since maintain a rather wishy washy stand on the issue?

The new democratic movement claims to support universal franchise. It will be interesting, in the light of the PFP experience, to see how long they maintain it.

South African voters are wont to often compare their country with those "elsewhere in Africa" and, in speaking eulogistically about the virtues of democracy itself, to use conditions in other countries to "prove" with no small measure of self-righteousness that their hopelessly lopsided country *is* a democracy.

At such times it is always interesting to reflect on what

- Bannings of political organisations.
- Restricted voting.

The argument will obviously be raised, as does Beckett, that democracy implies as much the right to stay the same as to change. It certainly does. If we were writing about the United States, it would be a telling argument. But we are not. We are writing about South Africa and that makes the difference.

We are not a country of reasonable stability and prosperity. We live continually with the threat of isolation, stagnation and upheaval. Therefore what we need — and have needed for 40 years — is change, not to keep things the same.

But if the majority of those with the right to vote are content to allow those in power to continue using legalistic methods to keep themselves in office, is there any use in preaching unbridled democracy as Beckett does?

Yes, for it is more important now than at any time that the idea of democracy is not allowed to be unceremoniously emasculated in the pincers of extremist prejudice — which it is in danger of becoming.

But preaching is not enough. South Africans have heard about every conceivable political argument, *both for retaining the* status quo as well as for changing it. What they need to be shown are ways *how* to change.

Before South Africa gets its catalyctic spark of genius, it is going to need writers, in fact communicators across every medium, but especially writers, who can restate old ideas as if they are entirely new. Not many chances are given to interest the citizenry in an idea, especially if it is not new.

The citizenry should be deeply interested in democracy at this time and be seeing to it that it becomes a protected species in our intellectual landscape.

There is room for an inspiring book to be written about democracy in South Africa. At the moment, it is not Beckett's.

But Beckett, a journalist and editor of wide experience, deeply thinking and deeply concerned about this country, articulate, informed, passionate and witty, as aware as is anybody else about political realities and the forces of history, could still be the person to write it.

The Fallacy of Heroes — A South African Structure too Strong to Break, by Denis Beckett (Saga Press), R19 95.

16/1/11

SAP SMASH ANC UNDERGROUND

Youngsters in Sebokeng dance on the wreckage of a burnt-out minibus yesterday. It was set alight in the fighting which has been going on for four days. — See Page 3.

● *Picture by Neville Petersen*

By Tony Stirling

POLICE have effectively smashed an extensive ANC underground system during investigations over the past few weeks.

According to intelligence sources, members of the ANC's National Executive Committee, the organisation's highest policy-making body, were involved in the establishment of underground ANC structures in South Africa.

It was members of one of these structures who devised a plot to stage a national insurrection in South Africa.

The intention of the plot was to seize power in the event of the failure of negotiations, the sources claim.

The sources said that in 1987 the ANC established a specific body, the President's Committee, to establish underground structures in South Africa.

With the exception of the ailing ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, who has not been active since long before his successive strokes last year, all the members of the committee were members of the South African Communist Party, several of them members of the SACP's Politburo.

Police action over the past few weeks has effec

TO PAGE 2

SACC's charity funds: where has all the money gone?

AMAZING facts have come to light at the Eloff Commission of Inquiry into the South African Council of Churches in Pretoria.

● Mr John Rees — SACC's general secretary from 1976 to 1978: he received R239 180.

● Bishop Desmond Tutu — he took over from general secretary Rees in 1979. Bishop Tutu received R3 260 for "schooling."

The SACC had to write off or provide for losses totalling R107 560 which was given in loans to its own staff.

And a massive R17-million from overseas donors — starting in 1975 — was, according to the **SUNDAY EXPRESS**, given to hundreds of organisations and individuals.

Details of who got the money — and why — are not fully explained by the SACC.

According to the auditors, explanations given to donors did not always coincide with the Council's books.

Mr and Mrs Motlana — as former detainees were given relief of R4 000 and R3 000 respectively. Further financial help was given to Mrs Motlana from funds reportedly intended for needy students.

Assistance for schooling and studies totalled R2 180. The council had also paid an account of Mrs Motlana's at John Orrs for R388,04 "in view of the circumstances in which Mrs Motlana finds herself."

Bishop Tutu also received payments for school fees, grants, or "grants school fees". These totalled R3 260.

On this page we publish extracts from the auditor's report on the South African Council of Churches.

MAJOR recipients of the millions received since 1976 are shown in the council's books as:

- Mr Shun Chetty, attorney — R478 086
- Mr John Rees, SACC general secretary from 1976 to 1978 — R239 180
- Johannesburg attorneys Bowens — R1 247 618
- One cash amount of R5 841 was for "expenses". This was later reported as "final payment for limbs and eyes."

● Mr Shun Chetty, attorney — received R478 076. When Bishop Tutu took over as general secretary in 1979, he tried to close the gap on Chetty's six-monthly report of his accounts to the council. Before fleeing SA, he asked for his closing account to be paid . . . this was for R32 000, but in actual fact he was only owed half that amount — R16 000.

And some of those who benefitted

EXTRACTS from the auditor's report on the South African Council of Churches' books show numbers of other recipients who benefited from council funds.

Details of who got the money — and why — are not fully explained by the SACC.

Among the other recipients, as reported by the auditor, are:

● Rev Beyers Naude

DEPENDANTS CONFERENCE (DC). 1975: Study Group R3 000; African indep Churches R1 400; T Pengelly R1 920; Ismael Ayob & Ass R2 427; Rev Dumeni R3 000 To cover expenses; H Dolowitz R3 000 Turfloop investigation; Miss Meintso R1 318 Educational cost, border area; Robert Sobukwe R984 Legal expenses S Ntwasa; Whiting & Griffin R1 480 File not traced; L Collyer R567 No payment advice.

Cash R1 100 BPC for conference; Refund obtained; Cash R2 000 Black Peoples Convention;

DEPENDANTS CONFERENCE, 1976: Breakthrough R61 000 DC2; W Kistner R3 000 Advance DC2 for Justice and Recon; Institute of Black Studies R2 500; I M Collyer R450; G Nunwana R21 400: Grasslands

ASINGENI FUND, 1976: Black Parents Association R3 179 Ex Holland; M Henderson R2 500 Resistance Cape riots; Phanani R4 016 vehicle for Phanani; Central Methodist Church R2 000 Soweto relief; N Mathalane R5 000 loan; Black Parents Association R6 486; Sached Trust R20 000 no reasons; Phanani Group R4 000 UBS account; Black Parents Association R3 000; Multimedia Africa R910; Asati R2 000 no reasons.

DEPENDANTS CONFERENCE, 1977:

The Voice R7 000 No advice; Margaret Nash R5 000 Advance from DC2 acc; Mr Marius Schoon R4 000; Marius Schoon R3 714 (Mr Schoon repaid R5 818 six months later); G Collyer R1 900 Released prisoners; Mrs N Biko R450 Special relief; Dr Beyers Naude R1 800 Grants, three cheques x R600; Raymond Tucker R900 Special relief, prison feeding; Robert Sobukwe R600 Grant.

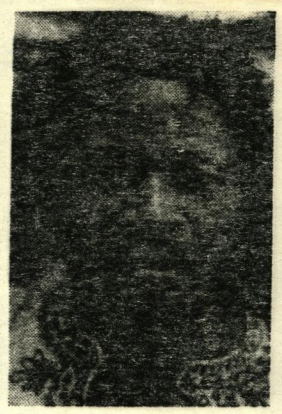
ASINGENI FUNDS, 1977: S Maroney R1 000 Bill for food to Modderbee; Phanami Group R2 400 Grant for repairs; Black Community Programme R1 500 Buses and Biko funeral; Soweto Teachers Trust R10 000 Relief teachers; A Mokoena R1 800; Ngoepe R904; Black Allied Workers Union R1 000; P Magubane R3 000 Relief; Mbuli & Co R3 000 Relief; M P Mbuli R1 500 Relief; Allen Hendrickse R5 000 Relief fund; M P Mbuli R3 030 Relief; R M Tobias R1 000 Relief fund; Y Abraham R2 650 Relief fund; Diakonia R3 000 Ex Asingeni.

ASINGENI FUNDS, 1978: Rhodes University R1 757 Grant R Nkondo for university; P Randall R1 500 Grant; Kleinschmidt R1 000 Grant; Dr C J B Naude R5 000 Grant; Ngapane R1 000 Grant; R Cebekhulu R1 060; A Buthelezi R3 130 Partial hire bus for Sobukwe funeral; V Sobukwe R1 300 Expenses Sobukwe funeral; Bishop Tutu R340; R300 Mashobanes family; R40 refugees; W Province Council of Churches R20 000 Crossroads rent arrears; Dios Monzini R5 000 Relief for refugee students.

Bishop Tutu R2 000 Assist educational expenses M Nzamana; B Allyson R3 316 Travelling fees; W P Council of Churches R10 000 Crossroads rental arrears; O J Barrett R500 Honorarium for services rendered; Rhodes University R1 600 Scholarships

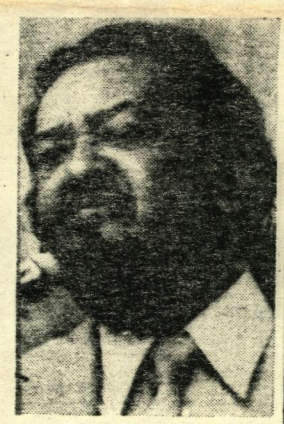
● Mrs Sally Motlana

● Mr Godfrey Pitje



● Mr Willie Nkosi

● Mrs Winnie Mandela



● Rev A Hendrickse

A Makoena R4 000; Voice Ec Fund R30 000; Pacsa R1 000; Seremane R3 000 Loan; African Vision R10 000 Loan; New Africa Mark R20 000 Loan; Afro R1 250 Weenen problems; Cosas Congress of SA Students R1 000 Donation; Black Municipality Workers Union R2 000 Contra cheque from EL CSA; P Kerchoff R1 250 Fines; Youth African Students Association R2 000 Conference costs.

GENERAL SECRETARY DISCRETIONARY FUND, 1977 to 1979: S Matterson R300 To be kept by Bishop Tutu; C Koza R500 No details; C Koza R100 No details; Mrs D Koza R150 Loan; H Hendry R200 No details; Cash R100 For H Hendry; Henrietta R600 Building Lindela Lavisa (Devcraft); R590 Study loan, Damelin; Mrs Daphne Koza R100 For personal needs; Cash R200 Bail for Lindile Lavisa.

Cash R330 Miss L Buthelezi to assist with schooling; Cash R180 Miss E Olifant, relief assistance; Cash R200 Assistance funeral M Cele; Rev W Mbetre R500 Loan towards travel expenses to USA; Cash R300 D Mokoena Loan for schooling; Mrs L Jacobs R300 — Loan R150, grant R150; Rhodes University R315 Loan

Seminary R158 No details; Diocese of Grahamstown R1 000 No details; P Zulu R700 No details; Mrs W Mandela R448,86; Mr Mayer R500; Mrs W Mandela R500 Gift from Presbyterian Church of USA; Mrs Sobukwe R500 Gift from Presbyterian Church of USA; Helen Muller R350 No details; AICA R300 No details; Busi Goba Woman's Division R200 No details; Joseph Kepa R200; M Mokutsane R700; Willie Nkosi R824; Mrs T B Nkosi R300.

GENERAL ADMIN FUNDS, 1979: SACLA R500 No payment advice on file; Matjila Mokgoatlheng Inc R8 000 Legal costs, Nhlopo.

DEPENDANTS CONFERENCE, 1980: Diocese of Damaraland R2 153 Travel to Robben Island.

GENERAL ADMIN FUNDS, 1980: Mrs P Mandela R120; Mrs S Mazibuko R100; Mr Lybou Mabaso R500; Pax College R300; Linda Ntutela R800; Kaupane Modioke Undertakers R300 No details; Mrs S Mazibuko R100; Inter Church Media Program R1 000 No details; A Thobane R500; Journal of Theology R4 000 Grant; Evan Lutheran Church in SA R30 136

ches R5 000 Vehicle bought for council.

ASINGENI FUNDS, 1980: M S Mosenke R1 300 Trial Mamelodi students; Adams Church R1 000 Relief Lesotho Refugees in Bethlehem; Godfrey Pitje R3 200 Loan for bail tribal dispute Nobo; SA Institute of Race Relations R1 500; PACSA R1 420 Fines for impounded cattle; Actstop R5 000 Grant for working against eviction of Indians and Coloureds; Rev D C Veysie R5 400 Research for Plural Society; Rev Michael Du Plessis R3 000 Loan; Ipopeng Bursary Fund R10 000 Loan to fund run by Dr Ramphela for Rural Pupils:

ASINGENI FUNDS, 1981: Black Municipality workers Union R5 000; Dr Nash R1 000; Bishop Tutu R500; U Vermeulen R1 000; Asinga Wits Council of Churches R2 500 Grant for Becker St office; S A Outlook R8 500; Actstop R2 000 Office expenses for legal cases on eviction; Mwasa R1 460 Unisa fees, Sisulu, Tsedu; Dr L Ramphela R23 000 Grant, R20 000, Loan R3 000; CUSA R1 050 Assistance for sacked drivers; Bethlehem Fellowship R2 000 Assisting in resettlement of Lesotho refugees; Afra R6 000 Ex-Asingeni for

R65 601 Khotso film; Azaso R1 000 Assistance with conference; Wits Council of Churches R3 000 Grant, Becker St Bureau; SAAWU R4 000 Assistance for striking workers; F Chikane R2 000 Loan, bail Kagiso students public violence.

E Nabe R11 200 Housing loan; Voice Newspaper R6 000 Bridging loan; Cosas R1 000 Assistance with conference; J Mayet R2 000 Loan and grant; V Sobukwe R4 000 Loan and grant; M Stevenson R2 300 Grant 1st phase; Student Christian Movement R1 000 donation for conference.

Dr M Ramphelo R10 000 Bridging finance refundable; M Stevenson R1 500 2nd phase grant; UBS R7 111 Grant to B Khumalo; Barclays R1 009 Student loan I M Buthelezi; SAAWU R10 000 Relief for families of striking workers; Media Workers R13 418 Payments from contra account; Pilgrimage R201 599 (Tour of Holy Land, Switzerland and France).

DEPENDANTS CONFERENCE, 1981: D Mngxekeza R4 500 Border grant for education expenses; Matjila Mokoatlheng

S. Africa says it won't take sanctions 'lying down'

'Madness' of restraints hit by Zulus' Chief Buthelezi

By Peter Younghusband
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ULUNDI, South Africa — Zulu Chief Mangosuthu "Gatsha" Buthelezi, leader of South Africa's largest black population group, told The Washington Times yesterday he opposes sanctions because "it is madness that in order to kill a snake in the house, one should burn down the house."

In an exclusive interview, Mr. Buthelezi characterized himself as a lifelong foe of apartheid but differed with other black leaders who urge economic penalties to force change on the white supremacist government in Pretoria.

"The South African economy does not belong to just the whites. The economy of South Africa belongs to all the people of South Africa. Whites and blacks have developed it together. It is an extremely misguided view to destroy the economy of South Africa under the misapprehension that one is punishing white racists," he said.

Mr. Buthelezi contended that other South African black leaders urging the international community to apply sanctions also support violence as a strategy for change and reject the free enterprise system.

"They have agendas of their own,"

see **CHIEF**, *page 10A*

The full interview with Mr. Buthelezi appears on page 7C.

Botha warns nearby states to expect levies on imports

By David Graves
THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

JOHANNESBURG — South Africa fired the first shot in its retaliation against the new British and Commonwealth sanctions last night amid a warning from Foreign Minister Pik Botha that it would not take them lying down.

He warned neighboring black states, particularly Zimbabwe and Zambia, whose leaders agreed to the sanctions, that a system of levies on all their imports that passed through South Africa would be introduced.

The decision to set levies followed international practice and it has been decided to introduce them now because of the sanctions threat and particularly because of the attitude of Zimbabwe and Zambia, Mr. Botha said. He warned that if the security situation deteriorated in South Africa, then "we will have to introduce stricter border-control measures."

Speaking of the catastrophic consequences sanctions against South Africa would have on its neighboring black countries, Mr. Botha said his government expected Zimbabwean Prime Minister Robert Mugabe and Zambian President Kenneth David Kaunda to put their money where their mouth is and institute sanc-

see **BOTHA**, *page 10A*

Scorn follows Thatcher's stance on sanctions. Page 6A

CHIEF

From page 1A

he charged. "There are people who want the economy destroyed because they want a clean slate on which to write a socialist or Marxist future for all of us."

The chief, who heads 6 million Zulus in the black homeland of KwaZulu and operates Inkatha, his own political organization of 1.3 million paying members, said the white government can ride out international sanctions.

He added that the international community has a moral obligation to help blacks free themselves from political injustice, "but I cannot see how this can be done further than by diplomatic pressure, social programs, monetary aid by multinational corporations and by example."

"More than that we should not expect. South Africa is a sovereign state and is internationally recognized as such. It sits in the United Nations. It is entitled to be treated as a sovereign state."

Mr. Buthelezi said he has refused to join the National Statutory Council created by South African President Pieter Botha to advise him on options for peaceful change not because he is against the idea but because "the president has allocated to himself the right to decide who should sit on it and who should not."

"I wouldn't touch the thing with a barge pole so long as Nelson Mandela [jailed leader of the outlawed African National Congress] remains in prison," he said. "I could not sit on that council until Nelson is released. There is no way I am prepared to negotiate South Africa's future behind the backs of other black leaders."

In Mr. Botha's place, Mr. Buthelezi said he would free Mandela and tell him: "Look, old man, if you do it again, we will have to put you back inside."

Then, "we would be able to get down to the business of negotiations. Whereas right now we are totally logjammed and running into all this sanctions nonsense."

Mr. Buthelezi said he was "on good terms" with Mandela but is opposed by communist elements within the ANC. "They now see our strong regional base and our expanding political power as a threat to their goal of achieving total power in South Africa," he said.

Mr. Buthelezi said he was "amazed" by other black leaders who claim the black community at large is prepared to suffer the chaos and economic destruction of sanctions.

"When I addressed about 100,000 blacks in a football stadium in Durban recently to launch a new trade union they roared a gigantic 'no' when I asked them if they wanted sanctions and disinvestment. I got the same reply when I spoke to a rally of 40,000 blacks in Soweto," he said.

"So I don't know where these people are who say they are prepared to suffer. What I do know is that there is a campaign of trumped-up opinion surveys going on at present, which are being presented as proof of this willingness to suffer. They are being organized by people who hope to benefit by the bitter fruits of this suffering."

BOTHA

From page 1A

tions.

The South African foreign minister said, "We want them to introduce total comprehensive sanctions against this country."

A substantial number of Zimbabwean and Zambian imports pass through South African ports and its vast rail network, although Mr. Botha denied that the move was a retaliatory trade boycott.

"But, in view of the sanctions, we will have to consider import licensing to protect our supplies and to make sure we know what is passing through South Africa," he said.

Meanwhile, South African businessmen believe the new British and Commonwealth sanctions will encourage them to find alternative markets and resort to unconventional trade on a larger scale.

In a statement released yesterday, the Association of Chambers of Commerce of South Africa made it quite clear that it saw the proposed sanctions as being fraught with loopholes that could be exploited.

South Africa is already a world leader at evading foreign bans on oil and arms shipments, and the association said: "Previous experience of sanctions suggests that the technique of slowly applying pressure over time will give South Africa the opportunity to adjust — to find alternative outlets or suppliers, to build new alliances and to mobilize domestic opinion.

"It will encourage South Africa to diversify its economy and resort to unconventional trade on a larger scale."

Pat Corbin, the president of the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce, dismissed the proposed measures as "rifleshot" sanctions that would not ruin the country's economy.

Warning that the South African government could soon start flexing its own economic muscle, he said the sanctions looked good on paper but were essentially designed to minimize damage to the participating countries.

The gravest reaction in South Africa to the new package of measures came from the white opposition Progressive Federal Party, which warned that the republic faced serious economic consequences.

Harry Schwarz, the party's finance spokesman, said the most ominous aspect of the sanctions was that South Africa was being confronted with creeping measures, which steadily tightened the screws and were more dangerous than a trade embargo.

South Africa's currency, the rand, fell today from 39 to 38½ cents.

In its latest quarterly economic analysis issued yesterday, the authoritative Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch reported that no significant economic recovery was in sight for the next six months.

The report, prepared before the Commonwealth mini-summit, said there was an economic "crisis in confidence" among South African businessmen and forecast continuing rises in unemployment, as well as an average inflation rate for the year of at least 17 percent.

The bureau said the "brain drain" of skilled white emigrants and the outflow of capital would continue, putting "remaining resources under great pressure."

It blamed the crisis on the unwillingness of the government to spell out clearly its reform plans.

If the proposed measures do eventually affect South Africa's foreign exchange earnings, then the return to normality that South Africa is seeking in its foreign debt arrangements may well be delayed.

In Jerusalem, meanwhile, sources close to the finance ministry said yesterday that a senior Israeli trade delegation led by Emmanuel Sharon, Director General of the Treasury, is to visit South Africa this week to discuss means of boosting commercial links and investment.

The sources said the delegation would examine ways to increase South African investment in Israel and try to secure improved credit terms for the import of South African coal. The talks also were expected to focus on the application of an agreement on fishing in South African territorial waters.

Israeli leaders, including Prime Minister Shimon Peres, have issued stern condemnations of the white minority government in Pretoria in recent months.

Mr. Peres, however, has been careful to temper his criticism by voicing opposition to economic sanctions "in order not to jeopardize the interests" of South Africa's influential 110,000-strong Jewish community.

This article is based in part on wire service reports.