

# Editor Sisulu snatched by white gunmen

By Jon Qwelane

The editor of the *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu has disappeared. There are reports he has been kidnapped.

Four armed white men, two of them wearing balaclavas, arrived at his Dube home in Soweto early yesterday and took him away, telling his wife: "You will see your husband next year."

The Bureau for Information has said that when people are detained, their family will be notified immediately. By late yesterday the Sisulu family had not heard anything.

Mrs Zodwa Sisulu said she and her husband were startled out of their sleep by the sound of their front gate being broken down as the intruders barged in. They also flattened a garden wall.

"All of them were white men," she said. "When we opened the door we saw four guns pointing at us."

"They told my husband: 'Pack some clothes, but not for a holiday in Mauritius.' They were rude, arrogant and abusive and one of them followed me when I went to the toilet."

"They confiscated a video cassette without giving a receipt."

"As they drove Zwelakhe away they shouted that I would see him again next year."

Mrs Sisulu has reported her husband's disappearance to her lawyers.

Mr Sisulu, whose father Walter is serving a life term with Nelson Mandela at Pollsmoor Prison, was the 1984 recipient of the Niemann Fellowship and spent a year at Harvard University.

In 1980 he was president of the Media Workers' Association and led a protracted strike by black journalists. Mr Sisulu and four colleagues on the executive were banned and house-arrested.

Two years later he was detained without trial, and spent over nine months in prison.

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Mr P W Botha



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert

## Two-track govt policy: Repression and reform

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE first shift of the 1986 parliamentary session will be remembered as a time when political decision-making moved steadily out of the hands of elected representatives committed to formal constitutional politics.

On one hand, blacks locked out of central government demonstrated more clearly, and violently, than ever before their rejection of the system of government-sanctioned local authorities designed by whites to take care of their political needs.

At the same time these disenfranchised communities have forged ahead with all speed to set up and consolidate their own alternative network of political structures to defy the State's authority.

On the other hand, the government itself has gone to great lengths to erode the significance and scope of formal electoral politics by its apparently uncontrollable urge to allow executive action to encroach on the authority of the legislature.

It also served bloody noses to its tricameral partners when they dared oppose government plans to rush two security bills through Parliament.

### Real parliamentary power

This act of political bludgeoning raised afresh the thorny issue of the credibility of the "other two" Houses of the colour-coded Parliament.

It also provided a graphic demonstration and reminder that real parliamentary power, such as it is, remains firmly in the hands of the National Party in the House of Assembly — precisely where the 1983 tricameral Constitution stipulates it should be.

The clash over the security bills also called into question the government's professed commitment to "power-sharing" and to what extent the tricameral Parliament represents an effective "broadening of democracy".

Similar questions were raised early in the session when the leader of the PFP, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, abandoned Parliament, saying its response to the crisis sweeping the country amounted to "a grotesque exercise in irrelevancy".

The decision to leave the tricameral system, he said, was also prompted by a conviction, after spending 12 years in Parliament, that the government remained committed to "co-optive domination" and apartheid rather than genuine negotiation and effective power-sharing.

### Torpedoing of EPG mission

And more recently, the declaration of a state of emergency confirmed that government's approach to dealing with widespread disaffection lay in circumscribing rather than extending effective representative democracy.

The SADF raids into three Commonwealth countries and the torpedoing of the EPG's peace-and-dialogue mission also served to emphasize the limits of parliamentary power and the growing influence of the State Security Council.

So in the end, the reforms which emerged from Parliament since President P W Botha's optimistic opening speech on January 31 have been largely overshadowed by the government's increasingly undisguised appetite for naked repression.

The government's commitment to a two-track approach of increased repression and often ambivalent reform has meant that even its really significant change initiatives have become tainted with suspicion and controversy.

The scrapping of influx control — the most significant reform since changes to the labour laws in the late 1970s — is a case in point.

At the very time when scrapping of the pass laws was being announced amid great fanfare, raids under trespass laws were stepped up within a stone's throw of Minister Chris Heunis's constituency.

### Population register

And even after laws used to enforce influx had been repealed by Parliament — but not yet promulgated in the Government Gazette — these very laws were being used to flush Crossroads refugees from their places of shelter in white suburbs.

Another significant reform — provision of uniform identity documents — has also been mired in controversy from the outset. Government agreed to drop the racial coding on the new documents, but insisted such classification be retained on the population register and that all South African citizens be fingerprinted within five years.

The restoration of South African citizenship to roughly two million blacks was a further significant change this session, although about seven million residents of the "independent" homelands have not yet benefitted from this switch in policy.

Another contentious "reform" flowing from Parliament this session was the extension of second tier representation to members of all races. However, the new dispensation ends the system of elected representation at provincial level by substituting State-appointed functionaries who are no longer accountable to an electorate.

In a similar vein, the rapid proliferation of "own affairs" bureaucracies for separate race groups has been characterized by the government as "a broadening of democracy". But its critics have charged that own affairs departments are nothing more than "the new apartheid" which allows the government to dispense largesse to those willing to be co-opted.

During the past session the government also published a bill aimed at drawing Africans into a proposed National Council which will advise central government of legislation and a new constitution.

### Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

But government spokesmen have emphasized that this new body "to give blacks a say at the highest level of government" will only be advisory and they have virtually ruled out participation by the ANC, PAC, UDF and Azapo. Even moderates like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi have been exceedingly cautious about getting locked into a system that could prove to be the political kiss of death.

Until Parliament reconvenes for a second session on August 18, much interested will be focussed on the National Party's federal congress in Durban on August 12-13 where President Botha is to deliver his "Rubicon Revisited" address. At the congress, the government is expected to float the concept of "power-sharing" with blacks.

But what may be seen as a heady concession by NP faithful is likely, once again, to be dismissed as "too little, too late" by the black majority whose political aspirations by now have far outstripped the limited role being prescribed for them by those who hold the reins of power in Parliament.



## The South African emergency

# Chief sees illusion of peace

From Michael Hornsby, Johannesburg

The state of emergency would create only "an illusion of peace" and make it more difficult to tackle the root causes of South Africa's basic problems, Chief Gatsha Buthezi, the leader of the Zulu-dominated Inkatha movement, said yesterday.

This warning, from a conservative black leader whom the Government sees as a potential negotiating partner, came as the Bureau for Information announced six more deaths in "unrest-related incidents" in the 24 hours to 6am yesterday.

This brings to 72 the total number of such killings reported by the Bureau since June 12, an average of almost five deaths a day. The majority of these, according to the Bureau, have been caused by what it calls "black-on-black violence" rather than by police action.

The emergency regulations prohibit press access to black residential areas "for the purpose of reporting unrest", as well as the publication without prior approval of news or comment on the conduct of the security forces. Independent verification of the Bureau's claims is in most cases impossible.

Mr Denis Healey, the shadow Foreign Secretary, said yesterday at the end of a four-day visit to South Africa that what worried him most was that Pretoria seemed bent on destroying "every element of rational leadership among blacks".

Speaking at Johannesburg's Jan Smuts Airport before flying to Lusaka, Mr Healey said such a policy would increase the danger of "undirected and uncontrolled violence", to which the authorities would respond in

kind, setting off "a chain-reaction of violence".

His request to see Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress (ANC) leader, in Pollsmoor Prison outside Cape Town was turned down. Mr Healey was the guest of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), which yesterday ended its annual conference.

Among the resolutions adopted by the SACC, which is one of the Government's most outspoken opponents, was a call to all South Africans to refuse to enter their race on official forms and documents.

In Cape Town, the police announced that police and troops made a house-to-house search for firearms and explosives in the nearby black township of Nyanga yesterday. The results of the search were not disclosed.

Residents of the township

were given leaflets with the message: "These searches would become unnecessary if peace-loving people talk to the police and the Defence Force and tell us where these weapons are. The people hiding these weapons intend to use them to harm you and your families."

In Alexandra, a black township on the north-eastern outskirts of Johannesburg, the police issued an order prohibiting anyone from entering school premises until July 13, when schools are due to re-open.

In the Johannesburg magistrate's court, three blacks alleged to be ANC insurgents appeared on charges of high treason, including a charge that they had instructions to shoot down South African Air Force planes with Sam 7 ground-to-air missiles. They were arrested on June 13.