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To: Jerry Matsila
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Dear Jerry,

I am very dismayed and angry at some of the statements and the general tone of Richard Vine's article and the rest of the press coverage which I fax to you herewith. I am putting together a reply and if you could send me a statement or some ammunition to use in my letter I'd be very grateful. I am very concerned by the swing away from support for the ANC and other freedom movements, not only in the press but from people who speak to me personally. I've had several phone calls lately, including one from the South African Consulate.

How are you and what are you doing over Christmas? Gerry and I are going to Bangkok on Wednesday until late Christmas Eve to visit our son Patrick. Perhaps it would be worthwhile if you could make a visit to Hong Kong sometime in January - we would all be glad to see you and it might balance the bad press. What do you think?

I hope with all my heart that 1991 brings about the changes that you and your valiant people have been struggling to achieve for too long.

AMANDLA!

Eileen

Eileen

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Frederik de Klerk, above left, and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, below right. Can they stop the townships burning?

JOR Louis Botha
the South African
olice security
ecked his 9 mm
as he drove to

WITH the end of apartheid in sight, everyone is talking about building a "new South Africa". Foreign Editor **RICHARD VINES** travelled there and found the way ahead is far from smooth.

ship where two policeman had been ambushed and shot that week.

"Don't worry, if we're surrounded and trapped, I'll shoot," said Major Botha, who carried two spare magazines in his belt in case the 15 rounds he had loaded proved insufficient for the task.

Numerous lives have been lost in Kwa-Mashu in tribal clashes between supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) and Zulus. But the attacks on police patrols started only last month.

A car carrying two more security branch officers was waiting for us, and escorted us into the township, 10 kilometres north of Durban.

"A colleague of mine was driving through here when a youth jumped out and shot him through the chest," Major Botha said when we approached the heart of the township, which is believed to be home to 800,000 people.

Some of the streets of Kwa-Mashu, which is spread over several hills, were deserted. On others, people sat and chatted with their neighbours.

Finally, we reached a small clearing, where a blue shack was still smouldering, after having been bombed with molotov cocktails a few hours earlier.

A special branch officer explained that the trouble in this section of the township had started three days earlier, when someone had stabbed an ANC Youth League leader, then poured petrol over him and set him on fire.

Since then, three people had been shot dead, including a four-year-old.

Across the road from the burnt-out shack, mothers and children sat peacefully outside a clinic. Chickens wandered along the dusty track, and a goat was tethered on some overgrown land, enjoying the shade provided by some sugar cane.

It is difficult to imagine the violence and agony the people

of the townships are enduring and the emotions that must prompt some blacks to inflict such cruelty on their fellow oppressed.

It is hardly a good start for a new South Africa.

POLICE say that fighting in Natal townships has cost more than 5,000 lives over the past five years. In August, the fighting spread to the Johannesburg area, where 1,000 people have died.

But the violence in the townships is not merely an expression of tribal hatred: It is part of the power struggle that has broken out now that South Africa's 27 million blacks have finally been offered the prospect of political power in their own country.

The ANC finds itself in a difficult position now that it has started discussing political reform with President Frederik de Klerk, who in February unbanned the organisation and freed its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

On the one hand, its leaders must operate as politicians with whom the authorities can do business; on the other, black militants in the townships — where the ANC is seeking to establish majority grass roots support — view the Government with hatred and are suspicious of anyone who deals with the white authorities.

"The National Party took a hell of a gamble releasing Mandela. The ANC took a hell of a gamble negotiating, which many blacks took as selling out," says Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the influential black newspaper, *The Soweran*.

The ANC now finds itself fighting on various fronts in the townships. There are clashes with Zulus, who broadly support the Inkatha Freedom Party led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and there are clashes with supporters of radical black consciousness organisations, including the Pan-Africanist

Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

There are also attacks on blacks seen as collaborating with the Government because of their participation in town councils.

The PAC and Azapo are refusing to talk to the Government, and many analysts believe this is helping the allied organisations to pick up militant support in the townships.

"The ANC started to tone down their radical posture in order to fit in with the president's new initiative, and that left the revolutionary high ground to the PAC," says Commandant Andy Anderson of the South African Defence Force, who is responsible for a number of Cape Town townships, including Crossroads and Khayelitsha.

Strini Moodley, a member of Azapo's central committee, who spent five years as a prisoner on Robben Island with Mr Mandela, claims ANC militants are responsible for much of the violence in the townships.

He says: "The ANC has messed everything up. First, they thought they were going to march into Pretoria with AK-47s slung over their shoulders. Then, when that failed, they thought through mass actions they'd be able quickly to beat de Klerk, and had a rude shock."

He adds: "Wherever there's violence, there's the ANC. Hundreds of people are dying in the black community because of ANC intimidation. It's a war between the community and the ANC thugs."

Inside the townships, the ANC is enforcing a boycott of state-sponsored town councils and building its own system of government, with street committees to help organise the community and "people's courts" to enforce a kind of order.

The refusal of township dwellers to pay rent and utility

bills to the councils has led to clashes, while the refusal of some councillors to quit their posts has resulted in violent intimidation and a number of deaths.

In an attempt to strengthen its bargaining position ahead of formal talks with the Government on a new constitution, the ANC aims to make the townships ungovernable.

Government officials will have you believe the boycott is enforced by intimidation alone, but Professor Philip Nel of University of Stellenbosch points out that opinion polls suggest a high level of support for the ANC.

For example, a poll of 1,500 urban blacks in April indicated 64 per cent support for the ANC, against a mere two per cent for the PAC, though Professor Nel points out that there are reliability problems with South African polls.

The ANC suggests much of the violence in the townships is caused by elements within the security forces and other right-wingers.

The scale of the violence makes it difficult to believe this is entirely true, but there is good reason to question the commitment to non-violence, and to a non-racial democracy, of many individuals within the security apparatus.

The smiling officials who today stress their commitment to the new South Africa are in many cases the same people who worked for a nasty and violent apartheid regime that systematically oppressed the majority population.

"It was the most vicious regime since nazism," says Mr Leon Fuchs, an opposition Democratic Party Member of Parliament.

Even today, the Government has still to come clean on the activities of the innocuously named Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB), an arm of the South African Defence Force that is widely believed to have operat-

Step up for third-class citizens

THE Chinese in South Africa form a small but reasonably prosperous community, mainly living in the Transvaal.

Mr Eric Yenson, vice-chairman of the Transvaal Chinese Association, estimates there are about 10,000 "local" Chinese in South Africa, although a new wave of thousands of Taiwanese immigrants is arriving.

Mr Yenson's family moved to South Africa from Canton in 1886, and he says his forebears had to put up with severe discrimination.

For example, he says Chinese were not allowed into the Orange Free State for more than 24 hours, and his aunt was once jailed overnight when his uncle's car broke down there.

"We were treated as third-class citizens and it did affect us badly, although our parents suffered more than we did."

"But they said none of our kids are going

to suffer like we did, and they made sure their sons went to university and became professionals," he said over a Chinese meal in Johannesburg.

Mr Yenson, who speaks Hakka as well as English, was born in South Africa, graduated from the University of Cape Town, and is now a senior executive with Anchor Life assurance company.

He says there is little open discrimination against Chinese now, although he had to get a special permit to go to university, and had to obtain the permission of prospective neighbours before moving into his home.

"The past 10 years, all that's been done away with," he added.

But Chinese still do not have the vote, and are still subject to the Group Areas Act, which regulates where people of various races can live, although the act is due to be repealed next year.

"We say we don't want to be classified as white. We want to be classified as Chinese, with equal rights," Mr Yenson said.

He still has relatives in Hongkong, and has visited the territory several times. "The first time I arrived in Hongkong was in 1972. I was Chinese, but boy did they give me a hard time because I had a South African passport," he said.

Mr Yenson also has relatives in Australia who urge him to leave South Africa because they do not think it is a safe place, but he says he would never want to leave.

As a South African, Mr Yenson believes the country is a great place to live. He opposes sanctions, and wonders whether "we are not going too fast" on political reform.

He recognises the problems inherent in constitutional reform, and has already decided where he would go if the worst came to the worst: Swaziland.

g a "new South way ahead is far from

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ed death squads targeting political opponents.

Meanwhile, Pretoria seems to be engaged in something of a propaganda blitz. I visited South Africa at the end of last month as the Government's guest, and found that a Hong-kong television crew had visited earlier in the month, while a Cantonese journalist was there at the same time as me.

I was free to see whom I wanted, and to reject any appointments proposed by officials. I was under no obligation to write anything about my visit. However, the Government is sophisticated enough to know that journalists will write about such visits, and it knows that many people in South Africa have plenty to say about the ANC's shortcomings.

Interviews with whites, blacks, Indians and "coloureds" in Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg pro-

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Surge in demand for South Africa permits

By Foreign Editor
RICHARD VINES

EMIGRATION to South Africa has surged since March when Pretoria eased its regulations to attract professionals and skilled workers from Hongkong, an official said yesterday.

The South African Consulate has issued 102 immigration permits to Hongkong passport holders this year, compared with two last year and four in 1988.

Interest in the country has risen to such an extent that a senior immigration officer from the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria will be transferred to the consulate this month.

"His sole responsibility will be immigration and we are hoping that will help to increase the number of applicants and the number of applications we can process," the South African official said.

"The idea is that some of the less complicated categories

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ries will be approved locally in Hongkong," he added.

Inquiries rose sharply after the June 4 massacre, but the increase this year came despite determined moves by the African National Congress (ANC) to discourage Hongkong people from working or investing in South Africa.

Last month, Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC's deputy president, appealed to people

in the territory to shun South Africa.

Pretoria has not yet begun a full-scale campaign to attract Hongkong immigrants, partly because continuing violence in South Africa does not provide a suitable climate.

"We haven't really gone out actively to recruit people, so we're quite happy with the level of interest," the South African official said.

He said that as well as the 102 applications from Hongkong people, the consulate had received a number from locally-based people who held foreign passports.

Under Pretoria's relaxed immigration regulations, people with the required skills should be able to obtain permission to immigrate within a few weeks.

South Africa is looking for engineers, technicians, computer specialists and other professionals.

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Tambo in call for rethink on sanctions

SOWETO: African National Congress (ANC) President Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday called for black nationalists to reconsider their support for international sanctions against South Africa.

Opening the first ANC conference in South Africa in more than 30 years, he told 1,600 delegates the ANC "should carefully re-evaluate the advisability" of "insisting on the retention of sanctions".

In a 45-minute speech, the ailing Mr Tambo, who returned from exile on Thursday, said, however, that "the struggle against apartheid should be intensified on all fronts".

Outlawed in 1961, the ANC was legalised by South African President Mr Frederik de Klerk on February 2 along with numerous other political organisations.

Mr Tambo, 73, saluted "all those who unswervingly fought from behind prison bars", inside and outside South Africa, to bring about change in the apartheid-run country.

It was thanks to them that the "dignity of the black man is being restored and together with it the dignity of our beloved country", he said.

In his speech, Mr Tambo said the ANC was "determined to move ahead and democratise our country".

Commenting on the current talks-about-talks the Government and the ANC started last May, he said: "The Government's record

■ SOUTH Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Roelof "Pik" Botha, will not be granted a visa to compete in a game fishing competition in New Zealand next month, the New Zealand Foreign Minister, Mr Don McKinnon said yesterday.

Mr McKinnon said the new national Government had not changed New Zealand's policy towards South Africa and visas would be denied to all South

is at this stage far from satisfactory.

"In the months ahead we could find ourselves relying more on mass action as the predominant form of struggle," he said.

In August 1989, Mr Tambo suffered a stroke which still impairs his speech.

On negotiations, Mr Tambo said the ANC could "only succeed if all the parties are ready to negotiate and implement agreements in good faith".

"So far the ANC has scrupulously honoured agreements reached," he said.

He said Mr de Klerk's reforms had been the result of the armed struggle waged by the ANC since 1961 until last August.

"Having decided to fight, we managed to launch and sustain an all round offensive which has finally brought the apartheid system to the brink of defeat," he said.

African anglers wanting to compete in the tournament in the Bay of Islands, north of Auckland.

The previous Labour Government supported sanctions and banned official and sporting visits from South Africa because of Pretoria's apartheid system of racial discrimination.

Mr McKinnon said a visit by anglers would breach this policy.

Mr Tambo added that the ANC would take the Government's record "into full account" during this conference.

The issues of mass action - such as strikes, boycotts, street marches - aimed at increasing pressure on the Government, is said to be the main point of debate during the three-day conference.

Mr Tambo paid tribute to his long-time friend Mr Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy president, "who turned his prison cell into a theatre of war, a theatre of struggle: in particular I honour him for generously allowing his name to be used to campaign for the release of all political prisoners".

Mr Tambo repeated the ANC's demand for the election of a constituent assembly, stressing that this demand was not aimed "to exclude any" from participating in negotiations.

Agence France Presse
• See also Review

