Scpjembeh 30 /984 B E7RA MANTINI

Mr PAULOS Masemola is asking the Government for a homeland north of Bronkorsprultâ\200\230 for all those Transvaal blacks who have. no hom $\tilde{\mathbb{A}}$ @land affiliation.

So far he has had no success, but he says: $\hat{a}\200\234$ There are millions of urban blacksw%o, fer no reason of their own, cannot remember any horneland affiliatio: they end up wi¬\201h s&ious difficulties once they are evicted or thrown out of municipal aras

Mr Masemola, of Diep- - kloof, Soweto, has decided to name his nation $a\200\234$ The No-bians $a\200\235$ $a\200\224$ a name he hit on after about the

le who were officially Nobodies.

He sometimes changes it to the $\hat{a}200\234Nxube$ nation $\hat{a}200\235$ $\hat{a}200\224$ m mixed nation.

d:â\200\234I thought about

this idea as early as 1959

when I asked my father

calf my reference book

} ed me a Pedi when his said he was Ndebele.

 $a\200\234 \, \rm His$ answer was that there are many le who lose dentity

answer, I

t as lo would "\202fh or a homeland or people like me because nobody wants us.

â\200\230Regret ...

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Whenever we seek asylum in any homeland, we are usually called names, and my tion is to solve it once or all, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Mr

O His idea was the same as that behind the formation

dubbed by man le as $2 \hat{a}200\234dumping ground 200\235$.

 $\hat{a}\200\2300$ ther \hat{A} ¢ tates don't \ml us, one of our own'

REPUBLIEK VAN SUID-AFRIKA 1

Verw. Ne[Ref.No. N2/7/3
NAVRAE/INQUIRIES: Iir, Schreuder

Tel. No. 525

Eâ\200\231Â\$b REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

 ${'\hat{a}\200\224}$ ${\hat{a}\200\224}$ KANTOOR VAN DIE-OFFICE OF THE

The Commencer of the Nobians

Commissioner

Department of Co-operation and Develorment

Private B .\% %638

GRC3LL

C470

_] 23rd August 1984.

matter, I regx'ot to in!ux-n you that recognise the "lobiens" as a seou $\ddot{}$ 202u 3 It is suggested that members of the "R

Kobians" associate them:

selves with one or other of the recognised iliationzl Stztes.

Yours faithfully,

This was the reply Mr Masemola received from the Commissioner at Groblersadal

Mr Masemola said he
w;mted to avoid another

Dimbaza.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is better that we ask the Government for a noidentity homeland, which we can devel ?tg and help any other Vi movals or stranded urban blacks. $\hat{a}\200\235$

But so far he has been

ettlntgeno co-operation from Government. The authories doubt his

following, and cultural background.

â\200\234I explained to them that I have at least about 500 000 families whom I know to be Nobians, and as such have no cultural background as

children of intermarriage, â\200\235

he said.

A letter he received from -

the commissioner of Grob-

lersdal, a Mr Schreuder, at

the end of August, said: $a\200\234$ With reference to your

recent letters to this of $\[\]$ \201ce, and the Honourable Prime Minister, in connectiot: with the aboty:e $\[\]$ nê\200\230liatter, I re;

inform you epartmen
gg not reeogmyse the Nobians as a
se;nrate national unit.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ It is suggested that members of the Nobians associate themselves with one or other of the recognlsed national states $\hat{a}\200\235$.

80 the Nobians have had to start campaign afresh.

ehrhave recently appointed a | John Mdubeki, of Kwa-

. Thema, Sprin s,

to attend to all:
cultural em
i e peio
man,
did not caâ\200\231;e about
his idea until they
had trouble, but
flocked to register
as soon as they
had problems concerning resettlement.

Witchhunt

â\200\234Many homelands do not like theidmfacoolll;moda e of mixed peomgal

' \hat{a} 200\234A case in point was the harrass-

 \hat{a} 200\230ment and witch-

hunt of non-Tswanas in BophuthaTswana.

ral infrastructures and opportunities, and unemployment along more just, humane and realistic "avenues.

Any attempt to minimise the growlilâ\200\230ln \ddot{a} \201â\200\230 de of youth an-

er and tancy within the

lack, coloured and Indian communities, or to ascribe it (as is so)eat;ily wkin somc; qâ\200\234 $\mbox{i}\mbox{-}\mbox{\chi}$ 202rters) uo $\mbox{\^{A}}\mbox{>}$ o otherwise peaceful a:?. stable communities, can likewise only lead to further ten-

By BEYERS

sion an

conflict.

Plea

If there is one plea which I

wish to present community, es | Afrikaner, it

the white
ially to the
this: try to

ascertain the real feelings of

NAUDE

nothing overnments may do will chaâ\200\230nle this.

I am convinced that

. the vast majority of blacks in ur-

ban areas, in the homelands

soci:

OgistS gnd in the so-called indepen-

out

help whites towards a ration-

al re-evaluation of the political motives of the

evolve a reuonabg peaceful political process of change.

Polarisation

If we fail, then we are embarking on l'eou: $a\200\230$ -se of increasing polarisation, con- $a\200\234$ flict and endless strife, the

gl%%t;m il b
o Lowein

The white community, and upedallythedomlnagm kaner gï¬\202p, must come to accept that the black people of South Africa, both urban and rural, are a permanent

part of South Africa and that

dent ltatut.olf &gei:len the opm m?f{nlon, wouid vog to
be remain South Africans.

Afrikaner efforts to separ- " ate blacks from whites have

been to no avail.

Self-defeating

Iï¬\201flux oï¬\201ntrol,

oot
ess raids, destruction of
ho! and shacks, enforced
removals, the establishment
of resettlement the

bound-

shifting of aries to bluff the white electorate into believing that urban black nu:lilbers v:ge perate attempts have failed. The process of industrialisation, the urgent need for labour skilled, semiskiled and unskilled), the impoverishment of rural areas and the lack of sufficient opportunities not only to earn a living but even to survive â\200\224 all these factors

have brought, and will con-

-lacious is an,

tinue to force, thousands of people to the urban areas. No magic wand is available to remove them the vision of the whites. The enforced separation of urban and raral blacks in an attempt to relieve or diminish the pressures on whites is a dangerous and self-defeating exercise. The black community will never voluntarily accept such a division and

er their c%-a.oreration to achieve this goal.

er, any attempt to

enforce the system of influx

control with the accompany-

hateful practices â\200\224 pass

ds, disruption of homes,

Big poople of el citioen.

people of n-

ship \hat{a} 200\224 can only lead to in-

creasing anger, bitterness and \hat{a} \200\230hatred.

Shudder

Equally dangerous and falpolicy based on the assumption that the political grouping ,togetâ\200\2301jler of

whites, coloureds and Indians, but excluding the black majority, could offer an acaeptable and peaceful solu-

Not only has the outcome of the recent coloured and

Indian elections clearly

shown that, but anybody sincerel attenll&ting to discover the feel of blacks themselves realise how strongly their feelings of resentment run. $\hat{A}^{\circ}\hat{A}^{\circ}$; What would the Afrikaner have done if the British, facing the rising tide of Afrikaners striving to attain their %htful heritage, had p) them of their citip, their right to vote, to

own land and to offer labour |
 of what is clwlLuMMt if we

freely in South Africa?

Realistic

I shudder to think what the outcome would have been.

Similarly, any attempt to govern South Africa with a political system which ext&des mk ma olrity

m m cipation (as the present cotï¬\201:incremang snger A Syratt

anger and opposition, especially on the part of the black youth.

Why attempt to enforce a political system which in any i:ase cannot succ%gd in tht: ong run because 75 percen of ti¬201e population of the country does not voluntarily accept it?

: y not face the fact many governments in other coun-

tries have had to accept: we
are dealing with a worldwide phenomenon fo rubanisation which cannot be reversed in the way we are
attempting. =

Having accepted that, we must begin to seek a solution for urbanisation, lack of housing, lack of sufficient ru-

the black, coloured and
Indian student
groups of our country;

discover and understand the hidden message which the

and th

current unrest, school boycotts, and stayaways pt y. And where ect the

-just and valid demands for

change; be pre to make

changes before a situa-

tion .of confrontation and

il polarisation makes

reconciliation a very difficult if not impossible task.

Force

rel of

- wWe can

Further, the current belief . of many whites that a major uprising in the black community can be successfully suppressed by force should be actively ed.

The behln}i e bar- .

gun may force people into temporary submis-

| sion $a\200\224$ it can never convince them of the justice of a policy

and it can never convert. them into volun acceptance and sup policies and practices know to be oppressive and ive.

y continue with so much

as whites, deep in our hearts know, what is just?

Why continue with a poli¢y which is senseless, futile, economiï¬\202 unattainable, and event | self-destructive, if ver and devise another â\200\224 a better â\200\224 way?

2

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Gumede's g
was extremely welcome to
wife | E
| 1 He explained that his invi-
LTEYAT TR G
position xRS
all 65 elected Assembly
members, had \hat{a}\200\234won their
'THE wife of the vehe-
'mently anti-Inkatha
\hat{a}200\230leader of the United -
Democratic Front has re-
ceived permission from
ET gl | mwiot"â\200\234mi¬\201pt&â\200\230xt
N i 5 ¢ use 8
T Sulcidel, | S
ate Vi s §
Sulcldalm iâ\200\230 :an!'thA e
: / 4 ade 1 - tho! al er as-
,s-uW,' Sigoment n KwaZulu Mrs
the invitation on grount \mid Gumede said: \hat{a}\200\234My husband
\hat{a}\200\234association | the Kwa- mn\hat{a}\200\231gthlngwx_ne.ldo
Zulu Legislative Assembly know. 4
& n.'-. M Z â\200\230 ; 7 5
7 1 Jopardy "fp"; "m"
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TRANSKEI could find itself without fuel if a 'takeover bid for the

country's only two fuel

depots succeeds.

This would bring commerce and industry in the t(teirlll'xtory virtually to a stand-

This blunt warning has been given by South African oil com-

es 0 a Transkei Minister in

fefollows an attempt b Transkeian company $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 24$ of w ch President Kaizer Matanzima and his brother, Prime Minister George Matanzima, were originally intended to be shareholders $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 24$ to grab the two fuel de ts with an annual turnover of a R40 million.

Letter

In a letter couched in peremptory terms, the present owners of the fuel depots, the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC), were told by the Minister of Commerce, ndust!ï¬\201a and Tourlsm, Mr Ramse,

 $a\200\234$ This is to instruct you that the

TAKEOVER: from the left: Mr Ntshongwana, Prime Minister Matanzima and his brother, Presiden t Matanzima

Transkei fuel depots situated in Umtata and Butterworth be turned over toâ\200\230the company now being formed for the purpose by the undermentioned ns, as directed by the

Prime on 26.7.84

1. Honourable Paramount Chief B Mtirara

- 2. Honourable Chief G Matan-zima
- 3. Honourable Paramount

Chief K D Matanzima
4. Mr L M Ntshongwana.

onourable

Petrol grab could sink Transkei

The takeover must take place with immediate effect.â\200\235 The South African oil comes, who deliver fuel to the epots, were alarmed and took a "stand.

ted

After word of the takeover bid leaked out, a new company, Trans-Versal Industries, was formed in the Transkei.

The Matanzima brothers de-

nied involvement and onl two directors were listed: Mr Ntshongwana. reportedly a

nephew of the Matanzimas, and an American, Mr Clarence Lind-

week the oil companies bluntly told Minister Ma la that they would not do business with Trans-Versal. This would mean a total ban on oil supplies to the country.

The implications for the

g Transkei economy â\200\224 al-

ouly viewed with suspicion by would-be investors after recent government actions $\hat{a}\200\224$ could be

9

SUNDIAY TIMES, September 30 1984

disastrous.

An oil company representative said: â\200\234We view Trans-Versal as being merely a front for certain government officials who want the fuel depots for their

rsonal gain.
V})eare not interested in do-

 $a\200\234$ ing business with it. We have a

lo-gear contract with the TDC

in Transkei can

touch a dp of our fuel. If they

glo, the industry will take acon a^200^235

Special report by

1 LURILR (W

That would mean that no more fuel would be supplied. -

In Umtata observers believe that last weekâ\200\231s sacking by the government of the top manage-ment of the TDC, who stood in the way of Trans-Versal's take-over bid, was a direct result of the fuel wrangle

The dispute between TDC and Trans-Versal is due to go to the Umtata Supreme Court again next month. The TDC has already obtained a court order stopping the takeover.

Concern

Other recent events in the Transkei have caused concern among officials and industrialists. They include:

@ The appointment of a commission of inquiry inte the TDC, a move which one commissioner described as \(\frac{a}{200} \) 234nothing but a ploy by certain individuals to gain control of the TDC\(\frac{a}{200} \) 235.

@ An attempt by $a\200\2311a\200\230$ rans-Versal

to take over Ohlssonâ\200\231s Cape . Breweries in Butterworth which belox_xlg to SA Breweries.)

e sacking of TDC managing director Mr Sonny Tarr and 12 members of his management; EYERS NAUDE has always remained $\hat{a}\200\234$ dominee $\hat{a}\200\235$ for me. When he was deprived of his status as a minister of the

Dutch Reformed Church, many pre-

| vious colleagues seemed to.find sadistic pleasure in following th \tilde{A} © trend that was set in political newspapers by dubbing him $\hat{a}\200\234$ Meneer Naude $\hat{a}\200\235$.

" This was the most final and decisive

| way of denying any recognition of

his genuine concern with the way in which the Christian gospel was interpreted (and distorted!) by the dominating powers within the church of which he was a minister.

'He had left the ministry of his church, it was claimed, because his aim was to propagate a gospel alien to the tradition in which he was brought up and which he had previously served.

This alien gospel was—the $\hat{a}200\234$ social gos—pel $\hat{a}200\235$, the one embraced by the $\hat{a}200\234$ liberals $\hat{a}200\235$ whoggere the $\hat{a}200\234$ dupes of communism $\hat{a}200\235$.

*i¬\202 everybody \hat{a} \200\231s heretic at whom all and stindry could cast the stones of rejection in order to obliterate even the recollection of his image as an erstwhile dominee of the \hat{a} \200\234Kerk van die Afrikaner \hat{a} \200\235.

Yet, in spite of numerous pleas on his part to subject himself to any trial the church might deem necessary, he was never given a hearing and never found $\frac{200}{234}$ guilty $\frac{200}{235}$ by any off: '-crlesiastical court.

N

'In fact, the real issue was consistently

evaded. The last thing Beyers Naude ever

wanted was to be alienated from the church within which he was born and bred. $\hat{a}\200\230$ This church remained for him the

Church of Christ, and his passionate desire

was that it should examine itself in the

light of the question of whether it still belonged to its Lord alone, or whether it had been lured away by the attractions of

 $a\200\234$ pseudo gospels $a\200\235$, of self-interest and self-

jusitification.

lised that what $a\200\234$ kerk en volk $a\200\235$

n most was that the Word of God

should be listened to anew.

In this respect, he showed the concern of a significant group of ministers, mostly of the young generation, and members of the Dutch Reformed Church (including the Hervormde Kerk and the Gereformeerde Kerk). 5 >

The $a\200\234$ pad van Suid-Africa $200\235$, if it were to lead out of an imminent and indeed already existing chaos, could only be that of

-obedience to the Christian gospel of reconciliation. :

+Beyers Naude was called anew to be a minister of this gospel.

. I shall always remain $200\230$ convinced that he $200\230re-ceived 200\235$ this calling in his

fellowship with brothers and sisters in the Reformed faith, who believed and knew that basic truths confessed in this faith contained a possibility and a fromise for steering away rom the disasters of an idolatrously entrenched protection and glorification of Afrikaner self-interest.

That is why he always remained $\hat{a}200\230\hat{a}200\234$ dominee $\hat{a}200\235$ for me.

SUNDAY TIMES, September 30 1984 -

The outcast dominee

Let the church welcome him back, and listen to what he has got to say

By Professor':
BEN ENGELBRECHT

Professor of Religious Studies, University of the Witwitersrand

The piety of Zinzendorf of Herrnhut (1700-1760) expressed in the words â\200\234ich habe nur eine passion, die ist Er, nur Erâ\200\235 (I have only one passion. This is Jesus, He alone) characterised Naude in everything he pursued.

If only the word of Godâ\200\231s reconciliation of sinners, with Himself and with one another, could be the basis of the ordering of South African society, our future would be one of light, not darkness.:

After his farewell sermon, delivered in the Aas-

- votlkop Dutch Reformed

Church, based on Acts 5:29

. $\hat{a}\200\224$ $\hat{a}\200\234$ We must obey God rath-

er than menâ\200\235 â\200\224 he assumed duty as the director of the Christian Institute of South-

 \hat{a} \200\230ern Africa.

With much confidence and enthusiasm he was sur-rounded by a great $a\geq 0$ and of witnesses $200\geq 35$, men and women, among them many Dutch Reformed ministers, who had pledged their support and co-operation.

Rumours of the possible

establishment of an $a\200\234$ opposition $a\200\235$ church were ,com-Pletely unfounded. The $a\200\230$ cloud of witnesses $a\200\235$ was committed exclusively to

the existing churches, particularly the Afrikaans churches of the Reformed family.

Beyers Naude is, above all, a man of prayer.
Through the study of the Word of God and prayer and through a witness to the churches about the will of the God of Love and Reconciliation for all people in South Africa, the Christian Institute â\200\224 not the individual Beyers
Naude â\200\224 was meant to make a contribution to a radical reappraisal of the â\200\234 non-negotiableâ\200\235 factors

which the Afrikaner

churches, in particular, considered essential for their own survival and the survival of Christian values.

This contribution, it was hoped, would be made within the churches, in such an indubitably evangelical manner and so completely in accordance with the

rinciples of Reformed faith t, far from being

_rejected, it would irresisti-

bly, in a natural and organic way, be reassimilated by the churches as its own inalienable witness to the South African community and its leaders. . .

Beyers Naude made one big mistake $\hat{a}\200\224$ though it is the most forgivable mistake that can be made by any Christian. $\hat{a}\200\234$ Put not your trust in princes, $\hat{a}\200\235$ says

'the psalmist, \hat{a} 200\234in a son of

man in whom there is no help (Psalm 146:3). \hat{a} 200\235

His initial supporters disappeared like the disciples of Jesus when He was led to be crucified. But, for Beyers Naude there was no return. & :

One wonders what the present situation in South

Africa, both in the church, particularly the Dutch Reformed Church and on the

litical scene, would have

n if the Christian Institute was not deserted by its Reformed supporters.

â\200\234ow different might things have been had it been allowed to develop and grow without being smeared as a crypto-communist nest of mischief.

I would venture to guess that the political $\hat{a}\200\234$ conversion $\hat{a}\200\235$ of which we now see Eromising signs, would

ave happened much sooner and that by now it would ltlhave progressed much furer.

I am convinced, however,

~that Beyers Naude ~was

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SMNDF\\) pn,n/.@g_ 2o Sepy S

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rH; \hat{a} 200\231: \hat{a} \200\230 QAT @82 Nopites -

ONE thing is for sure: It is too late for the Labour Party to change its mind now.

- Its new leader, Neil Kinnock, is in for the duration not just of this Parliament but indefinitely, and the my had better get used to

11â\200\230f:;:r siizcedthedwar has
a ur leader departed
involuntarily.
Only old age or exhaustion prises them from the
Kinnock is ambiand energetic to a
t

.. He w badly wants to be Prinie:y t{r one day and, at 43, time is in his favour.

lation to his gloomy party as it gathers this weekend for its annual conference in Blackpqol.;

Good parts

The best that can be said foerKinnockâ\200\231s $\ddot{}$ \201xstmris that it was good in ted mat $\ddot{}$ \201i $\ddot{}$ \201searlydaysyet

Mr Kimci $\sqrt{202\hat{a}}200\sqrt{231}s$ major achievement has been to see

-This will be scant conso-

(THE VIEW) FROM LONDON

has an undoubted presence in front of the television camera. . In the flesh, he is uncharismatic: Still the overgrown student politician ranting, beer mug in hand, at some

bove all, he is incurably verbose. His staff watch in dismay as his ions in

MrKinnockâ\200\230isanightmaer \hat{a} \200\224 for some listeners quite literally.Hecannotstop.

Television edits all this trailing away. The camera $\frac{200}{231}$ Mr Kin-

nock is a few sentences, the $\hat{a}\200\230\text{clich}\tilde{A}\otimes s$ lending colour to\an aura of intensity. He has an attractive % which conveys anger compassion. His ties, he

would d?gal.!jather than admit

it,m::otunlikethtgsewhich brought success to Ronald R $\ddot{}$ 2 01xp $\ddot{}$ 2 02e may be tweight but he is regarded as sincere.

Small seeds

More significantly, Mr Kinnock has commenced at T ${\rm e}$.

He hi¬\201i¬\201ft demandedw:a;%& corpora party a freater stress on individual

reedom and im.iividual

too did the people. They shouldlookatotherwaysof di capitalism, such as co-owner-ship, worker and co-operatives.

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=EÂS ¢ indefensible it knows the miners $a \geq 00 \geq 31$ case against pit closures to be.

It certainly cannot come out against the NUM in 1

I 5 Lo BT o R ey s 1L . The good news and the bad

Failure

sooner or later blow away and Mr Kinnock will be able to assert his rightful place as leagm- of an anti-Tory crusa

year, and possibly many more after that.

Special report by

TRANSKEI could find itself without fuel if a takeover bid for the countryâ\200\231s only two fuel depots succeeds.

This would bring commerce and industry in the tet{lll'itory virtually to a stand-

'l'hls blunt warning has been ¢ given by South African oil comes fo a Transkei Minister in

Fe Town.

t follows an attempt by a Transkeian company $\hat{a}\200\224$ of which President Kaizer Matanzima and his brother, Prime Minister ge Matanzima, were originally intended to be shareholders $\hat{a}\200\224$ to grab the two fuel depots with an annual turnover of about R40 million.

Letter

In a letter couched in peremptory terms, the present owners of the fuel depots, the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC), were told by the Minister of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, Mr Ramsey diki-

zela:

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- i

TAKEOVER: from the left: Mr N

Transkei fuel depots situated in Umtata and tterworth be turned over to the company now being formed for the purpose by the undermentioned as directed by the Honourable

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STEPHAN TERBLANCHE

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 $5(//\hat{a}\200\23559")$ W0ESs =20 SEPT . TR Elite are mH-ul] cOntrol Takeover bids hit R27m plan

RECENT events in Transkei invol . The giant South African Breweries is -

AN elite group of hi rank _ownsa i¬\2021linmg srt::l&n, M);ezt: ate as owner of immovable t nally controls the S *takeover bids of prlvate eompnnluâ\200\234m still hâ\200\230;:l de;el opmenmtlmnfter m:ek

overnment offl and a urant a : mngemt prev ver

in Transkei control the entranoetothe Unlm Amlmbü¬\202roâ\200\234ü¬\202dew mwideth Transkei a dms t Corporation may â \200\231?h&mrwortibrewerybyalow

many of the profitable busi- 3 of Transkei (Unitra), of Sources as well as employees garage had a contract to sup- gopmlln -million Invemnent by company headed by a Transkeian and a n

nesses in the territory. he is chancellor. of Transkei Toyota, a service ;}, $\{,"""^2\200\230\$ \200\234m@"\angle \200\230\angle \200\234\angle \200\230 ppi Novobord, a member company of American.

Inrecenttakeoverbidsof - station in central Umtata, ce vehicles. the giant Sappi group. A s enior official connected to the TDC

a South African Official Unitra vehicles named President Matanzima Two Cabinet Members, the said this week that the Sappi partical

two fuel depots are frequently seen to be fill- uadhâ\200\230ctwofthemg Minister of , Mr A Ofnehhnllbuheumhvmtau board plant had been a\200\234put on ice for six

keian com b{n.u.vi¬\202-. in%up at Myezo Motors. Documents which Jonas, and the of \mid also fear that another multi-million rand months because of all that is happening

sal Indus the involve- e also owns Myezo Prop- Dmlor Finance, Mr Sydney Quaba, by a huge Ta iwanese household here \hat{a} 200\235.

ment by overnment erties which, according to re- Corm'! are'lmongnth::i;ectonofl company co uld be wrecked by The plant was to have been a joint

officials, including the Presi- cords, has a licence to oper- Nl sorghum brewery. the takeo ver controversy. . venture by Sappi and the TDC.

dent, Paramount Chiefâ\200\231 Kaizer Matanzima, and the Prime Mlnlster,iâ\200\231 Chief - Matanzima, is appargom an official letter which was handed to the Sunday Times.

â\200\224â\200\224

IF THERE is q"\201e overwhelming impression brought home to me 4 during my seven years fo banning it is this: South Africa is one of the most deeply divided societies in the world today. People of different languages, widely differinï¬\201 cultures, different faiths and religions (and within these religions, numerous different confessions), different social customs and traditions, different classes and levels of education \hat{a} \200\224 all these form our society and live in closer or lesser proximity to one another. \hat{a} \200\230 '(Ilâ\200\231he co?avlilctimn mosih;vthit&s, and es y ers, people ofpgfxch wide diversity could never live together in peace became the motivation behind apartheid.

Driving forces

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t to emphasise that
y unknown,
ed, underlay

It is im
other ves too,
hidden or unacknow]
this.]

For instance, strong fears of being swamped by an overwhelming number of blacks, growg economic self-interest, and inferiority complexes of the past formed the unconscious driving forces of the Afrikaner in his striving for political

It is only recently that a small number of concerned Afrikaners has begun to dis-

By BEYERS

NAUDE

Polarisation

cover how strongly these hid-

den motivations moulded the /

aftlons of the Afrikaner peo-

'. |Creasing polarisati Political scientists, soci- |fea®ing. porisat

ologists and psychologists
owe it to South Ifsrica to spell
| out these hidden factors and

help whites towards a ration- the losers.

al re-evaluation of the folitical motives of the past.

I realise (on the strength of my own, experience of an | agonising theological and political pilgrimage towards a new insight) that this will | be a Falnfu process. But it is absolutely essential to face

this if we as whites wish to ' [Othing that governments evolve a reasonably peaceful | mag"do will change this. political process of change. . I am convinced that the | vast majority of blacks in ur- ' ban areas, in the homelands and in the so-called indepen-

The white community, and especially the dominant Afrikaner group, must come accept that the black peo of South Africa, both urban and rural, are a 2 part of South Africa and that

permanent

- dent states, if given the op-&artunlt to freely express

eir opinion, would vote to "be and remain South Africans,

If we fail, then we are em- gang
barking on a course of in
: g on, contrife, the
end result of which will inevitably be that whites will be

< Afrikaner efforts to separ. ate blacks from whites have
! been to no avail,</pre>

. Influx control, pass laws, 'endless raids, destruction of homes and shacks, enforced removals, the establishment of resettlement ettos, the shifting of homeland boundaries to bluff the white electorate into believing that urban black numbers were diminishing a \200\224 all these desperate attempts have failed.

The process of industriali-

Picture | of Dr â\200\230 Naude . e by JAMES | SOULLIER |

\'sation, the urgent need for

labour (both- skilled, semiskiled and unskilled), the im-

poverishment of rural areas; and homelands, the lack ofsufficient opportunities not

only to earn 4 living but even to survive $\hat{a}\200\224$ all these factors

. have \hat{A}^0 hrough \hat{A}^0 hrough \hat{A}^0 have \hat{A}^0 hrough \hat{A}^0 have \hat{A}^0 hrough \hat{A}^0

tinue to foréé, thousands of

people to the urban areas.

~.No magic wand is available to remove them from
the vision of the whites,
The enforced separation of
urban and raral blacks in an
attempt to relieve or diminish the pressures on whites is

a dangerous and self-defeat-

ing exercise. The black com- $^{\prime}$ tio

munity will never voluntarilly accept such a division and offer their co-operation to achieve this goal.

Moreover, any attempt to

control with the
ing hateful prac
raids, disruption of
enforced removals, a;
bing people of their citizen- sentment run.
| ship â\200\224 can only lead to inedï¬\202ï¬\202se!'. bitterness have done if the British, fac-

enforce the system of influx shown that, but anybodyr; in-

accompany- cerely attempting to discov-

 $a\200\224$ Ppass er the feelings of blacks homes, 'themselves will realise how nd rob- strongly their feelings of re-What would the Afrikaner

ing the rising tide of Afri-

Shudder

kaners striving to attain their rightful heritage, had stripped them of their citi-

ually dangerous and falpolicy based on on that the poliing together of oureds and Indians, but excluding the black - majority, could offer an actable and peaceful solu-

zenship, their right to vote, to own land and to offer labour freely in South Africa?

Realistic

I shudder to think what the outcome would have been.

Not only has the outcome ~_ Similarly, any attempt to of the recent coloured and Indian elections clearly

govern South Africa with a political system which excludes the black majority

- from meaningful participa-. tion (as the present constitution has done) can only spell - Increasing anger and opposition, especially on the part of . the black youth. Why attempt to enforce a
- | political system which in any

case cannot succeed in the long run because 75 percent of the population of the country does not voluntarily accept it?
Why not face the fact many governments in other coun-

. tries have had to-accept: we are dealing with a world-wide phenomenon fo rubanisation which cannot be reversed in the way we are attempting.:

Having accepted that, we must begin to seek a solution for urbanisation, lack of hous_intg, lack of sufficient rural infrastructures and opportunities, and unem loyment along more ust,

. humane and realistic $\hat{a} \geq 200 \geq 34$ ave.

nues. i
Any attemft to minimise

. the growing tide of youth aner and militancy within the lack, coloured $a\200\230$ and Indian

communities, or to ascribe it

(as is so easily done in some

quarters) to $a\200\234$ opstokery $a\200\235$ of

otherwise peaceful and stable communities, can likewise only lead to further tension and conflict, {

Plea

If there is one plea which I | wish to present to the white community, esgecially to the Afrikaner, it is this: try to ascertain the real feelings of the black, coloured and Indian student and outh groups of our country; ry to discover and understand the hidden message which the

current unrest, school boy-

_cotts, and stayaways Hortray.

And where they reflect the

. Just and valid demands for

change, be prepared to make

such changes before a situation of confrontation and growing polarisation makes reconciliation a very difficult if not impossible task. -

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