

e fof"ANC and PAC to unite  
African states lag In  
liberation

movements, say

funding

ADDIS ABABA â\200\224 African states are taking a public  
ton%ue-lashing for not giving enough money and sup-  
port to â\200\234liberationâ\200\235 movements while,  
scenes, some are criticising the movements for lack  
.of unity. .

â\200\234We are going to emvarrass them into paying up,â\200\235  
a southern African delegate said yesterday. He was  
referring to the R24 million in arrears owed by the  
50-member Organisation of African Unity to its liber-  
ation committee. Some of the debts go back 22 years  
to the founding of the committee. :

Delegates at the four-day OAU Foreign Ministerâ\200\231s  
meeting were debating a progress report on the fight  
to bring independence to South Africa and Namibia.  
Â«Your liberation committee has called on the liber-  
ation movements to close their ranks so as to achieve  
unity of purpose in the protracted confrontation  
against Pretoria,â\200\235 Zimbabwean Foreign Minister  
Nathan Shamuyarira, newly elected chairman of the  
29-member liberation committee, told delegates

behind the

rival

AP 1ARR\_

S â\200\230,  
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oSâ\200\231

when he presented his report at a closed-door session  
on Saturday night.

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â\200\234We urged that the firepower of the liberation

movements as well as their diplomatic and organisa- |  
tional efforts should be directed at the enemy â\200\224 the  
apartheid regime.â\200\235

Conference sources said Mr Shamuyarira was re-

Both movements and the

banned by the South African Government.

led by Nigeria, have de-  
manded that the two movements put aside their dif-  
ferences and reunite.

Some African countries,

Inter-movement rivalry

There is a crying need for the ANC, the PAC and all the liberation movements to come together for the final push for victory.

Nigeria is a member of the liberation committee

peating a controversial call for a rapprochement between the African National group fighting the Pretoria Government, and the

Pan-Africanist Congress.

Congress, the largest

Communist Party are

or individual rivalry

should have no place at this point in time, Nigerian

Foreign Minister Ike Nwachukwu said in an in-

and one of its major fi-

nancial backers. But Gen-

eral Nwachukwu said his |

government would not

use arm-twisting tactics | ;  
against the liberation |

movements.

He recalled the alli- |

ance of Zimbabwe's rival  
guerilla movements during the war in white-ruled Rhodesia which, in 1980, became independent and black-ruled Zimbabwe.

RULED OUT

But the ANC and PAC

representatives in Addis Ababa, who have observ-

er status at the OAU, '

ruled out an immediate unification.

Mr Gora Ebrahim,  
PAC foreign secretary,  
said his organisation was  
ready to discuss a united  
front with the ANC. But,  
he said, it would have to  
be based on fundamental  
principles to which he did  
not believe the ANC

- would agree.  
For a long time the

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S e N S

representative of the people of  
South Africa. »  
" He contends it is false  
to say the ANC is the big-  
gest or most effective of  
the liberation move-  
ments. In the past year,  
he said, the PAC has won  
growing recognition, in-  
cluding being approached  
for its opinions by Wash-  
ington and London.

They used to write us  
off, he said. But we  
have compelled OAU  
member states to recog-  
nise that there is more  
.. than one viable liberation

PAC has fought ANC ef- ' organisation inside the

forts to be recognised as

4 country. 235 224 Sapa-AP.

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Rival

| wâ\200\224

TH two rival symbolic treks  
planned, the 150th anniversary of

the Great Trek, to be commemo-

rated in December, is expected to inten-  
sify the current schism in Afrikanerdom.  
Writing in the journal Insig, Johannes  
Froneman and Piet Muller said it was  
clear that the planned treks would exac-

sion among Afrikaners.  
â\200\230Whether this will eventually benefit  
Dr Treurnichtâ\200\231s Conservatives in exactly  
time will show.â\200\231

The writers recalled that when the  
- Far-Right Afrikaner-Volkswag announ-  
â\200\234ced that it was organising 13 treks from  
various parts of the country, the main-  
stream Federasie van Afrikaanse  
. Kultuurvereniginge decided, apparently  
with some reluctance, to sponsor a sin-  
gle trek of its own â\200\224 from Cape Town to  
Pretoria. v

While it is unlikely that the Volkswag's  
| activities would have the enormous po-  
~ litical impact of the 1938 trek, said the

writers â\200\230the potential effect of a well-or-  
chestrated symbolic trek on an again di-

vided Afrikaner people should not be  
| too lightly dismissedâ\200\231.

â\200\230A significant, even a growing, section  
of the people are unashamedly harking  
back to the slogans and supposed securi-  
ty of the past.

. â\200\230While the present NP government,  
like the United Party of old, is leaning  
more and more heavily on English-  
speaking support and is failing to spell  
out a clear vision of the future, the self-  
confidence of the Right is growing.â\200\231

The writers predicted that, with mu-  
nicipal elections on a national scale  
scheduled for October 26, the CP would  
eagerly exploit the emotions that the  
Volkswagâ\200\231s multiple trek would arouse  
from October 10 onwards. . :

Pressure

EELD said in an editorial that  
South Africa should have no illu-

sions about the determination of

our apartheid sins by means of economic pressure. i  
With limited sanctions already an accomplished fact, there are now ominous

IHE

0 intensify

erbate and emphasise the political division

the same way as the 1938 symbolic trek - benefited Dr Malan's Nationalists only

treks ex

NP N\ERC,uD\_:

9\_3)93(3' %

signs of a much more comprehensive package of punishment to come. '

Even if the Democratic candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, did not end up in the White House, said Beeld, a Republic president would scarcely be able to do more than delay the proposed new sanctions legislation.

: Successor \*  
IF Insig's researcher Karin Brynard, is

correctly informed, there was a brief

period in August last year when Dr

Jannie Roux, President Botha's secre-

tary-general and right hand man, had been named as successor to Mr Riaan Eksteen as director-general of the SABC. - :

Mr Eksteen is reported to have told colleagues in the SABC that he would have been sacked (following his clash with the State President over the announcement of the Rev Allan Hendrick-

se's resignation from the Cabinet) had it .

not been for the intervention of Mr Alwyn Schlebusch.

Miss Brynard wrote: With the tightening of control over news and actualities in 1984, it was ensured that subjects that could embarrass the Government were scaled down subjects like forced removals, criticism of the Government's economic policy, negative information about homelands and alleged abuse of

power by the police or the army.

. Towards the end of 1986, with a general election on the horizon and the Right-wing spectre emerging, it was soon clear that the Government was putting

terms with a simple truth: joint govern-

the outside world to try to purge us of

Sayings of the week

[ ] As long as there is not a communist-inclined black government in power here, so long will our sport persecution continue. It's as simple as that. Die Vaderland columnist Voorslag.

[ ] The only way for South Africa to escape sanctions would be to commit suicide. No government has a mandate for that, Die Volksblad columnist Willem.

[ ] Perhaps our young rugby players ought first to do their duty on the border and after that come and show us how good they are at the game. Mr Jacob Wahl of Klerksdorp in a letter to Die Vaderland.

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pected

current  
Afrikaner schism

the brake on its reform message . . .

Mr Eksteen evidently did not apply the brake sharply enough or perhaps he was not sensitive enough to the nuances of the change. /

Joint politics |  
THE day when white and black South

. Africans would | vote for one another  
would not fall out of the sky but

would demand hard work, said Professor Marinus Wiechers of Unisa in an ar-

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title in Rapport. AT  
Thus far, said Professor Wiechers, our

whole system of government had been

based on separate population groups.  
â\200\230Whatever use has been made of ide

logical justifications like mu

racialism, minority rights and â\200\234  
affairsâ\200\235, we all know that these wer  
and remain, methods of creating a work-  
able division to ensure the whites of a

" leading position in the government.â\200\231

Ultimately we would have to come to  
ment meant joint institutions and joi  
decision-making.

â\200\230And that demands joint politics.â\200\231

Over the years, said Profess  
Wiechers, it had bee instilled into | ;  
that white and black traditions were to- |  
tally different. â\200\231  
~ The time had now come for whites to  
inquire into the blacksâ\200\231 culture and  
their concepts of representation, deci-  
sion-making and the organisation of  
groups and communities. %

Nodal points

Rapportâ\200\231s political columnist

Pollux said it was now fashionable in  
Stellenbosch academic circles to use the  
words â\200\230securocracyâ\200\231 and â\200\230securocratsâ\200\231 to  
highlight the role of security affairs and

the â\200\230security communityâ\200\231 in the govern- |

â\200\230 -IS South Africa a â\200\230securocracyâ\200\231?

\_ ment of the country. -

. â\200\230Donâ\200\231t worry, said Pollux, â\200\230the -bureau%â\200\231

. crats and the technocrats are still with

us â\200\224 so we wonâ\200\231t be under-governed! |  
â\200\230For cross-pollination there are those  
nodal points consisting of senior offi-  
cials whose job it is to see that every-  
thing in their departments proceeds i  
accordance with the security strategy.â\200\235  
Â® The Afrikaans words are sekuro-

krasie and sekurokraat.

Archbishop Tutu to candidate Michael Dukakis: "Howdy folks! I'm here to help  
-again" St. South Africa" was how Die Burger cartoonist Fred Mouton saw  
the pre-

p your election fight  
ate's recent US visit



! AFFAIRS Minister

rs\_\_.'

â\200\230Stoffel â\200\230Botha, the onlyâ\200\231 lutionary organisations have been member of the Cabinet

Â¢ & B who is known positively to read books, says newspapers publish a mass of information which promotes violent revolution. I must agree.

True, I did sign the petition to â\200\230Learned Stoffel to spare the Weekly Mail, but I did so out of cowardice. did not wish to be seen as the only English Editor who thought it a pitiful waste of time to try to convince so well-read a man as the Minister of the role of a free Press. He knows.

Anyway, our newspapers abound with examples of information that â\200\224

to use the isterâ\200\231s words â\200\224 â\200\234promotes violent revolutionâ\200\235.

One is tempted to say that publica-

tion of the sa&ria of public servants might provoke a certain class of taxpayer to murder â\200\224 that is why government hides the salary scales â\200\224 but this is not a time for flippancy. The days when excessive taxes, unjust laws, overweening public servants, arrogant rulers and corrupt administrations caused revolutions are thankfully long past. Modern revolutions are ca by negative images. .

Among the serious examples of

revolutionary publication which Learned Stoffel cites is to mention tha?Ohver Tadmbo, president of the African National Congress, is honoured on certain occasions.

Sis! say L It is quite obvious that when people pin medals to Tamboâ\200\231s chest it is likely to drive our State President to tear up the tricameral constitution in a fit of revolutionary pique. It could drive him to chew the carpet of the Winter Palace. Not

even Riaan Eksteen or Allan Hendrickse has dared to go so far in taghntrlxinl%r tlhe iGli;gat Man,. . o0

, it is very dangerous,

Learned Stoffel e elayined,gfor new? papers to publish reports which g:oke.sympath for bodc detainees prisoners. y who felt sympathy for Steveergiko or Neil Aggett should examine his conscience; e may have cause to feel guilty. . The Minister put his finger precisely on the solution to the vprobfem when he said: â\200\234The facts are that the ANC, and the SACP, and other revo-

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R â\200\224

| of conduct,

ordered by law to cease to exist. But these organisations are now bein kept â\200\230aliveâ\200\231 by means of one-sided positive publicity.â\200\235

Itâ\200\231s powerful stuff, that one-sided positive publicity. Some of our generals think it is our most potent mili-mx' wea&o:. better than the Kukri and the G-6. It captures hearts and minds, which are often harder to capture than Cubans. If one-sided

itive publicity ever fell into the ds of the ANC or Swapo, one hates to think what might happen. hislt%fâ\200\234tf tifr one gtog back a\_ciri:ssltl;e ; of the pas ears, it is plain that ?ea.rned Stoffel is using well-tried means to preserve the Republic

against a total onslaught. The Com-

munist Parxtg was ordered in 1949 to cease to exist; its mouthpiece, variously called the Guardian and New Age and New Era, was ordered in the Fï-\201ties to cease to exist; the liberal â\200\230newspaper, Contact, was ordered to cease to exist in the early Sixties. Âf ;

It is an awesome thought ti:at when two scruffy little fringe publications were ordered to cease existence, the idea that SA had a free Press also ceased to exist. Since then we have known that we can say what we like so long as it does not enrage the Great too much.

Some newspapers have .survived by lying low, some by adopting codes some by inventing coun-cils to police them, and some by

firing theirâ\200\230ve'r light editors and concentrating â\200\230on publishing girly pictures and stories of family murders. But some have wilfully sought their own destruction by mentioning the, honours showered on Oliver Tambo or publishing dirty words like â\200\234a luta .

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So let there be

Business DAY

'OWEN \_

ders.

Still, there is a

publicity is powerful stuff. It may-

even overcome cease-to-exist or--

Wil puzzlin |

historical record. Between %:g dili]sati'l;Â»e-  
pearance of Contact and the appearance of the Weekly Mail, the SACP

/| and the ANC â\200\224 according to the

theory of Learned Stoffel â\200\224 obediently ceased to exist. By 1976, according to books which Learned Stoffel has surely read, the ANC was almost forgotten. There was indeed a :omall,. y organisation in London

wh&ch young black ple â\200\234es-  
capedâ\200\235 along a route which was virtually managed by Craig William-

- son, a policeman.

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Nobody wrote about the ANC; nobody even thought much about it.

\* Hence it ceased to exist.  
Â°" Meanwhile, young men and women banded together in SA to form the Black Consciousness movement, and

AZAPO and CUSA and SASO and the Black Peopleâ\200\231s Convention. TheÂ¥ l?id  
ey

not think much of the ANC.

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continua,â\200\235 or â\200\234Umkhonto we Sizweâ\200\235.

John Vorster knew how to deal  
â\200\230with that sort of thing. â\200\234Let there be  
dark,â\200\235 he said when he became Min-  
ister of Justice, and darkness fell. It  
lasted until 1985, when the Weekly  
Mail suddenly  
youthful idealism and good English,  
and crammed with one-sided posi-  
tive publicity.

Ap arentlf its appearance  
breathed new life into the ANC, the  
PAC and Oliver Tambo. So far it has  
not been able to breathe fresh life  
into Steve Biko or Neil Aggett, but  
who knows? That one-sid

appeared, full of

positive

began an entirely new revolutionary  
movement of their own. This revolu-  
tionary impudence shocked the non-  
existent ANC back to life in miracu-  
lous fashion.

~ The ANC leaders, according to  
other books which Learned Stoffelâ\200\231  
has surely read, were frantic with  
anxiety when it seemed their long-  
awaited revolution was starting  
without them. They must have felt  
like Moses at the Jordan, in sight of  
the Promised Land, but forbidden  
entry. So they all shifted to Lusaka to  
be close to the frontline, and have  
been pestering Learned Stoffel ever  
since.

WOn di'ousl it all happened

without the help of the Weekly Mail,

or of Saamstaan, or New Nation or

South. First came the violence of  
1976, then came the ANC and then  
the newspapers. Learned Stoffel has  
not so far explained this sequence,  
but no doubt he will soon issue cease-  
to-exist orders against whispers in  
the dark, against silent nods and



The Peopleâ\200\231 Skpedkw

Hits capitalism

Dear Editor: B

You do your readers a giant disservice by promoting anti-communism and nationalism in your paper. We need multi-racial unity! We need communism! Communism is the only way for us to improve our lives. Communism is the only way to end racism. (Communism is not adhered to in Russia, China or any countries today, rather they are state capitalists.)

We need to know that capitalism, such as the U.S. profit system is what developed racism in the first place and what enforces racism todayâ\200\224in order to maximize profits and maintain control/power for the ruling class. The U.S. ruling class makes billions of dollars per year by paying Black, Latin and other minority workers less than white workers. This keeps wages low for all workers. If white workers demand more money or better working conditions, the bosses can easily fire them and hire â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230more gratefulâ\200\235 workers who will work for even less money. They make still more money by not providing adequate services, i.e. not putting money into education, housing, health care, etc. for low-income and unemployed workers.

The capitalist ruling class strives to keep people divided along racial linesâ\200\224through segregation and racist liesâ\200\224so that white, Black, Latin, Asian, Arab, Jewish and native American workers will not know each other well enough to realize that our interests are the same, that we need to unite

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in order to get rid of this profit system which creates all of our problems. We are bombarded with racist lies ... because these racist ideas serve the ruling classâ\200\224they are strong only when we are divided.

We need to know that minority politicians are no better than white politiciansâ\200\224they all enforce that profit system which needs racism in order to survive. The profit system always must sacrifice millions

(through racism, unemployment, :

homelessness, minimum-wage slavery, drug abuse and Imperialist wars) for the benefit of a relative few, no matter what color the ruling class or politicians. Itâ\200\231s the nature of the profit system: for a few to be rich, many must be poor, exploited and misled. This is the so-called â\200\234freedomâ\200\235 of capitalism.

Communism means production and

distribution of goods and services based on peoplesâ\200\231 needs, not on what we can afford to pay. Communism means equality for all people: no racism or sexism. Communism means all people contribute productively, as they are able, to society, and all reap the rewards of our productivity: no unemployment. We know there is plenty of work to be done and plenty of people willing to do it, but under capitalism it is not profitable to maintain housing, streets, schools, health care, etc. for the poor because they cannot pay for it. Communism means no homelessness, no poor, no drugs (which make billions of dollars for dealers, bosses, politicians and bankers, and destroy working-class youthsâ\200\231 lives and prevent them from fighting for a better life). Communism means education and health

#### DEFENDER PLATFORM SINCE 1905

1. American race prejudice must be .  
destroyed.
2. Racially unrestricted membership in  
all unions. '
3. Equal employment opportunities on  
all iobs public and private.
4. True representation in all Umted  
States police forces. . . .
5. Complete\_cessation of all school  
segregation.
6. Establishment of open occupancy in  
all American housing.-
7. Federal intervention to protect civil  
rights in all instances where civil  
rights compliance at the state level  
breaks down. : sE

To Â@g3

MTs CrRPATALSEM fRom FÂ\$1



E controversial Labour Amendment  
Bill was clearly aimed at curbing workers' militancy and wiping out the gains they -

have made in the past.

This is the assertion of the Congress of South"

" African Trade Unions in  
a paper responding to the  
proposed legislation.

The Bill, which  
drastically impinges on  
the right to strike, bans  
sympathy strike action  
and encourages manage-  
ment to sue unions for  
losses due to unlawful  
strikes. The Bill has already  
sparked widespread  
anger and demonstra-  
tions by thousands of  
'workers in factories.

Besides demonstra-  
tions, unions have run  
education programmes,  
produced pamphlets ex-  
plaining implications of  
the Bill, and requested  
management to condemn  
it unequivocally. = -

Cosatu says: Now  
that unions are more and  
more going on legal  
strikes, they want to  
make it as difficult as  
possible for unions to  
strike legally.

#### Amendments

In tabling the Bill in  
Parliament last week, the  
Government appeared  
dead set on pushing  
through its union-  
bashing amendments in  
spite of angry objections  
from trade unions, . says

- Cosatu.

The Bill was not only  
aimed at curtailing the  
right to strike but also to  
undermine worker unity.  
A ban on sympathy or  
solidarity strikes was an  
attack on the very basis  
of Cosatu's existence.  
according to the federa-  
tion.

Sohdanty. action was  
the meaning of Cosatu's  
slogan: 'An injury to one  
is an injury to all'.

How many times  
have we won struggles  
through solidarity strike  
action or a solidarity  
boycott of particular

products. or through

that w

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out gai

The Bill

ipes

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Cosatu's response to proposed law @@@@

| By LEN MASEKO |

blackening the goods of a  
company where our  
comrades are on strike?'  
Cosatu asks.

- Bosses, in terms of the  
Bill, could bring a court  
interdict against the  
union concerned if its  
members participated in  
any solidarity action.

The implications in  
such a case are quite  
horrifying. An interdict,  
Cosatu. assets, could  
result in union leaders  
officials and shop  
stewards in the place  
where action is being  
taken being jailed.  
This action could also  
lead to union property,  
including money, -being  
seized.

Cosatu adds: 'This  
could mean that unions  
will distance themselves

completely from spontaneous strikes which, in turn, could lead to a breakdown in industrial relations at factory level.

It is to strengthen solidarity action that we

built one big union in

each industry. It is solidarity action that helped win the OK Bazaars strike, the Sats strike and many others, the federation says. Following is Cosatu's

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analysis of some of the contentious sections contained in the controversial Bill: : \$

@ Workers cannot: strike

on the same issue within 15 months.

Cosatu says: But most of our recognition agreements say we must negotiate on wages and conditions every year. This means we will not be able to go on strike over wages, for example, for two years in a row. It means that if, for example, a worker is dismissed and there is a strike for the worker's reinstatement, then we cannot strike over that dismissal if it occurs again.

e Much more compliance-

cated procedure for

going on a legal strike;

Dispute

One way the bill makes it more compliance-

- cated is to say that the

president and general

\*secretary. of the union have to sign papers when declaring a dispute that could lead to a legal

strike. But most genera;l  
strike. But most general -  
secretaries and presi-

dents of our unions do  
not even live in the same  
tpwn This bureaucracy

is desngned to m\_fe |

things more complicated  
â\200\224 and the same does not  
â\200\234apply to the bosses.â\200\235

Â® You can only strike if  
you notify the Depart-  
ment of Manpower  
within 21 days of the  
dispute starting.

â\200\234But the Bill does not  
make it clear when it is  
that a dispute begins.  
And 21 days is a very  
little time for unions to  
have to go through all the  
complicated procedures,  
especxally when our  
rfecognmon agreements  
with the bosses have their

own procedures and time  
3 â\200\230kmltS !

iâ\200\230If A  
Department 18  
notified about

dispute within 21 days,  
then there is no way.  
workers can go on a  
legal strike.â\200\235 = â\200\230  
e The inspector â\200\234can  
delay forever the time  
when a union can goona  
legal strikeâ\200\235.

â\200\234The Bill gives the

inspector powers to delay -

forever the calling of a  
legal strike. It (the Bill)  
~says. that the inspector  
canâ\200\231extend the period of  
30 days on the request of

the bosses. He canextend |  
it forever to prevent us

(workers) from strikingâ\200\231â\200\231.

the Manpower  
not  
the

Â® The proposed legisla- }  
tion says it is not an  
unfair labour practice for

bosses to selectively re-employ workers after a strike.

â\200\234After a long struggle in the Industrial Court, workers eventually won the right to stop bosses from selectively re-employing workers after a strike. Bosses were doing this so they could get rid of the shop stewards, the union activists and theâ\200\231 union itself.

â\200\234The court. now says that if a boss sacks workers on strike and wants to re-employ, then he must re-employ everyone. The Bill wants to take this away so it will be easier for bosses to

| smash unionsâ\200\235.

e It â\200\230will be an unfair labour practice for a

| majority union to  
' demand the

negotiate for the whole  
. workplace.

right to

â\200\234Most unions have won â\200\230the right, in our recognition agreements, to be the sole representative of the workers in the workplace where over 50 percent of the workers are members.

â\200\234If this Bill becomes law, all our recognition agreements will have to be re-negotiated and the bosses - will create tiny unions all over the place to try and divide and rule

â\200\235Â»

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~Â® It will restrict the  
Industrial Court powers.  
â\200\234The Bill makes it  
- possible for appeals to be  
made against the  
decision of the Industrial  
Court. At the moment  
~ the decision of the court  
is final. :  
â\200\234It (the Bill) allows  
~ appeals to be made to a  
~ Special Labour Court â\200\224  
â\200\230which will be set up  
~ under a judge from the

\* Supreme Court â\200\224 and it

will also be possible to  
appeal to the Appellate  
- Division of the courts.  
All these appeals will  
take a long time. Already  
workers have to wait up

to six months for an

Industrial Court case.  
â\200\234Now, if there are  
appeals, workers could wait

for two to three

years.â\200\235  
e It makes  
d:smxssals legal

unfair

Â§ .  
â\200\234It (the proposed

legislation. â\200\231says it is  
allright to dismiss a  
worker if that worker has  
been employed for a year  
or less. The situation, at  
the moment, is that no r

worker can be dismissed

â\200\224 no matter how long

the worker has been  
employed â\200\224 unless there  
is a good reason and  
unless basic dismissal  
procedures â\200\224 like having  
a hearing â\200\224 have been  
complied with. :

- â\200\234Under the new Bill

there does not even have to

be a hearing before a

worker is dismissed if the  
- boss thinks there is a

good reason for dismiss-  
"ing the workerâ\200\235.

â\200\234Â® The bill makes â\200\234unfair

retrenchmentâ\200\235 illegal  
â\200\234Many unions have  
negotiated retrenchment  
procedures on the basis  
of LIFO (Last In, First  
Out). Now the bill makes  
it possible for retrench-  
ment to be decided by the  
boss or the foreman.

They will be able to -

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trench on things like:  
number of warnings a  
worker has or even

| whether ,the foreman

likes the worker or not.â\200\235  
â\200\230All in all, Cosatu says,

] Government structures

have â\200\234once againâ\200\235 been  
exposed as â\200\234the tool of  
capital and a privileged  
minorityâ\200\235.

\_The federation has  
warned that its members  
will not â\200\234â\200\230quietly acceptâ\200\235  
draconian measures  
aimed at further crushing :  
the rights of South,  
Africaâ\200\231s exploited

.worker A%

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The Natal Witness, Monday, May 23, 1988

National Party

by Gerald Shaw

Remarkable story of 40 years' rule

THE NRTRL NNAT

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FORTY years ago this week Afrikaner nationalism came into its own after long years in the political wilderness.

In those four decades much has changed in the world but the Afrikaner nationalists still rule, having steadily consolidated their grip on the country and extended South Africa's sway in southern Africa.

It is a remarkable story, particularly if you see Dr Malan's victory in May 1948 as the culmination of an epic struggle against overwhelming odds which began with the defeat of the Boer republics by the British Empire in 1899-1902.

In that perspective Afrikaner nationalism has scored an extraordinary triumph.

It was not only the political kingdom which the NP secured for its followers. The Nationalists have used their political power to scale the commanding heights of the economy.

While first-class education provided by the state transformed the sons of poor whites in a generation or two into nuclear physicists, professional men, entrepreneurs and mining magnates, the patronage of the civil service and the parastatal corporations was hugely expanded to provide welfare state benefits for the less gifted and enterprising of the faithful, including many who had failed to make the grade on the land.

Today the descendants of people

who lost everything in 1899-1902 are

living the good life in California ranch-style pads flanking the hill-sides to the east and south of Pretoria.

It is an enthralling story of



achievement. But somewhere along

.the line the unselfish idealism of

early Afrikaner nationalism began  
to turn sour for the rest of us.

And so there are other perspectives on 1948-1988, as seen by South Africans outside the nationalist fold \_ the blacks, English-speaking whites and all the others.

Among English-speaking whites, after some initial resistance, there has been increasing acquiescence and, latterly, outright support at the polls for continuing rule by the Nationalists â\200\224 while the descendants of the 1820 settlers get on with money-making.

It seems to matter little to the white electorate that Nationalist rule in President Bothaâ\200\231s time has come to mean military domination of the country, in the sense that the Nationalists rely on the use of force to keep the peace at home and, in southern Africa at large, to enforce

: the will of the government.

In the May 1986 election, the white electorate endorsed the military option to maintain white control â\200\224 rather than negotiate with the African National Congress and other insurgent organisations. And the

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It seems to matter little to the white electorate that Nationalist rule in President Bothaâ\200\231s time has come to mean military domination of the country, in the sense that the Nationalists rely on the use of force to keep the peace at home and, in southern Africa at large, to enforce the will of the government.

white electorate will no doubt do so again when next the opportunity presents itself.

What about the blacks, whose numbers are approaching 75 percent of the total population (whites are about 16 percent)? In 10 years blacks will outnumber whites eight to one.

What have 40 years of Afrikaner nationalist rule meant for them and for the coloured people and the Indians? The NP has many cruel and futile essays in social engineering to its discredit which have placed intolerable burdens on people of colour since 1948. One of the first such pieces of racist legislation, the

Group Areas Act, remains on the statute book to this day and will not be expunged, we are told, as long as President Botha is still at the head of affairs. !

To the extent that Afrikaner nationalism has begun moving away from these policies, this has been dictated by their manifest unworkability rather than an excess of sickly liberalism.

An authoritarian NP government may try to re-write history, which is the invariable practise of such governments, starting with the manipulation of the contemporary record as reflected in a censored and increasingly embattled press.

But the record of the past 40 years stands and it is one of extraordinary cruelty. Sophiatown and District Six and all the other forced removals and other such miseries will not easily or quickly fade from memory.

Now, in 1988, nationalist Afrikanerdom is split between unbending ultra-rightists and the rather more sophisticated establishment nationalists who see some need to adapt if nationalist control is to be maintained.

But both factions agree on one thing â200\224 that the political control of the country gained by the NP in 1948 must never be relinquished to other hands. And they may even come together again one day if this control is

in jeopardy. Meanwhile, both factions are relying on Mr Magnus Malanâ200\231s military option to maintain the status quo at home and abroad.

Both lose sight of the fact that an ailing economy, due to a continuing lack of business confidence, will

undermine the good life for all concerned. Without negotiation, the use of force is self-defeating.

With a tricky military situation building up near the Namibian border, with Mozambique devastated and southern Angola laid waste, and South Africa cordially loathed in the sub-continent and the world, the legacy of 40 years of Nationalist rule is distressing to contemplate.

But the Nationalists have at least been prepared to shoulder the responsibility and they have done their best according to their lights. If they have made a mess of it, it ill becomes the rest of the whites to point a moralising finger. They, too, have benefited in the past 40 years.

The situation cries out for political leadership and a spirit of reconciliation. With the huge patience of Africa, and rather more magnanimity than the whites may deserve, the blacks await the day of liberation.

Â® Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the Cape Times. -

( Two killed. 80 hurt in or

tack on Soweto meetin

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b, e NRTAL

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 At least two people died and more than 30 were injured when explosive devices were hurled during a meeting of former Soweto mayor Ephraim Tshabalalaâ\200\231s Sofasonke Party yesterday afternoon, police said.

The attack took place at a meeting of lg)e party in Orlando West, police sai

Witnesses. said about 100 people were at the meeting. Some were seriously injured and bystanders rushed

for the last week to at least 10 â\200\224 the worst violence since police reinforcements were introduced in FebruaryThree other deaths were reported in the official police unrest bulletin for Friday and Saturday, two in Mpu-malanga near Hammarsdale and another in kwa-Ndengezi near Durban.

In the latest fighting near the cityaman was shot dead in Henley and a woman was Kkilled and another

\N\J\*E  
themto ospself%

Baragwanath Hospital spokesman said 11 people had been admitted.

The spokesman said one person was dead on arrival at the hospital and another died in the resuscitation room. It was not clear whether these were the dead referred to in the police report, or a further two casualties.

No arrests were reported

In another incident, an elderly farmer was killed on Saturday mght

wounded in another shooting inci-

dent in the same area. ;

A man was stabbed to death by a group of men at Taylor's Halt and a woman was stabbed to death and her house stoned by assailants at Mpu-malanga.

Also in Mpumalanga a youth was killed and two others arrested when an illegal gathering was dispersed with pistol fire.

In kwaNdengezi, police said they found the body of a man who had

gfjxade

23 loa"  
when his house was stoned and set  
alight.

Police said Leonardus Labuschagne died when his remote farm near Greylingstad, about 80 km south-east of Johannesburg, was attacked at about midnight on Saturday night, a police spokesman said.

- He described the killing as a normal crime, not linked to unrest.

In Natal three people died in fighting in townships near the city over the weekend bringing the toll

T

apparently been stabbed to death.

Two men were injured by gun shots in Chesterville.

Incidents reported from other areas were: a policeman was shot and injured in Soweto near Johannesburg; a security force vehicle was damaged by stone-throwers in kwa-Zakele in the Eastern Cape; and at Modderdam secondary school in Mitchell's Plain a security force vehicle was damaged by stone throwers. Sapa-WR. |

â\200\230Ho TJ'',â\200\234#â\200\230fâ\200\231:oftâ\200\231imĩ¬\201i;tftee  
backs bill to cut  
ties with S, Afri

b e B S by

ASHINGTON (AP) â\200\224 The House Banking  
to a bill that  
U.S. economic ties with South  
pressure on Pretoria to abandon its

Committee Thursday  
would cut virtually

. Africa to increase  
apartheid policies. : :

The committee voted 34-14, 1%}{(

ve strong backi

lines, for the bill that would add tional teeth ti

the sanctions Congress imposed two years ago over

President Reaganâ\200\231s veto. ;

~\_Approval came after the panel narrowly adopted,  
27-24, an amendment offered by an opponent of the  
legislation, Rep. Bill McCollum (R., Fla.), that would  
â\200\234have the effect of making the measure even toufhcrâ\200\224  
but at the same time more difficult, ultimately, for  
Congress to pass. The change would extend South  
African import prohibitions to include not only prod-  
ucts from that country, but products from other coun-  
tries that contain components or parts made in South  
Africa. The provision would affect many items con-  
taining industrial diamonds, among other things.

In 1986, the latest year for which figures were avail-  
able, U.S. direct and indirect investment in South  
Africa totaled about \$4 billion. Bilateral trade for that  
year was roughly \$2 billion. A recent congressional  
report noted that, since 1984, 156 U.S. companies  
have withdrawn from South Africa; another 157 still  
have direct investments or employees there.

assage came despite warnings from opponents that

P  
the bill would force U.S. banks to dump up to \$2.8  
billion in South African loans at a discount. It calls for  
U.S. companies to get rid of their holdings in South  
Africa within a year and bans most loans and trade. It  
also would ban U.S. military and intelligence coopera-  
tion with Pretoria. ;

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A similar bill was approved May 3 by the House  
; irs C s :

| \_Earlier in the day, at a hearing on the legislation,  
Reagan administration witnesses walked out after they  
ere asked to testify at the same table with a

keswoman for TransAfrica.

The committee chairman, Rep. Fernand St Germain  
(D., R.1.), was nonplused when the witnesses from the  
State and Treasury departments declined to present  
their testimony or answer questions on a panel with  
Cecelie Blakey, TransAfrica's political director. "It just  
doesn't make sense," St Germain said, noting that his

~ committee routinely puts government and private wit-  
nesses together.

But Charles Freeman Jr., a deputy assistant secre-  
tary of state for African affairs, said "I do not have  
the authority" to testify in such a setting and said that  
was the administration's longstanding policy.

The administration is strongly opposed to the legis-  
lation. Reagan has instead pursued a policy of "con-  
structive engagement," maintaining political and eco-  
nomic ties to South Africa in the belief that such ties  
give the U.S. more leverage to promote reforms.

~ Mixed-race

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lawmaker  
shot dead

in S. Africa |

Â© " Reuters o  
. CAPE TOWN " mixed-race |  
member of South Africa's Parlia-  
ment was shot dead as he left a  
church Sunday evening, police said

early today. v s

Pieter Jacobs was about to drive away from the Methodist church in Alberton, near Johannesburg, when an assailant shot him three times with a 9-mm. pistol and fled, police

" said.

Jacobs was one of nine people killed in grenade and arson attacks, shootings and stabbings in a surge of weekend violence. \_  
~ South Africaâ\200\231s tricameral Parliament has separate chambers for whites, Indians and memgel;s,l( referred to ase::lolg?Ã@h.â\200\235  
The black majority is ruled.

Colouredsmians who joined

the Parliament houses, set up in

1984 as one of President P.W. Bothaâ\200\231s tentative apartheid re-

forms, are regarded as sellouts by black militants.

Jacobs represented Nigel, south-east of Johannesburg,â\200\235in the colored House of Representatives. He was a member of the Labor Party, the biggest in that house.

Defense Minister us

Magn -  
said last month that the outlawed

African National Congress, waging a low-level guerrilla war against white domination, was likely to attack government institutions in the runup to nationwide municipal elections in October. ;  
A bomb exploded close to Parliament in Cape Town last month but caused no casualties. -  
A week later, a shot was fired

into a bus used to carry House of

Representatives members. Only the driver was in the bus at the time |

and was not hurt.

Attackers lobbed hand grenades into a crowd at a political rally Sunday in South Africaâ\200\231s biggest township of Soweto, killing two black people and injuring 37, police and hospital spokesmen said. .

In Natal province, torn by feuding between black political groups,

- three blacks were stabbed to death and two were shot dead Saturday,



police said. 3

. A 170-year-old white farmer,  
Leonardus Labuschagne, was  
burned to death on Saturday when  
a group of blacks stoned and set  
fire to his house near the Transvaal  
town of Greylingstad, :

mixed-race |

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i -,;Daiâ\200\230lerews' rixption on the management com-

% , mittee, especially in the allocation

- Correspondents of housing,â\200\235 she said. â\200\234My husband  
' JOHANNESBURG: Mr Pieter Sam hagd received many threats since

Jacobs, the LabourRartyÂ»MP who thenâ\200\235  
â\200\230was shot and killed at Edenpark,  
Alberton, last night, had received  
several death threats, said his wife  
lî¬\201: Louise Jacobs said the first  
threat came before a member of  
the Edenpark management com-  
â\200\230mittee, Mr Frans Dunster, was

police.

ad death t

\_Three people who witnessed the  
killing of Mr Jacobs (43), MP for = 9mm  
Nigel in the House of Representa-  
tives, are being questioned by the

Three shots were fired into his  
car, one of them fatally wounding  
him

8.40pm.

An unknown man, wearing a ba-  
laclava, smashed the driverâ\200\231s win-  
go;v\_ of Mr Jacobsâ\200\231s silver blue

udi.

Ppistol. One of them struck Mr  
Jacobs in the heart, police said.

Peared between nearby houses.  
Mrs Jacobs (43) said she accom-

Panied her husband to church, but

left early to prepare his clothes for

killed at his home on March 6, A police spokesman today said a meeting between MPs and Mp  
or

~ â\200\234Both my husband and Mr Dun-  
â\200\234ster had worked to expose cor-

Meanwhile in Cape Town, Law  
and Order Minister Mr Adriaan  
Vlok today said a seasoned team of  
detectives had worked through the  
night on the case.

Every lead would be followed

and no stone would be left un- -

turned to find the cowardly mur-  
derer, he said. A

â\200\234It was with shock and revulsion  
- that I learned of the cold-blooded  
murder of the House of Represen-  
tatives MP Mr P.S. Jacobs.

â\200\234Mr Jacobs, who was shot by an  
assassin while he was in his car

. on the way hOme;aftgr a churchl;

Mr Jacobs was on his way home  
from a church council meeting at  
\_the Edenpark Methodist Church at

today in Pretoria. Mr Jacobs  
stayed later to attend a meeting of  
deacons, - e  
service, was a valued and respect-  
ed colleague.

â\200\234I wish to express my condo-  
lences to his family and friends.

â\200\234A seasoned team of detectives  
worked through the night follow-  
ing every lead, and no stone will be  
left unturned to track down the  
cowardly murderer.â\200\235 s

The assassination cast a shadow  
over the first joint debate of Par  
liament today.â\200\235 Ay

The Chief Whip of Parliament,  
Mr Alex van Breda, was the first

to pay tribute to the assassinated

hreats

% â\200\234Todayâ\200\231s meeting was important

~ Three shots were fired with a

The gunman fled and disap-

Mr Pieter Jacobs

to my husband as he was to con-  
centrate on housing conditions in  
Tamboekiesfoqteïn, but I donâ\200\231t  
think it was connected with his  
murder,â\200\235 she said.

â\200\234Pieter was always the last to  
leave on such occasions, as he  
loved to sit and chat.â\200\235 o

Three deacons, two men and a  
Woman, were in the car at the time  
of the shooting. e B

No arrest has been made in con-  
nection and police are conducting  
an intensive investigation. '

Mr Jacobs is survived by his  
wife and four children.

The bai> news LETTERS 13 jos)ss

SIR    With the apparent decision of many American firms to disinvest it is more important than ever that we maintain our links with Britain and Europe. S

In the light of Sir Geoffrey Howe's recent speech, it is worthwhile to repeat the following extracts from it    Change is inevitable. And if justice is to be achieved and South Africa is to remain a modern prosperous economy, apartheid must go, the majority must

economic cake will have to be more equitably. Continued foreign in-

vestment depends on progress towards these goals,

  If Pretoria is not prepared to negotiate with the present generation of black leaders, they will find succeeding generations more radical and more unpalatable to them.  

It is our sincere belief    and we stress this conviction    that a political dispensation along the lines of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba is the best deal the minorities in Natal will ever achieve. It is, therefore, urgent that the people of Natal seriously consider these proposals and that they support the proposed study as to how, and at | what cost, the Indaba or similar proposals can be implemented.

In particular, we urge the support of the business community as it is in their interests that peaceful change should

take place. ;  
D.C. GRICE,

C. VAN DER POL  
N.A. BURY  
M.G. NOYCE  
A. HAMILTON  
Durban

paign and the Natai-  
Indaba League have done their best to

dangers of the Indaba p;

It is now believed (The Daily News, May 13) that the director of the Indaba, Professor Dawid van Wyk, is on a 200\234month-long, top-level visit to the United States as a official guest of the US Information Service 200\235 and lawyers, academics, political scientists, civil rights campaigners, businessmen and leaders of human and minority rights organisations. 200\235

Are these not the very people Archbishop Desmond Tutu persuaded to impose sanctions on South Africa? They

Almost certainly do not have our welfare

at heart. And they would not support the Indaba if they thought it really | was 200\234in our interest 200\235. But they are

be granted full political rights and the

B SIR 200\224 The Conservative Party .

alert the people of this province to the

being asked to support it, so we must ask why.

~ The answer is that sanctions are in - -

tended to bring this country to its knees and accept black majority rule. The Indaba is a means of introducing black majority rule to Natal 200\224 the first step in this direction. Therefore it seems apparent that Professor van Wyk 200\231s mission is to report back to and perhaps obtain more money from those who financed the Indaba in the first place. C.

CP Anti-Indaba Campaign!

~ LinkHills  
Kaplan and the Nats

SIR 200\224 Political correspondent Bruce Cameron alleges that 200\234Mr Laurie Kaplan could be suspended for not slavishly adhering to National Party policy, particularly beach apartheid 200\235 (The Daily News, May 12). '

Allow me to clarify my position.

In 1984 a mayor 200\231s committee was formed to investigate and make proposals regarding the rezoning of beaches. I was a member of that committee, and played a meaningful role in getting the council to effect the changes that have since taken place.

The new paddling pool on South

Beach was my personal â\200\234bottom lineâ\200\235.

I signed a statement, issued by the moderate group, which states inter alia â\200\234that where amenities cannot be duplicated, they should be used by all population groups in an orderly and civilized mannerâ\200\235.

The fact that I believe that, one day, |  
all facilities will be open to all races in no way contradicts anything in either statement.

I have, for the past four years in council not â\200\234slavishlyâ\200\235 adhered to NP policy, but have voted on issues on the basis of what I believe to be in the best interest of the city.

In the October elections, I will again stand independently, but in no way try to hide my affiliation to the NP,

LAURIE KAPLAN

Durban  
Readers are invited to write to: The Editor, The Daily News, PO Box 1491, Durban, 4000. Preference is given to letters bearing authorsâ\200\231 names but noms de plume will be accepted if full names and residential addresses are provided. To accommodate as many viewpoints as possible, most letters are shortened, so please try to make your point as concisely as possible.

Best deal for minorities'

2 die in So

rally expl

were injured, 11 seriously, when 'explosive devices' were hurled during a rally of former Soweto mayor Ephraim Tshabalala's Sofasonke party yesterday.

In Natal at least five people died in unrest-related incidents.

The Soweto attack took place at an open-air meeting of the party in Orlando West about 1 p m, police said.

Witnesses said about 100 people were at the meeting.

Baragwanath Hospital by bystanders.

participating in the system of local government.

No arrests were reported by police, but a spokesman said investigations were continuing.

The Sofasonke (in Zulu: 'We will die together') is a conservative SO\vetan political party known to be opposed by radical elements.

Gunmen

A Mercury Reporter writes that five people were killed and several others were hurt in incidents in Natal at the weekend, according to the police unrest report. :

Unknown gunmen twice fired a number of shots at private persons in Henley. In the first case a black man was killed. A black woman was killed and another was injured in the second incident.

At Taylors Halt, a black man was fatally stabbed by a group of blacks, Natal police said, and at Mpumalanga a black woman was fatally stabbed by a group of blacks, who also stoned her house.

Two black men were injured when a number of shots were fired at them by unknown people at Chesterville.

Natal police also discovered the body of a black man who had apparently been fatally stabbed at KwaNdengeze.

JOHANNESBURG Two people died and more than 40

Bloodied and seriously injured people were taken to

The motive for the attack was not immediately known, but Mr Tshabalala has often been attacked by radical opponents for |

eto  
sion



A black policeman was slightly injured when a group of unknown people opened fire on municipal police in Dube, Soweto, at the weekend, the Police Public Relations Division reports. :

Police reported a security force vehicle was damaged by stone-throwers at KwaZakele in the Eastern Cape.

Late last night a Baragwanath Hospital spokesman said 11 people had been admitted to the hospital after the explosion. The spokesman said one of the injured was in a critical condition with head injuries, seven were in a stable condition and three were undergoing surgery and their condition could not

be established. !

A further 29 people were treated at the hospital's casualty department and discharged. (Sapa) s

&â\200\231,OSIE%' â\200\230

Mercury Reporter

A BLACK State President and blacks in a South African parliament would become a reality during the lifetime of the present youth, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi told a rally near Port Shepstone yesterday. :

The KwaZulu Chief Minis-

ter and Inkatha president was -

addressing the Umzumbe-Umzinto Youth Rally at the Othuthwini Sports Ground.

He urged his audience to prepare for the future in which they would be free before the law and the constitution, with no distinction between races.

However, he warned the crowd that if blacks allowed themselves to be divided in the struggle for victory over apartheid, they would remain divided after victory.

Dr Buthelezi said people should beware false prophets who urged them to destroy the country's assets.

He said that was what the Xhosa prophetess Nongause had done in the last century, causing the deaths of tens of thousands from starvation.

There are those in black communities who urge young people today to destroy their schools," Dr Buthelezi said.

There is nothing more important in the whole world to young people today than to prepare themselves for a new South Africa in which they will be free.

There were many who were educated but still could not find work, but their day would come.

Meanwhile their time could be used to help the people survive. ;

South Africa was blessed with vast mineral wealth and great mines, and factories

had been raised by the people's endeavours.

Strengthen

Do not destroy that which we now have because we want something more do not destroy that which whites now have because whites withhold them from us, he said.

He said Inkatha had been formed for people to strengthen each other as history had taught people to struggle for their liberation and for democracy.

This would form an invincible drive forward, he said.

Anybody who sows black disunity such as certain newspapers is the enemy of South Africa.

Anybody who fans the flames of internecine violence by preaching black disunity rather than unity is the enemy of black South Africa.

The people who fan the flames of disunity between Inkatha and other black organisations such as the ANC/UDF/Cosatu alliance can only be the enemies of black South Africa, he said.

i /

T T I A R N O

Dear Sir,

I READ your editorial â\200\234Share their fateâ\200\235 concerning Bishop Desmond Tutu (Business Day, May 13) and was most impressed by its frankness at a time in SA when freedom of cori-ment is becoming increasingly inhib-ited, unless such comment is deemed not liable to threaten the sanctity of the political norms arbitrarily insti-tuted by those in government who at present guide SAâ\200\231s destiny.

There is no Kossibility, therefore, that what you have written will fall foul of authority, or fail to be en-dorsed by perhaps a significant per-centage of Anglicans, but unlikely by the majority.

I am an Anglican. I was well aware, even before Desmond Tutu became Archbishop, that antipathy toward him existed, partly assisted

no doubt by SABC news and com-ment which often seems obliged, un-less I am badly mistaken, to bow to gverllixment inclinations according cy

d, of course, there was obvious racial prejudice among the flock, a feature of strong endurance.

While I still maintain that Des-mond Tutu is a man of unusual cali-bre, besides a discernable spiritual-ity, I am nevertheless deeply disappointed that he has apparantel{ allowed Dbitterness, even if well founded, to invade his ministry.

Bitterness was not the way of Je-sus. i , Â»

causing much spirit

Thank you for a thought-provoking editorial.  
. LP SMITH  
Muizenberg

O & e  
Dear Sir,

1 AM sure I spe:  
readers when 1 offer my thanks a  
congratulations to you for your uite

outstanding editorial on May 13 dealing with Archbishop Tutu.

An American friend assures me  
Tutu has lost most of his credibility  
in Washington, so undoubtedly he  
will redouble his efforts to regain the  
limelight which he craves. Few people  
have achieved so much in so  
short a time; he has rent the Church  
he heads from roof to floor; reduced  
its income; alienated vast numbers  
of erstwhile churchgoers (thereby  
unhappiness);  
and thrown thousands out of work,  
not only here but overseas as well.

you for your dignified and  
well-expressed

for many of your

EX-ANGLICAN  
Irene

ooooad

- Dear Sir,  
YOUR editorial of May 13 is an ap-

: exchangle rate and co!

is an example of gutter journal-  
. You attempt to smear Archbishop  
Tutu in the fashion of the SABC,

and yet offer no evidence to disprove his  
evidence.

It is apartheid, not Tutu, which is  
the cause of sanctions against SA. It  
is apartheid  
cause of our inflation, unemployment  
and economic  
nomy. It is apartheid, not Tutu,  
which is the cause of wars on the  
borders and in the townships, and  
prompts the world to damn SA as a  
terrorist-sponsoring state.  
In arguing against censorship,  
journalists plead that they are mere-  
ly messengers. Similarly, Tutu is  
merely the messenger conveying the  
news that apartheid is incompatible  
with Christianity and is the cause of  
suffering and misery throughout  
Southern Africa

I would suggest that you study the

Archbishop's recent letter to the  
State President, and the Biblical evi-  
dence he cites of centuries of Judaic-  
Christian tradition. Likewise, the  
American Declaration of Indepen-

ence. not Tutu, which is the

: against in the finest tradition of journalism.  
- / It also had the intention to make  
journalists and South Africans in

dence (a keystone of Western civilisation) rests upon the proposition  
that a government destructive of the  
rights of its people is illegitimate  
and that, accordingly, there is authority from God to remove such  
government.

Perhaps you would refute the  
Archbishop's charge that the apartheid policies of the South African  
government are unbiblical, unchristian, immoral and evil.

It is, perhaps, your extent,

The question is what practical, non-violent initiative do you propose to remove such government? Or  
wailing, but packed for Perth (like  
much of the business community), do  
you sit on your hands and do nothing?

I believe you owe the Archbishop  
an apology. \_

TS CRAWFORD-BROWNE  
Constantia

soon

Dear Sir,

WITH reference to your editorial

Wittingly (Business

Day, May 18), the purpose of the  
resolution passed by the annual congress of the Southern African Society  
of Journalists was to draw attention  
to the fact that one-sided sources of  
information are to be guarded

general aware that such one-sided  
accounts are becoming commonplace because of government's state  
of emergency and stringent Press  
restrictions. 2 j

The question your editorial poses  
is whether, now that the matter has  
been aired, journalists who realise  
this situation exists should follow the  
professional convention and resign if  
they find it impossible to perform  
the function with integrity:

Sadly, some journalists have already made this decision and left mainstream newspapers.

Others of our colleagues in the alternative Press are facing the consequences â\200\224 either warnings or ban-nings â\200\224 of â\200\234telling it as it is,â\200\235 or, alternatively, not telling it as per the official line.

Bearing in mind journalistsâ\200\231 commitment to keep the public as well-informed as possible, the majority of journalists will, no doubt, continue determinedly to carry out their jobs to the best of their ability. {

As stated, the objective of our resolution was to highlight the situation. Your editorial indicates that this is being achieved.

BOB KERNOHAN  
President, Southern African  
Society of Journalists

: Johannesburg

- Secure UP victory was generally expected |

he day that chan

The general election of 1948, when Dr D F  
Malanâ\200\231s Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP)  
came to power, was one of the quietest  
fought in South Africa. : :

A secure victory for the United Party under  
the leadership of General Jan Smuts was gen-  
erally expected and polling day drew nearer  
almost unnoticed â\200\224 particularly by the ruling  
party and its supporters.

But Wednesday, May 26 1948 would change the  
history of the country. g

The Star, then a strong UP supporter, repeatedly  
urged voters to go to the polls. : 4  
~ On May 12 it reported: â\200\234Apathy is still regarded  
as the gravest threat to the Governmentâ\200\231s majority  
in the next Parliament, and United Party workers  
are concentrating on impressing on voters that it is  
their duty to vote against the reactionary politics of -  
the Nationalists if they have the Unionâ\200\231s welfare at -

heart.â\200\235.- Darliament '88

Emotions were indeed stirring in Afrikaner politi-

F2 SR

cal circles. On March 28 Dr Malan issued a state- â\200\230Bl â\200\230i-\201 ke di -Â«a{t:  
:  
ment on the HNPâ\200\231s race policy, spelling out the op- C on L  
tion between â\200\234integration and national suicideâ\200\235 on L5 5

< Â¢ 3 t;-

[ o i A

the one hand, and â\200\234apartheidâ\200\235 and the protection of l%l\_i-\201t Q 0a  
the â\200\234pure white raceâ\200\235 on the other. Prgodil 42, < AN  
Afrikaners, feeling more and more threa-tÃ©ned b}; am ula,}lcp N  
the â\200\234swart gevaarâ\200\235â\200\231, were uneasy about Genera R O N R  
Smutsâ\200\231s policy of â\200\234decency and justice as between 11â\200\230, wâ\200\231as  
Ã© nt;hfe v}t.ha} old  
men and men, and ... fair social and living condi- :-aml\_sâ\200\230l!â\200\230a CES: .Ã©ere  
rl?'

tions for all, irrespective of race and colourâ\200\235. served for. vma ks, the  
In Nationalist circles there were strong expect- | MEC for Hospital Ser-.

ations of a good electoral performance. ; VICES, Mr Daan Kirstein,

~ The HNP had fared well in several by-elections said yesterday in the Ex-,  
prior to the general election. It was generally be- tended ifâ\200\230pb\_lu\_:" Committee?,  
lieved it would increase its parliamentary represen- on Proviricial ff}?im :  
tation but that the UP would be returned to power. â\200\234The bestâ\200\231 equipped



One Afrikaner who unfailingly believed in a Nationalist victory was Dr Wennie du Plessis, the fiery to the moré critical cases young Nationalist who eventually defeated General and lesser equipped am-Smuts in Standerton. e bulances to less ill pa-  
: In his mkâ\200\234â\200\230ï¬\202csi {}(&p!â\200\231;; lthâ\200\230li du Pl:hssis (who di  
ed tients,â\200\235 he said.  
ast month) descri e build-up to the election: j Â»  
" Ip's nice to be National.â\200\231 With this slogan, organi- Unfortunately, some  
: ZL S ambulances were old and  
ser Gied van der Berg, electoral agent Wim Buhr- could not be replaced due  
mann and I and many assistants â\200\224 because the to lack of finances. gt  
  
whole constituency of Standerton, at least as far as :  
the Nationalists were concerned, was gradually : Ye said the ambulance  
transformed into one huge election committee â\200\224 of the Pretoria City  
made things difficult for General Smuts and his peo- il were of the most  
ple. | qualified in the  
  
e .al. â\200\224 Sapa. :

Smuts warned th:  
, .\_.-ms\_i-\'201r;g : e

apartheid can, t wor  
Prime Minister Jan ?mï-\'201tsâ\200\231f i  
ing voters â\200\230t0~\_suÂfport the United Party Government  
â\200\234and reject Dr DF Malanâ\200\231s Herenigde Nasionale  
Party), provide

Some perspective on the National  
Partyâ\200\231s 40 years i R ;  
in power. :

vered his last election speech: â\200\234It (this election) isa  
fight for decency and justice as between men and  
men, and for fair social and living conditions for all,  
irrespective of race and colour -

own sphere and among his own. \*  
need for all, and justice will only  
great opportunities before us if we

all our human resources .. .â\200\235  
\_Referring to the Nationalist  
â\200\234They plan a totalitarian State  
political faith will have  
.once more be helots.

â\200\234The Nationalists  
have failed to make  
separate native  
away from the

opposition, he said:

want ;af}artheidâ\200\231,'  
intelligible, â\200\230except

centres of ind  
op their own separate industries.

| mean, in any case, the cut  
white and black half, and making  
development on present lines, AR

â\200\234It is a crazy concept, born of prejudice and fear  
and may create and in e natis  
even end in a totally black South Africa,

| â\200\234If you vote for the United Party you vote for a  
| united nation, for continuing the wave of prosperity  
now before this country ... and for linking up the  
~black man with the countryâ\200\231s

== for giving him his sepa-  
rate, fair share of its so-  
cial services.

an end to its joint

choice, will, therefore,  
be a very far-reaching  
one. Give it with a full  
sense of your responsi-  
bility to your country  
" and its future.â\200\235

In another speech, he  
said: â\200\234The opposition, a  
party of extremes, can  
See only the extremes of  
apartheid or equality.  
They cannot see the  
- middle way South Africa  
has followed for 100  
years, the way it will  
â\200\230continue to follow.â\200\235  
\_Voting for the United  
Party would mean â\200\234no

men of all races will co-

Africa. Apartheid is en-  
tirely impracticable.

election speeches, urg-

â\200\230â\200\234Your vote, your

mixture of blood, but

Party (then commonly referred to as the National "

&l  
i

On Saturday, May 22 1948 General Smuts deli-

Â¥  
5

5

in which only their -  
a say and all the rest will ;

which they  
that it means  
areas away from the whites, and !

ustrial employment, -  
where the natives may live their own life and devel- | .

\_â\200\234Where are these areas to be obtained? It must  
ing of South Africa into a /

tive communism and .

labour resources and

what they do.â\200\235

â\200\234Do not trust the Na-

tionalist Party. It jg  
pledged to the hilt to  
certain mischievous po-  
licies and it has not  
changed. Their record js  
the blackest ever  
known.â\200\235 By

General Smutsâ\200\231s de- -  
feat was received with  
dismay by UP sup-  
porters. Â°

He received heaps of  
telegrams of support -

&0611 all over the world,  
~ One >  
operate to build up South | th i

â\200\234Forgive |

em, for they know not |

The Broederstroom quartet of alleged African Nationalists - 1 Ty 23 HE 12R;

wemres eeie SOMething Spectacularâ\200\231

ular strike to recoup : . . R Â¢ : i  
prestige for it, according to Mr Craig Williamson, stroom quartet â\200\224 all white â\200\224 is thus consistent  
a former police agent who once penetrated the upper with that on a special operati unit. :  
echelons of the organisation. The ANC guerilla campaign has two prongs, urban  
\_Mr Williamson, now a member of the Presidentâ\200\231s and rural, Mr Williamson said, noti  
ng: â\200\234I have never  
Council, and whose name is said to have been on a list heard of white recruits being used  
in rural units.â\200\235

found in possession of the quartet, claimed the As an undercover agent Mr Williamson had PN  
alleged insurgents were a â\200\234special operations unitâ\200\235 on portunity to observe  
, %alk to, and assess white AN%  
a major migmon requiring detailed planning and h,lgh agents. , e : ;  
techmcalskxll | ) ; Invited to offer an assessment of what motivated  
He said the ANC has not carried out a major, whites to join the ANC, he said: â\200\234Most  
are committed  
high-profile sabotage attack since the raid on the Marxists. They do not see themselves as  
traitors, They  
Koeberg nuclear plant in 1982, and the alleged spe- pelieve they are fulfilling their class  
role.  
cial operations unit had been sent to South Africa to â\200\234But some operate from a mor  
al-liberal point of

carry out an attack of that magnitude. view. They believe the Government is so illegitimate  
- SABOTAGE RAIDS that it must be overthrown.â\200\235  
After the Koeberg attack, the third in a series What of the view that w'hito;s who join the  
ANC  
of spectacular sabotage raids after the blowing up of - are maladjusted; that th%V are, in  
Trotskyâ\200\231s contemp-  
a Sasol plant in 1980 and the rocket attack on Voor- tuous phrase, bourgeois adventurers?  
e

\_ trekkerhoogte in 1981, the ANC switched direction  
in its underground warfare. ~ SHIVERS OF HORROR

. White ANC clique â\200\230wanted  
i 5

â\200\230 M W'liiamso replied that one of theâ\200\230artet |  
Since then the main emphasis has been on hand- was !;nal;djustednand â\200\230Zhat he might  
easily ha\?: done

grenade and car-bomb attacks, often carried out by the ANCâ\200\231s cause immense harm by  
ill-considered and  
hastily trained saboteurs, he said, adding that the ANC 1., action calculated to cause shiv  
ers of horror

has lost many men and been badly hurt in recent through Western capitals.

i AL g But, he added, another of the quartet was a â\200\234so.  
The counter-insurgency strategy deployed by the se- phisticated Marxistâ\200\235 who would  
have objected to  
urity forces â\200\224 from the state of emergency to the action â\200\224 using the SAM.7  
missile to shoot down a  
restrictions on extra-parliamentary forces â\200\224 â\200\234has civilian aircraft â\200\224  
\224 which would have harmed the

workedâ\200\235, he contended, hence the need to revive the ANC politically.

strategy of going for one big strike rather than a se- S i  
ries of smaller attacks, o Mr Williamson beheveg theen was t,ension beï-\201ween  
i the two members â\200\224 the commanderâ\200\235 and the â\200\234com-  
Mr Williamson made two further points: white ANC issarâ\200\235 '  
recruits are generally better educated than their black  
comrades; the racial coâ\200\230\_mpositiop of the Broeder-

Afrikaner unity was as

fragile th

â\200\230â\200\234Ministers heckled on  
Rand and at Capeâ\200\235, read  
the headline in The Star.

â\200\234The Minister of Agri-  
culture addressed a  
rowdy meeting in May

fair and afterwards( was

THE STRA

en as lt is

refused a hearing in  
Maraisburg.  
â\200\234In the Cape the Min-

ister of Economic De- Â°

velopment closed a  
meeting before his turn  
came to speak.â\200\235

â\200\234At a rally in the Pre-  
toria City Hall a â\200\234form  
of Nazi salute was  
givenâ\200\235, read another re-  
port.

Scenes from recent  
National Party meetings  
attended by Conserva-  
tive Party stalwarts and  
Afrikaner Weerstand-  
beweging fanatics?

Not at all. They are  
reports of 1948 political  
meetings, with rowdy

National Party mem-

bers and elements of the  
Ossewa Brandwag try-  
ing to break up United  
Party meetings.

STRONG FEELINGS

Where modern-day  
politics in South Africa  
revolves around the  
issue of group rights (as  
expressed by the NP)  
versus individual rights  
(favoured by extra-par-

liamentary groups such as the United Democratic Front), strong English/Afrikaner feelings dominated the South Africa of 1948.

While the ruling UP campaigned for national unity â\200\224 maintaining the existing constitutional system but extending political and economic rights to people of colour â\200\224 the Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP) proposed apartheid and Afrikaner political power. :

Although Afrikaner nationalism thrived, Afrikaner unity was as fragile then as now.

The HNP, under the leadership of Dr DF

Malan, entered into an

election pact with the Afrikaner Party (AP) of Mr N C Havenga.

The HNP (commonly y

22/o057/

referred to as the National Party, although the party was renamed only in 1951) had the support of the Broederbond, an exclusive male organisation striving for unity among the Afrikaner volk and the promotion of the Afrikaans language, culture and history. : i

The AP was supported by the extremist Ossewa Brandwag, a para-political terrorist organisation subscribing to Afrikaner socialism.

Although the Broederbond, campaigning against British imperialism, was unable to heal the breach between the NP and the Ossewa Brandwag, it was instrumental in bringing about the electoral coalition between the NP and the AP. :



It was this coalition  
that was victorious in  
1948.

A UP meeting held in  
Pretoria shortly before  
the election reflected the  
emotions of the time.

#### SUPPORTERS

The Star of May 25 |,  
1948 described how a  
group of young National-  
ist supporters tried to  
break up a meeting ad- /  
dressed by colourful UP  
politician Mr Jan Hof-  
meyr, the. man expected Â°  
to succeed Prime Minis-  
ter Jan Smuts. ;

There were cries of  
â\200\234kafferboetieâ\200\235, â\200\234moro- ' .

kaâ\200\235 and assorted animal  
noises, screeches, hoots  
and yells. Â\$  
Mr Hofmeyr said:  
â\200\234The Nationalists have

even learnt to talk a lit-

tle English. Undoubtedly  
they have improved as a ,  
result of their five years  
in opposition, and with \_

\_another five years in op-

position, they may even  
become good South Afri-  
cans.â\200\235 ' .

the latest fighting, N  
man was shot de

: wounded in another  
shooting incident in the  
Same township.

â\200\230A man was stabbed to,  
: death by fellow blacks at,  
â\200\234Taylorâ\200\231s Halt and a black:  
Woman was stabbed to  
death and her house,  
stoned by black assaily,  
ants at nearby Mpuma=  
langa.

At KwaDengeze

| township, police said  
they found the body of a  
black man who had  
apparently been stabbed  
to death. -

Two black men we

injured by gun shots' in  
Chestethlle z  
Padley Keys, a Ioe

official of the libera  
Progressxve Federa[Ã«  
| Party, said last week that  
the heavy security  
reinforcements had  
-restored a measure of  
calm to the the Pieter-  
maritzburg townships, -  
which spread across.  
rolling hills. 2

\*â\200\234The violence has been  
held down for a while butâ\200\230\*  
it seems to be rearing its  
head again,â\200\235 he said. -  
Desperate living  
conditions and a criminal ?  
element had exacerbated  
\_the unrest, Keys said. â\200\224  
Sapa-Reuter. :

5 killed as

S 1 DoR e g

violence

C

O\N T NRANY

hits Natal

BLACK-against-black  
feuding has erupted

again in South Africaâ\200\231s

worst trouble spot,  
Natal Province, claim-  
ing five lives, police  
said yesterday.

Three people were

stabbed to death and two  
others shot dead by  
gunmen on Saturday in  
Natal townships the  
â\200\230pogge- said in a bulletin  
on political unrest.

At least 13 people have  
died in the area in the -

past week, one of the

worst since last Januaryâ»  
when police reinforce-  
ments were drafted into  
townships around the  
Natal capital of Pieter-

- maritzburg, scene of the

most savage fighting.

Church groups estim-  
ate that more than 500  
people have been killed  
since the fighting among  
blacks broke out at the  
start of 1987.

A bitter power struggle  
is being waged in the area

between the anti-apart-

## COMMENT

Telephone (011) 673-4160

R Nitsu Mokhehle, exiled  
leader of Lesotho's Libera-  
tion Army and of the

18 Ba toland Congress Party, returned  
me on Friday for the first time in 14,

yeals QOWET AN 13'03'&

- MrMokhehle, the fiery leader of the  
~ BCP who had a running battle with the  
~ late Chief Leabua Jonathan, had  
~ surprise talks with the military  
authorities.

While we hold no brief for the  
military rulers of Lesotho who should  
by now have allowed civil government

: rn to the mountain Kingdom, it  
i elcome sign to have the exiles

'Ithe talks Mokhehle held with the |

~ military leaders involve the return to  
Lesotho of hundreds of Congress \_  
- Party members from exile. Life in  
exile is a daunting experience and the  
hatred that this sows in the minds of  
many is often deep.

- MrMokhehle's political history was  
- a strange and often painful one. :

~ He was bitterly opposed to the rule |

undelf Chief Leabua Jonathan when

that government was fraternising

- shamefully with Pretoria. The fight and

~ between the two leaders led to

~ Mokhehle's going into exile where he  
- was fighting to remove Jonathan from  
\_ power..

~ Soon the Jonathan government  
dramatically changed its political

~ course and came into headlong

~ collision with South Africa. It was |  
â\200\230because of this volte face from the

: Lesothogovernment that Leabua was  
~ unseated in a coup that manybelieved |  
wasassnstedbySoutiAfï¬\201ca. e

- While it must be a relief for the

' exllestogobackhome,wewonderhow  
â\200\234they will be able to relate to the  
military government nnder Colâ\200\235onel

â\200\224

e x generally believed tlm tbe

~ military government in Lesotho today

~ is not only friendly with South Africa  
â\200\230but that Pretoria will do all it can to  
keep it in power. This n guat the  
return to civilian vi \_  
â\200\230mmedmtely realisâ\200\230eï¬\201ï¬\201

A friends pertin-  
acity does not appear  
to be one of my strong

points.  
The accusation stems  
from the fact that in the

tenure I was flushed with  
the great idea about a  
vision for the Sowetan

which I thought might  
help solve the South Af-  
rican problem. Last week -  
I gave the idea a break and  
sallied forth on the  
nostalgic route writing  
about inconsequential  
things like the Vaal  
monster.

So letâ\200\231s go back to the  
drawing board and take  
another look at the great  
idea.

If you remember I had  
said how the black centre  
| seems to have collapsed  
and how it was going to  
be this paperâ\200\231s responsi-  
bility to attempt getting it:  
rebuilt. :

In the meantime the  
things I pick up from  
other races fascinate me  
in that they seem to have  
a bearing in â\200\234the way  
blacks (Africans, if you  
will excuse the race tag)

ccording to  
one of my

first few weeks of my

Sow

the @

wI have been struck by  
the way Asian gentlemen

go to the mosque every  
Friday. Without necessa-  
rily admiring the reli-  
gious element in this ex-  
ercise, it seems to me it  
gives the Asian com-  
munity the type of co-  
hesivebess that we lack.  
It explains, I would  
hazard to suggest, why  
Asian people all over  
the world always seem to  
be successful, in business  
particularly.

We know that even in  
Britain the Asian  
community outstrips the  
other racial minorities.  
They have their little  
shops right in the centre  
of London and some  
move even into the  
rarified sphere of the  
British upper class.  
Asians have the ability to  
forge ahead whether they  
are - in London or in  
Uganda. They are doing

differ from them.

pretty well in South'

Another

o o

rea

â\200\234Africa. The reason is they  
have stuck tenaciously to  
their cultural norms, the  
social and religious  
artefacts that give them  
an Asianess that is most  
attractive. And progres-  
sive.

| Last week my same  
'Asian friends closed: all  
their shops and quietly  
celebrated Eid, the end of  
the fasting period of  
Ramadan. I am not too  
sure about the detail but  
another striking thing  
which should build  
discipline, is the way the  
Asian community fasts.  
It is perhaps a small thing  
in the 20th century, but it  
cements the people in a  
way that most things  
cannot. ; :

L â\200\224â\200\224

q0

t â\200\230 .d  
" to our families, We WaIC Âçpn 4dapt it to the ways  
' sports and we visit tk

oS

fg,gat  
ea



shebeens. Al these thing  
' do not have th  
Africaness about ther  
" that can cement us, mak

children. .

It is desperately  
important for us to  
revitalise the old ways.  
Many chaps go to  
â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230societiesâ\200\235 or what are  
called â\200\230â\200\230stokvelsâ\200\231â\200\235 over  
the weekends.  
trouble with such social  
Or economic groups is  
that their imperative,  
their focus,. is morg  
Western, say more  
capitalist than African:

| What do black people,  
| especially black men do?  
' We work, we drink, we  
| go to meetings (mostly  
| political meetings

because we are involved

' in the struggle) we attend

| We used to have excellent  
customs, men going to  
the mountain to pray for  
rain or peace. Boys going  
to the initiation school  
. for training into  
manhood.

: \  
R N e e R O R e A e I 5 e NIRRT BN,

us look good in the eye:

of others. More particu:  
larly in the eyes of ourblackness around these

The\_\_

"I know some of you  
will think these artefacts  
have had their day. They  
have not. We can make  
each and every African  
custom dynamic, adaptit

(to the times. We can even

take the old lobola

custom out of the

cupboard of shame. We

of today. It is something  
that has a history, that  
pulls us together as a  
nation.

We will then be able to  
fashion. a philosophy of

artefacts. |

My feeling is that there  
is such serious trouble in\_1  
South Africa simply  
because blacks are so  
torn assunder in their  
structures. Naturally the  
system has to take blame \_  
for most of this. We will  
try and show how this  
has happened as the  
Sowetan assumes a more  
meaningful role in our  
| community. 3

. ~Imthe end â\200\224 just so  
-those â\200\230who believe we  
" have a hidden agenda  
| would be disabused â\200\224  
| we shall be saying quite  
loudly that weâ\200\231 are  
â\200\224building ourselves for the: |  
' sake of South Africa. For  
the sake of all South

]

RUDDER

Prepare to be  
free, youths told

Mercury Reporter  
A BLACK Stets President and  
blacks in & South African par-  
liament would hecum a !â\200\230c-\_  
ality during t! i  
the present youth  
stithu Buthelezi  
near Port Sh  
day.

The KwaZulu "h;eâ\200\230!â\200\230 Minis-  
ter and Inkatha pres  
addressing the r:.u\*n"@  
â\200\234Lâ\200\231flmm Aâ\200\231Ou&l E: 3:. â\200\230.?â\200\231.@

huthwini bgâ\200\2300 ts Ground.

He urged his audience to  
prepare {or the future in  
which they would be free be-  
fore the law and the constitu-  
tion, with ne distinction be-  
fween races.

However, he warned the  
crowd that if blacks allowed  
themselves to be divided in  
the \fruagie for victory over  
apartheid, they would remaln  
divided after vietory.

Dr Buthelezi s :d  
should beware f"â\200\231aÂ« sep  
who urged them â\200\230c  
the country's assets

He said that was what the  
Xhosa â\200\230proph etessâ\200\231 â\200\230v"â\200\230lâ\200\231;ah:ï~\201  
had done in 'aÂ»a last century  
causing the desths of tens of  
thousands from starvation.

id ewl was

e  
U  
nÃ©l

There are those in black  
communi :ez who urge young  
people today to destroy \*hex

Dr Bume ez] said

epare hvn;-a."es râ\200\234(;r 5 re,Â»

S?\_Lh Afrieta in which they  
will be fres.â\200\231

There were j  
ediicated by  
find work,

would come.

Meanwhile their  
he used to hel;  
surâ\200\230Â«â\200\231iuâ\200\231e.

i wealth and  
greg\* wre':\_ and factor  
had been raize  
pleâ\200\231s endeavours

Strengthen

â\200\230Do not destroy that which  
weÃ© now have because we  
want something more â\200\224 do  
net destroy that which whites  
now have because whites  
"H' ald them "N N

u.SHn.;â\200\230 . â\200\230u\... a8 cÃ©er tdl  
'wv,-uap â\200\224 g the enemy of  
South Am''  
nn;bud\*Â« who fans the  
flames of internecine vio-  
lence by preaching black dis-  
unity rather than unity is the  
enemy of black South Africa.  
he people who fan the  
Jame~ of DESMHâ\200\231\~â\200\230 between  
Inkatha and other black or-  
ganisations such as the  
iDFICosatu alliance  
can only be the enemiss of  
black South Africa.â\200\231 he said.