

~--"THE CITIZENâ\200\224â\200\224

COMMENT |
_Sam, beware

â\200\224â\200\2242THE politicalâ\200\230 battle for Namibia has hotted up

â\200\224â\200\224would be mad. 5

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In South Africaâ\200\231s case, Mr Nujoma wants to help bring Black and White leaders together to arrive at an amicable solution â\200\224 a not unworthy thought, though he has no influence whatsoever in this regard.

At the same time he wants to support the â\200\234struggle for freedomâ\200\235 in South Africa.

If, by this, he intends to assist the African Na-

â\200\224-tional Congress in any way â\200\224 and particular-

â\200\224 ly by giving it the bases it lost in-Angola, . Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa â\200\224 he
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with the return from exile of Mr Sam Nujo-
South Africa, by establishing a massive mili-

ma, SWapo;s leader. il et

Judging from his pronouncements, he believes

he has made a triumphant return and a great
â\200\224Swapo-victory-at.the polls is assured

Judging also fro atta omr-SouthrAfrica;
he believes he is able to cock a snook at his powerful neighbour.

He is wrong on both scores.

What he wants is not just a Swapo majority in the election â\200\224 of that he seems assured â\200\224 but a two-thirds majority that would enable him to write the independence constitution, and that seems highly unlikely.

Although he has most Owambos, who form the biggest ethnic group, on his side, other groups are not.

He cannot pose as the country's â\200\231s â\200\234liberatorâ\200\235 because he isnâ\200\231t.

Swapo never won a single victory against the South African security forces, nor was it able to control any part of the country.

Indeed, Swapo was beaten both in Southern Angola, where it had its bases, and inside Namibia, where its terror campaign failed totally. i

The implementation of the independence process came not because Swapo won, but because South Africa decided the time had come to pull out.

Mr Nujoma has meanwhile lost a great deal of prestige through his incursions into Ovambo-land on Day One of the independence process, resulting in clashes with South African forces in which 300 Swapo infiltrators were killed. g

This raised doubts in the international community about his leadership -

No doubt the intention was to establish arms caches to be used by Swapo fighters who would mingle with the population as civilians

until the election, when they would recover E

their arms and intimidate voters.

Although some of the arms caches were found, we doubt that all were; intimidation is going to be a big problem. -

The assassination of White Swapo activist, Mr Anton Lubowski, has raised fears that Nami-

biaâ\200\231s independence will be marred by violence.

However, nothing can be gained by kâ\200\230illing ac-

tivists or by any other attacks, since the independence process will go on, whatever happens.

tary base in Upington in the northern Cape, has gi\ren warning that it will not tolerate any

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There are other reasons why Namibia should be on good terms with South Africa.

For one, it will be a long time before Namibia can develop an infrastructure that is totally

independent of South Africa or rid itself of the South African influence in its civil service. e :

The umbilical cord tying Namibia to South Africa is being cut, but trade and other links will remain, as has happened in the case of other neighbours of South Africa. ;

The last thing Mr Nujoma should do is adopt the aggressive style of Zimbabwe's President Mugabe in dealing with South Africa.

Mr Mugabe can't get away with it, and Namibia is too small a country, in terms of people and resources, to challenge South Africa effectively either.

Mr Nujoma should therefore stop attacking South Africa and lower his voice.

Namibia's interests, as indeed the interests of the whole Southern African region, require him to be on friendly terms with South Africa, the regional power.

Let's hope he gets the message.

Teo B

Academics, do-gooders
interfering â\200\224 Buthelezi

DURBAN. â\200\224 Conserva-
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White academics and do-goodersâ\204¢ who tried to portray the authorities as callous about people's daily needs,

In Ingwavuma, for in-

stance. the Bureau for Natural Resourcesâ\200\235 efforts to preserve the only eco-systems of their kind had been deliberately politicised by those who worked in tandem with the KwaZulu governmentâ\200\231s political enemies, â\200\224 Sapa.

Buthelezi slams Traditional Leaders body

ULUNDI. â\200\224 The amakhosi (tribal chiefs) of KwaZulu met in Ulundi on Thursday and pledged undivided loyalty to the King of the Zulus and respect for Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

According to a statement released by the Chief Ministerâ\200\231s office, the special meeting was arranged after attempts to

form a new body of
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In a hard-hitting
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The idea of Contralesa
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Zulu unity and an attempt
to undermine him and set
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The amakhosi resolved
to fold our arms and,
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â\200\230InS. Africa

By Tom Masland
Chicago Tribune

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JOHANNESBURG, South |
Africaâ\200\224A second mass protest

â\200\230march ended peacefully Friday
when church leaders presented a
petition at the countryâ\200\231s. most

notorious police headquarters. - -

Mirroring the march in Cape
Town on Wednesday, the
milelong march by at least
15,000 people tied up traffic and
brought incredulity, but little
outrage, from a city that last ex-
perienced such sights in â\200\230the
1950s. As long as it remained
peaceful, most white onlookers |
said, such a venting of feelings
was welcome.

â\200\234Here comes peopleâ\200\231s power!]â\200\235
read the placards carried by
some demonstrators, taken from

the: poster for a weekly news- . |
paper.

Delivery drivers blew their
horns, workers waved clenched
fists and some of the black office
workers who lined the march
route wept openly. Winnie Man-
dela, wife of jailed black nation-
â\200\234alist leader Nelson Mandela,
made her first public appearance
this year. 3

Police officers watched dead-
â\200\230pan from inside the barred win-
dows of John Vorster Square as
the chanting crowd approached,
bearing the flags of the African
National Congress, the South

African Communist Party and

- other banned organizations.
Marshals wearing yellow headbands stopped the marchers at a distance.

One of the clerics leading the protest, Rev. Frank Chi

See S. Africa, pg.z;;

1 g e N » AP Laserphoto
Protesters march Friday to a police headquarters in Johannesburg

where countless South African, activists have been detained. The march was the nation's second mass demonstration this week.

Continued from page 1

f general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, then was

allowed inside to present a list of demands addressed to South Africa's -

minister of law and order.

The petition deplored recent police violence, demanded freedom of

expression and listed the standard

set of conditions under which black

leaders will agree to peace talks, including freedom for political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency

and legalization of opposition"

groups.

In 1982, Rev. Chikane alleged that he was severely tortured in the headquarters, which is infamous for repeated instances in which police have reported that political activists jumped to their deaths from the 10th floor, died of head injuries after slipping on a bar of soap or hanged themselves. o ,

Something is happening in this country," he said afterward. "Those who are in power have come to realize that they cannot hold people forever; they must let them express themselves," -

New. President F.W. de Klerk, who allowed Wednesday's Cape Town march in the name of peaceful dialogue, still has given no hint about how far the government will allow the protest movement to spread. A magistrate issued a permit for Friday's march just minutes before it was to begin.

The Wednesday march already has been widely copied. In Grahamstown, a march to the local police station Thursday broke up when a policewoman emerged to present a

bouquet of daffodils. And in Pretoria - Friday,

several hundred protesters

circled one of the icons of Afrikaner

-nationalism, a downtown statue of

Paul Kruger, before peacefully dis-

Wotwise! 6 Pl kg ol

l are pl a huge rally

for next Saturday o?â\200\230lltrslldgdeâ\200\231the Union

Buildings in Pretoria, the seat of

government. The march, led by

womensâ\200\231 groups, would come 30

years after the last great demonstra-

tion permitted by authorities, a

womenâ\200\231s march protesting the â\200\234pass

laws.â\200\235 : o

Perhaps the best indication of how

the white-minority government sees

the evolution came in an editorial in

ltsl;:l dpro-government newspaper

â\200\234The government has shown radi-

cal groups in South Africaâ\200\224and in

the whole worldâ\200\224that its door is

really open to discussion over re-

form. In fact it is not necessary for

that door, as Mr. de Klerk has said,

to be kicked open.â\200\235

Antiapartheid leaders insist that

nothing has been handed to them; a

scandal over police violence in sup-

pressing protest around Cape Town

forced the government to back down

on repression of dissent, they say.

Some accuse the government of pur-

suing a two-pronged strategy of con-

tinuing to detain opposition leaders

~while permitting public protest.

â\200\230A key to keeping up the momen-

tum, all agree, is ensuring that the

protests remain peaceful. March

leaders on Friday hammered at that

message before the crowd set off

. from downtown St. Maryâ\200\231s Cathe-

dral, and a marshal with a bullhorn

led the way, repeating, â\200\234This is a

peaceful protest. We are not fighting

or throwing stones. We are march-

ing to freedom. Come and join us.â\200\235

==+~ CHIEF MINISTER

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Environmental Reporier

IN 8OUTH Africa, pari of conservation was the salvaging of wilderness aveas from the ravages of pasi political decisions, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the opening of the Somthern African National Wilderness Conference in Durban yesterday,

The KwaZulu Chief Minister (who is also president of the Rhino and Elephant Foun-
dation) warned that conservation would suf-
fer atong with all other aspects of the
countryâ\200\231s life if negotiations failed in South
Alrica.

Dr Buthelezi said that the depressed econ-
omy kad made it all the more difficut to per-
suade poor job-hungry and land-hungry
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They and entrepreneurs saw game rÂċ-
serves and wilderness areas as empty places
waiting to be ploughed. grazed or mined.

There was still hope for conservationis{s
hecause hope remained that the politics of

negotiation would obviate the devastating
effects countries experienced with the use
of â\200\230desperation politlesâ\200\231.

He hoped, however, thal South Africa had
entered an era in which a new dispensation
under a new constitution could be estab-

lized.

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THE demand for Jand needed for rural pop-
ulations to survive meant the luxury of set-
ting aside areas of prisline wiiderness in
EwaZulue was not possible without the peo-
ple on its borders receiving some benefit
from that land.

Mr Ian Thompson, the Burean of Natural
Resources' chief nature conservator {man-

agement). said 2 Third World model of wilderness such as the bureau used did not fit into that envisaged internationalism.

It would be fatal not only for wilderness in Africa. but also for conservation, if the First World policy of setting aside areas of pristine land remaining totally untouched by man except by walking through them, was

carried out.

Conservation by consensus - communicating with the people - was the answer in breaking down the barriers of suspicion and gaining their trust.

This was a solution which took some time and should not be rushed, as there were many opportunities for misunderstandings, he said,

"We must be very cautious not to allow so-called First World solutions, or indeed management practices, to cloud our judgement when looking for local solutions for our problems."

An example he cited was that of the proposal to ban the international trade in ivory and elephant products.

This was self-defeating as some countries had well-managed herds, and they would suffer for those who had no control.

CIALICR ;
WILDERNESS should be recognised as a category and suitable areas not yet declared should be given permanent protection either

" Poor wary of conservation as wilderness areas or as a wilderness zone.

Mr Bill Bainbridge of the Natal Parks Board said the first wilderness on the African continent came into being when the Natal Parks Board dedicated such an area in the Umfolosi Game Reserve in 1964

A further 12 areas had been set aside since the Forestry Act of 1971 was promulgated, but there was a need for the wilderness category to be recognised separately.

This area should be used for outdoor recreation, nature conservation, tourism, research, education and monitoring

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WITH a principle of naturalism, the Kruger National Park was one of the largest parks in the world and it contained many different habitats because of the convergence of three climatic zones,

Dr Salomon Joubert, chief director of the park, said their management strategy was to

provide the B0 000 visitors with a range of areas to give them an experience of solitude and tranquility.

Mercury, Saturday, September 16,

1989

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SATUNIIAT-DUIYUAY,, DEFTEMBER 16-17, 1989

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OPINION 1~

South Africa Dares
To Stop and Listen

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON â\200\224 By American stan-
dards they were small things. In
South Africa, two episodes in recent
days had large implications. They
just might have marked a turning
point: a moment when the white poli-
ticians who hold power in that divid-
ed society began {v shuw concern for
the feelings of *he majority.

First there was a question of police
violence. Black lea%crs accused the
police of killing more than 20 blacks
on the day of the South African elec-
tion last week and the day before.
Witnesses said policemen had shot
into houses in townships.

They said one unit used an ambu-
lance as a Trojan horse, hiding in it
and then leaping out and lashing at
bystanders with whips.

The minister of law and order,
Adriaan Vlok, denied that the police
had killed anyone. Most of the
deaths, he said, had occurred in fac-
tional black fighting. He said black
leaders were â\200\234lying.â\200\235

That would m(finarily have been
the end of the matter. For decades
blacks have died in prisons and been
shot on the streets, and the govern-
ment has bruched off charges of offi-
cial responsibility.

But this time something different
happened. A police lieutenant of
mixed race, Gregory Rockman, told
the South African Press Associatcn
that he had seen riot police attack
a â\200\234peaccful and harmlessâ\204¢ demon-
stration by 30 schoolchildren â\200\234like
wild dops.â\200\235

The association carried the article,
but warned its subscribers that using
it might violate press restrictions.

Mr. Rockman was called in by his

regional commander, but he stood his ground. The senior mixed-race officer, Colonel Johann Manual, joined in criticism of the riot police. Forty officers met with Mr. Vieck.

A week after the election, Mr. Viok ordered a formal inquiry into the charges of police misconduct. President Frederik W. de Klerk said, "If powers have been exceeded, remedial steps will be taken." The police announced that they would stop using leather whips against protesters because such scenes caused negative reactions at home and abroad.

Second, there was a peaceful protest march through downtown Cape Town. Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other clerics led 20,000 people, including many hundreds of whites, in a demonstration against apartheid.

Again, a peaceful protest of that kind would hardly be news in an American city. But in South Africa it was an extraordinary event.

Under the emergency in effect for the three years, officials have banned all substantial protest marches. The police have used dogs and whips and water cannon to break them up.

Cape Town, where the parliament sits, has been especially sensitive long before the emergency. Virtually no marches have been allowed there during the last 20 years.

But this week the government approved the march. Officials quickly negotiated the route with Archbishop Tutu and the other leaders. The police stayed out of sight as the crowd walked down Adderley Street, the main shopping street of Cape Town, for hours. The white mayor of the city joined the march.

Mr. de Klerk, announcing his approval of the march, said: "The door to a new South Africa is open. It is not necessary to batter it down. ... I want to appeal to those involved to encourage their leaders to come to the negotiating table."

If Mr. de Klerk is serious about negotiations with leaders of the black majority, he well knows what he must

do. He has to release Nelson Mandela and his imprisoned colleagues, and end the ban on the African National Congress and other anti-apartheid groups.

But whether he is prepared to take those steps remains uncertain. The impression he gives is that he meant what he said after the election, that it gave him a mandate for change.

He really would like to negotiate for a new South Africa if only he can keep bringing enough of his white constituents along. That would take not just a wish, but commitment and skill.

Washington Post Writers Group.

At a minimum, Mr. de Klerk's approval of the Cape Town march and its reaction to the charge of police

violence sent a signal to the majority of his compatriots. It is a signal that he is concerned about their feelings. He is aware of their grievances. He hears them.

When blacks in the American

- South were given voting power, for-

merly segregationist politicians listened to them. South African blacks are not yet there. But if Mr. de Klerk has concluded that he must hear them, that matters. i

The New York Times.