

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, January 8 1990

COMMENT

Useful symbolism

THE spectacular disintegration of socialist rule in Eastern Europe has, thanks to the high symbolism of Foreign Minister Pik Botha's visit to Hungary, at last captured the attention of South Africans and perhaps given them some understanding of the immense changes in geo-political alignments that have resulted from the West's victory in the Cold War. Ties with Eastern Europe, and particularly with the Soviet Union, have been developing steadily for the past two or three years, but it has taken an act of diplomatic showmanship to overturn the assumption that the East supports the ANC, and the West, however reluctantly, the South African government.

South African socialists who have enjoyed making a display of their contempt for the capitalist West — and for the Americans in particular — are now realising they backed the losing horse. The oppressed nations of Eastern Europe have realised that liberalism, not socialism, offers the chance of liberty, prosperity, and peace. Their experience with socialist systems — a long-term decline into seediness, poverty, corruption and (in Romania's case) megalomaniac tyranny — is now exposed for the world to see.

Desperate socialists, scraping the gutters of New York and London for evidence to sustain their hostility to capitalism, are clambering as fast as they can on to the Scandinavian model of social democracy. The economic arguments are shifting away from attacks on ownership of

the means of production and on private wealth to demands for taxation and social welfare. The radical restructuring of society demanded by socialist theory is, it turns out, simply a formula for social failure. Romania, Poland and the Soviet Union itself serve as models of such failure.

The implication is momentous. If there is no need for radical restructuring of society — if indeed, such restructuring is fatal to the welfare of all — then there is no justification for the destruction of entire classes or societies. Reform, not revolution, is the moral pathway to a just society. In any event, the Soviet Union and its satellites, having themselves followed the course of failure to its sorry end, are now poorly placed to act as the sponsors of revolution. That, indeed, is what various Soviet spokesmen have been telling the ANC for some time. What the people of Eastern Europe need from South Africa is trade and technology, not some primitive brute to brandish an AK-47 in the name of universal revolution.

With Pik Botha in Budapest, the ANC — and especially those of its members who belong also to the SA Communist Party — are out in the cold. They are (to choose an image that fits their ideological past) the flotsam of history. The only question is how long their followers will take to realise that the game is over. If Pik Botha's visit, so highly symbolic, shortens their learning curve, it will have served a noble purpose.

ANC says it will not be 'terrorised' into negotiating with the SA govt

HARARE — The ANC said yesterday its forces would not be "terrorised" into negotiating with the SA government, and the armed struggle would continue to be a critical component of its strategy.

In a statement marking its 78th anniversary, the ANC said it could not be expected to enter into a negotiating process until it enjoyed the same freedom to engage in political activity as the National Party.

The organisation said the F W de Klerk regime still had a long way to go before it could claim it had ended repression.

"Therefore, whether the potential for a

political settlement is transformed into reality remains the urgent responsibility of the Pretoria regime. For our part, we are committed to seize any real opportunity that might emerge, genuinely to seek a political agreement for a speedy end of the apartheid system," it said.

All South Africans who valued freedom, justice and peace should unite and put an end to apartheid, transforming SA into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

The ANC national executive committee declared 1990 "the year of people's action for a democratic SA", in which all democratic forces would require even more ex-

tensive political and material support from the world's anti-apartheid forces.

The message said it was important to further strengthen in every way the organised formations of the democratic movement, adding that there were some weaknesses in how the membership was organised, the uneven level of consciousness, the strength and cohesion of the leadership structures and their accountability to the membership, as well as the contact of these formations with the people.

"One of the most important lessons... is that there needs to be greater interaction among all the forces, in a conscious effort

to think and plan together on a continuous basis," the message said.

There was need for clarity of thought in terms of the people's tactical and strategic objectives to face the challenges of "this pregnant moment in our history".

"Tactics have to do with how we conduct the struggle from one moment to the next, responding to a changing situation. The correct tactical approach also demands that we should, at all times, understand the balance of forces correctly and not over-estimate or under-estimate the strength and possibilities of either our own forces or those of our opponents," it said.

The ANC had also made it clear that the Harare declaration was not meant to be a substitute for other forms of struggle but to be an additional weapon in its struggle.

The organisation paid tribute to governments and people all over the world for the work they had done to sustain the campaign for SA's isolation.

"The apartheid system continues in place. It therefore still remains for the international community to use the most effective weapon in its hands, comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, to help bring about a speedy end to the apartheid crime against humanity," it said. — Sapa.

Unrest: damage to schools costs DET R4m

BUSINESS DAY
NEARLY R4m was spent repairing unrest-related damage at Department of Education and Training (DET) secondary schools last year.

A department report shows vandalism, damage and neglect cost the DET more than half the average amount spent on major capital works every year since 1987.

While capital expenditure on DET secondary schools has been about R6,6m, the department has lost about R3,6m a year through damages.

Last year the DET spent R1,2m on burnt classrooms and offices, R1,5m replacing cables and electrical fittings at high schools and R1,1m on destroyed toilet blocks.

In 1988 broken window panes and doors cost the DET more than R1m.

The DET Johannesburg regional office says absenteeism, lack of punctuality and disregard for discipline are, perhaps, more characteristic

8 JANUARY 1990
TANIA LEVY
of schools in the Johannesburg region than any other in the country.

At any given moment up to 20% of the pupil population can be absent at any high school in Soweto. Pupils arrive up to two hours late and may "drift" away from schools at 11am.

Investigation

The DET has been instructed by Education and Development Aid Minister Stoffel van der Merwe to make an urgent analysis of November's examination results.

In a statement released at the weekend DET liaison services director Corrie Rademeyer said no further comment on the results would be forthcoming until the in-depth investigation has been completed.

Only once this investigation had been com-

pleted would the department be able to say what steps it intended taking to improve the performance of standard 10 candidates. All factors responsible for the bad pass rate would be carefully considered, he said.

The co-operation of education departments in the self-governing territories and TBVC states would be sought.

Only 58% of 195 690 DET candidates passed matric last year.

Matriculants at private black colleges fared better than their DET counterparts.

The Pro-Matriculation (Promat) colleges scored a 78,7% pass rate. Other private black colleges could not be reached for comment.

Promat MD Larry Robertson said yesterday the results were indicative of what could be done in black education. Promat's 850 matriculants followed the DET syllabus and wrote the department's exams.

BUSINESS DAY 8 JANUARY 1990

Fighting poaching with profits

NICHOLAS WOODSWORTH in Lusaka

WHEN **Zambian MP Wezi Kaunda**, son of President Kenneth Kaunda, flew to his rural constituency in the east of the country recently he was met at the airport by a four-wheel-drive Toyota sent by a group of local tribal chiefs.

The vehicle was chauffeured by a distinguished-looking driver named Kunda Bulaya.

A congenial man of middle age, Bulaya's confident bearing and intelligence make him seem unlikely material for a local government car pool.

Indeed, he is no ordinary driver. His job behind a steering wheel comes after 16 years of a quite different and highly successful career: by the time he was finally caught last year with a Kalashnikov assault rifle deep in the bush of the South Luangwa National Park, he had slaughtered almost 1 000 elephants and 200 rhinos.

Bulaya sold the ivory and horns to Malawian and Senegalese nationals acting as middle-men in a well-organised chain of illicit international sales. Although he received only about 1% of their world market value, he became a wealthy man compared with his neighbours. In the Luangwa Valley — rich in wildlife but otherwise impoverished — the risky business of poaching has, since colonial days, been one of the few alternatives to a meagre life of sub-

sistence agriculture.

One horrifying statistic, however, shows that even from a purely economic point of view poaching is no solution to the area's long-term problems: in the last decade, illegal hunting has reduced the valley's elephant population — once the largest in Africa — from 100 000 to 25 000. If the activity continues on the same scale, there will be no elephants left within 10 years. Poaching has already made rhinos virtually extinct in the Luangwa Valley.

Bulaya's re-integration into the local community is not some bizarre miscarriage of justice. Rather, it is one of the more dramatic results of an innovative plan designed not only to halt the destruction of animal herds, but, through their rational exploitation, to provide a basis for rural economic development.

By showing men such as Bulaya that they stand to gain more from rationally managing wildlife than by destroying it, the Luangwa Integrated Resource Development Project (LIRD P) aims to re-establish a profitable relationship between rural

communities and the natural resources around them.

For LIRD P director Richard Bell the wall between the two can be and — in the 13 000km² LIRD P area — is being broken down.

For wildlife conservation and rural development policies to be co-ordinated and sustainable Bell says control must be put back into local people's hands. "In receiving an income from wildlife they do not only have an incentive to protect it, but also obtain the necessary funding for broader-based rural development."

This type of approach has proved successful in other countries, including Zimbabwe and SA; its adoption has been all the more pressing in Zambia because of the country's economic decline and inability to control poaching.

In practical terms, this means killing a certain number of animals, including elephants, in "game management areas" adjacent to the valley's national parks.

Based on calculations that will allow the maintenance of wildlife populations, these hunting quotas gener-

ate licence-fee profits that are then ploughed back into the community according to its own priorities.

When Bulaya drove Kaunda to meet local chiefs, it was to observe them deciding how to allocate licences to the various safari, commercial culling, and village meat-hunting interests involved. Instead of going to central government coffers, these and other local revenues now stay within the community.

The LIRD P revolving fund set up to finance development schemes and projects gets 60% while 40% goes directly to the community to fund such projects as schools and clinics.

In 1988, its first year of operation, LIRD P revenues from the commercialisation of wild-life were \$136 000 (£85 000). This year they will total more than \$200 000.

LIRD P is being supported over a five-year period by a \$12.3m grant from the Norwegian aid agency Norad, but once all programmes are in place it will be run on a self-sustaining basis.

The project faces a number of challenges. One is getting poaching,

already much reduced, fully under control. (The National Parks and Wild-life Service with which LIRD P works faces problems of its own.)

Another challenge is a budget which, given the investment needed, is minimal. Managerial expertise is also in short supply. In addition, relations with government ministries — many reluctant to relax centralised control — are sometimes contentious.

The project depends heavily on the personal support of President Kaunda, who is conscious of Zambia's poor conservation image overseas but who must also take into account power politics at home.

Despite the obstacles, much progress has been made. LIRD P's success depends in good part on a factor outside its control: the threat of a long-term, world-wide ban on trade in ivory. Two months ago, the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species banned trade in elephant products.

While pressure from southern African countries that have managed their wild-life successfully might affect a policy review in 1991, the right to sell ivory remains an uncertain linchpin to LIRD P's future.

The Luangwa Valley is shaping up as an all-too-rare Zambian success story. Much now depends on the outside world. — Financial Times.

BOOKS



Mourners at the funeral of Mr Clophas Fufu Ngcobo, who was buried at Elandskop on Saturday.

CBD killing: Inkatha man Ngcobo buried

NATAL WITNESS 8 JAN 1990

Witness Reporter

PROMINENT Inkatha member and Imbali councillor, Mr Thu Ngcobo, who was gunned down in the city centre on New Year's Day, was buried at Mountain Rise cemetery on Saturday.

Mr Ngcobo was shot twice in the chest near the Symonds Centre in Church Street and

died in the MediCity Hospital.

Mr Ngcobo was chased into a crowded fast-food outlet by a man brandishing a pistol. During a scuffle inside two shots were fired. Mr Ngcobo fled but was killed outside.

Inkatha members said at the time they knew who had killed their colleague and had passed

the information to the police. No arrests have been made yet.

A bystander, Mr Zamani Mlambi of Sobantu, was shot and died in the same incident.

• Another Inkatha member, Mr Clophas Fufu Ngcobo, who was stabbed and killed at Songozima on December 30, was buried at Elandskop on Saturday.

Imibono yabafundi lobela: uMhleli, ILANGA, 128 uMgeni Road, Durban, 4001

UShange uphendula ongabaza ubusomaqhinga bakhe kuPAC

MHLELI, - Ngicela isikhala kwelakho lodumo iphephandaba ILANGA ke ngiphendule ngodaba olulotshwe ngumfokazi ozibiza ngokuthi ungum-Azania Zwelethu Vulisizwe Langa wase-Nanda ngokuhlala. Isihloko alobe ngaso sithi: "Uphika ubusomaqhinga be-PAC bukaPrince Velekhaya Shange" eKhasini 6 kwelomhlaka December 28-30, 1989.

Inhlangano yePan Africanist Congress (PAC) yalapha eNingizimu ye-Afrika isisekelo sayo yizigungu zezifundazwe eziphuma ezigodini ezahlukeneyo (Region from four Provinces in the Republic of South Africa). KuleProvince yaseNatal uMnu. Joe

Mkhwanazi akazange abelilunga lesiyingi lwanoma yisiphi isigodi - ngakho-ke akazazi izinsizwa ezingabashokobezi ezilapha ngaphakathi, ngokunjalo akalona ilunga leNatal Region of the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa engaphandle.

UMnu. Joe Mkhwanazi uyinduna yeNdiya elibizwa ngokuthi ngu-Gora Ebrahim eTanzania, elithi iPAC inkolo yayo iyiMarxist-Leninist. Uyabona-ke m-Azania Zwelethu Langa ayizange iPAC ibe yiMarxist-Leninist. Kuhle uyazi leyonto ungaqhubeki ukuxova udaka ngezombangazwe. Izinsizwa zonke ngothi lwazo zombutho wePAC zikholelwa ebuzweni bomuntu onsundu, nenkolo yoBUNTU/BOTHO. IPAC ayisoze iholwe yiNdiya kumbe abeLungu - kufanele uyazi leyonto m-Azania Langa.

Isizathu yilesi: Abesizwe abakaze bayihlale impilo yoBUNTU/BOTHO. Abakwazi ukukhuluma ngoBUNTU.

Amalunga wonke ePAC akukho nalinye elikhomba umunwe ku-INKATHA. Ngingekhulume-ke ngesinyathelo sesiGungu saseNatal sePAC engaphandle sokuhlalanga neNkatha - namunye oseke wasikhomba ngomunwe.

Mangiqondise ngicacisele umhlaba: Inkatha Yinhlangothi YeSizwe esinsundu saboMdabu, emigomo yayo igxile kwimi-simazo yobuntu nobuzwe bethu. Abaholi bayo namalunga onkana bayisizukulwane sokuqala sezinsizwa ezasinda empini yamakhandla ka-1906. Izinduna zempi yamakhandla zagwetshwa intambo, abanye kwathiswa bayodilikelwa yijele.

Amakhosi ethu ayeyibambile impi yamakhandla adingiselwa eSt Helena eziqhingini - Inkosi iSilo samabandla uDinuzulu "UDlothovu kabhekeki ufana nemisebe yelanga" wakhothamela ekudingisweni kwakhe ngenxa yempi yamakhandla.

Inkosi uSigananda wakwaShezi owayenekhulu leminyaka (100 years) wadilikelwa yijele. Ngingababala ngibathini nje Zulu? Inkosi uMese-ni yakwaQwabe kanye nenduna yayo uMgwaqo Gumede baphelela esiqhingini - eSt. Helena.

Kusukela ngo 1906

kuze kube namhlanje uZulu selokhu azimisela ukuba makuxoxwe nababusi balelizwe mayelana nemisimazo yonkana yobuzwe bethu kanye nomnotho walelizwe lethu. Ngokunjalo iNkatha nePAC njengezinhlangothi zama-Afrika PHAQA/PHOQO zizimisele ukuxoxa ngezwe nomnotho wezwe lokhokho bethu owakhiwe ngezithukuthuku zethu. Izizwe ezingafuni kuxoxwe yilezizwe eziyolahlekelwa ngamalungelo azo okudla uju lwezwe lethu.

Lalelani-ke 'mabandla kaZulu laduma obala lapho kungemunga kunge-mtholo'. Mhlazana uZulu elwa impi yamakhandla ngo 1906 namaNgisi, amaNdiya aviva umkhosi wabashokobezi uholwa ngumnumzane womNdiya, uMahatma Gandhi esiza amaNgisi ukulwa noZulu ngenxa yempi yamakhandla (Poll Tax).

Inkomo ingazala umuntu wem-Azania Langa uma lelizwe lingakhululwa ngumholi weNdiya - kungathi wena m-Azania Zwelethu Vulisizwe Langa udukuza ofwini lwenkomo. Kuzodingeka ungazibizi-nje ngokuthi unguVusilizwe ngoba inkolo yakho ifukanyelwe yinkungu yabesizwe kungakho-nje ubona izinduna zamaNdiya zingababali bakho.

Angazi-ke ukuthi nge mpela wawukuphi ngo-March 21, 1960 uma thina PAC sizamazisa izinsika zababusi balelizwe. Yayiphi yona lenkokheli

yakho yeNdiya uGora Ebrahim kanye nenduna yalo? Wawukuphi uma isigungu seNatal Province yePAC sikhapha abashokobezi ngoFebruary 1962? Wasalaphi wena m-Azania Langa?

Ukubakhona kwami laphaya embizweni yeSilo samaBandla ngangithunyelwe yisigungu se-National Executive yePAC engaphandle ngokunjalo nesiGungu seNatal Region yePAC. Anginanto-nje mina Khiphinkunzi engidibene nayo namaNdiya kanye nezinduna zawo.

Ngikhuluma-nje omunye wababusi abasungula iPAC, uMnu. A B Ngcobo, uKhiphinkunzi, besinaye emthandazweni weNkatha obuseJabulani Amphitheatre eSoweto ngomhlaka 16 December 1989.

Nangomuso futhi siyobe silapha ngothi lwe-thu mhlazana kuzoxoxwa nababusi balelizwe lokhokho bethu. Asazi-ke ukuthi wena m-Azania Langa ukuthi uyobe ukuthi ngaleyomini.

Ake usichazele Mnu. m-Azania Zwelethu V. Langa ukuthi ngowakho umbono ubona ukuthi iSilo samaBandla sasiqonde ukudunga izwe uma sibiza imbizo na?

mNtwana Velekhaya Shange,

uKhiphinkunzi (uSihlalo wesigungu se-Natal Region of the Pan Africanist Congress of South (PAC) engaphandle,

ULUNDI.