

Media Watch

By James McClurg

Homeland system is lamentable failure

DISILLUSIONMENT in the Government-supporting Press with the once cherished homeland system has reached a peak with a slashing attack by Beeld on General Bantu Holomisa's military government in Transkei.

'For South Africa,' said Beeld, 'there is one big lesson to be learnt from the abortive coup against General Holomisa's questionable regime: as a solution to South Africa's constitutional problems, independent ethnic homelands are, and always were, a lamentable failure.'

It would have been possible to laugh all this off as a 'banana republic' joke, Beeld said, were it not that the whole business was costing the South African taxpayer a pretty penny.

'In a new setup, what is now known as the independent republic of Transkei will at most be a regional authority on a geographical basis, with restricted powers. The sooner that happens the better — especially for the people of that sorely tried territory.'

No clone

While SABC-TV enjoyed the undisputed running on the crisis in the British Conservative Party — and, incidentally, rose well to the occasion — the Government-supporting newspapers were not far behind in reflecting the enthusiasm of most white South Africans for the departing Mrs Thatcher.

'Maggie: end of an era: She had faith in South Africa, says President De Klerk,' proclaimed Beeld.

Orin Scott, Beeld's cartoonist, showed a remarkably youthful-looking Maggie accepting a bouquet from South Africa on the threshold of 10 Downing Street.

Editorials in most newspapers were stinting in their praise of Mrs Thatcher's support for the South African Government.

From London, Rapport's correspondent, Tobie Boshoff, cautioned that Mr John Major, at that stage one of the candidates for the premiership, would not necessarily follow Mrs Thatcher's line on South Africa.

Sayings of the week

□ Looking at photographs of naked or semi-naked girls does not offer much intellectual stimulation. — Mr Louis Pienaar, former chairman of the Publications Appeal Board, as quoted in Beeld.

□ Land, which really ought to be a small component of the greater political debate, has the potential to arouse so much emotion that it could derail the negotiation process itself. — Piet Muller in Rapport.

□ If an Afrikaner national state cannot be achieved at the negotiating table, the Afrikaner people will not hesitate to take up arms and fight for self-determination — Professor Carel Boshoff, leader of the Afrikaner-Volkswag, as reported in Die Burger.

On a lighter note, Rapport's political diarist, Pollux, observed that, after her initial hesitation, Mrs Thatcher had taken her medicine 'like a man'.

Sour grapes

Die Burger's reports of rejoicing — champagne and all — at the Groote Schuur School in Newlands after Afrikaans-speaking parents had voted by an overwhelming majority to open the classrooms to all races drew a sour comment from Die Patriot, official organ of the Conservative Party.

Previously, said Die Patriot, parents with children at Afrikaans schools in the Cape Peninsula had maintained strenuously that 'behind the scenes' the NP was striving to retain exclusively white schools for Afrikaners.

Hopes of any such 'secret plan' had now faded.

Die Patriot warned parents that blacks would probably be able to become principals of open schools.

How much the statement issued after the latest meeting between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela will do to lift the shroud of gloom in the NP Press over the prospects for negotiation remains to be seen.

Commenting on the wave of clashes, Rapport said before the meeting that the situation, especially in the Western Cape, was quite as bad as it had been at the height of the state of emergency.

'In a situation where there are so many basic differences between the parties, it does not look as though there would be much sense in future rounds of negotiation — unless the Government and the ANC can agree once and for all on a code of conduct for future political activity and also on the kind of democratic system that will be striven for.'

Gerrit Velthuysen, editor of Die Transvaler, said in his personal column that a confrontation on a minor scale could not be excluded much longer.

However, a smaller confrontation now would be better than a devastating one later.

On the other side of the coin, Weekly Mail said the howls of horror evoked by the ANC's plans for mass mobilisation showed how little tolerance this country still had for ordinary democracy.

Crimebusters

New Nation has called for the formation of 'defence units' to protect Soweto residents against crimes and violence.

The crime rate in Soweto had pushed it to the brink of anarchy, said New Nation.

'Already there are some areas which are effectively no-go areas — not only for residents from outside the township but also for the police.'

The SA Communist Party had detailed an elaborate plan for the formation of defence units, not only to 'fight political violence' but also to defend the community against crime.

Community-based anti-crime structures had proved a major deterrent against township crime, said New Nation.

16/1/20

Huddleston: not time to celebrate

● From Page 1

Federal Seminary in Maritzburg.

On June 26, Freedom Charter Day, he will deliver a keynote address at the University of the Witwatersrand to mark the 36th anniversary of the adoption of the ANC's policy document.

Archbishop Huddleston left South Africa in 1956 after coming into conflict with the Government following the forced removals at Sophiatown and the introduction of Bantu Education in black schools.

At the time he was also superintendent of St Peter's School, where Mr Tambo taught mathematics and physical science. Former students of the school include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, journalists Arthur Maimane and the late Stan Motswadi of Drum magazine as well as musicians Hugh Masekela and Jonas Gwangwa.

Archbishop Huddleston chose to close St Peter's rather than agree to hand it over to the Government following the passing of the Bantu Education Act.

During this period he became actively involved in the struggle against apartheid and worked closely with ANC leaders such as Mr Tambo, Mr Mandela, Mr Sisulu and the late Chief Luthuli.

In 1956 he published "Naught For Your Comfort", described as the most powerful indictment ever of apartheid.

When he returned to London he worked relentlessly to build the Anti-Apartheid Movement, with a view to isolate South Africa in response to an international appeal by Chief Luthuli, then ANC president.

He retired as archbishop in 1983 and worked full time for the AAM.

He succeeded the late John Collins as chairman of the Trustees of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, which funded defence costs in South African political trials.

Baba Sonando - - - ho
All - - - Baba Moll
Siyakho Celo - - - ho

THERE are certain rules to be followed for reform politics to qualify as such, although we prefer the concept of process politics or negotiation politics.

The rules are:

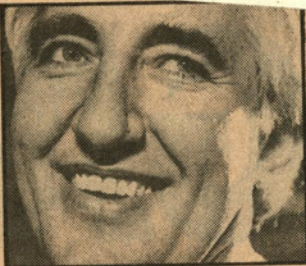
- Politics must be inclusive of all South Africa. All the participants of the future South Africa must be involved right from the beginning.

If the objective is to bridge and unite parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics, the organisations on the two sides of the divide should become involved in each other's politics in terms of strategies decided by themselves.

- The process must be organic, not prescriptive or regulated by the Government, or any other political grouping. There should not even be a forum. It should start with talks among the various political groupings.

- People in political organisations and not the Government should be the negotiators. The Government's role should only be to give effect to accords as they develop, as they are reached.

- Constitutional models should not be the focus, but the needs of the various political groupings. These needs include those for security in a



How we see the rules

By WYNAND MALAN

physical sense, a better and more equitable sharing in material wellbeing, the desire to continue to be an Afrikaner or a Zulu, a Christian or a Muslim, or whatever else.

- Not only the common values such as one country, one nation and one patriotism should be developed, but also the simultaneous conciliation of different needs and values.

- The Government, to really stimulate the process, and having dropped their approach to formal structures put up by themselves, should

adopt integrative strategies concerning security and the negotiation process.

- The state of emergency should be lifted. Political leaders in prison or detained should be released. Political organisations should be unbanned and people allowed without restriction to organise politically.

The special powers available to the Government should be put under the control of the courts and annually reviewed by Parliament.

The Government should act against violence. All security action should aim at assisting the politics of negotiation and further the aim of achieving the overriding goal of one nation with one patriotism.

The NDM will continue to involve itself in politics over the whole political spectrum. We will target, on the one side, organisations to move them away from dogma, away from rigidity and towards flexibility in their approaches representing the need of their supporters, as opposed to campaigning for a one-sided constitutional "solution".

The NDM will further target individuals, developing its own power base to compete in and fight elections.

have risen from R1,10 to almost R4. Some 31% of its employees hold shares.

At present Cashbuild has only around 3,5% of a building materials market worth around R2bn annually, but aims to raise its share to 10% by the end of the decade.

HOME FIT FOR A TRIBE'S CHIEF...

A MULTI-RACIAL crowd of 5 000 attended the official opening of the residence of the Chief of the Buthelezi Tribe at Mahlabathini this week.

The first resident of the ultra-modern home is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Executive Officer of KwaZulu, who was handed the keys of the mansion by the architect, Mr Gordon Cunningham.

Among the guests were Mr Harry Oppenheimer, whose company built the complex, King Goodwill Zwelethini of the Zulus, Mr Reggie Appolos, leader of the Coloured community in Zululand,

the Right Rev A. H. Zulu, former Bishop of Zululand, and the Nkonjani Hospital Nurses' Choir.

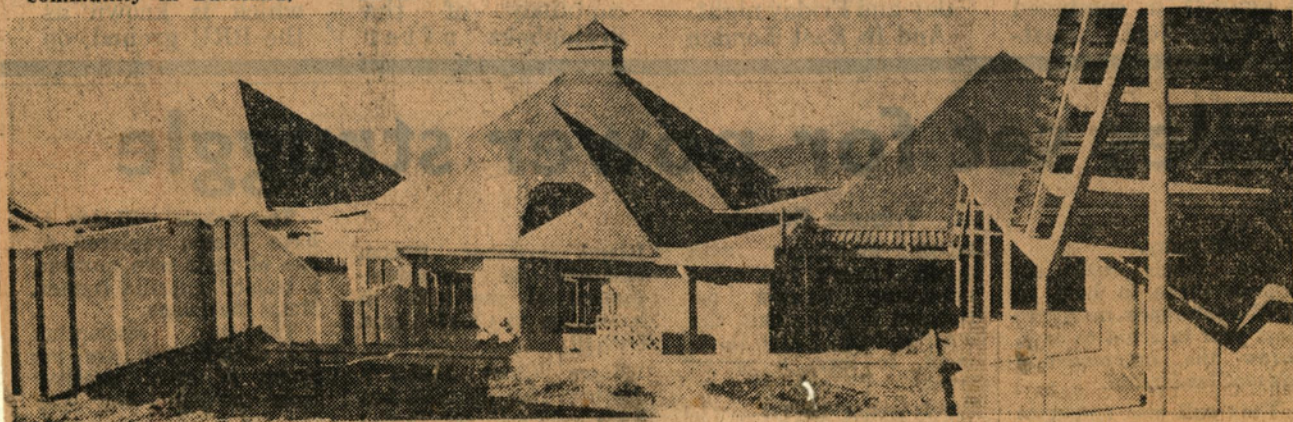
The mansion cost tens of thousands of rands, although the builders gave a R25 000 rebate and materials were

supplied at cost.

Chief Buthelezi said the house was the realisation of a 20-year dream.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Mr Harry Oppenheimer at the official opening



The super-modern mansion among the rolling hills of KwaZulu

Having finished my business in the loo, I was forced to tear a page from my notebook and use it. There was no need to flush the toilet as it was flushing continuously on its own.

Later, after investigating the toilets at Soweto schools, my discoveries were that toilets similar to the five-star one I saw first were only to be found at schools where the headmaster and some members of the staff were white. At the second school the headmaster and his entire staff were like me.

You can imagine white teachers in Soweto having to carry newspapers to the toilets or tearing pages from school books. These papers are hard and can hurt on delicate flesh.

A West Rand Administration Board spokesman said R500 000 had been pumped into Soweto for the renovation of schools in need of repairs. He dismissed as "malicious" a suggestion that the renovation was influenced by the advent of white teachers in Soweto.

He also said he had no knowledge of whether separate toilet facilities were to be provided for the white teachers in Soweto.

All the same, it does not look like the winds of change are blowing in all schools in Soweto. Are we still multi?

WHEN the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty in SA was relaunched in Johannesburg in 1988, the man chosen as inaugural guest speaker was a former member of the Natal Supreme Court, Mr Justice Ramon Leon.

The choice was fully justified, for the society heard possibly the most scathing indictment of the death penalty ever delivered by a South African judge.

He told of the agonies, the sleepless nights, the pain of self-doubt when he had been compelled, through lack of extenuating circumstances, to send convicted murderers to the gallows.

He recounted horror statistics:

- In the United States 343 people (of whom 25 were executed) had been wrongly convicted of capital crimes this century;

- In South Africa, between 1983 and 1987, 627 people had been executed. In Britain, which has a far greater population, it took half a century to hang the same number.

- Again in South Africa, an abolitionist's poll of members of the Bar in 1968 showed that 78 percent of respondents believed it was possible for an innocent person to be hanged for murder.

Mr Justice Leon described how the possibility of judicial error in South Africa was further compounded by the *pro deo* system, which often involved inexperienced and sometimes incompetent defence counsel, and the imprecise nuances involved in the use of interpreters.

"The death sentence is a relic of a barbarous age; it should be abolished," he said in a speech which made headlines in a country where 164 people had been hanged the year before. This was four more than in Iran, with a population of 47-million, and 32 more than in China, with about 1 000-million, he pointed out.

Mr Justice Leon's onslaught against the death penalty was devastating but not unexpected. It was his status as one of the country's most distinguished liberal jurists that led to his choice as inaugural abolitionist speaker.

It was the same status, plus his outstanding presidencies of the University of

SUNDAY *TIMES*

PROFILE

'Hanging judge' is an outspoken abolitionist



MR JUSTICE LEON: Sleepless nights

Natal's SRC and Convocation, that had led to his election in 1983 to the chancellorship of his alma mater.

Here his tenure was so illustrious that the senate amended its previously unbending six-year time-limit rule to enable him to stay on as chancellor for a further term.

From the viewpoint of events at the university last week, there was a certain irony involving his election in 1983. The other nominees for chancellor were Alan Paton and the then jailed Nelson Mandela.

(Alan Paton withdrew from the nomination because of certain pressures in which Mrs Winnie Mandela was involved. Mr Mandela was screened out by the selection committee because he would not have been able to officiate from prison.)

But the greater irony was that this eminent liberal judge, with a record of landmark decisions that overturned some of the apartheid regime's most callous and inhumane legislation, was last week branded a "murderer" and a "hanging

judge" by callow student members of a society that could only have benefited from his humane and distinguished presence on the Bench.

This is the judge whose historic judgment in 1985 overturned the state's notorious detention-without-trial clause in section 29 of the Internal Security Act which led to the release of Diakonia director Paddy Kearney. It was a courageous decision which emasculated one of apartheid's most vicious Acts beyond repair, a brother judge told me this week.

This is the judge who had long before, in another landmark ruling in 1972, overruled a lifelong blanket ban imposed on the magazine *Scope* because it had, inter alia, shown a picture of a fully dressed black man and a white woman embracing in a New York park.

This is the judge, with a human rights record that will long dominate the history of South African jurisprudence, who was last week branded a murderer and a

hanging judge.

Why, therefore, was he branded a murderer and a hanging judge? Because, search as he could, he was unable to find extenuating circumstances in the case of Andrew Zondo, an ANC activist who had placed a bomb in a rubbish bin in a busy Amanzimtoti shopping centre — killing five people, including two children, and injuring scores of others. The law had left him no option but to sentence Zondo to death.

The student demonstration was ostensibly to protest over a man like Ramon Leon being chosen to bestow an honour on Nelson Mandela. It was clearly designed to humiliate the university authorities against whom a handful are engaged in an unthinking adolescent rebellion.

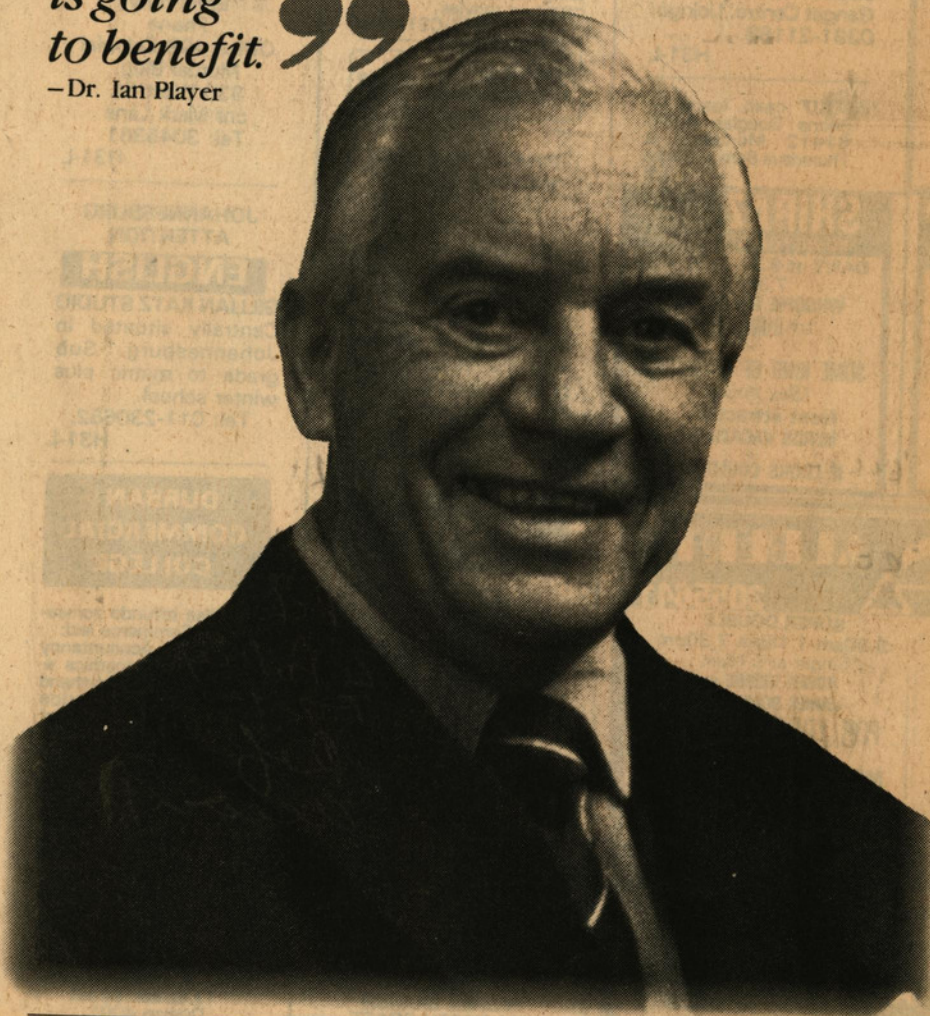
But, with Mr Mandela announcing at the last moment that he could not receive his honorary doctorate on that day because of "reasons of state" (and then spending the day in Natal hotels), there is little doubt whom it is they succeeded in humiliating.

Roy Rudden

“Here is a model in the making,
and it needs the support of
everybody in South Africa.

That's the bottom line because if it
works, and I believe it will, then the
whole of South Africa
is going
to benefit.”

—Dr. Ian Player



DR. IAN PLAYER is an internationally recognised conservationist, and was the initiator of the World Wildlife Congress. He served with the Natal Parks Board for 22 years, and founded the Wilderness Leadership school in 1957. He is also a columnist, author, and commentator on public affairs. Dr. Player was awarded the Decoration for Meritorius Service by the State President in 1984, has received numerous international conservation awards, and was made a Knight of the Order of the Golden Ark by Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands in 1981.

Here's

why we

support

Indaba

HOSTILITY

Mr Reagan was the first man of this prominence to denounce Dr Kissinger's Lusaka speech, saying the Secretary of State was encouraging violence on the sub-continent and that he might precipitate a massacre.

Dr Kissinger angrily rejected these charges, but he is out of touch in Africa and does not seem to realise how much opposition has arisen to his attempt to win over the African states by displaying hostility to the Whites.

The Rhodesian Information Office here has been receiving a steady flow of supporting letters, including copies of letters of protest written to members of Congress even in such basically liberal states as Oregon.

Besides, the Right-wing protest is on this occasion allied to some respectable centrist criticism of Dr Kissinger's threats.

GIANTS

The most eminent of these critics was George Kennan, the father of post-war American policies to contain the Soviet Union, and a man who ranks besides Dr Kissinger, George Ball and the late Dean Acheson as one of the modern giants of American policy-making.

Kennan, writing in the New York Times, has questioned the propriety of American policies that might — since Americans would not accept the burden — dump the White Rhodesian population in the laps of South Africa and Britain.

He has also warned that outsiders are poorly placed to judge what changes might be required in Southern Africa, and that Dr Kissinger's Rhodesia policy could inflame the racial situation in South Africa to a degree that might rock international stability.

How South African Scandal Damaged Powerful Zulu Chief

By Stephen Taylor

Chronicle Foreign Service

Durban, South Africa

Old friends and allies of Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi adopt a sad, even defensive, expression when the subject of South Africa's Inkatha financing scandal is raised.

The regret is tinged with bafflement. If Buthelezi had set himself up to be the biggest potential victim of the affair, it is widely agreed that his handling of it could hardly have been worse.

NEWS ANALYSIS

While exposure of the government's secret payments to Inkatha has restored to the high ground Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress — even President Frederik de Klerk has managed to salvage something from the wreckage — Buthelezi has added to the damage done his credibility with television appearances that have been marked by recriminations and defiance.

Potential of Scandal

Buthelezi's denial that he knew of at least \$700,000 paid by Pretoria to Inkatha and affiliated groups is not believed by many who know him. Perhaps worse, he appears to have underestimated the potential of the scandal.

Jack Shepherd Smith, an admirer and biographer of Buthelezi, observed: "There is a bitter sense of disappointment. He was the one black leader who was attacked from both the left and the right. He opposed violence just as he did apartheid. Now he has muddled himself."

Another associate, Oscar Dhlomo, a former Inkatha secretary-general who is now a respected commentator, said that the taint of government support has compromised Buthelezi's ability to recruit new followers beyond his Zulu tribal base, and has weakened Inkatha's status as the third component in a trilogy including the government and ANC.

Even before the scandal, that status was questioned by some observers. Inkatha says it has 2.2 million members, the largest of any political organization in South Af-



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

Credibility in question

rica, but opinion polls have shown that it has relatively little support — seldom more than more than 3 percent among urban blacks.

For all that, the glee with which Buthelezi's old foes within the ANC are now writing him off is premature. Dhlomo believes that while Buthelezi will be left limping behind de Klerk and Mandela for some time, he still has an important role to play.

Inkatha recently received a key reassurance that its position has not been irretrievably damaged abroad, with the announcement by the United States that it was granting \$2.5 million in aid to the organization as "an important political force," along with \$4.5 million to the ANC.

A Different Light

Buthelezi's political strength is most clearly visible among the rolling hills and thatched huts of what was once Zululand, now the self-governing homeland of KwaZulu. There are few newspapers or televisions here, and those who have heard of the scandal tend to see it in a different light from the urban taxpayers outraged by abuse of public funds.

Ethnicity is a sensitive issue in South Africa, where it has been distorted to the ugly designs of apartheid. But in the land of the Zulus, where custom and culture

remain deeply rooted, it is not easily dismissed.

William Khumalo, a pupil at the Baptist mission school in Gezinsela, about 100 miles north of Durban, pointed to a stone monument on the side of a hill.

"That was Kwabulawayo, where King Shaka's kraal stood," he said. As if quoting directly from one of his school lessons, he added: "Shaka founded the Zulu nation. He made us a great people, with a great history."

Numbering around 7.5 million, more than 30 percent of the black population, the Zulus were always bound to be a potent political force in South Africa. As a hereditary chief descended from Shaka, Buthelezi claims the mantle of leadership.

'Poisonous Snake'

The ANC has been determined to deny it to him, repeatedly denouncing Buthelezi during its years underground as a government stooge — "a poisonous snake which needs to be hit on the head."

But it was not until 1987 that the rhetoric turned to bloodshed. Since then, more than 3,000 have died in Natal townships, and thousands more elsewhere in South Africa's urban slums.

Few of those who monitor the violence are neutral, and trying to apportion blame is a hazardous and perhaps sterile occupation.

The conflict is more one of generation and culture than ideology, being in the main conducted on the one hand by conservative, traditional Zulus, and on the other by urban ANC youths in rebellion against the authority of elders.

John Aitchison, an academic at the University of Natal, argues that the violence signals the death throes of a tribal system that is corrupt and discredited.

Dhlomo agrees that immediate priorities for South Africa's black population as a whole dictate that "the ethnic baby be thrown out with the apartheid bathwater."

But he and a number of analysts believe that tribal identity will be an important factor in the future South Africa.

Hopes for peace plunge in Angola

Argus 2.12.

LUANDA. — Prospects for peace in Angola dimmed as Unita rebels intensified their military push across the north and the government warned that further actions would lead to renewed civil war.

Diplomats said that with Unita controlling at least three provincial capitals, besieging at least one other and occupying over 75 percent of national territory, it was hard to imagine the government

exercising restraint much longer.

Military leaders said they wanted to avert a resumption of the 16-year civil war with dialogue — but increasing violations of the May 1991 peace accords and a truce agreed on last Thursday meant they expected the worst.

"The situation is critical. It is essentially one of war. But the government is doing all it can to prevent that," General Cirilo de Sa Ita said yesterday.

day after fighting erupted near the airport of M'banza Congo, capital of the north-west province Zaire.

He spoke as the key city Uige and the nearby Negage air base were in rebel hands and fighting erupted just kilometres outside the oil town of Soyo.

United Nations special representative in Angola Mrs Margaret Anstee said Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had assured her by telephone on Monday that Uige and Ne-

gage had been seized by local commanders without his orders and Unita forces were prepared to withdraw.

But several diplomats expressed scepticism over the assurances and Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Venancio de Moura condemned the ceasefire violations.

Unita has been mobilising troops across the country since it claimed Angola's first multi-party elections on September 29 and 30 were rigged.

The ruling MPLA won a majority in the 220-seat parliament but President Jose Eduardo dos Santos narrowly failed to win enough votes to avert a run-off with Dr Savimbi.

The government has called on the United Nations, which has been overseeing the peace accords, to ensure the pacts hold.

The UN on Monday extended by two months its mandate to verify the peace accords and urged both sides to stop fighting immediately.

financially, militarily and diplomatically for more than 12 years, came after Unita launched attacks in several parts of Angola within 48 hours.

"We call on the parties, particularly Unita, to immediately bring their forces under control and to stop offensive military action.

"We believe progress towards a negotiated settle-

ment can be achieved only with the cessation of military activity and a return to designated troop assembly areas provided for under the peace accord.

"This is especially true of Unita, which has systematically used military operations over the past two months to seize territory and destabilise Angola," a State Department official said.

Yeltsin in struggle for more power

MOSCOW. — Appealing for an end to "political hysteria", President Boris Yeltsin has demanded that Russia's supreme legislature surrender much of its power, but promised that reform would not bring unfettered capitalism.

He was speaking yesterday to the Congress of People's Deputies, a body elected under communism and still dominated by conservatives.

Mr Yeltsin admitted free-market policies had brought only pain for most people. But he insisted his government needed a free hand to press on.

"The country must be protected from the political hysteria whipped up by anti-reformists," he told the congress, which meets twice a year and has become a boisterous forum for assaults on the government.

"A breathing space is vitally necessary for Russia, if only for a year.

"Political adventurers hope that an ungoverned Russia can become their easy prey. They will turn the country into an arena of ruthless civil war."

Mr Yeltsin spoke from a podium still decorated with the communist hammer and sickle. Behind him was a large cardboard Russian flag, concealing a bust of Lenin in the wall. — The Independent.

US calls on Unita to control forces

HUGH ROBERTSON

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The United States has sharply rebuked Unita for breaches of the Angolan peace accord and the November 25 declaration in which both parties agreed to respect a ceasefire and halt offensive movements.

The administration's criticism yesterday of a movement which it has supported

he said.

Mother Beauty, speaking quietly and ignoring armed policemen sitting in her lounge, said the family would stand by Herbert, come what may.

"We pray for him daily. He is our child and we love him very much," she said.

Since his arrest, at least two of Herbert's close friends have allegedly disappeared.

Herbert, who was born on June 29, 1973, was a Standard Six pupil in Soweto until last year.

Responding to a request from reporters, Herbert dismantled and assembled an AK47 in 38 seconds, naming the different components as he did so.

He said he had left the country after being recruited into the ANC by a friend. They crossed the border into Botswana by

climbing through a fence.

From Botswana, he said, they went to Zimbabwe, then to Zambia, from where they were flown to the training camp in Angola.

After receiving military training for three weeks, he asked his commander to release him so he could return to continue his studies.

He was then given a "mission" to blow up an electricity sub-station and to recruit students into the movement.

He then used the same route back into the country.

Herbert said he had entered the country without arms and was not carrying any when he was arrested.

He saw himself as a freedom fighter, and while in Angola, was told the ANC's reason for taking up arms was to repossess the land from "the Boers".

Three days after his arrest on Monday, he told the Press, he had decided to "work with the police, because I would not be here if I had not joined the ANC".

Responding to a question, Herbert said he was treated well by the police.

He was not threatened or promised anything and was not told what to say at the Press conference.

While he was paraded before the Press on Friday, police in Pretoria were mopping up after a minilimpet mine explosion in the city at lunchtime.

Eighteen people were hurt - none seriously - and all were treated for injuries and shock. One black and 17 whites were injured.

The explosion took place in a cafe inside the Poynton Arcade in Church Street.

Later the same day, another suspected insurgent was blown up when a limpet mine he was allegedly planting exploded at the Johannesburg Art Gallery in Joubert Park.

Just hours later, another limpet mine exploded in Protea North, Soweto, killing its handler.

Police suspect the as yet unidentified man was an ANC insurgent.

"Held to ransom"

Mr Andrew said the South African economy was being "held to ransom" by delays in the negotiating process.

"Small improvements in our desperate economic situation can take place as a result of monetary and fiscal policy, increased exports, or normal business cycle fluctuations, but sustained economic growth is dependent on successful political negotiations."

He urged parties to focus their attention on overall goals and reach agreement on these before tackling details.

"The lack of agreed goals and processes results in the current negotiations being directionless."

In a sharply critical statement on the failure of some of the country's most influential politicians to achieve any positive results at the opening round of talks on Monday, Mr Andrew declared that:

- Some of the delegations "don't want a negotiated non-racial democracy". ("This is particularly true of the Conservative Party, but also applies to elements within other parties such as the National Party, the IFP, ANC and PAC.");

- "More than half of the delegations will disappear as soon as democratic elections are held — so the majority have some vested interest in the status quo", and that

- Some of the larger organisations, feeling insecure about holding on to their support bases and gearing up for an election, "continue to permit violence, terrorism, inciting war talk and other inflammatory statements".

Mr Andrew also criticised the ANC and National Party for "trying to direct the process on the basis of bilateral agreements while paying lip service to inclusiveness".

He said that while bilateral discussions were essential, "accusations that anyone opposed to elements of ANC/NP bilateral agreements is being obstructionist are unacceptable".

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Hawks win the day as anger boils over

By ENOCH MTHEMBU and
BAFANA KHUMALO

TWO generations came to pay tribute to the slain South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani at the Sebokeng stadium this week: the young lions and the old doves, the war-war and the jaw-jaw. Among the youth, at least, war-war won.

A battle of words between the two raged throughout the day, centring on the resumption of the armed struggle by the African National Congress.

While ANC officials were uttering peace-loving platitudes inside the stadium on a stage made of two trucks, a drama of potentially tragic proportions was unfolding outside.

A woman, apparently an Inkatha Freedom Party official, Buel Kubheka, was talking to a Peace Accord monitor. A group of about six armed youngsters in their early twenties, one of whom was brandishing an AK47, stood nearby.

Seeing the potential for violence, local ANC chairman LL Mbatha conducted Kubheka to a car and asked a nearby Red Cross official to

escort her out of the area. As accusations were hurled at the IFP official, the crowd grew.

As the car drove away, the young lion with the AK47, dressed in blue overalls and a khaki military-style overcoat, his face covered in a white scarf, coolly stepped forward and fired a volley of shots at the two cars. The windscreen of the Red Cross car shattered and a desperate stampede followed as the crowd tried to escape. Miraculously, there were no casualties.

The attacker then ambled across the street and disappeared into the maze of houses near the stadium. A still-shaken Mbatha later said there "is nothing I can do to control these boys".

By his death, Hani may have been able to achieve what the Patriotic Front has failed to do; bring the Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC together or, at least, their youth. Both are united in their passionate hatred of the "system", the "boers" and the government; both appear to be converging in their support for armed struggle.

"We are also affected (by Hani's death) — we lost a revolutionary. We must avenge, they must also lose someone," said a member of the PAC-linked Azanian Youth Unity, who called himself only Themba. "There are good whites but we can't tell them apart from the bad ones."

Said 21-year-old ANC Youth League member and self-defence unit member, Solly Nhlanyane: "This thing is confusing me. Hani was talking peace. Those who talk about war are still alive, people like Sabelo Phama of the PAC, who is talking about a year of storm."

He added that the killing of white people on the Golden Highway would not stop until "the police stop killing us at our night vigils". A number of young PAC supporters said they attacked whites to obtain guns to use in self-defence units and as an act of vengeance.

"I thought negotiations were the only solution, but now I have changed my mind," Nhlanyane said, adding that the ANC should arm the communities to "fight the AWP".

"The ANC leaders are talking

about negotiations and we are dying," said a young ANC man who refused to give his name.

Support among the Vaal youth for ANC president Nelson Mandela seems to be on the wane. "We had Boipatong and Mandela said we should be restrained in our response. We now have this and he will say we should be restrained. We are tired of being restrained," said South African Students Congress regional political officer Paseka Motloung from the stage. The crowd responded enthusiastically, but officials seated on the podium looked surprised and embarrassed. "What Apla is doing is justified and we agree with it," he added.

ANC Youth League member Macbeth Ndaba vowed that he would give up his ANC membership and join Apla if the "ANC does not pull out of negotiations" and Mandela continued to call for restraint.

"We listen to our leaders when they say we must stop violence but when we stop, the boers start to kill us," said another, tears in his eyes. "The war will only stop if open war is waged against the government."

Hopes run high for talks break through

☐ Negotiators snap awake to SA's agony,
limits to hasten decisions

'Homeland' days numbered

NELSPRUIT - President of the Inyandza National Movement and Chief Minister of KaNgwane, Mr Enos Mabuza, confirmed on Sunday that his government was well aware of the fact that its days of serving in a dummy political structure are numbered.

"It is a base line premise of ours that all self-governing territories have to be incorporated into a united South Africa," he said.

He also issued a stern warning to the central government that the "homelands" cannot be modified by Pretoria and used as building blocks for a future South Africa.

"The ways and means this re-incorporation takes place is subject to negotiation," he said.

Mr Mabuza said that he further felt that existing administrative structures and expertise in KaNgwane should be incorporated to ensure that rural interests kept pace with those of urban



Mr John Kane-Berman, originally from Barberton, but now executive director of the Institute of Race Relations and guest speaker at Inyandza's 12th annual congress chats to KaNgwane chief minister, Mr Enos Mabuza, during a tea break.

areas.

"And indeed, we further believe we will not see our automatic demise as a political movement once the "homelands" are dismantled," he said.

In a message to the white community of the Lowveld, Mr Mabuza said that they would do well to recall and acknowledge the reasons for the relative calm and normality in this region.

He called upon whites to act responsibly and curtail any possible maverick elements.

"We were all privy to the ungovernability of the white townships of Welkom recently. We would not want to see that repeated in our region," said Mr

Inyandza, ANC remain allies

NELSPRUIT - The ANC has given its assurances to the Chiefs of KaNgwane that their traditional roles will not be jeopardised in a future South Africa.

Speaking at the Inyandza National Congress held at the local showgrounds on Sunday, ANC national executive committee member, Naked Phosa, saluted the KaNgwane Chiefs for their support over past years as well as for their courage and steadfast opposition to apartheid.

"We are well conscious of the fact that we salute some of our most reliable comrades who share the same trenches as ourselves as well as the same aims, objectives and dreams," he said.

Addressing Inyandza President, Mr Enos Mabuza he said: "It is under your dedicated, honest and unfaltering leadership that Inyandza has accomplished so much in its struggle against apartheid.

"There have been times when you sounded a lone

Beware of intolerance

NELSPRUIT - One of the biggest dangers currently facing our country at the moment is that of political, social and ideological intolerance, Inyandza National Movement President, Mr Enos Mabuza, told an estimated crowd of 3000 cheering sup-

porters on Sunday.

"The devastating and tragic consequence of this lack of tolerance can be counted in the hundreds of fresh graves across the length and breadth of our country," he said.

Mr Mabuza said that he found it alarming that it is often innocent people who become the bloody sacrifice to the voracious god of intolerance as has been pictured by the mindless violence of the past few months.

He called for citizens of the country to respect the need for a diversity of political opinions and encouraged Inyandza members to guard against the dire consequences of intolerance which often becomes self-perpetuating and engenders anarchy and social collapse.

"We cannot justify undemocratic and authoritarian means as the expedient solution to our long-term problems," he said.

"We must be united in our opposition to all forms of tyranny and oppression.



President of the Inyandza National Movement, Mr Enos Mabuza, greets followers at the Nelspruit Showgrounds.

whether the perpetrators came from the left or the right; whether they are black or white.

"We as South Africans must remember that intimidation will only ensure submission, but never the people's support and differences should not be equated with dissidence or treason," he said.

Addressing the current political situation Mr Mabuza pointed out that any country undergoing a process of transition experiences instability and a measure of confusion.

He also warned that although the wrongs of apartheid needed to be corrected, it would be foolhardy to believe that a future state would immediately be able to meet and supply all the needs of the people.

"I believe that we

are faced with a problem of unrealistic expectations," Mr Mabuza said.

"A new South Africa does not promise nor can it hope to deliver some kind of Utopia. We will have to rely on ourselves to help ourselves."

Mr Mabuza warned that there would not be any sudden transition of power in South Africa and that the people should rather gear themselves for a process of steady transformation.

"If we want to attain and maintain first world standards of living, then our people must get on with the job in hand, - of servicing, maintaining and developing an infrastructure that characterises an industrial economy, both academic and technical."

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THE NATAL WITNESS

Haswell and the ANC

IT comes as no surprise that Rob Haswell has finally thrown in his lot with the ANC. However, what is surprising is that he has the gall to sit in Parliament as an Independent and patently plead the ANC cause — the cause of a non-political party.

Likewise the other DP renegade, Pierre Cronje, has by his ANC tactics and sympathy lost almost the entire support of his Greytown electorate.

I ask both these gentlemen if they have a mandate from their electorate

to continue as their parliamentary representatives?

Now, will Haswell take his seat in Parliament and continue his deputy mayorship of Pietermaritzburg knowing full well that he is obviously acting contrary to the wishes of the majority of voters who so joyously put him there? I have my doubts that he will not lightly relinquish the two posts in view of the excellent remuneration. Let us hope!

E. PAYNE
Pietermaritzburg

How do you make consensus work? ✓

IN the debate about the new constitutional dispensation, it is often said that South Africa stands on the threshold of a new style in politics. This style is called consensus politics.

By this is meant that white people can no longer decide on everything alone, that negotiation must take place and that there must be joint authority at the level of decision-making over common affairs.

Unilateral announcements and simple consultation without those consulted being able effectively to influence decisions has been described as an intolerable procedure.

This shift in perception of political style represents a very important political gain.

Against this it must be stressed that consensus politics is not simply a political style.

Decision-making

Political decision-making takes place not only on different kinds of issues, but it is also influenced by a variety of factors.

For example decisions can be taken on non-ideological and simple technical matters where consensus is usually not difficult.

But, unlike technocrats are sometimes inclined to believe, political decision-making does not deal solely with technical questions. Values and ideology also come into it — especially when it deals with the formulation of broad political goals.

On decisions like these, consensus is not simple. Consensus politics means that there must be a determined rapprochement between participating parties over what can

be accepted as basic goals and values. If the participating parties take up hard ideological positions consensus will be a futile exercise.

This question is of decisive importance for the future of consensus politics in South Africa.

Protagonists of consensus politics will have to accept that a change in political style demands equally that there be a change in traditional ideological choices.

It is wishful thinking to imagine that consensus politics must be directed towards achieving acceptance of the traditional ideology of the white governing elite.

Different kinds of conditions have been stipulated for successful consensus politics: the disposition of the participants, the question of whether there are enough common areas to further consensus decision-making and negotiating skills.

In the modern world bargaining has become a sophisticated affair which demands certain skills. And skilful negotiators are not found behind every bush.

I would like to pause over two conditions which are generally referred to.

The first is a climate of relative trust between the participating parties and the second is the existence of effective instruments.

On the question of trust there are a number of problems. On the inter-party level — and this affects especially the majority parties — there has been good progress with the creation of trust and confidence-building.

Distrust has been tempered and President Botha has successfully created

faith in his abilities and his leadership among a broad section of the leader elite.

His personality and role will be decisive in the new style of politics and there can be little doubt that he will ensure breakthroughs regarded as impossible until a few years ago.

Compromise

Where there is a problem, it is among those outside Parliament. Among supporters and non-supporters of the majority parties in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates, there is still a wait-and-see attitude.

It can be accepted that many coloureds and Asians did not vote, not because of intimidation, but because they had no confidence in the NP's intentions.

The first fruits of the new dispensation will have a real influence on this issue, as will the role of organisations like the UDF. It seems likely that the UDF will re-define its future strategy after the launching of the new dispensation.

There could even be an attempt to reach a compromise between the UDF leadership and the leadership of the majority parties among the coloureds and the Indians.

Strictly speaking, the main goals of these groups do not really differ. Everybody wants to see apartheid

broken down and negotiation for black political rights. The main difference is strategy.

How to support the Cape of False Hope

AFTER black students rioted recently at Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg, causing damage disproportionate to their numbers, a senior official of the African National Congress came to talk to them.

In the first part of his address he told the students they had every right to express their grievances, but should do so in an orderly fashion, eschewing violence. On the other hand — and here came the sting — if the university failed to come up with an adequate response, it lay with them to take whatever steps they considered appropriate.

This calculated ambiguity illustrates the dilemma in which South Africa's black leaders now find themselves.

Having given the younger generation every incentive to be militant, the ANC is now caught in a youth rebellion it cannot control. Nor, with the first multi-racial election barely eight months away, is it inclined to scold and so risk alienating its more ardent supporters.

More seriously, it is allowing the fantastic expectations of its supporters to get totally out of hand. What today arouses in me most apprehension for the future in South Africa is not the failure to

Overwhelming black expectations remain South Africa's greatest challenge. Even if all sanctions are lifted, as Nelson Mandela urges, there is no way they can be met, writes W F DEEDES, former editor of the Daily Telegraph, following a recent visit to South Africa.

reach unanimity on the shape of the constitution, not even the ghastly cycle of violence in the townships, but the certainty that these expectations are bound to be disappointed.

This will lead to disillusionment among many blacks, with incalculable consequences.

An alarmingly high number of black South Africans see that the whites, Afrikaners and English-speaking, have combined their monopoly of political power with a comfortable house (often with a swimming pool) and a high standard of living. It

must follow, the reasoning goes, that when power shifts from the white minority to the black majority, these same benefits will be available to all.

In reality, South Africa has always had its poor whites, and today there are a surprisingly high number who are extremely poor. But they are not taken into account in these heady black calculations.

Nor is it simply the ANC that has encouraged such dangerously high expectations. For years, the world has been assuring South African blacks that they were oppressed by an iniquitous system, the prime purpose of which was to deny them their rightful heritage.

Both President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are aware that the strength of South Africa's economy is a key to the future. This week, Mr Mandela said the ANC would actively campaign throughout the world for the remaining sanctions to be lifted and for inflows of foreign investment

capital. But, in my judgment, the world's response to such overtures will be exceedingly cautious.

South Africa, recently described as the most dangerous country, is no big deal for international companies with ample factories and suppliers elsewhere. Prosperity can come only from enterprises which can see their way clearly to doing well in South Africa itself. As it is, the violence of recent months has cast a pall of doubt over such prospects. It will be a long while, therefore, before South Africa's economy can hope to meet even some of the huge social demands — education, health care, housing — which will be made upon it. In reality it can never match those demands.

What then? Some think that if the ANC wins next year's election and fails to meet these aspirations, it will be pushed out of office. My scenario is a different one.

If, after a year or two, black expectations are

badly disappointed, the blame will fall not wholly on the politicians, black or white, but also on those in charge of South Africa's economy. It will be observed that while political power has shifted decisively to the black majority, nearly all the commanding heights of the economy remain in white hands. They hold the substance of well-being; the politicians hold only the shadow.

It follows (so the argument will run) that there will be no real improvement in the black condition until blacks have more say in how business is to be run. So South Africa will then move into a programme of black advancement within the economy — something which occurred on a small scale in Zimbabwe soon after independence. It is open to doubt how far such a development will tempt the overseas investor to pitch his tent there.

The serious question is what kind of an attitude the outside world should take towards this forthcoming crisis of confidence.

Will we, at this point, conveniently forget the past, forget the damage done by sanctions, and direct our overseas investment into safer channels? The fact is, of course, that we probably shall.

Hard work to find work — jobs available but without pay

WANTED: graduates for skilled jobs. No pay.

No one would answer an ad like that. Or would they?

About 600 000 young people — just out of university or high school and some highly qualified — are pounding the streets looking for work.

And some of them, caught in a Catch 22 situation, are offering to work for no pay because the only real jobs available demand experience.

And without working, for nothing if need be, they can't get the experience.

The same applies to those students at technikons and universities who have to do a certain amount of practical work to complete their certificates and get their degrees.

This doesn't even take into account those who have simply a matric certificate and no special skills. For them the outlook is even bleaker.

Job prospects for South Africa's graduates this year are the worst in memory.

Many graduates this week said they will consider themselves lucky to get a job selling burgers at a fast-food shop.

The hard truth is only three out of every 100 job-seekers, which means 18 000 out of the current crop, will find work in the formal sector.

Those who don't will swell the ranks of the millions of unskilled workers who are also desperate for any work.

Already it is commonplace for graduates to get work as secretaries, parking attendants and general dogsbodies — "a devastating option when you have slogged away for three or four years to

■ For school and university leavers employment is becoming harder and harder to find. Many youngsters face devastating options simply to get the experience they so desperately need.

CLAIRE GEBHARDT, Weekend Argus Correspondent

get a degree", said one.

Other have buckled down to further studies for want of a professional option.

This is putting a tremendous burden on families already struggling to survive financially. "But if the alternative is lying around at home, so be it," said one parent.

The big employers can offer little hope.

The number of big companies doing the university "rounds" looking for talent has plummeted this year and many legal and accounting students have been left high and dry.

Employers themselves are struggling to survive in the harshest economic climate since World War 2.

The situation is creating huge moral conflicts for all concerned.

A basic human tenet is that the labourer is worthy of his hire.

And trade unions continue to hold out for a living wage for their members despite an ever-shrinking labour market.

But with 250 000 jobs wiped out because of the recession, with 7 million or 40 percent of the work-force unemployed and millions living below the breadline, many argue creative solutions are required.

Jobs will continue to be lost until at least two years after the economy has picked up.

The situation is so desperate

that some employers, albeit reluctantly, are allowing young people to work for a nominal wage or nothing.

They argue that if they refused desperate requests for training, the cream of South Africa's graduates could emigrate, taking with them vital skills needed for any economic upturn.

Some point out this is free enterprise, free market kind of stuff which will do wonders for bringing the inflation rate down — if supply exceeds demand, wages must drop.

Others reject the solution out of hand, saying it could lead to conflict with trade unions and exploitation by unscrupulous employers.

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman angrily dismisses the notion of graduates voluntarily working for no pay. "This must be a new definition of 'voluntary'. These people are obviously desperate."

Many companies say they have approached the Department of Manpower for advice on the legality of their actions.

But as far as the law is concerned, professional people are not covered by either the minimum wage regulations or Industrial Council agreements.

The Basic Conditions of Employment Act applies, but this does not specify wages, which are a contractual liability between employer and employee, says a legal source.

Thorny views on unpaid work

THERE are conflicting views on the thorny subject of "work without pay".

SYD CATTON, chairman of Professional Assignments Group: "Graduates who work for nothing acquire skills which transform them into marketable commodities."

"In the old days in the auditing profession you had to pay to be taken in to do your articles, and the same applied to law firms."

"Money is not the only motivating factor. Self-esteem, job satisfaction and camaraderie come into it as well."

ROBERTA DURRANT, film producer: "It's fairly common-

place in the film industry. A lot of enthusiastic youngsters work for nothing or a nominal wage simply to gain experience."

"It does work because when a job comes up they're on the spot."

JANET DICKMAN, assistant manager Labour Affairs SACOB: "It's not practical. Employers could be accused of exploitation and there are still employment costs involved. Basically the real problem is the economy. A lot of companies have retrenched workers lately and this kind of employment could cause a lot of resentment. Our graduates could emigrate, but they'd have a hard time finding work elsewhere be-

cause all the major economies are in recession."

KEN MOCKLER, chief executive of the Institute of Chartered Accountants: "If there's no coercion involved that's free enterprise. At the moment firms can take their pick from qualified CAs, so if you haven't got any experience there is a problem — but we don't have a solution. Taking on extra people means you have still got to train them and it adds to the oversupply. But if the economy recovers these youngsters will obviously gain. We're looking at the revolutionary step of doing articles in industry instead of in practice."

AS THE AMAZING NON-STOP ALL-ACTION MANDELA INTERNATIONAL ROAD SHOW GOES INTO ITS 12th HECTIC WEEK...

IF it's Sunday, it must be: Stockholm. Or Addis Ababa. Or Cape Town.

Today is the 77th day of Nelson Mandela's freedom. It is also the 77th day of his incredible, punishing, globe-hopping international road show.

This morning he will be in Johannesburg. This afternoon he will fly to Cape Town to address an ANC rally at Mitchell's Plain.

How does he do it — at the age of 71 and after 27 years in prison?

The stack of news reports written about Mr Mandela since his release tell the story of a man who, in 11 weeks, has probably circumnavigated the globe several times — with few rest periods.

And therein lies the danger, according to medical specialists who sounded a warning bell this week.

Said one expert, a woman doctor specialising in sleep deprivation: "You can well imagine what such closely scheduled non-stop travelling, sleeping in strange places and having to cope with interviews, meetings and important engagements has done to his sleep cycle."

DEPRIVED

"By now I predict that Mr Mandela is suffering from slight insomnia brought on by stress."

"Extended and compound sleep deprivation — especially in someone of Mr Mandela's age — has probably changed his hormone and temperature levels."

"That's a no-no as far as I'm concerned. I suggest his personal physician gets him to slow down and relax."

"There's a great danger he could suffer from burn-out soon and collapse," she said.

A cardio-vascular expert, who is an admirer of Mr Mandela's, said pictures of him taken in the 1960s often showed him smoking a cigarette.

"I am not aware of his personal medical history, but I do know he smoked fairly heavily from about the age of 20 until his arrest."

"He was then in his 40s — whether he carried on smoking in prison is not known, but his previous habit must be telling on him."

"He does not smoke any more, as far as I know."

"Mr Mandela seems to be in great shape for a man his age, but I presume during his 27 years in prison he did not have much opportunity for proper exercise, such as playing sport."

"Walking around a prison yard is not ideal exercise, nor is pacing yourself on an exercise bicycle."

"For a man who led a fairly sedentary lifestyle for 27 years his sudden hectic schedule must certainly be telling on him."

DISEASE

"I would definitely get him to slow down."

"Mr Mandela does have a few positive health advantages though," the doctor added.

"In prison his diet was generally good, so he may not be suffering from that Western blight, heart disease, which is brought on by poor eating habits."

"But there's no telling what harm his earlier smoking has done. Get him to slow down and rest," he said.

Since his release on February 11 many people have noted how tired Mr Mandela looks on occasions.

But he sometimes looks extremely fit and relaxed — as in the pictures taken in Soweto before he flew off to the Easter Monday pop concert in his honour in London.

But almost from the moment he stepped through the gates of Victor Verster Prison at 4.15pm on February 11 he has had little rest.

Four hours after his release he was a captive of the media and the ANC publicity machine — a treadmill which does not seem to stop.

How does he do it?

SUNDAY TIMES SPECIAL REPORT by MARK STANSFIELD

He made his maiden speech to the nation from the steps of Cape Town's city hall that day.

Then followed a day of continuous Press interviews and little sleep.

On February 13 he flew to Johannesburg and presented himself at the famous ANC Soccer City rally in Soweto.

By February 14 — only three days after his release — concern was already being expressed about his health.

He was suffering from a mild heart complaint and

was advised his hectic schedule could affect his health.

The next day, February 15, he was at it again, besieged by Press and adoring ANC followers. He appeared to have disregarded the warning.

By February 18 he was starting to burn out and was forced to undergo a battery of medical checks. He still has daily blood pressure checks.

A cardiogram revealed a small "spot" or "shadow" on the heart and led to his first real day of rest — surround-

ed by friends and family at his Orlando West home.

Next day he was up early conducting Press interviews until later that evening.

The same schedule was followed until February 23 without proper rest.

On Sunday, February 25 he joined the jet-set in earnest.

FRENETIC

At 10am he addressed a Durban rally. A mere three hours later he was on stage again — in Bloemfontein. Busy, busy, busy. The next

day, February 26, he popped up in Johannesburg, smiling as ever but showing some strain.

On Tuesday, February 27, he boarded an aircraft which flew him off to face a frenetic, closely-timed schedule which only stopped three weeks later in Stockholm.

Lusaka for three days: talk, talk, talk.

Then Harare, Zanzibar, Ethiopia, Tanzania: Busy, busy, busy.

Then Sweden and a brief "hello" to his old, ailing friend Oliver Tambo. Then

hectic meetings with diplomats, heads of state and dozens of well-wishers.

He must have been exhausted but not once did he refuse an interview or a meeting.

It was now March 12.

Once again he seemed not to have heeded the call to *hamba kahle*.

By now the ANC executive was worried and announced that Mr Mandela's scheduled appointments would be met on a selective basis to relieve some of the pressure.

What he was putting himself through was "dangerous", warned his long-time friend and one-time personal physician Dr Ntatho Motlana.

"Get out of politics — and Soweto — for a while," he pleaded.

It was too late — the ANC executive was already making plans which stretched far into September and had already accepted an invitation from Glasgow for Mr Mandela to receive the freedom of the city.

March 21. Back in Johannesburg and back on stage at the Human Rainbow concert held in his honour.

A tired-looking Mr Mandela still managed to bop with the best of them that day.

CROWDED

Later the same day, he flew to Namibia.

And he apologised to the Soviet Foreign Minister and the American Secretary of State for making them beat a hasty path to his hotel room door for hurried consultations.

"My schedule is too tight," he told them.

March 23: Back in South Africa. He attended a rally in Nelspruit.

On March 26 it was Pietersburg.

March 28 — what was to be a soothing, feet-up day with friends in Silvertown.

Wattville — became another melee as thousands of fans crowded round to see their hero.

Even on his days of rest — few and far between — he still had to talk and pose.

That afternoon he travelled to Sebokeng to visit the wounded in hospital after a clash between the SAP and demonstrators in Sebokeng.

Stress was evident.

March 29: Rally with teachers in Orlando, Soweto.

April 1 in Port Elizabeth.

April 2 was a breathing space — the ANC's National Reception Committee cancelled a rally in Maritzburg.

But the visit to Natal was still on.

On April 5 he was in Cape Town to meet President F W de Klerk after rallies in Bisho, Maritzburg and Port Elizabeth.

On April 8 it was Lusaka again.

HISTORIC

And on to Johannesburg the next day to meet the anti-apartheid movements.

Phew!

But there was to be no letting up — the ANC executive announced Mr Mandela's "tentative" schedule for the months ahead.

Meetings in Angola, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, the European Community, France, West Germany, Russia and Canada, "among others", were on the itinerary.

On April 11 he was back in Johannesburg for a Press briefing on CP allegations of assassination attempts.

April 14: Off to London for the Wembley Stadium pop concert.

April 17: Back in Harare with President Robert Mugabe for Zimbabwe's independence celebrations.

April 19: Umtata.

April 21: Johannesburg.

April 22: Back in Umtata.

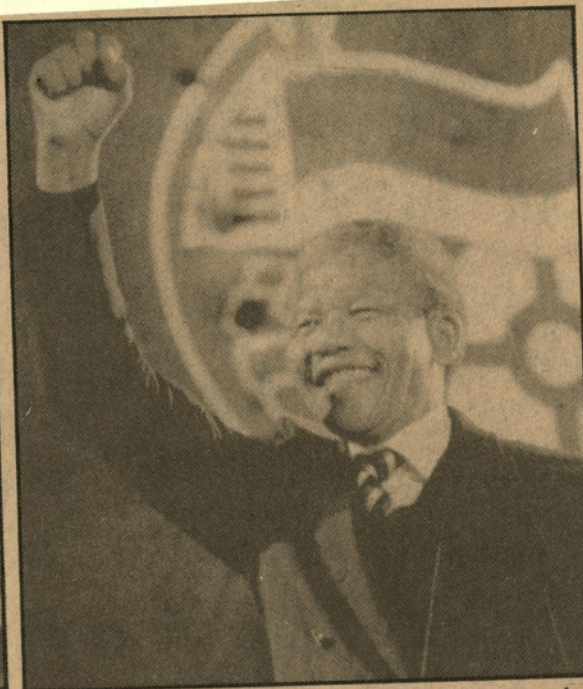
And this week Mr Mandela fulfills what is perhaps his most important engagement so far — when he heads the ANC delegation at the start of historic talks-about-talks with the Government.



FEBRUARY 27: with Kaunda on visit to Lusaka



MARCH 12: with Oliver Tambo in Stockholm



APRIL 16: in London for Wembley pop concert



APRIL 26: at family grave in Qunu, near Umtata

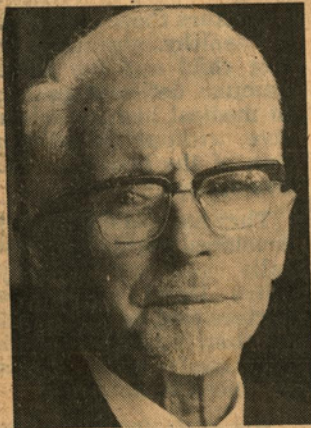


SMILING-FIT MANDELA . . . but his tough schedule makes him prone to burn-out, say medical experts

HERTZOG WHY I LED THE DEMOS

By GORDON WINTER

DR Albert Hertzog, leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, explained yesterday why he led his 120-strong demo on Libertas.



Dr Albert Hertzog at his Pretoria home yesterday.

"It was because Mr John Vorster helped to arrange the Rhodesian sell-out and because he and his political advisers have been infiltrated and brainwashed during the last few years by the American Central Intelligence Agency.

"We went there to ask him to resign for South Africa's sake," Dr Hertzog told me during a two-hour interview.

FAILED

But Dr Hertzog and his men failed to reach Mr Vorster's front door.

After the Commissioner of Police, General Gert Prinsloo and Security Branch chief, General Mike Geldenhuys were called to the angry scene, 37 of Dr Hertzog's men were arrested.

They are being held in



After a hectic time of political activity, Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith took time at the weekend to relax with his wife, Janet, and grandson, James, at his Salisbury home.

terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act and are expected to appear in court this morning — on charges of trespassing or causing a disturbance of the peace.

According to the Minister of Justice, Mr Jimmy Kruger 27 of the people held were still in custody because they all refused to pay R50 bail which was offered.

SENTENCED

Dr Hertzog told me that he was arranging for his followers to be represented in court. "At this stage I don't know if they will refuse to pay their fines and elect to serve whatever alternative sentence is handed down."

Turning to his allegation that the CIA was involved in the Rhodesian settlement, Dr Hertzog said: "The Prime Minister relies on his political advisers to keep him informed."

CONDITIONED

"But during the last few years I believe the CIA and other big American organizations have succeeded in infiltrating those advisers. I don't know if Mr Vorster is aware of this, but I am satisfied that his men have been conditioned into a pro-America mood."

"The CIA has succeeded in creating and building up a mood of sympathy for America and everything it does."

On the subject of Black rule in Rhodesia, Dr Hertzog was equally gloomy. He expects there to be violent clashes amongst Black leaders and even inter-tribal warfare.



"Special rescue mission for British tourists trapped on the beaches of Dunkirk — hundred pounds a head."

How will Thatcher handle the crisis?

SCARCELY a day passes now without someone — politician, trade union leader or newspaper commentator — warning that Britain is moving into some kind of crisis.

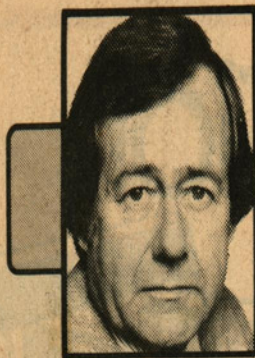
The miners' strike, now in its 19th week, is as far from a settlement as ever, while talks to end the national dock strike, which brought all cross-channel freight traffic to a halt this week, have failed to get past first base.

It is not only the approaching crisis that is worrying people, but also Mrs Thatcher's apparent inability to handle it. No doubt from within the privacy of No 10 Downing Street she is following every development with an eagle eye, but publicly she is not being seen to be doing much, and this is upsetting both her supporters and her enemies.

Pressure

A chorus of voices has gone up in the past few weeks urging her to act — either to capitulate to the strikers, or to compromise with them, or to defeat them.

Under this kind of pressure, and with perishable foodstuffs rotting in stranded trucks and drivers in an ugly mood, it can be only a matter of days before Mrs Thatcher does act.



London Dateline

By STANLEY UYS

But what will she do?

The obvious and expected thing is for her to deal with the dock strike first — by declaring an emergency and calling in the troops. This would be the 13th time the Emergency Powers Act of 1920 has been invoked.

But calling in the troops would be regarded by many trade unionists, not only striking dockers, as provocative. The sight of soldiers loading and off-loading ships and clearing the way for cross-channel freight traffic probably would inflame feelings among dockers.

Election

The dockers' strike is partly a strike for protection of jobs, but it is also a political strike in support of Mr Arthur Scargill's miners. Even if the dock strike can be resolved, the miners' strike looks like being a fight to the finish, because Mr Scargill has made it clear that his real aim is to precipitate a general

election to bring the Labour Party back into power.

Mr Scargill, whose father was a communist and who himself was a leading member of the Young Communist League until his resignation, is in full revolutionary flood. He believes the "hard left" in Britain should make its bid for power now and, once in power, turn Britain into a truly socialist country.

His contempt for the "moderates" of the Labour Party is undis-

guised. As he sees it, a class war is being fought, and people are either on the side of the workers or of the bosses.

At a miners' rally last weekend, the leader of the Labour Party, Mr Neil Kinnock, who is torn between the imperatives of supporting the miners and upholding law and order, was booed when he started to speak. But he ploughed on, promising his support for the strike. Tory MPs are

starting to refer to him now as "Arthur's poolle".

Violence

Mr Scargill told Mr Kinnock bluntly that once Labour was back in office, he expected Mr Kinnock "to show us the same loyalty to our class that she (Mrs Thatcher) has shown to her class".

It has taken most Tories weeks to realize just how far Mr Scargill has been prepared to go to create the disruption that will force Mrs Thatcher's government to the polls. Violence on the picket lines has become commonplace.

Not only working miners but also their wives and children have been intimidated, verbally and physically, by strikers; whole mining villages have been torn apart by the bitterness between strikers and "scabs". And the National Union of Miners is openly defying the courts.

To date, the average miner has lost R6 750 in

wages as a result of the strike, two miners have died in the violence, and there have been 1 000 injuries and 4 000 arrests.

Loyalty

A widely held view in Britain is that it is not only Mrs Thatcher who has lost the propaganda war to Mr Scargill, but that within Labour ranks Mr Kinnock has lost it as well.

Writing in the Guardian this week, Mr Jim Reid, a respected figure in the Labour movement and one-time militant Marxist, hit back in support of Mr Kinnock: "Just do as Arthur says and everything will be OK. Loyalty tests will no doubt follow. Criticism of Scargill will become treachery to the cause. Dissent, doubt, invigorating scepticism will be declared anathema."

It was Mr Scargill, then 33, who organized the "flying pickets" of miners in 1974 which helped bring down the Heath government. If it could be done once, Mr Scargill

clearly reasons it could be done twice. This time it is Mrs Thatcher he is after.

Several independent-minded commentators have pointed out that if Mrs Thatcher compromises with Mr Scargill over the issue in dispute — pit closures — she will in fact concede victory to

him. Therefore she must take him on in a full confrontation and defeat him, otherwise he will break her and at the very least weaken her government.

Alarmist

An article in the Daily Telegraph this week warned that "surrender would not merely give a massive boost to the extra-parliamentary forces of the Labour Party, it would also grant an open licence to the roaming mob, to the iron bar, the half-brick and the burning truck, to the vicious intimidation not merely of men but of their wives and children".

This may be an alarmist view of a future under Mr Scargill, but it reflects the mood of apprehension in some circles.

The question everyone is asking now is: What does Mrs Thatcher propose to do about Mr Scargill? His crusade has caught her in a trough of unpopularity. All year her government has been slipping on banana skins and the aura of success that she used to wear around her has disappeared. The most often heard criticism is that she has lost her touch and that her government has lost its way.

Some of her staunchest supporters in the media now flay her regularly for the "style and tone" of her premiership. She is too arrogant, they say, too aloof, too autocratic in the way she bosses her ministers about.

Challenge

Last week, the normally cautious Press Association reported that 100 rebellious Tory MPs were meeting secretly around London, conspiring how to get rid of Maggie.

The report was pooh-poohed by party bosses, but the Leader of the House of Commons, Mr John Biffen, felt obliged to issue a challenge.

"If they really think it is in their interest," he said, "all those mutters have to do is simply to draft some candidate... to indicate how many votes can be cast for someone other than the prime minister. I bet we won't have a whisper or a peep out of them."

As Mrs Thatcher hesitates and appears to falter, so all her old enemies are coming out of the woodwork — like former prime minister Mr Edward Heath, whom she ousted from the leadership of the Conservative Party and who has

viewed her with implacable hatred ever since, and Mr Francis Pym, whom she sacked as Defence Minister and who has taken on the leadership of the "wets" (to the extent of writing a book in which he mauls Mrs T).

He campaigns almost weekly against her now.

One of Britain's most perceptive commentators, former Labour MP Mr Brian Walden, who is now a television interviewer and newspaper columnist, wrote this week that the establishment at least was waking up to the fact that it had a crisis on its hands. But it was still not certain, he said, whether Mrs Thatcher had a plan to defeat Mr Scargill.

Mr Walden believes the miners' strike could go on well into 1985 and that if Mr Scargill wins he will have "taken every trick in the book and made certain the election of a Labour government".

Mrs Thatcher's failing, as Mr Walden sees it, is to miscast herself as "the smiling fairy on the Christmas tree" as soon as events are untrou-



Mrs Thatcher



Mr Scargill

bled.

At heart she is not that kind of woman: she is a spirited, tough, realistic leader and unless she acts accordingly — and accepts that she is fighting "a civil war without bullets" — she will lose to Mr Scargill.

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His prayer for dying

ALAN PATON, who died of cancer aged 85 on Tuesday, was a profoundly spiritual man who had pondered on death and God for many years. He wrote this prayer just before the death of his first wife, Dorrie, in 1967:

Lord Give me grace to die in Thy will.

Prepare me for whatever place or condition awaits me.

Let me die true to those things I believe to be true,

And suffer me not through any fear of death to fall from Thee.

Lord, give me grace to live in Thy will also.

Help me to master any fear, any desire, that prevents

me from living in Thy will. Make me, O Lord, the instrument

of Thy peace, that I may know eternal life.

Into Thy hands I commend my spirit.

He came nearer than anyone to loving those he didn't like

I LAST saw Alan Paton two-and-a-half months ago at the launching of his book called *Save the Beloved Country*, a selection from his writings over the years.

Helen Suzman was present and made a speech. Copies of the book were signed and presented and Alan was congratulated on his literary achievement and his courage in the Liberal cause.

It was a moving but in some ways a melancholy occasion. Alan was looking very frail. Most of those present were old or elderly.

All were convinced Liberals who could not help being conscious that just at this time, when the policy of apartheid was obviously in disorderly retreat and the Nationalists themselves had patently lost faith in their own policies, many who used to profess themselves to be Liberals had on their side lost faith in the value of the struggle they had carried on so long and so bravely and in the validity of Liberalism as a policy if not as an ideal.

But all was not gloom, and as Alan and Helen spoke my old heart warmed to them and I still could feel confident that their struggle had not been and would not be in vain.

Alan Paton was a great and unusual man. He was a distinguished educationist whose work at the Diepkloof Reformatory did much to humanise the whole system.

Prophet

He was a fine writer and a deeply moving poet, not least when he wrote in prose.

But when I think of Alan it is not in the first place in any of these capacities. It is as a prophet that I think of him, the only authentic South African prophet.

He had a deep knowledge and sympathy with his people and their history, and "his people" were not limited to the whites or the English-speakers but comprehended all South Africans without distinction of colour, tribe or group.

He came nearer than anyone I have ever met to being able to



by Harry Oppenheimer

love those whom he strongly disapproved of and disliked. He called for understanding and reconciliation.

He denounced cruelty and intolerance wherever he found it. He uttered dire warnings of the likely outcome of obduracy.

He deeply feared that by the time the whites had learned to love the blacks would have learned to hate. And we may well ask ourselves how far this process has gone.

Silent

And yet Alan Paton was not, I think, a pessimist. He knew very well that for the prophet it is not enough to condemn and to warn.

There can be no repentance without hope and therefore the prophet must also bring hope.

And this he knew how to do because he understood so clearly, and in a measure even could sympathise with the motives, prejudices and fears of those whose policies have brought South Africa to its present state of isolation and danger.

He knew, too, how to express his thoughts, his hopes and fears in language of force and beauty, rooted obviously in his reading of the Bible.

And so his words are lodged in the hearts and minds of millions of South Africans. After a long life his voice is now silent and we are all poorer for that.

But mourning and regret are not enough. Alan Paton's prophetic books will remain an encouragement and guide to all who in the future work for peace and reconciliation in the "Beloved Country".

How to pull out of a devastating tailspin

South Africa's economy is in a devastating tailspin. What can be done to pull it out of the dive? **Mr JAN STEYN** of the Independent Development Trust spelt out some concrete ideas in a speech this week — including the urgent need for an economic forum.

OUR economy is in serious trouble. This is recognised by all responsible leaders to the left and the right of the political and economic spectrums. Moreover, poverty and unemployment are on the increase.

In 1990 our gross domestic product declined by 0,5 percent in real terms, in 1991 by 0,6 percent and this year it is expected to decline by 1,0 percent or perhaps more.

In the recent short session of parliament, Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers said that no less than 250 000 jobs had been lost since the start of the recession in 1989.

Official estimates of unemployment, which are a minimum indication, suggest that some 25 percent of Africans are unemployed and the figure is rising. Some estimates put the figure at 30,9 percent.

Some 43 percent of economically active Africans are either unemployed or seek subsistence in the informal sector. Since mid 1991 the rate of increase in personal disposable income has fallen below the rate of inflation. Only an additional 1,1 million employment opportunities were created between 1974 to 1989 while the labour force increased by 5,1 million.

There are some people who, understandably, see a need for emergency action by the government. Food aid, subsidies on basic services and the elimination of taxes on basic goods are mentioned.

My emotions and sympathies would support this response. My head, however, tells me that while steps must be taken to increase access to resources that can dull the edge of deprivation, we are already severely limited in our capacity to respond to the needs of the poor.

The government deficit is rising to alarming proportions; well above the norms established by international development organisations. There is hardly any scope for increased taxation since our income and company tax are very high by the standards of the developing world.

Government expenditure on social services and consumption items is already substantial in relative terms, as is the cost of expenditure on infrastructure and housing.

There is still great scope for a rationalisation of public sector services, re-direction of resources and the elimination of duplication and waste. These goals will have to be pursued relentlessly, but we should also bear in mind that retrenchments and savings in the state sector, although necessary could well deepen the economic malaise in the short term as they limit or reduce the state's capacity to stimulate the economy.

We need to stimulate investment in productive activity which has multiplier effects. We also

need to deploy the limited fiscal resources we have in such a way as to invest in infrastructure and public programmes which create employment.

Even in regard to public sector investments, however, one needs private sector investment to follow so as to produce multiplier effects.

Allow me to mention some investments which, appropriately directed, could help to stimulate the economy, create jobs, develop skills and promote self-reliance instead of dependency.

On the physical delivery side, clearly a national housing policy which will not only allow resources to be allocated for the delivery of serviced sites, but will, within a sustainable framework, give people access to finance.

This will enable the private sector home building industry to resume its legitimate and desirable role. By this I mean its role in providing housing within affordability constraints.

The housing process, built on a sound and sustainable economic base, can be a major contributor to job creation, skills and entrepreneurial development as well as stabilising our society — especially if it is based on ownership.

The same applies to a national school building initiative such as the R300 million programme being implemented throughout the country by the Independent Development Trust.

Entrepreneurial development is another key that can unlock the door of opportunity for so many currently facing a future without hope. I am pleased to report that the IDT has in co-oper-

ation with the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) set up a programme to facilitate access to resources for this purpose.

The IDT and the DBSA have identified that small entrepreneurs are having difficulty in obtaining financial assistance. We are facilitating the provision of such financing. Grant funding is also being made available to fund the recurrent expenditure of organisations that are either starting up or increasing their capacity.

The IDT is making an amount of R37 million in loan funds as well as R25 million in grant funding available, while the DBSA has appropriated R85 million in loan funds over the next three years for this purpose.

All applications in this joint venture are being handled by the DBSA. It is encouraging to note the number of applications received to date. Initiatives as far afield as Tzaneen, East London, Durban and Johannesburg are being funded under this joint venture.

By merging into joint ventures such as this, we will produce much-needed jobs. We will be alerted to our need to increase our productivity, and more importantly, we will go some way towards distributing our national income.

The need to stimulate and entrench an entrepreneurial culture is a keystone in our efforts to prevent a move towards the two of the threats facing us as we edge towards democracy — state ownership and one-party rule.

More particularly now in times of high levels of economic stress, on and off the job training — especially of retrenched workers is a priority.

Training of those in the informal economy is another target area with the need to equip people not only with vocational skills but also enabling elementary management skills.

Finally, there should be a focus on training programmes for existing small entrepreneurs enabling them to become more efficient so that they can expand and employ more work seekers.

Mass action is a complex matter. We must be careful not to add to the stress in our society by oversimplifying the issue. On the one hand the right of peaceful protest is essential as a preparation for a future democracy. There is a great deal to protest about in our society. Therefore no one can be heard to say that all mass action is illegitimate.

Having acknowledged the validity of these arguments, let me record some concerns: The way in which mass action is launched and conducted sends too many mixed messages and therefore depresses economic confidence.

The choice of worker stayaways as one component of mass action, at a time of falling real incomes and massive retrenchments, sends a signal that power considerations will override economic realities and market forces. This is disastrous for economic confidence.

The tasks of directing our economy onto a dynamic growth path and of launching urgent development initiatives must now take precedence over the power plays of politicians right across the spectrum.

The only way we will achieve this kind of national priority is through the establishment of an economic forum, supported by business, government, labour and all political parties.

While such a forum is being planned and negotiated it is essential that these efforts should have a concrete outcome. We would like to take this opportunity of adding our voice to appeals for greater urgency in the pursuit of a functioning economic forum.

vides the family's main income and makes around R448 000 a year to Bill's R98 000 as Governor of Arkansas.

She was born in 1948 in a wealthy suburb of Chicago. Her parents owned a textile business; they were Republicans. Hillary changed her politics after working as a teenager with poor inner-city children and itinerant Mexican workers in rural Illinois. She was an outstanding student at Wellesley College, Massachusetts, where she was the first student to deliver the graduation address, then went on Yale Law School, where she was on the board of the law review and met her husband. They married in 1975.

She said later: "I fell in love with him because he wasn't afraid of me."

In 1975, Hillary married Bill and turned her back on the sort of high-profile legal career that New York and Washington can offer.

And when she underwent that first make-over, she lightened her hair.

In America's first lady culture, the wife must be A Good Spouse — complacent, helpful; a Norma Major, say — but she must also be Queen, an imperial consort who sets a national style. There is no rule book. What is required is perfect political pitch.

Of her husband, she once commented: "If you vote for him, you'll get me."

She has been called the Winnie Mandela of American politics, the Lady Macbeth of Little Rock, and she has been labelled a radical feminist at a time when in the Republican demonology it rates as bad as being a Commie used to be.

No First Lady has appeared more reluctant than Barbara Bush — and few have been as shrewd politically. She was the biggest weapon the Bush campaign had.

As far as Hillary Clinton is concerned, there are those who think this American "Queen Mum" is sarcastic and mean-spirited. In her role as First Lady, we are not watching the weaker sex. — The Independent.

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SOWETAN

Homelands led by puppets

SIR - I reply to the letter from Gazankulu's PRO, Mr T H Khoza, which appeared in *Sowetan* on July 4.

How does the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly explain the cutting of pensions of people they regard as being too young to get a pension and too old to be employed in their iron-fisted controlled "Mini-

state?"

Mr Khoza will go to any lengths to defend the hand that feeds him.

It's an open secret that the so-called Chief Minister is not liked by thousands of Gazankulu people.

Mr Khoza says if the constitution of South Africa was right, the very Ntsanwisi they are degrading should be in

Parliament.

If Ntsanwisi saw that the constitution of South Africa wasn't right, why did he opt to be a puppet leader of Gazankulu?

It's through his subjects like Mr Khoza, who through thick or thin will defend him, that Ntsanwisi will never see his wrong doings.

G P MASULUKE

Silverton

How the new dispensation will affect Natal local authorities

BY NICOLE BRADSHAW

IT WAS a feast of knowledge for the 160 municipal delegates who ventured from as far west as Newcastle and as far south as Pennington to attend the 80th annual general meeting of the Natal Municipal Association in Empangeni.

Experts explained how the new dispensation will affect local authorities, and delegates aired their views on important issues.

The 1984/85 Executive Committee, which also comprises the association's delegates to the meetings of the United Municipal Executive, was elected and included: president - Clr B J E Human of Ladysmith; and vice-president - chairman of the Mtunzini Town Board Professor Louis de Clercq.

Same principles

Elected representatives from town councils, town boards and health committees included Clr N C Harrison of Shelly Beach, mayor of Uvongo Clr C H Wilkens and deputy mayor of Dundee Clr P A R Kay. The Director of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Len Dekker, attempted to iron out the confusion regarding the effects of the new dispensation on local authorities and said that the principles underlying central government and local government were of the same nature.

Individual rights

He said the issues included: protection of group and individual rights; prevention of domination of one group over another; assurance of self-determination of each group (although not 100 percent as many matters affected more than one group); no steps taken to endanger order and stability which indicated the government was in favour of evolutionary change; and finally continuous consultation and negotiation among the groups.

Mr Dekker stated that local authorities had levelled criticism against the government with regard to the devolution of power, and complained that although the new dispensation included a devolution of power from central government to local government the opposite was being achieved.

Communication

Mr Dekker said matters needed to be centralised before being devoluted to local authorities, and it probably seemed as if centralisation instead of decentralisation to local authorities was taking place.

Mr Dekker stated there was a serious lack of communication between coloured and Indian local affairs committees and white local authorities and said that the administration would have to take steps where insufficient consultation existed.

He said that with 527 local authorities in South Africa it was difficult for the government to consult with every authority.

Highest paid

Discussing the Remuneration of Town Clerks Act, Mr Dekker stated that one of the basic guidelines when drafting the Bill was that the town clerk would be the highest paid official in local government.

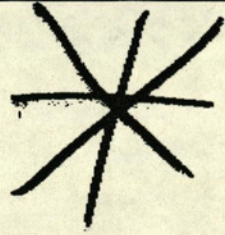
He said local authorities were becoming more important and more politicized and this was the reason why town clerks asked, together with an improved salary structure, for protection. Mr Dekker stated that the Act should therefore be read in coordination with the Labour Relations Act or Protection Act, which states that a town clerk may not be fired by the council, but would sit before an independent tribunal.

Terms of office

Mr Dekker also criticised the housing subsidy scheme and said that if the local authority could build council houses and let officials live in them for free, how could the municipality then ask the Department of Finance for revenue?

Another important issue debated was the term of office for municipal councillors, and after a vote of hands it was decided that the next municipal elections would be in 1988 and from then on be held every five years instead of the original three years.

This meant that councillors would remain on until the next election in 1988, although they would be entitled to resign.



HAS INKATHA CUT THE GROUND FROM UNDER COSATU? THAT DEPENDS ON HOW ONE READS THE NUMBERS

By PIPPA GREEN

SPEECHES at political rallies are rarely memorable. Numbers are, though, and when some 70 000 people flocked to the Durban launch of the new Inkatha-backed union it was judged a significant mark in the much-publicised battle for the hearts and minds of Natal's working class. If numbers alone make history then the media was probably right to ignore a May Day rally in the Northern Natal township of Esikhawini attended by about 3000.

But the numbers game reflects only part of the reality of the tussle between the 500 000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions and Inkatha's rival United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa).

What was significant about the Northern Natal May Day meeting was that more than 3 000 workers in Esikhawini, near Empangeni in the heart of Inkatha territory, chose to defy the Inkatha-dominated town council which had banned the

meeting.

Uwusa organiser Mahlaba Gumede, who is also a member of the Esikhawini council, said he was not at the meeting where the decision was taken to deny Cosatu a venue for its rally. However, he imagined it was due to the frequent "criticisms against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha".

Early on May Day, Northern Natal Cosatu chairman, Jerry Ntombela, reported a heavy police presence in the Esikhawini township, but said workers were adamant "they are going to use the Esikhawini stadium and celebrate May Day".

In spite of Inkatha's political predominance in Northern Natal and the fact that Empangeni is home base to three Uwusa leaders — Simon Conco, general secretary, Gumede and D J Mtiyane, an executive member — trade unionists in the Cosatu camp claim their position on the shop floor has not been threatened.

Of the 10 000 Cosatu members in the region, Ntombela estimates "about

20" had left to join Uwusa.

At a Cosatu rally in Mandini in March, union members who were strong Inkatha supporters made it clear that they did not agree with this line of Inkatha, according to Ntombela.

It is common cause that Inkatha's motivation in establishing Uwusa is part of a political battle for territory.

Rowley Arenstein, the longest serving banned person in South Africa, now a key figure in the establishment of Uwusa, argues that it is impossible to achieve Cosatu's stated ideal of "one union, one industry" if a federation takes political sides. Uwusa would give dissenting workers a voice on issues such as disinvestment and Inkatha's role in the political future and thus allow them to negotiate unity in industries from a position of strength, he said.

Ntombela puts it another way. When Fosatu organised in the region it played a "low profile" with respect to Inkatha.

"We used to go to Ulundi to discuss any problems between us. Now in Cosatu we haven't actually done that."

"That's why this thing is going so far, not because they are against Cosatu particularly. They are against progressive organisations, that's all."

Ntombela has doubts, too, about Inkatha's professed concern for the workers.

"There are so many workers working for the KwaZulu government who are really getting poverty wages," he says.

There is little doubt, though, that many workers in the area were discomfited by the anti-Inkatha rhetoric of Cosatu leaders.

Jeffrey Vilane, a former president of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, a senior shop steward at the giant Richards Bay aluminium smelter, Alusaf, a famed "imbongi" (praise singer) and Inkatha member, said a few months before Uwusa's launch that workers regarded Mawu "as a union that is well-organised in

the factory, but when they walk out of the factory they still maintain membership of Inkatha".

It is not yet clear how or whom Uwusa intends to organise.

"We are not targeting a particular region. We are based in Natal and the Transvaal and we will try to get a majority at any factory," said Gumede.

The established union movement's Achilles' heel is likely to be not its well-organised factories but either badly paid or unorganised workers.

Of the 70 000 at the Uwusa launch at least 10 000 were estimated to be hostel dwellers and there were clearly several thousand other workers.

But the 3000 at Esikhawini who risked not only Inkatha hostility but police action to attend their May Day meeting, and even one elderly stevedore, an Inkatha member, who went to Curries Fountain in full Zulu regalia, say as much about the impending battle as the King's Park show of strength.

Weekly Mail (4)

IT HAS become common to emphasise the importance of education for SA's development and to assume that the resulting financial burden should be borne by the State. Implementing this ideal would, however, require huge amounts of public funds. What are the requirements, and how can the shortfall be overcome?

Although the number of white university students is expected to remain approximately constant between 1979 and 2010, the numbers of coloured, Asian and black students are estimated to increase by factors of 5,6, 2,6 and 38,7 respectively.

The potential costs of increases of this size are self-evident, and the competing demands of other social services further curtail the funds available.

As a rule of thumb, it is taken for granted that 75% of university costs are attributable to staff salaries.

In order to attract staff, universities must compete with industry and the other sectors of the economy, which are able to pay higher wages out of increased production. Consequently, universities tend to become more expensive. In SA, this trend will be exacerbated by the demographic pressure of mushrooming student numbers.

Fiscal pressure has already manifested itself over the past decade in an unprecedented reduction in the real salaries of university staff, which have fallen

How the market could pay for students' university education

consistently after peaking in the third quarter of 1974.

By 1986 the reduction has resulted in the real salary of a professor being equivalent to that of a senior lecturer in 1971.

Over the past decade the universities have largely themselves absorbed cost increases, simply by paying their staff less (in real terms). However, to maintain the quality of their staff this convenient method of economising must be relinquished.

Cut-backs

An alternative method, but one having its own negative characteristics, has been used of late: subsidies have been reduced regularly in recent years. For example, in 1985, 1986 and 1987 university subsidies were reduced by 13,1%, 16,67% and 16,0% respectively — understandable cut-backs in the light of the pressure on the fiscus.

The university subsidy formula is designed to estimate "reasonable" costs for the various university activities. This is achieved by calculating input requirements

A P MELCK

and converting them into money by means of "cost units". In the case of personnel, an assumption is made with regard to a representative "basket" of staff levels — junior lecturer to professor — to give an average cost per university employee.

The percentage of these costs to be subsidised is derived by applying a ratio varying according to the institution concerned. It is, however, close to 80% for the larger universities (and higher for the smaller ones).

This figure is justified with reference to the total social costs of higher education, both direct and indirect. The indirect costs refer to the opportunity costs of forgone incomes borne by students and their families. As these generally exceed the direct costs, it is argued that the State's contributing 80% of the latter is not excessive.

Nevertheless, a school of thought exists which maintains that subsidisation becomes necessary only if market failure occurs, such as when private individuals

do not recoup the full benefits of the education they have bought.

In the case of universities, costs incurred by students can on average be recovered in the form of substantially increased earnings. There is, therefore, little reason to suspect the market of allocating resources incorrectly, and scant justification for high subsidies.

Careful use

If this approach is correct — and its supporters appear to be increasing — then it would seem a decrease in the contribution by the State is called for. This would be a shift of the financial burden on to the universities, which would in turn pass it on to the students.

The essence of the reasoning is that the functioning of the labour markets will still allow students to achieve sufficient returns on their human capital investments to supply the country's highly skilled manpower requirements. Indeed, they are likely to do so more efficiently, because of the more careful use that will be made of educational resources.

In the past, objections have been raised to proposals for raising fees on the grounds of equity. It is said the poor would not be able to afford a university education under such conditions. Those who disagree with this objection believe equity should be viewed from a life-cycle perspective: the present poor who qualify at a university are likely to become the future rich. It is therefore equitable that they, rather than those who will still be poor in the future, should pay for their own education.

Students who lack funds, it is argued, can overcome the problem by taking loans. Loans combine the twin advantages of a high degree of equality of opportunity, regardless of financial position, with the user charging that encourages the judicious use of resources.

The stumbling-block is the market failure which makes it difficult for poor students to obtain loans. Therein lies a market failure.

The remedy would be to remove the administration of student loans partially from the market, or at least to supplement the free market mechanism by pooling the risks in the form of a national student bank. Given time, it could become self-financing.

□ Extract from a paper given by Professor Melck, Department of Economics, University of Stellenbosch, at the University of Natal's conference on management and economic services in Maritzburg on Tuesday.

TEC breakthrough expected

Historic draft Bill on cards

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
AND CHRIS WHITFIELD

The Negotiating Council was poised last night to accept historic draft legislation for a transitional executive council (TEC) — the first step towards joint rule and a possible trigger for the lifting of sanctions.

This followed six hours of tension as ANC and Government negotiators met behind closed doors to thrash out some sharp differences, mainly centring on how decisions should be taken in the TEC.

Two meetings on Monday — when the Negotiating Council had postponed debate on the TEC legislation to allow for discussion — had failed to resolve the differences.

There were moments yesterday when negotiators feared a breakdown similar to the one that sank Codesa 2.

Sources revealed at the time of going to press that compromises had been made — and that the legislation designed to "level the playing fields" before elections would

NEGOTIATING Council is expected to reach agreement on transitional executive council

almost certainly be approved.

The legislation should now go before Parliament, probably during the short session beginning on Monday.

However, it will not take effect until a negotiations plenary session, attended by leaders, has given the entire "package" of agreements — including the interim constitution — its approval.

In effect the TEC, consisting of one member each from each of the negotiating parties, and its sub-councils will have powers to intervene when governments or political parties take actions which it determines are not conducive to free and fair elections.

These include, for example, the making of regulations by the sub-council on defence, in consultation with the Minister, which will govern deployments of defence force units

in crime prevention or peace-keeping.

The major dispute between the ANC and the Government has revolved around the majorities needed to take decisions in the TEC and its seven sub-councils. The technical committee on the TEC suggested a majority of 80 percent, and was backed by the Government. The ANC insisted on a two-thirds majority.

The sources said that by late yesterday, it had been agreed that decisions by the TEC would be taken by a 75 percent majority.

However, the declaration of a state of emergency would require an 80 percent majority after the State President had consulted the TEC.

Decisions in the sub-councils would be taken by a two-thirds majority, except in the sub-councils on defence, intelligence, and law and order where an 80 percent majority would be needed, said the sources.

At the time of going to press the Negotiating Council was gathering once again to discuss the proposed compromises.

How De Klerk

■ De Klerk still holds his real trump card in reserve after winning this week's game of power poker with Buthelezi, writes **DAVID BREIER** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff

soft-soaped Buthelezi

INSIDERS at this week's showdown say that President F W de Klerk finessed the first real concession from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — and he did it with soft soap instead of wielding the big stick.

The effect of the deal, thrashed out in eight hours of hard talking, has been to achieve the first stage in wooing Chief Buthelezi back to negotiations and away from the influence of the far-right Afrikaner Volksfront generals.

After the KwaZulu leader's year-long sulk, he may not yet be back at the World Trade Centre, but he is now back in the process.

Mr De Klerk did it without playing his strongest cards, according to sources close to this week's summit between the South African and KwaZulu governments.

For Mr De Klerk has not yet had to threaten to hold a referendum to expose Chief Buthelezi's lack of popular support.

And the State President has not yet even come close to playing his ultimate card — telling Chief Buthelezi that he can do his damndest, but elections will go ahead with or without him — and if Inkatha boycotts, it will be left with nothing.

Sources at the summit said that tactically the government realised the big stick would never work with the irascible Chief Buthelezi — soft soap was the answer and it worked.

The upshot was that Mr De Klerk achieved what he had realistically set out to do — to take the first step in drawing Chief Buthelezi back into the process after his fury which began a year ago when the government and the ANC signed the Record of Understanding last September.

This culminated in the IFP and KwaZulu walking out of the World Trade Centre talks and cementing relationships with the AVF.

By all accounts, Mr De Klerk's performance in turning Chief Buthelezi around at this week's summit was one of his finest. Even IFP sources described it as a "small miracle."

For what Chief Buthelezi agreed to at the summit was to put into effect a proposal that Mr De Klerk made recently and which Chief Buthelezi categorically rejected at the time. This was that there be parallel negotiations between those at the World Trade Centre and between the government and KwaZulu.

This is exactly what has now happened with the setting up of formal

bilateral committees between the government and KwaZulu to examine constitutional issues and violence.

In effect, say negotiators, mini "Codesa-style" negotiations have now been set up between the Government and KwaZulu in tandem with the real thing at the World Trade Centre, leaving the boycotting Conservative Party and AVF out in the cold.

But at the start of the marathon summit, such a solution seemed impossible. Chief Buthelezi began with a diatribe saying the meeting was a waste of time, and he made his usual noises about a "full scale civil war" — in effect playing his only strong

card prematurely.

Chief Buthelezi was immediately followed by the usually avuncular Dr Frank Mdlalose, his righthand man, who made equally threatening noises.

The atmosphere at the oval table in the cabinet room at Tuynhuys in Cape Town was tense as Mr De Klerk began his reply. He began by saying he was deeply disappointed at the KwaZulu approach as they had so much in common.

This was in fact a carefully worked out strategy devised in advance by Mr De Klerk and his aides who know Chief Buthelezi's style well.

Mr De Klerk went on to name common interests such as strong regional powers, a constitutional state, a constitutional court and a bill of rights.

With this, the atmosphere began to ease as the 30 people in the cabinet room were served a working lunch of chicken lubricated by a blanc de blanc and fruit juice — although Chief Buthelezi himself does not drink.

By the time the lunch debris was cleared, the two sides were relaxed, the earlier aggro forgotten as they discussed how to tackle their problems in the newly-created joint com-

mittees.

The real losers that day were the far-rightwing AVF whose close ties with Chief Buthelezi had threatened to become a formidable power bloc capable of smashing elections.

But a word of warning before euphoria sets in; the new two-ringed circus cannot go on indefinitely. Unless Chief Buthelezi falls in line with the proposed interim constitution and Transitional Executive Council by the end of October, Mr De Klerk may have to wield the big stick. For by then the negotiations will be running out of time for the April 27 election target date.

Huge support for boycott

Train boycott

From page 1

Sabta had, however, warned its members "not to be euphoric about the train boycott" because a boycott against taxi operators could be just as successful.

Putco said that from rough estimates of ticket coupons, there had been about a five percent increase in passengers.

The company had laid on 20 extra buses but only nine had been used, predominantly in Soweto.

Soweto police spokesman Captain Joseph Ngobeni said police were deployed at stations from about 6am and a helicopter was used in the morning to monitor the situation.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said they had taken "certain actions".

At Merafe, Inhlazane and Dube stations, commuters who used trains were mainly hostel dwellers living near the stations. Other stations were virtually empty.

Most of the commuters who used trains told *Sowetan* that they could not afford the high taxi fares.

In train number 9917 from Naledi to Faraday stations, there were fewer than five people in each coach.

Mr John Mvimba sat alone and said he was going to the city to look for a job and could not afford the taxi fare.

M. Abram Kgutlang said he spent R12 a week on train fare.

"It is just inconceivable that I can suddenly turn to the taxis or buses," he said.

THE first day of the train boycott appeared to be successful yesterday as thousands of commuters on the Reef supported the action in protest against ongoing attacks on trains.

Soweto trains carried between zero and 15 percent of their normal load of passengers.

A Spoornet spokesman said the number of passengers in other areas varied between 40 and 50 percent of the normal load.

Soweto commuters have been the most affected by the train violence, in which more than 130 people have been murdered this year.

The number of passengers dropped to 50 percent on the Germiston/Katlehong route and to 40 percent

By ABBEY MAKOE and Sapa

on the Tembisa line, a Spoornet spokesman said.

However, coaches were full on the Daveyton line on the East Rand.

The Spoornet spokesman said the West Rand was largely unaffected by the boycott.

A spokesman for the South African Black Taxi Association said there was an increase in taxi passengers from Soweto and from other areas and most taxis could not cope.

With the "avalanche of passengers", some drivers ignored regulations in an effort to "kill the rush", the Sabta spokesman said.

To page 2

He said that if the Geneva conference produced an interim government without elections first being held in Rhodesia, "the government won't be able to function because it won't have the support of the people and won't be popular, and it may even lead to civil war."

"We want to avoid civil war."

The renewed election demands came as the Geneva conference was about to turn to the formation of an interim administration now that it has bypassed the issue of a target date for majority rule.

Bishop Muzorewa's arch-rival, Mr Joshua Nkomo, opposes the referendum idea.

Prime Minister Ian Smith has not rejected it outright, but he insists that an interim government be structured according to the agreement earlier this year with the US Secretary of State, Dr Henry Kissinger.

Dr Kissinger's plan for a gradual handover to majority rule does not provide for elections. It calls for the interim government to consist of a council of State charged with supervising the drafting of a majority rule constitution and a council of Ministers to handle daily affairs.

According to the blueprint, which the United States has since pronounced negotiable and which Black Africa has largely rejected, the interim Ministers of Defence and of Law and Order were to be Whites.

"The chances of success at the Geneva conference are very small," Dr Chavunduka told the crowd.

"Success at the conference will depend upon Mr Smith's willingness to depart from the Kissinger document and discuss new ideas presented by other delegations." — UPI.

● Other reports —
Page 7

Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda was the prime mover behind the plot, the group's secretary-general, Dr Gordon Chavunduka, told a cheering, placard-waving crowd of 10 000 at the Black Highfields township outside Salisbury.

"Now let me warn President Kaunda for the first time: President Kaunda or any African leader has no right to choose leaders for Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia)."

"Therefore the people of Zimbabwe . . . must have the right to choose the government. Not the American Government. Not the British Government."

Before returning to Geneva, Dr Chavunduka told reporters at the weekend that his faction insists on elections to determine who will lead an interim government.

War

'Hopeful but cautious' about economic forum

From BRIAN WILLIAMS, National Council of Trade Unions (Johannesburg):

YOUR editorial stating that a virtual Economic Codesa was agreed to at a meeting with labour leaders, government and business leaders is an example of the triumph of extravagant journalism over facts ("Economic Codesa", Cape Times, May 20).

Your interpretation of the meeting with Minister of Finance Derek Keys, Nactu, Cosatu, Fedsal and business representatives is not supported by the conclusions reached.

What are the facts?

The meeting had one central resolution — that an economic forum would be held at which various perspectives could be put forward as part of a search for solutions to the economic crisis in our country. Minister Keys expressed a keen willingness and openness to the viewpoints of labour and business. The government's approach together with an undertaking to participate in an economic forum is a refreshing break from the past.

However it should be remembered that the Finance Minister is part of a racist minority government in transition. Economic policy is subject to the De Klerk government's own agenda of power play in its political negotiations. The government will remain devoutly territorial about its control of macro-economic policy.

Nactu's position about the economic forum is an exceedingly hopeful yet cautious one. We recognise the need for a united national approach to an economy ravaged by a vast array of the worst self-created weaknesses, that is mismanagement, corruption, wastage, misdirection, etc. A large part of our present problems is due to the fact that billions were spent by the Nationalist government, in an attempt

to give artificial life to an unworkable racist ideology.

Hundreds of millions of rands needed to rebuild the economy continue to be wasted in holding together apartheid institutions. There are major structural problems and serious distortions in the economy plus a massive foreign debt.

It is because of the failure of government and capital to create employment that Nactu has decided to become involved. We are driven by the urgency of the plight of the unemployed and the employed workers. We are committed to exploring together with capital and government the possibilities of increasing the job-creation capacity of the economy.

Our concern does not imply the acceptance of co-responsibility for the management of the economy over which we have very little control.

We hold that the right to work is a human right presently denied to seven million unemployed in our country. There is a calculated creation of unemployment by many companies. The social disintegration and domestic problems created by the vast retrenchments are subject to the supreme corporate principle of profit.

While we do hold the De Klerk government and capital accountable for a large share of the economic crisis, it is more important to go beyond the criticism to a position of constructive participation in the search for solutions. We should not be limited by sterile notions about past and present corporate guilt. We have a duty to our 700 000 members in particular and to the working class in general, to make a determined effort to find economic solutions.

However we are not prepared to surrender any fundamental rights of our members.

POLICE SWOOP IN NORTHERN NATAL:

'Huge success' against dagga, firearms and stocktheft

Northern Natal Courier

By Terry Worley

A MASSIVE police operation in Northern Natal has netted millions of rands worth of dagga and recovered over a thousand illegal firearms and stolen livestock.

Police seized 950 bags of dagga in the Weenen-Tugela Ferry-Helpmekeer areas and destroyed five tons of dagga in the fields in a "slash and burn" operation.

The 140 policemen led by Major Vlaggies Roux of the Natal Sanab (S.A. Narcotics and Alcohol Bureau) branch spent the last month scouring the rugged terrain for dagga plantations.

Air force helicopters and motorbikes were used to ferry the policemen into the most inaccessible areas where the dagga is grown — in isolated gorges and on hillsides.

Eleven arrests were made and 13 guns recovered including two AK 47 rifles.

Police met with little resistance as most of the dagga "farmers" disappear into the hills once the Puma helicopters have been spotted.

Two policemen were shot dead in an ambush in a similar operation last year.

being pushed back to the remote, inaccessible areas.

Dagga Exported

He said police are concerned with the amount of dagga exported to Europe through South Africa's borders.

"That is why these operations are so critical — the drug lords must never be allowed to get out of control as has happened in Columbia".

The month — long operation against illegal firearms in the district has also been called a huge success with the SAP Firearms Unit recovering 1 000 guns.

The haul includes 57 AK 47 assault rifles, R1 rifles, shotguns, revolvers, pellet guns and a variety of homemade weapons.

Over 5 000 rounds of ammunition were also confiscated.

The arms are used by feuding tribes in the Vryheid-Wasbank-Helpmekeer areas where faction fighting has claimed hundreds of lives over the past decades.

SAP Natal Public Relations Head, Lt Col Reg Reynolds, said the 'going price' for one AK 47 rifle is ten cows.

Police are concerned with the increasing sophistication

of the homemade weapons and it is the task of the Firearms Unit to curb this growing industry.

AK 47 rifles are coming through South Africa's vast borders which are difficult patrol, Lt Col Reynolds said.

Both the dagga and firearms operations are expected to be completed by the end of the week.



A Puma Helicopter returns to a base camp in the bush with another cargo of dagga seized from the Helpmekeer-Tugela Ferry-Weenen districts. See pages 4 and 5 for more photographs.

Hang Capt Mitchell, 'life' for others, urges State

PIETERMARITZBURG. — Argument in mitigation of sentence in the Trust Feed trial closed yesterday with the State calling for the death sentence on former New Hanover station commander Brian Mitchell and life prison terms for four special policemen.

Sentence is expected to be passed tomorrow.

State prosecutor Mr Anthony Irons said although it was Mr Justice Andrew Wilson's final decision on Mitchell's fate, the aggravating factors in his case outweighed the mitigating ones and it was his "unfortunate duty" to submit that the only sentence that should be imposed was death.

Referring to special policemen David Khambule, Dumisani Ndwalane, Khehla Ngubane

and Thabo Sikhosana, Mr Irons said the mitigating factors in their favour called for a "lengthy, if not life" imprisonment.

The five policemen were last week convicted of murdering 11 people and attempting to murder two others at a funeral wake in Trust Feed in December 1988.

Mr Irons said it was difficult to find mitigating circumstances in Mitchell's case other than his clean criminal record, and the fact that he was under the influence of alcohol on the night of the massacre.

Aggravating factors included the violence in the Trust Feed area which was largely his own doing.

Evidence led during the trial and subsequent judg-

ment found that Mitchell had actively supported the Inkatha Freedom Party in the Trust Feed area and had waged a campaign to oust United Democratic Front supporters — whom he regarded as Communists — from the area.

"He was in a position of trust, he had power and influence and he abused it," said Mr Irons.

Mitchell had caused the special policemen to be in the area at the time of the massacre, had misused them and had directly participated in the attack by firing the first two shots at the house where the massacre took place.

The former station commander had then left the "specials" to continue the killings "while he cal-

lously continued destroying houses in the area".

He returned to Trust Feed several hours later to cover up his involvement and showed no remorse at that time, Mr Irons added.

Mr Irons said mitigating factors in favour of the specials included their ages at the time of the attack and the fact that they were carrying out orders — although not legal — by a commissioned officer.

He said their fairly low standards of education and the extremely short period of their training as policemen also had to be taken into account.

Mr Justice Wilson interjected at this stage, saying the training of special policemen for six weeks before sending them into the field was a matter of concern.

Mr Irons continued that aggravating factors included the fact that Ndwalane, a special sergeant at the time, knew of the planned attack beforehand.

The four specials had also "directly intended to kill the victims in the house" as they were armed with heavy weapons and ammunition. They had also deliberately carried out the executions of mainly women and children — despite their screams and groans.

Earlier, defence counsel for Mitchell, Mr Etienne du Toit, SC, urged the judge to take Mitchell's circumstances into account when passing sentence as he had regarded himself as a "soldier of war" at the time and had wanted to eliminate UDF members in the interests of his country. — Sapa.

How South African Scandal Damaged Powerful Zulu Chief

By Stephen Taylor
Chronicle Foreign Service

Durban, South Africa

Old friends and allies of Zulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi adopt a sad, even defensive, expression when the subject of South Africa's Inkatha financing scandal is raised.

The regret is tinged with bafflement. If Buthelezi had set himself up to be the biggest potential victim of the affair, it is widely agreed that his handling of it could hardly have been worse.

While exposure of the government's secret payments to Inkatha has restored to the high ground Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress — even President Frederik de Klerk has managed to salvage something from the wreckage — Buthelezi has added to the damage done his credibility with television appearances that have been marked by recriminations and defiance.

Potential of Scandal

Buthelezi's denial that he knew of at least \$700,000 paid by Pretoria to Inkatha and affiliated groups is not believed by many who know him. Perhaps worse, he appears to have underestimated the potential of the scandal.

Jack Shepherd Smith, an admirer and biographer of Buthelezi, observed: "There is a bitter sense of disappointment. He was the one black leader who was attacked from both the left and the right. He opposed violence just as he did apartheid. Now he has muddled himself."

Another associate, Oscar Dhlomo, a former Inkatha secretary-general who is now a respected commentator, said that the taint of government support has compromised Buthelezi's ability to recruit new followers beyond his Zulu tribal base, and has weakened Inkatha's status as the third component in a trilogy including the government and ANC.

Even before the scandal, that status was questioned by some observers. Inkatha says it has 2.2 million members, the largest of any political organization in South Af-



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
Credibility in question

rica, but opinion polls have shown that it has relatively little support — seldom more than more than 3 percent among urban blacks.

For all that, the glee with which Buthelezi's old foes within the ANC are now writing him off is premature. Dhlomo believes that while Buthelezi will be left limping behind de Klerk and Mandela for some time, he still has an important role to play.

Inkatha recently received a key reassurance that its position has not been irretrievably damaged abroad, with the announcement by the United States that it was granting \$2.5 million in aid to the organization as "an important political force," along with \$4.5 million to the ANC.

A Different Light

Buthelezi's political strength is most clearly visible among the rolling hills and thatched huts of what was once Zululand, now the self-governing homeland of KwaZulu. There are few newspapers or televisions here, and those who have heard of the scandal tend to see it in a different light from the urban taxpayers outraged by abuse of public funds.

Ethnicity is a sensitive issue in South Africa, where it has been distorted to the ugly designs of apartheid. But in the land of the Zulus, where custom and culture

remain deeply rooted, it is not easily dismissed.

William Khumalo, a pupil at the Baptist mission school in Gezinsela, about 100 miles north of Durban, pointed to a stone monument on the side of a hill.

"That was Kwabulawayo, where King Shaka's kraal stood," he said. As if quoting directly from one of his school lessons, he added: "Shaka founded the Zulu nation. He made us a great people, with a great history."

Numbering around 7.5 million, more than 30 percent of the black population, the Zulus were always bound to be a potent political force in South Africa. As a hereditary chief descended from Shaka, Buthelezi claims the mantle of leadership.

'Poisonous Snake'

The ANC has been determined to deny it to him, repeatedly denouncing Buthelezi during its years underground as a government stooge — "a poisonous snake which needs to be hit on the head."

But it was not until 1987 that the rhetoric turned to bloodshed. Since then, more than 3,000 have died in Natal townships, and thousands more elsewhere in South Africa's urban slums.

Few of those who monitor the violence are neutral, and trying to apportion blame is a hazardous and perhaps sterile occupation.

The conflict is more one of generation and culture than ideology, being in the main conducted on the one hand by conservative, traditional Zulus, and on the other by urban ANC youths in rebellion against the authority of elders.

John Aitchison, an academic at the University of Natal, argues that the violence signals the death throes of a tribal system that is corrupt and discredited.

Dhlomo agrees that immediate priorities for South Africa's black population as a whole dictate that "the ethnic baby be thrown out with the apartheid bathwater."

But he and a number of analysts believe that tribal identity will be an important factor in the future South Africa.

He ain't heavy, he's my brother

FOR years Dr Wimpie de Klerk took political pot shots at his brother from extra-parliamentary sidelines, but now, by a strange quirk of fate, the two find themselves in formal opposition to each other.

Dr De Klerk was elected policy adviser to the newly formed Democratic Party within days of his brother, Frederick Willem de Klerk, being elected leader of the National Party.

And although family loyalty reigns supreme, the fight is now on.

In the true spirit of party politics, Dr De Klerk said this week he was still open to being recruited back to the NP if his brother became more "verlig" — a scenario he believed unlikely.

But by the same token, if his brother refuses to steer the NP away from its concept of race group rights, he, Wimpie, will be recruiting dissatisfied Nats with all the ardour of an opposition politician.

"It's a new scene for both of us and it will certainly be difficult — we are now definitely en route to a head-on collision," he said this week.

However, he said family loyalty would always

keep the brotherly relationship on a steady path.

"Hopefully it won't damage the close relationship between us. I think there will be numerous arguments but this will not damage the essence of our relationship," he said.

Dr De Klerk added that he and his brother would now be "keeping secrets" from each other out of loyalty to their respective parties. "Obviously I won't now be discussing the inner workings of the Democratic Party or their worries with my brother and the same would apply to him with his party," he said.

Asked if he had any influence on his younger brother, Dr De Klerk said they both influenced each other: "We both know that neither of us is an opportunist."

However, they were unable to reconcile their attitudes to the concept of protecting race group rights.

Dr De Klerk said he found this unacceptable. He did not believe the NP would abandon the concept as it was the "bottom line" for the Nats.

"I don't think there will be any meaningful negotiation with meaningful black leaders if the NP upholds the race group concept."

Until such time as the NP proves its *bona fides* in reform moves, Dr De Klerk will stay with the DP, helping to formulate policy, devise strategies and market the new party.

Once tipped as the leader of the new party, Dr De Klerk participated in unity talks as a representative of the "Fourth Force", the dissatisfied Nats.

Although he advocates the protection of Afrikaans cultural rights, he is opposed to the constitutional protection of race groups.

It was he who originally coined the terms "verlig" and "verkramp" and although he remained uneasy in the Nationalist camp for many years, he always expressed his reservations.

His dissatisfaction with the NP reached an all-time high when he was forced to resign as editor of *Rapport*, after refusing to toe the line.

He rapidly became a political commentator of note, writing in the "verdomde Engelse pers".

Now, as he copes with the "new scene" of brotherly opposition, he says: "I do not think I am less of an Afrikaner than my brother. I am very much rooted in Afrikanerdom and proud of it. You can call me an Afrikaans liberal.

"During our childhood and the subsequent years there was always a difference between my brother and myself. He was conservative and believed in group thinking. I am more inclined to find solutions to problems."

Political differences aside, he said of his brother: "He is a very well-balanced kind of chap, he's a pragmatist. He will bring a more relaxed atmosphere to Government.

"In the NP there are two distinct factions — the verlig and the verkramp. I think my brother represents the middle of the road.

"I believe he will try his utmost to find compromises in the South African situation. If he can succeed in leading the NP around the corner into a new atmosphere of *real politik*, then he will get my support again."

Dr De Klerk, who has been invited many times to participate in party politics, said he enjoyed the role of political commentator and of participating in the intellectual input, rather than the hurly-burly of parliamentary politics.

He said, however, that he might reconsider his position within a few years.

Huge support for boycott

Train boycott

● From page 1

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● To page 2

IMVO, Feb. 16-20

Happy scenes at all the PE schools

PORT ELIZABETH — There are happy scenes in most schools here especially lower primary schools after thousands of pupils reported for re-registration last Wednesday, the deadline set by the Department of Education and Training for pupils to go back.

This marked the end of a nine-month boycott which saw many pupils leaving the city in January for better and undisturbed hunting grounds by the end of 1980.

last week.

He said he did not foresee any problems in this regard. Mr. Lamani is among 15 students who were expelled from the New Brighton Technical College last year at the height of the boycott. The college's governing body decided to readmit them soon after their release.

DETENTIONS

About 22 student leaders were in detention at Modder Bee prison in Transvaal under Section 10 of the Terrorism Act. They all came from Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage. Their detention became an added grievance to those already stipulated by the pupils and described as short term demands if the impasse was to be ended.

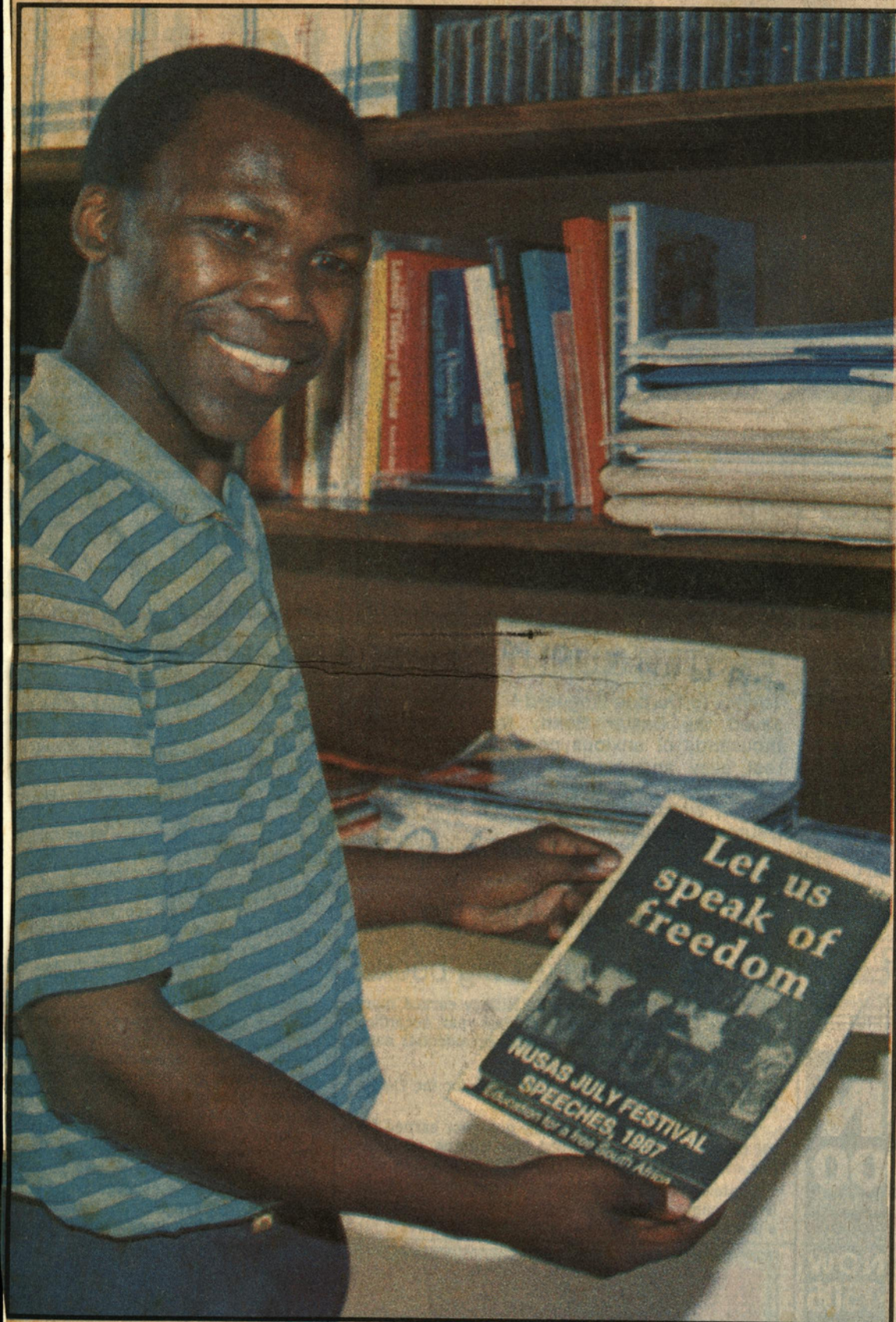
Their release was hailed by many civic leaders and parents who saw it as a step in the right direction and a clear indication that the authorities were prepared to meet the pupils' short-term demands and it created a healthy situation for further discussions with parent bodies.

CHAIRMAN

Among those released was Mr. Duma Lamani, former chairman of the disbanded Port Elizabeth Students Committee. Soon after their release Mr. Lamani said the released students stood by the Parents Committee decision that students should suspend the boycott. Mr. Lamani who said they had been treated well in prison, undertook to see the head of the Security Police in the Eastern Cape, Col. G. Erasmus to secure the release of other students still in detention.

HERE HE IS ... THE STUDENT WHO STUNNED A

UNIVERSITY



Knowledge Mdlalose, whose exclusion almost brought Natal University to a standstill, in the residence room he is refusing to vacate.

Picture: Puri Devjee

'Hopeful but cautious' about economic forum

From BRIAN WILLIAMS, National Council of Trade Unions (Johannesburg):

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Your interpretation of the meeting with Minister of Finance Derek Keys, Nactu, Cosatu, Fedsal and business representatives is not supported by the conclusions reached.

What are the facts?

The meeting had one central resolution — that an economic forum would be held at which various perspectives could be put forward as part of a search for solutions to the economic crisis in our country. Minister Keys expressed a keen willingness and openness to the viewpoints of labour and business. The government's approach together with an undertaking to participate in an economic forum is a refreshing break from the past.

However it should be remembered that the Finance Minister is part of a racist minority government in transition. Economic policy is subject to the De Klerk government's own agenda of power play in its political negotiations. The government will remain devoutly territorial about its control of macro-economic policy.

Nactu's position about the economic forum is an exceedingly hopeful yet cautious one. We recognise the need for a united national approach to an economy ravaged by a vast array of the worst self-created weaknesses, that is mismanagement, corruption, wastage, misdirection, etc. A large part of our present problems is due to the fact that billions were spent by the Nationalist government, in an attempt

to give artificial life to an unworkable racist ideology.

Hundreds of millions of rands needed to rebuild the economy continue to be wasted in holding together apartheid institutions. There are major structural problems and serious distortions in the economy plus a massive foreign debt.

It is because of the failure of government and capital to create employment that Nactu has decided to become involved. We are driven by the urgency of the plight of the unemployed and the employed workers. We are committed to exploring together with capital and government the possibilities of increasing the job-creation capacity of the economy.

Our concern does not imply the acceptance of co-responsibility for the management of the economy over which we have very little control.

We hold that the right to work is a human right presently denied to seven million unemployed in our country. There is a calculated creation of unemployment by many companies. The social disintegration and domestic problems created by the vast retrenchments are subject to the supreme corporate principle of profit.

While we do hold the De Klerk government and capital accountable for a large share of the economic crisis, it is more important to go beyond the criticism to a position of constructive participation in the search for solutions. We should not be limited by sterile notions about past and present corporate guilt. We have a duty to our 700 000 members in particular and to the working class in general, to make a determined effort to find economic solutions.

However we are not prepared to surrender any fundamental rights of our members.

Nkambule said he "had no reason to doubt then and now that Phosa might have met Ramaphosa and Sexwale once or twice to brief them".

The former youth leader, however, admitted he only had Phosa's word that he met Sexwale and Ramaphosa and regularly briefed them on his plan to discredit Mbeki. Nkambule said until the end of last year it appeared that Ramaphosa was earmarked for election as ANC president at the party's national congress next year.

However, Phosa appeared to be aiming for the position for himself: "He stopped mentioning Cyril," Nkambule said.

"I just want to tell Cyril — if you have any contact [with Mathews Phosa], stop that."

Asked if Phosa ever spoke about causing "physical harm" to Mbeki, Nkambule said: "No." Tshwete has justified the police investigation on the basis that Mbeki's "physical security" might be under threat.

Nkambule, however, defended Tshwete and said that rumours about Mbeki's alleged involvement with Hani's death or with a woman could incite an angry Hani supporter or husband to physically harm to the president.

Meanwhile, Nkambule revealed that in one of his affidavits filed two weeks ago that Phosa was allegedly involved with Savimbi.

He claimed that in the course of last year, one of Phosa's employees, allegedly dealing in diamonds, was kidnapped by Savimbi's men in Angola.

Nkambule claimed that according to the conversations he was privy to with Phosa present, the employee was nabbed by Savimbi's men with diamonds in his possession while he was on his way to the Democratic Republic of Congo.

He claimed that Savimbi demanded arms, including seven rocket launchers, in exchange for the employee's freedom.

"I think Phosa arranged for the arms through his connections in Mozambique. He arranged to meet with Savimbi in August/September last year to see the deal through. Since questions could be raised about a South African leader meeting with a banned leader and the involvement of arms and diamonds, he took a supposed white journalist with him. He told me that should there be any complications, he could then say that Mandela had sent him to mediate."

■ Meanwhile, according to ANC sources in the Northern Province, Phosa was removed from the list of guest speakers at a fund-raising event for the party held in Pietersburg last month. The sources said Phosa's removal came following instructions received "from upstairs".

How the M&G reporters found the cartridges

Mail & Guardian reporter

The cops had not found the spent cartridges of the bullets supposedly fired on former African National Congress youth leader James Nkambule on Tuesday night. The shots were apparently fired at his house in Barber-ton, Mpumalanga, while Nkambule sat watching videos with a friend.

Nkambule complained that the police had not

visited his house to search for spent cartridges on Wednesday. But on Thursday morning while visiting the scene, *Mail & Guardian* reporters discovered two spent cartridges behind Nkambule's house. The first spent cartridge was discovered by Nkambule, who walked almost directly to it.

Nkambule claims his life is under threat because of the role he has played in the probe into the alleged plot to oust the president.

Hatred across a deadly divide

AMONG the millions of Zulus who live around the cities of Durban and Pietermaritzburg, south of the historic Tugela River divide, a black-on-black war is raging. It has claimed 10,000 lives in the last six years.

But this is Zulu fighting Zulu. Some are loyal to the African National Congress of Nelson Mandela, others are devoted to the Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is not a war which fits the illusions of many European outsiders, for whom Zulus are fearsome warriors carrying spears, knobkerries and cattlehide shields while their bare-breasted maidens pound grain back in the kraals.

Neither are modern Zulu warriors in the battles for the towns clad in grass skirts and monkey and leopard skin.

"The only skins we favour today are Armani leather jackets and alligator shoes.

That's your Zulu, July 1992-style," says Khaba Mkhizi, a journalist who is a kind of Damon Runyon of the black townships around Pietermaritzburg, capital of Natal. "You see a lot of photographs of Buthelezi in traditional gear at ceremonies. But there's a well-used photo of Buthelezi wearing a Burberry scarf marked Harrod's. That's what Zulus aspire to. The 'traditional' Zulu is for the museum."

Not only is the traditional Zulu being consigned to the archives by many Zulu speak-

Zulus are divided by more than the River Tugela. Fred Bridgland in Pietermaritzburg charts the factors that have fostered an internecine war

ers, but the history books which related the image of the unified, warlike Zulu nation are being questioned.

"There is no such thing as a homogeneous Zulu group, and there never has been," says John Wright, Professor of History at Pietermaritzburg's University of Natal.

Prof Wright says that in the 1970s Buthelezi was the only show in town among Zulus south of the Tugela. He filled the vacuum left by the banning of the ANC in 1960. He was articulate and charismatic and the support for him was genuine. But after the uprising by schoolchildren in Soweto, near Johannesburg, in 1976 the ANC began regaining lost ground. In 1983 the United Democratic Front (UDF), a surrogate for the still-banned ANC, began moving into Natal. The UDF-ANC became an immediate threat to Buthelezi's support base when it backed a schools boycott in the Durban area.

"That's one of the occasions when Inkatha showed its teeth, supporting the 'old guard' of chiefs, elders and parents in a crackdown on the young activists whose sympathies were with the ANC," says Prof Wright. Among working-class Zulus around Durban and Pietermaritzburg there was a further erosion of Buthelezi's support in 1985 with the for-



mation of the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

"Buthelezi was forced more and more to rely on rural chiefs, who were underpinned by the Bantustan system and Pretoria," says Wright. "The more he lost his constituency, the more he cracked down. In 1985 warlords started emerging, partly under Inkatha control, partly semi-independent. You couldn't get a shack unless you paid the warlord. These racketeers became part of Buthelezi's natural constituency."

The warlords embarrassed Buthelezi, but he couldn't afford to lose their support. At the same time, many of the victims of the rent racketeers were pushed into the UDF-ANC camp.

The Zulus who live south of the Tugela are descendants of a group that broke away from

King Shaka's rule in the 19th century and the present discord between the ANC and Inkatha is to a considerable extent a reflection of the complicated divisions of the past.

"In this area there is a psychological rebellion against being Zulu," said Khaba Mkhizi, who as assistant editor of the *Natal Witness* writes a column on life in the townships around Pietermaritzburg. "People are taking a good look at Shaka and wondering whether he was a good thing. In the streets, bars and Zulu language newspapers, they say Shaka never had a quarrel with the white people, and now there is Buthelezi who has never had a quarrel with whites."

There are many differences of opinion about what was the first spark in the modern Zulu war between the ANC and Inkatha. Mkhizi pinpoints November 1983 when students at the University of Zululand at Empangeni, north of the Tugela, were attacked by rural "impis" (war parties) armed with spears and axes and dressed in leopard skins. By the end of the campus rampage, six students lay dead and dozens more were in hospital with broken heads. Buthelezi is chancellor of the university.

"Some of the kids came from Edendale [now an ANC stronghold in a valley near

Pietermaritzburg]," says Mkhizi. "Their parents decided they didn't want to be associated with a leader who sent in uneducated people to kill their sons and daughters. It was never the same again."

Gavin Woods, director of the Durban-based Inkatha Institute, an organisation set up by Buthelezi to research economic and social issues, believes the division goes back to 1979 when Buthelezi met the ANC President-in-exile, Oliver Tambo, in London. Having given official ANC blessing to the birth of Inkatha in 1975, Tambo now demanded blind allegiance from Buthelezi, who refused on three counts.

First, Buthelezi objected to the ANC's exploitation of youthful anger and warned that it could lead to unprecedented levels of civil disorder. Secondly, he opposed the stepping up of armed struggle by the ANC. Finally, Buthelezi objected to economic sanctions when blacks stood to be hurt most.

From there onwards it was all downhill. ANC radio stations and publications abroad dubbed Inkatha leaders "puppets" and called for their deaths. Last month Harry Gwala, a self-confessed Zulu-speaking Stalinist who is ANC chairman in the Pietermaritzburg region, said Inkatha leaders were legitimate targets for assassination. Every day last week, south of the Tugela there was a fresh crop of ANC or Inkatha bodies. All were Zulus.



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Later in the day, he stopped at a restaurant at the Sanlam Center, the only shopping center in the beachfront resort. While eating, he noticed people reading newspapers that carried a picture of a woman who had died in the Lesotho attack, the mother of a nine-month-old baby. He then decided to attack the center, even though he knew that would violate ANC policy.

He later told Meer:
"I look back on what happened in Amanzimtoti and I am ashamed of myself. . . . I behaved no differently from the SADF (South African Defense Forces). I became like them — racist like them. They killed black people. I had killed white people. I am not a racist . . . but it is very easy in South Africa to be a racist."

A few days after the blast, police raided the house in which he was hiding. He ran, hoping they would shoot him and he would "die like a soldier." They caught up to him and didn't shoot.

"I told them: 'I'm the one you are looking for,'" Zondo said. "I laid the bomb in Amanzimtoti."

His trial was dramatic. One youth, John Bothma, testified from a wheelchair and told how the blast killed his 16-year-old sister, Sharon. As Bothma's father wheeled his son from the stand after the testimony, the father stopped at the defense table and punched Zondo in the face.

Zondo testified that after he had planted the bomb, he had intended to go to a nearby post office and phone the center to warn them of the device. But he said all the phone booths were occupied.

When a booth became free, there were only minutes left before the explosion. Had an evacuation been launched at that point, he decided, everyone would be rushing through the walkways, and the casualties would have been worse.

The judge called his story preposterous, saying that if Zondo were worried about civilian casualties, he should have attacked at night or on a Sunday.

Zondo's parents did not attend the trial, except for a brief appearance by Mr. Zondo before sentencing in support of a plea for his son's life.

"We didn't go because — in fact, we prayed that the Lord should just close those books," Mr. Zondo said. "Because if you turn over these things and you are a Christian, you end up having resentment, you end up having hate in your heart."

"We talked with him," Lephinah Zondo added. "He said we mustn't go."

The Zondos said they enjoyed their visits with the youth on Death Row. They would worship and pray.

"I can assure you, everything was fine," Mr. Zondo said. "I think the case was, well, they did a good job as far as they could do. . . . He didn't have any resentment and we don't have any resentment, we love everybody."

What of the cause for which Andrew Zondo died?

"I can't fight apartheid or any other thing, because there is no government which is better than the other one," Mr. Zondo said. "My association with God makes me belong to a God that rules the whole Earth. So I can't concentrate on one little spot."

He and his wife said they wished someone could explain to them what the ANC was all about.

"I wonder if the ANC doesn't have elderly people," Lephinah Zondo said. She said she thought "the ANC's just a number of kids."

Mr. Zondo said: "There's no one who thinks. I mean kids, they don't know anything. They just jump, they jump, they jump, they do what they want to do."

The Amanzimtoti blast was food for thought for the ANC.

ANC President Oliver Tambo said the ANC would continue not to sanction attacks on white civilians, but warned that cadres might occasionally overreact, or that civilians might be caught in cross fire.

In private conversations, some ANC members have expressed dismay at Zondo's action, partly on philosophical grounds — the ANC says it is fighting a system, not whites per se — and partly because such incidents hurt the credibility of the group.

But others pointed out that young blacks were dying by the hundreds in township violence.

Cadres "have seen lives and limbs lost at the hands of the security forces," said Tom Sebina, an ANC spokesman. "Why must the ANC say, 'You mustn't behave in the same manner?'"

The debate means little to the Zondos.

They have four other children, ranging in age from five to 23, but Andrew "was the most soft-hearted of all my children," Mr. Zondo said.

"He was an outstanding fellow," he said. "When he was there, you felt he was there. And he knew how to love, he knew how to reach out and love somebody. I mean anybody. He was a friend of all, people older than myself. And small kids."

"But then, to say such things of someone who was hanged for his involvement with the ANC might not make much sense to other people," Mr. Zondo said. But those qualities of his son "are things we cherish in our family."

It was suggested that maybe other people needed to know that side of Andrew Zondo.

"Maybe, yeah," Mr. Zondo said. "But I doubt it."

HIGH-STAKES POWER PLAY IN THE HOMELANDS.

homelands are not one problem but many. For the 10 "homelands" created as segregated tribal states under apartheid each have their own political identity and their own aspirations to power in the new South Africa.

Transkei, the second-largest homeland with 3.5m inhabitants, has proved fertile ground for ANC mobilisation. Its residents are Xhosas - the tribe of Mr Mandela and other top ANC leaders - and its leader, General Bantu Holomisa, is the

most powerful in Ciskei, so it is hardly surprising that the organisation should target Brig Gqozo for protest. But as the Johannesburg daily Business Day pointed out yesterday: "Gqozo's sin... is not that he heads an unrepresentative homeland regime spawned by apartheid, but that he does not agree with the ANC."

The problem for the ANC is that the two other most powerful homeland leaders - President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Chief

The homelands have their own political identity and their own aspirations to power in the new South Africa

Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu - also disagree with the ANC. Official ANC strategy is to seek their overthrow by force.

staunchest ANC supporter among homeland leaders. Gen Holomisa seems to have chosen his ally wisely, for he has escaped the ANC's campaign against the repressive practices of homeland leaders.

Instead, the ANC has chosen to target Ciskei, the much smaller Xhosa homeland in the eastern Cape, with a population of 800,000. Ciskei has suffered increasing repression since Brig Gqozo took power in a March 1990 coup. Undoubtedly, the ANC has been hampered in its attempts to organ-

ise politically in Ciskei, so it is hardly surprising that the organisation should target Brig Gqozo for protest. But as the Johannesburg daily Business Day pointed out yesterday: "Gqozo's sin... is not that he heads an unrepresentative homeland regime spawned by apartheid, but that he does not agree with the ANC."

Neither is a negligible foe. President Mangope's government has been accused of widespread corruption and repression against members of the ANC. But as host to the second largest platinum mine in the world and with the strongest economy among the homelands, any move to overthrow him would be resisted by business and government leaders

in South Africa.

The risks of taking on Chief Buthelezi are even greater. The KwaZulu homeland which he heads is 5m strong, with the most powerful security forces of any homeland government. Furthermore, Pretoria is counting on Chief Buthelezi as a crucial ally in the first multi-racial elections (officials of the ruling National Party believe he could deliver 1m votes to a moderate alliance). The government, therefore, cannot afford to do without him.

So the risk is great that the ANC's plan to overthrow the governments of Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu could lead to horrendous violence. ANC leaders know this, and are using it to pressure Pretoria for a solution which would bring the homelands back into a multi-racial South Africa and destroy them as ethnically-based centres of power.

The outline of such a solution was agreed four months ago at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa). There, the 10 homeland governments (except Bophuthatswana, which reserved its position) agreed to separate referenda on the issue of reincorporation into South Africa. Brig Gqozo has agreed in principle to such a referendum for Ciskei - though he rejected it before Monday's massacre - and Pretoria could regain strategic ground lost to the ANC by ensuring other homeland leaders also comply.

By so doing, the government would risk losing some important allies for its planned electoral coalition of whites, coloureds, Indians and moderate homeland blacks. But after Monday's events, Pretoria will find it increasingly difficult to resist calls to determine the homelands' future democratically, through referenda.

But if negotiations cannot resume without an act of statesmanship of this sort from Mr FW de Klerk, the same demand must be made of Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader. For whatever the successes of the ANC's recent campaign of mass action against the government, it remains very unlikely that Pretoria can be overthrown by the ANC. The ANC can raise the temperature of negotiations, but not to a level which would force substantial concessions on the central issue of distributing power in the post-apartheid South Africa.

Both men will be called upon to rise above the fray and act as statesmen rather than political streetfighters. The risk is that if they fail to do so soon there will be nothing of value left to inherit.

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SUNDAY TIMES

Perspectives

Times Diary

YOU can't keep Ian Smith down — or quiet. Despite his long retirement from active politics, the former Rhodesian prime minister has been sounding off about the "disgraceful" treatment of Zola Budd.

In a letter from Harare to the London Sunday Telegraph last week, Mr Smith obviously writes with some feeling as a man who himself experienced the rough edge of international politics.

Calling on sportsmen to "stand up and be counted" against international blackmail, he says: "As someone who has had experience in the fields of both politics and sport... I have no hesitation in saying that I prefer dealing and associating with sportsmen than with politicians — I find sportsmen more genuine, honest, sincere."

IS this the ultimate privatisation?

Britain's Central Television station has warned the Meteorological Office that unless the TV performance of its forecasters improves "dramatically" they will put the daily weather programmes out to tender.

A Birmingham company called The Weather Department has already said it will bid for the R250 000 a year contract.

ALTHOUGH the cane and Astrap are outlawed in the majority of American schools, the education authority in Texas has been forced to outlaw an unusual punishment being meted out by some teachers... the brick.

Headmasters of four elementary schools in Nacogdoches County have been asked to stop hanging bricks around youngsters' necks as a way of making them remember to bring books, pens and pencils to school.

The state authorities intervened after one parent complained that his 13-year-old son had to endure a whole day at school lugging about a brick which bore the words: "I forgot my pencil."

THE last survivor of one of the most celebrated feats of the Second World War — the Cockleshell Heroes' raid on German ships in Bordeaux — is to sell his Distinguished Service Medal at Sotheby's later this month to supplement his war pension.

Mr William Sparks, 65, asked Sotheby's to auction his medal, which will fetch an estimated R25 000.

In December, 1942, Mr Sparks and nine others were launched in canoes from a submarine off the coast of France. For five days they lived in fields beneath camouflage nets before mining German ships in the mouth of the Gironde, sinking two.

Only Mr Sparks and his commanding officer, Major Hasler, returned alive.

CARE Bears and My Little Pony toys, whose gentle qualities command the affections

AGAINST a background of distrust and despair among blacks and insecurity and fear of the future among whites I, like most South Africans, would like to see the National Council work.

Nobody could quarrel with its objectives, and the Government has certainly tried to remove obstacles to participation. I respect President Botha's sincerity in proposing the measure, and I have no doubt that he genuinely thinks that this is the way forward.

And, frankly, I wish he were right. Unfortunately, good intentions are not enough.

The way a new government is established, if it is to have any claim to being a democracy, is as important as the form of government itself. The whole of the society must be represented at the act of creation.

President Botha and his government understand this, but what (perhaps understandably) they have difficulty in accepting is that this will not happen under the National Party (or for that matter any all-white party) or in terms of existing institutions.

The National Party simply does not have the required credibility, either domestically or internationally.

From a black point of view, it is an oppressive minority government and, from the point of view of an increasing number of Afrikaners, it is no longer representative.

KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a carefully worded statement echoing the sentiments of other indispensable players, has said that he will not have a part in the National Council.

He is doing exactly what Boer leaders did in the years between

the South African War and Union.

Alternative

General Smuts and company spurned British-sponsored constitutional experiments. Like the Boer leaders who did not wish to compromise themselves, and who sensed that circumstances would change in their favour, black leaders today are watching their constituencies. They sense, too, that demographic, economic and psychological factors must inexorably work in their favour.

It is therefore neither accurate nor fair of Mr Chris Heunis to say that those who reject the National Council put themselves on the side of violence.

That argument can be turned with greater effect on the Government, for there is an alternative approach to constitutional reform. It is an approach which has been presented again and again to the Government, both publicly and privately.

The proposal, essentially, is that the Government should mandate the chief justice or a senior judge (suitably assisted) to begin the process of discussion and negotiation by drawing together all the major constitutional proposals.

These would include the more contentious options (for example, an Afrikaner state and the Freedom Charter) and then, with the help of facilitators, get the process going.

While this is starting up, a

by Denis
Worrall

leader of the
Independent Party

climate conducive to negotiations would be created. Helpful steps towards this goal would be a clear commitment to end all apartheid, the recognition of the fundamental right of groups who want cultural and linguistic self-determination even on a geographical basis; the freeing of black politics, and the ending of the state of emergency etc.

Of course, this would require a major change in the attitude of the government of the day. It would have to accept that it was essentially a caretaker government (or as Dr William de Klerk

put it in his column in this newspaper three weeks ago, a "transition government") whose task would be not to shape the political future but simply to ensure the daily administration of the country.

The National Party as such would be released to participate in the process of constitutional discussion alongside other political parties and organisations like Inkatha, the UDF and the Conservative Party etc.

Something like this occurred in the years between the South African War and the National Convention of 1908, and in the US before the adoption of the American Constitution in 1787.

Resignations

This approach would raise the level of constitutional debate and establish an independent and neutral starting-point for discussion. It would also address the two major emotional attitudes which are presently governing political participation: Black distrust of government leaders and white politicians in general, and white anxiety regarding the future.

This approach corresponds to the "high road" popularised by Clem Sunter. The alternative course, to try (as President Botha has put it) to "govern ourselves into reform", is the "low road" — the way of co-option, authoritarianism and (eventual) failure.

To adopt the high-road ap-

HEUNIS AND THE ART OF NECESSITY



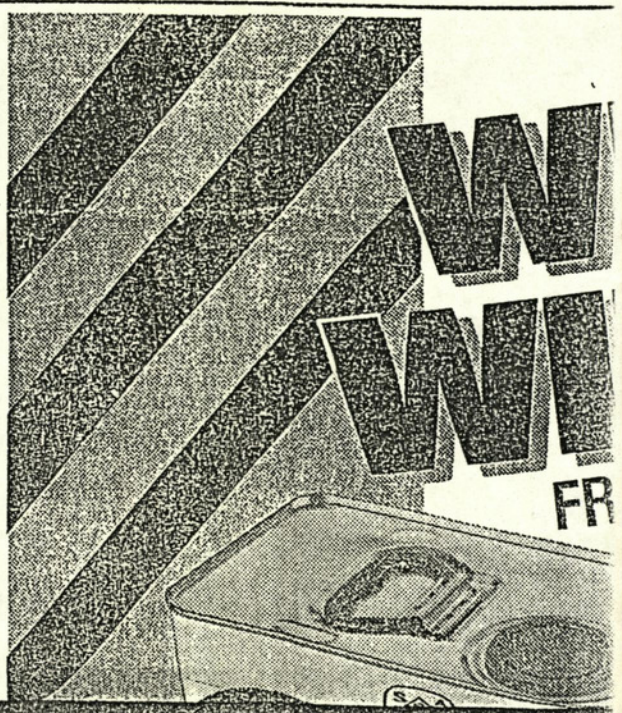
GRAPHIC: DAVID SHAI

proach course calls for magnanimity, for statesmanship and for a willingness to put the interests of country before party... something which, as Disraeli said, is hard for any politician. But, again, politics is not always the art of the possible; sometimes it is the art of the necessary.

The National Council is in the statute book. It is a fact of our political life. Let us therefore give the Government until August of next year to prove that it can work.

If, as I believe will be the case, it fails, the National Council must be treated as one constitutional false start too many. Let there be resignations.

• Dr Worrall was chairman of the President's Council constitutional committee which proposed the future tricameral Parliament in 1983.



16/11/20
ANC welcomes AAM leader

Huddleston: apartheid not yet dead

By Phil Molefe

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, father of the international anti-apartheid movement, arrived in South Africa yesterday after an absence of 35 years and reaffirmed his commitment to "struggle for human dignity and true freedom".

"I am not here to celebrate the end of apartheid because it has not ended," Archbishop Huddleston told a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after his arrival.

He said the time for any celebrations would be when a government democratically elected by all people of South Africa assumed office.

"I want everything that had to do with apartheid uprooted," he said.

The 78-year-old president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement was met at the airport by ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo, deputy president Nelson Mandela, secretary-general Alfred Nzo and internal leader Walter Sisulu.

Mr Tambo walked slowly, aided by a walking stick, to meet the archbishop, also balancing his right hand on a walking stick.

"We are now old, there is little difference whether we are standing or sitting. All the better for seeing you," said Archbishop Huddleston as he hugged Mr Tambo.

Archbishop Huddleston said the main purpose of the visit would be to attend the national conference of the ANC to be held in Durban next week. He will address the opening session.



Old friends . . . ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo at the airport yesterday to welcome Archbishop Trevor Huddleston who returned to the country after an absence of 35 years. With them is ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela.
Picture: John Hogg

Extensive

"My sole purpose is to make whatever contribution I can to further the peace process so that we can achieve our goal — a genuine end to apartheid and the creation of a new South Africa as we envisaged with the adoption of the Freedom Charter — a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa," he said.

The ANC, which invited Archbishop Huddleston, is organising an extensive programme for him during his three-week stay in the country, covering the Transvaal, Natal and the western Cape.

He is also expected to return to the suburb of Triomf, formerly Sophiatown township — the site of the first forced removals of blacks after the passing of the Group Areas Act — where he worked as a priest between 1943 and 1956, when he left the country.

"Sophiatown was a fully non-racial and multi-faith society," he said with nostalgia.

"I have travelled extensively but I have never found a place with vitality, creativity and joy like Sophiatown," he said.

Archbishop Huddleston will also visit Kliptown, where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955 and where he received, with Chief Albert Luthuli and Dr Yusuf Dadoo, the ANC's highest award for commitment to the struggle for freedom, Isitwalandwe.

During his visit he will also meet members of his monastic community — the Community of the Resurrection, participate at the national conference of the South African Council of Churches, preach in Soweto and Durban and visit the

● To Page 3

ONE of the chief characteristics of the democratic transitions the world has witnessed in the past two decades is the crumbling of parties, social groups and institutions under the forceful impact of the process. In Poland, for instance, the once mighty Solidarity movement has disintegrated. The question is whether the same will happen to the NP (or, for that matter, the ANC).

In my previous column I reported on substantial displeasure among some of the cabinet colleagues of Mr Meyer, Dr Dawie de Villiers and Mr Leon Wessels about their performance at Kempton Park. In general, the feeling is that the government has made concessions which its constituency would find difficult to endorse.

The NP negotiators at Kempton Park have no collective view but it is possible to put together a picture of their way of thinking which needs to be injected into the public debate and be made part of the historical record. Like their critics in the cabinet they see as a critical watershed the Record of Understanding of September 26, 1992, concluded between the government and the ANC after the Bisho massacre.

Another version

Their critics see the freeing of several hundred prisoners, including Robert MacBride, and the decision to fence hostels and ban cultural weapons, as a major concession to the ANC which fatally damaged the NP-IFP alliance. There is also a different version, however. The government on that occasion undertook to honour undertakings it had earlier made but failed to execute. Without regaining the ANC's trust, negotiations could not start.

Sources close to the NP negotiators also say the decision to negotiate bipartisan agreements with the ANC (which so angered the IFP) was based on the bitter lesson learned from the collapse of Codesa II — not to negotiate in alliance with other parties. In the final session of Codesa, the NP at the behest of some homeland parties



Pattern of Politics
By HERMANN
GILIOME

kept pushing up the majorities which would be needed to draft a constitution. The ANC walked out and the NP suffered a humiliating propaganda defeat.

The critics, inside the NP, of the party's negotiators feel that the salvation of the party and its constituency lies in establishing the fine details of a future constitution before an election. They also insist on a period of at least five years in which the NP's hands would be jointly on the levers of power.

Different view

The NP negotiators take a quite different view. They believe transition will get off to a false start if the first election is not seen as an occasion for black liberation and empowerment. They argue that the best safeguard for the NP's constituency does not lie in the fine print of a constitution but in its ability to make its skills indispensable in a future system and in the support it can attract at the first and subsequent elections.

As a result they are unwilling to push claims to the hilt. There is a sense that the compromises

which the majority party of the future only reluctantly accepts will be worthless once the balance of power has shifted. Bargaining theory in fact confirms this, as Pierre du Toit points out in his illuminating book *Power Plays*. It suggests that a party which negotiates from a position of strength and which exacts more than its fair share is not safeguarding its interests. The more an agreement departs from the principle of equality, the more difficult it becomes for the other party to the bargain to accept and justify it.

From this the negotiators draw two conclusions: first, the interim constitution must reflect the balance of forces of today and the immediate future. It is likely to be as durable as the conditions which generated it. They believe there is a good chance that some of the central features of the interim constitution will acquire the force of convention.

What federalism?

Second, the future form of the state cannot be negotiated. As I indicated in previous comments there is a strong



TARGET OF THE CRITICS ... National Party negotiators (from left) Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Leon Wessels and Dr Dawie de Villiers have aroused the displeasure of fellow party members. But they certainly have a defence.

sense that the NP is not getting a substantial form of federalism in return for abandoning other forms of minority protection. In response, the negotiators can point to the most important lesson learnt about the failure of federations: they failed because they had come about in the

face of opposition from a party strong enough to wreck them.

Finally, the negotiators are confronted with the charge that they are in a situation where there is an appearance of a conflict of interests. The NP's negotiators happen also to be the same people the ANC

would very much like to appoint to a future cabinet. (Mr Meyer in his current portfolio, Mr Wessels for law and order and Dr De Villiers for public enterprise).

Mr J W Maree of the NP's federal office of information calls suggestions that the NP negotiators are feather-bedding their future political nests "malicious". He points out that, in the first power-sharing government, the NP will put forward the names of NP members it wishes to serve in parliament and cabinet.

This, then, is the NP negotiators' side of the picture. Will the tensions in the NP's inner circles become intolerable? There is a single reason why they probably will not: the State President, Mr De Klerk. No one in the cabinet wishes to part company with him. There are two qualities about the politician De Klerk that must be stressed: he has made a career out of being underestimated and he has an extraordinary ability to make peace and unite people behind a cause.

He has been in situations before where his party was in dire straits. With more than half of both the white and coloured community so uncertain about the future that they refuse to indicate a party preference, he has the fight of his life on his hands but he knows it and may still make those comparing him to Gorbachev eat their words.