

ment-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. f

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,

,nISILLUSIONMENT in the Govern-

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

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 unstinting in their praise of Mrs Thatcher's

ment. :

From London, Rapport's correspondent, Tobie Boshoff, cautioned that Mr John Major, at that stage one of the can-

South Africa.

" Beeld said, were it not that the whole

. South Africa, says President De Klerk,

support for the South African Govern-

didates for the premiership, would not .
necessarily follow Mrs Thatcher's line on

Homeland system is
lamentable

failure

sayings of the week

Looking at photographs of na-
ke

or semi-naked girls does not of-

fer much intellectual stimulation.
Mr Louis Pienaar, former chair-
man 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 negotiat-
ing table, the Afrikaner people will
not hesitate to take up arms and
fight for self-determination

fessor Carel Boshoff, leader of the
Afrikaner-Volkswag, as reported in

Die Burger.

A 7\

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

Sour grapes

Die Burger's reports of rejoicing
champagne and all at the Groote
Schoor School in Newlands after Afri-
kaans-speaking parents had voted by an
overwhelming majority to open the class-
rooms 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 strenu-

ously that â\200\230behind the scenesâ\200\231 the NP was striving to retain exclusively white schools for Afrikaners.

Hopes of any such â\200\230secret planâ\200\231 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 % ! 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. 3 e

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. AT

â\200\230In 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 â\200\224 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 forâ\200\235 .~ =

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

T A

Â¢ be excluded much longer.' .

However, a smaller confrontation now '!5 would be better than a devastating one later. g

Lo

still had for ordinary democracy. Crimebusters

- New Nation has called for the formation of â\200\230defence unitsâ\200\231 to protect Soweto

residents against crimes and violence. A " The crime rate in Soweto had pushed it to the brink of anarchy, said New Nation. â\200\230Already there are some areas which are effectively no-go areas â\200\224 not only for residents from outside the township but also for the police.â\200\231 Wairge o i) The SA Communist Party had detailed

an elaborate plan for the functioning of

defence units, not only to fight political violence but also to defend the community against crime. NE L, Community-based anti-crime structures had proved a major deterrent against township crime, said New Nion. : RS

(@/I/â\200\231ZD

_ uddleston: not
time to celebrate
iâ\200\230. @ From Page 1

ederal inary in Maritz-

g

On June 26, Freedom Char- !
ter Day, he will deliver a key-

te address at the University

the Witwatersrand to mark

the 36th anniversary of the

option of the ANCâ\200\231s policy

ent. â\200\230
Archbishop Huddleston left
Africa in 1956 after com-
â\200\230into conflict with the Gov-
ament following the forced
ovals at Sophiatown the
ihtrouction of Bantu Education
ih black schools.

At the time he was also su-
erintendent of St Peterâ\200\231s

1, where Mr Tambo taught
athematics and physical sci-
ce. Former students of the
hool include Archbishop Des-
thond Tutu, journalists Arthur
im neandthelateSt_anMot-'
inwadi of Drum magazine as
ell as musicians Hugh
ela and Jonas Gwangwa.

| Archbishop Huddleston chose
close St Peterâ\200\231s rather than
ee to hand it OVEE to the
vernme t following t}:e' pass-

g of the Ba}ntu Educatxon Act

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ent ever of @ :

When he returned to London
e worked relentlessly to build
e Ant,i-Apartheid Movement,
ith a view to isolate South
rica in response to an inter-
ational appeal by Chief Luthu-
i, then ANC president.

He retired as archbishop in
983 and worked full time for

e ;

He succeeded the late John
ollins as chairman of the
rustees of the International
efence and Aid Fund for
thern Africa, which funded
efence costs in South African

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:

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

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

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

4 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.

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

see the

rules of
By WYNAND MALAN

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

6 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 Semaed s petgin Alloand

an ple allow without restrrc:ioon 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 aĩ¬\202sĩ¬\202nĩ¬\201 the politics of negotiation an

er the aim of achieving the overriding goal of one nation with one patriotism.

The NDM 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 dity towards flexibility in their approaches representing the need of tt.â\200\230l,neir Suj 5 as opposed to cam| or a one-sided constitutional â\200\234solutionâ\200\235.

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

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T T TS P PR SR R R R R

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

" HOME

AT
TRIBE'S

~A. MULTI - RACIAL
â\200\234crowd of 5000 attended
â\200\230the official opening of
. the residence â\200\230of the
5 â\200\230C .of the Buthelezi
~_at Mahlabathini

{rse resident of

thi"â\200\230-'v ultra-modern home.

â\200\234Chief Gatsha
Bqtheled Chief Ex-

â\200\230ecutive Officer of
KwaZulu, who was

~ handed the keys of the
mansion by the

architect, Mr Gordon
lenhz!lm
Anon& the guests
were - Mr Harry Op-
penheimer. whose com-
pany built the complex,
King Â° Goodwill
â\200\230Zwelethini of the Zulus,
'~ Mr -Reggie Appolos,
leader of the Coloured
community in Zululand,

CHIEF ...

m Right 'neb A H

Zulu, former Bishop of

Zululand, and the Nkon-

jeni Hospital

Nursesâ\200\231
Choir. :

" The super-modern man

The mansion Â¢ost tens
of thousands of rands,

although â\200\230the ' builders -
gave a R25000 rebate
wree'

and materials

a0

'chiet Gatsba Buthelezl and Mr Harry Oppenheimer at the
official opening

supplied at cost.
Chief Buthelezi said
the house was -the
realisation of a 20-year
dream. 3

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; 5 .

Â® 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 abolitionistâ\200\231s 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. â\200\234The death sentence is a relic of a barbarous age; it should be abolished,â\200\235 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 â\200\230about 1 000-million, he pointed out.

- Mr Justice Leonâ\200\231s onslaught against the death penalty was devastating but not

-abolitionist speaker. ;
It was the same status, plus his outstanding presidencies of the University of

] .It was his status as one of the ~ But the greater irony was countryâ\200\231s most distinguished liberal

Jjurists that led to his choice as inaugural

PROFILE

â\200\230Hanging judgeâ\200\231
is an outspoken

abolitionist ~

Natalâ\200\231s SRC and Convocation, that had
led to his election in 1983 to the chancel-
lorship 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 Man-
dela.

(Alanlaï¬\201â\200\230ton withdrew from the nomi-
use of certain pressures in

nation b â\200\230
which Mrs Winnie Mandela was involved.

â\200\230Mr Mandela was screened out by the

selection committee because he would

not have been able to officiate from

prison.)

minent liberal judge, wi

landmark decisions that over some

- of the apartheid regimeâ\200\231s most callous
and inhumane legislation, was last v;@â\200\234}ï¬\202
- <l â\200\230;4â\200\230"

branded a â\200\234murdererâ\200\235 and a |

judgeâ\200\235 by callow student members of a
society that could only have benefited
from his humane and distinguished pres-
ence on the Bench.

This is the judge whose historic judg-
ment in 1985 overturned the stateâ\200\231s
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 coura-

us decision which emasculated one of

- apartheid's most vicious Acts beyond
repair, a brother judge told me this week.

AL

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- a

This is the judge who had long before,
in another landmark ruling in 1972, over-

ruled a lifelong blanket ban imposed on
the magazine

pe 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

MR JUSTICE LEON: Sleepless nights

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 a 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.

y: Roy Rudden

QQHere isa model in tbe makmg;
and it needs the support o f

everybody in SouthAfrzca

That's the bottom line because if it
works, and I believe it will, then the
wbole of South Africa

Is going

to benefit. '

â\200\224Dr. Ian Player

DR. IAN PLAYEIII 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 Pnnce Bernhard of the

Netherlands in 1981.

~

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ey Â»

Damag d owerful-Zulu Chief

Durban, South Africq v it i
: Old friends and aj}ies of ZJF
Chief . Mangosuthu . Buthelezj
adopt a sad, even defensive, ÂfX:
ot Attens Takathn oot
ou caâ\200\231s Inka ancing
scandal iy raised.., .\ irnngige
-, The regret is tinged with baf;
_flement. If Buthelezi had set him-
self up to be the biggest potential

;?g ly dlsmlssed L uï~\201s{i~\201hâ\200\230* A

-+ William Khumnlo, a pupil atâ\200\231

% : the Baptist mission 'school in Ge-

e, uinsela about . 100:miles north of

{ ',Â« Durban, pointed to a stone monu-
'i ment on the side ot a hill. -

Â¢ â\200\234That was's Kwabulawayo,
where King Shaka'a_kraal stood,â\200\235
he said. As if quoting directly from
one of his school lessons. he added:
Â¥Shaka founded the.Zulu ration.

4
victlm of theâ\200\231 af- +He made us a great people. wlth a

3 B 5 i great history.â\200\235 -, (i o
. NEWS... [ffgl:ee:f â\200\231:h,â\200\230:'df,z : v 04 Numbering around 7.5 million,
ANALYSIS " handling of Â¢â\200\231 0 Â\$ *more than 30 percent of the black
j â\200\2241 - oo h,!lâ\200\230iï~\202y MYP : , population, the Zulus were always
been worse) oot Botuste e 18kl Â¢ â\200\234.bound to be a potent political force
.. While expasure of the gaverns' i

~in South Africa.â\200\231 As-a hereditary
ment': secret payments to Inkatha - Zchlef descended i from - Shaka,
has restored fo the high ground :

: â\200\234Buthelezi claims: the mantle of

Nelson Mandela'and the African ~! MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZ| - 'â\202~adership. ... vyl

National Congress +â\200\224~ even Presl:- . % : Cradibility. in-question-â\200\224 =" â

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dent Frederik de mg-;khasmanag-q rpd lty n qu. on:â\200\235 b :
ed to â\200\230alv.ge somethmg trom the Q â\200\234 p Baoatiaias {hh) Ve !7â\200\230 NT 5 9
lâ\200\231 s The ANC has been determâ\200\230ned
â\200\230wreckage â\200\224 Buthelezi has added : rica. â\200\230but opinionâ\200\231 polls
have shown to deny it to him, repeatedly de-
.- to the damage done his credibility _that it has relatively little support nouncing Buthe
lezi., during. its
-with televis%on appearances that ~ seldom more than more than 3 Yyears undergrc:â\200\230
und,.u a govern-
have been' marked by recrmlna- percent among urban blacka i34, Inent stooge â\200\224 â
\200\234a poisonous mĩ-\202kĩ-\201
| tions and deffance.â\200\235 ' - L ", } For all that;'itheâ\200\231 glee-with Whichheedst
obehiton the head.

_ & . which Buthelezi's old foes within But it was not wntil 1987 that
".â\200\234."1 = .sâ\200\230 .nâ\200\234| Kyds\ 2478 the ANC are now writing him off 18 th
e rhetoric tul'nedu to bloodshed.
Buthelezi's denial that he knew premature. Dhlomo believes that gjnce then, more than 3,00
0 have

of at least \$700,000 paid by Pretoria - while Buthelesi will be left limping E
to Inkatha and affiliated groups is ' behind de Klerk and Mandela for - ;â\200\230;gâ\200
\230;;',,,â\200\230;'::â\200\231;;,â\200\230;:g:â\200\230;;";; gâ\200\230;i-\201,â\200\230,
i-\201*gâ\200\230;;,
not believed by many who know ' some time, he still has an lmpor- riewâ\200\231s urban alum
-him. Perhaps worse, he appears to â\200\230tant role to play.â\200\235 : ;
have undereltlmated the potentlnl t â\200\231 Inkatha rwently re}:eived , . Few of those wh
o monltor the
~ of the scandal. . . .y 15 - â\200\234AÂ¥ key reassurance,that its. position " yiolence ar
e neutral, and trying to
Jack Shepherd Smith. anâ\200\230ad- - has not been irretrievably damag- apportion blame is:
a . hazardous
mlrer:x(xilblognpher Â°,f Buthelezi, ed abroad, with the 'announce, and perhaps sterileoccu
pation.
o : â\200\234There is a bitter sense ment by the United States that it R V7 PRy
ofdlasppolatment,Ho s lo 00 xas Eeing \$26 mlon I AL 10 oruti ont o ok one St gen
black leader who,was, attacked - the organization as â\200\234an important being in the mai
n â\200\230conducted on
from both the left and the right. political force,â\200\235 along wlth ;4_5 _the one hand b
y.conservative, tra-
He opposed violencÃ@ just as he did â\200\230pillion â\200\230Â° the ANC. 3 7Lty b " dition
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rtheld. Now ha huâ\200\231muddled ray comes vouthisin. fabaill
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eilion
o NS agalnst the authorlty of elders. -
Another \ mociate; 14 Oscar â\200\2301 Butheleziâ\200\231s polltical strength ls SR
Dhiomo, a former Inkatha secre: â\200\230most clearly visible among the roll- : John Aitchi
son, an â\200\230academic at
tary-general who s now a respect- ' ing hills and thatched huts of what : the University, o
f."Natal, argues
ed : commentator;; s3id : that the was once Zululand, pew.the seif that the violence aignal
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Zulu triba] base, and has weakened . he}u-d of the uandtiâ\200\230l?:gld to see it .â\200
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ulation as a whole dictate that
ponent in 3, trilogy. including the . taxpayers â\200\230outraged - bY abuse! of - gflfe et
hnic baby: be,;thrown out
government and ANC. . Y public funds, .'... , L. ,...â\200\230c,w Y: D& :
'with the apartheid bathwater."

Even before the scandal... Ethnicity is a sensitive issue in . part of the i b, e lâ\200
\230? i
status was questioned by some ob- . South Africa, where. it has beenâ\200\231 But he and a
number of ana-
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Hopes for peace

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LUANDA. â\200\224 Prospects for
-peace in Angola dimmed
as Unita rebels intensified
their military push across
the north and the govern-
ment warned that further
actions would lead to re-
~newed civil war.

â\200\230Diplomats said that with
Unita controlling at least
three provincial capitals, be-

sieging at least one other and
occupying over 75 percent â\200\230of

national territory, it was hard
to imagine the government

US calls on

HUGH ROBERTON

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. â\200\224 The Unit-
ed States has sharply rebuked
Unita for breaches of the An-
i-\201olan peace accord and the

ovember 25 declaration in
which both parties agreed to
respect a ceasefire and halt
offensive movements.

The administrationâ\200\231s criti-
cism yesterday of a move-
ment which it has supported

exercising restraint much
longer. :

Military leaders said they
wanted to avert a resumption
of the 16-year civil war with
dialogue â\200\224 but increasing vi-
olations of the May 1991
peace accords and a truce
agreed on last Thursday
meant they expected the
worst. 3

â\200\234The situation is critical. It
is-essentially one of war. But
the government is doing all it
can to prevent that,â\200\235 General
Cirilo de Sa Ita said yester-

v

day after fighting erupted

near the airport of Mbandaka
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 kilo-
metres outside the oil town of
Soyo. . .

United Nations special rep-
resentative in Angola Mrs
Margaret Anstee said Unita

leader Dr Jonas Savimbi had .

assured her by telephone on
Monday that Uige and Ne-

Unita to control forces

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 imme-
diately bring their forces un-
der control and to stop offen-
sive military action.

"We believe progress to-
wards a negotiated settle-

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

"This is especially true of

Unita, which has systemati-

cally used military operations
over the past two months to
seize territory

Anffola, a State Department
official said.

tory and destabilise -

gola

gola had been seized by local
commanders without his or-
ders and Unita forces were
prepared to withdraw.

But several diplomats ex-
pressed scepticism over the
assurances and Deputy For-
eign Minister Mr Venancio de

Moura condemned the cease-

- fire violations. :

Unita has been mobilising troops across the country since it claimed Angola's first multi-party elections on September 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 UN on Monday extended by two months its mandate to verify the peace accords and urged both sides to stop fighting immediately.

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

9 and 30 were

government has called

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. 5

â\200\234Political adventurers hope
that an ungoverned Russia can
become their easy prey. They
will turn the country into an
arena of ruthless civil war.â\200\235

Mr Yeltsin spoke from a po-
dium still decorated with the
communist hammer and sickle.
Behind him was a large card-

- board Russian flag, concealing

a bust of Lenin in the wall. â\200\224
The Independent.

r i 2T A < -

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

1

| try.

.or promised anything and

climbing through a fence. 204¢

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. i

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 coun-

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 he 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

was not told what to say at the Press conference.

17 whites

in in ;
at Church Street

i other suspect
(\) was blown up when
pet mine was

ting explosion !
at the Art Gallery

; paraded

he was paraded

in the Press on Friday
police .
in

_mopp 3

ria were

were injured.
the explosion took place
side the Poynt

me day, and

he said, insurgent
en a list; at the
allegedly
was at the

Later

| .rt Park.
% j'l(;:lb {;gurs later, a&\o&hgâ\200\230:â\200\230râ\200\230
limpet mine explode Ty
llâ\200\231r::)â\200\230:ca North, Soweto, â\200\230
ing its handler.
Police suspec ges
unidem'\i¬\201ed man W

ANC insurgent.

t the as yet
an

talks bre =
through

Neg tiators S snap awake to SAâ\200\231s agony

limits to hasten decisions l

â\200\224_â\200\224

L

ome

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 basic 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

Local Primary

Lol

NELSPRUIT & 24218
NELSPRUIT & 24285

SPEEDY DELIVERIES

and
REASONABLE PRICES!

ENA ARG TELL
4 â\200\2341 -
H al

Mr John Kane-Berman, originally from Barberton
rector of the Institute of Race
12th annual congress chats to

arcis.

"And indced, we
further believe we
will not sce our auto-
matic dcmise as a
political movement
once the "home-
lands" are dis-
mantled,â\200\235 he said.
In a message to the
whitc community of
the Lowveld, Mr
Mabuza said that
they would do well
to recall and ac-
knowlcdge the rea-
sons [or the relative
calm and normality
in this region.

He called upon
whilcstoactrespon-
sibly and curtail an
possible maveric
clements.

"We were all pri
tothe ungovernabil-

ile: ol the \jvwhite town-
ships of Welkom '

recently. We would
not want to see that
repeated in our re-
gion,â\200\235 said Mr

n

during a tea break.

Inyandza, ANC

Relations and gues

ays n

, but now executive di-
t speaker at Inyandzaâ\200\231s
KaNgwane chief minister, Mr Enos Mabuza,

CRLRREN _TNKE ~STVPP, g |
dâ\200\231d umbered

Beware of
intolerance

â\200\234 NELSPRUIT -~

One of the biggest
dangers currently
facing our country

-at the moment is

that of political, so-
cial and ideologi-
cal intolerance,
Inyandza National
Movement Presi-
dent, Mr "+ Enos
Mabuza, told an
estimated crowd of
3000 cheering sup-

"\ i 17 o
remain allies

NELSPRUIT -
The ANC has giv-
en its assurances

.to the Chiefs of Ka-

Ngwane that their
traditional roles will
not be jeopardised
inafuture South Af-
rica.

Speaking at the
Inyandza National
ConFress held at the
local showgrounds
on Sunday, ANC
national executive
committee member,
Naked Phosa, sa-
luted the KaNgwa-
ne Chiefs for their
support over past
years as well as for
their courage and
steadfast Q?posilion

t arnarthhng.

"We are well con-
scious of the fact
that we salute some
of our most reliable
comrades who share
the sametrenchesas
oursclves as well as
the same aims, ob-
jectives and
dreams," he said.

Addressing In-
ï-\201ndza President,

r Enos Mabuza he
said: "It is under
your dedicated, ho-
nest and unfaltering
leadership that
Inyandza has ac-
complished so much

in its struggle against

aparthe

"There have been

when you
lone

times
condemned a

voice in the wilder-
ness. You stand
head and shoulders
above those who
claim to represent
the aspirations of
our people."

Mr Phosa also is-
sued a hearty word
of welcome to mem-
bers of Inyandza
who also wished to
join the ANC..

"We applaud those
members of In-
yandza who have
already joined the
ANC for we are not
only allies, but one,"
he said. ;

"And in so doing,
they have not lost
their membership to

the Inyandza Na-
tional Movement "

-our

- porters on Sunday.

"The devastating
and tragic conse-
quence of this lack
of tolerance can be
counted in the hun-
dreds of fresh gra-
ves across the len-
gth and breadth of

. country," he
said.

Mr Mabuza said
that he found it
alarming that it is of-
ten innocent people
who become the
bloody sacrifice to
the voracious god of
intolerance as has
been pictured by

-the mindless vio-

lence of the past few
months.

He called for citi-
zens of the country

to respect the need .

for a diversity of po-
litical 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 so-

lution to our long-

term problems," he
said. :

"We must be united

in our opposition to
all forms of tyranny
and oppression,

and

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

whether the perpe-
trators came from
the left or the right;
whether they are

black or white.

"We as South Afri-

-cans must remember

that intimidation will
only ensure submis-
sion, but it never the
people's support

gndp differgrll)ccs
should not be
equated with dissi-
dence or treason., "
he said. .
â\200\230Adressing the cur-
rent political situ-
ation Mr Mabuza
pointed out that any
country undergoing
a process of transi-

' tion experiences in-

stability and a meas-
ure of confusion.
He also warned
that although the
wrongs of apartheid
needed to be cor-
rected, it would be
foolhardy to believe
that a future state

â\200\230would immediately

be able to meet and
supply all the needs

â\200\230of the people.

T believe that we

are faced with a

problem of unrealis-

tic expectations,â\200\235 Mr
. Mabuza said. -

"A new South Af-
rica does not prom-:
ise nor can it hope to
deliver some kind of
Utopia. We will
have to rely on our-
selves to help our-
selves."

Mr Mabuza
warned that there
would not be any

, sudden transition of

power in South Af-
rica and that the
people should
rather gear them-
selves for a process
of steady transfor-
mation.

"If we want to at-
tain and maintain
first world standards
of living, then our
people must get on
with the job in hand, .

- of servicing, main- .
tainingand develop- .
inganinfrastructure
that characterises an -
industrial economy,
both academisiand -
technical.â\200\235

How do you make
consensus work?:

On 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 poli-
tics.

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 proce-
dure. "

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-

must be accepted as basic

must be accepted as basic
- This question is of decisive im-

portance for the future of consensus
in South African politics

goals and values, If the
participating parties take up hard -
work and the process is open and
transparent

it is
Parliamentary.
| and

many
did not vote, not because of
intimidation, but because
had no confidence in the
government's intentions.
. The first fruits of the new
dispensation will have a
influence on this issue,
as will the role of organisa-

f
|

broken down and

for
The

How to supp

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.

nts they had every right to express their grievances; 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. ; ;
tll!(".iaving given the younger generation every incentive to be militant, the ANC is now caught in a youth rebellion it cannot control. Nor, with the 1994 multi-racial election barely eight months away, is it inclined to scold and so risk alienating its more ardent supporters. :
g More sel;iously, 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

|
In the first part of his address he told the stu-

helming 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 DEEPES, former editor of the Daily Telegraph, following a recent visit to South Africa.

ach unanimity on the shape of the constitution, ;?)t 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. 4
2 A(1:1 alarmingly high number of black South Africans can 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

T |

must follow, the reasoning goes, that when power
}

- rightful heritage.

Mandela are aware that the
's economy is a key to the

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

Klerk and Mr Nelson
strength of South African
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

Both President FW de

o

port the Cape of False Hope

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 for 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

~onthe Ppoliticians, black or white, but also on those

â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

badly dlsappointed, the blame will fal] not wholly
â\200\230in.charge of South Africaâ\200\231s economy. It will be
obsgr_ved that while political bower has shifted
declslvely_ to the black majority,

commanding heights of the econo

white hands. They ho nce of well-be-
Ing; the politicians h 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 busiqess is to be

The serious'question is what kind of an attitude
the outside -world should take towards this forth-
coming crisisâ\200\231of confidence,

ill we, at this point

/3 T S e e oâ\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

(S0 <.z, .

money

Hard work to
find work â\200\224
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 â\200\224
just out of university or high
school and some highly qualified
â\200\224 are pounding the streets look-
ing 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 expe-
rience.

And without working, for noth-
ing if need be, they canâ\200\231t get the
experience.

The same applies to those stu-
dents at technikons and universi-
ties who have to do a certain
amount of practical work to com-
plete their certificates and get
their degrees.

This doesnâ\200\231t even take into ac-
count those who have simply a
matric certificate and no special
skills. For them the outlook is
even bleaker.

Job prospects for South Afri-
caâ\200\231s 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 donâ\200\231t 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 â\200\224 â\200\234a devastating option when you have slogged away for three or four years to

B 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 degreeâ\200\235, 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. â\200\234But if the alternative is lying around at home, so be it,â\200\235 said one parent.

The big employers can offer little hope.

The number of big companies doing the university â\200\234roundsâ\200\235 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 â\200\230with 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

power 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 commod-

ities.

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-

In the old days in the auditing

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. It's

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. It's

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. It's

\

. 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 meeting. (b

It was now M

Once again he to have heeded 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 a dangerous war, warred his long-time friend and one-time personal

hysician Dr Ntatho otlana.

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.

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

Y.

CROWDED

Later the same day, he flew to Namibia.

And he applied to the Soviet Foreign Minister and the American Secretary of State to beat a

th to his hotel room _door for hurried consultations. iy

â\200\234My schedule is too tight,â\200\235
* he told them.

March 23: Back in South

Africa. Heeimded arallyin |

Nelspruit.
On Mitgll 26 it was
Pietersburg.

v;hat was to

beasooï¬\201dni¬\201; eet-up da
with friends Silv:rptowg.

|

" Wattville â\200\224 became another
melee as thousands of fans
crowded round to see

T

! afternoon he trav:

" elled 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 Eligabeth.
April 2 was a breathin,

ce â\200\224 the ANCâ\200\231s Nationa
eption Committee can-
celled a rally in Maritzburg.
But the visit to Natal was
still on. {
OnAprilshewasinCa%

Town to meet President F

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 let-
ting up â\200\224 the ANC executive
announced Mr Mandelaâ\200\231s
â\200\234tentativeâ\200\235 schedule for the

mi-\'201ths ahead.

. Meetings in Angola, Nige-
ria, Algeria, Egypt,m&eâ\200\230
European Community,
France, West Germany, Rus-
sia and Canada, â\200\234among
othersâ\200\235, were on

aryon Aprl'1â\200\23011.he gw#s,lqick
'll;l)'ieï-\'201ng on CP dl!gsm 'atmm" of
assassination attempts.

'the Wembley Stadium pop
â\200\230 ril 17: Back in Harare
. with President Robert

ebrations.

April 19: Umtata.

April 21: Johannesburg.

the itiner- !
heckinâ\200\235

" April 14: Off to London for

| Mugabe for Zimbabweâ\200\231s
inde ce cel

April 22: Back in Umtata. -

And this week Mr Mandela |
fulfills what is perhaps his

~ most important ement |

%P â\200\224 when M,Ee,lds the

delegation at the start

| of historic talks-about-talks
- with the Government.

MARCH 12: with Oliver
.g:J;f

- HERT
TH

By GORDON WINTER

DR Albert Hertzog, leader of the
Herstigte Nasionale Party, â\200\230explained
yesterday why he led his 120-strong
demo on Libertas. ,

S S8 L)

â\200\234Tt was because Mr John
Vorster helped to arrange
the Rhodesian sell-out and
because heâ\200\231and his politi-
cal advisers have been
infiltrated and brain-
washed during the last few
years by the American
Central Intelligence
Agency.

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fo}gg;i-;:

â\200\234We went there to ask
him to resign for South
Africaâ\200\231s sake,â\200\235 Dr Hertzog
told me during a two-hour
interview.

FAILED

8]
: v

HAEE

AR

Dr Albert Hertzog at his
Pretoria home yesterday. = But Dr Hertzog and his
men failed to reach Mr,
Vorsterâ\200\231s front door. :

After the Commissioner aw
of Police, General Gert

Prinsloo and Security After a hectic time of R:II~\2021cal activity, Rhodesian Prime Minist

er lan Smith took time at the

?Jlila(leIChGeâ\200\230l:g;;flâ\200\231luyienWe::el weekend to relax with his wife, Janet, and grandson, James, at his Salisbury home.

called to the angry scene,
37 of Dr Hertzogâ\200\231s men
were arrested.

They are being heldâ\200\230in

â\200\234Special rescue mission for British tourists trapped on the beaches of Dunkirkâ\200\224

hundred pounds a head.â\200\235 '

SCARCELY a day passes
now without someone â\200\224
politician, trade union
leader or newspaper
commentator â\200\224 warning
that Britain is moving
into some kind of crisis.

The minersâ\200\231 strike,
now in its 19th week, is as
far from a settlement as

ever, while talks to end
the national dock strike,

channel freight traffic to
a halt this week, have
failed to get past first
base.

It is not only the ap-
proaching crisis that is
worrying people, but
also Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s ap-
parent inability to
handle it. No doubt from
' within the privacy of

No 10 Downing Street

she is following every de-
velopment with an eagle
eye, but publicly she is
not being seen to be do-
ing much, and this is up-
setting both her support-
ers and her enemies.

Pressure

A chorus of voices has
gone up in the past few
weeks urging herto actâ\200\224
either to capitulate to
the strikerÂ\$, or to com-
| promise with them, or to

defeat them.

Under this kind of
pressure, and with per-
ishable foodstuffs rot-
ting in stranded trucks
and drivers in an ugly

mood, it can be only a |

matter of days before
Mrs Thatcher does act.

which brought all cross- | But what will she do?

' deal with the dock strike

â\200\234way for cross-channel

The obvious and ex-
pected thing is for herto |

first â\200\224 by declaring an |
emergency and callingin |
the troops. This would be
the 13th time the Emer-
gency Powers Act of 1920
has been invoked.

But calling in the
troops would be regard-
ed by many trade union-
ists, not only striking
dockers, as provocative.
The sight of soldiers
loading and off-loading
ships and clearing the

election to bring the La-
pq'wer.

ther was a communist
and who himself was a
leading member of the
Young Communist
League until his resigna-
tion, is in full revolution-
ary flood. He believes
the â\200\234hard leftâ\200\235 in Britain
should make its bid for
power now and, once inâ\200\231

.power, turn Britain into

a truly socialist country,

5 His contempt for the
moderatesâ\200\235 of the La-

freight traffic probably
would inflame feelings
among dockers.

Election

The dockersâ\200\231 strike -is partly a strike for protection of jobs, but it is also a political strike in support of Mr Arthur Scargillâ\200\231s miners. Even if the dock strike can be resolved, the minersâ\200\231 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 |

bour Party is undis-

guâ\200\230f_"sgd. As he sees it, a class war is being fought, andâ\200\231people are either on the side of the workers or of the bosses. i

At a miners? rally last

- weekend, the leader of

the Labour Party, Mr Neil Kinnock, who is tornâ\200\231 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

-~ Mr Scargill, whose father

How will Thatcher handle the

bour Party back into NOW as

{
{

starting to refer to him
â\200\234Arthurâ\200\231s pool-
dledâ\200\231 Â¥
. \Violence]

Mr Scargill told Mr Kinnock bluntly that once Labour was back in

office, he expected Mr | Kinnock â\200\234to show us the

- same loyalty to our class

that she (Mrs Thatcher) has shown to her classâ\200\235. It has taken most Tor-

ies weeks to realize just |
how far Mr Scargill has |
been prepared to gâ\202¬0'to |
create the disruption
that will force Mrs
Thatcherâ\200\231s government
to the polls. Violence on
the picket lines has be-
come commonplace.

Not only working min-
ers but also their wives
and children have been

crisis?

wages as a result of the
strike, two miners have
died in the violence, apd
there have been 1000 ln-
juries and 4 000 arrests.

Loyalty

A widely held view In
Britain is that it 18 not
only Mrs Thatcher who
has lost the propgganda
war to Mr Scargill, but
that within Labour ranks
Mr Kinnock has lost it as
well. 1

Writing in the Guard-
ian this week, Mr Jim
Reid, a respected figure
in the Labour movement
and one-time militant
Marxist, hit back in sup-

' port of Mr Kinnock: â\200\234Just
' do as Arthur says and ev-

everything will be OK. Loy-
alty tests will no doubt
follow. Criticism of Scar-
gill will become treach-
ery to the cause. Dissent,
doubt, invigorating scep-
ticism will be declared
anathema.â\200\235

It was Mr Scargill, then
33, who organized the
â\200\234flying picketsâ\200\235 of min-
ers in 1974 which helped
bring down the Heath
government. If it could
be done once, Mr Scargill

intimidated, verbally
and physically, by strik-
ers; whole mining vil-
lages have been torn:

apart by the bitterness

between strikers and
â\200\234gscabsâ\200\231â\200\235. And the
National Union of Min-

ers is openly defying the |

courts. e of
To date, the average

' miner has lost R6 750 in

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 compro-
mises with Mr Scargill
over the issue in dispute
â\200\224 pit closures â\200\224 she will
in fact concede victory to |

him. Therefore she must . B Foks s
~ take himonina full con- Viewed her with implaca-

frontation and defeat ble hatred ever since,
him, otherwise he willi(@ d Mr Francis Pym,
break her afid at the very | vÂ¥Â¥fom she sacked as De-
least weaken her govern- | ience Minister and who
ment. 3 ~ | has taken on the leader-

Log T G e R R O M
Telegraph this week He campaigns: almost
warned that â\200\234surrender weekly againgst her gl:v:.t !

R

would not merely give a . One of Britainâ\200\231s most
massive boost to the; perceptive commenta-
extra-parliamentary tors, former Labour MP
forces of the Labour Par- ! Mr Brian Walden, who is
ty, it would also grantan now a television inter-
9penhcencetothe:roam- ~ viewer and newspaper
ing mob, to the iron bar, columnist, wrote this
the half-brick and the week that the establish-
â\200\230burning truck, to the vi- { ment at least was waking
_cious intimidation not | uptohefactthatithada
" merely of men but of | crisis on its hands. But it
thelrâ\200\231 wives â\200\230and chil-| was still not certain, he .
drenâ\200\235. : said, whether Mrs.
_ This may be an alarm- | Thatcher had a plan to
ist view of a future under | defeat Mr Scargill.
â\200\230Mr Scargill, but it re- Mr Walden believes
flects the mood of appre- | the minersâ\200\231 strike could
hension in some circles. | go on well into 1985 and
- The guestxon everyone that if Mr Scargill wins
is asking now ls: What | he will have â\200\234taken every
does Mrs Thatcher pro- trick in the book and
pose to do about Mr Scar- | made certain the elec-
gill? His crusade has | tion of a Labour govern-
caught her in a trough of | mentâ\200\235. . . ,
unpopularity. All year ~â\200\234Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s failing,
her government has been | a8 Mr Walden seesit, isto -
slipping on banana skins | miscast herself as â\200\234the
and the aura of success smiling fairy on the
that she used to wear Christmas treeâ\200\235 as soon
around her has disap- | as events are untrou-
peared. The most often | T S ARG T i
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 â\200\234style and toneâ\200\235
of her premiership. She
is too arrogant, they say,
too aloof, too autocratic
in the way she bosses her
ministers about. &

Challenge . Mrs Thatcher

Last week, the normal-
ly cautious Press AsSO-
ciation reported that 100
rebellious Tory MPs

were meeting secretly
around London, conspir-
ing how to get rid of Mag-
gie.

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.

Â«If they really think it
is _iÃ©l thti,{rt;Interest,â\200\231;tge .
said, â\200\234a ose mutter- x
ers have to do is simply to Mr chrglll ,
ttl_r_a'. ?lqmetcagdidate ... | vled. |
o indicate how many o ig , |
votes can be cast for mî~\201Ã©gî~\201agoî~\201';;f :î~\201â\200\231: ?;a;n
Someone other than the | spirited, tough, realistic
prime minister. I bet we | Jeader and unless â\200\231jsgle
wonâ\200\231t have a whisperora | acts Sccordingly â\200\224 and |
peep out of them. accepts that she is fight-
| As Mrs Thatcher hesi- | ing â\200\234a civil war without
tates and appears to fal- | bulletsâ\200\235 â\200\224 she will lose
ter, so all her old en-| to Mr Seargill.
_emies are coming out of S
the woodwork â\200\224 like for-
qmer prime minister Mr
Edward Heath, whom
she ousted from the lead- |
ership of the Conserva-
tive Party and who has

: : | ship of the â\200\234wetsâ\200\235 (to the Q)
. Alarmist extent of writing a book\ K â\200\23033 D D% D~

ot

b is e g â\200\230:_ i Y
Tuesday, was a profoundly spiritual
200N de years. He wrote this prayer

~ He came nearer

o Â»

bt e L B R s

o e

e - R YRR B e

f. I LAST saw Alan Paton two-and- .
- a-half months ago at the launch-""

i ing of his book called Save the | .
.Beloved Country, a selection from *

his writings over the years.. '

d presen :

" made a speech. Copies of thebook |
- were signed andhi-~\201m_sented and |
I Alan was congrat ted on his lit- ~

o achievement and his-cour-
age in the Liberal cause. = â\200\224

k It was a moving but in some:

Ty e very frait. Most of, | (0 hei :

.-was â\200\230Jlooking very -of, :

. those present were old or elder:Ys. p p en e'mâ\200\234Â«

All were convinced Liberals - P â\200\224

.~ who could â\200\230not help being con- love those whom he strong dis-

â\200\231n"-sciousthatjustatthisi-~\202me,â\200\230whm,"apï-~\201med,of--and disliked. He .

" .the policy of apartheid was obvi- -called for -understanding and -~

i --ousl Â«inZsorderlyretreatandthe reconcilia i S

Nationalists themselves had pa-

- tently Jost faith in their-own poli-

- cies, many -who used to protess

. themselves to be Liberals had on <

. their side lost.faith in the value of

struggle: â\200\234had carried on

* 50 long and so bravely and in the

- validity of Liberalism as a policy _

i-~\202 an M ey ,â\200\2304.,Â»;;,â\200\230Â»,,;,,Â«,â\200\230, EE

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to pull out of a

O

devastating tailspin

o iâ\200\230i-â\201ere are some people who, uni-â\201Ã@xâ\200\230stat?dably,v
see a need for emergency action by the govern-
| ment. Food aid, subsidies on basic services and

need to deploy } b";i;i-â\201)ited fiscal resources we
~have in such a way as to invest in infrastructure
+sand â\200\230public programmes which create employ-
â\200\234ment.

South Africaâ\200\231s economy is in
a devastating tailspin. What

-â\200\230the elimination of

can be done to pull it out of
the dive? Mr JAN STEYN of
the Independent Development

ideas in a speech this week
- â\200\224 Including the urgent need
. for an economic forum.
k â\200\231/, it

e

\ UR economy
- 'This is recognised by all respon-
sible leaders to the left and the
right of the political and economic spec-
trums. Moreover, poverty and unem-
ployment are on the increase. :

In 1990 our gross domestic product de-
clined 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, Min-
ister 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 per-
cent of Africans are unemployed and the figure is
rising. Some estimates put the figure at 30,9 per-
cent. o : % R

Some 43 percent of economically active Afri-
cans 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 in-
" creased by 5,1 million. i

Trust spelt out some concrete

â\200\234'hardly any scope for increased taxation since our
â\200\234income and company tax are very high by the

is in serious trouble. #

taxes on basic goods are men-
~ tioned. :

My emotions and sympail;ies would support â\200\230
. this response. My head, however, tells me that

â\200\234while steps must be taken to increase access to

resources that can dull the edge of deprivation, Â«
We are already severely limited in our capacity

to respond to the needs of the poor.

standards of the developing world.

Government expenditure on social services and -

consumption items is already substanstial in rel-
ative terms, as is the cost of expenditure on in-
frastructure and housing.

There is still great scope for a rationalisation
of public sector services, re-direction of re-
sources and the elimination of duplication and
waste. These goals will have to be pursued re-
lentlessly, but we should also bear in mind that
retrenchments and savings in the state sector, al-
though necessary could well deepen the economic

malaise in the short term as they limit or reduce â\200\230

the stateâ\200\231s capacityÂ«to stimulate the economy.

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

b I

Â¢ Theâ\200\231 government deficit is rising to alarming"v"
, {Froâ\200\231portions; well above the norms established by -
| International development organisations. There is |

!

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

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

On the physical delivery side, clearly a nation-
al housing golicy which will not only allow re-
sources to be allocated for the delivery of ser-
viced sites, but will, within a.sustamable
framework, give people access to finance.

-

s v 2 L i d- ;

ingâ\200\230This will enable the private sector home buildingâ\200\230 l;:lsd\â\200\230;vsltr to resume its legitimate and q?lglr-able role. By this I mean its role in providing housing within affordability constraints. S

The housing process, built on a sound ant Â\$g:_tainable economic base, can be a major cm"a?d'e-tor to job creation, skills and t_entrepreneupt o velopment as well as stablising our society especially if it is based on qwnershxp. e The same applies to a national school building

' initiative such as the R300 million programme

being implemented throughout the country py the Independent Development Trust. - o Entrepreneurial development is anothe fx' sz that can unlock the door fo{ opp;xiâ\200\230:gglilittyh :;e - ently facing a future)] anĩ¬\201nĩ¬\201eggzĩ¬\201 to 1Â¥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 S S R on in grant fund-

to increase our productivity, N
ortantly, we will go some way towards"
ibutin , 'tur national income. P
The n o stimulate and entrench an entre-
preneurial culture is a keystone in our efforts to
revent a move towards the two of the threats
acing us as we edge towards democracy + state
ownership and one-party rule.: O MR
_ More particularly now in times of high levels
of economic stress, on and off the job trainin,
especially of rentrenc workers is a p .
aining of those in the informal economy is
another target area with the need to equip people
not only with vocational skills but also enabling
Finally, t! i

versimpliting.

seaceful pr

3 a acy. Â\$
Â» m@miety. Therefore no
one can be heard to say that all mass action is

acknowledged the validity of these ar- "
'let me record some concerns: The way
in which mass action is launc [conducted "
sends so many mixed messages and therefore
depresses economic confidence. B Loy
The choice of worker stayaways as one

S 3 2 Â© 0 2y

nent of mMass

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mpo- i

â\200\234The tasks of di ec. g our economy onto a dy-
namic growth path and of launching urgent de-

velopment initiatives must now take precedence
over the power plays of politicians right across
the speÂ£trum. = : T N
The only way we will achieve this kind of na-
tional priority is through the establishment of an
) economic forum, supported by business, govern-
! ment, labour and all political parties. AL
While such a forum is being planned and nego-
tiated 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 function-
ing economic forum.

?i-\201Â©EI

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 Newcas-
tle and as far south as Pennington to attend the 80th |

annual general meeting of the Natal Municipal As-
sociation in Empangeni.

Experts explained how the new dispensation will 5
- 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 meet-
- ings of the United Municipal Executive, was elected
~and included: president - Cllr B J E Human of
- Ladysmith; and vice-president - chairman of the
â\200\230Mtunzini Town Board Professor Louis de Clereq.

Same principles
~ Elected representatives from town councils, town

â\200\234boards and health committees included Cllr N C
Harrison of Shelly Beach, mayor of Uvongo Cllr C H

1

~ proved salary structure, for the 202- J
â\200\230: gmgltrg's Act should therefore be read in co
-â\200\230v LE TR th

Highest paid
Discussing the

B o o Guloes
ki el n ocs govon
s e s Y he
reon why o st ke s i ki

Lab io Protec-
e Labour Relations Act or Pro
(t)igdrfn:gtg rich states that a town clerk may not be

fired by the council, but would sit before an inde-
pendant tî\201bâ\200\231uml_aw_â\200\231lâ\200\230/.} =4

' Terms of office : ;
T:il;"l')ekker also cx_'itig:isled lthetlllllggg;%i\201usigl;)sâ\200\230;gg
scheme and said that if the local authority Â« g

ncil houses and let officials live in them ree,
i\201%l\::vmc:gu{l(f ltltf: s;r::fuic'uialitâ\200\230y then ask the Department pf
inance for revenue? R !
Fl::ig:i\201er important isÂ\$gllels debatî\201dag:: ;l:â\200\231% ::lgtlâ\200\230lh(;fn (
()lfs

' fice for municipal councillors, and Â¢ s ol

Pt i t the next municipal electio

; i)tewfrns f:acfildaex:idi~\202t});)m then on be held every five years

instead of the original three years. T }

mâ\200\231iâ\200\230his meant that councillors would remali\dtgl \;:gl
the next election in 1988, although they would be :

tled to resign. :

s |
.

Wilkins and deputy mayor of Dundee C Ir PA R Kay. -

The Director of the Department of Constitutional
Development and Planning, Mr Len Dekker, at-
tempted to iron out the confusion regarding the ef-
fects of the new dispensation on local authorities
and said that the principles underlying central gov-
ernment and local government were of the same
nature. â\200\230

Individual rights ; -

He said the issues included: protection of group
and individual rights; prevention of domination of
one group over another; assurance of self-determi-
nation 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 evolu-
tionary change; and finally continuous consultation
and negotiation among the groups.

Mr Dekker stated that local authorities had lev-
elled criticism against the government with regard
to the devolution of power, and complained that al-
though the new dispensation included a devolution
of power from central government to local govern-
ment the opposite was being achieved.

â\200\234Communication :

Mr Dekker said matters needed to be centralised
â\200\230before being devoluted to local authorities, and it
probably seemed as if centralisation instead of
dfcel_l_tralisation to local authorities was taking

- place. i ; â\200\230

Mr Dekker stated there was a serious lack of com-

- munication between coloured and Indian local af-

fairs 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. !

-

ER COSATU?. THAT DEPENDS ON HOW ONE

READS THE NUMBERS

HAS INKATHA CUT THE GROUND FROM UND

.. - ByPIPPA GREEN
SPEECHES at political rallies are

rarely memorable. Numbers are, .

though, and when some 70 000 people
-flocked to the Durban Jannch of the
new - Inkathas-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
" May Day .
-township of Esikhawini attended by
:about 3000. - Â» :

- But the numbers game is not only ;

;part of the reality. of the tussle
-between the 500 000-strong Congress
of South Africa. Trade Unions and
Inkathas rival United Workers Union
of South Africa (Uwusa). - i
- What was significant about the
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

probably right to ignore a.
rill in the Northern Natal

meeting.

- Uwusa organiser Mahlaba Gumede,
who is also. 2 member of the
Esikhawini: _uiwmcil, said that the
the meeting where the decision was taken
to deny Cosatu a venue for its
nally. However, he imagined it was
a mistake to deny Cosatu a venue for its
nally. However, he imagined it was

- Chief Buthelezi and .

Early on May Day, Northern Natal

at its chairman, - Jerry Niombela, -

reported a heavy police presence in
the Esikhawini township, but said.
workers were adamant that they are
going to use the Esikhawini stadium

and celebrate May Dayâ\200\235,

- In spite of Inkathaâ\200\231s political

predominance in Northern Natal and

- the fact that Empangeni is home base
â\200\23410 three Umtata leaders â\200\224 Simon
â\200\234Conca, general secretary, Gumedde

and D J Mrtiyane, an executive
member â\200\224- 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 â\200\234about.

20" had left 10 join Umtata, o
At a Cosatu rally in Mandini in

March, union members who were -
strong Inkatha supporters made it

clearly didn't agree with this
line of

Inkatha, according ' 10
Ntombela, it
It is common cause that Inkathaâ\200\231s

--â\200\234We used to go to Ulundi to discuss
any problems between us. Now in
Cosatu we haven't actually done that.
â\200\234Thalâ\200\231s why this thing is going so
far, not because they are against
Cosatu particularly. They are against
progressive organisations, thatâ\200\231s all.â\200\235
Ntombela has doubts,â\200\230too, about

motivation in establishing Umtata 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 Umtata, argues that it
is impossible to achieve Cosatuâ\200\231s
stated ideal of â\200\234one union, one
industryâ\200\235 if a federation takes political
sides. Umtata would give dissenting
workers a voice on issues such as
disinvestment and Inkathaâ\200\231s role in the
â\200\230political future and thus allow them to
negotiate unity in industries
position of strength; he said. :
Ntombela puts it another way. When
Cosatu organised in the region it
played a â\200\234low profileâ\200\235 with respect to

from a:
Â© smelter, Alusaf,

â\200\234There are so many workers
working for - the â\200\230KwaZulu

â\200\230government whe are really genting

poverty wages,â\200\235 he says.
There is Jittle doubt, though, thas.
many workers in the arca were
discomfited by the anti-Inkatha
thetoric of Cosatu leaders. :
Jeffrey Vilane, a formec president
of the Metal and Allied Workers
Union, a senior shop steward at the
giant Richards Bay aluminium
4 famed â\200\234imbongiâ\204ç
(praise singer) and Inkatha member,
szid a few months before Uwusaâ\200\231s

â\200\230launch that workers regarded Mawn

â\200\234as a union that is well-organised m

. Trasvaal

â\200\230Achillesâ\200\235 heel is

- hoseel dwellers and there

Jpolice action lo attend their

â\200\234the factory, but when they walk out o
the factory they still maintain

membership of Inkathaâ\200\235.

L is not yet clear how or whom

Uwusa intends lo organise.

â\200\234We are not targetting a particular
j are based in Nataj and the
and we will try lo get a
at any factory,â\200\235 <~ig

gion. We

majority

mede.

The established union moveentâ\200\231s
likely to be not its

wel-organised factories bue cither

badly paid or unorganised workers,

- Ofthe 70 000 at the Uwusa launch at

leas 10 000 were estimated lq be

were clearly

several thousand other

Buat the 3000 at Esikbawini who

risked not only Inkatha bostility

May Day

meeting, and even one elderly

stevedore, an Inkatha member, who

wenl lo Curries Fountain in full Zu'y

regalia, say as much about the

impending battle as the Kingâ\200\231s Park

show of strength.

workers

but!

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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 56, 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

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

In the case of universities, costs:

consistently after peaking in the

third quarter of 1974. -

" By 1986 the reduction has resulted-

ed in the real salary of a professor
being equivalent to that of a senior.

lecturer in 1971. .

Over the past decade the univer-

sities have largely themselves ab-
- sorbed cost increases, simply by

aying . their staff less (in real

terms%.' However, â\200\230to maintain the
quality of their staff this conve- .
nient method of economising musg- -

be relinquished.

- Cut-backs FY

An alternative method, but one
having its own negative character-
istics, has been used of late: subsi-
dies have been reduced regularly
in recent years. For example, in
1985, 1986 and 1987 universi {3sub-

sidies were reduced by â\200\23013,1%,
16,67% and 16,0% respectively â\200\224
understandable cut-backs in the
light of the pressure on the fiscus.

The university subsidy formula
is designed to estimate â\200\230â\200\234reason-
ableâ\200\235 costs for the various univers-
ity activities. This is achieved by
calculating input requi;rements

A P MELCK

and convertinÂ\$ them into money

by means of â\200\234cost unitsâ\200\235. In the
case of personnel, an assumption is

made with regard to a representa-

tive â\200\234basketâ\200\235 of staff levels â\200\224

junior lecturer to professor â\200\224 to .

give an average cost per university

em,lployee. . :

. The percentage of these costs to

- be subsidised is derived by apply-
ing a ratio varying according to

the institution concerned. It is,
however, close to 80% fer the larg-
er universities (and higher for the

â\200\234smaller 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 contribution of 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'

cannot achieve sufficiency

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. Moreover, and scant is

justification for, high subsidies.

Careful use -

- If this approach is correct and

its supporters appear to be in-

creasing 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

market 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.. -

- markets will allow students to -

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 dis-

agree 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.
t

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, regard- |
less of financial position, with the
user charging that encourages the -
judicious use of resources. :
The stumbling-block is the mar- -
ket 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

200\230partially from the market, or at

east to supplement the free mar-
ket mechanism by pooling the
risks in the form of a national stu-
dent bank. Given time, it could be-
come self-financing. :
O Extract from a paper given by
Professor Melck, Department of
Economics, University of Stellen- _ .
bosch, at the University of Na- ~

- tal's conference on management
~and economic services in Maritz-
~burg on Tuesday. -

TEC breakthrough expected . X |

Tistoric
draft Bill
on cards

B 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 to-
wards joint rule and a possi-
ble trigger for the lifting of
sanctions.

This followed six hours of
tension as ANC and Govern-
ment negotiators met behind
closed doors to thrash out
some sharp differences, main-
ly 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 differ-
ences.

There were moments yes-
terday 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 de-
signed 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, proba-
bly during the short session
beginning on Monday.

However, it will not take ef-
fect until a negotiations ple-

nary session, attended by
leaders, has given the entire
â\200\234â\200\230packageâ\200\235 of agreements â\200\224
including the interim constitu-
tion â\200\224 its approval.

In effect the TEC, consist-
ing of one member each from
each of the negotiating par-
ties, 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 of regulations by
the Mci-â\202 on def . in
consultation with the s-
ter, which will govern deploy-
ments of defence force units

in crime prevention or peace-
keeping.

The major dispute between
the ANC and the Government
has revolved around the ma-
jorities needed to take deci-
sions in the TEC and its seven
sub-councils. The technical
committee on the TEC sug-
gested a majority of 80 per-
cent, and was backed by the
Government. The ANC insist-
ed 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 majori-
ty after the State President '
had consulted the TEC.

Decisions in the sub-coun-
cils would be taken by a two-
thirds majority, except in the
sub-councils on defence, intel-

nce, and law and order

an 80 percent majority

wo.uld.,bei-â\201ni-â\202ednp. said the
sources. Pt

At the time of going to

press the Negotiating Council

was gathering once again to
discuss the proposed compro-

How

De Klerk

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

card in

soft-soaped Buthelezi

But

The upshot was that Mr De Klerk

showdown say that President
< F W de Klerk fin-
ished the first real conces-

INSIDERS at this week's

sion from Chief Mangosuthu |

Buthelezi's 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 nego-
tiations 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 Kwa-

Zulu governments.

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

And the State President has not

yet even come close to playing his ultimate card â\200\224 telling Chief Buthelezi that he can do his damndest, but elections will go ahead with or without him â\200\224 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 â\200\224 soft soap was the answer and it worked.

achieved what he had real;stically set out to do â\200\224 to take the first step in drawing Chief Buthelezi back into â\200\230 ' the process after his fury which began a year ago when the government and the ANC signed the Record of Understanding last September. â\200\230 This culminated in the IFP and â\200\230 KwaZulu walking out of the â\200\230World Trade Centre talks and cementing relationships with the AVF. ; By all accounts, Mr De Klerkâ\200\231s \ rformance in turning Chief Buthelezi around at this weekâ\200\231s summit was one of his finest. Even IFP sources described it as a â\200\234small miracle.â\200\235

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

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

In effect, say negotiators, mini â\200\234Codesa-styleâ\200\235 negotiations have now been set up between the Government and KwaZulu in tandem with the real

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

â\200\224 in effect playing his only strong

o Frank Md

thing at the World Trade Centre, =

noises about a â\200\234full scale civil warâ\200\235

card prematurely.

~ Chief Buthelezi was immedi

followed by the usually avuncular: %Â¥
Sol alose, his righthand man,
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
:I?Zlii-\201%v gez uvlvl;;l:l deeply disappointed at
ml'ia\200\230ch â\200\230n comm;:);:)t:oach as they had so

his was in fact a Â¢

worked out strategy devised by Mr De Klerk and his aides

- who know Chief Butheleziâ\200\231s style

well.

Mr De Klerk went on to name

common interests such as strong re-
gional:anlstpgvzgrs, la constitutional state
stitutional court i f
ooy rt and a bill of
With this, the atmosphere began to
ease as the 30 people in the c:gibine(z
room were served a working lunch of
chicken lubricated by a blanc de
glhaintf: gm:hfxiuit juice â\200\224 although
ef Buthelezi hi :
St i himself does not
By the time the lunch debris
cleared, the two sides were rela)â\200\230::is,.
the earlier aggro forgotten as they
discussed how to tackle their prob-
lems in the newly-created joint com-

mittees.

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

But a word of warning before eu-
phoria sets in; the new two-ringed
circus cannot go on indefinitely. Un-
less 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 ni
target date. pril 27 Å@lectlon

Sahta had howcvcr
warned its mÃ» hls â\200\234notto
be enphoric aboin tie train
bovcottâ\200\231â\204ç. because a boy-
cott against laxi operators
eould be just as successful.

Putco said that from
rough cstimates 7 ncket
coupons, there had been
st+ot a five percent in-
J crease in passengers .

_ Thecoripany had laidon
20extral.vses butonly nine

nantly in Joweto,

Sowcto police spokes-
man Coptain Joseph
Ngobeni raid police were
deployed at stations from
about Gan ar.tahelicepter

ing tomor itor the situation.

A Vitwatersrand police
spokesmazn said they had
taken â\200\234ccrlain actio.s'â\200\231.

nad been used, produmi-

wan - v sed in the morn- -

At Mc-nf':,, Inhlazane
and Dube siations, com-
muters who us! trains
were mainly Fostel dwell-
ers living ncar the staticns.
Other stations were virtu-
ally empty.

Most of the commuters
who used trains iaïd
Sowetan that they could not
afforded *Ã» high taxi fares.

In train number 9917
from Åaledi to Faraday sta-
tions, there were fewer than
five people in each coach.â\200\231

Mr John Mvimba.sat
alone and swïd he was going
to the city to look for a job
and could nct zffora the
taxt fare.

M- Abram Kgutlang said
he spent Ri2 a week on
train fare.

â\200\234It is just inconceivable
that T can swïdenly turn to
the taxisorbuees,â\200\235 he said.

THE first day of the tram 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

on the Tempe, 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. vospm

A spokesman for the South African Black Tax:

Association said there was an increase in taxi passengers from Soweto and from other areas and most taxis could not cope. o* v

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

) To page 2 .

Feyp T2 s 295", Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

â\200\230Hopeful but cautiousâ\200\231
about economic forum

From BRIAN WILLIAMS, National
Council of Trade Unions (Johan-
nesburg):

I YOUR editorial stating that a virtual
. Economic Codesa was agreed to at a
â\200\230 meeting with labour leaders, govern-
i ment and business leaders is an ex-
ample of the triumph of extravagant
journalism over facts (â\200\234Economic Co-
desaâ\200\235, Cape Times, May 20).

Your interpretation of the meeting
with Minister of Finance Derek Keys,

â\200\230N_gg_m,_(&!at_u, Fedsal and business
representatives is not supported by

. the conclusions rÃ@ached.
What are the facts?
The meeting had one central resolu-
tion â\200\224 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 governmentâ\200\231s ap-
proach together with an undertaking
to participate in an economic forum is

; . a ref ing break from the past.

However it shou Â¢ remembered
that the Finance Minister is part of a
racist minority government in transi-
tion. Economic policy is subject to the
De Klerk government's own agenda of

ower play in its political negotia-
tions. T Ee government will remain de-
voutly territorial about its control of
macro-economic policy.

Nactuâ\200\231s position about the econo-
mic forum is an exceedingly hopeful
yet cautious one. Wg;g_cggrï~\202;gtbe
need for a united nafional approach
fo an economy ravaged by a vast array
ohf the worst self-created weaknesses,

that is mismanagement, corruption, wastage_ misdirection, etÃ©. A large part of our present problems is due to the fact that billions were spent bythe

Nationalist government, in an attempt

to give artificial life to an unworkable racist ldeology. R e T

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 creale employment that Nactd has decided to become involved. WeÃ© are driven by the urgency of the plight of the unemployed and the employed workers. We

&are committed to exploring together

with capital and governmeÃ©nt the pos-

X sibilities of_increasing the job-CTe-â\200\230ation capacity of the economy.

e S

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.

e M

& social disintegration and domes-

tic problems created by the vast retrenchments are subject to the supreme corporate principle of profit. â\200\224While we do hold the De Klerk

government and capital accountable for a large share of the economic cri-

ï-\2011aï-\202ww X

The criticism to a position of constructive participation "in the search for Xolutions, 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. e i =

â\200\230Huge successâ\200\231

o NoRibexn i\&o& Cousie~

against

agga, :

firearms and

stocktheft

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-Helpmekaar areas and destroyed five tons of dagga in the fields in a â\200\234slash and burnâ\200\231â\200\231 operation.

The 140 policemen led by ~Major Viaggies 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 â\200\230most inaccessible areas where â\200\230the dagga is grown â\200\224 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 â\200\230â\200\230farmersâ\200\231â\200\231 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.

o

c

A Puma Helicopter returns to a base camp in the bush with another cargo of dagga seized from the Helpmekaar-Tugela

Ferry-Weenen districts. See pages 4 and 5

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 â\200\224 the drug lords must never be allowed to get out of control ? .{131s happened in Columbiaâ\200\231".

The month â\200\224 long operation against illegal firearms in the district has also been called a huge success with the SAP Firearms Unit recovering | 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-Helpmekaar areas where faction fighting has claimed hundreds of lives over the past decades.

SAP Natal Public Relations Head, Lt Col Reg Reynolds, said the â\200\230going priceâ\200\231 for one AK 47 rifle is ten cows.

Police are concerned with the increasing sophistication

for more photographs.

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 Africaâ\200\231s vast borders which are difficult | pa_tc;'ol, Lt Col Reynolds said,

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

Hang Capt Mitchell,
PIETERMARITZ-
BURG. â\200\224 Argument

in mitigation of sen-
tence in the Trust Feed
trial closed yesterday
with the State calling
for the death sentence
on former New Hanov-
er station commander

Brian Mitchell and life
prison terms for four
special policemen.. -

Sentence is expected to
be passed tomorrow.

State prosecutor:
Anthony Irons
though it was Mz J
Andrew Wilsonâ\200\231s final de-

cision on Mitchellâ\200\231s fate, -
the aggravating factors in
his case outweighed the -

mitigating ones and it was.
his â\200\234unfortunate dutyâ\200\235 to
submit that the only sen-
tence that should be ir-
posed was death
Referring 10
licemen David
bule, Dumisani - Ndwa-
lane, Khehla Ngubane

e
were last week convicted
_of murdering 11 â\200\230people
~ and attempting to â\200\230murder
â\200\230lifeâ\200\231 for ot-
_urges
and Thabo Sikhosana, Mr
Trons said the mitigating
factors in their favour
called for a â\200\234lengthy, if 1ty â\200\230
- and had waged
not lifeâ\200\235 imprisonment.
â\200\230The five policemen
two others at a funeral

wake in Trust Feed in De-
al- -

ustice

difficult to find mitigating
circumstances in Mit-
chell's case other than his
clean criminal record, and

the fact that he was under
the influence of alcohol

Aggravating factors, in-
| the violence in the
Trust Feed area which
was largely his own doing.
Evidence led during the
trial and subsequent judg-

the Inkatha Free

went found that Mitchell

ty in the Trust Feed area
a cam-

paign to oust the United

- Democratic Front sup-

porters whom he re-

garded as Communists

from the area.

He was in a position
of trust, he had po
and influence and
abused it,] s

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-

hers,
| ftate

lously con-
- id-
raeS-
QY-
234

- ing houses in the area.

' He returned to Trust
Feed several hours later
to cover up his involve-

ment and showed no re-

morse at that time, Mr .
Irons added. :

- Mr Irons said mitigat-

were carrying out orders
â\200\224 although not legal â\200\224by
-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 in-

~terjected at this stage,

saying the training of
special policemen for six
weeks before sending

em into the field was a
matter of concern.

Mr Irons continued
that aggravating factors
included the fact that Nd-
walane, a special sergeant
at the time, knew of the
planned attack before-
hand.

The four specials had
also â\200\234directly intended to
kill the victims in: the
houseâ\200\235 as they were
ed with heavy weapons
and ammunition.â\200\235 They
had also deliberately car-

d the judge to take Mit-

ey
* chellâ\200\231s circumstances into

account ~ when passing
sentence as he had re-
garded himself as a â\200\234sol-
dier of warâ\200\235 at the time
and had wanted to elimi-
nate UDF members in the
interests of his country.
â\200\224 Sapa. :

g

â\200\224_â\200\224

'ORLD

#tte e San Francisco Cyronice A 5

' How South African Scandal

Damaged Powerful

Chronicle Foreign Service : &

Durban, South Africa ,

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

The regret is tinged with baf-
flement. If Buthelezi had set him-
self up to be the biggest potential

victim of the af-
NEWS

fair, it is widely
agreed that his

ANALYSIS | 35

been worse.

handling of it
could hardly have
While exposure of the govern-
ment's secret payments to Inkatha
has restored to the high ground
Nelson Mandela and the African
National Congress even Presi-
dent Frederik de Klerk has manag-
ed to salvage something from the
wreckage Buthelezi has added
to the damage done his credibility that it has relatively little support
with television appearances that seldom more than more than 3
have been marked by recrimina- Ppercent among urban blacks.
tions and defiance. For all that, the glee with
- which Buthelezi's old foes within
Potential of Scandal the ANC are now writing him off is
Buthelezi's denial that he knew premature. Dhlomo believes that
~ of at least \$700,000 paid by Pretoria while Buthelezi will be left limping
to Inkatha and affiliated groups is behind de Klerk and Mandela for
not believed by many who know some time, he still has an impor-

-him. Perhaps worse, he appears to tant role to play.
have underestimated the potential Inkatha recently received a

of the scandal. key reassurance that its position
. Jack Shepherd Smith, an ad- has not been irretrievably damag-
mirer and biographer of Buthelezi, ed abroad, with the announce-
observed: There is a bitter sense ment by the United States that it
- of disappointment. He was the one was granting \$2.5 million in aid to
black leader who was attacked the organization as an important

from both the left and the right. political force,â\200\235 along with \$4.5
He opposed violence just as he did million to the ANC.

apartheid. Now he has muddled

' A Different Light

himself.â\200\235 :

Another = associate, Oscar Butheleziâ\200\231s political strength is
Dhlomo, a former Inkatha secre- most clearly visible among the roll-
tary-general who is now a respect- ing hills and thatched huts of what
ed commentator, said that the was once Zululand, now the self-
taint of government support has governing homeland of KwaZulu.
compromised Butheleziâ\200\231s ability to There are few newspapers or tele-
- recruit new followers beyond his visions here, and those who have
Zulu tribal base, and has weakened = heard of the scandal tend to see it
Inkathaâ\200\231s status as the third com- in a different light from the urban
ponent in a trilogy including the taxpayers outraged by abuse of
government and ANC. public funds.

Even before the scandal, that Ethnicity is a sensitive issue in
status was questioned by some ob- South Africa, where it has been

L e

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI
Credibility in question

- servers. Inkatha says it has 2.2 mil- distorted to the ugly designs of

lion members, the largest of any apartheid. But in the land of the
political organization in South Af- Zulus, where custom and culture

Zulu Chief

remain deeply rooted, it is not easi-
ly dismissed.

William Khumalo, a pupil at
the Baptist mission school in Ge-
zinsela, about 100 miles north of
Durban, pointed to a stone monu-
ment on the side of a hill.

â\200\234That was Kwabulawayo,
where King Shakaâ\200\231s kraal stood,â\200\235
he said. As if quoting directly from
one of his school lessons, he added:
â\200\234Shaka founded the Zulu nation.
He made us a great people, with a
great history.â\200\235 :

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. :

â\200\230Poisonous Snakeâ\200\231

The ANC has been determined to deny it to him, repeatedly denouncing Buthelezi during its years underground as a government stooge â\200\224 â\200\234a poisonous snake which needs to be hit on the head.â\200\235

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 Africaâ\200\231s 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

â\200\234against 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 Africaâ\200\231s black population as a whole dictate that

â\200\234â\200\234the ethnic baby be thrown out â\200\230with the apartheid bathwater.â\200\235

_ But he and a number of analysts believe that tribal identity will be an important factor in the

~future South Africa.

He

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 â\200\234verligâ\200\235 â\200\224 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.

â\200\234Itâ\200\231s a new scene for both of us and it will certainly be difficult â\200\224 we are now definitely en route to a head-on collision,â\200\235 he said this week.

However, he said family loyalty would always

keep the brotherly relationship on a steady path.

â\200\234Hopefully it wonâ\200\231t damage the close relationship between us. I think there will be numerous arguments but this will not damage the essence of our relationship,â\200\235 he said.

Dr De Klerk added that he and his brother would now be â\200\234keeping secretsâ\200\235 from each other out of loyalty to their respective parties. â\200\234Obviously I wonâ\200\231t 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,â\200\235 he said.

Asked if he had any influence on his younger brother, Dr De Klerk said they both influenced each other: â\200\234We both know that neither of us is an opportunist.â\200\235

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 â\200\234bottom lineâ\200\235 for the Nats.

â\200\234I donâ\200\231t think there will be any meaningful negotiation with meaningful black leaders if the NP upholds the race group concept.â\200\235

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 â\200\234Fourth Forceâ\200\235, 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 â\200\234verligâ\200\235 and â\200\234verkrampâ\200\235 and although he remained uneasily 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 â\200\234verdomde Engelse persâ\200\235.

Now, as he cdpes with the â\200\230â\200\234new sceneâ\200\235 of brotherly opposition, he says: â\200\234I 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.

't heavy, heâ\200\231s my brother

*â\200\234During 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.â\200\235

Political differences aside, he said of his brother: â\200\234He is a very well-balanced kind of chap, heâ\200\231s a pragmatist. He will bring a more relaxed atmosphere to Government.

â\200\234In the NP there are two distinct factions â\200\224 the verlig and the verkramp. I think my brother represents the middle of the road.

â\200\234I 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.â\200\235

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.

R TR

@ Frompage 1

Sabta had, however, warned its members â\200\234notto be euphoric about the train boycottâ\200\231â\200\231, 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 .

\- Thecompany had laidon 20 extrabuses butonly nine

nantly in Soweto,

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

A Witwatersrand police spokesman said they had taken â\200\234certain actionsâ\200\231â\200\231. -

nad been used, predomi-

Train boycott

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 sta- .

tions, 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.

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

â\200\234It is just inconceivable

that I can suddenly turn to
the taxis or buses,â\200\231â\200\235 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 pas-
sengers 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 passen-
gers from Soweto and from other areas and most
taxis could not cope. - o

Withthe â\200\234avalanche of passengersâ\200\231â\200\231, some drivers
ignored regulations in aneffortto â\200\234kill the rushâ\200\231â\200\231, the
Sabta spokesman said.

L R LR ET -9

r thous Pupils reported for re-registration last
Wednesday, 17/2021 led end lines set by the department of m-

cation and in

This marked the
a nine-month
gap in the city in Jan-
uary better and undis-
turbed hunting grounds
by the end of 1980.

'DETENTIONS

About 22" student lea-
ders were in detention at
Modder in
Transvaal under Section
10 of the Terrorism Act.
They all came from Port
Elizabeth and Uitenhage,

their detention became
an grievance to
those already stipulated

end of
boycott

by the pupils and descri-
bed

] as short term de-
mands if th
to be ended.

. Their release was hail-

by many civic leaders
and parents who saw it as
a step in the right direc-
tion and a clear indication
that the authorities were
prepared to meet the pu-
pils' short-term demands
and. it created a healthy
situation for further dis-
cussions with parent bo-
dies.

CHAIRMAN

Among
was Mr.

those released
a Lamani,
former chairman of the
disbanded Port Elizabeth
Students Committee. Soon
after their release Mr. La-
mani said the released
students stood by the Pa-
rents Committee decision
that students should sus-
pend the boycott. Mr. La.

mani who said they had
been treated well in pri-
son, undertook to see the
head of the Security Po-
lice in the Eastern Cape,
Col. G. E
cure the release of other
students still in detention,

Saw many pupijls

for pupils to go back.

last_week.

He said he did not for-
~see any problems in this
â\200\230regard. Mr. Lamani is
â\200\230among 15 students who
were expelled from the
New Brighton Technical
College last year at the
height of the boycott. The
collegeâ\200\231s governing body
decided to readmit them
soon after their relcase

â\202¬ impasse wag

rasmus to Se-

b

â\200\230Hopeful but cautiousâ\200\231
about economic forum

From BRIAN WILLIAMS, National
Council of Trade Unions (Johan-
nesburg]:

| YOUR editorial stating that a virtual

Economic Codesa was agreed to at a

| meeting with labour leaders, govern-
' ment and business leaders is an ex-

ample of the triumph of extravagant

journalism over facts (â\200\234Economic Co-
desaâ\200\235, Cape Times, May 20).

Your interpretation of the meetin

with Minister of Finance Derek Keys,
. osatu, Fedsal and business
epresentatives_is_not_supported by

rep
. the conclusions rÃ©ached.

What are the facts? |

The meeting had one central resolu-
tion â\200\224 that an economic forum would
be l{eldbat which various perspectives

l_our country. Minis
expresse een willingness and

' openness to the viewpoints of labour

and business. The governmentâ\200\231s ap-
proach together W ifi¬\201 an unifertaEing

to participate in an economic forum is

jaT break from the past.
owever it shou T mbered

the fact that billions were spent by the
Nationalist government, in ag@" _t;g_mpt :

that the Finance Minister is part of a
racist minority government in transi-

tion. Economic gglig% is subject to the
De rk governmentâ\200\231s own agenda o
power E ay in its_po !%.ï¬\201'al negotia-
tions. The government will remainde-

voutly territorial about its control of
macro-economic policy.

Nactuâ\200\231s 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, waste, inefficiency, misdirection, etc. A large part of our present problems is due to these factors.

- 700 000 members of the working class in general, to make :
micro

to give artificial life to an unworkable
A@@gom. :

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

ent and capital create unemployment as decided to become involved. We are driven by

the urgency of the plight of the unemployed

and the employed workers.
committed to exploring together with capital and overnment's rise position of increasing 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 unemployed companies.

2027 social problems created by the vast retrenchments are subject to the supreme corporate power

While we do find the De Klerk

government and capital accountable for a large share of the economic crisis, it is more important to the economic crisis :

ent
isintegration an

The criticism fo a position of construc-
ve participation ln or X_
. e We should not be limited by
sterile notions about past and present '
corporate guilt. We have a du our
"in particular and to

â\202¬ searc

a determi rt to'find econo:

olufions.

However we are not pre gred~to
surrender any i¬\201n'damen%if. rights of

our members. Tt

.. 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.

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 Barberston, Mpumalanga, while Nkambule sat watching videos with a friend. ; Nkambule complained that the police had not

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 nibbled 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.â\200\235 - 57 :

" mMeanwhile, 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 Phosaâ\200\231s removal came following instructions received â\200\234from upstairsâ\200\235.

R

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 Nkambuleâ\200\231s 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.

grlatred dCross d aeddiy aiviae

ber MONG'the millions of
E 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
410,000 lives in the last six
years.

n But this is Zulu fighting
Zulu. Some are loyal to the
African National Congress of
.Nelson Mandela, others are
<devoted to the Inkatha Free-
dom Party of Chief Mango-
Jsuthu 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 .

.grdin back in the kraals.

. b Neither are modern Zulu

"â\200\234lewartiors in the battles for the-
: towns clad in grass skirts and -
rmore and leopard skin.

i *The only, skins we favour
today are Armani leather
jackets and alligator shoes.
Thatâ\200\231s your Zulu, July 1992-
style,â\200\231â\200\235 says Khaba Mkhizi, a
journalist who is a kind of
rDamon Runyon of the black
townships around Pietermar-
itzburg, capital of Natal. **You
ll see a lot of photographs of
Buthelezi in traditional gear
i@t ceremonies. But thereâ\200\231s a
avell-used photo of Buthelezi
â\200\234wearing a Burberry scarf
gmarked Harrodâ\200\231's. That's
what Zulus aspire to. The
vitradeationalâ\200\231- Zulu is for the
Â°maselm:â\200\235 Â¥
5!Not â\200\230only is the traditional
2Zulu being consigned to the
â\200\231 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 ban-

ning 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-

E; 'wâ_w+:__â\224â\200\231

| Tugela River |

Emapangen

mation of the ANC- ahgned

Congress of South African .
Trade Unions (Cosatu). :

Buthelezi was forced more
and more to rely on rural.

chiefs, who were under;
pinned by the Bantustan Sys-1:'w
says
Wright. The more he lost his -;
constituency, the more he:
cracked down. In 1985 war- .
lords started emerging, partly
under Inkatha control, partly.

tem and Pretoria,

semi-independent. You
couldn't get a shack unless
you paid the warlord. These
racketeers became part of
Buthelezi's natural const-
ituency.

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

. Zulu: language newspapers,
they say Shaka never had a

King Shaka's rule in the 19th
century and the present dis-
cord between the ANC and
Inkatha is to a considerable
extent a reflection of the com-
plicated divisions of the past.
In this area there is a psy-

hological rebellion against -
being Zulu," said Khaba

- Mkhizi, who as assistant edi-

tor of the Natal Witness

writes a column on life in the
townships around Pietermar-

itzburg. People are taking a
good look at Shaka and won-
dering whether he was a good

thing; In the streets, bars and

quarrel with the white people
and for there is; Buthelez
who has never had a quarrel

A.,

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 impi (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

-

1]

Pletermarltzburg], 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. There
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's President-in-
exile, Oliver Tambo, in
London Having given official

ANC blessing to the birth of

'demanded. blind allegiance
from Buthelezi; who refused
three counts. "

ANC's exploitation of
{guthful anger ,and warned
; at it could lead to unprece-

f armed struggle
Y Finally, Buthe-
lezi 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 lead-
ers ANC puppets and called for
their deaths. Last month

: Harry Gwala, a self-confessed
Zulu-speaking Stalinist who
is ANC chairman in the Pie-
termaritzburg region, said In-
katha leaders were legitimate
targets for assassination,
Every day last week, south of
the Tugela there was a fresh
crop of ANC or Inkatha bod-
ies. All were Zulus.

. i

Inkatha in 1975, Tambo now |.
- First; Buthelezi objected to the
.

! dented levels of civil disorder. -
" Secondly, he opposed the

Â i
npinese

six
Armed Forces s'dfloned c'd
Golf GTi 3-door. And since we. can hand

- the tax man the slip couldn't be easier.

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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: :

â\200\234I 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 â\200\224 racist
like them. They killed black people.
had killed white people. I am not a
racist . . . but it is very easy in South
Africa to be a racist.â\200\235 L
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 â\200\234die like a
soldier.â\200\235 They caught up to him and
didnâ\200\231t shoot. â\200\230
â\200\234I told them: TI'm the one you are
looking for,â\200\235 â\200\235 Zondo said. â\200\234I laid the
bomb in Amanzimtoti.â\200\235

A

is trial was dramatic. One

youth, John Bothma, testi-

fied from a wheelchair andâ\200\231

told how the blast killed his 16-year-
old sister, Sharon. As Bothmaâ\200\231s father
wheeled his son from the stand after
the testimony, the father stopped at the'

defense table and punched Zondo in theâ\200\231,

face. v

Zondo testified that after he had
planted the bomb, he had intended to go

to a nearby post office and phone theâ\200\231

center to warn them of the device. But
he said all the phone booths were
occupied. â\200\230 .

When a booth became free, thereâ\200\231
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. o |

The judge called his story prepos-
terous, saying that if Zondo were wor-'
ried 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.

Wedidn'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 people knew how to reach out and love"

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. P

"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." F

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. o

In private conversations, some ANC

members have expressed dismay at Zondo's action, partly on philosophical grounds â\200\224 the ANC says it is fighting a system, not whites per se â\200\224 and partly because such incidents hurt the credibility â\200\230 of the group.

But others pointed out that young blacks were dying by the hundreds in township violence.

Cadres â\200\234 have seen lives and limbs lost at the hands of the security forces, â\200\235

â\200\230' said Tom Sebina, an ANC spokesman.

â\200\234 Why must the ANC say, â\200\230 You mustnâ\200\231 t behave in the same manner? â\200\231 â\200\235

The debate means little to the Zondos.

They have four other children, ranging in age from five to 23, but Andrew â\200\230 â\200\234 was the most soft-hearted of all my children, â\200\235 Mr. Zondo said.

â\200\234 He was an outstanding fellow, â\200\235 he said. â\200\234 When he was there, you felt he was there. And he knew how to love,

somebody. I mean anybody. He was a - friend of all, people older than myself. And small kids. ik

â\200\234 But then, to say such things of someone who was â\200\230 hanged for his involvement with the ANC might not make much sense to other people, â\200\235 Mr. Zondo said. But those qualities of his son â\200\234 are things we cherish in our family. â\200\235

It was suggested that maybe other people needed to know that side of" Andrew Zondo. ey :

â\200\234 Maybe, yeah, â\200\235 Mr. Zondo said." â\200\234 But I doubt it. â\200\235 S

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homelands are not one prob- "
lem but â\200\230many. For the 10
â\200\234homelandsâ\200\235 created as segre- :-

gated tribal states under apart-
heid each have their own polit-
ical identity and their own

.aspirations to power in the.

new South Africa.

Transkei, the second- largest
~homeland with 3.5m inhabit-

ants, has proved fertile ground
for ANC mobilisation. Its resi-
dents are Xhosas â\200\224 the tribe of
Mr Mandela and other top ANC
leaders â\200\224 and its leader, Gen-
eral Bantu Holomisa, is the

O\,\:c._{{â\200\230

THME Homa Ly, N

L= caa â\200\224aas o2

â\200\230ise pohtlcally in ClSkel so it is
â\200\230hardly â\200\234surprising that the -

orgamsatlon should target Brig
â\200\230Gqozo â\200\234for protest. But as the â\204¢
Johannesburg daily Business
Day pointed out yesterday:
â\200\234Gqozoâ\200\231s sin...is not that he
heads -an unrepresentative

- homeland regime spawned by
- apartheid, but that he does not

agree with the ANC.â\200\235

The problem for the ANC is
that the two other most power-
ful homeland leaders â\200\224 Presi-
dent Lucas Mangope of Bophu-
thatswana and Chief

The homelands have their own political
identity and their own aspirations to
. power in the new South Africa

staunchest ANC supporter
among homeland leaders. Gen

Holomisa seems to have cho-

sen his ally wisely, for he has

escaped the ANC's campaign

against the repressive practices

of homeland leaders.

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. Undoubt-

edly, the ANC has been ham-

Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu - also disagree with the ANC. Official ANC strategy is to seek their overthrow by force. But

- Neither is a negligible foe.

: ... President Mandela's government. Instead, the ANC has chosen

ment has been accused of widespread corruption and repres-

us 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 strong, with the

most powerful security forces of any homeland government. Furthermore, Pretoria is count-

ing 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 hlm

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 home-

land 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 politi-

. cal streetfighters. The risk is

that if they fail to do so soon
â\200\234there will be nothmg of value
" left to mhent

-i OU can't keep Ian Smith
down â\200\224 or quiet:

Despite his long retirement from
active politics, the former
Rhodesian prime minister has been
sounding off about the
â\200\234disgracefulâ\200\235 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 â\200\234stand
up and. be countedâ\200\235 against
international blackmail, he says:

â\200\234As 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 â\200\224
I find sportsmen more genuine,
honest, sincere.â\200\235

ES this the ultimate
privatisation?

Britainâ\200\231s Central Television
station has warned the
Meteorological Office that unless
the TV performance of its :
forecasters improves
â\200\234dramaticallyâ\200\235 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.

A

ï-\202h'j'HUUGH the cane and
strap 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 Naco(fdoches County .
have been asked to stop hanging

bricks around youngstersâ\200\231 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."

He was the last survivor of one of the most celebrated feats of the Second World War: the Cockleshell Heroes' raid on

German ships in Bordeaux. It 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

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and insecurity and the future among whites I,

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. I respect President

certainty 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

fortunately, good intentions are not enough. The way a new government is established, if

it is to have any claim to being 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 Elayers, 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 man-
date the chief justice or a senior
judge (suitably assisted) to begin
the process of discussion and
negotiation by drawing together
all the major constitutional pro-
posals. '

" These would include the more
contentious options (for example,
an Afrikaner state and the Free-
dom Charter) and then, with the
help of facilitators, get the pro-
cess going.

While this is starting up, a

SURDAY

AGAINST a background of dis-
trust and despair among blacks

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like most

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Bothaâ\200\231s sin-

right. Unfor-

a democracy,

by Denis
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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 fundamen-
tal right of groups who want cul-
tural and linguistic self-determi-
nation 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 (ar ae Nr Willom da Klork)

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-optation, authoritarianism and (eventual) failure.

To adopt the high-road ap-

proach course calls for magnanimity, for statesmanship and for a willingness to put the inter-

ests of country before party, -i 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.

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Huddleston:
apartheid

not yet dead

By Phil Molefe o .

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

Old friends . . . ailing ANC president Oliver Tambo at the airport yesterday to welcome Archbishop Desmond Tutu who returned to the country after an

walking stick.

We are now old, there is an absence of S. With them is ANC deputy president Nelson Mandela. . Picture: John Hogg

little difference-whether we see the same or not

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are standing or sitting. Al, I :-8 =S a i \201uâ\200\230z i \201 s 85 3â\200\234'855go2â\200\234Â\$Â\$Â\$5225Â\$ =28 AEPs SEBESS sE S28Â¢a2582

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as he hugged Mr Tambo. | o == .- LE % 3 @ S o o= . 9 o0 2.5 w D awmae LA

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Archbishop Huddleston | W = O mg = o 2IVY_5 Âf8.8% 8 |ws =T 09 aM s B >BanBERdE "Rl

said the main purpose of the | & S5 S=SE S F=Â°58 ;ESNE %Ã@â\200\231gÃ@;.'_'". oRAnL B gEg by muÂ°.5â\200\23085â\200\234852-â\200\230â\200\224"- 'Â\$Â\$2050.= 'gÂ°3

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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 les-
son learned from the col-
lapse of Codesa II â\200\224 not
to negotiate in alliance
with other parties. In the
final session of Codesa,
the NP at the behest of
some homeland parties

How NP Mneg;tiator

answer their critics

Pattern of Politics

By HERMANN

GILIOMEE 1

kept pushing up the
majorities which would
be needed to draft a con-
stitution. The ANC
walked out and the NP
suffered a humiliating
propaganda defeat.

The critics, inside the
NP, of the partyâ\200\231s negoti-
ators feel that the salva-
tion of the party and its
constituency lies in es-
tablishing the fine de-
tails of a future constitu-
tion before an election.
They also insist on a
period of at least five
years in which the NPâ\200\231s
hands would be jointly

â\200\230on the levers of power.

Different view

The NP negotiators
take a quite different
view. They believe tran-
sition will get off to a
false start if the first
election is not seen as an
occasion for black liber-
ation and empowerment.
They argue that the best
safeguard for the NPâ\200\231s
constituency does not lie
in the fine print of a con-
stitution but in its ability
to make its skills indis-
pensable in a future sys-
tem 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 extracts 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 bargaining 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 leïr\201\)
Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Leon Wessels and Dr Dawie de Villiers have aroused the displeasure of fellow party members. But they certainly

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

have a defence.

face of opposition from a
party strong enough to
wreck them.

Finally, the negotia-
tors 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

_ators are feather-

would very much like to
appoint to a future cabi-
net. (Mr Meyer in his cur-
rent portfolio, Mr Wes-
sels for law and order
and Dr De Villiers for
public enterprise).

Mr J W Maree of the
NP's federal office of in-
formation calls sugges- |
tions that the NP negoti-

bedding their future
political nests â\230â\230mali-
ciousâ\235. 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 parlia-
ment and cabinet.

This, then, is the NP |
negotiatorsâ\231 side of the
picture. Will the ten- Â\$
sions in the NP's inner |
circles become intoler-
able? There is a single
reason why they prob-
ably 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

ling underestimated and
he has an extraordinary

made a career out of be-

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.