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Still no sign of fourth victim's body

THE MTWEBANA family in Port Elizabeth have gone into mourning over their son — still unsure whether he's the fourth guerilla who died in the Durban oil refinery shoot-out almost a month ago.

Sixty-four-year-old Sophie Mtwebana was phoned by the Durban State mortuary to say her son Mzwakhe had died in the shoot-out. But despite two visits to Durban — at which members of the family were twice shown "a wrong body" — they're still not sure Mzwakhe is dead.

"If he's dead, where's the body?" Mrs Mtwebana asked.

"I think the death message might have been a hoax — but where is my son, then?"

"My only hope is that he is still alive somewhere, and that the authorities have made a mistake.

"I sincerely believed

CP Correspondent

the call to be genuine, and the whole week I thought about him and what could have happened.

"We went into mourning, and started making arrangements for the funeral."

Mrs Mtwebana — who had to be treated for shock after hearing from the mortuary — said her son left the country in 1978 along with hundreds of other Port Elizabeth students.

"We haven't heard from him since," she said.

One of the people he left with, 25-year-old Vuyisile de Vos, has already been identified as one of the guerillas who died in the Durban raid.

ANC body not ours — family

The other two are Clifford Brown of East London, buried last week, and Vuyisile Matroos of KwaZakhele, who still has to be buried.

"I still haven't got over the shock," said Mrs Mtwebana.

"My two daughters, Nozipho and Jongiwe, also had to see a doctor.

"We've also had constant visits from the Security Police asking me about Mzwakhe's whereabouts. They also took away all his pictures.

Euro-safari ends on high note in Italy

ROME—The Prime Minister returns home tomorrow a happy man after his 17-day European safari. Mr Botha and his Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, have good reason to be pleased, for their tour has brought them into contact with 20 European leaders, among them heads of state, prime ministers and foreign ministers — an achievement perhaps impossible only a few short months ago.

It gave them the opportunity to put their case and to explain in detail developments such as the new constitution and events surrounding the Nkomati Accord.

But apart from this, the private meetings also gave them the opportunity of correcting misinterpretations of South African policy at top level.

It emerged here last night that Pope John Paul II is likely to visit South Africa in the first half of 1985.

This is the belief of a Vatican observer following the cordial meeting on Monday with the Pope, although it is understood that during the private audience the question of the Pope's possible visit was not discussed.

The South African Government has already made it clear to the Conference of Bishops that should they invite the Pope to South Africa, among other southern African states, he would be welcome.

ORMANDE POLLOK

Political Correspondent

Mr Botha completed his shuttle on a high note yesterday, with what is regarded as a highly-successful round of talks with his Italian counterpart, Mr Bettino Craxi.

They spent far longer together than was scheduled, and Mr Botha is understood to have been delighted with his reception.

It appears that yesterday's talks, and those between Mr Pik Botha and his Italian counterpart, Mr Giulio Andreotti, which also lasted longer than scheduled, were the most rewarding since the Prime Minister's visit to Portugal at the start of the tour.

Genuine

Mr Pik Botha said in a statement that both he and the Prime Minister had been well-received and that Mr Craxi had been 'genuinely interested' in the new constitutional developments in South Africa and the special Cabinet committee examining the future of urban blacks.

The Prime Minister had been asked a series of questions which Mr Botha said had given him the opportunity to put his case and to put matters into perspective.

The talks had centred largely on recent developments in southern Africa and on South West

Africa.

It is understood that Italy gave a positive response to a South African appeal for Italy to use its influence in bringing together Angola's MPLA and Unita.

Cubans

The whole tour served to highlight South Africa's financial contribution to South West Africa, its desire to get out and its newly-acquired role of chief fund-raiser for poverty-stricken Africa.

The fact that what many countries see as 'racist South Africa' has been touring Europe with a begging bowl for black Africa will not have gone entirely unnoticed, particularly on the African continent.

Another important development has been the greater understanding for South Africa's demand for Cuban withdrawal from Angola.

It is thought that at least two European Governments — Portugal and Italy — fully understand South Africa's reasons but cannot say so openly for reasons of their own.



Rome—The Prime Minister talks with his Italian counterpart, Mr Bettino Craxi, at the Villa Madama guest offices in Rome.
— (UPI)

Dramatic dash from Transkei

A SENIOR university academic made a dramatic 250km dash to escape from the Transkei this week when he was told security police were hunting for him.

The warning came only 40 minutes after he accused the University of the Transkei's administration at a senate meeting of violating academic freedom by co-operating with the police.

This is the latest development in the uproar that has enveloped the university since last year when accusations of maladministration and corruption came to the surface.

Professor Nico Cloete, 36-year-old head of the university's Psychology Department, who fled this week, had also proposed a motion of no-confidence in the university principal, Professor B de V van der Merwe, and the Registrar, but this was ruled out of order.

After charging the administration with intimidating staff members, co-operating with police in expelling four academics, and failing to challenge the deportation orders, Prof Cloete was warned in a note slipped to him by a colleague at the meeting to be careful of his movements.

It said he would be questioned by security police, in the light of what he had told the Senate. Other friends later advised Prof Cloete not to visit his wife and children at home in Umtata during the lunch recess.

Prof Cloete had left Transkei two weeks earlier for fear of being arrested, but slipped back across the border the previous day to attend the senate meeting.

Academic flees as the police close in ...



● Professor Nico Cloete

Determined

He was determined, said informed sources, to express his views to the senate on the deportations and arrest and detention without trial of several students.

Forty minutes later, his wife Elize, sent a message to him to say three security policemen had called at their house and wanted to question him. They had asked for a description of his car. He decided to race for the border immediately.

When the senate meeting resumed at 2pm two security policemen were observed outside the chamber, and later, unknown to Prof Cloete, the senate adopted a motion expressing its concern at the violation of academic freedom, and condemning the deportations and detentions.

But by that time, Mrs Cloete had packed an overnight bag, placed their children, Julia, four, and Liza, two, in the care of friends, and left the house.

She and Prof Cloete set out in a borrowed car on a six-hour dash through Pondoland for the Natal border. They avoided detection by sticking to gravel roads.

By KITT KATZIN

Mrs Cloete locked their home, leaving behind most of their possessions, and left Umtata early on Friday with her children. Seven hours later the family was reunited in Durban.

Yesterday Prof Cloete, who was detained in a cell with 30 alleged housebreakers after student unrest broke out on campus last month (charges against him of inciting students and of interfering with the course of justice were dropped) will reconsider his position at the university after a commission of inquiry has reported.

Matters came to a head this week when members of the enlarged senate expressed grave concern at the infringement of academic freedom.

They forced a debate, initially disallowed by the principal, Prof van der Merwe, on the deportation of academics.

At least two members of the senate, Professor Johan van der Vyver, professor of law at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Professor Dreyer Kruger, head of the psychology department at Rhodes University, had sent a telegram to the university's Registrar, asking for the issue to be included on the agenda for debate.

Challenge

But this, apparently, was not done and Prof van der Merwe, according to sources, ruled that the university's statute did not allow for a debate.

The decision was challenged, and discussion followed.

Concern was expressed at reports that members of the administration had assisted police to detain lecturers and students and Prof Cloete, speaking in support of the claim, alleged the university allowed its vehicles to be used by police to transport students to prison.

He said that while in detention he saw a sworn statement, signed by a staff member, alleging certain students were associated with banned organisations.

Yesterday in Parliament

Ingwavuma probe 'getting mysterious'

CAPE TOWN—The operation of the Rumpff Commission investigating the Ingwavuma land deal was becoming more and more mysterious, Mr Ray Swart (PFP Berea) said yesterday.

He called on the Government to explain statements last week by the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Rumpff, that the investigation was being delayed by the failure of Swaziland and South Africa to answer certain questions.

'What is the mystery relating to the operation of the commission? Has there been a separate deal with Swaziland as a result of recent diplomatic initiatives, or what is happening?' Mr Swart asked.

He was speaking in committee on the Laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Bill, which seeks to vali-

date Government proclamations issued before those giving effect to the Ingwavuma and KaNgwane land deals.

Mr Swart said the commission had been appointed in haste at the end of 1982 and had held very few meetings since.

Clarity

Mr Justice Rumpff had let it be known there would be no further meetings until clarity had been obtained from the Government on certain of the issues with which the commission was charged to deal.

The Judge had indicated in a letter to members of the commission that he expected 'some important statement

from the Government ... in regard to its attitude as to the Ingwavuma commission and the KaNgwane commission', Mr Swart said.

The Government had said land consolidation in Natal could not go ahead until the Rumpff Commission had submitted its report.

'But the operation of the Rumpff Commission is becoming more and more mysterious as days go by,' Mr Swart said.

He proposed an amendment in terms of which any proclamation dealt with in the Bill would not be validated if the legislative assembly of a homeland passed a resolution within three months of the Bill's enactment

asking for the repeal of such proclamation.

In terms of the amendment, such proclamations would have to be repealed within a month of homeland resolutions to this effect.

The Chairman of Committees, Mr Adriaan Vlok, ruled that he could not accept the amendment because it was in conflict with the principles of the Bill as accepted at its Second Reading.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said that by proposing the Ingwavuma deal, the Government had made 'a fine mess' of a golden opportunity to gain recognition for its racial policies.

Instead of 'using

white land to solve a dispute between black people', the Government should simply have acted as a mediator, Dr Hartzenberg said.

The Government had ruined its chance to unite the Swazi people and show that members of the same race belonged together, he said.

He also questioned delays in the activities of the Rumpff Commission.

The Deputy Minister, Dr George Morrison, said this was not an appropriate time to talk about the Ingwavuma case and whether or not it had been badly handled.

The clause was approved after a division in which the PFP voted against the CP, NRP and NP — (Sapa)

Govt going ahead with Swazi deals, says Chief

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The Government is drafting legislation to hand over the border territories of Ingwavuma and KaNgwane to Swaziland and to 'place its action beyond the jurisdiction of the courts,' Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has told the governments of Britain, West Germany and Italy.

Chief Buthelezi's statement is contained in a memorandum sent to London, Bonn and Rome in time for the Prime Minister's visit to these capitals.

It was embargoed until yesterday for publication.

Chief Buthelezi spearheaded resistance in 1982 to Mr Botha's plans to transfer Ingwavuma, which is part of KwaZulu, to Swaziland.

He temporarily blocked the proposed transfer when the Appeal Court upheld KwaZulu's contention that a proclamation excising Ingwavuma from KwaZulu was invalid.

Excision of Ingwavuma was the first step to ceding it to Swaziland, KwaZulu said.

If a law, instead of a

proclamation, is passed providing for the excision and transfer of Ingwavuma to Swaziland, there can be no appeal against it to the Courts — because Parliament is supreme in terms of South African law.

The same situation would apply to a law providing for the redissolution of the KaNgwane Legislative Assembly and the transfer of KaNgwane, designated 'home-

land' of South African-born Swazis.

The KaNgwane Legislative Assembly was dissolved by decree in June 1982 but later re-established as part of a compromise deal after the Appeal Court upheld KwaZulu's application.

'The Ingwavuma-KaNgwane issue is still on the South African Government's agenda,' Chief Buthelezi told the three Western governments.

Political Correspondent PETER MANN reports on the Prime Minister's

Bothas in the

And now it's back home to a rousing welcome

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European tour as it draws to close this week

Buiteland

... and to face the political music

PRIME Minister P W Botha this week meets Pope John Paul II, Dr Chester Crocker and Italian Premier Craxi on the final leg of his European tour.

He will fly home on Thursday to a rousing welcome by the Cabinet, MPs and members of the public at Cape Town's D F Malan Airport.

But he will also return to political problems occasioned by his offer to hand administration of Namibia to the Western Five, either jointly or alone.

The issue has become central in a tour which has also seen Mr Botha:

- Ask Western nations to put together a R50-million co-ordinated aid programme for Mozambique.
- Ask the same Western nations to help develop Namibia once it has gained independence, and;
- Restate South Africa's belief that the Cubans must be withdrawn from Angola before Namibia can become independent.

South Africa also asked to address the meeting of the seven industrialised nations which began in London this week.

The request was refused and Foreign Minister Pik Botha then asked that post-independence development in Namibia be placed on the agenda of the meeting.

This, and the surprise offer to pull out of Namibia, were to be discussed this week.

The Prime Minister's offer is politically very shrewd.

First, it is highly unlikely that any of the Western Five would want to take him up.

Second, Mr Botha has made it abundantly clear that even if they did he would not allow it until the Cubans were withdrawn from Angola.

But South Africa has already said she is prepared to implement United Nations Resolution 435 as soon as there is agreement on Cuban withdrawal.

And that plan already provides for South Africa to withdraw and hand over control to the UN.

So Mr Botha has not really given an inch. In fact, it can be argued that he would prefer a Western Five takeover to the UN.

South Africa has long argued that the UN is biased and will not be able to implement free and fair elections.

What Mr Botha has gained by his offer is a psychological advantage over the West.

If they don't take him up on it they will have little moral basis left for criticising South Africa.

Mr Botha will simply turn around and say: If you don't like the way we do it, you take over, you pay.

Domestic risk

But it is an advantage he has gained at domestic political risk.

For when he left on his eight-nation tour, Conservative leader Andries Treurnicht said its purpose was to sell-out the white man.

Dr Treurnicht is bound to say: I told you so.

With more than half the trip gone, Prime Minister Botha has broken some of the isolation surrounding South Africa. He has had successful meetings with Mrs Thatcher, Mr Kohl, and Portugal's Dr Mario Soares.

His meeting with Switzerland's President Leon Schlumpf was less successful — more in the nature of a courtesy call.

And it is evident that even in meetings which make the South Africans happy there have been some harsh exchanges about apartheid.

There have been some disastrous meetings.

Perhaps the worst was with Hans Vogel, leader of the opposition German Party, SDP.

Mr Vogel stands a chance of taking government at the next elections.

The discussions he and his colleague, Mr Ehmke, had with Mr Botha turned into a farce.

One senior South African said: "The one sat clutching a piece of paper, the other was eating monkey nuts."

Mr Botha has also held successful meetings with businessmen and industrialists in all the countries he has visited.

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In fact, even the successes he has had with political leaders can be traced to trade.

Portugal was friendly because the Soares Government wants to export some of its unemployed to southern Africa.

Britain and Germany are South Africa's major trading partners and their South African markets are important to them.

And even the developments relating to Namibia have a financial base.

For on this trip Mr Botha, as he did in the No Confidence Debate in Parliament in January, has been complaining about the cost of Namibia.

He has fondly, and at every opportunity, been holding up a piece of paper showing how much South Africa contributes to keep Namibia going.

Mr Botha's score is R658 million a year — and that doesn't include the security costs.

The war in Namibia, apart from its human toll, costs R1 million a day.

THE SUNDAY FURY AND THE ANGER

DEMONSTRATORS, vocally and sometimes violently opposed to the European visit of the South African Prime Minister, have been out on the streets in every country he has visited.

In Vienna, where Mr Botha will be staying until today, 1 200 demonstrators waved placards on the streets before his arrival.

But Mr Botha missed them, because he got lost in France and arrived only after midnight.

It was the latest in a long series. And South Africans who dismiss them as left-wing crazies without any ideological commitment should think again.

There may well be all types of strange people among them, sporting the latest in mohican, punk hairstyles, and held together by venom and acne.

But for every one of those, there are three or four decent people, implacably opposed to apartheid.

It's also no use trying to pretend, as has been the wont of some Government officials on the trip, that the demonstrators are being paid. Nor does it help to say, as did one lady member of a camera crew travelling with Mr Botha, that it was "these bloody blacks".



□ Prime Minister Botha met with Austrian Chancellor Fred Sinowatz on Friday. There were no handshakes for photographers as the two men were already seated by the time the Press was allowed in

For the fundamental point is that nobody would demonstrate in favour of Mr Botha's visit.

Demonstrators first made their appearance in Lisbon, before Mr Botha had even left South Africa.

That demonstration, organised by the Communist Party, was largely held to be a failure. Relatively few people turned up and no demonstrators were seen when Mr Botha arrived.

Questioned

About 50 people, mainly from women's groups, paraded, held placards and booed.

They weren't particularly threatening, but one lady, who declined to give her name, questioned me intently about the UDF and its campaign to get a million signatures against the new constitution.

She also wanted to know what would happen to the Atteridgeville children whose schools had been closed down by the Government after continuing unrest.

The biggest demo so far was in London where an estimated 20 000 marched from Hyde Park.

One banner showed a life-sized Mr Botha standing and smiling — with one of his feet on the face of a black man. Behind him was an African child with the distended belly caused by kwashiorkor.

Another black figure, evidently shot by the police, lay in the background.

Blood flowed around and between Mr Botha's legs. The sign read: "Welcome".

Police and demonstrators clashed in Bonn. About 500 to 1 000 people gathered outside the hotel in which Mr Botha was

speaking, in defiance of a court order prohibiting them from doing so.

German police, armed with helmets, riot shields and batons, and with dogs in reserve, moved in.

As Mr Botha arrived crackers were lobbed from the crowd and a red flare was fired towards his car.

In common with demonstrators throughout Europe they held banners proclaiming Mr Botha to be a "racist" and a "nazi".

Mr Botha has been cool and unruffled. He must have noticed the demonstrations, but the only time he has referred to them was when asked directly whether he and Mrs Thatcher had discussed them.

"What demonstrations?" he asked.

FUN AND GAMES | ADD A LITTLE SPICE



PRIME Minister Botha is having a rollicking good time in Europe.

He's been lost in France, been asked if he's South African, faced a barrage of demos and even been given a spectacular fireworks display by the ANC.

And Mr Botha has popped in and out of palaces and ritzy official residences to meet the great of the world.

Some have been very strange. Take Portuguese President Eanes, for example. He received Mr Botha and his Foreign Minister Pik Botha in the Siao palace where he sat like royalty on a velvet chair.

The two Bothas were ushered through one opulently decorated hall after another before they finally reached his presence.

And although Portugal has a semi-presidential system, the president being elected by popular vote, the real work of government is done by the Prime Minister Mario Soares.

All of which, apparently, leaves President Eanes sitting on his velvet seat without very much to do.

And when the South Africans asked what he did when not receiving visitors they were told he "manoeuvred".

Then there was Dennis Thatcher, much maligned husband of Maggie. He was at Chequers on the day the two Bothas came to call.

While I emphasise that the following story was not leaked by the South Africans, he is reputed to have taken Mr Botha's bodyguards on a tour of the estate where he pointed out with great relish a tree planted by Harold Wilson. He noted that it hadn't grown.

Invitation

Then, remembering that a British touring team was playing rugby against the Springboks that day, he took the security men off to listen to the game.

The fact that his wife officially disapproved of the tour didn't seem to matter.

In between Mr Botha has also managed to do some manoeuvring of his own. Prime Minister Soares gaped when Mr Botha told a Press conference that he had invited him to tour South Africa. And faced with the next question — had he accepted? — Mr Soares could only lamely reply that he had. He looked painfully embarrassed that the news had been made public.

And, in an incident which was very funny for Mr Botha but slightly less amusing for 700 guests who had waited 45 minutes in freezing rainy conditions

THE BOTHAS ABROAD: The Prime Minister and his Foreign Minister ... and (below)

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at Delville Wood, Mr Botha got lost in France.

He was being escorted to the French border from Brussels by Belgian police. Unfortunately the motorcade went to the wrong border post. Mr Botha's Belgian escort was to end and the French gendarmes were to take over.

But the gendarmes weren't there. Total confusion reigned. The French refused to allow the Belgians into their country to escort Mr Botha to Delville Wood. Then they refused to allow the South Africans to proceed without a guard.

Police truck

In desperation the South Africans asked if there wasn't any kind of police vehicle to escort them.

They finally rumbled off behind an ancient police truck capable of only about 70 km/h, a far cry from the majestic 140 which the black Mercedes of the motorcade normally maintained.

But worse was to come. They suddenly noticed they were heading towards Dunkirk where the day before the leading nations of the world had gathered to honour the D-Day fallen.

South Africa, for obvious reasons, had not been invited. They were staging their own celebration, relating to another war, and the wood lay in another direction.

Finally they linked up with the French. Mr Botha, who had been rumbling around France in a diplomatic car, was immediately transferred to a bullet-proof limosine and taken to Delville Wood.

Mr Botha also had some fun in Bonn where he stayed in the magnificent residence of the South African ambassador on the banks of the Rhine.

The residence has a spectacular view. It looks across over a valley and up into hills decorated by ancient castles.

That evening the ANC made it even more spectacular when they placed flaming torches marking out a huge ANC against the hillside.

The torches burned all night — a reminder to Mr Botha that not everybody supported his government.

Earlier Mr Botha had walked along the banks of the Rhine where, as he told us later, he had been charmed to watch people feeding the swans.

He was even more charmed when people asked him if he was a South African.

Did he tell them he was the Prime Minister? "I don't have to say that all the time," Mr Botha replied.

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the scene that has met them wherever they have gone on their European tour



Irony hangs over Delville Wood

IT WAS a sad, ironic occasion when Prime Minister Botha laid the foundation stone to the new R6-million war museum at Delville Wood in France this week.

Irony number one was that the proceedings were completely overshadowed by massive D-Day memorials held to mark the 40th anniversary of the storming of the beaches at Normandy.

The celebrations had been held the day before, within easy reach of the little wood in which the South Africans had gathered.

In fact, many had attended the D-Day memorial the day before. They had listened to an address by the Queen and had seen that heads of state of most of the World War 2 Allies.

South Africa was not there. The reason was that Mr Botha represents a party which opposed the war effort.

Unpleasant

Irony number two was that the South Africans almost had to enter France surreptitiously to get to the memorial. The Government of President Francois Mitterrand did the absolute minimum to make them feel welcome.

Although a former French Prime Minister attended and although Mr Botha was heavily guarded by scores of gendarmes, the welcome was as icy and un-

pleasant as the weather.

In fact, the South Africans were told the gendarmerie would not be responsible for their safety after 8 pm. They had to leave the country by then.

Irony number three was that this contrasted with the obvious goodwill of the villagers of Longueville, where Delville Wood is situated.

Mr Botha thanked them for their tradition of sending children down to the cemetery every year to put flowers on the graves.

And the final irony was that the memorial should really be to freedom. Yet banners held by demonstrators outside the cemetery called Mr Botha a racist, a Nazi and an oppressor.

In
the
end
it all
boils
down to
apartheid

SOUTH African officials travelling overseas with the Prime Minister are inventing all sorts of buzz words to cover the fact they are getting told off about apartheid.

When the trip first began journalists with the Botha party were told there had been "frank" and open discussions about South Africa's internal policies.

These were always on the basis of "non-interference in in our domestic affairs".

Reading between the lines, that meant that Mr Botha was fielding some stern questions about his policies.

But by the time we reached Britain the discussions had been "candid" and as usual on the basis of non-interference etc.

In Brussels, however, they were "sharp" and "open" but on the basis of non-interference etc.

Now everybody is wondering what the next escalation will be... open warfare?

Effigies burned in graveyard rally

A RALLY organised by Masibonisane Lamontville Youth Organisation at the Lamontville Methodist Church at the weekend ended in a demonstration at the local cemetery.

More than 1 000 placard-wielding demonstrators displayed their attitude against the community council system and the incorporation of Lamontville into KwaZulu by "cremating" effigies of Dr Piet Koornhof, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and councillor Ella Nxasana.

Malayo members carried placards inside the church hall reading "away with bantustans" and "down with community councils - Gertrude Ngubane and Ella Nxasana do not speak for us."

Mrs Ngubane and Mrs Nxasana are the only two councillors in the township and they represent Ward One and Ward Four respectively. Ward Two and Three, previously represented by jailed Moonlight Gasa and slain councillor Harrison Msizi Dube, have not been contested following a resolution by residents to do away with the community councils and instead opt for Jorac.

Effigies of Chief Bu-

**By BANCROFT
HLATSHWAYO**

thelezi, Dr Koornhof and Mrs Nxasana were paraded outside the church building and not taken inside as it was feared they would "defile the house of God".

As soon as the procession left the church, residents joined in. The procession marched through the township for about five kilometres, waving the placards and shouting slogans.

Laughter filled the cemetery as the youths set the effigies on fire. After they had been reduced to ashes, the people marched through the township singing slogans.

A local newspaper, which is regarded as the mouthpiece and platform for Inkatha and the KwaZulu Government, decided to refrain at the last moment from using pictures of the effigies because "it feared the possible wrath of Inkatha and did not want to 'belittle' the Chief Minister."

Government 'playing safe' to avoid another Ingwavuma

HOUSE of ASSEMBLY. — The Government introduced new legislation concerning the consolidation of the homelands because it was "playing safe" and wanted to avoid the possibility of another Ingwavuma case arising, the Deputy Minister of Co-operation, Dr George Morrison, said.

Replying to the second reading debate of the Laws of Co-operation and Development Amendment Bill, Dr Morrison criticised Mr Ray Swart (PFP, Berea) for having called the bill "obnoxious" and for having "cast a slur on the department".

Last week Mr Swart referred to what he called the Bill's "Ingwavuma clause" which would call on Parliament to "legislate for a lie".

According to the clause, he said, any of the Government's consolidation proclamations which had not been preceded by consultations with the parties concerned would be deemed to have been preceded by consultations.

Mr Swart said the Government was trying to avoid "burning its fingers" in another Ingwavuma-type case, where the proclamation to hand part

of Kwazulu to Swaziland was declared null and void by the Appeal Court.

Dr Morrison said the Ingwavuma case "only illustrates a certain lack and deficiency in our legislation which we are putting right".

While the Government had consulted on Ingwavuma before consolidation, he said, the Court had decided that these negotiations could not be interpreted as consultations.

It was problematic that there was no clear-cut definition of the word "consultation" as this meant the Government could be faced with other court cases similar to the Ingwavuma one.

According to the Ap-

peal Court's interpretation of the word, Dr Morrison added, only 35 of the 82 proclamations made since 1971 could be classified as properly negotiated.

Tribal system ruins land

THE more Black people cling to the system of tribal possession of land the more impoverished they would become, Mr Val Volker (NP, Klip River) said yesterday.

Despite this, the question of removals of people from "Black spots" was publicised as an emotional issue to the detriment of South Africa's image overseas, he said during debate on the second reading of the laws on Co-operation and Development Amendment Bill.

Tribal land in areas such as the Tugela Valley was being destroyed.

"Yet if we plan land consolidation nearer to work opportunities for these people then the PFP, certain newspapers and churches publicise it as an inhuman system of forced removals," Mr Volker said.

He had nothing against Blacks using their farms in accordance with the laws governing agricultural land but these areas were instead used to accommodate thousands of people

who did not want to stay closer to work opportunities in the homelands or in White areas.

Mr Volker said he was in favour of Black urbanisation as long as it took place in an orderly fashion and work opportunities were provided close to homelands or within them.

It was impractical for reasons such as water shortages to allow excess urbanisation in the Durban or Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging areas, he added.

You can't solve problems by walking away

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NOBODY who has any in-depth knowledge of South Africa really believes that universal suffrage on the Westminster pattern is the solution to our problems, or, even if it were, that the present South African Government would have the remotest intention of allowing it, except over their dead bodies.

It is one thing for a foreign power to press South Africa into ridding itself of an unjust system of government based on racial discrimination, and quite another to seek to impose simplistic solutions based on the concept of one man, one vote.

However, it is undeniable that discrimination which is embodied in statutes is in stark contrast to the firmly held beliefs of the United States Government.

This has meant that, for American companies doing business in South Africa, their business has become an issue of more than simple economics.

Most of the criticism springs from church groups and universities, and these critics argue that anything that is done in South Africa that makes a contribution to its economy also helps to prop up the repressive and odious system of apartheid, and that the South African Government is so immune to rational persuasion that it would react only to the stark reality of economic withdrawal.

This approach is negative and destructive, and primarily harmful to the very interests it purports to assist.

One might well ask: why should the American companies bother? For many of them, their South African interests represent only a fraction of their total interests. Is it all worth it?

The answer is simply that

Would disinvestment ensure freedom from hunger, unemployment or fear? Or would it bring with it the chaos of a Congo, the civil strife and misery of a Ghana, the grinding hunger of a Burundi or the despotic cruelty of a Uganda?



By **TONY BLOOM**

One of South Africa's top business leaders puts the case for continued overseas investment

it is too important for overseas corporations to adopt that attitude, too important from the point of view of their long-term strategic interests, too important as a fundamental question of principle and too important from the point of view of the lives and hopes of their employees and their families in South Africa, of whom there are hundreds of thousands.

South Africa cannot be lightly dismissed. It is geographically crucial to the West, as a huge percentage of the crude-oil and strategic-mineral imports of Western Europe and the United States is transported round the Cape sea route.

It is a country endowed with an almost unbeliev-

able bounty. It is in the unique position in the world today of being a net exporter of minerals, energy and

food as well. A catastrophic drought has altered the food position at this moment, but is clearly a short-term phenomenon.

South Africa occupies less than four percent of the surface of Africa, and only six percent of the continent's population lives in South Africa.

Yet it is responsible for 36 percent of Africa's maize production, 18 percent of its wheat crop, 54 percent of its wool yield, 54 percent of its sunflower-seed harvest, 20 percent of its meat and 33 percent of its sugar cane.

It is responsible for 40 percent of the continent's industrial production, 22 percent of its exports, approximately 66 percent of its steel production and around 70 percent of electricity consumption.

Furthermore, South Africa provides the free world with a significant, and often irreplaceable, proportion of its supplies of not only gold and diamonds but equally important uranium, chrome, manganese, tin, iron ore, vanadium, platinum, coal and so on.

Black Africa, too, has an enormous stake in the shared interests of building security and prosperity in Africa. It is interesting to note that, despite the public rhetoric, more than 90 percent of the members of the anti-South African OAU trade with us in one form or another.

The potential value of constructive relations with South Africa is clear, and there is no profit or future

for Africans if the continent remains a battleground for superpower contention in its crudest form, whether in the Horn of Africa or Angola.

In this scenario, what role is there for the US business community? I believe that both the business community in South Africa and the international business community with interests in South Africa have a unique opportunity and an important and constructive role to play.

They have the ability to become a major force for change and a source of constant pressure in some of the main and most intolerable areas of discrimination, which, when they are broken down in the work environment, will, without any doubt, spill over into many other aspects of society.

American companies can take pride in the achievements which have been made and in the fact that they are in the forefront of promoting change for the better in South Africa.

Clearly, US companies are not alone in this respect — many European companies have done equally important pioneering work, and there are, happily, a number of South African companies (some of them

the largest employers in the land) which can also take a great deal of credit.

But most US companies need in no way be ashamed of their record.

More than 360 American firms operate in South Africa. The total American investment in South Africa amounts to more than \$2 600-million, and American firms employ more than 150 000 people of all races.

If one assumes an average family unit of four persons (a conservative assumption for South Africa), then there are more than 600 000 people whose lives, ambitions and aspirations can be affected by the policies of American companies alone.

There is an enormous potential for influencing an even larger circle if these corporations continue to set the pace in dismantling the apparatus of discrimination in employment, to set the

pace in the civilised treatment of their employees, in their training and promotion programmes and in the granting of socio-economic benefits which substantially benefit those employees and their families.

In the latter regard, it is interesting to note that, since the promulgation of the Sullivan Principles, \$78.5-million has been spent by US companies alone on black education, health, welfare and training in entrepreneurship.

Given this track record, I argue strongly and persistently for the extension rather than the diminution of American interests in South Africa.

I argue for the extension of diplomatic, cultural, economic and, yes, sporting ties with South Africa; for increased investment, not boycotts — for US corporations to lead by example — not to isolate by withdrawal.

To demonstrate in an effective and in a practical manner that enterprises can be run on a non-discriminatory basis and yet remain viable. To maintain moral integrity and at the

same time to achieve constructive gains.

To use the carrot instead of always the stick. And to lead, as the world expects you to. There is no need to become a part of the system.

Every time that an international coloured sportsman plays in South Africa, racial barriers tumble and changes in attitudes occur for the better.

Every time a corporation desegregates a canteen, promotes a black manager, increases the skills and job opportunities for black staff members, other corporations gain the courage to do so.

Payment of the rate for the job, training programmes, promotion opportunities, pension benefits, medical-aid assistance, housing subsidies, educational bursaries for employees' children and legal counselling are but a few of the constructive and positive programmes in which US business can continue to involve itself — and not only from philanthropic motives. In most cases it makes good economic sense as well.

I go farther — in the non-

business field I would like to see a flood of academics, artists and athletes of all races coming to South Africa — by all means firm in their intention to perform before desegregated audiences only and firm in their intention to contribute towards change.

For the first time for more than three decades one has a sense that the political leadership in South Africa has the will and the imagination to engage in a sincere search for solutions, imperfect as they sometimes seem to an outside world.

To do this we need the support of like-minded friends and allies — friends and allies who have strategic, moral and business interests in the promotion of a stable and democratic region in Africa.

It is here that the international corporations and their political and commercial interests can make a positive and lasting contribution.

Economic and political isolation is a negative and retrogressive step — it will not persuade South Africans to accept otherwise unacceptable formulas and would undoubtedly intensify the paranoid siege mentality which ripples below our national psyche.

No problem was ever solved by walking away or quitting on it. Disinvest-

ment is the ultimate absurdity — starve the blacks to change the whites!

There will be other views — the vocal minority of radicals and revolutionaries who profit from anarchy, destruction and chaos, and who are resolved to destroy any structure that strives to harmonise with Western, democratic capitalistic values, and impose a Utopian Marxist model — a model which, incidentally, is responsible for much of the misery of Africa today.

A reasonable future for all the people of South Africa cannot possibly be linked to a lessening of economic ties. Disinvestment, partial or total, will achieve little other than its value as a moral salve and perhaps the applause of the Soviet Union.

It will certainly not achieve what the black South African needs for himself and his family.

Let us ask ourselves the question: would a lessening of economic ties give him freedom from hunger, unemployment or fear?

Will it contribute towards the goal of equal opportunity? Or will it bring with it the chaos of a Congo, the civil strife and misery of a Ghana, the grinding hunger of a Burundi or the despotic cruelty of a Uganda?

The answer to a diminution of ties must be an unequivocal NO.

(Extracted from a speech this week to the United States Business Council at the Harvard Club, New York.)

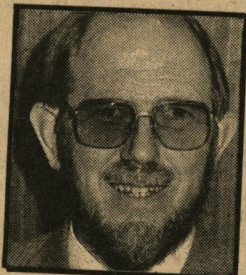
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You CAN'T SOLVE PROBLEMS BY
WALKING AWAY.

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A pity Afrikaners took so long to reach national fulfilment

By **RON SCHURINK**



who leaves the Economics Desk at the SABC later this month

ALL the inhabitants of South Africa should be sorry that the Afrikaners did not achieve national self-fulfilment long before 1961.

If they had, they would have achieved it in a far less hostile internal and external environment, been less intent on securing a hard-won position, and been able to focus more clearly on another important socio-political development in the Western world.

An Afrikanerdom more secure in the 50s would have paid much more attention to the planning and founding of the European Economic Community.

Flaw

It is possible that, by today, we would have been far advanced along a similar road of reconciliation and rationalisation — the Afrikaners seeking to secure their position much less by strength of arms than by summoning the blacks to a common economic effort.

Today we do have a common economic effort with the blacks, but only latterly in the relatively minor way represented by the Development Bank and the regional economic development bodies, has it in any way been exemplified institutionally.

There is a serious flaw in our institutions, our attitudes and our vision which — unless we repair it — will do us all serious damage.

Whites see the potential political threat which blacks pose before they see the economic potential of everyone working together, and, not surprisingly,

blacks see whites' greater economic well-being as resting on political power rather than anything else and make the achievement of similar political power their own primary goal.

It's all so tragically mistaken, and could cost us dearly not only in bloody conflict, but also in lost development opportunities.

Change

In a speech to the international congress of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators which was held in the Kruger Park last month, the chief investment officer of one of America's biggest banks, Mr Peter Vermilye, said: "We are witnessing the beginning of an era in which global cash flows will dwarf movements of capital within an economy

— even an economy as large as that of the US.

"... as a manager of other people's money, I have the responsibility of identifying those characteristics of communities that seem to feed success; to look for stability and stand clear of anarchy, to value demanding educational systems, to hold in esteem central banks that do not pander to political whim.

"There is an old adage in economics that dictates that change is driven by what happens at the margin — not by what happens at the core.

Challenge

"What counts is what is happening at the cutting edge — where new conditions are confronted for the first time. Inexorably, a global investment strategy

will push toward the periphery — toward the emerging-country economies where the growth rate is the greatest and the productivity of capital the highest."

If we are not conscious of the challenge to all of us, both black and white, that lies in those words, then we are sadly in need of education.

South Africa is, indeed "at the cutting edge — where new conditions are confronted for the first time".

And the people who move capital to where it can be the most effective want to see us exercising excellence in the management of our affairs.

Proviso

The mineral wealth below South Africa's soil, entrepreneurial and managerial resources already present in our population (and their affinity to those of the West in general), and developing manpower and markets mean we can easily have an economy to match that of Britain in a matter of a generation or two.

But we have to make it clear to the West that, sub-

ject only to the proviso that no group loses or fails to obtain its rightful national status, the achievement of such an economy is our basic aim.

Bent either on maintaining national status (if we are white), or on overthrowing the status quo to acquire our own desired national status (if we are black), we hardly give that impression to the outside world at the moment.

Foreign investors don't like to put their money here for longer than a few years.

Easier

Raising the flag of the Economic Community of South Africa to fly beside those of its single white and several black member states (initially the four independent national states) would be a declaration of new intention.

It would also re-focus our own thinking on the prime importance of raising living standards, and make it easier for whites to see that balanced management of the effort demands judicious sacrifice of a large part of their present territorial hegemony.

The success of the economic community could be a condition for reducing that hegemony.

There are so many plusses for South Africa in economic supra-nationalism that we should start moving towards it as quickly as possible.

If this had been the message that Mr P W Botha took to Europe, he could have been certain of much greater confusion among our enemies and warmth among our friends.