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Report condemning KwaZulu Police adds to pressures on Buthelezi

DURBAN/ Judge Richard Goldstone this week released a damning report linking to hit squad activities at least five members of the group of 200 KwaZulu Police trained secretly in 1986 by the SA Defence Force in the Caprivi Strip.

Three KZP officers have been arrested and more arrests are expected soon, says the commission's fourth interim report to the state president, which links the hit squads to the murders of at "no less than nine people, including leaders and members of the African National Congress (ANC)."

Sources say Caprivi trainee Gcina Mkhize, who has been in the custody of the SA Police for the past three months is one of the suspected hit squad members.

Mkhize appeared in court in Mtunzini on Thursday, and is expected to face murder and other charges, but no formal charges have been laid as yet.

The ANC welcomed the commission's report which it said "vindicated" its claims that such hit squads existed, and confirmed beyond any reasonable doubt the presence of a 'third force' operating in the country.

Sources say the hit squads have been operating in Northern Natal, especially in and around Esikhawini.

ANC Northern Natal Chairperson Bheki Ntuli told a press conference here the day the report was released that there was no difference between what

happened in the Caprivi and the training of KZP and KwaZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA) members and employees now taking place in Umfolozi, and called on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to replace the KZP in the region with members of the SAP and SA Defence Force.

The ANC has also called upon Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, as chief of the KZP, to explain to the world his role in the activities of the hit squads, arguing that KZP commissioner Lieut-Gen. Roy During's decision to ask the SAP to investigate the charges reflected a high-level involvement within the force, to the extent that he could not trust his most senior officers to carry out the investigation.

During's office took the better part of the day to assemble a response to the report, but finally cast aspersions on the evidence, saying, "I am extremely hesitant to consider the information as credible or reliable at this stage," but adding that "the alleged activities of these renegade members of the KZP have never and will never carry the official sanction of this department."

During also expressed disapproval at the commission's decision to make public the report saying, "this revelation can only serve to undermine the confidence of the public in the KZP at a time

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Most parties present at historic TEC meeting

South Africa's newly-installed Transitional Executive Council (TEC) has 16 members. Five of the 21 participants at multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre were not present at the historic inaugural meeting in Cape Town on Tuesday December 7.

The Afrikaner Volksunie (Afrikaner National Union - AVU) announced last week it would not participate in a body which did little to benefit Afrikaners.

The Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) said it could join the TEC later. The three traditional leaders' delegations which participated at the multi-party talks at Kempton Park were also not present on Tuesday, but were set to join its second meeting on Thursday.

The 16 parties already in the TEC are: National Party; Democratic Party, Natal-Transvaal Indian Congress; Labour Party; Intando Yesizwe Party (Will of the Nation); South African government; Venda government; Dikwankwetla (Strong) Party; Ximoko (Whip) Progressive Party; Solidarity; National People's Party; African National Congress; United People's Front; Inyandza (bundle or cluster) National Movement; South African Communist Party; and Transkei government.

ANC representatives on the TEC are: Secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and NEC member Mac Maharaj, who lead the ANC team; Defence: Joe Modise Intelligence: Alfred Nzo; Law and Order: Sydney Mafumadi; Women: Mavivi Manzini; Finance: Tito Mboweni; Foreign Affairs: Aziz Pahad.

Final offer finds FA floundering

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi came under immense pressure this week following his - and other Freedom Alliance (FA) leaders' refusal to end the boycott of South Africa's transitional process, in the face of the newly-born Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and despite last-chance efforts by African National Congress (ANC) and government negotiators to bring the alliance back into the fold.

The ANC/National Party (NP) proposal included a generous expansion of powers and functions for the regions - including broader powers of taxation.

But for the first time, the two major

players seemed to act truly in concert with regard to the boycotters, drawing a solid finish line across the road of concessions already granted to the alliance: the final concessions could be agreed only after FA leaders committed themselves to ratification of the interim constitution and to participation in the TEC and elections.

The FA responded by accusing the ANC/NP alliance of "bullying tactics", and said it could not make any such commitment before constitutional issues were finalised.

In doing so, they scuppered a planned trilateral meeting which could have seen

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Joint MK-SADF monitoring of forces close

Umkhonto weSizwe officials said on Wednesday they were near agreement with the SA military on joint monitoring of each other's forces. The chief-of-staff of the African National Congress' armed wing, Siphiwe Nyanda, said the first ex-guerrillas were likely to be in assembly areas, to be established throughout South Africa, early in January.

Former guerrillas, policemen, members of homeland armies and the defence force are to be joined in a peacekeeping force to help restore order in black townships where the government says normal policing has become impossible. Nyanda said he would be holding bilateral talks with the defence force within the next week at which he hoped outstanding issues would be resolved. Under the terms of the agreement setting up the Transitional Executive Council all armed forces are obliged to submit lists of weapons and forces to the TEC within three weeks.

This will in turn lead to thousands of former guerrillas moving to assembly areas. Nyanda said the ANC's armed wing was ready to provide the TEC, charged with ensuring a free and fair election, with full lists of its forces and arms caches as soon as it was asked.

It is likely monitoring teams will include former guerrillas, members of the security forces, officers from homeland armies and foreign observers and will be based at assembly points for ex-guerrilla forces and army bases.

Nyanda said ex-guerrillas were still registering with their commanders from as far afield as the US but he expected lists to be complete within a few days.

He refused to say how many soldiers the armed wing had in its ranks but has previously put its numbers at about 16,000. Military analysts, however, say a figure of less than 12,000 is more realistic with about 6,000 in South Africa and the bulk of the rest undergoing training in Uganda. Nyanda said he expected training of the new peace force to begin in February "with the men on the ground in March".

He said the ANC was, however, dismayed at plans to include the police Internal Stability Unit (ISU) in the peace force.

"The...police may want to include the ISU, but we would find that difficult," he said.

Popcru members back

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has reinstated the 405 Popcru (Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union) members dismissed after a strike in the Eastern Cape on October 19. Earlier Popcru accepted new police labour regulations and agreed to apply for registration as an official union.

The new regulations, promulgated this month after consultations with the multi-party Police Board, prohibit strikes and the affiliation of police unions with political parties.

Goldstone calls for maintenance of controversial police units in townships

The Goldstone Commission's report this week, calling for the maintenance of the controversial Internal Stability Units in black townships has drawn sharp protests from the African National Congress.

The ANC has charged that the units are essentially a white occupation force that should be pulled of townships and replaced with police from the community. It has alleged that the ISU has played a role in attacks on ANC supporters, while protecting its opponents.

But the Goldstone Commission said the units should stay because there was no good alternative: "Whatever the shortcomings of unacceptable conduct of members of the ISU might be, their withdrawal is likely to lead to greater and not lesser violence."

The ANC said the ISU was "a paramilitary force that has, through its actions, come into direct conflict with many communities, reinforcing the perception that it is a paramilitary force deployed against them."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt. Craig Kotze, on the other hand, accused the ANC of "political posturing" over the issue.

The ANC said Goldstone, in his report, equated policing and the SA Police with the ISU.

In its statement it said that "one of the key problems affecting the ability of the ISU to perform adequately is the poor and inappropriate training they receive".

Any deployment of the ISU should only be in consultation with the local SAP, peace and community structures, the ANC statement said.

It also said the report underlined the urgent need for the TEC to establish a National Peace Keeping Force and joint control of all armed formations.

Amnesty call

Amnesty International has joined local church and political leaders in an attacks on the ISU.

In a statement issued on Wednesday the international human rights organisation said that the ISU was undermining positive moves by local police station commanders.

The ISU was drawn into the centre of a political storm after a summit of black political, church, business and community leaders last week demanded its

immediate withdrawal from the townships, following repeated demands from the ANC.

The call was made at the end of a two-day meeting organised by the SA Council of Churches to find ways to stop township violence.

A statement by church leaders said the meeting had concluded that the violence was a "deliberate strategy of socio-political and electoral destabilisation", inherent in apartheid.

The ministry of law and order, responded that it was "a masterpiece of evasion", saying "No amount of blaming the government and the SAP will make (the violence) go away".

According to Amnesty, backing up a point also made by the ANC, the ISU was not accountable to the local communities in which it operated and did not appear to report even to the local station commander regarding its activities. It accused some ISU members of "gratuitously using violence" against residents and of destroying their property. The statement also attacked the lack of an effective witness protection programme, as well as the absence of the "rigorous investigation and prosecution of killers who are terrorising certain communities".

It also accused KwaZulu Police commanders of failing to prevent political violence by their members against opponents of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government.

The Amnesty statement also accused units of the SAP of continuing to use torture against members of the ANC, PAC and IFP.

Amnesty follows the International Commission of Jurists in condemning the failure of Pretoria to set up a proposed police complaints investigation unit (*SouthScan* v8/43 p332).

- The number of policemen to die violently in South Africa this year, 230 by last week, is at a record level for the third year in succession. The number of police deaths this year exceeds the number of police deaths for last year of 226. In 1991, 145 policemen were killed and the year before that 107.

- Mystery still surrounds the death of agricultural development workers and ANC member Clare Stewart, whose body was found in northern Natal after she had been forcibly abducted (*SouthScan* v8/44 p338).

PAC-aligned students charged with bomb attacks

Police have charged ML Sultan Technikon (Durban) student Xolani Cuba with murder, attempted murder and possession of illegal explosives, following the blast which rocked a bus in Durban last week (*SouthScan* v8/45 p345).

He is alleged to be a member of the Pan-Africanist Student's Organisation (Paso), the student wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), although independent sources close to the organisation could not confirm his membership. Cuba failed to make a scheduled court appearance Monday as he is still recovering in hospital from injuries received on the bus, and the case was adjourned until January 6.

Police allege he was carrying a cover to the mini limpet mine which exploded, killing an unknown man who is believed to have carried the mine. Another man, Mfundo Siyesi, who is also a student at ML Sultan, a former member of the students representative council and a confirmed Paso member, has been released without charges.

Police say he may be called as a witness in the case. Other sources say Siyesi has turned state's witness in return for indemnity.

If Cuba is found guilty of complicity in the bombing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) will be seen as having planned the attack, despite other indications which point to the organisation's "cessation of hostilities" with the government.

Sources say there is confusion in the ranks of the organisation about agreements reached with the government.

Such confusion could make the organisation vulnerable to infiltration from outside elements who aim to see the organisation discredited, or to utilise the fear it evokes among whites in the country. Interestingly, it was the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which first pointed to Paso as the force behind the attack.

PAC murder charges against government

The PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress) has instructed its legal representatives to lay charges of murder against the state president and certain cabinet members in connection with the SA Defence Force raid on an alleged Apla (Azanian People's Liberation Army) base in Umtata in October. Five youths were killed in the attack.

The military unit found a small quantity of weapons and ammunition in the house which it claims was being used by Apla for storing weapons and for training purposes.

Subsequently foreign minister Pik Botha apologised for the raid and made thinly veiled accusations against the SADF (*SouthScan* v8/41 p314).

Winnie Mandela hits out at 'cliques' as she takes top women's position

DURBAN/In a startling development this week, Winnie Mandela, the fallen 'Mother of the Nation' and estranged wife of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela has made a comeback. Her 18-month suspension from the ANC Women's League (ANCWL) Johannesburg-Pretoria regional executive was lifted to allow her to contest - and win - the seat of president of the League.

Suspended for allegedly staging a demonstration against the ANC - and following a wave of scandal and controversy surrounding her conviction for her role in the murder of 14-year-old Stompie Seipei in 1989, Winnie's popularity surged among militant township youth as she voiced their anger towards police and the apartheid regime over the past year.

In the interests of "unity" - a goal set for the conference by Walter Sisulu in his opening address to the 560 delegates at the University of Durban-Westville (UDW) - the League accepted a prepared statement by Winnie which lambasted divisions and "cliques" in the organisation as the cause for her demise.

Delegates then overrode a decision by ANC National Executive Committee members, lifted the suspension and proceeded to cast 392 votes for the fallen hero. An internal ANC poll had found she was the fifth most popular leader.

ANC veteran Albertina Sisulu was unseated in the poll.

Winnie's return to the political centre-stage was a bold move on the part of the ANCWL - assuring a high post in a future ANC government to one of the most militant figures in its ranks at a

time when militants are seen as an embarrassment in the organisation's fight for conservative minority votes.

ANC stalwart and Natal Midland's chairperson Harry Gwala now stands on his own in the province with moderate leaders seated in both the Northern and Southern Natal Regional Executive Committees (REC).

Similarly, Western Cape firebrand Tony Yengeni has been replaced by a moderate face as the organisation's membership tries to appeal to the largely conservative Coloured community (*SouthScan* v8/45 p347).

If Winnie is to remain in grace some observers believe she will have to adopt a more conciliatory role, especially if she is to woo the conservative support of traditional rural women voters.

Others believe the decision may come to haunt the League as political opponents capitalise on the controversy.

The National Party and Democratic Party had already begun this process within hours of the announcement.

President FW De Klerk's NP issued a speedy statement hailing the decision as proof of the control of "militant factions" over the ANC.

"If the ANC wants to restore its credibility and its commitment to democracy, it cannot allow somebody with Mrs. Mandela's record to occupy such a senior position," the NP statement read.

But in the context of a proposed "general amnesty" for political crimes up to an unspecified but recent date, the ANCWL's decision can be seen more as a calculation by a traditionally ghettoised political sector than as blind hero worship. [*Oun correspondent*]

More AKs smuggled into SA from Angolan war

WINDHOEK/ Four South Africans were arrested here on December 6. According to the Namibian police they were trying to smuggle 17 AK-47 rifles to South Africa in two suitcases. Those arrested were set to appear in court on Thursday. Several South Africans, mainly women, have been arrested trying to smuggle arms to SA which had been bought or bartered for clothes in Rundu, on the border with south-eastern Angola. Reports suggest the weapons are destined for townships such as Thokoza.

Other recent arrests reported in local press include a South African woman arrested on November 13 in possession of four AK-47 rifles, and a South African man and six illegal Angolan immigrants arrested on November 11 with

two AK-47 rifles at Naruchas on the SA side of the border with Namibia.

Earlier arrests took place in late October when at Sauyema squatter camp near Rundu police swooped on four South African women and one man with two hand-grenades, seven AK-47 rifles and two G3 rifles.

The smuggling first came to light in August when four South Africans were arrested at Noordoewer border point.

• The smuggling is small-scale compared to the flow across the Mozambique border. Last week police destroyed two large weapons caches handed over under the terms of an agreement signed earlier this year between the SAP and their Mozambican counterparts. [*Oun correspondent*]

Arms industry future considered as self-sufficiency policy abandoned

LONDON/Armcor's new line on procurement, and its abandonment of self-sufficiency, will speed up changes in the industry, one of the country's major foreign exchange earners, and one which is likely to be under considerable pressure to sell its products while at the same time undergoing basic conversion.

However, most of the major private defence contractors are still heavily dependent on local defence procurement, according to a paper presented in London last week.

Almost half of the procurement spending (49%) in the 1993 budget is for fighters - the Cheetah/Impala upgrades, and the acquisition of the Pilatus PC7 trainers, according to military economist Peter Bachelor, at a meeting at the Centre for Defence Studies in London's King's College.

Roughly a quarter (28%) is for ground force systems and the development of a new air defence system. Smaller amounts are provided for helicopters and air transport, naval vessels, and communications and EW systems.

But despite some attempts at diversification, most of the major private defence contractors are still heavily dependent on local defence procurement.

In 1992 the percentage of turnover devoted to defence production in the following companies was:

Grinaker Electronics (avionics, EW, telecommunications) - 96%

Sandock-Austral (Reumech) (armoured cars, naval vessels) - 89%

OMC (Reumech) (Olifant tank upgrades) - 100%

TFM (armoured vehicles) - 100%

Truckmakers (on/off road military support vehicles) - 62%

Barcom (Reutech) (telecommunications) - 97%.

Bachelor noted that SA's defence budget has fallen by almost 50% in real terms since 1989. But in the coming period there are likely to be other pressures to increase spending.

The defence budget since 1989 reveals an increasing share of operating and personnel costs and a declining share of capital/procurement spending in the total budget. Part of the operating costs today are not spent on defence but on internal law and order, notes Bachelor.

The 1993/94 budget of R9.3 billion amounted to 8.2% of total government expenditure (16.3% in 1989) and an estimated 2.6% of GDP (4.3%) in 1989.

Although South Africa is still the

South Africa's arms manufacturing giant Armcor has abandoned its previous objective of promoting self-sufficiency in development and production of arms. Now, locally developed systems will be chosen only when it makes good business sense or if they offer operational advantages from a military viewpoint, according to local reports.

Armcor has drawn up guidelines providing for foreign procurement of a variety of weapon systems, including fighter and transport aircraft, submarines and combat vessels.

Strategic arms systems such as air force weapons, armoured cars, artillery, avionics, radar and communications systems will be sourced locally, while items such as helicopters, light aircraft, tanks and small calibre ammunition will be procured locally or overseas on a competitive basis.

Armcor's senior manager of planning Andre Buys says the corporation has adopted a formal policy of counter-trade for all foreign deals. Its current portfolio of counter-trade contracts amounts to about a billion Rand. Armcor will maintain "selective self-sufficiency" in particularly vulnerable areas such as communication and electronic warfare, he said last week.

largest military spender on the continent in absolute terms; the country now spends a smaller proportion of its national income than most of the other countries in Southern Africa.

In 1992 SA spent 2.61% of GDP while Kenya spent 3.36%, Tanzania 3.88%, Botswana 4.4%, Zambia 5.7%, Zimbabwe 6.8%, Mozambique 10.6%, and Angola 36%.

These defence cuts were accompanied by significant real increases in social spending - education and health - and education is now the single largest budgetary item (over 20% of total government expenditure).

Law and order spending has also exhibited real increases over the last few years because of the ongoing domestic political violence.

The potential lifting of the mandatory UN arms embargo after the elections in April may enable the government to reduce procurement spending even further, especially if considering the premiums which South Africa paid in order to obtain military technology and equipment illegally.

The new government may decide to acquire complete weapons systems off-the-shelf from abroad given the high costs of developing and producing such

weapons systems locally, but this will have a very damaging effect on the local arms industry. However, a future government may also decide to fit locally produced sub-systems/components into imported airframes or hulls.

The lifting of the mandatory arms embargo may, however, be delayed for a while after the election in April if the UN feels that the domestic political situation is too unstable to allow the possible increases in the inflow of arms which would probably occur, says Bachelor.

The new 'internationally recognized' government will in all likelihood join a number of international arms trade control regimes, and may even establish principles of trade so as not to be seen to be contributing to the global proliferation of arms, or benefitting from, or helping to sustain, regional/local conflicts in other parts of the world.

Attempts to limit or control arms exports will have a particularly detrimental impact on the local defence industry, but may increase pressures for diversification/conversion, says Bachelor. A new government may also consider privatization to make the industry more 'efficient' and less of a drain on state finances. There is already speculation that Denel (with assets of R4,526m and 15,000 employees and set up to run Armcor's production and service facilities) will be privatised in the near future, but it is not certain whether the whole of the company will be privatised or merely commercially viable parts of it. If the new government has regional military ambitions, or sees itself as an emerging middle level power (like India or Brazil), and thus wishes to project its military image regionally and internationally, the local defence industry will probably continue to receive substantial state support.

It is reasonable to assume, says Bachelor, that:

- it will be fairly easy to 'sell' to the local population in terms of jobs and foreign exchange earnings the immediate and highly visible economic benefits of increasing arms exports;

- continuing domestic political instability, especially in the short term, will necessitate further procurement spending.

The size, role and defence posture of the future armed forces will exert the greatest influence over the new government's policies towards the local defence industry, he says, and concludes that the new government will in all likelihood adopt a fairly conservative and balanced approach to the local arms industry.

Education, health and housing top spending list in macro-economic plan

Merg, the African National Congress-aligned Macro-Economic Research Group, has presented its economic proposals. Unsurprisingly they involve massive social upliftment programmes together with moderate growth.

The document, presented here last week at a briefing to representatives of the ANC, Cosatu, the SA Communist Party and the SA National Civics Organisation, as well as members of the press, is not yet ANC policy, and some of the plans will be seen as wildly interventionist by business circles.

Trevor Manuel, who received the document on behalf of the ANC, referred to the World Bank and the government's model when he said, "It is decisive input into policy, but it is not the only macroeconomic model around."

Jayendra Naidoo, from Cosatu, called it "a document that captures the vision of the people." Earlier he said: "We see the Merg document as a very important contribution to the debate on the economy in this country."

Specifically, in **education**, Merg proposes a minimum of R5 billion (in 1992 prices) in annual recurrent and teacher training expenditures and a lifting of annual education capital expenditures from the current R0.5 billion to R1 billion.

This level of expenditure will provide the infrastructure to offer universal access to a minimum of ten years of education. In adult basic education, Merg proposes a four year programme for persons already in the workforce at the rate of 50,000 new trainees per year; and a programme for unemployed persons to be engaged on physical infrastructural projects, who will receive training similar to that for employed workers, at the rate of 100,000 new programme entrants per year.

Merg sets out a programme to provide 2,000 clinics and a basic **health care and nutrition** programmes.

In **housing**, the think-tank proposes that the government triples the number of housing sites from the current 100,000 to 300,000 per year.

For the **rural population**, Merg proposes that the state intervenes so redistribute land within a short period of time to the benefit of adult female members of landless households in the rural homelands. Women will also benefit directly from carefully targeted expenditure on rural infrastructure.

A policy capable of ensuring stable and affordable prices of basic foods is also recommended.

Industrial policy emphasises technological capacity building to develop

productive skills and competition policy aimed at eliminating monopolistic inefficiencies. **Trade policy** stresses institutional reform and carefully phased tariff reductions, together with newly designed and more cost effective export support programmes focused on the potentially most dynamic exporters of manufactures, and re-negotiated trade preferences arrangements.

The Merg proposals for other sectors of the economy support its overall economic programme.

Detailed proposals have been developed to restructure the **banking and finance** sector, including the controversial proposal that the Reserve Bank be made accountable to the government. Other proposals include extending facilities to the majority of the population by creating a widely available system of money transfer, and improving the availability and terms of finance for investment in targeted growth sectors. To complement these proposals, Merg recommends changes in the structure of company tax in order to widen its base and strengthen incentives for investment.

Merg argues that the proposed strategies will immediately contribute to growth, but have also been designed to achieve sustained growth and macroeconomic balances. Government consumption expenditure would be contained at roughly its present level in real terms until the end of the 1990s.

A moderate growth in tax revenue will be achieved by some changes in the composition of total tax revenue. Such changes have been designed to be sustainable and Merg argues that the strategy is consistent with required macroeconomic balances. They argue that sound macroeconomic policies will ensure sustainability and increased capacity to deliver social goods and will facilitate, rather than constrain, the development strategies of the democratic movement.

The Merg growth objective is, therefore, moderate: GDP growth rises steadily through the 1990s to reach just under five per cent per year in the early years of the 21st century.

Such growth is designed to create about 300,000 jobs a year. The total number of jobs created between 1992 and 2004 would then be 2.5 million, compared to the zero net jobs created between 1982 and 1992.

The growth projections involve an increase in GDP by only 1.1% in 1994, rising to an average of 3.8% between 1995 and the year 2000. [Own correspondent]

Thebe sets up regional airline with Canadians

A consortium led by the ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation has teamed up with a Canadian consortium led by Lardel Holdings to set up a R500m regional airline.

The airline will be launched on March 15 and trade as South African Express Airline (SA Express), Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile said. It has set up a strategic alliance with SAA and will provide a feeder system to SAA, collecting passengers from outlying regions and transferring them to Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. It will have a fleet of 12 De Havilland aircraft, which have already been ordered. Kimberley, Upington, and Bloemfontein will be among the most important destinations. Khanyile said the Canadians would run the air service for the first five years while local experts were being trained.

Meanwhile in anticipation of increased demand next year direct flights between Johannesburg and Dallas, Chicago, Nashville and Washington are being planned by American Airlines, which has become the first US carrier to re-establish full air links with South Africa. American Airlines currently operates in partnership with SAA on flights between Johannesburg and New York and will enter the market on its own once there is sufficient demand.

Columbus gets all and more

The SA stainless steel producer Columbus is to receive R1.2 billion (\$385m) in foreign financing - R400 million more than it was seeking. Columbus is spending R3.5 billion on extending the capacity of the Middelburg stainless steel plant. The new plant will go into production in 1995, when it is seeking to become the world's largest producer. In its first 25 years of production it expects to earn R16bn. in foreign exchange.

ACP arrears not paid

Brussels/ Fifty of the 70 African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries have not paid their contributions to their secretariat. The amount involved is around \$4.6 million. Six Southern African countries are in arrears - Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, Malawi, and Swaziland. Wage payments to ACP secretariat officials have been delayed and staff recruitment has been frozen.

The amount owed is small but it highlights the low morale in the organisation, which sees itself in a weak position to discuss the review of the Lomé pact. Already there have been hints that Caribbean countries may seek to split away from the group. On the other hand they all see the advantage in defending some instruments as commodity prices fall. The Lomé pact is at present having a mid-term review by the European Commission here.

[Own correspondent]

ZIMBABWE

Forum party challenges voter rolls, claims rigging

Zimbabwe's Forum Party is claiming that the opposition ZUM party of Edgar Tekere should have won 33 seats in the last election, but the election was rigged and it only won one. The Forum party, set up this year under the presidency of former high court judge Enoch Dumutshena, plans to appeal to the Commonwealth Secretariat before the 1995 general elections to intervene in Zimbabwe's voters' roll, which it says is in a "shambles".

Dumutshena said that Zimbabwe's opposition parties would seek to contest the 1995 parliamentary elections as one in a bid to oust Zanu from government.

Forum's newly appointed economic affairs secretary Sam Gozo told a party meeting in Masvingo last weekend that the voters' roll was not in order and was subject to abuse by the ruling Zanu Party.

"You cannot win an election in Zimbabwe with that voters' roll. It's in shambles. Everyone knows that. Even home affairs minister Dumiso Dabengwa has publicly admitted that the voters roll is not in shape", he said.

"We have proof that ZUM (the Zimbabwe Unity Movement) got 33 seats in the last election but through rigging, we were told officially that they won only one seat," he added.

Foreign ministers meet

HARARE/ African National Congress leaders last Sunday presided over a meeting between the foreign minister of Zimbabwe, Nathan Shamuyarira, and his South African counterpart. It was hailed as a watershed in relations between the two neighbours and major trading partners, formerly bitter enemies.

At Zimbabwe's insistence Foreign Minister Pik Botha included the ANC's foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, but in a political balancing act he also brought along two homeland ministers from KwaZulu and Venda, and Mbeki's deputy, Aziz Pahad. The venue for the meeting was the northern Transvaal border town of Messina and the foreign ministers were first taken by military helicopter to see the chaos and congestion at Beitbridge crossing point, both from the air and ground. They had discussions with officials on both sides of the border.

About two million people crossed the border through Beitbridge last year and the number is expected to be higher this year. The ministers agreed to set up a working group to investigate ways of increasing the capacity of the border post. Shamuyarira and Botha agreed to consider urgently the establishment of a joint economic commission to harmonise economic cooperation between the two countries.

Zimbabwe has been pushing for the renegotiation of the 1964 trade agreement between the two countries, amidst growing indignation here about the trade imbalance and tariffs imposed by SA. [Own correspondent]

MALAWI

Blow-up deferred as Banda returns after army action against Pioneers

LILONGWE/ Fault lines in Malawi's transitional power structures assumed dramatic proportions last week during a formidably effective offensive by the regular army against paramilitary Young Pioneers of the ruling party.

At the latest count, some 30 people died nationwide in the operation, with more than 100 insured.

Momentarily, both opposition and government claimed to be in control of a situation neither has such purchase on.

End result: aged and infirm President Hastings Banda resumes control, but with his personal authority considerably diminished; the coherence, and effectiveness of the political opposition is again undermined; everyone pats the army on the back, but no-one is sure where it stands.

The army operation was sparked by events in the northern town of Mzuzu. Banter between traditionally neutral regular soldiers and Pioneers about the defection to the ruling Malawi Congress Party of opposition playwright, Du Chisiza, (*SouthScan* v8/42 p 327) led to a bar-room brawl on December 1.

At dawn the next day an armed Pioneer unit attacked army regional headquarters, killing three soldiers. The army response was dramatic. Impatient for the expressed government intention to disarm the Pioneers and integrate them into national security forces, junior and middle ranking officers, initiated an assault on Pioneers and MCP premises in the capital.

Youth House, the national headquarters of the Pioneers and seat of Chisiza's youth ministry, was stormed, as were Pioneer offices and camps in outlying districts. Townships homes of individual dual Pioneers were sought out and burned to the ground.

The MCP national HQ, adjacent to Youth House, was ransacked and looted by soldiers to the cheers of civilian on-lookers. The Kamuzu Youth Institute, a Pioneer training centre, was also burned and looted.

Fred Nseula, chairman of the opposition dominated National Consultative Council, was taken by middle ranking officers for a tour of operations. That evening, he says, government appealed to him to convene an NCC meeting to control the situation.

The meeting was informally briefed by a Major Kilekwa, head of army intelligence for the Southern Region. It called for the government to acknowledge that it had lost control; for the immediate dissolution of the Presidential Council triumvirate which has held power since

Banda's illness in October; for its replacement either by a non-political caretaker president or by Banda himself; for the sacking of army chief Maj. Gen Yohane, who apparently stayed aloof from the operation; and for the completion by the Young Pioneer "disarming exercise". Diplomats believe Yohane was at this time seeking refuge in Sanjika Palace with Banda,

The disarming exercise continued over the week-end, with Pioneer bases being hit by regular troops in several regional centres, including Blantyre, Mzuzu, Salima and Mchinji.

NCC officials, effectively acting as a shadow government, were shown retrieved weapons and intelligence documents. Official state residences in Mzuzu, Kasungu and Monkey Bay were also attacked by the army, in pursuit of fleeing Pioneers. On the morning of December 4, home affairs minister and then chairman of the Presidential Council, Gwanda Chakuamba, met senior officers in Lilongwe.

Subsequent government statements claimed that the situation was under control, that the army was directed by Yohane, said that the government had ordered the "disarming exercise".

Mention was also made of "minor grievances" expressed by the army, that the government should address.

The best guess, backed by Western diplomats, is that army officers agreed to make the assault against the MYP official and to pledge loyalty to the government in return for a deal on previously very poor pay and conditions, an amnesty for troops involved in the action, and 'retirement' at an expedient, future date, of Yohane.

Hours later, foreign minister Heatherwick Ntaba responded to the demands of the NCC, accepting all those relating to the disarmament of the MYP as if this were already agreed policy, claiming that the government has initiated the army exercise, and rejecting the substantive demands for dissolution of the presidential council.

The opposition fulminated but did little. On December 7 it was announced that, according to his doctors, Banda had recovered.

The Presidential Council stood dissolved. Banda, back at the helm, broadcast a faltering, evidently painful, address to the nation. Despite public enthusiasm for the action of regular soldiers in past days, the opposition appears to have missed the putsch boat. The issues, though, will continue to smoulder and at times flare up. [Own correspondent]

KwaZulu Police condemned

Continued
when it is so vital with due regard to the present developments of the country.”

Although Goldstone confirmed that the investigations are still underway, he said his decision to release the report at this time was in the public interest in the context of the dawn of the TEC.

The report also comes amid rising levels of violence in Natal - where a record 222 people (minimum) died last month, including at least two ANC leaders.

Northern Natal ANC leaders say blood-letting has followed the footsteps of ANC President Nelson Mandela's visit to the region, with violence in Sundumbili township (where Mandela spoke three weeks ago) leading to arrests of 96 Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) supporters and 30 ANC supporters at the weekend. More than 200 residents fled their burning homes to seek refuge in the SAP station in neighbouring Mandini. ANC Northern Natal spokesperson Zipho Mkhize reports receiving five reports daily of attacks against the organisation's members in the region.

At the request of the regional leadership of the ANC, SA Communist Party and Cosatu, SACP leader Charles Nqakula and ANC representative on the TEC sub-council for security Sydney Mafumadi were to visit the strife-torn region on Thursday to determine a course of action.

The pressure is now on the ANC leadership to make use of its position on the TEC, with Northern Natal deputy chairperson Willies Mchunu charging that, “the TEC has now to prove its worthiness. Failure to do so will reflect extremely badly on the future.” *[Own correspondent]*

FA floundering

Continued
the end of the boycott. Observers believe the homeland contingent of the boycott club - and in particular Buthelezi - cannot accept the TEC because it represents the final end of their hold on power, with the capacity to reel in homeland governments which refuse to allow free political activity in their territories.

Last month, the negotiating council agreed that a host of KwaZulu laws which confer “despotic power” on Buthelezi and his traditional hierarchy would have to be scrapped, as well as similar laws in other homelands.

These include the power to “banish” tribes, and the enforcement of “oaths of loyalty” for residents seeking civil employment.

This realisation by some members of the KwaZulu traditional hierarchy and civil service has prompted a number of actions that have further heightened pressures on Buthelezi.

Most notable among these was the criticism levelled at the FA last Friday by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini who said, “Although walk-outs express a form of communication, it is one that South Africa can do without ... While those aggrieved parties certainly had their own views as to why they embarked upon such a drastic course, the fact that we have not achieved an all-inclusive settlement makes our job of achieving peace in South Africa that more difficult.”

While widespread press reports of the speech and a much publicised welcome by the ANC led Zwelithini to effectively retract his statements - most likely after a meeting with his uncle Buthelezi - saying that he had been misinterpreted, observers believe that his original statement was not made without the support of at least one sen-

ior government official, indicating that the potential for the TEC to decide to pay the king directly is having its impact.

With most IFP members supporting of participation in the April elections, and the certainty that his survival will no longer depend on Buthelezi, Zwelithini finally has the political space to distance himself from Buthelezi - a power he lacked when he clashed with his “prime minister” in the late 1970s.

Still, Zwelithini has called Zulus to a day of “prayer” at Isandlwana on December 16 - and Buthelezi has announced he will share the platform.

The day, which coincides with the symbolic white right-wing Day of the Vow, may prove a test for the TEC if Buthelezi decides to use the king - as in the past - as a political tool. *[Own correspondent]*

New chief groomed for SABC

The editor of the African National Congress-aligned *Sunday Nation* newspaper is being groomed for the top job in the SA Broadcasting Corporation.

Zwelakhe Sisulu has been made special assistant to the present SABC chief executive Wynand Harmse, according to reports this week. Harmse's continued hold on the job surprised many media observers, who had expected him to be the first to go in the shake-up after the election of the new SABC board. Now it seems he will be moving on and Sisulu taking over in the new year.

At the same time Sisulu's newspaper will become the basis for the much-heralded pro-ANC daily. The new tabloid will reach a minimum 100,000 a day circulation, according to market analysts.

• Other new faces at the SABC will include Govan Reddy as head of radio. Senior journalist Alistair Sparks is also expected to join the corporation.

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