

Selective assassination: new township scourge

THE DAILY NEWS 2-3-89

ANIL SINGH
Crime Reporter

A NEW sort of violence — "selective assassination", or revenge killing — has flared in the trouble-torn Pietermaritzburg townships, scene of clashes between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

Brigadier Jac Buchner, divisional commander of the security police for Natal Inland, who took a group of local and foreign newsmen on a tour of the greater Pietermaritzburg area yesterday, said incidents of unrest had declined considerably in the past few months.

"Since July last year incidents of unrest have dropped drastically compared with the end of 1987 and beginning of 1988 when we had an average of about 100 people a month being killed.

"We are now averaging about 30 deaths a month. It is not satisfactory. It cannot be satisfactory when people are being killed, but at least it is a big improvement.

"What is emerging now is that previously where there had been open clashes between UDF and Inkatha in which mobs of about 100 and 150 people were involved, we are now witnessing a new trend of selective assassination.

"If a family member is killed by either a UDF supporter or Inkatha member, his or her next of kin feels duty-bound to avenge the death," said Brigadier Buchner.

"But no more do mobs go and attack a person at



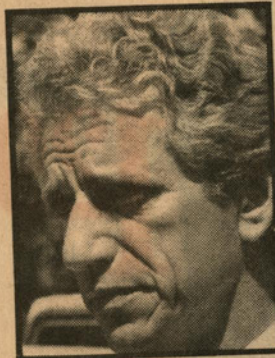
MANY black townships in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area are being called by their "liberated" names — this one is Angola City, a stronghold of the United Democratic Front. The slogan painted on an electricity box says it all.

his home and then mutilate the body. It has changed to where one or more persons do the murder."

Brigadier Buchner, who is regarded as an expert on unrest in Natal townships, said he believed that the police presence in the townships of Pietermaritzburg had played a great role in quelling the violence to a large extent.

"In November 1987 there were 90 people killed, in December 93 and in January last year a record of 119 dead. But with an active police presence the killings have died down.

"One must also remember that criminal elements are also responsible for a fair number of deaths.



Brigadier Jac Buchner — an expert on the unrest situation in the capital.

"During our investigations into the unrest we have come across 'people's courts' operating around the township. Some areas were also being called by their liberated names — like

'Angola City'.

"We are still investigating some incidents which certain elements thought could succeed in Pietermaritzburg through street committees, the altering of the educational system and other means."

Giving a breakdown, Brigadier Buchner said since September 1987 until last month there had been 1101 incidents of unrest.

"The United Democratic Front has been responsible for 67 percent of these attacks on Inkatha, while 33 percent were attacks on UDF by Inkatha.

"In 1988 there were 872 incidents of which the South African Police solved 30 percent.

"Since the outbreak of

violence in the greater Pietermaritzburg area in September 1987, 670 people have lost their lives," said Brigadier Buchner.

Regarding state of emergency detainees, the brigadier said he had released about 90 percent of them and only a small number were still being held.

He gave an outright assurance that "no kids 12 or under are in detention in my cells".

And that included a mass of juvenile stone-throwers — "one of the most prevalent problems of the present".

Asked why Pietermaritzburg was selected as a sort of test battleground, Brigadier Buchner said: "To destroy Inkatha here — where it was not very strong at the start.

"History shows that from way back there were anti-Zulu tribes that lived near Pietermaritzburg. Some fought with the British against the Zulus.

"They were the people who were worked at to first do the killings, the maimings, everything else."

Brigadier Buchner said he was optimistic that peace would eventually return to the townships.

"I can see the light at the end of the tunnel. The vast majority of residents have accepted that the police have a role to play. There is still a lot of work to be done, but we will succeed," he said.

At the end of the tour police produced an assortment of weapons used in attacks.

GREAT has been the strife on South African university campuses in recent years, not always to the advantage of the students, but today I shall report on a quieter academic scene, far from the madding crowd and none the worse for that.

The University of Zululand was established 28 years ago at KwaDlangezwa, about 160km north of Durban and 20km south of Empangeni. The name, a mouthful to English-speakers, is taken from one of Shaka's regiments that was based here.

Since 1984 the university has lost only three days of academic study through disturbances or demonstrations, which is more than can be said of many other educational institutions in South Africa.

It is a pretty place, an extended campus with modern buildings, many of them with traditional Zulu motifs, set among graceful green hills.

The university was born on the wrong side of the blanket, a product of the bad old days of Verwoerdian apartheid, when the education of black people was designed for differentiation, not emancipation.

But that was long ago. Today the university is respectably non-racial (though the vast majority of its 5 300 students are Zulu), and it offers a wide range of courses, with teaching and facilities that are up to internationally acceptable standards.

Like all universities, it needs more money, and I play a very modest role in a body that is raising funds at home and abroad.

Here, as we see it, are the advantages of this university:

It is situated in the potential Ruhr of South Africa;

The area has a sound infrastructure which includes a major harbour (Richards Bay) and good natural resources;

Education standards are improving fast;

The government and administration of the region are reasonably good;

Good climate;

A common language;

The university is apolitical;

And it has lost only three days' study since 1984.

That's the official list of bull points when the fund-raisers put the case to big corporations in America and Europe (who have been gratifyingly responsive in recent years).

There are two other important advantages that are unstated but

LOOKING AROUND

Michael Green



A more *THE DAILY NEWS* tranquil stretch of campus *2-3-89*

are sometimes visible, literally, to prospective donors: the principal and vice-principal, Prof Abram Nkabinde and Prof Alex Thembe-la.

These two men are conspicuously intelligent, educated, dignified, level-headed and dedicated. They also have a sense of humour, and they are singularly free of the pretensions that are sometimes characteristic of people in high places.

Professor Nkabinde is 59 years old and is a former school teacher who, after acquiring four degrees, became principal of Unizulu in 1977.

Not long ago it was rumoured that he might be invited to become the first black member of the South African Cabinet.

He denied this but acknowledged that he had turned down an earlier offer of an ambassadorship in Holland because, he argued, he was not a voter.

A sound argument. But times change. Professor Nkabinde is not what Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi (who is chancellor of the university) calls a celebrity leader, but I would not be surprised if he were to emerge eventually as one of the real leaders in the South Africa of the future.

□ □ □

MY RECENT reference to noseyparkers in commerce who send forms asking all kinds of personal questions has evoked quite a strong response. I have received several letters on the subject, including one from a reader who lives in Schoeman Street, Arcadia, Pretoria, and who received the bank questionnaire which I mentioned.

He writes: "It made my hair stand on end. I returned the form and next to each impertinent question I wrote 'My business'."

"I didn't have the courage to tell them to jump in the lake, as you suggested in your article, but I like it, indeed I do so like it".

A moment of remembrance in the Natal battlefields

Voices in unison heard in the valley

THE DAILY NEWS

2-3-89

I WAS amongst the many who gathered on the hot day of January 22, 1989 at Rorke's Drift Mission Station. We were there to honour Briton and Zulu who fell in this great battle 110 years ago.

As I sat watching and listening to the people all around me, I thought to myself what an incredible country we live in.

Everywhere I looked there was something different. I was in the shade of a gum tree, an Australian importation, Indian mynahs were making nests in jacaranda trees — the bird from one continent, the tree from another. Poplar trees originating from Europe shimmered in the blazing sun and a Jersey cow, far from her cold country, grazed at the entrance to a tent that served as a church.

When the service began there were white people singing hymns in English while Zulus sang the same hymns in Zulu.

A black priest was officiating while Bishop Hallowes translated from Zulu to English. The Amaswi choir was delayed and without any fuss, a group of young Zulu boys and girls from the Oskarberg Mission filtered into the church and sang with a harmony equal to any school choir in the world.

There was a lull in the singing and I heard the wind sighing through the trees above me and the plaintive song of the Cape robin.

It had chosen its moment to remind us that we were all of Africa. The robin's indigenous song notes drifted on the breeze, echoing amongst the stone walls of the nearby cemetery and the rocks ledges of the Oskarberg mountain.

It was 110 years ago on this same hill a soldier staring over the Buffalo river sang out a fearful warning: "They are coming sir — as thick as grass and as black as hell!"

Men below under the direction of two young lieutenants worked feverishly, erecting a defence of tins and mealie bags.

After Chard and Bromhead had won their VCs, they were privately described by Sir Garnet Wolseley as dull and stupid, although in truth they had more foresight and ingenuity than many of their superior officers.

But few generals are ever grateful.

As the church service was ending, the Welsh choir

A voice from the Wilderness Ian Player



arrived and their beautiful voices stirred something deep inside all of us.

The resonance seemed to vibrate against the sternum and as I looked over the rolling green hills stretching towards Dundee and Nqutu I remembered the book *How Green Was My Valley*, the story of the destruction of the countryside of Wales.

Our own green hills of Natal and Zululand, the coastal forests and the quiet kloofs are now under threat. These were the new battles facing us all.

The mood of the hot morning quickly changed as a war drum tapped the Zulu men in traditional skins stamped, danced and sang to the centre of the biscuit box square their ancestors had fought so valiantly towards.

We left the church and the shade of trees to surround this dancing warrior group, lithe men leaping and gyrating and singing the old songs of war.

It must have taken phenomenal courage not have broken and run when 25 000 Zulus cascaded over the hills at Isandlwana, singing as they came.

Then in the darkness of Rorke's Drift and the burning roof of the house, the impis sang their war songs and the hills behind must have reverberated with the African martial music. It took exceptionally brave men to stand their ground and fight.

As I stood, caught up in the fierce rhythm of these dancing men and the throbbing of their drum, I knew that music had a dangerous side.

There is a powerfully emotive and destructive force in military music which can quickly overpower reason and turn men into cold-blooded killers.

The small impi, their display over, danced away into the shade to rest and to drink, and the speeches began.

I listened to Roger Whiteley, Val Volker MEC and Dr Frank Mdhloso — all good solid South Africans, public spirited men who each in his own way has contributed much to the welfare of our country.

Conciliation and respect for each other's traditions and cultures was the theme of the day.

Major Bob Smith from the Royal Regiment of Wales spoke briefly of the link between the Regiment at Brecon and the Zulu people, and how pleased they were when King Goodwill Zwelithini paid them a visit in 1987.

Wreaths were laid on Zulu and British graves by Major Keith Archibald of the Natal Carbineers, Alan Holmes the British Consul General, and others. A simple ceremony yet so terribly impressive when one gave just a moment's thought to what had happened here so long ago.

Flower petals dropped like tears over the green grass as wreath after wreath was carried and laid.

The finale of the day was alternate songs by the Zulu and Welsh choirs. If there was anyone present who did not shed a tear at *Land of Our Fathers*, *Nkosi sikelele Afrika* and *Die Stem*, then their hearts were made of stone.

It had been a day of two great singing nations of the world and only Solomon could have judged who was the superior this day.

Yet how better that there should be a singing rivalry rather than a war of assegai, bayonet, bullet and shield.

FW's 'Great Indaba' plea to black leaders

NIGEL: National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk last night made an urgent plea to black leaders to join him in a "Great Indaba" for drastic changes.

Speaking in Nigel — at his first public meeting as his party's new leader — he said: "We must now start talking urgently about how we can reconcile the strivings and expectations of your followers and mine."

"I want to say to all leaders who seek peaceful solutions: The time for a great indaba is now."

Mr de Klerk also hit out at opposition groups — particularly the Conservative Party.

Sapa reports that, saying the was no other road than that of the National Party, Mr de Klerk charged that the PFP, NDM and IP, whether they combined or not, would make a Zimbabwe of South Africa, while the CP and its radical allies would submerge South Africa in misery just as they had sent Boksburg to the wall within months.

It was a stormy meeting attended by about 800 people in the Conservative Party constituency.

At the start, Mr de Klerk could barely be heard as about 60 hecklers chanted CP slogans. Shortly afterwards they were removed from the hall.

Mr de Klerk reaffirmed the NP's commitment to a clean administration. He said that the present

Daily News Correspondent

state of affairs "indeed gives rise to concern, and the NP shares in that concern".

But over-reaction should be avoided.

"Corruption and irregularity will always be with us... the true test for clean administration lies in how it is handled when it occurs, and what is done to prevent it."

"Regarding the present spate of alleged irregularities, the Government is acting fearlessly in having each and every allegation fully investigated, irrespective of who might be involved."

Concerning negotiations, Mr de Klerk said the NP now faced the challenge of taking the lead in formulating more detailed proposals on how it could attain its goals.

"Time is of the essence. Such proposals must form the basis of further negotiation and discussions with all those who will be affected."

He advised black leaders to ignore "poisonous suspicion-mongering about the Government's reform programme".

"Only if they test the bona fides of the Government in negotiation will they be able to arrive at the truth," he added.

"Only in real negotiations will they be able to determine whether

the NP means what it says.

"And I know what they will find: An honest desire to reach a mutually acceptable accord."

He said South Africa was in a transitional phase. Mostly as a result of the NP's reform initiatives — but also because of events beyond its control — the country was "inexorably on its way towards a new dispensation".

He assured white voters that, in the process, the NP would "jealously guard" their security and interests. South Africa would have to accommodate its cultural and racial diversity in its planning.

The NP's goals were:

- A new constitution offering full participation to all South Africans;
- Non-domination of any one group by another;
- The maintenance, in a non-discriminatory way, of an "own community" life;
- A strong economy based on free enterprise and competition.
- Social and economic upliftment for communities suffering backlogs; and
- The firm maintenance of law and order.

Asked why discriminatory legislation such as the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was not scrapped, he said the NP would soon take certain initiatives in this regard. Now was the time to enter into negotiations about "sensitive and unfair" social laws.

KwaZulu delegation getting 'red carpet' treatment at today's talks

BRUCE CAMERON

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The Government is laying on the "red carpet" treatment for the KwaZulu Government in Cape Town, hoping to thaw the frigid relations between the two authorities.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a KwaZulu negotiating delegation are to be received by Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis at the Tuynhuys offices of the President.

Today's meeting follows a one-on-one meeting on Tuesday with Dr Oscar Dhlomo in his capacity as chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba in which a number of "misunderstandings" were cleared up.

After the meeting Mr Heunis an-

nounced that the report of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba was to be studied by the Cabinet — more than two years after the report was finalised by the Indaba.

Today's meeting follows a meeting in Durban in January between Dr Buthelezi and Mr Heunis at which it was agreed to establish a joint committee to "identify and address obstacles impeding the process of negotiations as well as to formulate principles on which there is common ground."

After the opening, discussions will start with Natal National Party leader Mr Stoffel Botha leading the Government team and Dr Dhlomo, also a KwaZulu Cabinet member, the KwaZulu team.

The Government committee consists of Mr Botha, Mr Roelf Meyer, deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr I. Rautenbach of the Rand Afrikaans University and Mr S. van der Merwe, a constitutional adviser.

KwaZulu will be represented by Dr Dhlomo, Dr F. Mdladlose, Minister of Health, Mr Rowley Arenstein and Mr S. Maphalala of the University of Zululand.

TIME FOR GREAT INDABA

By Brian Stuart

THE goal of a new South Africa can only be achieved through negotiation in which the participants are "free to put their full viewpoint and counter-proposals", Mr F W de Klerk said in Nigel last night in his first public speech since his election as National Party leader.

"The time for the great indaba has arrived," said Mr De Klerk. "We must now—immediately—begin penetrating talks on how we can reconcile the aspirations and expecta-

tions of your followers and mine.

"That is the only way to ensure peace."

Mr De Klerk said he advised Black leaders to ignore "poisonous suspicion-mongering" against the government's reform programme.

"Only if they test the bona fides of the government in negotiation will they be able to arrive at the truth.

"Only in real negotiation will they be able to determine whether the NP means what it says.

— De Klerk

"And I know what they will find: An honest desire to reach a mutually acceptable accord."

In the same breath, he wished to assure the White electorate that in seeking full political participation for all South Africans, the NP would jealously guard their security and their interests and also those of other minority groups.

Recalling this was his first public speech as NP leader, Mr De Klerk said few people would disagree that South Africa was in a transitional phase. Most flowing from NP reform, but also due to events outside its control, the country was "inexorably on its way towards a new dispensation".

"The NP has taken the

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Great Indaba call

FROM PAGE 1

lead in this process, and will continue to do so. Our goals have been clearly stated. Let me remind you of some of these goals:

"A new constitution, offering full participation to all South Africans — White, Black, Coloured and Indian.

"Non-domination of any one group by another.

"The maintenance in a non-discriminatory manner of an own community life.

"A strong economy based on free enterprise and competition.

"Social and economic upliftment for those communities suffering backlogs, and

"The firm maintenance of law and order."

Mr De Klerk added: "The NP now faces the challenge of taking the lead in formulating more detailed proposals as to how these goals can be at-

tained.

"Time is of the essence. Such proposals must form the basis of further negotiation and discussions with all those who are affected.

"We also acknowledge that others who participate in negotiations must be free to put their full viewpoint and counter-proposals without inhibition and without a long list of prerequisites.

"Final solutions will have to be preceded by greater accord between leaders in all spheres.

"Lasting peace, prosperity and security can only be attained on the basis of a lasting understanding between the reasonable people and people of South Africa."

Mr De Klerk also referred to corruption and said the public should avoid over-reaction — "corruption and irregularity will always be with us".

The true test of clean administration was how corruption was handled. The government was act-

ing fearlessly in having each and every allegation fully investigated, regardless of who was involved.

No stone would be left unturned to strengthen legislative measures to prevent recurrences, said Mr De Klerk.

25 MAY

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MARCH

HARARE — The final breach appears to have taken place between Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and his former right-hand man, Edgar Tekere, following an unprecedented confrontation in parliament here this week.

Tekere, who was sacked in 1981 as a cabinet minister and secretary general of the ruling Zanu-PF, accused Mugabe in a two-hour speech of personally engineering his expulsion from the party late last year for outspoken denunciation of high-level corruption.

Row signals final Mugabe-Tekere split

MICHAEL HARTNACK

Recent secret meetings between the two have failed to effect a reconciliation.

Government ministers were outraged when Tekere told the House of Assembly: "You are taking the leadership cult too far."

He said ordinary Zimbabweans felt they had no cause to celebrate

Mugabe's first year as executive president because their falling standard of living was forcing young men to cross illegally into the Transvaal in search of work while women went to Botswana to sell themselves as prostitutes.

"That is why you hear some angry remarks like 'were we not better off under Ian Smith?'" said Tekere.

Three government ministers leapt to their feet after the former guerilla

finished speaking, accusing him of being an alcoholic and threatening to expose personal misconduct of which, they claimed, he had been guilty since independence.

The three, former Zanla guerrilla command colleagues of Tekere's, scathingly attacked his calls for Zimbabwe to promote peace talks between Mozambique's Frelimo government and Mozambique resistance movement rebels.

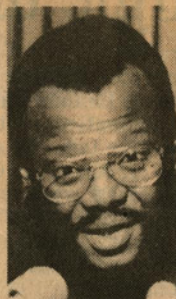
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The first meeting of the joint committee of the SA and KwaZulu governments will be held at Tuynhuys today.

The meeting will be attended by Acting President Chris Heunis and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The committee was appointed after discussions between Heunis and Buthelezi in Durban on January 9.

During these discussions, it was agreed a



● BUTHELEZI

**'279 DETAINEES
WILL BE FREED
BY WEEKEND'**

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Some 279 of the estimated 800 detainees will have been freed by the end of the week, said church leaders who met Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday.

Warrants for the release of 229 emergency detainees have already been signed and a further 50 are to be signed on Friday.

The church delegation was led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Archbishop Stephen Naidoo.

In a statement issued from Bishops-court last night, the church leaders said the talks on the detainees and the hunger strike had been "extensive".

They said the talks had been a follow-up to the meeting on February 16, at which Vlok had given an undertaking to release a "substantial" number of detainees within a fortnight.

The delegation also voiced the anger and frustration of community leaders over continuous detention and over restrictions on some of those released.

The statement said the minister had given his assurance that he would give priority attention to those detainees in hospital in Johannesburg, that he would look into the situation of the detainees on hunger strike in Maritzburg and that the process of releasing detainees would continue.

The church delegation later met community leaders to brief them on the talks with the minister.

SA/KwaZulu committee meets

joint committee would be appointed by the two governments to identify and "address obstacles which were impeding the process of negotiations" and to formulate principles on which there was common ground.

□ The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba said in Durban last night a broad-based, top-level advisory board on education had been established — bringing together 23 top educationists.

Indaba education policy director Johan van Zijl said the move was arguably one of the most significant developments in edu-

cation in many years.

He believed the advisory board could change the face of education in Natal and help to forge education systems and structures to take the region into the 21st century.

Van Zijl said the launch of the board followed widespread concern that Natal's fragmented educational environment failed to address the realities of a rapidly changing, multi-cultural society.

"An economically embattled Natal cannot afford the wasteful duplication and triplication of under-utilised educational

Sats losses will take years to clear

CAPE TOWN — It would cost SA R300m a year for the next 10 years to wipe out the losses on Sats' recent foreign exchange activities, P J Welgemoed (NP Primrose) said yesterday.

He said in first reading debate on the Sats Appropriation Bill that as deputy chairman of the parliamentary committee that investigated the losses, he wanted to say unequivocally that mistakes had been made, but they had also been corrected.

The committee had heard that the technical faults committed could not happen again because the necessary skills had been brought in.

He was against the Reserve Bank providing cover against exchange losses, as this meant that in the end the man in the street had to pay out.

The department involved should carry the losses.

Welgemoed said with reference to criticisms of the large profits made by the Sats fuel pipeline, the Minister should say what price reduction there would be on fuel in the interior if the pipeline merely broke even.

He was under the impression the difference would be one or two cents.

When the privatised companies running the harbours and the pipeline began operating, they should, in setting tariffs, try to

move closer to the actual costs than at present, so the consumer could benefit.

□ MIKE ROBERTSON reports that Transport Minister Eli Louw was yesterday called on to resign as result of Sats R3,1bn foreign exchange losses.

PFP transport spokesman John Malcomess said Louw had to take responsibility for the debacle of the foreign exchange losses as well as the furore over toll roads.

The Cross Committee report on the exchange losses as well as the recently published report of the joint committee on public accounts presented a tale of woe and inefficiency.

Louw ultimately had to "carry the can" for those errors and the convention of ministerial responsibility demanded he resign.

Lower

Malcomess questioned why the railways commissioners did not have the power to control Sats foreign exchange duties. This was akin to having a board of directors which did not have proper powers of control. "It is ridiculous."

He also questioned statements by Louw last week in which he said the average Sats increases were only 8,7% and thus much lower than the rate of inflation.

That ignored the fact that air fares were increased by 8% in November and all other tariffs by about 9% in December. — Sapa.

facilities. The board could provide a vehicle for rationalising the use of facilities and resources."

The board was likely to address matters such as teacher training, educational financing, effective use of manpower, legislation and policy.

Indaba communications director Peter Badcock said the establishment of the board underscored the organisation's continuing commitment to change at all levels.

He said recent events had demonstrated the Indaba's proposals featured prominently on the reform agenda, and this important forum for discussion on education would contribute greatly to the formulation of future direction.

**No evidence
Nusas got cash
from abroad**

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — There was no evidence the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), the only "affected" organisation in SA, received foreign funds during its 1987/8 financial year, the Registrar of Affected Organisations, J H Breyl, said yesterday.

Nusas was declared "affected" in September 1974 in terms of the Affected Organisations Act and from that date onwards was prevented from receiving funds from overseas.

Breyl said that according to auditors, all amounts received by Nusas during the year ending on April 30 1988 "appear to be from sources within the Republic of South Africa".

"Further investigations were made and no evidence was revealed that Nusas received money from abroad during the year concerned."

Nusas's audit for the year showed that R47 120 of its total income of R72 172,52 came from affiliation fees, R21 013,04 from subscriptions and publications and R10 000 from the South African Council of Churches.

The organisation spent R27 859,55 on printing, stationery and publications, R20 005,26 on salaries and R11 784,56 on executive expenses and travel.

At the end of the financial year, Nusas had a surplus of R13 656,37.

Cohen to take over Africa 'hot seat'

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President George Bush has officially nominated Mr Herman Cohen (57) as his Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, ending weeks of speculation about the official who will replace Dr Chester Crocker.

Mr Cohen's name was among six key State Department appointments announced here yesterday amid criticism that President Bush had moved unusually slowly in putting together his top foreign policy team.

Mr Cohen's main task will be to manage US policies on Africa, but he will also be required to play a role in winning bipartisan support in Congress for the policies, especially those relating to southern Africa.

President Bush is anxious to avoid the political sniping and antagonisms that came from the opposition Democratic Party during the Reagan era when constructive engagement with South Africa and linking Namibia's independence to Cuba's withdrawal from Angola were under constant attack.

The fact that Dr Crocker succeeded in mediating the Angola-Namibia accords against the forecasts of his detractors has removed much of the criticism

of the regional approach, but there are still deep differences between the Republican administration and the Democratic-controlled Congress over South Africa.

Mr Cohen's chief, Secretary of State Mr James Baker, conceded these differences when he told a congressional committee a fortnight ago that he expected disagreements over South Africa to be profound.

Nevertheless, a State Department spokesman said this week that the administration was determined to work towards an effective bipartisan approach and it is expected that Mr Cohen, a career foreign service officer and former director for African affairs on the National Security Council, will be deeply involved in that effort.

Mr Cohen's background and details of his personal life are being examined by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, a routine part of the Senate confirmation process when senior US officials are appointed.

It is expected that he will be approved by the Senate without fuss. Dr Crocker will continue as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa until the appointment is confirmed.

SA blacks

are sick of protest

— editor

BY RAMSAY MILNE
The Star Bureau

With South African blacks having become "sick of protest", there is now a backlash taking place in the black community over politics, said Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan*, in an interview in the *New York Times*.

In a lengthy report under a headline "On blacks' do-it-yourself route to nationhood", *The New York Times* correspondent in Johannesburg, Christopher Wren, outlined what he described as Aggrey Klaaste's "vision of black nation-building in South Africa".

Some whites, he said, had assumed when Klaaste, whom he described as "a gentle crusader who edits the *Sowetan*", first "float-ed his vision", that he was sounding a retreat in the battle against apartheid or else agitating for black power.

Other blacks wondered if Klaaste was selling out the struggle.

But Klaaste, in the interview, makes it clear that he has "no organisation, only



Klaaste... a
backlash in
the townships.

a great notion". He argues that apartheid has left blacks mired in a poverty that is psychological as well as physical and that they have to pull themselves out of it "because no one else will do it for them".

Wren adds: "Through Klaaste's argument runs a theme of black consciousness promulgated by Stephen Biko, who, before he died from a police beating in 1976, urged blacks to seek their own identity apart from whites. Klaaste diverges in his contention that blacks should not reject help from sympathetic whites."

In effect, writes Wren, Klaaste echoes the Bush administration's contention that black economic muscle, not economic sanctions, will force racial justice on South Africa. Klaaste points out that "the legacy of four decades of apartheid" made it hard for whites to accept that blacks yearn for the same stability and prosperity. "They don't realise that behind the wall is a black guy walking a dog or riding a bicycle," he said.

The situation in South Africa, said Klaaste, was so abnormal "that you can't have people embracing across the colour line".

Thus, he adds: "What we have to do is to turn the townships into the kind of ethnic suburbs you have in the United States," citing the "Chinatown" popular in major American cities.

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CAPTAIN Deon Terblanche, head of the police riot unit in Pietermaritzburg, has a bird's eye view of the "Valley of Death" at Edendale, where hundreds of people have lost their lives.

Selective assassination: new township scourge

ANIL SINGH

Crime Reporter

A NEW sort of violence — "selective assassination", or revenge killing — has flared in the trouble-torn Pietermaritzburg townships, scene of clashes between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

Brigadier Jac Buchner, divisional commander of the security police for Natal Inland, who took a group of local and foreign newsmen on a tour of the greater Pietermaritzburg area yesterday, said incidents of unrest had declined considerably in the past few months.

"Since July last year incidents of unrest have dropped drastically com-

pared with the end of 1987 and beginning of 1988 when we had an average of about 100 people a month being killed.

"We are now averaging about 30 deaths a month. It is not satisfactory. It cannot be satisfactory when people are being killed, but at least it is a big improvement.

"What is emerging now is that previously where there had been open clashes between UDF and Inkatha in which mobs of about 100 and 150 people were involved, we are now witnessing a new trend of selective assassination.

"If a family member is killed by either a UDF supporter or Inkatha member, his or her next of kin feels duty-bound to avenge the death," said Brigadier Buchner.

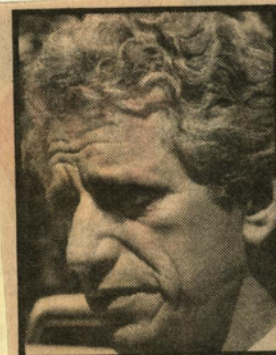
"But no more do mobs go and attack a person at

his home and then mutilate the body. It has changed to where one or more persons do the murder."

Brigadier Buchner, who is regarded as an expert on unrest in Natal townships, said he believed that the police presence in the townships of Pietermaritzburg had played a great role in quelling the violence to a large extent.

"In November 1987 there were 90 people killed, in December 93 and in January last year a record of 119 dead. But with an active police presence the killings have died down.

"One must also remember that criminal elements are also responsible for a fair number of deaths.



Brigadier Jac Buchner — an expert on the unrest situation in the capital.

"During our investigations into the unrest we have come across 'people's courts' operating around the township. Some areas were also being called by their liberated names — like

'Angola City'.

"We are still investigating some incidents which certain elements thought could succeed in Pietermaritzburg through street committees, the altering of the educational system and other means."

Giving a breakdown, Brigadier Buchner said since September 1987 until last month there had been 1101 incidents of unrest.

"The United Democratic Front has been responsible for 67 percent of these attacks on Inkatha, while 33 percent were attacks on UDF by Inkatha.

"In 1988 there were 872 incidents of which the South African Police solved 30 percent.

"Since the outbreak of



MANY black townships in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area are being called by their "liberated" names — this one is Angola City, a stronghold of the United Democratic Front. The slogan painted on an electricity box says it all.

violence in the greater Pietermaritzburg area in September 1987, 670 people have lost their lives," said Brigadier Buchner.

Regarding state of emergency detainees, the brigadier said he had released about 90 percent of them and only a small number were still being held.

He gave an outright assurance that "no kids 12 or under are in detention in my cells".

And that included a mass of juvenile stone-throwers — "one of the most prevalent problems of the present".

Asked why Pietermaritzburg was selected as a sort of test battleground, Brigadier Buchner said: "To destroy Inkatha here — where it was not very strong at the start.

"History shows that from way back there were anti-Zulu tribes that lived near Pietermaritzburg. Some fought with the British against the Zulus.

"They were the people who were worked at to first do the killings, the maimings, everything else."

Brigadier Buchner said he was optimistic that peace would eventually return to the townships.

"I can see the light at the end of the tunnel. The vast majority of residents have accepted that the police have a role to play. There is still a lot of work to be done, but we will succeed," he said.

At the end of the tour police produced an assortment of weapons used in attacks.

THE DAILY NEWS

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PAGE 1

Time for indaba ^{BUSINESS DAY} De Klerk ²⁻³⁻⁸⁹

NIGEL — The time for the "Great Indaba" in SA had come, NP leader F W de Klerk said last night.

He told his first public meeting since his election as NP leader that the present state of affairs could not continue. "Things will have to change drastically."

De Klerk interrupted his speech after 10 minutes while police removed a group of about 30 right-wing hecklers. The 600-strong audience cheered as police moved into the hall.



● DE KLERK

Before the meeting, seven blacks were barred by police from entering the hall. Nigel, a CP-controlled municipality, has invoked the Separate Amenities Act to prohibit blacks from its town hall — the venue.

**MIKE ROBERTSON
and PETER DELMAR**

Police said the action against the blacks was taken upon the request of Nigel Town Council members who were at the meeting.

De Klerk committed the NP to renewed reform and urgent, meaningful negotiations, without preconditions, with those leaders who sought peaceful solutions.

De Klerk said little to clarify the future working relationship between himself and President P W Botha, but continued to breathe life into the reform programme by spelling out the direction the NP, under his leadership, would follow.

He said leaders had to begin talking urgently about how "we are going to

● To Page 2 ➡

F W de Klerk calls for a 'Great Indaba'

reconcile your followers and my followers' aspirations and expectations".

- The NP was committed to:
- ☐ A new constitution offering full participation for all races;
 - ☐ No domination by any group;
 - ☐ The maintenance in a non-discriminatory manner of community life;
 - ☐ A strong economy based on free enterprise;
 - ☐ Social and economic upliftment for those communities suffering backlogs;
 - ☐ The firm maintenance of law and order.

De Klerk said the NP now faced the challenge of formulating detailed proposals on how to achieve these goals.

He said: "Time is of the essence. Such proposals must form the basis of more negotiation and discussions with all those who will be affected."

"We acknowledge that others who take part in negotiations must be free to put their full viewpoint and counter proposals without inhibition and a long list of prerequisites."

De Klerk asked black leaders to ignore "poisonous suspicion mongering" directed at government's reform programme.

"Only if they test the bona fides of government in negotiation will they be able to arrive at the truth. Only in real negotiation will they be able to deter-

mine whether the NP means what it says. I know that they will find an honest desire to reach a mutually acceptable accord."

While the NP would jealously protect the security of whites and other minorities, white security could not be built on injustice towards others.

"Our future can only be secure and prosperous if a basis of co-operation is found between all the people and groups in our country."

☐ In Cape Town it was widely expected President P W Botha would pay a visit to his office today, six weeks after his stroke.

There were also reports he would meet senior Ministers, among them De Klerk. A De Klerk spokesman said, however, that by late last night no meeting had been scheduled in his diary.

The demand by NP MPs that a working relationship between Botha and De Klerk be clarified has continued to grow but the issue is unlikely to be sorted out today.

Even if Botha does return to his office, it will only be for a short time and he is not expected to resume full duties until after the Easter recess of Parliament. It is expected that only then will his working relationship with De Klerk be clarified.

● From Page 1

OVER THE weekend of July 12-13 1986, four team leaders at Anglo American's Western Holdings mine near Welkom were killed, three of them in a public execution. Nobody has yet been charged with the murders.

The event received little publicity at the time — a period of intense conflict at the mine and in the industry — but some details emerged in January this year during the war of words about mine violence between Anglo and the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Anglo disclosed that at least 80 people had died on its mines in violent incidents from March 1985 until shortly after the 1987 strike.

At the same time, the NUM published a report alleging widespread assaults on union members by senior mine staff, together with a concerted union-bashing campaign. These issues, including steps to eliminate further violence, are soon to be the subject of negotiations between the two organisations.

Few of the perpetrators have been brought to justice. The NUM has undertaken to provide details of the alleged assaults to Anglo during the negotiations.

Business Day has attempted to document, as an example of what has made the talks so important, the Western Holdings' murders and the events leading up to them.

Information collated by Anglo stated that one team leader — Ramarumo Libenyane — was murdered on Saturday, July 12 1986. His body was found the following morning. On the Sunday night a crowd, estimated by Anglo officials at 2 000, met in the sports arena of Western Holdings No 6 hostel as miners returned from the weekend break. It was here that the public execution is said to have taken place. The three team leaders' bodies were found after the crowd had dispersed.

According to police headquarters in Pretoria, the four team leaders all suffered multiple head and facial injuries. This was confirmed by an inquest, which found that the deaths were caused by persons unknown.

Thousands saw *Business Day Thurs March 2, 1989* three men killed, but nobody talks

Mine violence, including the public execution of three men at a Free State mine, has led to negotiations between Anglo American and the National Union of Mineworkers on a code of conduct. BRONWYN ADAMS reports

Welkom-based SAP Maj Johan Fouche, who is in charge of the investigation, confirmed the circumstances of the discovery of the three bodies. Apart from the murders, the meeting was apparently a peaceful

one, as Fouche said there was no "unrest" at the gathering.

For almost a year, no progress was made in investigations and no witnesses to the Sunday murders came forward. Four men were detained for questioning, but released for lack of evidence.

According to Western Holdings' personnel manager Peter Jordaan, the only apparent breakthrough in the case came in mid-1987, when Gogela Mzwamadoda — arrested and charged for the June 1987 killing of a shaft manager — confessed to having taken part in the four murders in July 1986. He subsequently hanged himself in his cell. Jordaan said he was told this by the SAP.

However, Fouche says he has no record of such a confession. Mzwamadoda confessed only to having committed the murder with which he was charged.

The murders were preceded by a period of sharpening conflict between NUM membership and middle and senior management. This culminated in the dismissal of four NUM shaft

stewards for organising various forms of industrial action.

The dismissals, on appeal by the NUM, were the subject of a special review by Dan Bregman, SC, for Anglo American. The 13-day hearing was conducted with the agreement of the NUM, whose officials were present both as observers and participants.

Bregman's report, which found the dismissals to have been 'justified,

paints a stark picture of the atmosphere on the mine at the time. He found the shaft stewards had been party to organising an underground sit-in and a canteen boycott.

On July 7 1986, there was a sit-in underground at No 6 shaft in support of demands for the transfer of one employee alleged to be a management collaborator. A meeting between management and the NUM shaft leadership failed to resolve the problem, and management refused to meet this demand.

On July 9 there followed what the NUM described as a "spontaneous" boycott of the kitchen — according to the NUM in protest against the quality of food while senior staff had separate, superior eating facilities.

The Bregman report said a group of Basotho team leaders, followed by

a number of workers, broke the kitchen boycott. Threats were made against them. Anglo claimed shaft stewards were party to the threats, while the NUM denied this. The team leaders retaliated by putting on blankets, arming themselves and marching around blowing whistles.

The report added that two shop stewards were then assaulted. One of them was stabbed, probably by a member of the blanketed group.

Bregman found management was approached on Thursday, July 10, by three shaft stewards asking for protection. This request was not granted. An Anglo spokesman said the ste-

wards were unable to say by whom they were threatened and exactly what management should do.

Management did institute a disciplinary inquiry into the attacks on the shaft stewards. However, before the questioning of one of the alleged assailants, Thabo, had been completed, he was severely assaulted in a retaliatory attack, Bregman wrote.

According to Anglo, Thabo — who had been assaulted by shaft stewards the previous week — spent some months in hospital. When he was discharged he was found guilty of assault and dismissed.

On an NUM accusation that Anglo had failed to carry out speedy disci-

BUSINESS DAY

2-3-89

iplinary action against Thabo, Bregman ruled it was inconceivable that measures could have been finalised against Thabo in the short period before the attack on him.

Bregman found the sit-in had not been spontaneous but had been organised by shaft stewards, as had been the case with the canteen boycott.

An NUM spokesman, interviewed by Business Day, said that after the kitchen boycott and the parade by blanketed team leaders, workers were told by shaft stewards not to take the law into their own hands. Shaft stewards were told by the union branch committee to hide as they would be killed, and to notify management if team leaders continued to be aggressive.

The failure of management to provide protection for shaft stewards from these team leaders, despite two

requests, was cited by the NUM as a further important part of the pattern which culminated in the murders.

In an interview, Freegold North manpower resources manager at the time of the murders — Viv du Plessis — said the murders had occurred against a background of conflict which developed over three years.

In March 1985, the NUM launched a concerted campaign to erode management control, he said. Team leaders were among the first targets. Supervisors were paraded and team leaders were subjected to "kangaroo courts", which resulted in their being intimidated and given corporal punishment. Du Plessis said other tactics included go-slows, underground sit-ins and boycotts, and attacks on supervisors.

In response, the NUM spokesman denied that assaults and attacks were a normal feature of NUM activities and that this so-called "pattern" was an attempt to smear the union. She said the union had unsuccessfully attempted to break the sequence of sit-ins and boycotts by requesting meetings with management to discuss the matter. Management had been warned of the potentially explosive situation.

Anglo responded, however, that it could not recall any specific warnings being issued by the NUM leadership. Management was also unable to recall whether there had been specific hints of the trouble, given "a general atmosphere of intimidation" at the time.

The NUM official identified racist practices and the migrant labour system as the root causes of the highly volatile environment.

"Frustrating conditions and high stress levels, both in the hostel and in the workplace, the sexual deprivation and normlessness in the hostels predispose the atmosphere towards acts of violence," she said.

She noted that, in the joint Anglo/NUM study into mine violence — "Reaping the Whirlwind?" completed in May 1986 — Western Holdings management overall saw ethnicity, poor communication, low pay and working conditions, and the hostel system, as the predominant causes.

The story of the Western Holdings' murders and the circumstances in which they occurred are symptomatic of the issues that both Anglo and the NUM believe only a joint agreement between them can resolve.



Nation Building bound

SOWETAN - 2 MARCH 1989

to go a long way

SIR — Through the medium of our popular newspaper, Sowetan, kindly permit me to express my views regarding the Nation Building project.

First and foremost, I wish to extend my hearty

congratulations to Mr Aggrey Klaaste and colleagues on this exceptionally great undertaking.

Secondly, I would like to request to those who have the interest of South Africa at heart, particularly those who would love to contribute towards the solution of the country's problems, but fear victimisation by those who differ with their opinions, to take advantage of the

opportunity provided by those who differ with their opinions, to take advantage of the opportunity provided by this project.

Thirdly, I humbly appeal to members of the community and various organisations whose political ideology makes it impossible to even talk to their opposition, to make use of this significant move, not for their benefit, but for our

country.

At the moment South Africa is torn apart. Hatred seems to gain momentum every day, while confusion rules supreme.

In order to normalise the situation in the country, making it a happier place for all its inhabitants, the only answer is the birth of a new nation.

GABRIEL MADLALA
Orlando West

NATAL WITNESS

2 MARCH 1989

Zimbabwe

by Lawrence

The black-and-white of life

WITH the Group Areas Act exercising South Africans lately a lawyer friend of mine, whom we shall call Kevin, has been dining out on his tale of two neighbours. He lives in a middle-ranking Harare suburb, where plots are about a quarter-acre compared to the standard acre or two in the up-market northern suburbs. So he's close enough to get to know his neighbours.

On one side, a daughter of the family has been taken into care because she was abused by her father, the house nearly burnt down when he fell asleep while frying his sausages, and the property is in a derelict state. Kevin and his wife have often been called upon to look after neglected children. On the other side, the only dealings he has had with his neighbours have been over the erection of a fence on the common boundary. The negotiations were civilised and fruitful. Guess which neighbours are white and which are black.

Visiting from Canada

"Okay," said his Pietermaritzburg-born mother visiting from Canada, "you've been lucky with your black neighbours and unlucky with the white ones. You can't extrapolate from that to say all whites are rubbish and all blacks are wonderful."

"Exactly," replied Kevin, "colour doesn't mean much."

I don't know whether it's boring to go on about race relations in Zimbabwe, but they seem fundamental to a column from a small African country aimed at South African readers. It is easy to pick up a distorted image of a nation from straight news reports — something South Africans themselves are prone to complain about on trips abroad when they are asked if they regularly sjambok their black workers.

Sjambok

It doesn't mean the reports are untrue. Some South Africans do sjambok their workers, and sometimes, as in one celebrated recent case, get away with murder. I would imagine that the image the average South African newspaper reader has of Zimbabwe at the moment is of a country where the freedom of the press is being trampled underfoot by arrogant politicians. That this is happening appears to be true. The same thing has been happening in South Africa for a long time. Extrapolate from that.

What all this comes down to is that when I sat down to write this piece there were two main stories around in Zimbabwe. One was that Geoff Nyarota, editor of the campaigning *Chronicle* newspaper had been kicked upstairs because of a series of stories he ran alleging corruption in government. President Mugabe

I would imagine that the image the average South African newspaper reader has of Zimbabwe at the moment is of a country where the freedom of the press is being trampled underfoot by arrogant politicians. That this is happening appears to be true. The same thing has been happening in South Africa for a long time. Extrapolate from that.

set up a judicial commission of inquiry into the allegations, but 37-year-old Mr Nyarota ended up in a somewhat powerless corridor as public relations officer in the newspaper group's headquarters in Harare. The other story around was the series of international meetings here to discuss South Africa. Within the space of three weeks or so we had Afrikaner academic lawyers meeting the ANC, the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Committee on Southern Africa, and the Socialist International meeting with Front-line States' leaders. The three meet-

ings had one thing in common — all were looking to a future South Africa under black majority rule and all involved appeared to believe this is inevitable.

So the question is, do you want the bad news or the good news about life under a black government?

I'll give you the bad news first. Black politicians can be just as silly as white ones. Government ministers in Zimbabwe are accustomed to being treated with deference, particularly by the country's two main newspapers, the *Herald* and the *Sunday Mail*, and have made clear their resentment over having to answer questions about their behaviour at the public inquiry into allegations of influence-peddling and trafficking in scarce new cars. The good news is that the (black) public is laughing at them.

Evidence before commission

Industry and Technology Minister Callistus Ndlovu, giving evidence before the commission, dismissed the *Chronicle's* investigation as "a shoddy piece of scandal conceived by tricksters and mobsters" and said he was taking legal advice. Turning to the packed and noisy public galleries he made it clear he was under no illusions as to which side they were on: "You will probably pay his (Nyarota's legal) fees."

More good news comes from an unlikely source — a peroxide-blond

March 2 1989

hairdresser here who had just had a visit from her former best friends who fled at independence and now live in South Africa. "Bunch of bloody whenwes," she swore, sniping ferociously and dangerously close to my ear, "complaining all the time: too many blacks in the bank queues, too much Mugabe on television. I've never been into politics much y'know but it was weird, I found myself defending Zimbabwe."

Rhodesian war

She's not alone. Bruce Moore-King, author of the book *White Man Black War*, which takes as its base the proposition that there was nothing worth whites killing for in the Rhodesian war, told me he would never leave Zimbabwe again. The former soldier, who served for six years in a number of Rhodesian army units at the height of the war, lived in Europe and South Africa before returning here on what was intended to be a brief visit in 1985. He was stunned by the realisation that there was still a life for him under a black government. "I have got my country back. I was never happy anywhere else I lived," he said.

Not all whites here agree with Moore-King, the hairdresser and my acquaintance Kevin, but their experiences are worth remembering, perhaps, next time you find yourself gazing thoughtfully across the ocean towards Australia.

FW's 'Great Indaba' plea to black leaders

NIGEL: National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk last night made an urgent plea to black leaders to join him in a "Great Indaba" for drastic changes.

Speaking in Nigel — at his first public meeting as his party's new leader — he said: "We must now start talking urgently about how we can reconcile the strivings and expectations of your followers and mine."

"I want to say to all leaders who seek peaceful solutions: The time for a great indaba is now."

Mr de Klerk also hit out at opposition groups — particularly the Conservative Party.

Sapa reports that, saying there was no other road than that of the National Party, Mr de Klerk charged that the PFP, NDM and IP, whether they combined or not, would make a Zimbabwe of South Africa, while the CP and its radical allies would submerge South Africa in misery just as they had sent Boksburg to the wall within months.

It was a stormy meeting attended by about 800 people in the Conservative Party constituency.

At the start, Mr de Klerk could barely be heard as about 60 hecklers chanted CP slogans. Shortly afterwards they were removed from the hall.

Mr de Klerk reaffirmed the NP's commitment to a clean administration. He said that the present

Daily News Correspondent

state of affairs "indeed gives rise to concern, and the NP shares in that concern".

But over-reaction should be avoided.

"Corruption and irregularity will always be with us... the true test for clean administration lies in how it is handled when it occurs, and what is done to prevent it."

"Regarding the present spate of alleged irregularities, the Government is acting fearlessly in having each and every allegation fully investigated, irrespective of who might be involved."

Concerning negotiations, Mr de Klerk said the NP now faced the challenge of taking the lead in formulating more detailed proposals on how it could attain its goals.

"Time is of the essence. Such proposals must form the basis of further negotiation and discussions with all those who will be affected."

He advised black leaders to ignore "poisonous suspicion-mongering about the Government's reform programme".

"Only if they test the bona fides of the Government in negotiation will they be able to arrive at the truth," he added.

"Only in real negotiations will they be able to determine whether

the NP means what it says.

"And I know what they will find: An honest desire to reach a mutually acceptable accord."

He said South Africa was in a transitional phase. Mostly as a result of the NP's reform initiatives — but also because of events beyond its control — the country was "inexorably on its way towards a new dispensation".

He assured white voters that, in the process, the NP would "jealously guard" their security and interests. South Africa would have to accommodate its cultural and racial diversity in its planning.

The NP's goals were:

- A new constitution offering full participation to all South Africans;
- Non-domination of any one group by another;
- The maintenance, in a non-discriminatory way, of an "own community" life;
- A strong economy based on free enterprise and competition.
- Social and economic upliftment for communities suffering backlogs; and
- The firm maintenance of law and order.

Asked why discriminatory legislation such as the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was not scrapped, he said the NP would soon take certain initiatives in this regard. Now was the time to enter into negotiations about "sensitive and unfair" social laws.

KwaZulu delegation getting 'red carpet' treatment at today's talks

BRUCE CAMERON Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The Government is laying on the "red carpet" treatment for the KwaZulu Government in Cape Town, hoping to thaw the frigid relations between the two authorities.

Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and a KwaZulu negotiating delegation are to be received by Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis at the Tuynhuys offices of the President.

Today's meeting follows a one-on-one meeting on Tuesday with Dr Oscar Dhlomo in his capacity as chairman of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba in which a number of "misunderstandings" were cleared up.

After the meeting Mr Heunis an-

nounced that the report of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba was to be studied by the Cabinet — more than two years after the report was finalised by the Indaba.

Today's meeting follows a meeting in Durban in January between Dr Buthelezi and Mr Heunis at which it was agreed to establish a joint committee to "identify and address obstacles impeding the process of negotiations as well as to formulate principles on which there is common ground."

After the opening, discussions will start with Natal National Party leader Mr Stoffel Botha leading the Government team and Dr Dhlomo, also a KwaZulu Cabinet member, the KwaZulu team.

The Government committee consists of Mr Botha, Mr Roelf Meyer, deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr I. Rautenbach of the Rand Afrikaans University and Mr S. van der Merwe, a constitutional adviser.

KwaZulu will be represented by Dr Dhlomo, Dr F. Mdladlose, Minister of Health, Mr Rowley Arenstein and Mr S. Maphalala of the University of Zululand.

Trading part

THE DAILY NEWS 24-02-89

Foreign Service

Imports, exports up for Pretoria and Washington

WASHINGTON: In spite of sanctions and boycott pressures, US trade with South Africa increased significantly in 1988 compared with the previous year and reached the highest level since 1984.

New figures from the US Department of Commerce show that American imports from South Africa in 1988 amounted to \$1.58 billion compared with imports of \$1.39 billion in 1987.

Almost half of the imports consisted of platinum metals, essential for the American car manufacturing industry.

Even more striking are the US export figures — \$1.69 billion worth of goods to South Africa in 1988 compared with \$1.28 billion in 1987.

The Commerce Department's statistics, released here yesterday, are bound to anger liberal Democrats in the US Congress who are determined to isolate the SA economy as much as possible.

But they will please the Bush administration which is basing its South Africa policy on US influence in the country and fostering a strong SA economy as an engine for change and reform.

The figures come in the wake of an official report from Ottawa which disclosed that in the first 11 months of 1988, Canada imported \$149 million worth of goods from South Africa, an increase of 68 per cent over the previous year and a major embarrassment for the pro-sanctions Canadian Government.

While the American import statistics are substantially below the pre-sanctions 1984 peak of \$2.27 billion, they show that South Africa continues to be one of America's most important trading partners in Africa, eclipsed only by Nigeria which ships billions of dollars worth of crude oil to the US.

According to US officials, the 1988 export figures mean that South Africa accounts for one half a percentage point of total US foreign trade which puts the republic

in 32nd place on the list of American trading partners.

While the listing may appear small in the global sense, South Africa is one of the few countries with which the US has a favourable trading balance. It is an important consideration in the light of America's massive trade deficit.

Most of the items sold to South Africa last year consisted of computers, aircraft and aircraft parts, mechanical shovels, chemical mixtures and preparations, rice and vehicle chassis.

Because of the existing sanctions laws, nothing was sold to the SA military or police and no computers were shipped for use in maintaining the apartheid system.

The sanctions laws also banned the sale of petroleum or refined petroleum products.

According to one US official, the growth in

US-SA trade reflected an overall increase in South Africa's imports and probably reflected South African concerns about a loss of international buying power because of inflation.

"It may be a matter of the South Africans saying let's buy now while we can afford to," he said.

The large quantities of platinum bought from South Africa — \$737 million worth in 1988 — show that the US is still dependent on South Africa for this critical metal which is used in catalytic converters required by US law on cars to stop the spread of fuel pollution in the air.

The US also bought large amounts of SA ferro-alloys last year. Both platinum and ferro-alloys have been specifically excluded from the sanctions list.

Liberal Democrats in the US Congress have vowed to curb US-SA trade and this week's figures are likely to spur them on. But there is growing resistance to further sanctions and it is by no means certain that the pro-sanctions faction will succeed in their efforts this year.

ners

FW says it's time for the big indaba

THE NATAL MERCURY
2-3-89

NIGEL—The time for the 'great indaba' in South Africa had come, Mr F W de Klerk said in his first speech as National Party leader here last night.

Mercury Correspondent

Chanting Conservative Party supporters disrupted the meeting and about 50 people were ejected by police and National Party officials.

Mr de Klerk said the present state of affairs in South Africa could not continue. 'Things will have to change drastically.'

He firmly committed the NP to renewed reform and urgent, meaningful negotiations, without preconditions, with those leaders who sought peaceful solutions.

He said South African leaders had to begin talking urgently about how 'we are going to reconcile your followers and my followers aspirations and expectations'.

The NP, he said, was committed to: a new constitution offering full participation for all races; non-domination by any group; the maintenance in a non-discriminatory manner of community life; a strong economy based on free enterprise; social and economic upliftment for those communities suffering backlogs; and the firm maintenance of law and order.

It now faced the challenge of formulating detailed pro-

posals on how to achieve these goals.

'Time is of the essence. Such proposals must form the basis of further negotiation and discussions with all those who will be affected.

'We acknowledge that others who participate in negotiations must be free to put their full viewpoint and counter proposals without inhibition and a long list of prerequisites.'

While the NP would jealously protect the security of whites and other minorities, white security could not be built on injustice towards others.

White domination, as advocated by the CP, would inevitably lead to catastrophe. 'It will be our children that will pay the price.

'Our future can only be secure and prosperous if a basis of co-operation is found between all the people and groups in our country — a basis that is reasonable towards the whites, but also reasonable towards all the other population groups.

'White security is indissolubly bound to the creation of full and equal opportunities for the participation and progress of other population groups, but not at the cost of whites.'

Mr de Klerk made little reference to President Botha in his speech except to say the NP was bigger than its leaders and to group him with past leaders such as Hertzog, Malan, Strijdom and Vorster who, he said, were all 'worthy men in their own right'.

Big Brother is alive in Giyani

SOWETAN - 2 MARCH 1989

EVERYTHING in Gazankulu revolves around one man.

This point was clearly driven home this week when the man in question — none other than Professor H W E Ntsanwisi — was re-elected for the fifth consecutive time as Chief Minister of the homeland.

Prof Ntsanwisi has been at the helm of power since the bantustan was granted the "status" of a self-governing state in 1969.

Since then, Prof Ntsanwisi has been ruling the homeland with an iron fist that no one even dared to think of forming an opposition party or challenging his position.

Although he is probably one of the least talked-about personalities in South African political circles, he wields so much power that his name, which is mentioned in hush-hush tones in public places, has become synonymous with the homeland.

People are so scared of criticising him in public that some have even compared his iron fist rule to the one in George Orwell's epic novel, 1984. His pictures are hung conspicuously in many places, including hotels and shopping centres, as if it is a reminder that "Big Brother is watching you".

Almost all plaques of every new building in Gazankulu are unveiled by none other than the "honourable Chief

FOCUS

By SY MAKARINGE

Minister Professor Dr H W E Ntsanwisi". A secondary school in Nkowankowa and a dam in Giyani have also been named after him.

In fact, people in the desolate homeland regard Gazankulu as Prof Ntsanwisi's own personal property.

Prof Ntsanwisi is also known to be capable of holding people under a spell.

Recently students at Tivumbeni College of Education boycotted classes, calling for the dismissal of certain white lecturers who were alleged to be poorly qualified and appeared to have difficulty in conversing in English.

The boycott went on for a few days and when there was no end in sight, Prof Ntsanwisi was reported to have driven all the way from Giyani to talk to the students. After reading them the riot act, the students went back to classes.

There was not even



Prof H NTSANWISI . . . "deeds speak."

a murmur during his pep talk.

In spite of what people say about him, Prof Ntsanwisi has hordes of supporters who marvel at his educational achievements and see him as a guiding light.

Prof Ntsanwisi, who coined the phrase "Deeds Speak", can also be credited for his part in the development of the homeland. Impressive housing projects, which created thousands of jobs, have sprung out in many parts of the homeland.

Caused stir

But he caused a stir early last year when he was installed as a chief of a non-existent tribe. This did not go down well with the majority of Gazankulu citizens, but no one was courageous enough to stand up and question it.

Observers in the area believe that Chief Madjedje, Professor Ntsanwisi wants to keep the Ntsanwisi name alive after his death. One of his sons, observers said, would take over as Chief Madjedje if Prof Ntsanwisi died and would, in terms of the

constitution, be eligible for an automatic election into the Gazankulu Legislative Assembly.

Prof Ntsanwisi — nicknamed Ximoko (The Whip) because of the fear he instills in the territory — and his son, Mlungisi, are directors of the Gazankulu Development Corporation and own a string of businesses in Giyani and Nkowankowa townships.

He is also president of Ximoko Xa Rixaka (Whip of the Nation), Gazankulu's version of Inkatha or KwaNdebele's Mbhokoto. His wife, Beatrice, is an executive member of the Gazankulu Women's Association (GWA).

Prof Ntsanwisi's popularity — if he ever enjoyed that — began to wane in some circles after the formation of Ximoko Xa Rixaka when all civil servants were forced to join the movement or risked losing their jobs.

Although its aims and objectives are not clear to scores of people, many civil servants have joined the movement and pay yearly subscription fees of R5 a person mainly to

safeguard their jobs.

People working for other institutions also cannot escape Ximoko Xa Rixaka's big net. Certain chiefs refuse to process their papers unless they produce proof that they are members of the movement.

Prof Ntsanwisi, who is known to be very sensitive to negative publicity, is also Radio Tsonga's-SABC's Shangaan radio service — favourite personality. He uses it as a platform to attack his "enemies" who dared criticise his administration. But his "enemies" are not afforded the same opportunity to fight back.

When the Sowetan

reported an incident last year in which his son allegedly assaulted a family relative at a party, Prof Ntsanwisi's bodyguards were allegedly ordered to impound all copies which carried the story.

Because of the information clampdown in the homeland, it is not known whether his son was eventually charged for the alleged assault.

Everything seemed to be smooth-sailing for the ageing Chief Minister until early this year when Gazankulu went to the polls. Thousands of pamphlets, issued by an organisation calling itself the Gazankulu Anti-Election Committee, were distributed in major centres calling on all potential voters to boycott the elections.

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

Violent protest

WE HAVE stated before that the re-institution of the old petty apartheid signs in Conservative-controlled towns was now becoming ridiculous.

Not only that. The whole thing is becoming violent. Adult whites demonstrated their failure to uphold their adulthood when they chose to exchange blows with some blacks in the centre of Carletonville.

The reason was that they would not allow blacks to use public telephones in the area.

We hope the street fight was not a sign of what we are going to live with in the near future as more and more CP-controlled towns choose to move to the 21st century via Boksburg.

It was expected of the Government to have anticipated that the Boksburg option would result in violence and to have done something to stop it. But it did not.

The danger of such violent eruptions is that they could easily spread to other towns, including those not necessarily subscribing to the CP's mentality of yesteryear.

If that were to happen, the Government would lose out on the little it may have thought it achieved through its reform policies.

Adherents of non-violent options to the solution of the country's problems will then have no leg to stand on in promoting their beliefs, since both white and black will be trading blows all over the show.

This will take us back to the 19th century when there are many people who cannot wait to see us in the next century and believe South Africa should get there at a point of a gun.

Servitude

The pamphlets said there was no point in participating in the elections as the wealth of Gazankulu was enjoyed by very few people while the majority were living in servitude.

In his sarcastic reaction on Radio Tsonga, Prof Ntsanwisi said he was not bothered by the barking of small dogs. Known for his capability of holding people under a spell, Prof Ntsanwisi managed to convince people to go to the polls.

At 69 and with five more years ahead of him as Chief Minister of Gazankulu, it would be interesting to see how Prof Ntsanwisi will run that homeland's government. But what is clear is that all members of Parliament, half of whom are nominated chiefs, will continue to dance to his tune.

The only person who has the guts to oppose Prof Ntsanwisi is Chief S M Muhlava, but without the support of his colleagues in Parliament, he is just fighting a losing battle.

Chief Muhlava this week tried to run for Chief Minister, but his courageous attempt dismally failed when he could not get a second.

When Mr EN C Makondo proposed the name of Prof Ntsanwisi, almost half the house raised their hands to second him. The secretary of the Legislative Assembly, Mr A S Mathabela, had to call members to order as they stood with their hands raised.

The unanimous election of Prof Ntsanwisi marked the fifth time that Gazankulu has been under the rule of one man.