

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, April 27 1989

COMMENT

Farewell to Mobil

THE news of Mobil's disinvestment tends to confirm what this newspaper has been saying for a long time: direct commercial relations with the United States have become virtually untenable, and all American companies can be expected (whatever they may be saying now) to withdraw from this country. That the loss to this country of its American connections will be great, and to the US insignificant, is trite, but irrelevant. It means simply that SA must make a big adjustment, the Americans a small adjustment, as they wave each other goodbye.

Naturally, it would have been better to avoid this sad outcome but realities must be faced. The question is not what we should have done, but what we must do now to deal with the situation.

The prospect of more major American disinvestments on a comparable scale to Mobil's raises the question whether South Africa — both its government and its private sector — are handling the matter sensibly. Often South African companies have ended up bidding against each other for the assets of departing Americans when they might, if they cooperated, minimise the costs.

In the case of oil or other strategic investments, it may be sensible for government, the local chemical companies, and possibly the mining houses, to get together and to pre-empt disinvestment moves by making their own offer to buy US-owned assets. With only one possible buyer in the field, it would be feasible to

negotiate terms for withdrawal — or to pitch the offer low and let the seller squirm while his toes were held to the fire by Congressman Charles Rangel, Senator Edward Kennedy, and other such friendly folk.

For the trades unions and other workers, Mobil's withdrawal spells a warning: the consequences of the disinvestment and sanctions campaigns are unforeseeable, and beyond control. There is no way to limit the damage that may in the end be done to the South African economy, to the workers themselves, and to the prospects for the future. Mobil's withdrawal will deprive black South Africans of another American friend, but that is the least of the damage.

In the longer term, each of these withdrawals contributes to the marginalisation of South Africa. Already it is evident that some Americans, contemplating the loss of South African trade as well as investment, are now vengefully determined to cut off the trade and investment of third countries. Japan is but the first of those countries to endure American wrath; others will in due course come under pressure.

No sensible person argues any more that this will somehow bring about liberation. All the evidence is that it will damage SA and its economy, throw people out of jobs, and cripple the long-term development of the country, reducing the life's chances of every South African, black more than white. Unless Archbishop Desmond Tutu decides to call off the hounds.

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THE institute has questioned figures given by both the Bureau for Information and agents of the Government on the number of blacks who voted in the 1988 municipal elections.

In a publication entitled *Fragile Figures - the 1988 PWV Township Elections*, the institute's research officer, Mr Harry Mashabela, concludes that fewer than one in five residents in the PWV voted.

The research covers 26 Black Local Authorities in which the elections were held.

Mr Mashabela says both the Government and its opponents considered the October elections in the townships as perhaps the most important in the country's history.

He says: "For the Government the township polls were a test of the security strategy it had followed in these areas, particularly after the declaration of the state of emergency in June 1986.

"It had repeatedly claimed that intimidation by 'radicals' in African areas was responsible for low polls for the black local authorities, which remain the chief channel for African political representation outside the homelands.

"The elections were a test of this claim: if it was accurate, and if security strategy had succeeded in stifling opposition, large numbers of residents should have turned out to vote."

Mashabela also notes that the Government had taken additional steps to ensure a higher poll - it outlawed campaigns against voting, introduced the prior vote

The truth about last year's polls

SOWETAN
27-04-89

Did fewer residents than expected vote in the 1988 municipal elections or, as the Government claims, more blacks voted last year?

A survey by the South African Institute of Race Relations has attempted to answer these questions.

system, giving voters 10 days to cast their votes before polling day, and stationed the army and the police in the townships.

"It also ran an expensive publicity campaign to persuade

residents to vote and granted the municipal vote to inhabitants of informal settlements which fall within local authority boundaries. In townships such as Soweto, these 'squatters' made up a large proportion of those voted."

Mashabela says three possible explanations could be given if a higher poll was not achieved:

- Security action was not successful. Although it appears to have stifled organised campaigns for a boycott, the period prior to the election was marked by insurgency attacks on local authority property and, allegedly, on at least one building which was, according to rumour, to serve as a polling station.



VOTERS at a polling booth in Soweto.

FOCUS

By THEMBA MOLEFE

tional structure and for the 'reform' process which it initiated.

"Its opponents, on the other hand, insist that, when measured against the total adult population of the townships, the proportion of people who voted was lower than it was last time."

Mr Mashabela also questions the method used by the Government to determine the percentage poll in the townships. He concludes that in the township polls, the large number of uncotested wards reduces the reliability of this method.

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allay voters' fears, it is conceivable that, in some cases, it had the opposite effect.

"Instead of convincing residents that it was safe to vote, it might have led some to believe that there was a serious likelihood of unrest at polling stations and that it was, therefore, safer to stay away from the polls. Again, this possibility must remain a matter for speculation in the absence of detailed evidence either for or against.

● The most plausible reason is that the official local government system had failed to win greater active participation even in circumstances which were conducive to participation and that security action had failed to confer legitimacy on the Government's chosen structures in the townships."

The writer notes that the Government insists that the poll was higher than that in the 1983 elections.

"It believes that it confirmed growing support among township residents for its constitu-

Voters

"It is conceivable that these incidents may have deterred potential voters from voting. However, there is no concrete evidence that these incidents did have a significant effect on the polls and conclusions as to their effect must therefore remain speculative.

"After the election, police statements indicated that there had been relatively little 'intimidation'.

"This implies that few people were coerced into staying away from the polls.

● "While the police and defence force presence at the polls was designed to

Wards

"Little more than half the wards in the PWV — 175 out of 321 — were contested, either because only one candidate was nominated or because none were.

"In most PWV townships, at least a third of the wards were uncontested and in several the proportion of uncontrolled wards was so high that the number of people who had the opportunity to vote were a minority of registered voters.

"It cannot be assumed that, had the majority had the opportunity to vote, the same percentage — or even a similar one — would actually have done so."

Mashabela concludes the survey by saying:

"Far from indicating an endorsement of the present constitutional system, the polls suggest that the Government is unlikely to achieve long-term stability in the townships unless it is willing to alter the present local government system significantly.

It must begin dealing with all township groups, including those who oppose the system, in an attempt to frame an alternative which has wider support.

ADVERTISEMENTS promoting skin lighteners have succeeded in bringing money for manufacturers and sellers, but scientific tests have proved that they damage the skins of those using them.

The skin-lightening industry in South Africa is believed to be worth about R80 million a year and employs thousands of

people. Yet the permanent damage to the skin has prompted the medical fraternity to call for its ban.

The controversy around the use of skin creams seems to revolve around an ingredient called hydroquinone (a chemical which bleaches one's skin). This

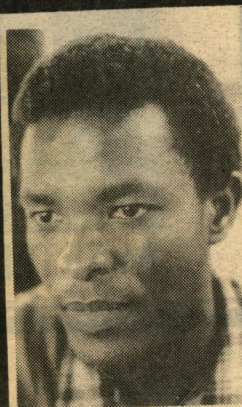
chemical removes the cells resulting in the skin being dark.

According to Dr James Phillips, of the department of anatomical pathology at the

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Skin lighteners do damage

HEALTH GUIDE



By MOKGADI PELA

South African Institute for Medical Research, with prolonged use, the skin darkens.

"It becomes coarse, with small raised bumps which eventually join to form larger raised areas."

"As far as medical science is concerned those changes are

permanent and irreversible," Dr Phillips said.

He said because of the pressure exerted by the medical sphere, in 1982 the concentration of hydroquinone in cosmetics was limited to two percent.

Most users of skin lighteners among blacks argue that they want to look beautiful. According to the March issue of the London-based publication, *New African*, black women have been brainwashed that white is beautiful.

They therefore believe that beauty can only be approximated by them if the skin is made as light as possible.

It was for this reason that in the 70s the Black Consciousness Movement popularised the slogan *Black is Beautiful*



A PRETTY face like this could be damaged by skin creams.

ful to restore confidence and pride among blacks.

The slogan reminded blacks that by seeking to run away from themselves and emulate whites they insulted the intelligence of whoever created them black.

Advertisers have for a long time had a field day in convincing women to buy skin creams. This they did by using enticing language which capitalised on the gullibility of the buyers. So the pressure by several health bodies and women's groups ensured that the situation did not continue for

ever.

After relentless pressure by various groups and medical scientists, the Department of National Health and Population Development announced on July 1 last year that products containing hydroquinone would be banned.

But only months later, the decision was reversed and the ban was postponed to 1991. The Government said the postponement was due to "health, economic and legal reasons."

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This reversal angered many people who accused the authorities of insensitivity. The Black Consumers Union said that if the product had been for white consumers, the issue would not have been allowed to go so far.

Pharmacists have also protested angrily. The Natal Wholesale Chemists Group has refused to stock the products and two major supermarkets will not sell them.

Dermatologists say a black skin affords protection against ultra-violet light and therefore protects one against skin cancer. Dr Phillips added: "A black skin is ideally suited to a South African climate."

In Australia there is a big campaign among whites to try and prevent the high incidence of skin cancer. This is done by wearing protective clothing like hats and using sun-blocking creams to avoid excessive exposure to the sun.

In South Africa the prevalence of reptile faces and necks among black women shows that the fight between the community and the producers of skin lighteners will continue for as long as a complete ban is not imposed on the production of the creams.

Coronation Hospital specialist Dr Joe Variava summed up the controversy surrounding the use of skin creams by saying that the interests of industry and capitalism superseded the health and wellbeing of individuals.

"Any concerned health worker would support a call of banning dangerous products," he said.

WHITES 'HURT' BY SHARING LOO

WHITE mine and factory workers should be spared the "humiliation" of having to share toilets and washroom facilities with other races, Mr Arrie Paulus (CP, Carletonville) said in Parliament yesterday.

CP MP claims

Speaking during a mini-interpellation debate, he accused the Government of shirking its responsibility to protect white workers.

However, Deputy Minister of Economic

Affairs and Technology, Mr George Bartlett, said the Government's regulations were no longer prescriptive, but provided the framework for negotiations between employers and employees on this issue.

He said: "We do not believe in forcing, and neither should we enforce segregation.

The CP's objection to sharing facilities was slammed by Democratic Party MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley as "the profoundest insult to other human beings of another colour. This implies that skin colour is like some kind of contagion."

The CP's concern about sharing toilets was sufficient for it to be "elevated to the subject of an interpellation . . . surely outside South Africa, only Monty Python would consider this worthy as a public issue."

But Mr Paulus said a law should be intro-

duced in parliament to protect whites from the "humiliation of being forced to share facilities."

He asked: "Are the National Party prepared to share the toilets in their homes with their servants? Why must the white worker in South Africa suffer humiliation?"

He said if the CP came to power they would ensure "white workers have their rights."

But Mr Bartlett said: "We do not believe that the Government should dictate to companies and unions as to what they are to do. We believe this matter can be easily resolved by all concerned."

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PEACE HOPE RISE

SOWETAN 27-04-89



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

Cosatu, UDF to meet Inkatha

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions and UDF affiliates yesterday supported fresh attempts to end violence in Maritzburg's townships where more than 1 000 people have died in clashes.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, representatives of these organisations said they were prepared to attend a "preparatory meeting" with Inkatha to pave the way for a peace conference involving the warring factions.

The call comes in the wake of a plea to community organisa-

By LEN MASEKO

tions by KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a massive drive be launched to end the killings.

"While Cosatu and the UDF largely share a common political position which differs from that of Inkatha, all three organisations share an abhorrence of apartheid and are committed to

achieving peace in Natal", Cosatu and the UDF affiliates said in a statement.

The "mass democratic movement" was consulting with its constituencies on the issue.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, came under fire at yesterday's conference for the "iron fist" operation he has

earmarked for Natal's townships.

The organisations condemned Mr Vlok's "iron-fisted" approach towards the violence in the area, saying: "It would seem to us that when we are on the verge of a major political initiative to break through the cycle of violence, the apartheid State has moved systematically to undermine the political process that we are engaged in.

"It would seem to us that the Government never learns from its errors of the past," they said.

They killed during 'orgy of violence'

Plea for men 'in war of liberation'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Three African National Congress men convicted of murder were "trying to bring about an integration rather than a disintegration of society" and they should not be sentenced to death, counsel for the parents of the men in the Delmas Supreme Court dock argued yesterday.

Mr Dennis Kuny SC told Mr Justice de Klerk he was not asking him to condone killing but to attempt to understand that the three men had been "acting as soldiers in a war of liberation, under orders".

The three men convicted of murder are Jabu Masina, TingTing Masango and Neo Potsane. Unless the judge finds that there were mitigating circumstances, he has no option but to impose the death penalty.

Refused to defend themselves

The men have refused to defend themselves at all stages of the trial, arguing that they should be treated as PoWs and not tried in a criminal court.

In an unprecedented move their parents this week instructed counsel to present evidence in mitigation.

Sentence will be passed today.

A fourth man, Joseph Makhura, has with the others been convicted of multiple counts of attempted murder arising from a limpet mine

blast at Silverton and a landmine explosion at Soshanguve in 1986.

Killed by the first three men were Detective Sergeant Orphan "Hlubi" Chaphi, in 1978, and Constable Sinki Vuma, and a kaNgwane politician, David Lukhele, in 1986. Mr Lukhele's sister-in-law was also killed.

Mr Kuny argued that the judge's task was to decide whether there were factors present which, in the eyes of the average reasonable person, might diminish the moral blameworthiness of Masina, Masango and Potsane.

The judgment of the "reasonable man" should be seen in the context of the black community where the killings took place, he said.

It was an "unfortunate fact" that the men were being tried in an all-white court and that whites "cannot begin to imagine" the circumstances of people growing up in the black townships.

Nonetheless, said Mr Kuny, it was the task of the court officers to project themselves into those alien conditions.

Mr Kuny argued there had been evidence that during 1976 and again in 1985/6 conditions of extreme violence prevailed in the townships. In such an "orgy of violence" it was hard to know how to judge where moral responsibility began and ended, said Mr Kuny.

He observed that when the policeman known as "Hlubi" was killed in 1978, Masina had carried out an act "which was met at the time with a certain amount of public approval".

Mr Kuny argued that the men were not like ordinary criminals. "They face their fate with a great deal of courage and determination."

Executing them would have no deterrent value. "People who act with the kind of courage that these people do are not going to be deterred by the death penalty."

The prosecutor, Mr H Prinsloo SC, said the men had "planned, cold-blooded murders" which they had carried out in pursuit of their political objectives.

He said that if extenuation were found in this case it would mean that people could "commit murder left and right" and simply claim that they were trained ANC members acting on instruction.

THE STAR 27-04-89

US Congress divided over help for Unita

By David Braun, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A fierce battle has erupted in the US Congress over the issue of continued American financial and other assistance for the Angolan rebel movement Unita.

Supporters of Dr Jonas Savimbi's liberation movement are pressing the US administration and Congress for a 50 percent raise in financial aid to \$45 million (R113 million) in the coming financial year.

Last year the US transferred an estimated \$30 million (R76 million) to Unita. The money is budgeted as covert assistance as it does not come from the normal US State Department's African-aid account.

Unita itself is pushing for a big boost in aid on the basis that South Africa's assistance to the rebel group has been severed by the regional peace agreements that Pretoria signed with Luanda and Havana.

Internal reconciliation

Angola's MPLA government, however, is hard at work trying to persuade Washington to cut back its aid to Unita if it really is serious about getting internal reconciliation in the country off the ground.

The House of Representatives and the Senate intelligence committee are this week considering the question of covert aid to Unita.

But there are powerful forces working from within Congress to isolate Unita and cut future aid to it.

One of the leading members of this group is Mr Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Foreign Rela-

tions Subcommittee on Africa, who is trying to get the full House to debate allegations of atrocities by Unita, including allegations that Dr Savimbi personally viewed the burning to death of Unita dissidents.

In recent months there has been an escalation of the propaganda campaign against Unita with major efforts being made to portray the movement as a gang of cut-throat gangsters who press-gang civilians into its armed forces and on to its farms.

Unita is meanwhile putting up a strong case for an increase in American monetary and other assistance.

High on the Unita list is a request for more and better arms, including the second generation of Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, long-range artillery pieces and anti-tank weapons.

Unita also wants spare parts for trucks, seeds, agricultural tools, canned food, soap, and clothing for women and children — all of which were formerly obtained from South Africa.

The movement also needs petrol — which South Africa previously supplied — for its large fleet of vehicles and its mechanised weapons.

The US Central Intelligence Agency is reported to be considering dropping petrol, oil and lubricants in large rubber bladders from transport aircraft operating out of Zaire.

Unita is lobbying hard for an increase in aid on the basis of evidence, which it says it has, of Angolan army troop movements and concentrations that suggest a planned new attack on the rebel movement's stronghold in south-eastern Angola.

FOR ATTENTION: PATRICK LEEMAN

VIC HANNA
Economics Reporter

NATAL/KwaZulu ranked as the fourth most violent region in the world, it was said yesterday as political organisations joined in urging for major peace initiatives.

Cosatu and the UDF said in a Press conference that they wanted a joint peace initiative with Inkatha.

The shock violence statistics emerged at the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce's annual general meeting yesterday when the president, Mr Michael Meehan, said he had been told on "good authority" that only three other areas were worse: Punjab, Sri Lanka and Lebanon.

The highlighting of the situation follows the call for an "iron fist" operation by Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok this week.

Minister Vlok noted that up to the end of March this year there had been 4 920 incidents of unrest in the region; 862 people had been hurt and 749 killed.

However, unrest monitoring groups put the figures much higher.

Cosatu and the UDF estimate the number of deaths in the Pietermaritzburg area alone at 1 228 between January 1987 and March this year.

The Democratic Party's unrest monitoring group said this week that in the first three months of this year 165 people died in the Pietermaritzburg and 98 people died in the Durban area.

Mr Meehan said: "For a country which claims to be at peace and which has a state of emergency imposed to ensure that peace is maintained, this is a totally unacceptable statistic."

He said the Chamber had, on more than one occasion, called on KwaZulu and on the Government, particularly the Minister of Law and Order, to do something other than simply contain the violence. He noted that the Minister had recently stated that he was determined to do something about the situation.

But he questioned why the community had to wait until a weekend of violence when 22 people died before a move had been made by the authorities. He also questioned why the situation had been allowed to get so bad in the first place.

"The violence is not just a result of political activity. The military authorities have regularly appealed for a re-appraisal of the socio-economic conditions of the region.

"What is essential is that land is made available for housing without further restriction; that people are entitled to gain title to their property; that First World building conditions are not imposed on Third World rural communities and that proper policing under a proper system of criminal justice is followed."

He said the time had come for a joint meeting of the authorities and other interested parties in the affected regions "to discuss the problem with the very clear intention of solving the region's problems and making large areas of land available for the settlement of this community in peaceful conditions with a true system of criminal justice."

"This will be a painful exercise for many around this proposed table for it appears that there are too many bodies and too many vested interests involved. But we cannot afford to tolerate the perpetuation of power bases at a time when we face such a crisis," he said.

Mr Vlok said in countering the unrest, police had been responsible for the injury of 112 people and another 750 had been hurt by other parties; 44 had been killed by police in the course of their duties and 705 had been killed by "others".

Inkatha asked to peace talks

NATAL MERCURY 27 APRIL 1989

ULUNDI—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told the Legislative Assembly last night that he had received a direct invitation for peace talks concerning the violence in Natal from top figures in the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

His announcement came against the background of continued violence in Natal which has so far claimed the lives of at least 749 people. Yesterday police announced the arrest of 194 people in connection with the killing of five people at Mpophomeni, near Howick.



Patrick Leeman

The invitation to Dr Buthelezi was signed by Mr Archie Gumede, president of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, information secretary of the organisation, Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosatu, and Mr Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the trade union grouping.

It suggested that an initial meeting should also be attended by Archbishop Denis Hurley, Catholic Archbishop of Durban, and other peace conveners mentioned by the archbishop in a letter to Dr Buthelezi a few weeks ago.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said he could not see any possibility in any circumstances that the first meeting should include Archbishop Hurley and other peace conveners.

'If they want to talk to us, the UDF and Cosatu must do so,' he said, 'but they must not bring in outsiders.'

The UDF and Cosatu leaders told Dr Buthelezi that the need to end the violence in the Pietermaritzburg area was paramount and it was clear that the UDF, Cosatu and Inkatha agreed on this as a matter of urgency. All organisations had made it public that they wished to participate in a major peace initiative.

They said the purpose of the meeting would be to reconcile the various peace proposals into a possible initiative that would extend beyond a peace conference.

The Cosatu and UDF leaders suggested that each grouping should send reasonably small delegations to constitute a working committee. If this suggestion was acceptable to Inkatha, liaison on practical details could then take place, they said.

Dr Buthelezi said it appeared that he had been misunderstood in letters he had written to Archbishop Hurley and to Mr Naidoo.

'While I am all for a combination of initiatives, I am not prepared to do that on any terms.'

'I did not mean that they should impose what they have decided on their own on us,' he said.

Dr Buthelezi said the central committee of Inkatha was meeting at Ulundi on Saturday to discuss the issue.

He was a democrat who shared leadership with other members of the Assembly and it might be a good thing to debate these letters in the caucus or in a snap debate, he said.

The Assembly then went into caucus to consider the latest developments.

Earlier, Dr Buthelezi read out the text of a broadcast from the African National Congress-controlled Radio Freedom based in Addis Ababa on 17 April, calling on Inkatha to end the interne-cine strife.

Closer

Sapa reports that representatives of the UDF and Cosatu told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that, although they shared a political position which differed from that of Inkatha, they were prepared to hold a peace conference that included the Zulu movement.

The UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said the three organisations' conception of how peace could be achieved had moved much closer than before.

Cosatu and the UDF were prepared to attend a preparatory meeting with Inkatha and the conveners of the proposed peace conference to remove obstacles to initiation of the conference.

The idea of prominent people acting as conveners and the involvement of Inkatha, Cosatu, the UDF and its affiliates and other influential organisations would mean that any agreement reached would carry great weight and influence, the statement said.

Area ranks fourth in the world, Durban Chamber of Commerce told

THE Daily News, April 27, 1989

Shock violence figures for Natal

VIC HANNA
Economics Reporter

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Zimbabwe politics divided

WITH the threat of more painful disclosures to come as the Sandura Commission continues its work of investigating the irregular disposal of vehicles from other assembly plants, rumours are rife in Zimbabwe about whose head will be the next to roll.

But the uneasiness is not concerned only with the personalities: there is anxiety about the direction in which the country is going.

An article in a Sunday newspaper here located the core of the crisis somewhere deeper than "mere corruption or business enterprise".

The real issue, it said, was the emergence of an African ruling class deliberately seeking to put permanent brakes on the wheels of the African revolution in an alliance

DEEP divisions have emerged in Zimbabwe politics after the traumatic events of recent weeks. Mr Robert Mugabe himself acknowledged the crisis when he spoke of the party and the nation being confused and bewildered by the suicide of Maurice Nyagumbo, a revolutionary hero who killed himself after the disclosures of his involvement in the Willowvale car scandal which has seen five Ministers quit. ROBIN DREW of The Daily News Africa Service reports from Harare.

with former settler colonialists.

Linking the corruption disclosures with previous warnings that the leadership was turning its back on socialist principles, the article spoke of a titanic struggle between those striving to reverse the liberation process and those fighting to carry it forward.

It said the crisis should not be seen as one of the President versus the Rest but rather as "the struggle of the people against those in leadership who are undermining the values and goals the liberation

struggle fought to uphold."

President Robert Mugabe's independence anniversary speech when he called for drastic and urgent reform of the economy in an effort to attract investment has drawn fire from the labour movement which warned that workers would be in for a hard time if labour laws protecting them were relaxed.

The Secretary-General of the Congress of Trade Unions, Mr Morgan Tsvangirai, maintains the only way the Government will attract foreign



Robert Mugabe: rising criticism

investment will be is if it denounces socialism, the ideology adopted by the ruling party and reinforced at its last congress in 1984. All the policies that benefit workers would have to go, he said.

He urged the Government instead to concentrate on promoting local investment through lower taxation and an increase in foreign exchange allocations. He complained that trade union views were not taken into consideration

by the Government which was failing to tackle basic problems.

Echoing the words of rightwing critics of Mr Mugabe's government, the Secretary-General said workers were worse off now than they were before independence. Unemployment was out of control, there was a desperate shortage of transport and accommodation and the construction industry was suffering from cement and brick shortages.

Observers believe President Mugabe's speech was a turning point in Zimbabwe's development. But it is becoming clear that, if the momentum is to be maintained, he will have to be prepared to defend himself against rising criticism from the left while at the same time steering the government through a period of uncertainty occasioned by the continuing corruption investigations.

INKATHA CALLS FOR HELP TO END STRIFE

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday called on the ANC, the UDF, Cosatu, and all concerned organisations to support Inkatha in ending the killings in black communities.

He outlined a plan to declare 1989 the Year of Action for Peace and end the strife that has left more than a thousand dead, largely in Natal, and undertook to raise money from the world's churches for the campaign.

Addressing Inkatha's central committee, he called on the ANC to say that the killings must cease. He pleaded for an end to political propaganda which demanded violent retribution and urged the start of a publicity campaign to end "the killing mentality".

Buthelezi outlined points of action for an Inkatha peace campaign at grassroots level, but said a multi-party approach was needed. — Sapa.



● BUTHELEZI

— THE NATAL MERCURY

CITIZEN 27-4-89

ANC member 'did not mean bomb to kill anyone'

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The hearing has been postponed to Friday. — Sapa.

Three more arrests over Ntuli killing

Mercury Reporter

THREE more men have been arrested in connection with the killing of former hunger striker and detainee, Mr Chris Ntuli, bringing the number held to four.

Mr Ntuli died when he was stabbed after getting off a bus shortly after reporting to Inanda police station, as required by restrictions placed on him.

The first person, a 17-year-old youth, was arrested earlier this week in connection with Mr Ntuli's death, as well as two other township killings.

A police spokesman said all four men were arrested following an intensive investigation led by the head of Durban's Murder and Robbery Squad, Maj Leonard Knipe.

The three men were arrested in Kwa Mashu yesterday and on Monday, and two firearms were also recovered.

Sea rescue

BRISBANE—A seven-month-old baby was among four people plucked from a sinking yacht in heavy seas off Queensland early yesterday, the Royal Australian Air Force said. The four were taken from the 12 m Tirumea by an RAAF Chinook helicopter 150 miles from Coolangatta. — (Sapa-AP)

THE NATAL MERCURY

27-04-89

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'In killing fields the people must decide'

WITNESS

ECHO

27-04-89

by Lakela Kaunda

THERE is no use in sitting in conferences in London, Moscow and New York or Cape Town and Johannesburg when violence is taking place in Pietermaritzburg, Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a speech read on his behalf at prayer meetings held by Inkatha throughout the country.

About 20 000 people turned out for the meetings and the event went ahead peacefully. Inkatha has declared this year the Year of Action For Peace.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi said peace initiatives that had been taken in the past had failed because "they were not initiatives which were rooted in the communities most affected by violence. We have seen again and again that outsiders cannot come in from distant places to tell people to stop killing each other.

"In killing fields it is the people themselves who must decide who they will listen to and if they do not listen to a leader, that leader has nothing to offer them in their circumstances."

He said the office of the secretary-general of Inkatha and the deputy secretary-general of Inkatha would be clearing houses for action and suggestions for action that could be taken on the ground where violence was taking place.

He said Western governments would be asked to provide material resources to help in combating the violence, and that Inkatha would embark on a political publicity drive to promote peace.

"The political propaganda of the past has to be undone and people have to be bombarded with pamphlets, radio messages and television programmes calling for peace."

The open meetings were held at Nxamalala, Mafunze, Inadi, Mpumuza and Imbali. The speeches were read by Mr Vitus Mvelase, the urban representative and the deputy minister of Works Mr Velaphi Ndlovu.

WITNESS

ECHO

27-04-89

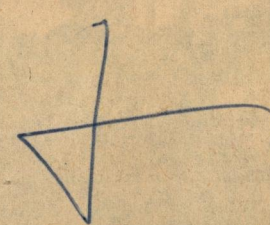
NATAL WITNESS

NATAL WITNESS

by Gwynne Dyer

Rumania

Oppression and poverty



"Human rights and fundamental freedoms are in our judgment gravely violated in Rumania . . . Not only the civil and political rights but also the social, economic and cultural rights of individuals and nationalities are impaired in Rumania" — Gyula Horn, Hungarian Deputy Foreign Minister.

THE winter is officially over in Rumania, and once again President Nicolae Ceausescu, the fascist "Conducator" (leader) who masquerades as a communist, has survived it. The long, freezing months when the 22 million Rumanians struggled along with one 40-watt light bulb per room, in apartments that were only heated for seven hours per day, are past. There may even be some fresh vegetables in a month or two.

But Ceausescu and his legion of relatives and cronies, who have turned Rumanian politics into Europe's own version of one of the less salubrious regimes of the Third World (Mobutu's in Zaire, say, or Noriega's in Panama) are running into serious trouble. It was, for example, a serious breach of socialist etiquette when the representative of the communist government in neighbouring Hungary made the comments on Rumania quoted above in Vienna on March 1. He did so, moreover, in support of a UN Human Rights Commission resolution demanding the appointment of a special investigator to examine "massive repression" in Rumania.

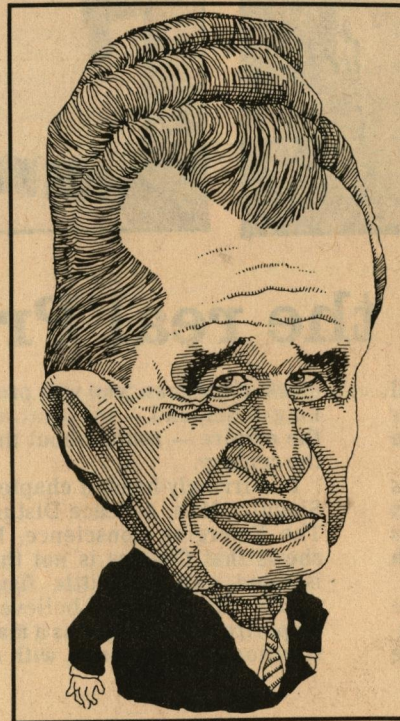
It would have been even more dis-

turbing for the Bucharest regime when Fyodor Burlatsky, head of the Soviet Human Rights Committee and a close personal adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, publicly and disparagingly referred to Rumania under the Ceausescu as a "family firm". It is becoming frighteningly clear to the Ceausescu clique that neither Moscow nor any of its allies would object if some obliging group of Rumanians got rid of them.

And such a group, emboldened by these developments, may soon emerge. In January six prominent retired Rumanian communists — two of them former Politburo members — wrote a letter to Ceausescu demanding the abandonment of his neo-brutalist plan to "systematise" the Rumanian countryside by razing half the villages in the country, and an end to the massive food exports that leave Rumanians little to eat beyond rotten vegetables and pig's knuckles.

They also condemned the systematic repression of the population by the dread Securitatea, the secret police, and the decree that forbids Rumanians to speak to foreigners. Ceausescu's reaction has been typically repressive: Mircea Raceanu, the son of one of the letter's authors and a senior official in the Foreign Ministry, has been arrested and charged with spying. But it is also clear that Ceausescu is scared.

Ceausescu's long and lamentable lease on power has been based



Nicolae Ceausescu

mostly on Cold War politics. His prickly nationalist hostility towards the Soviet Union won him substantial American support and credits, yet he never went so far that Moscow wrote him off. He was at least a communist, after all, or so he said. But now the Cold War is ending, and nei-

ther Washington nor Moscow wants to be seen associating with him any more. Their revulsion has been sharpened by the increasing capriciousness of Ceausescu's rule. It was always the case that Ceausescu's wife, his son, his uncles and his cousins filled high state and party positions and lived like the family of an oriental potentate, and he always fostered a personality cult of Kim Il Sung proportions. He and his wife Elena, "the prodigious couple", are daily eulogised by the Rumanian media as "the Danube of thought" and "the Carpathian (mountains) of communism".

Until the 1980s, Ceausescu was at least believed to be successful in developing the Rumanian economy. But what he concentrated on was just old-fashioned Stalinist heavy industry, mostly financed with money borrowed abroad, and by the early '80s Rumania was in dreadful economic difficulties. That was when Ceausescu, responding to God knows what vagrant impulse, decided to pay off Rumania's entire \$10 billion foreign debt — something no country ever does — before the end of the decade.

He has almost made it, but only by dint of exporting everything that was not nailed down, importing virtually nothing, and subjecting the Rumanian people to terrible privation. And although he has tried to curry favour with Rumanian national prejudices by attacking the rights of the

large Hungarian, German-speaking and gypsy minorities in the country, most Rumanians will not be swayed after six cold and hungry winters in a row.

Rumania will enter the 1990s in the black — and with a desperately urgent need to borrow at least as much as it has just repaid merely to restore its neglected economy to bare competitiveness. But it may enter the '90s without Nicolae Ceausescu: he is running out of rope.

Rumania's borders are with countries like Hungary, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, where quite different styles of behaviour have come to prevail. Ceausescu cannot isolate his fiefdom from the world, and the open letter from the veteran communists, an unprecedented event under his rule, is evidence of how rapidly his ability to intimidate everybody is breaking down.

In the more sensible Europe that seems to be taking shape as the old lines of confrontation erode, there will be little room for a phenomenon as ugly, irrational and brutal as the Ceausescu regime, and the Rumanians themselves will be the first to notice it. All dictatorships depend more on their image of invulnerability than on their actual apparatus of repression for survival, and in Ceausescu's case the image is wearing thin.

• Gwynne Dyer's international affairs column appears in 160 newspapers in 50 countries.

Death sentences for 3 terros 'will lead to violence'

By Marguerite Moody

THE death sentence should not be imposed on three of four self-proclaimed members of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, standing trial in the Delmas Circuit Court, as this would lead only to further violence and counter-violence, one of the lawyers for the accused, Mr Peter Harris, said yesterday.

Jabu Obed Masina, Frans Ting-Ting Masango and Neo Griffith Potsane have been convicted of murder and face mandatory death penalties unless mitigating factors can be established.

The fourth accused, Joseph Makhura, has been convicted on multiple counts of attempted murder, as have the other trialists.

The murder convictions arise from the killing of Detective-Sergeant Orphan "Hlubi" Chapi in Soweto in 1978; the killing of a former KaNgwane Minister, Mr David Lukhele, and his sister-in-law, Mrs Elizabeth Dladlu, in 1986; and the killing of Mamelodi policeman, Constable Sinki Vuma, also in 1986.

The attempted murders relate to a limpet mine blast at a bus stop in Silvertown in 1986 in which 17 people were injured, and a landmine explosion in Soshanguve which damaged a road grader on a road mainly used by military vehicles.

The four convicted men, who appeared in court in military dress yesterday with ANC colours displayed on their uniforms, have refused to participate in court proceedings, arguing that they are soldiers in a national liberation struggle and should not be tried in a South African civilian court.

Leading evidence in mitigation of sentence, Mr Harris said the death sentence would not act as a deterrent. He said there was sufficient evidence before the court to enable it to understand what led to the crimes the three accused were convicted for, and to understand that there were extenuating circumstances.

He said it was unfortunate that they had to be tried before a "White" court, as they grew up in a totally different society to Whites.

"We cannot begin to understand the circumstances in which Black people live. We, who can return home to the security of our own homes at night, have to pass judgment on these people whose lives we know nothing about.

"At the time the killings took place, a situation in which a society was in turmoil prevailed. Political aspirations were continually being ignored, people were detained and political organisations banned.

"The court has to see this case in this context. At the time, the impact of detentions and killings were felt throughout the community."

He said it was not easy for young people like the three convicted ANC members to leave their country without any money and security.

Mr Harris referred to young White men joining the SADF after school, to be "trained to kill and carry out orders", and compared them to the four accused.

"The accused also left and joined an army. They were trained to kill in a situation of war, and to carry out orders, which is what they did. They did not kill indiscriminately, but killed people they perceived to be the enemy."

He said the accused were not ordinary criminals. "They are not outcasts of society. They are aiming for the integration of society, not disintegration."

In reply, Mr Harry Prinsloo, for the state, argued that there should be no extenuating circumstances in cases where murders were committed

to satisfy political aspirations.

He referred to previous cases in which the death sentence was imposed even though political aspirations were involved.

"The accused have shown no remorse for their actions, which clearly were carefully planned."

He urged the court to take note of the way in which the murders were committed. "The actions of the three accused were precise, and accurate. These are cold-blooded murderers and there is no other way of putting it," he said.

He said the fact that the court was "White" had nothing to do with the four accused's refusal to participate in court proceedings.

In reply, Mr Harris argued that the accused did not defend themselves because they would have had to do so in a court of a government with which they did not agree, and not because the court was "White".

The trial continues.

Mr Justice M de Klerk presided and his two assessors were Dr D Botha and Mr I V de Kock. The lawyers for the accused are Mr Thabo Molewa and Mr Peter Harris. Mr Harry Prinsloo and Mrs Louise van der Walt are prosecuting.

THE CITIZEN

27-04-89

CITIZEN 27-4-89

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Buthlezi rejects talks with 'outsiders'

ULUNDI — Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthlezi has rejected a UDF-Cosatu proposal to involve "outsiders" in initial peace talks aimed at halting the bloodshed in Natal townships.

In a speech to the Legislative Assembly last night the kwazulu Chief Minister said he was opposed to the suggestion that Archbishop Denis Hurley and

other peace conveners be included during the first meeting.

"If they want to talk to us (UDF and Cosatu) they must do so," Chief Buthlezi said, "But they must not bring in outsiders."

The UDF and Cosatu have suggested each side send a delegation to constitute a working committee. Chief Buthlezi told

the assembly he had apparently been misunderstood in letters he sent to Archbishop Hurley and to Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

"While I am all for a combination of initiatives, I am not prepared to do that on any terms. I did not mean they should impose what they have decided on their own on us."

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