

THE STAR

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Govt should stand up to greedy trade union

The financial rape of the country at the hands of Dr Colin Cameron's public servants continues apace, "Civil servants to consider action" (The Star, May 19).

It is time the Government stood up to this greedy trade union with the same force it stands up to others. If Dr Cameron takes his workers out on strike or go-slow strike, the Government should fire them and employ new people who are more grateful for the privilege of living off taxpayers.

If Dr Cameron's people have an ounce of patriotism, let them confine their "action" to proving they are worth more by finding more lucrative jobs in the private sector. This will kill two birds with one stone — reducing the national debt and getting people out of the molly-coddled public sector monopolies into more competitive and productive private com-

READERS' VIEWS

panies where they will produce a far better service to the public.

John Banfi

Greenside

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1986

KWAZULU Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday spelt out black demands on which, he said, there could be no compromise.



● BUTHELEZI

He told a Victoria League banquet in Maritzburg that blacks asked for neither more nor less than what was

Buthelezi spells out black demands

wanted by normal people living in a normal country.

The demands on which they were not prepared to compromise were:

☐ All South Africans must participate equally in the selection of their government, whether at the

national, regional or city level.

☐ Elections must be on a common voters' roll.

☐ There must be equal education for all.

☐ All apartheid and all discrimination must be eliminated and all

South Africans must be treated equally.

Buthelezi said he understood that these changes would be traumatic for many, and it was therefore accepted that the process of change had to be through negotiation.

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"It is only the extremists who talk of surrender," he said.

"But I must warn that their numbers will grow and grow as government delays and delays."

The Inkatha president said the objective of the National Council Bill was quite impressive, but there was an urgent need to repeal "obnoxious" legislation for it to succeed. — Sapa.

It may take 10 years before sanctions against South Africa start to bite.

Paradoxically, they could hit blacks and English-speakers harder than the ruling Afrikaner elite. And they could bring about military rule.

They may increase the cost of white domination but are unlikely to bring about significant change in the political dispensation.

These points are made by Mr Andre du Pisani, director of research at the South African Institute of International Affairs in Johannesburg, in a paper presented to the Exporters Club of South Africa and now released as a SAIIA publication.

In it he measures the current sanctions campaign against previous international experience with sanctions.

He says South Africa could experience far greater consequences from a combination of social factors such as uncontrolled urbanisation and ethnic conflicts than from sanctions.

"The debate about sanctions and their political and economic implications, especially in the case of South Africa, is highly inconclusive," he says.

One factor accounting for this is that arguments for and against sanctions are often based on questionable assumptions.

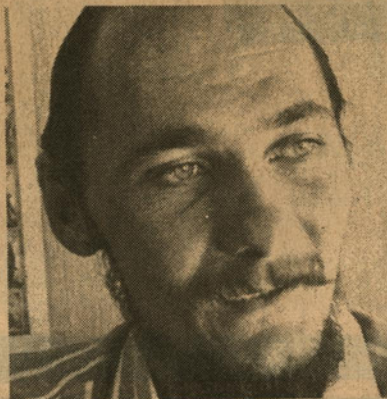
Mr du Pisani argues that sanctions have achieved qualified successes in different contexts. They nearly always have had a medium or long-term impact. But in the short term they may have hurt the people of a target state more than they did the regime.

"In the South African case, it is more than likely that black South Africans will be hurt more than whites (and certainly more than the regime) in the short term, but this may change in the medium to long term."

If judged realistically — in relation to specified goals and timeframes — sanctions probably have as good or bad a record as any al-

Sanctions 'unlikely to bring political change'

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Mr du Pisani.

ternative strategy, Mr du Pisani says.

One study made in 1985 for the Washington-based Institute for International Economics found a 36 percent success rate for 103 cases analysed, including Chile, Rhodesia, Uganda and Iran (where United States pressure helped topple the Mossadegh regime in 1953).

The British journal, *The Economist*, found that South Africa emerged in the "high risk" category, scoring 20 out of 33 points, when measured against a basic set of economic vulnerability factors: falling gross domestic product, high inflation, capital flight, foreign debt as a proportion of GDP, decline in food production per person and a high percentage of raw materials in exports.

On the other hand, notes Mr du Pisani, the South African economy has a viable industrial base, can generate a significant proportion of its capital needs internally, has a considerable technical capacity and a strong potential for sanctions-busting.

The Economist found that South

A South African international affairs researcher has found that, in the short term, trade embargoes may have hurt the people of a target state more than they did the regime, writes Gerald L'Ange, editor of *The Star's* Africa News Service.

Africa again scored high when measured against a list of political vulnerability factors.

Discussing one of these — the authoritarian nature of the state — Mr du Pisani notes that, paradoxically, blacks and English-speakers will be hurt more than Afrikaners, many of whom fall within a well-insulated power elite.

Over the long term (10 years and beyond) the impact of sanctions might be greater, especially in terms of challenges to the legitimacy of the Government.

Mr du Pisani says sanctions in combination with economic, demographic and social factors may increase the cost of white domination but are unlikely on their own to "result in significant political reorientation of the regime, let alone result in its sudden collapse".

Another paradoxical effect of sanctions seen by Mr du Pisani is an increase in the political influence of the military... "the spectre of military rule cannot be discounted completely, and with it the prospect of greater instability".

Economic and social hardships caused by sanctions could enhance the appeal of the African National Congress, he says. But while negotiations will be essential at some stage, the Government is unlikely to engage in dialogue with the ANC unless weakened by sanctions and other factors, such as increasing in-

ternal conflict, rising costs of white rule and serious fiscal and financial problems.

Mr du Pisani says that "a combination of social factors such as uncontrolled and imbalanced urbanisation (especially in a situation of economic decline and stagnation) and internecine ethnic conflict may have far greater political consequences than sanctions and disinvestment".

Asking, "How deep a bite is enough?" he answers that it depends on perceptions and political factors. But he says some indications are given in the study of the 103 cases. In 36 of these, it took a 4 percent reduction in Gross National Product to destabilise the regime and a 5.9 percent cut to bring about significant political changes.

On this basis one academic, William Minter, has calculated that to destabilise or reform South Africa, with a 1984 GNP of R150 billion, would require sanctions costing the country R6 billion to R10 billion a year.

Explosion damages symbolic site of Boer 'humiliation'

Melrose House blast: right wing suspected

PRETORIA — Police are investigating the possibility of right-wing involvement in Wednesday night's explosion at Melrose House in Pretoria — the venue for the signing of the Peace of Vereeniging in 1902 which ended the second Anglo-Boer war.

The leader of the Boerestaat Party, Mr Robert van Tonder, has denied that either he or his organisation was responsible for the blast but expressed his surprise that the "Boere Volk" grudge against Melrose House had only now come to the fore.

He said the house should be demolished by the Government and a monument erected in memory of the women and children who died in the concentration camps during the Anglo-Boer war.

The explosion occurred on the eve of the rally at which the Conservative Party will launch the Afrikaner nation's "third freedom struggle". About 100 000 right-wingers are expected to attend the rally to mark the "re-awakening of Afrikaner nationalism".

Preliminary police investigations indicate that explosives, and not a hand grenade as was first thought, caused the explosion.

"Investigations during the morning and preliminary analysis by explosives experts have discounted the earlier belief that the explosion was caused by a hand grenade", S.A.P. liaison officer Major Reg Crewe said yesterday.

"We are investigating all angles in the Melrose blast including possible right-wing involvement," he said.

Police are also investigating the possibility that the flag of the old Transvaal Republic, seen flying outside the museum on Wednesday evening, was hoisted by the same people who caused the explosion.

No one was injured in the explosion which caused major damage to historical treasures in the building.

The house is now a museum containing the items of the Boer surrender, many paintings and historical items of inestimable value. Damage to the museum was restricted mainly to the front of the old residence. Police said the explosives had been placed on the window sill of the lounge, after a window pane had been broken.

The chief secretary of the recently formed Boere Vryheidsbeweging, Mr Jan Groenewald, said the explosion had "nothing to do with us".

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche could not be reached for comment yesterday.

The Chief Whip of the Conservative Party, Mr Frank le Roux, said last night that he knew nothing of any plan or action with regard to Melrose House.

"To me it is a senseless operation. I can't see the point of it all and obviously our party would have nothing to do with it," Mr le Roux said.

Meanwhile the police search for the deputy leader of the Boerestaat Party and alleged arms thief, Mr Piet "Skiet" Rudolph, has moved to the Western Transvaal.

The investigating officer, Captain Hendrik Viljoen, has confirmed that Mr Rudolph was seen in the Migdol area on the road between Schweizer-Reneke and Delareyville. — Sapa.

THE DAILY NEWS
May 26 - 1990

Hand grenade attacks rock Transvaal

Witness Reporter

A SERIES of hand-grenade attacks has rocked the Transvaal over the past two days with police reporting explosions in Louis Trichardt, Mamelodi and Soweto.

Extensive damage was caused to a sub-power station and fuel depot in the small Northern Transvaal town of Louis Trichardt yesterday morning in two separate blasts.

According to police liaison officer, Major Reg Crewe, the first explosion occurred at 6.45 am at a fuel depot in the town's industrial area, and destroyed four fuel tanks and three tankers. At about 8 am, while police were still investigating the scene, there was another explosion less than half a kilometre away at a sub-power station. A transformer was extensively damaged in the blast.

Major Crewe also reported that two hand grenade attacks took place in Soweto yesterday evening. At 7 pm a grenade was detonated outside the house of a special constable in Tladi. The constable was slightly injured. In a second attack, shortly after 8 pm, two hand grenades were thrown at the home of a police warrant officer in Mopani. No one was injured.

In yet another incident two municipal guards were on duty outside the Mamelodi township municipal offices on Wednesday evening when a hand grenade was thrown at the offices at about 9.35 pm, Major Crewe said. One of the guards was slightly injured.

MHLELI,— Inkulumbo yami ibheke ngqo ko-Bishop Tutu, Oliver Tambo, Mrs. Mandela, Elijah Barayi kanye no-Mfundisi uXundu. Ngibabopha ngabhande li-nye ngoba bonke bangabafowethu abangamaXhosa futhi abangasifuni nakusibona thina bombutho weNkatha kanye nenqubo kaHulumeni wakithi KwaZulu. Angiqondile ukubandlulula kodwa ngikhuluma amaqiniso okungafanele sihlale phezu kwawo. Lemibuzo elandelayo ngicela bayiphendule kuyo lengosi ukuze kusizakale nabanye abaningi.

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NGISHO ILANGA AMAQINISO

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Asazi lutho thina esake salwenzelwa yilababantu. Babekuphi ku-liwa indaba yaseNgwavuma? Ingani yiNkatha noHulumeni waKwaZulu abatakula ngisho noMabuza izikhulula zamaBhunu seziphikelele naye eSwazini.

Mkhumbuzeni J. Buthelezi,

EMONDLO

SOUTH AFRICA

Zulu Chief in the Middle

Walking the thin line between compromise and collaboration

At a time of sharply escalating racial unrest, who is the most popular South African leader among the country's white minority? State President P.W. Botha, who is pushing for limited reforms? Archbishop-elect Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate whose cries for change have been tempered by condemnations of violence? Gavin Relly, the chairman of the giant Anglo-American Corp., who last year led a delegation of white businessmen to Lusaka, Zambia, for an unprecedented meeting with the exiled leadership of the African National Congress (A.N.C.)? According to a recent poll, that distinction belongs to none of the above but to Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief of the nation's 6 million Zulus. A total of 83% of Afrikaner businessmen polled picked Buthelezi, 57, as a "good leader," compared with 67% for Botha.

Buthelezi's primary appeal to whites lies in his endorsement of capitalist principles, his commitment to nonviolence and his willingness to resolve the nation's racial differences through compromise. Many South Africans regard him as perhaps the only man, white or black, who can bring about a peaceful end to the hated apartheid system. This very prominence makes him a figure of suspicion and even derision among many militant blacks, who dismiss him as a puppet of the Pretoria government. Even so, all sides agree that the Zulu chief is likely to play a pivotal role in the future of the country.

Last month Buthelezi opened a historic indaba, or meeting, between whites and blacks to discuss guidelines for creating in his home state of Natal the country's first completely multiracial government. If the proposals are ever accepted, Buthelezi, who has steadfastly refused government offers of independence for KwaZulu, the territory within Natal designated as the Zulu homeland, could become provincial governor, the first black ever to hold such a post. Some observers suggest that the innovative power-sharing plan could serve as a model for the country as a whole. Indeed, if apartheid were to be totally dismantled and black South Africans were politically free, Buthelezi would not rule out the possibility of a national cooperative effort between Zulus and Afrikaners. "I could see the possibility of such an alliance," he says, "as long as any alliance is in the common good."

Buthelezi's political base is the 1 million-strong Inkatha, the Zulu movement he leads. On May Day, when militant black union leaders who favor divestiture

spearheaded a nationwide walkout, Buthelezi staged a rally to launch a new labor organization to challenge them. "Why are they so persistent to push disinvestment even with the knowledge that we blacks, whom they purport to be helping, are the ones who will suffer most?" he asks.

What sets Buthelezi apart from other black nationalists is his rejection of violence and economic sanctions against the government. "I will not lead black South Africans to maim, hack and kill black South Africans, nor will I lead blacks to maim, hack and kill white South Africans," he says. He insists that the only real chance for change is through negotiation. Says Buthelezi:



Buthelezi at a traditional ceremony, and leading an Inkatha rally
A willingness to resolve racial differences through negotiation.

"There are no prospects either now or in the foreseeable future of toppling the South African government by violent means. The harsh reality, which for us is an inescapable reality, is that we do not destroy the foundations of the future by what we do now."

Buthelezi was born in eastern Natal, where he grew up hearing tales of an ancestor, the warrior king Shaka, who established the Zulu empire in the mid-19th century. He earned a degree in history and African administration at the black University of Fort Hare. Married and the father of seven children, he is devoted to classical music, the study of history and his Anglican faith. The well-traveled Buthelezi is equally comfortable in the skins, feathers and beads of his Zulu forebears and in dark, well-cut business suits. His prestige is such that he has conferred with Pope John Paul II, President Reagan, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and other world leaders.

Even his bitterest critics acknowledge that Buthelezi's antiapartheid credentials are solid and long-standing. As a student, he joined the A.N.C., the now outlawed black-liberation organization, and served as a lieutenant to its late leader, Albert Luthuli. One of Buthelezi's closest friends at the time was Nelson Mandela, the incarcerated A.N.C. leader who has refused to renounce violence until blacks are granted full political rights. The two men have kept in touch through letters during the 24 years of Mandela's imprisonment. The Zulu leader has repeatedly called for Mandela's release and the lifting of the A.N.C. ban as prerequisites for meaningful negotiation between blacks and the government.

Buthelezi rejected the 1984 constitution that created a tricameral Parliament, which excluded black representation. He is critical of the government's failure to institute reforms more quickly. "We are moving in the right direction," he says. "But whatever progress has been made is not enough. The fundamental issue of power sharing at the center has not been addressed."

Until the mid-'70s, Buthelezi was considered an ally by A.N.C. militants, but his refusal to turn Inkatha into a "surrogate liberation network" for the A.N.C. angered its exile leadership. He insists that "real A.N.C." leaders like Mandela will probably agree with his approach. Last week he proposed that he be allowed to visit Mandela in prison and clear up the lingering confusion over their relationship. Says Buthelezi: "I long for the day when Mandela and others can stand on the same platform as I and present the people with alternatives." —By Janice C. Simpson.

Reported by Peter Hawthorne/
Johannesburg