

CP, NP and ANC to speak (separately) at conference

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A number of South African parliamentary and extra-parliamentary leaders have been invited to a conference on southern Africa in Bermuda organised by an American organisation.

But both the National Party and the Conservative Party last night denied that they would have any contact with the ANC at the seminar, arranged by the American Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and several academics have also been invited to the conference, which starts on March 27.

The conference had been deliberately engineered so that the NP and CP representatives did not attend on the same day as the ANC, said Mr Piet Coetzer, the Nat MP for Springs who will be attending the conference.

The CP said its representatives would not even be on the island at the same time as the ANC.

Mr Coetzer discounted

reports that the conference was part of a peace initiative or an attempt to get the Government and ANC together.

It was merely an opportunity for various South Africans to put their viewpoints to American legislators.

He said that he, Mr Koos van der Merwe, the CP MP for Overvaal, and Soweto civic leader Dr Nthato Motlana would put their points of view, separately, on March 31.

The ANC representative, executive member Mr Thabo Mbeki, would be speaking on March 29 and would have left by the time they arrived.

The object would be to expose a group of US legislators — apparently about 30 of them — to various shades of opinion on southern Africa.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the party had "demanded and been given a written undertaking" that the ANC would not be present when the CP "puts its case with confidence before any critical tribunal".

Killing was revenge

ONE of the five suspected members of the African National Congress who allegedly attacked houses of policemen in Mamelodi two years ago, joined the organisation to "avenge" the death of his brother who was hanged for murder and terrorism six years ago, a Pretoria Regional Court heard yesterday.

By MONK NKOMO

The magistrate, Mr W J Fourie read a statement made by Mr Thekiso Mogoerane (31) in which he stated that he joined the ANC so that he could avenge the death of his brother, Thelle Mogoerane, an ANC guerrilla who, together with two others, were executed in June 1983 for murder and attacks on police stations in Soweto and Pretoria North.

Mr Mogoerane of Vosloorus and four other accused — Mr Samuel Mokubela (29) of Soshanguve, Mr Conrad Lekhumbi (28), Mr Edwin Makwela (35) and Mr Sello Khota (34) all of Mamelodi, have pleaded not guilty to charges of terrorism, attempted murder, theft and possession of firearms.

In his judgment, which is expected to be concluded today, the magistrate said he was satisfied that statements of the accused were made voluntarily.

Mr Mogoerane said in his statement he went to

Swaziland to undergo military training but was told that he would receive the training in South Africa. He went again in 1985 and was eventually taken to Angola where he underwent training for eight months.

The State alleges that on or about February 2, 1986 and July 19 1987, the accused attacked the houses of Detective Sergeant Johannes Hlongwane and Warrant Officer Stephen Setole with AK47 rifles and a handgrenade in an attempt to murder them and their families in Mamelodi East. They also attempted to kill Constable Kotse Ntsoane, the State alleges.

The magistrate yesterday also read a statement made by Mr Mokubela in which he admits that he and two others — Bennie and Nelson — attacked Warrant Officer Hlongwane's house with a handgrenade and AK47 rifles.

Turfloop is 'closed down'

THE University of the North effectively closed down yesterday when over 6 000 students streamed out of campus headed for their homes following the closure of hostels by the administration.

By MATHATHA TSEDU

The virtual closure — the academic programme has not been suspended — followed three days of lecture boycott precipitated by the refusal of the administration to readmit over 400 students who failed all first year courses last year.

The students insist that the affected students should all be readmitted before they resume classes.

In its response in a circular issued on Sunday night, Professor P C Mokgokong, the rector, said the university "subscribes to good academic conduct and rejects the doctrine 'pass one pass all' and 'admit

one admit all.'"

"Students' halls of residence cannot be left open to students while they do not attend scheduled academic programmes," Prof Mokgokong stated before giving the students up to 10am yesterday morning to resume lessons or leave campus.

An SRC spokesman yesterday said the council was trying to find ways of defusing the situation. He said the SRC had met the administration yesterday morning but that nothing had come of the meeting.

29 years jail for ANC man

A 28-year-old Soweto man and member of the banned African National Congress was sentenced to a total of 29 years in prison after he was convicted of various charges under the Terrorism Act at a Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday.

The magistrate, Mr JS Lombard ruled that Robert Dumisani Mwandla of Mofolo Soweto will serve an effective 10 years in jail for terrorism and that his sentences on four other counts; four

By SONTI MASEKO

years for membership of a banned organisation; six years for possession of firearm; two years for ammunition and seven years for explosives should run concurrently with the first.

Training

According to the State, Mwandla was a member of the ANC from 1984 until December 1987 and he received military training in Botswana

during January and February in 1984. Mwandla also made trips during this period between Botswana and the Republic to carry out missions for the ANC. These missions included identifying targets and finding sites for the establishment of arms caches in the Republic.

The West has power to end apartheid — Tutu

PANAMA CITY — South African Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said that his country's racial policies would change immediately if the United States

and other Western nations demanded.

Tutu, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 for his active opposition to apartheid, said the policy of strict racial

segregation that gave the white minority authority over the black majority was maintained because of "immense economic interest" by Western governments.

"If the United States and the Western countries wanted, apartheid would end tomorrow," Archbishop Tutu said at a news conference in Panama City.

Dollars

Saying that "some actions taken by the Western governments have a background of racism", Archbishop Tutu told reporters, "they say that dollars are more important than people, especially when those people are black."

Archbishop Tutu and six other Anglican officials arrived in Panama from Nicaragua, where they toured the country for five days.

In Managua on Saturday, the clerics issued a statement praising the Sandinista government's recent reforms and calling on the United States to help resettle the 11 000 Nicaraguan rebels in Honduras.



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

An agreement signed on February 14 by five Central American presidents sought to disband the US-backed Nicaraguan rebels and bring democratic reform to Nicaragua.

The Anglican officials are visiting Latin America at the invitation of the Rev Sturdie Downs, Bishop of Nicaragua's Episcopal Church.

The religious leaders were due to meet with General Manuel Antonio Noriega, head of Panama's security forces and the country's de facto leader.

The US Government imposed sanctions against Panama in April 1988 to oust Noriega. A court in Florida has indicted Noriega on charges of drug trafficking.

The US sanctions have seriously damaged Panama's economy, but Noriega remains in power. — Sapa-AP.

COMMENT

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THE release from jail of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been an issue used by all sorts of political opportunists to play games with — to play political games with the life of a man.

And for this reason the moves between South Africa and the British government to make a reality should be encouraged.

Disregarding his stature as a political figure, or if we have to demystify the Mandela image, we believe all right-thinking people would come to the conclusion that people like Mandela would be important in helping us shape this country's future.

Mr Mandela has most of the credentials demanded by South Africans — including those who do not support his politics — for a leader. We know him as the type of man who has the authority, the sober-mindedness and the leadership skills.

It is dreadful, on humanitarian grounds, and in our case on political grounds, to have had such an excellent South African holed up in a cell for more than 20 years.

There has been too much speculation about what his release might mean and do. We do not wish to go into that.

We wish to speak about Mr Mandela the man. He is a father who has been away from his family for two decades and more. He is a man most of us would be proud to turn to for help, not necessarily political help.

He could be a pillar in the society because of his professional skills, his understanding of our history from the time the ANC was banned, to today.

Even if for tactical reasons he had to espouse violence as a strategy, he is by no means an irresponsible radical.

Finally, Mr Mandela's release should surely signal a movement to what everybody has been asking of the Government — negotiations with the real leaders of the black people. His release should signal the unbanning of the PAC and the ANC. That could lead to all sorts of interesting scenarios that would benefit the country.

WHEN Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe planned the launch of the Pan Africanist Congress's anti-pass campaign of March 21, 1960, he anticipated a clash between police and demonstrators.

He was determined however, to go ahead with the campaign and to do everything in his power not to give the police reason to use strength.

Strict instructions were given to those who were going to take part in the march to behave in an orderly fashion and to resist any temptation to be violent or unruly.

By **SAM MABE**

Supporters of the campaign were to leave their passbooks at home — which was illegal — and were to march to local police stations and hand themselves over for arrest.

Stressed

Mr Sobukwe had also warned the marchers to watch out for *agents provocateurs* or unruly elements among their numbers who might deliberately provoke the police to take action against the marchers. These were to be disciplined by the PAC.

On March 16, Mr Sobukwe wrote to the Commissioner of Police, Major-General Rade-meyer, informing him of the intended march.

He stressed that the march was going to be peaceful and that the PAC was going to maintain discipline among the marchers. He requested the police not to provoke the marchers to resort to violence.

29 years after *Sowetan - 21 March 1989* Sharpeville, the blood still flows



Orchestrated by Robert Sobukwe (above) the events of March 21, 1960, changed the face of black politics and black resistance. But although current PAC president Zeph Mothopeng is out of jail, little progress has been made since that fateful day

FOCUS

He asked the police not to give impossible commands to the marchers, who would at all times be ready to obey orders given to them.

He cited an example where police would give orders to thousands of people to disperse within three minutes, and then almost immediately baton-charge them.

As had been planned, Mr Sobukwe led a group of marchers who included Mr Zeph Mothopeng, the current president of the PAC,

who was released from prison recently.

They presented themselves for arrest at Orlando police station in Soweto. The police obliged and 150 of them were locked up.

There were similar peaceful marches to police stations at various parts of the country.

The most notable were at Langa near Cape Town and at Sharpeville near Vereeniging. It was also at these townships that violence erupted, leading to spontaneous labour strikes and the spread of violence which lasted for many weeks throughout the country.

Baton

At Langa, 10 000 people had gathered in defiance of a banning order announced a few hours earlier. The meeting was broken up by police who baton-charged the marchers.

Two people were killed and 26 injured. The Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, immediately suspended the pass laws.

The PAC declared March 28 a national day of mourning and on that day, violence broke once again in Cape Town and there were large-scale work stayaways.

A state of emergency which was declared on March 30 seemed to have



fuelled the anger of the people who continued with street demonstrations.

Thousands of people were arrested, and on April 8 the Unlawful Organisations Act was passed, meaning that the PAC was banned.

The African National Congress was also banned, despite objections from some liberal MPs who said the Government should rather negotiate with the ANC and work out a dispensation that would contribute to the restoration of law and order in the country.

It was the events of March 21 which changed the face of black politics and black resistance.

The Government adopted very tough measures against political activists. Even though the state of emergency was later lifted, most of its provisions were made into law.

Many people were subsequently detained without trial, others banned and various other clamps imposed on political activity in the townships.

Leader

Mr Sobukwe had shown himself to be a leader the Government could not trust. When he was arrested on March 21 at Orlando police station together with some members of the PAC's executive, he was jailed for three years.

At the end of his prison term, the Government was still not convinced that it would be safe to release him. A special law was passed in Parliament, the Sobukwe Clause, which allowed the Government to keep him in prison for a further three years.

In the past 29 years, there have been similar uprisings in South Africa, most notably in 1976, 1980 and between 1984 and 1986. Thousands of people have been killed.

Not all of them have been killed by the police. Victims of apartheid are now killing fellow-victims of apartheid.

Many reasons can be given for this state of affairs. But whatever they are, the fact is that very little progress has been made since 1960. The ANC and the PAC are still at each other's throats in their fight for supremacy.

Maybe these are some of the issues that need to be addressed today when the 29th anniversary of the Sharpeville shootings is commemorated.

March 21 1989

Unions likely *The Star* to settle for *21 March 1989* lower pay hikes in 1989

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

South Africa's black labour unions — which achieved some of the highest wage increases in the past four years — are expected to settle for increasingly lower pay rises in 1989, a wage survey by leading industrial relations consultants, Andrew Levy, Johan Piron and Associates (ALPA) has shown.

According to the ALPA survey report, the recent increase in the cost of living, including the rise in the petrol price and interest rates, was likely to pressure union negotiators to push for settlements in line with members spiralling living costs.

On the other hand, a significant upsurge in the number of retrenchments recorded in January and February, would force management and union negotiators to weigh higher wages against the preservation of jobs.

The report says average pay settlement levels between October 1988 and February 1989 stood at 16,7 percent, down from a 1988 average of 17,9 percent. Indications were that settlement levels for 1989 would be lower than the 1988 average.

Resistance

Unions' consistent demands for a 40-hour working week appeared to meet with resistance from employers, with a reduction in hours being always offset by a reduction in pay. At least 45,5 percent of employees in companies which participated in the survey were shown to work between 44 and 45 hours/week, while 79,7 percent had a working week of 44 hours or more.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) affiliated Chemical Workers' Industrial Union negotiated the highest average minimum rate of R4,20/hour.

At the other end of the scale, employers, worried about falling profit margins, were expected to place emphasis on productivity, a concept viewed with suspicion by unions.

COMMENT

Moral sickness

THE Commissioner for Inland Revenue, Clive Kingon, complains that the country has become "morally sick" because so many people are trying to evade the taxes which he is trying to squeeze out of them. It is rather like a mugger blaming his victim for struggling, or like the fishwife who said, "Lie still, fish, all I want to do is gut you."

Before examining the issue more closely, it may be useful to illustrate what we mean. Take Programme 2 of the Department of Development Aid, for which R637 609 000 is provided in the estimates of expenditure laid before Parliament by the Minister of Finance last week. The purpose is to "promote the development of black areas towards self-determination" — grand apartheid, in plain English — and it will require more than R266 000 000 for "settlement of population", presumably forced removals.

Last year, the estimates included R507 044 000 for Programme 2. In other words, the cost of implementing grand apartheid has been raised by more than 25%. That's bad enough, but it's not the worst of it.

The salary bill for the officials has increased, not by the 15% which President Botha in a moment of budget-busting euphoria gave to all civil servants, but by a stupendous 60%, from R21 390 000 to R34 435 000. The reason is not difficult to see. Last year, the department budgeted for 511 officials (or man-years, as it quaintly calls them) to carry out Programme 2;

this year, it budgets for 1 205 officials. Why? Why does it require more than twice as many officials this year to perform the same tasks (at somewhat higher cost) than last year?

But that, too, is not the worst of it. Last year, Programme 2 required three officials in the top pay brackets (R59 200 or more); this year, Programme 2 requires 20 officials earning more than R80 000 a year. Last year, there were 76 officials in the second highest bracket (R35 100 to R59 199); this year there are 183 in that bracket, and the bracket itself has shifted up (R40 300 to R79 999).

This newspaper will seek an explanation but the chances are not good. The officials think their earnings are a secret, the Cabinet is filled with economic illiterates, and the opposition parties have, on Budget matters, been comatose for a generation. However, lacking an explanation, taxpayers will assume that Programme 2 is being used not simply as a vehicle to further grand apartheid, but to provide sheltered employment for unneeded officials.

Kingon is right to talk of moral sickness, but it resides in a civil service that is secretive, often corrupt, and wasteful, and which is increasingly the object of public scorn and resentment.

Taxes are never popular, but they are accepted when they are fair, and properly expended. The trouble starts when taxpayers perceive, as they do, that they are merely replenishing the trough from which officialdom feeds.

ON SEPTEMBER 15, 1987, CEO's and other senior executives from US multinationals operating in SA gathered at the grand Hyatt Hotel in Washington to hear a pitch from a group calling itself the Coalition on Southern Africa (Cosa), which had been formally launched at the National Press Club some five days earlier.

On the recommendation of Sal Marzullo, vice-president of intergovernmental affairs for Mobil Oil, the assembled Titans of free enterprise agreed to fork over US\$765 000, with a promise of more — possibly more than a million more — if Cosa proved a success.

To define the coalition and its purposes is something that not even those most closely associated with it have ever unanimously achieved. But the executives were in a panic. A few months earlier, they had lost the Rev Leon Sullivan when he refused to hold their hand in SA any longer and, worse, demanded that they actually pull out altogether. They needed someone, preferably black, preferably ecclesiastical, to fill the void for them.

There is dispute, again, over whose wheeze Cosa was precisely. Four names figure: Bishop Richard Fisher of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, whose "See" is the Carolinas but who lives in St Louis, Missouri; Rafael Pagan, of Pagan International, a public relations firm under contract to Shell and famed for helping Nestlé recoup its reputation after it was found to be selling non-nutritious infant formula to the Third World; North Carolina businessman and arms dealer extraordinaire Robert Brown, currently Winnie Mandela's benefactor; and, last but not least, Marzullo.

Pagan was responsible for what has come to be known as the "Neptune Strategy," a hefty manual on how to counter the sanctions and disinvestment movement he pre-

'Guilt money' not the way to help suffering blacks

BUSINESS DAY - 21 MARCH 1989

SIMON BARBER in Washington

pared for Shell, a principal boycott target.

Whether or not Shell actually commissioned the thing is lost in the mists of corporate doublespeak. Suffice it to say that the Neptune Strategy contained a chapter on dealing

with church activism that bore a strange resemblance to the thinking behind Cosa: as in "Gee, wouldn't it be neat to have some churchmen on our — the companies' — side for a change?"

At any rate, the resemblance was not missed on Tim Smith of the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility. Smith earns his living making life unpleasant for US firms in SA, and promptly denounced Cosa as a corporate front.

This stuck, and public relations-wise Cosa was all but dead on arrival — as, one might cruelly observe, any halfway sensible captain of industry should have known it would be. I recall that at the first Congressional hearing on sanctions before which Fisher testified, the committee members scarcely even bothered to question him.

It would be nice to know what ever happened to the money, but here again there are almost as many accounts as there have been people involved with Cosa. If there is any agreement at all, it is that most of it went on what might politely be known as "overheads" and very little to black South Africans, who were, at least according to several versions of Cosa's purpose, supposed to be the principal beneficiaries.

Perhaps the clearest statement of what the coalition was about is to be found in a pair of draft contracts setting out what Cosa was to pay

Pagan and Brown.

In each we find the boilerplate that "Cosa is organised to promote educational and philanthropic activities relating to better conditions for non-whites in Southern Africa and to foster an effective dialogue and co-operation between the people of the US and other nations with the people of Southern Africa".

These contracts, both dated within weeks of the corporations handing over the cash, were never signed. This was probably as well for Cosa. Pagan was to receive \$500 000 and Brown \$260 000, in return for which they undertook to "prepare and dis-

seminate news releases on Cosa activities" (printing expenses extra) and provide the various other services consultants offer to justify their livings.

Assuming Cosa received no other funding for the rest of the year (a fair assumption: it didn't receive a dime, least of all from the churches Fisher purported to represent) that would have left just \$5 000 for the "activities" Pagan proposed to publicise.

The contracts are now disavowed by everyone. Brown, for example, was "out of the country" when his was drawn up.

An audit Cosa has had prepared for the donors, and hopes to send Marzullo any day, is equally mystify-

ing and bears little relation to what anyone now says was spent. It covers the period ending June 30, 1988, and goodness only knows what has happened since then. Certainly, Cosa's acting executive director Frank Kent doesn't.

The audit shows that in the first nine months of Cosa's funded existence, Pagan received \$229 292 and Brown \$65 000. The latter, says Brown's spokesman Armstrong Wil-

liams, was for expenses Brown incurred during Cosa's start-up and Brown refused to take a penny more.

According to one of Pagan's assistants, Phil Cato, the quarter of a million covered rent and clerical expenses for the six months Cosa shared offices with Pagan International.

From which, a cynic might derive the following equation: Cosa equals Pi plus obscure black clergyman plus Brown. Or that is how it started out, at least. Trouble was that by the time the coalition struck out on its own, its funds had already been used up.

For example, there was \$56 000 worth of unexplained travel. Cosa also had to pay a lot of fees to the law firm Leftwich, Moore and Douglas, brought on by Brown to represent it — \$55 000 according to the audit; \$44 485,86 says Willie Leftwich, the firm's senior partner, who said it covered the costs of setting up Cosa as a tax exempt organisation (a pro-

cess that normally should not take more than a day's worth of billable hours).

Oh, yes, and Leftwich later sued for another \$29 000 which he received when, for reasons very much a matter of debate, Cosa failed to defend the suit.

And so it went. The only money specifically listed by the audit as having gone to SA was a \$20 000 grant to Winnie Mandela, made at Brown's instigation for the completion of her mansion. By the end of June last year, \$3 207 had been spent on bursaries — in fact, on keeping one South African student from being kicked out of Norfolk State University because his other sources of funding had dried up — and \$10 482 on miscellaneous "contributions".

Everyone insists there was more, and perhaps that was in the latter half of the year. Fisher says \$7 500 was donated to a church, apparently to help it buy land, and that about 5 000kg of used clothes were also sent over. Acting director Kent says it was about 10 000kg. An eyewitness says he saw at least one shipment being sold from the back of a Soweto shebeen.

Business Day - 21 March
Guilt money 1989.

Cosa is now on the verge of extinction. Kent says he will shut it down in a matter of weeks if no new money is forthcoming. Unless the corporations are more foolish than they have already shown themselves to be, it probably won't be.

There is a lesson here, of course: you can't buy love or respect, and those who say otherwise either don't know what they're talking about or are probably trying to take you for a ride.

Whether or not it was well-intentioned, Cosa was a gimmick snatched at by executives looking for an easy fix to their South African problem, a cheap way of avoiding the complex human realities on the ground.

Public relations and guilt money aren't the answer. Convincing black South Africans by deed and empathy that the US corporate presence serves their own aspirations might be.

Is that really so difficult to grasp? Is it really so hard to understand how contemptible Cosa must look to those the corporations profess they want to help?



Mr GRAHAM BRUCE (25) and a friend, Miss KAREN WHITE (22), with the bullet-riddled metal breastplate which is part of a bullet-proof vest which saved his life on Sunday night.

Bullet-proof vest saves

Citizen - 21 March 1989
traffic officer

Citizen Reporter

A MIDRAND traffic officer was shot four times in the chest at point blank range on Sunday night, but lived because he was wearing a bullet-proof vest.

Mr Graham Bruce (25) described yesterday how the vest, a gift from a friend in the United States, saved his life.

"It has a great deal of sentimental value for me and I would strongly recommend that anyone in this line of work wear one."

Mr Bruce was still visibly shaken by his ordeal yesterday and was recovering in the Johannesburg Hospital from a bullet wound to the leg.

He said a minibus driver grabbed his pistol and emptied it of bullets in an attempt to kill him. The four shots fired at point blank range into his chest were deflected by a thick metal breastplate.

"It felt as though a donkey was kicking me in the ribs," said Mr Bruce, whose chest was badly bruised.

He was also thankful for the fact that the would-be killer ran out of bullets before he realised his victim was wearing the vest.

The fifth bullet hit Mr Bruce through his left thigh. At least 13 shots were fired.

Mr Bruce said he first noticed the minibus while on patrol in Halfway House. There were three men in it, besides the driver.

"They acted very nervous when they saw me and the driver started weaving in between traffic. When I turned on the blue light on my vehicle, he sped up."

Mr Bruce forced the minibus off the road "to stall them while I was waiting for back-up from my colleagues".

While he was writing out a fine, three of the men grabbed him from behind. The minibus driver snatched his 9 mm pistol from the holster. Mr Bruce wrestled with him to regain possession of his weapon, but failed.

"I struggled to get back the pistol. My first thought was to stop him from getting it."

The four men left Mr Bruce collapsed and bleeding heavily from the

leg wound, jumped into the minibus and fled.

"I was about 10 m away from my car. I crawled to it on my hands and knees and made radio contact with my colleagues."

Mr Bruce said his ordeal had shown that "no matter how good or well-trained you are, if you get jumped by three or four men your chances are not good".

He "always has and al-

ways will" wear his bullet-proof vest. His fellow traffic officers had "laughed" at him for wearing it, but he wore it "out of habit".

Mr Philip Botha, town clerk for Midrand, said he would recommend to the town council that every traffic officer wear a bullet-proof vest.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

21 March 1989
Don't be bluffed

THERE is far too much wishful thinking about the African National Congress.

The Soviet Union may suggest it favours a negotiated settlement in South Africa rather than an attempt to achieve one by violence, but it is not putting pressure on the ANC to abandon violence.

The reasons are obvious.

It is not costing the Soviet Union billions of rands to provide the ANC with arms and explosives — in fact, the cost is a fraction of that of propping up the Luanda regime with sophisticated weapons, armour, missiles and aircraft.

South Africa's internal disorder is not a regional conflict in which the Soviet Union is involved. It is a revolutionary attempt, by violence, to overthrow the existing order, which is in tune with Soviet aims, glasnost or no glasnost.

Besides, the ANC has made it clear that it does not intend to give up the "armed struggle" — and it denies the Soviet Union has asked it to do so.

"For us to abandon our strategy would be suicide," it says. "If we abandoned the armed struggle, we would then be abandoning the very democratic principles we are advocating."

The organisation adds: "The ANC will not accept any suggestion from any quarter that it must drop its notion of violence and revolution in the struggle."

In any case, even if the Soviet Union did want a negotiated settlement it would be one that fulfilled the aims of the ANC, namely, Black majority, Marxist rule by the ANC.

That we should not be bluffed into believing the ANC is abandoning violence is shown by figures given at the weekend by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

Mr Vlok referred to the claim by Mr Wynand Malan, leader of the National Democratic Movement, that he had spoken to ANC publicity chief, Thabo Mbeki, about ending violence and "he assured me this would stop . . . since October last year this type of incident has decreased considerably".

Mr Vlok said that in the period between November 1987 and February 12 1988 — a period of 104 days — there had been 47 acts of terrorism in South Africa, in which five people were killed and 48 injured.

From November 1 1988 to February 12 1989 — after Mr Malan talked to the ANC and received the assurance — there had been 64 acts of terrorism in which 14 people were killed and 79 injured.

This represented an increase of 36 percent in the incidence of terrorism and 75 percent in the human toll.

Talk of the United States, Britain and South

Africa being involved in a peace initiative in Mozambique is fair enough.

Why shouldn't we help to achieve peace there? We haven't any need to involve ourselves in that country's traumas and the ANC no longer musters in that country for attacks on South Africa.

But when it comes to suggestions of a peace initiative in South Africa itself, we do not doubt Mrs Margaret Thatcher's sincerity and good intentions, but it reminds us of the ill-fated Eminent Persons' Group and we certainly do not need that kind of biased intervention again.

In fact, we might find ourselves in the same trap as Israel, which has been undermined by US recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

All this talk of the ANC abandoning violence thanks to Russia's pressure is part of a softening up process to induce South Africa to talk to the ANC in the same way as Israel is being pressured to talk to the PLO.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Development, Mr Chris Heunis, invited the ANC last week to join negotiations for a new constitution by first abandoning violence.

"If the ANC now wants to act in South Africa's national interest, it can best do so by abandoning violence and declaring itself in favour of the peaceful process of political negotiations together with other political leaders in South Africa."

In the heady days of the peace initiative that lie ahead, South Africa should not abandon this precondition for ANC participation.

FINANCE

Copy Britain's success top economist tells SA

DYNAMIC leadership together with a highly visible and credible economic strategy could produce the revitalisation of South Africa, as it had in Britain, Mr Nico Czypionka, Chief economist of Standard Bank Investment Corporation, said in Durban yesterday.

The emergence of Britain from virtual bankruptcy to being the showpiece of Europe proved what could be done through inspired leadership, he said.

South Africa also could become a

Financial Editor

technical, financial and industrial hub — but an essential pre-requisite was to have a long-term economic plan which was properly marketed and communicated.

He told bank clients attending the seminar that SA in fact had a strategy which in many respects was correct in its focus. However this was contained in confidential documents circulated to only a few people and it suffered from

a lack of co-ordination.

There were no goals and objectives; nothing to inspire and lead.

It also was necessary to increase the participation of the number of people in the democratic process — so that “all the oarsmen in the boat” began to row in the same direction.

He said SA should actively work to remove sanctions and to gain access to new markets. The overall size of government had to be drastically reduced — and private sector technocrats needed to get involved in government.

Overall, political considerations had to be subordinated to economic priorities, exports promoted and the informal economy encouraged (but not as a substitute for industrialisation).

“We must open up the economy to the rest of the world.” Countries which looked inwards, like Albania, had died economically. SA had to stop import substitutions made solely for “for strategic reasons.”

There was a need to translate words into speedy action on many fronts — such as deregulation and abolition of cross-subsidisation.

He said that the present vibrant state of the economy and buoyant business mood were difficult to understand in current circumstances. Despite higher interest rates and taxes, demand continued at high levels.

Among the reasons were a perception that the Government had turned a blind eye to many infringements of outdated laws, and political progress, especially in the foreign sector.

However the economy was like a motorcyclist soaring over the Grand Canyon — with nothing underneath should he fall short. It was essential to slow down the momentum — to achieve a soft landing — because of pressures on the balance of payments and the desperately thin reserves.

The authorities hoped this could be done without boosting interest rates much further. They wanted to avoid a repeat of the high rates of 1984, leading to a cycle of economic decay, violence and bankruptcies.

In current circumstances he thought prime should not have to rise more than 19-20 percent.

Buses stoned and thousands of children in Sharpeville Day stayaway

Violence erupts in city townships

THE DAILY NEWS - 21 MARCH 1989

Crime Reporter

VIOLENCE broke out in townships around Durban today with barricades thrown up, buses stoned and passengers intimidated into staying away from work — and at least one bus petrol-bombed by demonstrators.

Thousands of black school children stayed away from classes today and at KwaMashu those that defied the stayaway call had to run out of classes after armed mobs arrived at the schools.

Thousands of pamphlets have been distributed in KwaMashu, Umlazi, Newtown, Inanda, and KwaNdengezi, urging workers and school children to stay away to mark the anniversary of Sharpeville Day.

Early today police were called in to break down barricades set up to stop buses leaving the townships to bring workers to the city.

Four Putco buses were badly damaged when they were stoned at about 5.30am at Ntuzuma East, north of the city. Mr Ricky Stevenson of Putco said the townships were very tense.

"We are operating our buses only under police escort. Early this morning four of our buses were extensively da-

amaged when they were stoned by mobs. A petrol bomb was thrown at one of them, but fortunately it did not ignite."

It is believed that at KwaNdengezi, near Shongweni, barricades were set up on the main roads.

One DTMB bus was set on fire at Ntuzuma near KwaMashu.

A spokesman for the KwaZulu Education Department said that several schools at Umlazi and KwaMashu had had a complete stayaway.

"In Umlazi there are a few school-children attending, but in KwaMashu there is a 100 percent stayaway. Early today some pupils defied the stayaway and went to school at KwaMashu, but the radicals arrived and the pupils fled from the schools."

Brigadier Dries Laas, Commissioner for the KwaZulu Police confirmed that several incidents of unrest had taken place in KwaMashu and Umlazi.

"We have the situation under control and no one was injured in the stonings," said Brigadier Laas.

Mr Manuel Sampaio, deputy general manager of DTMB, confirmed that one of his buses was burned at Ntuzuma today. The service would be back to normal during the late afternoon.

In Port Elizabeth there was widespread absenteeism as black workers remembered those killed in the Langa, Uitenhage, shootings in 1985. But most employers were prepared for the Langa anniversary.

Several supermarket chains were also hit by the stayaway. At Pick n' Pay Hypermarket in Durban, no black workers turned up.

KwaZulu Transport had no problems today at its Natal operations, Mr A.S. Board, group branch manager, said.

There had been a 99 percent turnout for work and no buses had been stoned. In Pietermaritzburg many black children stayed away from school in townships.

No ANC bases, pledges Nujoma

Foreign Service

LISBON: Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma yesterday reiterated his movement's support for the African National Congress but said there would be no room in independent Namibia for ANC bases.

"An independent state of Namibia will not create bases for the destabilisation of any neighboring state," he said at a news conference when questioned on Swapo's future policy toward the South African insurgents.

"But we will support through all means the struggle of the ANC within the framework of the OAU and the UN," Mr Nujoma added. He said the strategy for combatting apartheid — "whether by arms or other means" — was solely a decision of the ANC.

On Walvis Bay, he was categorical in his insistence that the vital enclave "continues to be an integral part of Namibia" and that Swapo would not allow South Africa to use it to destabilize the country.

After the news conference, which ended an international conference of solidarity with Swapo, Mr Nujoma was received separately by President Mario Soares, Parliament speaker Vitor Crespo and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva.

Former Portuguese President General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, who chaired the conference, called on Pretoria to lift all obstacles so that observers from all countries and all sectors could monitor the Namibian election set for November.

At the news conference, Mr Nujoma said he was convinced Swapo would win the two-thirds majority needed to approve a constitution for an independent Namibia, but he did not rule out accords with other Namibian political forces.

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Constituencies first priority Buthelezi says

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—Members of the Legislative Assembly who would not work for their constituencies might as well resign, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warned yesterday.

In a tongue-lashing during his policy speech, Dr Buthelezi said each member had his own home constituency and regional network.

'Each one of us here will be made redundant in the struggle unless these constituencies and networks are kept in good working order,' he said.

'Is this just a big, grand-speaking House where we gather to exchange fraternal greetings and have discussions and then go home to do the least that has to be done?'

Dr Buthelezi asked the members if they were aware that there were people who lived among them who travelled by car and kombi as far as Lusaka to collaborate with 'the enemy'.

He asked what their answer

was to mushrooming women's and youth movements which had turned their attention to Inkatha and saw this organisation as 'the opposition'.

The Inkatha leader said people were campaigning in Pietermaritzburg, Inanda and Mpumalanga to eliminate the movement.

He said 'the enemy' of Inkatha was 'within KwaZulu' and had adopted a multi-faceted approach.

The battle had heightened to such an extent that it was on KwaZulu's doorstep.

Dr Buthelezi produced documents published by the National Education and Health workers' Union (Nehawu) and wanted to know from members what they were going to do to alleviate this situation.

'If civil servants are going to stab us in the back, what is our retort going to be?' he inquired.

The lecture to members appeared to have been taken to heart because they left the assembly chanting traditional songs in praise of the king.

Buthelezi's reply to CP's Treurnicht

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi says if the Conservative Party becomes the ruling party in South Africa, he has a gut feeling even those people committed to peaceful change might be forced to reconsider that commitment.

Delivering his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday, the KwaZulu Chief Minister replied to a weekend statement by Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the CP.

Dr Treurnicht had challenged the KwaZulu leader to say if he stood for a black-dominated South Africa,

whether he recognised the rights of the white community and whether he wanted blatant black 'baasskap' in the guise of power-sharing.

Dr Buthelezi said the whole world knew he stood for a domination-free South Africa. He strove for a multi-party democracy, the rule of law and the freedom of political association.

Dr Buthelezi said Dr Treurnicht was an 'amateur in negotiations' whereas he had actually negotiated with those who thought differently from him.

'We who are professional at it must be understanding of his lack of knowledge,' he said.

'Dr Treurnicht must be told that he can hope for no more than a Bill of Rights for individuals and for certain entrenched rights for groups.'

Dr Buthelezi said he had not threatened the CP leader with the kind of black reaction which was taking place in certain Transvaal towns controlled by the CP.

'We will yet see that the CP cannot even unscramble the economic egg of a central business district, let alone the South African economy.'

This fact made CP politics 'quaintly archaic and futile', he said.

The whole world would not tolerate CP domination in South Africa.

Chief slain by gunman

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The acting chief of the Mangwe Buthanani Tribal Authority at Isandlwana, Chief Simon Mazibuko, was shot and killed by an unknown gunman on Sunday, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi revealed in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly yesterday.

Dr Buthelezi, who is Minister of Police for the region, said Chief Mazibuko had been acting in place of his father, Chief Mboniseni Mazibuko, a Member of the Legislative Assembly, who was assassinated two years ago.

He said a murder docket had been opened and the matter was being investigated by the KwaZulu Police.

Bus company's income plummets

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The net income of KwaZulu Transport dropped to R600 000 in 1987/88 as against the figure of R4 000 000 recorded during the previous financial year.

According to the annual report of KwaZulu Transport tabled in the Legislative Assembly yesterday, the factors responsible for the de-

cline were increased competition from mini-bus taxis, devastating floods, unemployment, increased unrest, organised stay-aways and a passenger boycott.

KwaZulu Transport is a private company owned by the KwaZulu Government, and administered by the KwaZulu Transport Services Corporation Limited.

The report says organised

stay-aways appear to be on the increase and are seriously affecting the company's passengers.

This problem is compounded by the national confusion surrounding public holidays, it says.

The report says the company will need to find a solution to combat the increased competition from mini-bus taxis.