New focus on abuses

again

nst Press

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Dally News Foreign SQrviee

WASHINGTON: South Africa continues to be one of 15 countries which are of major cause for concern to an American group monitoring abuses against the Press around the world.

In its fourth annual report, Attacks on the Press, the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) listed 51 incidents in South Africa out of a total of more than 800 cases worldwide in 1988.

The incidents are known attacks on journalists and the Press, and they include threats and silencing of individual journalists and their papers.

They also include killings. Twenty-six journalists were killed in the line of duty worldwide in 1988. Some were casualties of war, notably in Afghanistan.

Others were killed in circumstances that suggested they were targeted for what they had written. Two Brazilian reporters, given as an example by the committee, were shot after writing critical articles on powerful groups.

The report, released at a conference at the National Press Club in Washington this week, says the number of 1988 incidents was $a\200\234$ many more $a\200\235$ than those in 1987, although the figure did not represent an increase in Press abuses so much as CPJ $a\200\231$ s enhanced research capacities.

The CPJ made special mention of 15 countries in its 1988 report: Afghanistan, Burma, South Africa, Soviet Union, Chile, Czechoslovakia and Israel among them.

On South Africa, it reported the renewal of the Government ban on re-

portm the actions of secunty forces

and on first-hand coverage of unrest and that the Government had diversified its arsenal against the local antiapartheid Press.

It said: â\200\234For the first time since the - national state of emergency was imposed in June 1986, three newspapers were ordered closed for periods ranging from one to three months, on the grounds that they promoted revolution. Police confiscated issues of four publications but in 1987 there were no confiscations.

â\200\234The countryâ\200\231s first anti-apartheid newspaper in Afrikaans encountered harassment within weeks of its launching in November, including an unprecedented requirement that it deposit R30000 to register. And towards the end of the year, President P.W. Botha and Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha announced libel suits against three anti-apartheid newspapers or their editors.

 $\hat{a}\200\2340$ ne measure announced by the Government, a registration requirement for small news agencies and freelancers, was withdrawn after vehement protest.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ In December, New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu was released after two years $\hat{a}\200\231$ detention without charge, but he was placed under heavy restrictions. Two other black journalists were in detention without charge at year $\hat{a}\200\231s$ end, and another had been sentenced to a four-year term.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Incidents involving foreign correspondents were down from 1987, prompting some observers to ask whether correspondents were submitting too quickly to the Governmentâ\200\231s

media curbs. $\hat{a}\200\235$

AFTER all the revelations about excessive drinking in the John Tower nomination controver—say, the â\200\234New Sobrietyâ\200\235 has hit. the â\200\234Great Societyâ\200\235 as Americans in increasing numbers turn their backs on drink. RAM—SAY MILNE reports fromi New York.

LT T T T T

OCIOLOGISTS say that the

anti-drinking movement is

a social phenomenon of

considerable significance
because, unlike Prohibition, it is a
massive, voluntary rejection of liquor. : ,

Researchers tracking the drinking habits of Americans first began to note the shift away from hard liquor to aerated soft drinks in the earl 1980s. They thought it was simply just another ebbing in the cycle of rising and falling consumption of alcohol.

But what seemed to be a passing fancy now appears to have taken root as a fundamental change in American culture.

Each year since 1980, Americans have drunk less beer, wine and hard liquor. From 1980 to 1987, beer consumption dropped seven percent, wine use fell 14 percent and consumption of distilled spirits went down 23 percent, according to a survey that also indicated that these trends will continue.

Trends

A number of disparate trends have combined to make drinking less attractive to Americans, who are able to enjoy what many regard as the most liberal liquor laws in the world.

_ The interest in health and fitness is one cause of the movement towards moderate consumption. An increased emphasis on work and productivity means less drinking in the work place.

People are becoming more sensitive to the dangers of alcohol, with special interest groups waging campaigns against drunken driving and fighting to raise the legal drinking age.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ There has clearly been a real change in the American lifestyle, $\hat{a}\200\235$ says Dr Howard Shaffer, director of the Centre for Addiction Studies at Harvard Medical School. $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is the new temperance movement, the new sobriety. One cannot say it will be permanent. But I don $\hat{a}\200\231$ t see it changing for a long time. $\hat{a}\200\235$

- . Part of the decline springs from a
- . LIFESTYLE/PEOPLE

O John Tower: drinking criticism

isealculation. While the multi-billion dollar industry was launching promotion campaigns based on the assumption that when the â\200\234baby boomâ\200\235 generation reached minimum drinking age (between 18 and 21, varying state by state) they would take up their parentsâ\200\231 habit of ending the day with a stiff drink. It just hasnâ\200\231t happened.

Not only are Americans drinking less, they have also become less tolerant of the drinking habits of others, as former Senator John Tower learned in his losing battle to become Defence

Secretary.

In restaurants, where the trend to more moderate drinking began showing up nearly a decade ago, the change has become embedded, with surveys showing that the days of the two-martini, one-bottle of wine lunch are nearly over.

In certain circles, drinking is already pass \tilde{A} $^{\odot}$. In the book publishing and magazine businesses in New York, for instance, where work is often done

over lunch or dinner in res nts, drinks are rarely part of the d

Much of the abstemi stems from the focus on work, not from moralism, or, as one busi executive put it: a^200^234 People who to drink

Scotch or vodka at lunch now have a glass of white wine, or aefated water. People work harder. Itâ $200\231s$ a quicker pace. People want to be at the top of their game.â $200\235$

The $a\200\234$ New Sobriety $a\200\235$ may be less fun. But it shows that Americans, facing many new challenges, may at last be taking themselves more seriously.

2t Nelon 12 ï¬\201?&ï¬\201fe _ \hat{a} 200\224 Mrs Thatc _LONDON The Brmsh :Prime Minister said yesterday that negétiations on the future of South-Africa could begin assoon. as Nelson: Mandela was released and she . \hat{a} 200\230 \hat{a} 200\230was_ optimistic that \ddot{a} 202us 1 would happen soon. , Speaking in the "\201ohse' of Commions yesterday, . Margaret Tha{ et saidâ\200\231 : - Botha, -the South Africdn For--eign Minister, tpat Mr | Mandela must f)e . \hat{a} 200\230She told MPs:, \hat{a} \200\234We. beheve then \hat{a} 200\230 the atmo--| sphere would - change i) completely and it would = if be possible to get nego- it tiations started between . the Southâ\200\231 African Gov- A ernment, blacks aid Britaib iszpdA g play a role inetting up. Foreign Office: officials- . said yesterday that the leadership criswin South Africa was preventing big" declslons being taken. ; cxal \hat{a} 200\234but we st111 have \hat{a} 200\234The lce is begmning \hat{A} £ to break, \hat{a} \200\235 said \hat{a} \200\230on \tilde{A} offi- .

 \hat{A} £ .some'_ way to go. \hat{a} \200\235 -

mg \hat{a} 200\230southern Africa at the \hat{a} \200\231end of March, but has

*"Mrs Thatcher is visit-

let it be known she will not go to South Africa always and negotxatxons freed and negotxatxons whave begun. B:

In South Africa, Na
In South Africa, Na
In 201Ã@In 201il Party MPs appear to have backed off an at
temptto force PrÃ@sident.

P.W.:Botha to resign.always MPs held their weekly meeting yester
day,.but a spokesman

\$aid the leadership ques" â\200\234tion had not even been
" :discussed.

Further evxdence of .warmer relations betWeen South Africa and " the *Soviet Union

erged yesterday with liâ\202¬â\200\234announcement that Moscow:had invited - prominent white South

ture of South Afnca, but ~* African academics and
.+ businessmen to hold

alks with the African

Nat; onal Congress and

Soviet representatives in . 'the- Soviet Union.â\200\224Inde-.-pendent News service

 \hat{a} 200\230End to season of -

Â¥ vuolence' Page 17

Government confirms that hunger strike has started again this week

500 detainees

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Bruce Cameron
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: At least 500 detainees have been released since Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, agreed with churchmen to release substantial numbers of detainees four weeks ago. Although no official confirmation could be obtained for the figures, reliable sources said today

there were now between 350 and 400 people in detention.

The total number of detainees, in-

cluding those released, was higher

than the original estimate of 800 because there have been further detentions over the past four weeks.

Spokesman for the and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, today confirmed that the hunger strike had restarted as Mr Viok had predicted in a statement in Parliament last week.

Brigadier Mellet said 85 detainees had gone on hunger strike on Monday

but by yesterday a number had started |

eating again.

There were now 48 in Natal, mostly

in Durban, and seven in the Transvaal "

still on hunger strike.

Ministry of Law

Senior police officers were probing the situation following Mr Viokâ\200\231s claim last week that the renewed hunger

strike was the result of some extraparliamentary organisations orchestrating it from the outside,

He said then that if a single detainee died of starvation the organisations would have to take responsibility.

The release of detainees comes at a

time when the rate of detentions under the state of emergency had fallen off considerably,

According to figures released by Mr Vlok in Parliament yesterday, only 20 people had been held in detention for more than 30 days under the Public Safety Act whose names had not been Iip(éuded in the previous fortnightly ists.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP (PFP Houghton) said the drop-off in the rate was very encouraging but again voiced her opposition to detention without trial. She hoped the drop-off meant that the lifting of the state of emergency was imminent.

B Natal hunger striker Mr Sandile Thusij has said after 28 days of refusing meals that he will not eat until he has been

assured that he will be

 \hat{a} 200\230searcher at the Univer-

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charged or released

soon. $a\200\234Mr$ Thusi $a\200\224$ a re-

ity of Natal until his desgeg;;ion in June last year $a \geq 00 \geq 24$ was visited by his lawyers yesterday and is said to be weakening

idly.
l.a{\,/llgaynwhile, at le.ast 16
emergency detainees,
who were being held in
the Westville prison near
Durban, were released

e yesterday. lat'lâ\200\230hyeir legal representa-\ive, Ms Saloshna Mood-ley, said no re \hat{A} \$tr1ct10n orders had been issued at the time of their relea \hat{A} \$e.

INSIGHT

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LL the elements of an

international peace ini-

tiative on South Africa

were in place this week after South Africaâ\200\231s Foreign Minister paid an unexpected visit to Downing Street and Moscow announced that it did not want to escalate revolutionary violence in South Africa. Pretoria, for its part, has praised the Soviet Unionâ $\200\231s$ role in the region. : After meeting the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, this week, Mr Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, told South African reporters of a new era of co-operation in southern Africa. â\200\234The season of violence is over, \hat{a} \200\235 he said. Mr Botha also spoke of an initiative to bring peace to Mozambique.

Mrs Thatcher is understood to have repeated to him her insistence that Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, should be released. Mr Botha also dined with Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary.

SOUTH AFRICA may be on the verge of a concerted international drive for peace following Foreign Minister Pik Bothaâ\200\231s talks with Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Moscow signals of a major shift in policy for ending apartheid. RICHARD DOWDEN, Africa Editor of The Independent, reports from London.

R T R PR South Africaâ\200\231s leadership crisis

is hampering action but Britain-

appears ready to pull every diplomatic lever to set up a solution

there. This might take the form of the Lancaster House talks which brought Zimbabwe to independence.

A well-placed African source said that Britain was trying to put together another Eminent Persons Group, similar to the Commonwealth team which visited South Africa in 1986 to test the ground for negotiations. It would comprise representatives from the European Community, Zim-

O/SEASON

babwe, Nigeria and other Commonwealth countries.

The Foreign Office, which was reticent about this weekâ\200\231s meetings, said there was no truth in the report. \hat{A}

Stating his countryâ\200\231s new policy on South Africa for the first time yesterday, Mr Yuri Yukalov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministryâ\200\231s southern Africa department, said in Moscow:

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We would prefer a political settlement and want apartheid to be dealt with by political means.

Any solution through military

means will be short-lived.

â\200\234We do not want to emphasise the need to enlarge the armed struggle. South Africa should not be destroyed. It should also be spoken to not only through threats or pounding our fist on the table. There should be dialogue.â\200\235

His words were backed by Mr Anatoly Gromyko, head of the

Africa Institute in Moscow, who

said: \hat{a} 200\234There would have to be a programme of reforms submitted to nationwide discussion at which all sections of society would be

"OF VIOLENCE

represented . . . this will mean sitting down for negotiations for two, three or however many years to solve the problems. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Last week Mr Yukalov and Mr Gromyko attended meetings in Britain, sponsored by the Foreign Office, which were also attended by leading South Africans.

A senior US source at the conferences said that as Mr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, is retiring shortly, Britain was poised to take over the role of negotiation in the region. Senior Whitehall sources said Britain was playing a role in bringing South Africa and the Soviet Union together and important developments were expected shortly.

Mr Yukalovâ\200\231s words are being matched by South Africa. A South African Broadcasting Corporation commentary marked a radical change of attitude towards the Soviet Union, once the monster behind â\200\234the total communist onslaughtâ\200\235. The commentary observed that the Soviet presence in the region had proved helpful in

- . $\hat{a}\200\234$ Although Russian spokesmen
- . radical organisations to replace

establishing the Namibia peace accords.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It would accordingly be realistic to exploit opportunities for a similar advance of negotiations leading to a settlment of other regional conflicts, $\hat{a}\200\235$ the commentary went on.

have been at pains to stress that the ANC will not be abandoned, any initiatives from any source to create a climate that will induce

revolutionary politics with negotiation politics deserve to be given careful study and consideration.â\200\235

Pretoria sees the settlement in Namibia as a chance to break out of its diplomatic isolation. Mrs Thatcher is visiting Zimbabwe and Malawi at the end of the month, and, as the only Western leader who stands firmly between South Africa and further sanc- | tions, is well placed to play a role in forcing South Africa to change.

At the same time, the Foreign Office is urging the ANC to give up a \200\234armed strugglea \200\235.

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first met Hugh Dent in 1955 when he was supervising six cane farms in the Mtubatuba district. Ken Tinley who knew Hugh Dent from earlier days in Pietermaritzburg when they swam competitively, took me to meet Hugh. I walked into the old farmhouse where there was only a table, a chair and a bed, but on the walls was a collection of wonderful portraits. I immediately saw Hugh as a potential Russell or Remington and pleaded with him to come and join our Parks Board team at Umfolozi Game Reserve.

I grew even more enthusiastic when I heard Hugh speak Zulu to an old induna who came to report to him.

Not only did he have a sound knowledge of and love of the Zulu language but a deep em-

pathy with the Zulu people.

'At that time in South Africaâ\200\231s history when apartheidâ\200\231s poison was reaching a peak with repressive legislation, Hughâ\200\231s connection with the black people was to me a bright light in the darkness. To him the black people were people, such an astounding contrast in attitude to the local farming community.

We sat down to a dinner of puthu and mass and I probed Hugh, finding out more about his background.

He spoke matter of factly

about his days at university in Maritzburg then his journey to -| London where he continued studying art and painted the portraits I saw on the wall.

He then told me of his service

with the British South African Police and his time in the remount section.

It was clear that he was the kind of man we needed desperately in the Parks Board and particularly at Umfolozi, where Jum Feely, Ken Tinley and I

were struggling against great odds, \hat{a} 200\234with :poachers, hostile \hat{a} \204¢

magistrates and suspicious chiefs.

But Hugh had other plans for his life and it took all the persuasive powers of Jim Feely, Ken Tinley and myself to get him to Maritzburg for an interview with Colonel Vincent who

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VOICE FROM THE

WILDERNESS

lan Player

instantly recognized Hughâ\200\231s
â\200\230many qualities and offered him a job.

Hugh accepted it and came to us at Umfolozi where we lived in rough conditions at Masinda. The game guards took.to him

immediately and his l; nowle(ié;_

of Zulu and wonderful rapport with the people soon made us many friends amongst our neighbours.

Hugh took me to Chief Buthelezi who he said was destined to become a great political leader.

Hugh had little time for politics but he recognized in Chief Buthelezi a man who was a real leader. It was for me the beginning of a friendship that has spanned some 35 years.

Hugh had another old friend at Mahlabathini, Falaza Henderson, a storekeeper and a great friend to Chief Buthelezi, and I will never forget being with these three men and listening to them talking about our country at a time when there was terrible hate and sick legislation.

They had the true Christian

attitude and forgave those who

trespassed against them.

Hugh was an .outstanding game ranger. He trained game guards, did long horseback patrols and fought poachers. We had many conversations about art, reluctantly on his part because he was far too active and there was a block in his mind to painting, but he did sketches for us and sometimes a painting which showed glimpses of his intuitive understanding of the wilderness.

Hugh Dentâ\200\231s life meant total loyaljcy to conservation

pioneer

- Sye\ \@\ o

erness

He re-introduced me to the

writing of Grey Owl, perhaps

the greatest wilderness writer of all time. Hugh had a great - yearning to be a cowboy and he loved the stories of the North American Indians. They had

many of the stoical qualities that Hugh had and he walked in the bush with the same feeling for its wildness as the Red Indians.;

Hugh Dent was no ordinary man. He was complex yet he

himself lived by simple rules and one of them was total loyalty to the wilderness and the deeper meaning of conservation.

He left the Parks Board to go teaching but returned when I again pleaded with him, his time to take over the new job of wilderness trails officer. I had done it for a year and knew there was no other person better qualified than Hugh.

Some people considered him eccentric when he wore a beshu under his khaki Parks Board shirf and carried a wildebeest a 200 230 tail flywhisk, but people who were with him on trail came away with a fierce passion of the tiny wilderness area of Umfolozi and Lake St Lucia game reserves.

Whether he was walking along the Umfolozi rivers or canoeing at night across Lake St Lucia with mullet jumping and hippo snorting, Hugh never had fear. He accepted the wilderness and it accepted him. He lived at Lake St Lucia on a high tree platform, at one with the call of the fish eagles and the sound of surf on the eastern shores.

Doy tawe - MeAAcH Jagq

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He was transferred to the Drakensberg and became the huntsman and chased the jackal, which he loved and admired because it had so much courage.

But Hugh was in his element on horseback and when he was on a horse, man an horse became one.

Hugh had a personality that appealed to everyone and whenever he talked there were people waiting to listen.

Hugh Dent was a teacher, a game ranger, artist, mystic and a real man. Those of us who knew him in-earlier and later days will never forget him. He was our friend.

When I helped his son Chester and his cousins carry his coffin at his funeral I saw that some—' one had put the three-pointed; Erythrina leaf of the Wilderness Leadership School and the mpafa leaf on the highly polished wood. Hugh would have appreciated this gesture because he knew what those leaves represented.

For Hugh not to be here leaves a terrible void for those of us who loved him.

INSIGHT

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Owambo

â\200\230people will
= vote in the
forthcoming United
â\200\230Nations-supervised
| electidns is as simple
as black and white:
the blacks say one
thing, the whites another. â\200\230
. The Owambo tribe
constitute 52 percent of
the total Namibian
population and the way
the people vote will

the

largely determine who

wins the election for a constituent assembly to write a constitution under which the country will come to independence. ::

Superfically the question may seem easy and any foreign journalist freshly into Windhoek will answer that Swapo, the South West Peoples Organisation, has the support of the vast majority of Namibians and will â\200\234walk the electionâ\200\235.

Those whites who have lived and fought in the territory for years, and who readily tell anyone that they $a\200\230a\200\234$ know these blacks $200\235$ will tell you Swapo won $200\231$ t get anywhere near winning.

' One white policeman, seconded from South $\frac{3}{200}\frac{230}{Africa}$, told me that the man in charge of the $\frac{3}{200}\frac{230}{Owambo}$ ethnic second tier administration, the Rev. Peter Kalangula, would $\frac{3}{200}\frac{234}{easily}$ win $\frac{3}{200}\frac{235}{and}$, turning to his black col-

league for confirmation, was told Kalangula was universally despised and would get very little support. 41.

A South African administrator seconded to Mr Kalangulaâ\200\231s adminis-

tration told me that its $\frac{3200}{230}$ black members were $\frac{3200}{234100}$ percent Swapo $\frac{200}{235}$.

In the schools and the churches of Owamboland the black teachers and $a\geq 0$ 0 and 02 priests will tell you that Swapo will easily win, as will most of the small educated elite throughout Namibia.

The white South Afri-

can officers in charge of

Owambo soldiers and policemen will tell you that Swapo will get virtually no votes because $a\200\230a\200\234a\200\230$ the people are tired of their liesa\200\235.

" Owamboland, the vast flat plain stretching from the Etosha reserve to Angola, is the most populous area in Namibia, and as home to the majority Owambo tribe, is also the most crucial in the forthcoming political battles. Ken Vernon recently travelled to the area and spoke to the people on the ground about the political situation there.:

THE BIRTH OF NAMIBIA

Special reports by KEN VERNON

The Daily News Africa Service

â\200\234The
â\200\230Owambo
gevaarâ\200\231

phrase in Namibia. Several political alliances have been formed e aim of thwarting:Swapo from winning the â\200\230fiecessary two-thirds majority it needs to dictate terms in the constituent assembly.;.
But these organisations, such as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) led by.Dirk
Mudge, the United Dem-'

ocratic Front (UDF) of

Damara leader Justus Garoeb and the Patriotic Front of Herero leader Moses Katjioungua, seemingly cannot stop

% Swapo from still being

Â¥

the majority party if it sweeps Owamboland.

It is in Owamboland itself that the fight will be won or lost for Swapo, and it is here that a major effort is being

" made to stop Swapo.

The Owambo people consist of seven tribes, of which the Kwanyama are the largest, making up 37 of the Owambo.

The most senior chief of the Kwanyama is Gabriel Kautima, leader of the National Democratic Party, which in turn is a

Will Swapo

attract enough

support

from the

majority tribe?

Swapo t-shirts and slogans are

beginning to appear in Owamboland after a long period

В

TWo members of the family bodyguard of Owambo leader Gabriel Kaut_i- \hat{a} 00\230 ma, their weapons now taken from them, stand atop a gun shelter at his

kraal at Oshikango.

the towns and viklages and kraals throughout Owambland the question does not appear to he simple. is true that it seems to enjoy overwhelming sup-- But from the ground?n ' entirely Owambo, and it\ port in the area. A survey being conhas found that Swapo enjoys about 70 to 80 percent of popular Support. Bu't it is this support, and its uni-tribal makeup, that have created one of Swapoâ\200\231s biggest problegns, a feeling of fear within other tribal. ducted in the area on behalf of $a\200\234$ unknown $a\200\235$ clients groups of being dominated by the Owambo. o «(Qwambo gevaar 1S the latest political catchphrase in Namibia. .a good friend. 4 of member of the DTA. He is a man who ields tremendous influnee over his traditionbound tribesmen, and a man who is an avowed enemy of Swapo. : ", \hat{a} \200\230 He says Swapo has made seven attempts to kill him by a}ttacking;â\200\224his;ï¬\202 isolated kraal, and planted 13 landmines along \hat{a} 200\230the road to his front door, one of which killed is influence can be gauged by the fact that ~Untag leader, General an Prem Chand, $a\200\230$ made a little-known visit

to his'kraal by helicopter last week especially to consuâ\200\230;lt& $\$ ir\201ith the old man.

In the many rural areas I visited during a tour of Owamboland, most people told me they would vote the way their headmen indicated, giv-ing an idea of the power of the traditional leaders.

Senior headman Gott-

. lieb Dan of the Kwanya-

ma told me that his people, who live near the

 $\tilde{\ }$ Angolan border, were

tired of Swapo killing

PPR!

Daiy News - $/7/3; \hat{a} \times 200 \times 230/84$

vantage over Swapo, whose supporters have for years refused to register and who have boycotted local elections. Swapo also seems to be relying heavily on support from refugees who have returned or will return to Namibia, but it could be disappointed in two ways.

tions monitoring group which will decide on the

eligibility of voters |

works according to a narrowly defined legal definition of a political refugee as someone who has fled to another country because of political repression and been duly recorded as such, with dates, by the relevant authorities in that coun-

Most of the Swapo supporters who simply walked across the undefined border into a part of Angola where there was little government control and joined Swapo camps there, may not thus qualify according to the UN.

Swapo undoubtedly has almost total support among the youth of Na-mibia as the y who fought the liberation war, but, if as suggested by South Africaâ\200\231s Administrator General, the voting age limit for the election is set at 21 years, then up to 30 percent of Swapoâ\200\231s support could be lost.

Finally there is the question of voter intimidation, which could be a major factor given that it is generally agreed by soldiers and policemen in Owamboland that the Untag forces are no-

where near large enough effectively to police the area during the election.

Swapo are said to have been employing a tactic successfully used by Robert Mugabeâ\200\231s Zanu party during the Zimbabwean independence election and threatening that if they lose the election they will return to the bush and continue the $a\200\234$ struggleâ\200\235 $a\200\224$ something that no voter wants to see happen.

This is a powerful propaganda message in Owamboland where families have been split in two by the war, with some brothers fighting for Swapo and others i

the SWATF. i

If there is a single message coming from the people of Owambo-land it is $a\geq 00\geq 34$ the war must end because we want our children back $a\geq 00\geq 35$.

On the other side there is a fear, expressed even by white SADF and SWATF officers, that the

~Owambos who fought against Swapo will not tolerate the presence of

| their a Firstly the United Na- | vowed enemies to

fight even a peaceable election campaign. - \hat{a} \200\234The first Swapo fighter that walks into a cuca shop in Ondangwa will die, \hat{a} \200\235 I was told by one officer.

Opinions may be black and white in Owamboland, but the result of the voting is far from being the same.

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and kidnapping their

children and would vote | inst them in the elec- '

If Chief Kautima can lead the majority of the Kwanyama to vote for the DTA, then that, combined with the votes gathered by other Owambo splinter parties (such as the Swapodemocrats led by Andries Shipanga and the Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice party of the Rev. Peter Kalangula) will effectively deny Swapo not only the two-thirds they seek, but possibly even a simple 51 majority.

Another factor ignored by most analysts is that while Swapo may enjoy majority support, that alone does not win elections. Chanting, poster waving crowds may be impressive, but to win a party needs to ensure that it gets a majority of ieligible voters to vote for t

It is here that the parties that have been organising and registering

. voters on the ground for

years have a major ad-

INSIGHT

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international peace ini-

tiative on South Africa

were in place this week after South Africaâ\200\231s Foreign Minister paid an unexpected visit to Downing Street and Moscow announced that it did not want to escalate revolutionary violence in South Africa. Pretoria, for its part, has praised the Soviet Unionâ\200\231s role in the region.:

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~ tive to bring peace to Mozambi- -

ue.

2 Mrs Thatcher is understood to have repeated to him her insistence that Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, should be released. Mr Botha also dined with Sir Geof-

SOUTH AFRICA may be on the verge of a concerted international drive for peace following Foreign Minister Pik Bothaâ\200\231s talks with Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Moscow signals of a major shift in policy for ending apartheid. RICHARD DOWDEN, Africa Editor of The Indepen-

dent, reports from Londof\

South Africaâ\200\231s leadership crisis is hampering action but Britain appears ready to pull every diplomatic lever to set up a solution there. This might take the form of the Lancaster House talks which brought Zimbabwe to independence.

A well-placed African source said that Britain was trying to put together another Eminent Persons Group, similar to the Commonwealth team which visited South Africa in 1986 to test the

"ground for negotiations. It would

comprise representatives from the European Community, Zim-

babwe, Nigeria and other Commonwealth countries.

The Foreign Office, which was reticent about this weekâ\200\231s meetings, said there was no truth in the report. _

Stating his country \hat{a} 200\231s new policy on South Africa for the first time

uthern Africa department, said in Moscow:

 $a\200\234$ We would prefer a political

ment and want apartheid to

be d with by political means.

yesterday, Mr Yuri Yukalov, head
/f the Soviet Foreign Ministryâ\200\231s

Any soliition through military

means will be short-lived.

â\200\234We do not want to emphasise the need to enlarge the armed struggle. South Africa should not be destroyed. It should also be spoken to not only through threats or pounding our fist on the table. There should be dialogue.â\200\235

His words were backed by Mr Anatoly Gromyko, head of the Africa Institute in Moscow, who said: â\200\234There would have to be a programme of reforms submitted to nationwide discussion at which

represented . .. this will mean sitting down for negotiations for two, three or however many years to solve the problems. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$:

Last week Mr Yukalov and Mr Gromyko attended meetings in Britain, sponsored by the Foreign Office, which were also attended by leading South Africans.

A senior US source at the con-

ferences said that as Mr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, is retiring shortly, Britain was poised to take over the role of negotiation in the region. Senior Whitehall sources said Britain was playing a role.in bringing South Africa and the Soviet Union together and important developments were expected shortly.

Mr Yukalovâ\200\231s words are being matched by South Africa. A South African Broadcasting Corporation commentary marked a radical change of attitude towards the Soviet Union, once the monster behind â\200\234the total communist onslaughtâ\200\235. The commentary observed that the Soviet presence

in the region had proved helpful in

END TO SEASON OF VIOLENCE

establishing the Namibia peace accords.

. $\hat{a}200\234$ It would accordingly be realistic to exploit opportunities for a similar advance of negotiations leading to a settlment of other regional conflicts, $\hat{a}200\235$ the commentary went on.

â\200\234Although Russian spokesmen have been at pains to stress that the ANC will not be abandoned, any initiatives from any source to create a climate that will induce radical organisations to replace revolutionary politics with negotiation politics deserve to be given | careful study and consideration.â\200\235

Pretoria sees the settlement in Namibia as a chance to break out of its diplomatic isolation. Mrs | Thatcher is visiting Zimbabwe and Malawi at the end of the month, and, as the only Western leader who stands firmly between South Africa and further sanctions, is well placed to play a. role in forcing South Africa to change.;

At the same time, the Foreign Office is urging the ANC to give up $a\200\234$ armed struggle $a\200\235$.

frey Howe, the Foreign Secretary.
all sections of society would be

â\200\224 THE CITIZEN

SWA border checks to monitor influx of aliens 1~ '

By Tony Stirling
ALL persons travelling
to and from South
West Africa will have
to submit proof of
identity with the institution of a monitoring
system by the South
African Government
from Monday, March
20.

This was announced in a statement yesterday by the Director General of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl.

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Mr Van Zyl said the monitoring of the movement of people crossing the border between South Africa and SWA had been taken in terms of a decision after consultation with the Administrator General of SWA.

It had been made specifically because of the expected influx of a large

eger rowsM VI ysbind Friday 17 March 1989

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The second-in-command of the Untag in;
T e MO 0 Danâ\200\230::!\st;;.:;pi,s the officer command]ng
k yesterday. At Gen Opan
g ythe Danish contingent, Maj

Brigadier-General DANIEL ong of 103 who arrived in

or JENS KOEFOED. i

number aliens who were granted conditional entry into South West Africa for - purposes connected with the implementation of the SWA independence plan.

Orderly control of these persons required that everyone crossing the border, including residents of South Africa, would have to be subject to proper identification.

As from Monday, members of the South African police would be monitoring posts at 10 ~Roints.

These were Alexander Bay, Noenieput, Onseepkans, Rietfontein, Naroegas, Vioolsdrif and four posts at Walvis Bay.

As from the same date officials of the National Parks Board would be monitoring a post at Mata-Mata.

Rail passenger traffic would be monitored between Walvis Bay and

Swakopmund and be-

tween Upington and

Ariamsvlei.
Arrangements for

those travelling by air would be announced as soon as possible.

Initially the posts will be manned on a 24-hour basis daily, but these service hours might subse-

quently be adjusted to

suit the actual requirements of travellers.

At the monitoring posts, whether by train or road, a number of documents could be used for identity purposes. These were a South African or South West African identity document, a South African reference book, official and diplomatic

passports, including

South 'African passports, and a variety of travel documents and travel certificates, as well as birth certificates for persons under 16.

Groups such as scholars could use a collective travel certificate.

Fareigners who did not have permanent residence in South Africa or SWA would require valid from their

ey were citizens
i exempted
from visa requirements.
Foreigners leaving or
who had left Southâ\200\230\Africa
or SWA would stil | require a valid passport Jand
return visa on re-ent

ADDIS ABABA. The organisation

coming elections.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is an encouragement to Swapo in its difficult struggle to win the SWA elections, and to launch an onslaught to

drive the racists from iy bgianbe e SaDasRy 5°

Swapo gets R12-m for poll campaign%r

â\200\224 SWA, not through arms of this time but through African Unity yesterday gave the South West Africa Peopleâ\200\231s Organisation a cheque for \$5 million (R12-m) for its campaign in the forth-

the ballot, \hat{a} 200\235 said Swapo President Sam Nujoma.

The money was part of R16 million OAU promised Swapo during the February Foreign Ministers conference. Mr Oumarou made no mention of when the OAU, itself perpetually plagued by lack of funds, would deliver the

De Cuellar
begs money,)
â\200\230for Swapoâ\200\231

WINDHOEK. â\200\224 A
Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) spokesman
says nothing can be allowed to jeopardise the implementation of UN Resolution 435, which he describes as the only solution to the future of South
West Africa.

Reacting to reports that the Secretary-General of the world body, Dr Javier

Perez de Cuellar, had cir-

culated an invitation to members of the UN to contribute to certain trust funds, known to be sources of income for Swapo, the spokesman warned that deviation from 4335â\200\231s strict code of impartiality could have dire consequences.

Details of the Secretary-Generalâ\200\231s invitation were released by news agencies yesterday morning and confirmed in Windhoek by a copy of the document addressed to South Africaâ\200\231s permanent representative at the UN, Mr Jeremy Shearer.

The invitation from Dr
De Cuellar for members
of the world body to contribute to the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, specifies the funds
as being the UN Educational and Training Programme for Southern
Africa, the UN Fund for
Namibia, General Account, the UN Trust Fund
for the Nationhood Pro-

gramme for Namibia, and the Trust Fund for the UN Institute for Namibia.

Stressing the seriousness of the matter less than a fortnight before implementation date, the

spokesman again emphasised the DTAâ $200\231s$ commitment to content as well as letter and spirit of Resolutin 435.

- . He said it was not only the Secretary-General, but also the South African Administrator-General who should be setting the pace and example of impartiality.
- . The people of SWA were entitled to expect

the architects of its destiny to keep their word. The spokesman expressed his satisfaction that Swapo had proclaimed to accept reconciliation, rather than violence, as the basic principle from which to negotiate the future of SWA. 25 "He added he also agreed with. Swapoâ\200\231s view thatsa free and fair $elec-a\200\235$ tion \hat{a} 200\234would determine who the authentic representatives of the people of SWA were. â\200\224 Sapa.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ They aim to confine Swapo during polls $\hat{a}\200\231$

ADDIS ABABA. â\200\224Swapo chief Mr Sam Nujoma accused South Africa, the United States and Britain of plotting to prevent his forces from taking part in the territoryâ\200\231s general elections in November.

He warned that such a

move would be strongly resisted. \hat{A}^{c} :

â\200\2341 am aware of manoeuvres by racist South Africa, with the support of Britain and the United States, to confine Swapo fighters to their bases in Zambia and Angola during the elections.â\200\235 Mr Nujoma said. T

 $\hat{a}\200\234We$ are not going to tolerate such mischief . . .

[Swapo will open fire and

fight to the end. We cannot be pushed around and let Namibian fighters be driven out of the country during the election period, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he added.

Mr Nujoma was speak-

ing at a ceremony in Addis Ababa where he received a cheque for R12 million from Mr Ide Oumarou, secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

_The mo%'&%AU

ng Swapo in the
.+ polls that will lead next

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year to independence for South West Africa.

The independence is part of a regional peace deal agreed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola at*US-mediated talks last

year. /4

Swapo, which is favoured to win the elections, and African states
have already expressed
fears that South Africa
will try to rig the election
after the UN Security
Council cut the SWA
peacekeeping forceâ\200\231 during the polls to 4 650 from
the 7 500 orginally planned.

Mr Nujoma said South Africa had brought into SWA 40 000 Angolan rebels and 40 000 Blacks from its tribal homelands to try to rob Swapo of an electoral win.

In addition, he said, Pretoria had raised the voting age to 21 from 18 and many young Swapo followers would be barred from the vote. â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

LONDON. â\200\224 British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher,

said yesterday that she was optimistic that jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, would be freed soon.

She was speaking in Parliament the day after her first official talks with a South African Government Minister since 1984.

Answering questions,

Mrs: Thatcher said. she had urged the release of Mandela, jailed for life in 1964 on charges of organising violent revolution, in talks on Wednesday with South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who made a surprise visit to London.

Granting Mandela his freedom $a\200\234$ would change the atmosphere complete-ly $a\200\235$ in South Africa and make it possible to start

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meaningful talks between the government and the countryâ\200\231s Black and other communities, Mrs Thatcher said.

â\200\234I think a number of people in South Africa in very high places take the same view, but have not been able to bring it about. I remain optimistic that before very long they will be able to do so.â\200\235

Mr Botha told British television on Wednesday

GIE

that he looked forward to the day Mandela could be released unconditionally. Mrs Thatcher praised Pretoriaâ\200\231s role in helping to bring about the independence process under way in South West Africa and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. â\200\234It is very, very good news indeed and would not have been done with-

TO PAGE 2

ELA MAY

BE FRE

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Y SR s

Mandela may be free soon â\200\224 Maggie

, £ Baalel -/ Vit

out the overwhelming cooperation of South Africa. It augurs well for the
future of Southern Africa
asâ\200\230a whole,â\200\235 she said.

Mrs Thatcher will visit
Zimbabwe and Malawi as
part of a week-!ong African tour at the end of this
month, but aides said she
had no plans to go to
South Africa itself.
Archbishop
Huddleston,

Trevor leader of

Britainâ\200\231s Anti-Apartheid

Movement, attacked Mrs

{ Thatcher over her talks i with Mr Botha.

Hhe said Mr Bothaâ\200\231s

*;diplomatic trip to Europe

was a determined effort by Pretoria to reap political gain from the agreement over South West® Africa.®

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The tragedy is that South Africa only entered into negotiations over its withdrawal because of international pressures and the success of the freedom struggle, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Archbishop Huddleston said.

â\200\234Mrs Thatcher, by receiving Mr Pik Botha, is relaxing the pressure on Pretoria and therefore undermines the very negotiations which'it claims to advocate.â\200\235

Mrs Thatcher's talks would $\hat{a}\200\235$ only bring comfort to the apartheid regime $\hat{a}\200\235\hat{a}\200\231$. $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa-Reuter.

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THE CITIZEN

. Fridz

Time for new team [T , o take over reins Treatment of PW is disgrace $200\231$

AN important . question now facing the National Party, the government and ultimately the country as a'whole is whether the State President will $a\geq 00\geq 30$ insist on staying in office or if an arrangement canbe reached to facilitate his early retirement.

The fact of the matter is that at no time during these past few decades has South Africa reached such a low point in the field of intA@rnational relations as it did under the

. current Presidency.

The situation in the economical arena is just — as bad. The rand is rapidly becoming one of the more worthless currencies on the international money markets and we are surely on our way to becoming an impover— ished banana republic.

Some might say that all this has nothing to do with the President or his leadership. That all this is the result of pressures, boycotts and sanctions

~ forced upon us by a hyp-

ocritical and vindictive outside world.

Maybe so. But many will also say that it is precisely at times of crisis that a country is in need of determined and inspiring leadership locally as well as internationally,

politically as well as economicaily.

And in all honesty, it is difficult to .see where exactly the greatness of our present leadership hessiia::

80 possibly after all the

President should take heed of the writing on the

wall. In view of his age, -

his state of health and of the fact that the National Party has already elected a new leader, he should now gracefully give up his office and retire.

The time is more than ripe for a new team to

. take over with immÃ@diate

effect the challenge and responsibility of running the country.

'SOUTH AFRICAN

Orange Grove

I THINK it is absolutely disgraceful the way PW is being treated, because dared to fall ill. Anyon would think that an illness is something suffered only by the elderly, which in my experience is a complete fallacy. I work in an office where we have 28 permanent staff members, 17 of which are under 50 and the balance of 11 between 50 and 65. 1 also keep the leave records and looking back at last year $\hat{200}$ 231s records, which are no exception, 95 days sick leave were taken by the under 50s and 17 days by the over 50s which gives an average of 5,5

days and 1,5 days respect-ively.

The older person knows that if he is off for every little sniffle his job could be on the line and The Citizen PO Box 7712

Johannesburg 2000

e also Knows that he will be discriminated against in todayâ\200\231s market place where the younger people wait around to â\200\234inheritâ\200\235 a position, rarely attempting to earn it. Their attitude is â\200\234so what, if I lose my job a thousand other

companies will be only.

too happy to have my valued services $\frac{200}{235}$. Surely age should not be a factor,

but rather performance

and in PWâ\200\231s case surely he should first be given the opportunity to show whether/or not his past illness will effect his work detrimentally before calling for his resignation. PW was chosen over and above much younger men because he was con-

sidered the man for the job, and until it can be shown that he is not able to fulfil his duty, he should be allowed to con-

- . tinue for the remainder of
- " his term of office.

The Left and Right Wingers in the Press are using this opportunity to sow disharmony in the NP and they will be foolish to allow themselves to be inveigled into this position.

I am the one to say thank you to a man who has given so many of his. best years to serving his country, he must ignore those few ingrates.

APPRECIATIVE TAX-

PAYER

Germiston

Accusat es false im â\200\224 Stoffel

creat

THE accusation that steps had been taken * against individual reporters under security meas- \(\frac{a}{200\234}\) ures when they were \(\frac{a}{200\234}\) only doing their job\(\frac{a}{200\235}\) created a false impression, the Minister of \(\frac{a}{200\234}\)Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

=% e L

Speaking during a debate on a private memberâ\200\231s motion by Mr Dave Dalling (PFP, Sandton) that government muzzling

and harassment of the

Press be condemned, he

said the media emergencyregulations had not been

introduced to protect the
government against criticism. :

There was a general agreement that if rights

were to be enjoyed by all,

they had to be subject to
qualification.
- Leaders in the media

~ world â\200\234readily acknowl-

edge that freedom of the Press cannot be an absolute right $a\200\235$.

-+ Mr Botha moved an amendment that the House, while reaffirming its commitment to pursuing the objective that the public should be as fully and objectively informed as is permitted by considerations such as decency, the threat to public safety and the maintenance of

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rego_ri.:ers

public order, express:

@ Its appreciation to the vast majority of members of the media who performed

with responsibility and

-dedication;

@ Its disapproval of the fact that in these times material which was a threat to public safety or the maintenance of order, or was calculated to have this effect, continued to be published a \200\234to such an extent that it is imperative to address the publishers concerned in accordance with the existing media emergency regulations a \200\235.

Mr Dalling said in his motion that by muzzling the free Press in South Africa, the government had damaged the state of democracy in the country and seriously impaired the right of all South Africans to be fully informed on current events and developments in their land.

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pression

He was moving a motion that the House, reafing its commitment of the right of the public to be fully informed, condemns the governmentâ\200\231s use of arbitrary executive

ers {ing the past two years to0 muzzle the free Press, to suspend and close down newspapers and other publications opposed to it, â\200\230and to harass, restrict and detain journalists doing their jobs.

Mr Dalling said there was no doubt a free and

inquiring Press formed part of the very foundations of democracy.

Just as streetlights at night were proven deterrents to crime, the media were the streetlights of society $a\200\224$ if the Press was free.

â\200\234In ideal conditions of darkness, of secrecy and security from discovery, those whose trade it is to

perpetrate evil, can thrive unchecked. $\hat{a}\200\234$ Under those same

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ conditions, many people, \tilde{a} . otherwise

law-abiding,
will perversely do things
and commit acts they

. would never contemplate, $\hat{\mathbf{A}} \ll \mathrm{if}$ they thought

they would be found out. \hat{a} \200\235

These unpleasant realities were not confined only to crime and violence.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ They transport themselves into many spheres of life $\hat{a}\200\224$ into business transactions, financial dealings and, most particularly, into the conduct of public life, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Mr Dalling said.;

IS the Soviet Union going to play a role for peace in South Africa as it did behind the scenes, in Angola and South West Africa?

And if it does, will it mean that terrorism by the African National Congress, which it backs with weapons and limpet mines, will come to an end under Soviet pressure?

Clearly Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik

Botha, is confident this will happen. Speaking in London, he welcomed comments

by senior Soviet officials rejecting a military

solution to racial conflicts in South Africa. $a\200\2340f$ course, this will help us find a solution to

our problems. I believe, in general, that the

season of violence is over since the Soviet Union decided not to pursue its global interest\gxn violence and terrorist organisation-. -

 \hat{A} «Whether the ANC likes it or not, the season of their methods is over. \hat{a} \200\235

Mr Bothaâ\200\231s confidence is based on a statement

by Mr Yuri Yukalov, head of the Soviet For-

ark

THE National Party
' branch of Dawn-Park
and the ~Germiston
" Distrietâ\200\235 divisional of.fice is against declaring
3 Windmill ~ Park in
â\200\234Boksburg_ an Indian
residential area.
Brigadier Kobus Bos" man, MP for Germiston
District, was reacting to a.
biyâ\200\230th' Qg for hi

eign Ministryâ\200\231s Department of African Coun-

tries, that $a\200\234a\200\230$ we would prefer a political settlement and want apartheid to be dealt with by . political means.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Any solution through military means will be short-lived. There should be dialogue. $\hat{a}\200\235$

This view was reinforced by Mr Anatoly Gromyko, director of the Soviet Academy of Sci-

enceâ\200\231s Africa Institute, who said majority rule in Sotith Africa could only be achieved through stages.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ There would have to be a programme of reforms submitted to nationwide discussion at which all sections of society would be represented, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said. .

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This will mean sitting down for negotiations for two, three or however many years necessary to solve the problems. $\hat{a}\200\235$

But Mr Vasili Solodovnikov, a senior member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and an African specialist, took a tougher line, saying he opposed talks with members of the South: African Government. He also defended the use of armed force, saying that it was justified by $a\200\234$ government violence $200\235$.

At the same time, the ANC made it clear in Moscow that it intended to intensify the $\frac{200}{234}$ military $\frac{200}{235}$ campaign to end apartheid.

This does not suggest it is under any Soviet $\frac{200}{230}$ to end the so-called $\frac{200}{230}$ 200\234\200\234 armed struggle $\frac{200}{235}$.

But even if the Soviet Union wants a peaceful solution, it is not the kind of solution that South Africa wants.

It seeks not only the end of apartheid, but majority rule. Since it supports the ANC with its SA Communist Party component, it is an ANC government that it wants installed in Pretoria.

Peace at any price is out $\hat{a}\200\224$ particularly if it is peace on the terms the Soviet Union hopes to achieve.

The Russian Bear may try to make itself out to be a tame animal, but it is as dangerous as it has always been.

Bosman that Windmill Pak would stay White, a promise which had now broken.

9

By Helen Truter

å\200\234guaranteedâ\200\235

the government

ible decision by the .-) ERX $\$ %

t branches donâ\200\231t \hat{a} \200\230want Nw!n

o be Indian

il =

stop the council from dragging the name of Boksburg, and South Africa, further into the mud.:

â\200\234The decision to cut
power to Indian families
would have resulted in a_
tarnished image for both
Boksburg and SA.â\200\235

Brig Bosman said all

- parties concerned would

be given the opportunity 10 fate Hhei point of view

rejec

FROM PAGE 1

| 'by the Free Settlement Board.

He and his divisional committee were against the proclamation of Windmill Park, and the adjacent Finaalspan, as an Indian area because villa Liza would more than meet the foreseeable housing requirements for East Rand Indians.

«Wwe are aware of the continued efforts of a Boksburg property developer to try and force the

area to become Indian in spite of the government $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31s$ decision. !

] have great empathy
with the individuals who
have consequently found

themselves in an unenviable position. We will give evidence in this regard before the board. '

I will put $SA\hat{a}\200\231s$ interest first, and in spite of the CP council trying to make cheap politics of this issue, 1 will look after the . interests of my voters as best I can, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Brig Bosman.

e . .

Page 18 THE CITIZEN Friday 17 March /989

118 Africans to quit â\200\230racistâ\200\231 China

BEIJING. â\200\224 A group of 18 African students from Senegal will leave China over the next five days because they say China is racist and life had become intolerable.

Alpha Ndirye, a Senegalese student, said yesterday he and six other Senegalese students will

stay behind to finish the school year and then follow their countrymen home.

When they leave, he said, Senegal will have no more students in China.

Two Senegalese diplomats contacted yesterday refused comment. Beijing demes all charges of racism.

The departure would

mark the first time African students have left China en masse since anti-Black racial incidents exploded in four Chinese cities in December and January.

The incidents started in the eastern city of Nanking when Africans and Chinese fought on Christmas Eve after Africans tried to bring Chinese

girlfriends to a school dance.

Chinese later stoned

 $a\200\230$ the Africans $a\200\231$ dormitory

and marched through Nankingâ $200\231s$ streets, shouting â $200\234Kill$ the Black devilsâ $200\235$ and demanding that Africans involved in the fight be punished. One

African was held by police for 25 days and two

others were detained for two weeks.

One of them, Alpha Robinson of Ghana, left China.

Lesser confrontations involving alleged racism against African students occurred in Beijing and two other cities. About 500 African students boycotted classes at the Beijing languages institute.

ATRTOÂ¥ e O T e S E R T T

They returned to classes on February 22 after the end of winter vacation. Ndirye said the Senegalese were returning home because they believe that . â\200\234China is racistâ\200\235.

 $^{\sim}$ â\200\234Everywhere we go

they still call us names and rub our skin to see if we will become whiter, $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ he said. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ The situation has become intolerable. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$ $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ Sapa-AP.

,-â\200\231â\200\224

Citizen Reporter

THE Commissioner gf
Police, General Hennie
de Witt, says the police
should not be regarded as
the enemy and has warned that strong action will
be taken against those
who disrupt law and orider.;

- He was speaking at a function on Wednesday

the SAP

Police

when the Nigez1 "tl'own{'
! | Council presented its an- ypicipal
nual honorary shield to;

HA®wW

as t

or individual vw{ho has achieved success 1n Or for South Africa.

Nigelâ\200\231s mayor, Mr J le Roux, said the award was being presented for the exemplary way in which the SAP had handled ten-

 $\tilde{\ }$ se situations during the

 \hat{a} 200\230must

not be seen

utionary forces, which are trying to drive a wedge between the police and the public, that they are not going to succeed.

 $\hat{a}\200\234QOur$ country. is still under pressure from the onslaught from Moscow

through the SA Communist ghParty; $\hat{a}\200\230$ value $\hat{a}\200\234$ ANC

 \hat{a} \200\230and the PAC.

11 Mase W I8 e encm

trying to give the impression that our country IS ungovernable and will fall. into communistic hands.

â\200\234South African and"
foreign countries are be-

ginning to see that our people are standing to-

gether just as strongly as \hat{a} 200\230before. They have seen the positive results of

police action to ovel

come Bas 7 Friday 17 March 1989

Blacksâ\200\231

By Robert Dvorchak

NEW. YORK. â\200\224 A quarter of a century after the Civil Rights

| Act outlawed racial discrimination, the quality. - of life for

Blacks has substantially declined in some respects, recent studies show.

The studies, including a report released on Wed-nesday by the Depart-ment of Health and Human Services, also show a vast disparity between the average lives of - Whites and Blacks.

The reports paint this cheerless picture: Blacks are twice as likely as Whites to die at birth; the survivors - have shorter, harsher lives; they have twice the trouble getting jobs, and are three times more likely to be poor.

 $a\200\234$ The nation cannot allow such a significant part of its citizenry to experience such disadvantages, $a\200\235\200\235$ said Mr Billy Tidwell, Director of Research for the National

of life

Urban League in Wash-ington.

Mortality rates

Of 1 000 Black babies born in 1984, 18,4 died before they were a year old. The mortality rate for White babies was 9,4 per 1000 births, according to the National Centres for Disease Control.

Low birth weight and lack of proper medical care were the main cause of death, the CDC said.

The poor and -undereducated are the least likely to get prenatal and

_ follow-up care.

A Black child born in 1986 can expect to die six years sooner than a White

child, according to the US

Census Bureau. Life expectancy among Whites rose from 75,3 years to 75,4 years between 1984 and 1986. For Blacks, it dropped from 69,7 to 69.4.

The poverty rate for Blacks in 1986 was 31,1

 $a\200\230$ percent, compared with

the 11 percent rate for Whites, the Census Bureau said. The Black rate

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ is worse than the 1969 fig-

ure of 28 percent.

The jobless rate among Blacks in 1987 was 13 percent, 2,5 times the 5,3 percent rate for Whites. If agencies counted Blacks who were so discouraged that they have quit looking for work, the rate approaches 25 percent, according to the National Committee for Full Employment.

The median Black family income in 1987 was 17,604 dollars (R44 900) compared with 30,809

dollars (R78 500) for Whites, according to the Urban League. That

same year, 44,2 percent of Black families had incomes of less than 10 000 dollars (R25 500), more than triple the rate for Whites.

Black males have the highest death rates from accidents to violence of any ethnic group with 153 per 100 000. The White rate is 98,6 per 100 000, according to a 1984 Urban League report.

More in jail

Blacks make up 12 percent of the national population, but 34 percent of prison inmates are Black and 54 percent are White, according to the 1988 Corrections Yearbook.

Blacks are twice as like--

ly than Whites to be infected with Aids. The infection rate rose 51 percent among Blacks last year, according to the Health and Human Services Department.

Black males had the greatest slippage in college enrolment among any racial or ethnic group over the past decade, according to a study in January by the American

said

N[ysbnA

IOFrSens

Council on Education. Enrolment dropped from 4.3 percent in 1976 to 3.5 percent by 1986.

Fair housing is also a challenge, according to a February study in the Social Science Quarterly.

An Asian or Hispanic who has finished the third grade has a higher chance of living in an integrated neighbourhood than a Black with a doctorate.

 $\hat{a}\200\234Blacks$ are exposed to higher crime rates, less ef-

fective educational systems, higher mortality risks, more dilapidated surroundings and a poorer socio-economic environment than Whites, â\200\235 researcher Nancy Denton, of the University of Chicago.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Integration is possible, even likely, for all ethnic and racial groups except Blacks. $\hat{a}\200\235$ $\hat{a}\200\224$ Sapa-AP.:

JUDGMENT was reserved in the Rand Surpreme Court yesterday in a a^200^234 test a^200^235 case about whether or not a political

party mayale for defama-

tion. 5 N

The Sowetan - newspaper published two articles on April 1 and 2,

claims defamed the party. The Argus company

| had denied the articles

were defamatory. it has

corporation, cannot defamed.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the general secretary of Inka-

3

I Kkath:

T de

1986 which Inkatha

alternatively claimed that
| Inkatha, as a non-trading
be.

tha, is suing the Argus

- Printing and Publishing Company and Mr Joe La-takgomo, the former Editor of the Sowetan, for R7 000.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ The reports were about the since-banned National Education of Crisis Committee $\hat{a}\200\231s$ (NECC) resolutions on Inkatha.

According to papers, Dr Dhlomo maintains

~ that readers of the Sowe-

tan would have under-

stood that, among other

things, Inkatha

@ Was guilty of committing, or of inciting, criminal acts; and ® Was co-operating with

defamaf 410n
ti¬\202,iâ\200\230ii,, N

petuating or enforcing apartheid.

As a result of this, the reputation, dignity and - esteem of Inkatha and its abilities to promote and further its aims and objects had been impaired.

The Argus company has denied that the articles were defamatory or that they were intended to mean â\200\224 or in fact were understood by Sowetan readers to mean â\200\224 what Inkatha alleges.

Alternatively, . they claim that even if the allegations are established, Inkatha, as a non-trading

'~oorporat10n, cannot be
detamed . o=

- It has further stated in'papers that the articles
| were published to inform

Sowetan. readers $\hat{a}\200\224$ as members of the public $\hat{a}\200\224$ of the proceedings of the NECC conference. The

_ readers had the right to

receive this information.
Mr Brian Doctor, ap-

, pearing, for the Argus || company, said there was | no doubt a judgment in | favour of Inkatha could | constitute a severe re-

case

ed

been the limits of pnb $\[\]$ \201c debate.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Never had there been a case like this before, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said. .

He said there $a\200\230$ were no

known cases of any political party having sued for this sort of relief before. There was a general con-

_sensus there were no grounds for this claim.

- He said people could say, for example, the National Party was guilty of this or that without worrying about defaming it; but people were cautious of saying Mr X of the National Party did this or that, knowing that the individual could sue for hâ\200\224 : bel.

straint on what hitherto

robe: S dgte P;; \%nter_

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DE

no

Court Reporter
OFFICIALS of the Department of Education
and Training never
thought to.ask the State
Printer if prices paid to
Mr Tinus Strydom â\200\224 son
of the director of the de-

* partment, Mr Jaap Strydom $\hat{a}\200\224$ for printed matter were reasonable or not,

â\200\234Mr

the Van Den Heever
Commission _of Inquiry
heard in Pretoria- yesterday. :

Richard Beech, assistant director. of community communication for the DET, testified for aâ\200\231 third day before the commlss on mvestlgatmg transactions worth R2,5 million concluded by DET officials with Mr Strydom Jr.

Mr Beech said a number of posters and other printed matter, obtained from Mr Strydom IJr, were taken as examples to a 1987 meeting between officials of his department and the State Printer, where the possibility of

! urgent work through state

contractors cussed.
Two questions by Mr
Nollie Niehaus, for the commission, and = Miss
Justice Leonara van den
Heever, who heads the
inquiry,â\200\235 Mr Beech admitted this meetinig would
have been an ideal opportunity to ask the State

was

-thought to ask the State

dis- -

~ obtain publicity material.

Printer if prices quoted by $a \geq 00 \geq 31$ Mr Strydom Jr were . reasonable.

But, he said, the dis-

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ cussion was not about fi-

nances, and no-on¢,

Printer such a question. Mr Beech denied-a suggestion by Mr Niehaus that they were 1b $a\200\234$ fact afraid to ask about prices.

Mr Beech- was . (yester-day questioned ab{ut correspondence between various state departments aimed at eventually obtaining a special-delegation.)

never discussed a consultancy service with either He said his department

the State Printer or Provision Administration; although he regarded it as 1mp11c1t that such a service would have been included when they talked about the printing of posters.

The inquiry continues today.

tion from the State Tender Board in order for the community ~ communication division to negotiate with outside concerns to

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APE TOWN. â\200\224
(S:outh Africa accused
ited Nations Sec-
:Ã@jâ\200\230ftâ\200\230;y-Ge_neral Dr Jav-
jer Perez de Cuellar,
yesterday of favouring
Swapo in th.e.sypem-
sion of Namibiaâ\200\231s tran-
sition - to indepen-
dence. : i
overnment sai
D; [h ePelgez de - Cuellar
planned a conference 013
March 22, the UN m.terâ\200\230__
national day for the elgm\hat{A}S_
nation of Tacial dlscru;nr
nation, to raise mone); i f ;)
organisations funding
Sw;hp:. conference takes
plaÃ@e only eight days be-
fore UN troops and civi- -
lian monitors begin supe;
vising the inde%en(tl:rm :
the ter
rocess under
gf? a peace agreement
which also provides for
the withdrawal of 509(:2
Cuban troops lfrom neig
uring Angola.
boâ\200\234Thi\% really is a most
serious complication,
said Mr Neil van H;gr;
den, South Africaâ\200\231s C ;li
representative at the talks
which last year negotiated
eace agreement.
thi%rese funds were 1n
the past always fronts for
hief of favourin
wapo
the collection of funds for -
the Secretary-
00 = e
%vzng(r)al is_sponsoring Et
fund which sengusly a'mlli;
promises his impartia
ty.â\200\235
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 \hat{a} \200\234four funds

FROM PAGE 1

to be hell to pay. a^200^235

South Africa hopes to prevent Swapo from win.ning a two-thirds majority in general elections

control over the drafting
of an independence constitution.

Mr Van Heerden said the fund-raising drive violated an agreement between South Africa and

hie

scheduled for November £1; which - would give it full =

'[hood programme for Na-

advice of Swapo and therefore to their benefit.

related

Swapoâ\200\231s estimate of the number of refugees out-

 \hat{a} 200\230 Ghaen= %Méw(SA \hat{a} \200\230accises

the UN on ways of ensur-

ing the elections were free

and fair.

The contributions and | pledges have been an an- | nual event for some years now and concerns the fol- i lowing funds:

+# @ United w#es Nations

Educational and Training Programme for Southern |
Africa;

@ United Nations °
Fund for Namibia, General Account;

```
® United Nations
Trust Fund for the nation-
f of bids /
Over many years
bers of refugees it claimed
to be harbouring in camps
because countries such as
Sweden paid their contri-
butions to Swapo on a per
capita basis.
The result was that
whereas Swa now
spoke of 80 000 refugees,
the UN itself estimated
figures between 40 000
and 60 000 while some es-
timated that no more than
15 000 Swapo supporters
mibia; and
® @ Trust Fund for
the United Nations Insti-
tute for Namibia.
It was general knowl-
edge that these funds
were spent only on the
Mr Van Heerden said a
matter - was
side the territory.
IY\hat{a}200\231s botders.
Reuter,
@ See page 4.
â\200\224 Sapa-
Swapo had inflated num--
were outside the territo- -
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oy Heebeneï¬\201tir:ig
he New York fundf:i);?ntg conference wet;e
established Swapo fron .
â\200\234] nearly had a â\200\230hea' .
attack,â\200\235 he told reâ\200\230;â\200\230)orteilr:
in Cape Town. â\200\234If t 5
parties inside Nam}bxa ge
wind of this there is going

THE Citi=2aN - 11 MARen 1959

)-year incubation
for'Aids?

By Malcolm Ritter
NEW YORK. â\200\224 Half
of gay men who become infected with the
Aids virus may remain
free of the disease for
nearly 10 years, about

 \hat{a} 200\234two years longer than

recently reported estimates suggest, a study says.

The median incubation time of 9,8 years is â\200\234the best estimate so far,â\200\235 but medical treatments might make it longer, says researcher, Mr Andrew Moss.

He and a colleague, Mr
Peter Bacchitti, of the
University of California,
San Francisco and San
Francisco General Hospital presented the work in
yesterdayâ\200\231s issue of the
British journal, Nature.

New approach

The study represents a new approach to estimating Aids incubation time, and $a\200\234ita\200\231s$ good work, $a\200\235$ John Kalbfleisch of the

- university of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, says.

Prof Kalbfleisch, a statistics professor who has done similar research, says incubation estimates are uncertain because too little time has passed since the earliest Aids infections to give a clearer picture.

Recearchers analysed three studiesâ\200\235 that indicated trends in infection rates among San Francisco gay men since 1978, and compared them to monthly totals of new cases of, Aids.

The analysis estimated incubation times = that would be consistent with

the two sets of data. It was not designed to determine the proportion of infected men who would eventually get Aids, Mr Moss says.

He believes incubation

periods . seen . among
people who are infected

yotzigiM omird aod? tud esoil

by transfusions will even tually approach the 9,8 year figure. 3

He also believes the incubation period will be lengthened by giving infected people the drug AZT and an aerosol form of Fentamidine.

The work suggests that the number of new Aids cases among San Francisco gay men will decline after this year. Other studies suggest the number of new infections started to decline after 1982.

Several teams of re-

. searchers have previously

estimated Aids incuba-

tion times.

Last year, prof Kalb-fleisch and colleague J F Lawless suggested that half of adults infected by tainted blood transfusions may still be free of Aids 7,3 years after infection.

Also last year, researchers at the Centres for Disease Control in Atlanta and the San Francisco Department of Public

Health estimat \tilde{A} ©d an average incubation of 7,8 years among 84 gay men.

Other estimates

A British economist suggested a 15-year average incubation period in a 1987 analysis of blood transfusion data, but his study has since been criticised by other scientists. Another transfusion study that year estimated an eight-year average.

A report by the Insti-

tute of Medicine esti-

sermon of

9

to me,

on a cross. \hat{a} \200\235

saying, â\200\234You are special
Archbishop
Tutu told some 300
people packed into a
Managua church.

 $a\200\234$ Just look what God .did to God $a\200\231$ s son. When you are God $a\200\231$ s favourite, God leaves you to hang

Tutu preaches on suffering in Nicaragua

with Nicaraguans this week, telling them that

their suffering was a people of Nicaragua and

sign that they were everybody thought

special to God. Heaven had come to $a\200\234$ We share with you - earth. 5

here in Nicaragua and $\hat{a}\200\234$ And then the war

we say when you suffer broke out and some of

in some ways God is the rich of the world de-

Sapa-Reuter.

Referring to Nicaraguaâ\200\231s 1979 Leftist revolution and subsequent war against US-backed Contra rebels, said, â\200\234God set free the

cided they wanted to teach the people of Ni-caragua a lesson. The people of Nicaragua want peace but they are not able to get peace. The people of Nicaragua want to be able to live in harmony.â\200\235 â\200\224

mated that 25 percent to 50 percent of infected people will develop Aids in five to 10 years.

Aids has struck 87,188
Americans and killed 49,
976 since â\200\230June 1981,
according to the most recent CDC figures. Sixtyone pei!ent of cases have
occurred in gay or bisexual males.

The Aids virus is called Human Immunodeficiency Virus, or HIV. It is spread most often through sexual contact, needles or syringes shared by drug abusers, infected blood or blood products, and from pregnant women to their offspring. â\200\224 Sapa-AP.

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I 8 1T vlu"mw?

By Fred de Lange

*THE $\hat{a}200\230$ Minister of Nat- $\hat{a}200\234$ ional Education and ,_,chanrman of the Minis-iters $\hat{a}200\231$ Council in the :House of Assembly, $\hat{a}200\234$ Mr F W de Klerk, last $\hat{a}200\230$ night called for a new-and critical look at the :school system in South ! Africa.

Speaking at the opening of a new campus for

*Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said the country was still looking towards education and its leaders for the :key contribution in the

Â¥

acceptance of "the challenges of the future. :

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ have no doubt that a large part of the solution for South Africa $\hat{a}\200\231s$ problems, rests in the quality of the education and provision of education of all its children. $\hat{a}\200\235$

Research had shown that the provision of education in the future would be radically influenced by demographic factors.

 $\hat{a}\200\2340$ ur population profile is beginning to change

and with that the need in terms of the level of education for the total population is increasing.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ And, with the increase in the education profile, the need for more work is increasing due to the increase in popula-

tion. â\200\2340n the one side -people leaving school.

need to be equipped for the demands of our time but on the other hand, the labour $\hat{a}\200\230$ market must be able to absorbour $\hat{a}\200\231$ children. $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

A further factor was the scarcity of economic sources which was causing a big challenge for education.

The time had come for cost effective, quality education, Mr De Klerk said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234As$ posmve loyal citizens we must destroy the growing spirit of materialism and the reduction in ethical values.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The answer does not lie in asking for more anymore. $\hat{a}\200\235$ &

Mr' De Klerk also $\hat{a}\200\224$ called for a change in the

 $\hat{a}\200\234In$ the year 2000 we _are going to need more $\hat{a}\200\234$ adaptable people and it is the duty of the teachers to $\hat{a}\200\231$ equip children for a fast $\hat{a}\200\224$ changing world:

â\200\234In South Africa we have to teach respect for others and we must allow each other the possibility of an own community life.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It is also here where we have to work out an accord of co-operation

with each other.

 $\hat{a}\200\2340$ ur children may not be allowed to leave school as strangers in the world and for that reason our children must be ready,

by the time they leave

_.at.s .,;00 system

FW urges critical look a

shcool, to live and build on their Christian_ and moral values in a responsible way.

â\200\234They must support and renew their own culture but at the same time be able to cross-pollinate from other cultures, they must take their responsibilities towards South Africa and be able to live and work in harmony with others,â\200\235 Mr De Klerk said.

education o children. * $-\hat{a}\200\224$

Whites ask R6,6-hillion

/ RACIAL 'exclusivity in the tricameral system of

\parliament came under fire in Parliament yesterday with the presentation of the three own affairs budgets.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ The three racially exclusive own affairs budgets were delivered in Parliament with the $\hat{a}\200\230$ whites asking for R6,6 billion, the coloureds for R2,7 billion and the Indians for R1 billion for the year.

~ White Minister of the Budget, Mr Kent Durr, interpreted the rising $a\200\234$ budget of the white house as a further indication $a\200\234$ there is still positive advance in the expansion of the own affairs. \hat{a} \200\235 Decried "But his opposite numbers Mr A A Julies of the House of Representatives and Mr Ismail Kathrada of the House of Delegates in their budget speeches decried racial exclusivity and called for non-racial government.

Mr Kathrada hit the. â\200\230Government for not fully | implementing the constitution of 1983 which | stipulated that funds for own affairs administra-

 $\tilde{\ }$ tions had to be allocated according to a formula.

The non-application \mid $a \geq 00 \leq 34a \leq 00 \leq 34$ postpones

~ the achievement of parity wth white in several fields.
" a\200\234The area of substantial certainty in the funding of own affairs (in " the constitution) which was a selling point of the tricameral system, - is ~ smaller than the area of | ~ complete certainty. |

ZULU warriors and women in traditional garb sang and

Colourful danced at the opening of the

- n
first sessio f the fifth
0 p e n l n g KwaZulu Le; IsI:tIve :sselm-

bly at Ulundi thisweek. Mr SOWETAN, Friday, March 17, 1989

Chris Heunis, who was then acting State President, officially opened the session.

INKATHA SUES

THE main issue of a trial, which began in the Rand Supreme Court this week, concerns whether Inkatha has the right to sue for defamation.

The action was' brought by Inkathaâ\200\231s secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in his private

capacity.

The defendants are the Argus Printing and Publishing Ltd and the former editor of the Sowetan, which published the articles complained of, Mr Joe Latakgomo.

The articles were published on April 1 and April 8, 1986, and dealt with matters discussed at the National Education

" This view was upheld by the court and Inkatha appealed. The appellate Division decision said a non-trading company can sue in certain circumstances, such as when defamatory statements would cause financial prejudice.

But the question of whether an organisation with a political character can sue was left open.

The amount mention- | , ed in papers was R25 000. [

(Proceeding)

Consultative. Committee (NECC)â\200\231s congress held in Durban at the end of March 1986. (The NECC has since been banned.)

The trial, being heard by Mr Justice M ${\tt S}$

 $\ensuremath{\mathsf{L}}$ Stegman, is the sequel to

other court cases. The Sunday Tribune carried similar articles and when Inkatha attempted to sue that newspaper it said Inkatha, as a non-trading

. company, had no right to

sue.

```
the black anthem werc =
_written at about the k-
' Mr CHRIS Heunis, who was then Acting State President (oentre), with
KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Speaker, MrS T Mthimkhulu (right), and
presidential aide, Mr T Butler, stand in attention as the national anthems s
4 NTHEMS
are sung.
owWeisN - 1 \hat{a}\204¢
IMILAR
m \hat{a}200\230both by well-lo
- @, %oth contam
: sam-e yeammgsa^200^231 the
aspn'atlons and the
- submission in praye;
. the hand of the Lord
 \hat{a}200\234The fact that
~ sings Die Stem
/ that their strivings
aspirations are dlffereg :
? â\200\234Enoch Sontonga
- writing the first verse of
1 Nkosi Sik _elâ\200\230tAf ¢'xâ\200\230;-
,asked the Lord &5
Africa; in the oth
' SEKMgha praye
the Lordâ200231s ble
the men, the
the children, and ag
for Africa, â\200\235 Mr He
said.
â\200\234Langenhoven
cluded the prayer in
last verse of Die
with the words:
\hat{a}\200\234As our fathers tru
humbly, teach us,
to trust Thee still;
- HEUNIS
| IS THERE any simil-
arity between the black
national anthem, Nkosi
Sikel'iAfrika, and the.
```

white Die Stem?

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Chris Heunis, says the two have a lot in common.

Mr Heunis drew

attention to this when he/i

=

- opened the fifth Kw Z lu Legislative Assemb at Ulundi on Tuesday.

Speaking of the abundance of common aspirations and beliefs among â\200\230â\200\230all Sou Africansâ\200\235 he said: â\200\234J as an example I in you to compare t | words of Die Stem Suid Afrika with those Nkosi Sikelel'iAfika.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ have studied. words of Nkosi Sikel Africa.

â\200\234Ignoring the politi
relevance that ha
become attached to
song, there is nothing
these words with which I
cannot associate my
with. There is nothin
Die Stem with which
black South Afn
cannot associate
self,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr Heunis said.

He said Die Stem and . the last seven verses of

ity of the North students were shot and injured $a\200\224$ one in the head $a\200\224$ when campus control personnel opened fire on chanting students— on the eve of a boycott that started yesterday.

The injured, Mr Solly Matlala (26), of Seshego, Mr Alfred Dlamini, also of Seshego and Mr Mogale Charles Puane (26), of Burgersfort, have been admitted to the Pietersburg, Mankweng and Garankuwa hospitals respectively, Mr Puane was hit by four pellets in the head.

The shooting followed the expiry of a deadline set by students for the

 $0 k 0 1 \\ 3 i X =$

AT LEAST three Univers-

On eve of boycott, Turfloop

â\200\234explodes

university.- administration to readmit 472 students.

The university has said -

these students, who were refused readmission, had failed all courses. Vice rector, Mr John Malatji, said the university could not readmit them now as they had already admitted more than the 6500 ceiling.

The boycott resoluti was adopted at a meeting held $a\200\230$ friday. The

" \hat{a} 200\234meeting also called for the

immediate dismissal of

business economics faculty head, Professor w J Botha, who has been linked to the Conservative Party in Pietersburgâ\200\231s town council. ot

The students gave the university up to Good Friday to dismiss Prof Botha. In its response, the university said the issue was _ being investigated and would be attended to by the university council

. which will meet on March

31.

ee:_sge 10

unned down

0 S 0

Slogans take

us howhere 1

SIR $\hat{a}\200\224$ Allow me please to reply to Daniel D Seabelo $\hat{a}\200\231s$ letter about education (Sowetan 28/03/89). :

The first paragraph of the letter read, $\hat{a}\200\234$ please allow me to air my views

. said about

on education.â\200\235 The tone of the letter could easily mislead one into thinking he was going to come up with some novel idea, something philosophic or some creative thinking, which I learnt with repugnance was not

' to be. $\hat{a}\200\234$ His views $\hat{a}\200\235$ were

of the man in the street,

to say the least.

To his school of thought (since this is not the first letter of this genre) I would like to say slogans like â\200\234Education is the goose that lays the golden eggâ\200\235, â\200\234Education is the key to $success \hat{a} \ 200 \ 231$ and the like, are known and acknowledged by all, the rank -and file or at least those who can read a newspaper. So the least them the better, unless in a class debate.

the boycott of classes I want to advise him to please study the reasons for, and the circumstances surrounding the boycotts before pointing accusingly at (sometimes) innocent pupils.

Hasnâ\200\231t he realised that these boycotts happen to be the only language that the authorities understand? Our history bears testimony to that.

His letter proves beyond any reasonable doubt that he is a victim of what Bishop Tutu aptly calls slave mentality. He owes it to his fellow black compatriots to repent, for wittingly or not he is totally not running with the hares but hunting with the hounds.

DANIEL â\200\234FIREâ\200\235 RAMOLLO Winterveldt

Without condoning

HEN the ebullient Gaby Magomolaâ\200\231

became chief executive of the African Bank in April, 1987, he took over a financial institution that had a tarnished image.

He took over at a time when eight former employees were found guilty of charges relating to foreign exchange.

It was Mr Magomolaâ\200\231s ambition to shape a new image for the financial institution, a brain-child of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, which represents black business people in the country.

Re-establishing the bank \hat{a} 200\231s credibility became Mr Magomola \hat{a} 200\231s primary objective.

After taking over he received support from many blacks and whites, including political organisations that hailed his appointment as a^200^234 the right man at the right time a^200^235

But, there were some who were jealous of him, and critical, especially after he left his Soweto home to live in Johannesburg \hat{a} \200\231s northern suburbs.

They sneered at his American accent.

In a long memorandum presented to the board of directors of the bank before Mr Magomolaâ\200\231s dismissal the staff said certain disturbing developments had caused $a\200\234$ grave concern within the bankâ\200\235.

These included: The bankâ\200\231s financial position; dwindling staff morale; confusing and chaotic organisational structure; worsened channels of communication; irregular recruitment practices; the continued employment of white staff to senior positions; the racist attitude; Mr Magomolaâ\200\231s style which lacked confidence; and his over-exposure in the public media which created the impression that the bank was a one-man show.

The memorandum said continuous losses were being incurred and the bank $\hat{a}\200\231s$ financial position had . *deteriorated.

Staff morale had dwindled to a low ebb because of uncertainty about direction and an inevitable sense of insecurity.

The atmosphere at the bank was so bad that there was a totally confusing and chaotic organisational structure which lacked a lot in terms of clearly defined lines of responsibility, authority and line of relationships which resulted in communication breakdown.

They also claim that the channels of communication were worsened by cult

differences that were emerging not only between black and white, but also between black staffers themselves,

They claim there had been several cases of

baasskap which excluded blacks in the corporate

appointments made by division.

the chief executive in They claim he expresmysterious circumstan- sed a total lack of ces. This was coupled confidence in black

with the continued management, except for

employment of white staffers in key positions without any black secondments.

Another surprising factor was the racist attitude, typical of white

his friends.

In reply Mr Magomola said the memorandum was pffked with wild accusations that had no foundation. It created a smokescreen to cloud

(1

African
Bank
Chief
Gaby
replies
to critics
who
claim his
actions
caused
grave

concern

fears that prevailed over the retrenchments that were inevitable at the bank.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ find it rather odd $\hat{a}\200\234$ that the board has taken such a strong action over a $\hat{a}\200\230$ clash with lower

management, \hat{a} \200\235 he said.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$ am terribly disappointed by the decision as I was acting in the best

interest of the bank and $_$

its shareholders:;

. . . \hat{a}^200^234 ethnic base has disadvant- '! ages. \hat{a}^200^235 G

SAM Motsuenyane... African Bank chair' ~man.
Mr Magomola said he

:Ay;g:ggg perceived the bank as an e $\hat{a}200\230$ indigenous institution $\hat{a}200\2341$ made a sound = \hat{A} s:gng belonging to the

-eontribution to the bank \hat{a} 200\234leaving itinafar stronger \hat{a} 200\230position than it had been when I took the reigns

Community. To many, it was a symbol of blacksâ\200\231 achievement against

two years ago.

I am still reeling with shock, he said, adding, *I have no immediate plans

for the future $\frac{200}{235}$.

gm-\ï¬\201n e s NN UVirkton

eatures_of

the people of Soweto $\hat{a}\200\224$ people whose lives are so little known to $a\200\230$ Tresearchers that even their true -number isâ\200\230a matter for conjecture., -. The Planact report draws together what little research there is to sketch some features on the collective face of Soweto and to suggest motives for the $a\200\230$ massive refusal to pay rent over the last three years. i The studies have found that: - \hat{a} 200\230 \hat{A} ® The average Sowetan is likely to «ome from a household exceeding five people (the average size is 5,48, according to the Bureau for Market Re- ${\rm search \hat{a} \setminus 200 \setminus 231s}$ 1986 study) with fewer than .Awo breadwinners (the average being 1,53 breadwinners). The odds are almost even that those in employment will be women, ® The chances are also almost even that Sowetans of working age will be unemployed. The Development Bank has put unemployment in Soweto as high as 53 percent, while the Bureau for Market Research at Unisa puts the proportion at nearly 30 percent in the 20 to 64 year age group, rising to 41 percent for those between 25 and 34 years. f:

Behind the Soweto rent boycott are

Minimum living level

. University of the Witwatersrand po-

Litical scientist Dr Philip Frankel found that only 40 percent of persons interviewed came from households not hit by unemployment.

 $@\hat{A}@$ Between 54 percent and 68 percent of Sowetoâ\200\231s families earn less than the minimum living level $\hat{a}\200\224$ the income calculated by scientists as necessary to

 $[\]hat{a}\200\230$ Maintain a family in ap urban area, Planact concludes. This figure was R809 in 1987.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$. tion of Sowetans $\hat{a}\200\231$ income spent op 31 hou_sing and electricity almost doubled b= Increasing from 8,7 percent to 15,1 percent. i .. These were the People among whom the boycott took root in mid-1986. They , were poor people, in relative terms $\hat{a}\200\224$ people with limited incomes being forced to stretch them. - Motivation for the boycott has been directly assessed in only one study - commissioned by some American corporations from Dr Frankel, Planact summarises his findings. â\200\234In short, the rent boycott enjoys widespread support because it js perceived as the best way of resolving socio-eco- \hat{a} \200\231 nomic conditions, â\200\234It is not being enforced by intimidation nor are overtly political considerareport on the Soweto housing problem as a basis for further talks with the Soweto Council. The report by Planact, entitled â\200\234â\200\234The Soweto Rent Boycottâ\200\235, was released yesterday. Its major recommendations are: that the arrears amounts owed by rent boycotters be written off, that existing housing stock must be transferred to Soweto residents, that infrastructure must be upgraded, that affordable formulae for service charges be devised and ultimately that a single tax base be established for Soweto and Johannesburg. Sebidi. The Rev Lebamang tions as significant as socio-economic interests. This popular consciousness will not be easily dissipated through repression.â\200\235 Frankel found that 60,9 percent of .Sowetans he interviewed supported .â\200\230 zjtï¬\201éï¬\201;'%ycott because they regarded the ° cost of housing and services unreasonable for the standard of goods offered. A further 14,3 percent said simply they could not afford to pay. Aâ\200\230to_ta! of 8,7 percent said they feared intimidation. The remaining reasons were that community organisations had called the boycott (six percent); that it was the best way to bring grievances to the attention of authorities (4,3 percent); and it was the best way of getting troops out of the townships (4,3 per-' cent). the face behind

The Soweto Delegation, a group of community and

@ Between 1980 angd 1985, the propor-

church leaders pictured at the right, were mandated by township organisations to attempt to negotiate a solution to the housing crisis and an end to the three-year rent boycott, reports JO-ANNE COLLINGE. They asked private planning consultants to draw up a

Mr Frank Chikane Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Sister Bernard Ncube.

Interests converge, but privatisation methods differ

_ The authorities appeared every bit as keen to quit playing the role of $a\geq00\geq34$ collective landlord in the townships $a\geq00\geq35$ as tenants were to acquire title of their homes, but the difference of opinion lay in how this transfer should take place.

This was Planactâ\200\231s assessment of the convergance of interests between government institutions bent on $a\200\234$ privati-

zation \hat{a} 200\235 of housing and tenants forced

for decades to rent homes because ownership was out of bounds to them.

Planact insists the method of residents attaining home ownership is far more important than the goal itself.

It cites the experience of the British during Margaret Thatcherâ\200\231s campaign to privatise housing, which was accompanied by a drop in government spend ing on housing, a decrease in the number of new units produced, a growth in

the number of homeless and an in-

crease in the number of repossessions due to default on bond repayments. $a\200\234$ The clear lesson to be learnt from

Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

~ Archbishop Desmond

_ the British example is that it is in-

variably those already at the bottom of the housing hierarchy that have most to lose, \hat{a} \200\235 Planact warns.

Its report notes the council has acknowledged the $\hat{a}\200\234$ entrerched rights $\hat{a}\200\235$ of present occupants of Soweto homes

through the huge discounts offered in -

its $\hat{a}\200\234$ great sale $\hat{a}\200\235$ of housing.

Despite discounts, affordability remained an enormous problem, Planact stated. It pointed out that the National Building Research Institute estimated that 84 percent of black people would not be able to afford a low cost house without financial assistance.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ What is at issue here is not the absolute cost of the houses themselves, but the relationship between that cost and the income of the household responsible for its payment. $\hat{a}\200\235$

It proposes a Community Housing Trust be set up to guide housing policy, ensure building programmes commence and safeguard the interests of the poorer sections of the community.

A Soweto homeowner, living in a typical $a\200\234$ matchbox $a\200\235$ house on a typically untarred and undrained street, will pay nearly one-and-a-half times the rates and service charges due by a

Johannesburg householder liv- | ing in a R72000 property in a '

modest, well-serviced suburb.

Bluntly put, Planact concludes: â\200\234Sowetans are being re-

quested to pay more for a con-

siderably poorer level of ser- |
. the extent to which business

vice.â\200\235

In fact, it points out that $\operatorname{Dr} E$.

Buch, who heads the Centre for the Study of Health Policy at Wits University, has stated unequivocally that Sowetoâ\200\231s services are of such a low standard that they actually â\200\234constitute a hazard to health of the communityâ\200\235 and are likely to promote the incidence of â\200\234water washed diseasesâ\200\235, such as dysenteries and diarrhoeas.

The typical Sowetan site rent

(rates) and service charges (excluding payment for electricity and water consumption) totalled R38,55 a month in 1987, according to information supplied by gh,e\,hSowetO' City Treasurer, the

Sowetans fork out

for unhealthy services

- report says.

A Johannesburg householder whose land and house is valued at R72000 will pay R25,97 a month, Planact calculates.

The root of this inequity is the maintenance of $a\200\230a\200\234$ apartheid cities $a\200\235$, the report states. Whereas Johannesburg residents are subsidised in their payment of services and rates by the city $a\200\231s$, businesses, which foot the bulk of the Johannesburg City Council bill for these items, Sowetans

~have no such subsidy.

The Soweto Council derives no proportion of its running costs from businesses in Johannesburg, although Soweto residents were estimated to have earned R2 billion in the city in 1987 and to have ploughed R1 billion back into the Johannesburg economy in consumer spending.

The following figures indicate

- bears the brunt of Johanne's-

burgâ\200\231s costs. â\200\234Domestic residential properties pay 30 percent of (Johannesburgâ\200\231s) service charges, and businesses $\hat{a}\200\224$ including leased flats \hat{a} 200\224 contribute the remaining 70 percent. $a\200\234$ Domestic residential properties disburse 15 percent of assessment rates; commerce and industry contribute 74 percent; while several government bodies provide the remaining 11 percent.â\200\235 X ' \hat{a} 200\234It is \hat{a} \200\230therefore salutary to note that Sowetans are being. asked to finance a situation they did not willingly create (segregated residential areas) and at

increased costs to themselves. $\hat{a}\200\235$ The only possible long-term solution to Soweto $\hat{a}\200\231s$ development needs is the acknowledgement that it forms a single economic entity with Johannesburg and the establishment of a single tax base for the two areas.

N Being an exiled Afri

Many exiled southern African revolution-

aries are depicted as wearing three-piece

Suits and being chauffeured about in large

Mercedes $\hat{a}\200\224$ spending much time at public

~ functions generously toasting each other over glasses of sparkling wine.

The everyday reality is hardly as titillat-

ing. At African National Congress headquar- -

ters, located in an unpaved back-alley in Lusaka, Zambia, the overall atmosphere is neither one of flamboyant decadence nor zealous revolutionary efficiency.!

In these dilapidated breeze-block buildings, one is struck rather with a sense of make-do. The office furniture is battered and ageing, the linoleum floors are cracked and stained. Here is the nerve centre of resistance to

apartheid, the telephone rarely works and

the telex machine is permanently out of commission. ,

It is the type of place that might make middle-class romantics think twice about becoming revolutionaries. Behind liberation, as

behind every other collective enterprise, lies

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can leader is no picnic

If gossip on the cocktail circuits of southern African capitals is to be believed, the exil

leaders of the $a\200\234$ liberation strugglea $200\235$ are as much playboys as revolutionarie s. But is the gossip true? NICHOLAS WOODSWORTH of the Financial Times investigated.

the running of an organisation $\hat{a}200\224$ the need to raise finances, to cope with a great mass of administration detail, and to assure the daily welfare of members.

Seen by themselves and many others as the nucleus of future, post-apartheid govern-

ments, neither the ANC nor Swapo, have adequate financing, infrastructure or expertise to deal with the job at hand. They have thus had to turn to outside help.;

Every year, under the general heading of $a\200\234$ humanitarian aid $200\235$ the ANC and Swapo re-

~ceive millions of dollars worth of cash

grants, capital and consumer goods, technical assistance, vocational training, and academic scholarships from Western sources.

Western policies on aid to â\200\234liberationâ\200\235 movements are far from being uniform. The

general rule is that the greater a stake a

country has in the economic and political fu-

ture of southern Africa, the less likely it is to be a leading donor. At one end of the scale are Britain and the

- US, which have declined to offer direct assis-

tance to the ANC or Swapo.

Neither country condones the organisation $200\231s$ use of violence, and neither is happy with their claims to be the sole legitimate representatives of their people. Indirect aid coming through various UN agencies from the US and Britain has been slashed in recent years by up to 80 percent as the two countries decided to cut UN allocations. \hat{A}°

British support has thus been limited to the activities of such groups as the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement and a recent scholarship programme offer to South Africans in exile, including ANC members.

At the other end of the spectrum n, Norway, Denmark and Finland allfave clean slates in southern Africa â\200\224 with ng colonial history or economic ties there, their social-democratic governments have since the earliest days of African independence shown sympathy for the socialist-oriented. liberation movements. =

Supported by strong domestic public opin® ion formed by the popular activism of the

Vietnam war years, Scandinaviaâ\200\231s aid to the

anti-apartheid groups is overtly political. '

Swedenâ\200\231s aid to the ANC comes to about R25 million a year while Norwayâ\200\231s iÂ\$ R15 million. –

United Nations organisations are also $\hat{a}\200\230a$ vital source of support to the ANC and Swapo

but in one sense the most crucial time for the aid agencies is already past. If Swapo comes to power through elections in Namibia next year, it will find itself transformed from ah armed resistance movement into a fullg:

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ fledged government overseeing one of the | potentially richest countries in Africa. .

â\200\224â\200\224

The main issue of a trial which began in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday was whether Inkatha, the kwaZulu-based organisation, had the right to sue for defamation.

Mr Justice M S Stegmann re- served his judgment.

The defendants are the Argus Printing and Publishing Com-

pany Ltd and Mr Joe Latakgo-

mo, former editor of Sowetan, which published the articles about which Inkatha had complained.

An action by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who sued in his private capacity, was settled.

If Inkatha wins the case, it

The Star Friday March 17 1989 \hat{A} ¥ /i

Inkatha, Argus in ~(

 $a\200\230$ right to sue $a\200\231$ test case

has been agreed the amount for damages arising from the alleged defamation will be R7 000 $\hat{a}\200\224$ if it loses, the matter will be dismissed with costs.

This arrangement was made to get the test case to court as soon as possible. Both parties agreed the issue would be of great importance to newspapers and organisations such as Inkatha and to political parties.

This test case flows from events in 1986. Late in March the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) held â\200\230a conference in Durban. On April 1 and April 8, Sowetan carried reports which dealt with resolutions taken by delegates and allegations concerning the hiring of buses and who was responsible for attacks on delegates.

This trial is the sequel to

other court cases. The Sunday Tribune carried similar articles and when Inkatha attempted to sue that newspaper it said Inkatha, as a non-trading company, had no right to sue. - This view was upheld by the court and Inkatha appealed. The #Apellate Division decision said a non-trading company can sue in certain circumstances, such as when defamatory statements would cause financial prejudice. But the question of whether an organisation with a political character can sue was left open. Mr Mike Daley appeared for Inkatha and Mr Brian Doctor appeared for the Argus,

Braving bannin

- WASHINGTON â\200\224 In its fourth

Mr Stoffel Botha ... sued The Star for defcmqtion.

annual report, $\hat{a}\200\234$ Attacks on the Press $\hat{a}\200\235$, the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists listed 51 incidents in South Africa out of a total of more than 800 cases worldwide in 1988.

The incidents are known attacks on journalists and the press, and they include threats and silencing of individual journalists and their papers.: . - &

They also mclude killings. Twenty-six journalists were killed in the line of duty worldwide in 1988. Some were casualties of war, notably in Afghanistan. Others were killed in circumstances that suggested they were targetted for what they had written.

Powerful Eroups

Two Brazilian reporters, given as an example by the committee, were shot after writing critical articles on powerful groups.

The report, released at a conference at the National Press Club in Washington yesterday, says the number of 1988 incidents was many more than in 1987, although the figure did not represent an increase in press abuses so much as CPJâ\200\231s enhanced research capacities.

The CPJ made special mention of

 $\{V\e\d\ N\ 14\%$ ngs an

BY DAVID BRAUN of Ihe Star Bureau

South Africa continues to be one of 15 countries which are of major cause for concern to an American group monitoring abuses against the press around the world.

15 countries in its 1988 report â\200\224 Afghanistan, Burma, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Chile, Czechoslovakia and Israel among them.

On South Africa, it reported the renewal of the Government ban on reporting the actions of security forces and on first-hand coverage of unrest, and that the Government had diversified its arsenal against the local anti-apartheid press.

It said: â\200\234For the first time since the national state of emergency was imposed in June 1986, three newspapers were ordered closed for periods ranging from one to three months on the grounds that they promoted revolution.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Police confiscated issues of four publications. In 1987 there were no confiscations.

 $\ 200\ 234$ The country $\ 200\ 231$ s first anti-apartheid newspaper in Afrikaans en-

countered harassment within weeks -

of its launching in November, including an unprecedented requirement that it deposit R30 000 to register.

 $\hat{a}\200\234And$, towards the end of the year,

President P W Botha and Home Af-

fairs Minister Stoffel Botha announced libel suits against three anti-apartheid newspapers or their editors.

 ${\hat a}\200\2340\text{ne}$ measure announced by the Government, a registration require-

ment for small news agencies and

freelancers, was withdrawn after vehement protest.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ In December, New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu was released after two years $\hat{a}\200\231$ detention without charge, but he was placed under heavy restrictions.

In detention

Two other black journalists were in detention without charge at year $200\231$ end, and another had been sentenced to a four-year term.

. â\200\234Incidents involving foreign correspondents were down from 1987, prompting some observers to ask whether correspondents were submitting too quickly to the Governmentâ\200\231s media curbs.â\200\235

â\200\234Among the 51 incidents listed by

d bullets

the report was the confiscation of a tape from The Argus which contained a sermon by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in which he defied a state of emergency regulation by urgmg a boycott of municipal elections.â\200\235

Other Argus group newspaper incidents were:
@ The charging of The Pretoria

" News with contempt of court for

publishing an article on the sentencing of the Sharpeville Six defendants while the case was sub judice:

@ The police raid of the Pietersburg office of the Sowetan and the confiscation of a telephone book, photographs and other material. ® Mr Stoffel Botha sued The Star for R100 000 over a magazine article and a readerâ $\200\231s$ letter which te claimed were defamatory. ol @ The arrest of Robert Houwing of The Argus for picketing in Cape Town against press curbs and his later charge and acquittal. = = @ The questioning by police of Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the Sowetan, on his philosophy of $a\200\234$ natm $a\200\231$ n bulldmgâ\200\235

@ The detention without charge for 12 days of Diana Roussouw of The \$\tilde{A} \otimes Argus along with 13 other people organising celebrations for Nelson Mandela s 70th blrthday 4

Hunger strikes $\hat{a}\200\230$ are planned fro 500 have n released

At leas

e SRR

detainees

Mprcn 1 a2S

bee

Political Staff . ! Cape Town

At least 500 detainees have left jails in the four weeks since the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok,

agreed with church bersâ\200\235. â\200\230

Although no official confirmation could be obtained for the figures today, reliable sources indicated that there were now between 350 and 400 people in detention,

The original total was higher than the $800\ es$ ment sources, but subsequently added to by fu

Situation probed The Ministry

men to release â\200\234substantial num-

timated by Governrther detentions.

of Law and Order spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mel-

let, confirmed today that the hunger strike had re-started on Mon-

day as Mr Vlok h ment.

ad predicted in a statement last week in Parlia-

still on hunger strike.

Senior officers were probing the situation following Mr $Vlok \hat{a} \ 200 \ 231s$

claim on Friday that renewed
hunger strikes were the result of

extra-parliamentary organisations planning them from the outside. -

He said that if a single detainee died, the organisations would have to take the responsibility.

The release of more than half
the number of people in detention comes at a time when the
rate of new detentions t!as,fallen _
otn s lowest level.in. thre= |

YEArS, o i S

The figures were provided by.. Mr Viok in Parliament yesterday'in answer to a question by Mrs Helen Suzman.:
® Two of the detainees on hunger strike are seriously ill, according to lawyers.

Mr Sandile Thusi (26) went into his 28th day without food today and was growing extremely weak at hospital in Durban, said lawyers.:

{~4Alfrican Trade Unjons i

m outsideâ\200\231

" .{Xnother detainee whose condition has caused concern in the -.Community is Congress of South AT secretary for the Northern Transvaal, Mr

nsie Khumalo, who is report-

ed to have been on hunger strike

since March 9 and to have start-

ed refusing even water.

@ See Page 6.

Fighters can reach Tanzania

SA, deéelo∖ i

Jalong-range +
fighter-%om%er

LONDON $\hat{a}\200\224$ Israel has helped South Africa to develop warplanes with an operational range

' long enough for them to reach Tanzania, a distance of about 2100 km, according to the Lon-' don-based bulletin Southscan.

Africa News Organisation (ANO) reports that Southscan said the Cheetah fighter-bomber $\hat{a}200\224$ developed by modifying the French Mirage III which has been in service with the South African Air Force since the early 1960s $\hat{a}200\224$ had been equipped with a new economical engine which South Africa and Israel were producing on the pattern of the French Snecma.

.~ Modernised aircraft stationed at the air base at Louis Trichardt were capable of reaching Dar es Salaam, the bulletin said.

An Armsor spokesman declined to comment on the claims, saying the corporation would not like to comment on the capabilities of the plane. The South African Air Force would also not comment.

Deprived of Namibian bases

-Southscan said: â\200\234The South African military command badly needs aircraft with a longer range of operation because the proclamation of Namibiaâ\200\231s independence will deprive South Africa of its bases in the Caprivi, a part of Namibian territory which cuts deeply between Angola, Zambia and Botswana.â\200\235

In recent years, South Africa had been spending a major part of its defence budget on military operations in neighbouring countries, which prevented Pretoria from developing and buying arms.

- The situation had changed after the signing in December 1988 of agreements on a negotiated settlement in Namibia. ,

Southscan said that in 1988 the SAAF allocated 74 percent of its budget to rearmament. About 60 percent of the R8,6 billion for military purposes in that year went to rearm the Air Force.

ANO said, according to a report on the American ABC television network, it had come to light that Israel was assisting South Africa develop radar and the Cheetah multi-role fighter, to convert Boeing planes into flying tankers and to design missiles for the South African Navy. .

There were also reports in London last year of the arrival in Pretoria of 50 Israeli specialists who were part of the team that developed the Lavi fighter-bomber.; l

The Star Friday March 17 1989

uob Stoffel would II'I = 11ke to end .« â\202¬METZeNCy â\200\230:d;;' 1% Parliamehtary Staff ni euThe Minister of Communicaze dtions, Mr Stoffel Botha, told $zias a \ 200 \ 231 Parliament yesterday that he$ $-29i\hat{A}$ £ was looking forward to the day ae vwhen the state of emergency [egiiwould be lifted and that he BT would $\hat{a}\200\234$ give it the serious atten $m\hat{a}\200\231$ "tien it deserves at the proper s time \hat{a} \200\235. Responding to a debate on a - private memberâ\200\231s motion by Mr ! David Dalhng (PFP, Sandton) on -suppresswn of press freedom, .Mr Botha said that while the 'Government wished to end the »state of emergency as soon as ; possible, it could $\hat{a}\200\230$ do so only in a : climate \(\bar{a}\)200\234conduchE"tb that and ul reformâ $\200\235$. .to%l : e \ e media* regulations were /' oo . an restore ; peace an b hance the mocratisation of South Africa in] the interests of all. ! \hat{a} 200\234I do not relish the fact that , in terms of them I have been ; charged with unpopular responsibility in respect of the media, \hat{a} \200\235 * Mr Botha said. $\hat{a}\200\234$ I look forward to the day when it will be possible to lift - | the state of emergency and the Â¥ regulations and will give it the . serious attention it deserves at

; the proper time. \hat{a} \200\235

nd to en s lic growth \hat{a} 200\224and-the-further de-

Media curbs, misuse of SABC slated by CP and PFP

 \hat{a} 200\230Mjantle of darkness

an 2.

Government media regulations had cast a mantle of darkness and secrecy over South Africa in which â\200\234those whose trade it is to perpetrate evil can thrive un checkedâ\200\235, Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton) warned.

Mr Dalling delivered his warnm at the start of a debate ate memberâ\200\231s motion pression of press free-ich MPs from the left sed the Govern-g its own inter-tt pense of the publight to know.

Conservative Party MPs, who

supported the Government view

that press freedom had to be $\hat{a}\200\234$ qualified $\hat{a}\200\235$, said the National Party was guilty of selective censorship and arbitrary action against the media.

But Communications Minister Mr Stoffel Botha said neither press freedom nor the publicâ\200\231s right to information were $a\200\234$ absoluteâ\200\235 rights and $a\200\234$ essential restrictionsâ\200\235 which were in the $a\200\234$ national or general interestâ\200\235

secrecy

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were internationally acceptable. $a\200\234$ Suffice it to say, $a\200\235$ Mr Botha said, $a\200\234$ that the emergency regu-

lations have in noa^200^231 way been in-.

troduced to protect the Government against criticismâ\200\235, which was essential in any democracy. Mr Dalling told Parliament -â\200\234God-like, can prosecute, judge, sentence and execiite any publication opposed to the Government and he can do all this without any true recourse allowed to the victimâ\200\235.

â\200\230Formidable armouryâ\200\231

Government $3200\231$ sa $200\234$ form idable armoury $3200\235$ included measures to $3200\234$ muzzle $200\235$ the press, detain journalists and close publications.

Dr Pieter Mulder (CP, Schweizer Reineke) said the CP believed in qualified press freedom. This was particularly so in South Africa where the press

was at risk of being misused by -

terrorist groups.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Terrorist acts, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he added, $\hat{a}\200\234$ would be almost pointless if they were not reported. $\hat{a}\200\235$

over SAâ\200\231

 $Mra^200^231Con Botha (NP, Umlazi)$ said that in an era of reform

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ there was considerable potential

for conflict and the risks were high. If existing laws were not sufficient, it was necessary to apply extraordinary measures to a\200\234protect the foundation of democracya\200\235 during reform.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point) blamed the media regulations for preventing $\hat{a}200\234$ the ordinary citizen $\hat{a}200\234$ political choices on the basis of adequate information $\hat{a}200\235$.

Mr S C Jacobs (CP, Losberg)

accused the Government of $a\200\234se$

lective political morality ... or

polmcal immorality $200\235$ by allowing publication of statements by ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo $200\234$ only when it suits them $200\235$. Perhaps the $200\234$ greatest scandal $200\235$ was the way it misused the SABC.

Brigadier JF Bosman (NP, Germiston District) argued that Britainâ\200\231s imposition of press curbs during the Falklands conflict vindicated SA regulations.

The UN recognised the right of states to protect themselves.

o PR

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Black trade unions and metal industry bosses square again $\hat{a}\200\230IL'$ s g] ; : i $\hat{a}\200\230$ paid holidays;

BLACK trade and employers in the metal industry enter igto new wage negotiations next NMonday, somewhat ill at case over the outcome of this yearâ\200\231s proceedings. Both parties, still eling from events that sgrrounded last yearâ\200\231s s¢tilement, are bracing bemselves for yet apother series of drawnht bargaining sessions. Last yearâ\200\231s wage s¢ttlement was marked by divisions within the employer ranks, represented by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa), and among the four unions negotiating jointly under the auspices of the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF).

The four are the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), Steel

gineering and Allied Warkers Union of SA (Seawusa), Electrical and ABed Workers Trade

jon of SA (Eawtusa)
and Engineering and
Allied Workers Union of
SA (Eawusa).

The dispute within the $f\hat{A}$ or IMF wunions revolved around Num-sa'y decision to enter into a $\hat{a}200230\hat{2}00230$ wage agreement with Scifsa after the wunion $\hat{2}20231$ members embarked on a

unions

SEIFSAâ $\200\231$ S director Mr Angus.

two-week strike.

Seifsa, on the other hand, also experienced internal problems when member companies negotiated wage settlements separately with Numsa without informing the employer body.

This year the four IMF affiliates $a\200\224$ unlike the previous years $a\200\224$ have submitted separate demands to Seifsa. This move may be linked to

the controversy which rocked the IMF stable during negotiations last year.

Numsa, now largest union in the industry, will largely influence the outcome of the annual talks because of its numerical strength. No settlement will be reached unless the Cosatu-affiliated union signs the agreement.

Seifsaâ\200\231s executive director, Mr Brian Angus, anticipates â\200\234â\200\230a good deal of rivalryâ\200\235 among the trade unions during the negotiations â\200\234particularly as the IMF unions have splintered.â\200\235

 $\hat{a}\200\234Despite$ these expectations it is hoped that the negotiations will not be as protracted as was the case in 1988, he said.

The fact that Numsa was now an important factor in the bargaining process meant that the union would be forced to take the negotiations

the

seriously, the Seifsa director added.

He said: â\200\234Within this context it is probably not unreasonable to predict that the likelihood of strike action is diminished. This is not to say that the industry will necessarily be spared the burden of the now customary deadlock and dispute routine.â\200\235

Last year \hat{a} 200\231s strikes, he

said, certainly did $\frac{3}{200}$ densiderable damage $\frac{200}{235}$ in terms of wage and job losses.

Seifsa has received proposals for wage increases up to 98 percent as well as demands which include: ® [ncrease rates;

e Working hours to be reduced from 45 to 40 a week, without loss of pay;

 \hat{A} ® March 21, June I16and May 1 to be granted as

in overtime

paid

e Six monthsâ\200\231
maternity leave;
e No deductions for the |
Standard Income Tax
and Employees (Site)and |
Pay As You Earn (Paye);
® Three weeksâ\200\231 paternity |
leave; and 3
e Company to pay death |
benefits of R5000.

Employers also have, for the first time, submitted proposals to Seifsa.

These include removal of limits on overtime work; exclusion of small

businesses from the agreement between Seifsa and unions and removal of certain restrictions related to the employment of skilled people in the industry.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It would therefore be surprising "if the unions were to disregard their members $\hat{a}\200\231$ poor appetite for full-blown strike action in the face of fair wage offers by employers, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Mr Angus said.

AT T B S v

Doctor Buthelezi said political ideals would not be preserved if they were kept in some kind _of political suspension

- ~ while the South African Government ruled by power vested in it in _states of national emer-_ gencies. . 3
- He said it was the first opportunity the Assemb{)y had had of receiving a head of the South African State.

Salute P

Dr Buthlezi was loudly applauded when he said - he saluted Mr Heunis for having had the courage to come to Ulundi himself.

None of the Heads of State, including Mr PW Botha, had ever been guests of the assembly at the official opening.

He said that the KwaZulu authorities $\hat{a}200\234$ were encouraged by the

first quality speech of the new leader of the National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, in the House of Assembly. Dr Buthelezi said they had also been encouraged by recent statements by Mr Heunis on Free Settlement.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Both of you have inspired hope that at long last we might as a country get out of the present political log jam, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he

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\hat{a}\200\2300pening the Assembly,
Africa.
â\200\234All South Africans
have so much in com-
mon that there is no
reason why we cannot
together repeatedly find
and agree on the next
step to be taken on the
road of constitutional
_progress,\hat{a}\200\231 he said. i
~Political leaders
would forsake their re-
sponsibility if they did
not use the moment for
reconciliation against
confrontation, Mr Heu-
~ nis said
2ula\es e e y |
Appeal for '
- e S BN 253883
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reiease < S
RS 3
; i \hat{A}$ 2 [[ES? o \hat{A}«Q > e} !&l
THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr el = JI=
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this week asked the g5 (o] E
South African Government to go to the people Q7 Bk » 2
and seek a mandate to release goaled African g 285 Ky ol |\hat{A}^{\circ}|
- National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, to SEoT R o
_ scrap the Group Areas Act and to scrap the Sep- 2\hat{a}\200\231 e g = 5 = @
arate Amenities act. sS3E purey (o
He was thanking the Mr Heunis said that, if Eg ;\hat{a}\200\230g U <
Minister of Constitution- the ANC wanted now to Z2 Sz g = 3
;Iâ\200\230Development and act in South Africaâ\200\231s 2235 B o
lanningvand \hat{a}200\230former national lnt.el\hat{a}200\230est, it g 3. \hat{s}200\231 =
acting State President, could best do it by aban-bkl e
Mr Chris Heunis, after doning violence and de- 1)
the Minister had offi- claring itself in favour of g
_ cially opened the new the peaceful process of | 3
. session of the KwaZulu = Political negotiations, :
. Legislative Assembly at ~together with other po- ®
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Ulundi. litical leaders in South 2

said.;

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ THE structural separation of So- weto from Johannesburg lies at

~ and political crisis. No long-term â\200\230g;{)oli'Cyl solution will be found so long as Soweto is treated as a sep-That is one of the main conclusions in the research document compiled by Planact on behalf of the sevenmember Soweto delegation headed _bl) (' SACC general secretary Frank Chikane on proposals for . resolving the rent boycott and the townshipâ\200\231s severe developmental ' problems. . Planact is an advisory body on urbanisation matters to trade unions and community groups.

Research

' Drawing heavily on research con-

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ducted by, among others, the De-

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ velopment Bank, the Urban Foun-Wits University, the document

the residents of Soweto have $\hat{a}\200\224$ through their labour and spending power $\hat{a}\200\224$ effectively been subsidis-

~_ing white Johannesburg.

The Johannesburg City Council

from the rates paid by city businesses at which Sowetans spend Ribn annually. It is this, it says, that has contributed to the council

being able to offer a 55% rebate on

" the root of the former \hat{a} \200\231s financial

1 dation, Nigel Mandy, RAU and

â\200\230sets out to show that for decades
(JCC) has, it argues, benefited
Jow bl
ylineg

rates to Johannesburg homeown-

ers.

While the final call is for a single city

comprising Soweto and Johannesburg, the .document proposes an interim solution whereby a progortion of the rebate be transferred to Soweto to subsidise service charges at present unaffordable to most residents. The unstated but clear implication of these proposals is that they will represent a substantial cost to white Johannesburg residents. The document é) roposes the writing off of rent and service payments in . arrears; a formula for the transfer of Sowetoâ $\200\231s$ housing stock to the ownership of occupants; the up-. grading of infrastructural services: and the designing of an affordable service charge system. So far 34% of Sowetoâ\200\231s 118 300 houses

have been sold to private owners.,

The present cost of an average

four-roomed house is R1 750, al-

 $a\200\230$ though a study conducted for the

project by a professional valuer

puts the average market value of
" such a property at R22 000.

ck Sowgto t&a
i¬\201scé)een] bsidising White Jc annegburg

Joh

" ALAN FINE

The document argues for the free transfer of older houses to their inhabitants. Newer housing should be sold at prices determined by age, quality, and region, but any plan should ensure that poor residents do not lose their accommodation because of inability to pay.

- Solution

Soweto, the study says, has a backlog of 66 000 houses. A key proposal is that proceeds from the sale of homes be channelled into a community trust and used for the erection of new housing and the upgrading of infrastructure.

The authors of the study estimate that Sowetoâ\200\231s debt now amounts toâ\200\231 R701m, made ug by R441m in loans, R200m in bridging finance

provided by the TPA because of the rent boycott and a R60m budgeted deficit for 1988/9.

Part of the solution to the boycott, the study says, is for central government to write off losses due to the boycott.

A 1987 study by Wits University $\hat{a} \geq 00 \leq 31s$

_ Phillip Frankel, commissioned by American companies, found that three-quarters of Soweto residents participated in the boycott for socio-economic, rather than broader. political, reasons. = -:

Residents could not afford rent and service payments, or were unwilling to pay for inferior services.

A 1986 Bureau for Market Research

â\200\230survey found Soweto households were, by 1985, spending 15,1% of household income on housing and electricity compared with 8,7% five years previouslg â\200\224 indicating a severe squeeze on budgets necessitating decreased spending on items like food and clothing.

The boycott, it is argued, was a response to this. Frankel found that $200\231$ only 8,7% took part in the boycott because of intimidation.

This means, the document argues, that the boycott cannot be resolved through either repression

- or clever marketing campaigns.

A consulting engineer employed by the project found Soweto to have an overloaded and inadequate water supply and sanitation system resulting in the use of less and unpotable water, blocked drains and sewage overflows.

Community health expert Dr Eric Buch concluded Sowetoâ\200\231s water - and sanitation services constituted a health hazard. Refuse collection was the only service to have improved recently, but certain health problems still existed.

Income-linked

All this, the document argues, points to an urgent need for the upgrading of infrastructural services. However, the council does a 200 230 not have the finances available for this. And residents, without some form of subsidisation, would be unable to afford service costs.

The solution proposed by the report is an income-linked affordable service charge system, with cross-subsidisation within the Johannes-burg-Soweto urban economy: â\200\234It is important to note the historical and current links between the two areas. . .Johannesburgâ\200\231s responsibility to Soweto cannot be over-looked.â\200\235 A

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COMMENT S

Natlonal prioritie

HE national Budget concerns f priorities. However con-

strammg the circumstances

in which the Minister of
Fmance set the macro-economic
framework, within that framework
_his choices reflect the real intentions of government.
* And on this score â\200\224 leaving aside
the crucial question of the credibility of the Budget â\200\224 there is cause
for both satisfaction and alarm.

The Defence budget has been held to an increase of less than the expected rate of inflation, which is the least to be expected of an army that has just mislaid a war. In crude terms the Defence bhudget, at less than 5% of GDP, is not excessive, provided that the funds are earmarked for the replacement of obsolete equipment, especially for air defence.;

The conviction has taken hold in Europe and North America that the Angolan withdrawal and the Namibian settlement were both achieved by SAâ\200\231s loss of air superiority. That proposition, we may be sure, will be tested again as soon as the outside world loses patience with the rate of change in SA itself â\200\224 within five years, perhaps. If the expenditure of

money can alter the perception of

weakness, it is at least better than the expenditure of lives which

would follow any determined effort

to bully this country into change by military means. What is not acceptable â\200\230is the military chiefsâ\200\231 notion that they need as much conscripted manpower in peace as in war. The economic cost to the country, though not reflected in the military budget, is immense, and it may be

- by 95%, although we sus

necessary to persuade the officers $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$ corps that if they want better equip-

- ment they had better let the country earn the money to pay for it.

More alarming is the evident decision of government to pour more money down ratholes in the bantus—tans. The Department of Foreign

Affairs budget has been increased

by more than 20%, most of it n

to prop up the regimes of such bas—tions of enlightenment and as Venda, Ciskei, Transkei and Bo—phuthatswana. Such esoteric ven—tures in social engineering as â\200\234De—velopment Planningâ\200\231â\200\235 â\200\231 and â\200\234Development. Aidâ\200\235 â\200\224 still in pursuit—of neo-Verwoerdian mirages â\200\224 will consume as much as the armed

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forces, the police, the courts and the

- ~ justice system, and the prisons.
- * Yet there is some progress. The

pork barrel known as $a\200\234$ Improvement of Conditions of Service $a\200\235$ (essentially the augmentation of sala- . ries of civil servants) has been cut -

examination will find mnzey hidden elsewhere. The allocation

., for police, in an under-policed coun-

try, has rightly gone up, and various

~ departments have. suffered real

cuts.

All this presupposes, of course, that the Budget remains credible. Already it strains both common sense and compassi(m to cling to the belief that the Finance Minister can hold to this Budget, but if he cannot, he must resign. His lack of personal credibility will have destroyed his ability to perform as Finance Minister, and he will have become a liability to his country

t close

Dear Sir, .

FHE NASCENT Democratic Party is currently in the painful, but necessary, stage of trying to define itself. ZThe potential exists for the emergence of an effective, broadly based, white anti-apartheid political force. i, In a party aiming at an intra- and extra-parliamentary support base one would expect a reasonable variety of opinions about an issue as contentious as economic policy. The Editor of Business Day has, however, «done his utmost to humiliate the reâ\200\230Gently appointed economic consultant to the DP, Sampie Terreblanche. $a\200\235$ Even within the $a\200\234$ liberal $a\200\235$ neo-classical school, the importance of ap-

propriate State intervention and the

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ issue of structural market distortions are recognised.

2 Inarecent article on the top young '

-economic thinkers of the Eighties referring to the likes of Jeff Sachs, Sandy Gross and others), The Econo- $a\200\230$ hist remarks that they differ from

heir neo-classical forerunners (like ayek) in that they $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ are all con-

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fides no

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000
cerned with market failure of one
sort or anotherâ\200\235. Is that not what
Terreblanche focuses on within the
SA context?;
To my knowledge, Terreblanche
believes in the logic and the necessity of capitalist economic develop-

ment driven by the spirit of free
enterprise. :

LETTERS-

_ As a democratic capitalist with a

social conscience (clearly estab-

lished in his contribution to the

Theron Commission) he emphasises the responsibility of the State to re-

move structural rigidities which ob- .

struct development in SA. Where Ken Owen and extreme free marketeers demand the virtual

. disappearance of the State as eco-

nomic actor, Terreblanche knows this is neither viable nor likely. He therefore simultaneously argues for the withdrawal of the State from areas where markets work or can

|]S | oubt

work, such as the deregulation of the small business sector and selective privatisation, and active State intervention in other areas such as poverty alleviation and social upliftment.

Moreover, Terreblanche takes account of the latent black demand

for equality before the fiscus which -

is to become effective when democracy is broadened. Owen and fairyland liberals conveniently assume

that the poverty-stricken black ma-

jority will be content with the $a\200\234$ political kingdom $a\200\235$ without a fundamental economic restructuring, and that

ona

in the country with the worst wealth and income distributions on earth.

The DP will have to anticipate

hate about this issue and contrib-

honestly to its resolution. =

wenâ\200\231s efforts to depict Terreblanche as a harsh and unfair critic f the â\200\234English Establishmentâ\200\235 are

onvincing. $\hat{a}200\234$ Politieke Ekonomie en Sesiale Welvaart $\hat{a}200\235$ criticises the historical mistakes in the English and Afrikaans establishment, with no bias. 3

Indeed, if Terreblanche had anti- | English sentiments why on earth | would he be involved in the forma-

tion of a party where English influence will undoubtedly be considerable? The Anglo-Boer War is over, Mr Owen.:

In Business Day of March 1, Terre- | blanche restated his case with enough clarity to avoid further misinterpretation and misrepresentation. There is no further need to doubt his bona fides.

HENDRIK DU TOIT - Cape Town

was neither in the First or Third World but in between, and with so

many racial and cultural divisions, - political parties should be able to claim the protection of the courts.

Daley said the purpose was not to try and take away the freedom of speech or limit debate but to protect political parties from scurrilous and unjust statements.

Extreme

Doctor said that what Inkatha was asking for was a revolutionary step which would fundamentally change the law.

~ If the court decided in favour of Inkatha, it would mean golitical parties would not only be able to sue for the more extreme or gross forms of libel. $a\200\234$ Your lordship will also be in-

_cluding the entire range of libel, even

those awarded R10.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ It would be a most ill-advised stage in our development to introduce a ruling that says you cann attuteackl a. political party, including. the ruling party. $\hat{a}\200\235$ Sy

Mr Justice Stegmann reserved judgment.

qlgm \ddot{a} ,201cantly reducing the \ddot{a} ». \ddot{a} » \ddot{a} etate share in the economy,

I contmued low economic growth.

A seminal World Bank study shows that more government means less growth and that a precondition for the economy to grow is for governments to leave economic activity to the private sector.

Free economies have a near universal correlation with such quantifiable factors as high growth, full
employment, low inflation, low
_crime rates, less child abuse and alcoholism and higher life expectancy.

Contrary to a particularly tena| cious myth, there is often a more
egalitarian income distribution in
â\200\230freer economies. Instead of the rich

getting richer and the poor getting

. poorer, the rich get richer and the. Eoor get richer faster in free mar- :

Tragically many SA economists

and economic commentators subscribe to theories that should have been relegated to the wax museum. | They appear, like Rip van Winkel, to have fallen asleep 20 years ago, to ' have awakened only now without the

slightest knowledge of developments ey

m the meantime.

As if there had been no progress in economic thought and experience - for 20 years, they continue spouting

the same.old econobabble that was

, »ln'valid even then.

Everyone bold enough to comment on economic policy should, at the

very least, be conversant with the 1983 World Bank study on the correlation between what I term government "\201artnclpatxon rates (GPRs) and growth rates during the decade of \(\hat{a}\200\230\the Seventies.\) This and other studies should finally end the silly debate between advocates of free markets

. and interventionists. :

The World Bank study reveals
 some unambiguous truths. Firstly,
low government participation rates
. (as measured in this stidy by tax
rates) coincide with high growth.
. Secondly, high growth is achievable

H'IS WEEKâ $\200\231$ S Budget by not $\$ virtually condemns SA fo ., r e

ness

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rlc,er faster

poor

ets RECE

*pg:resg 4fo7.; was bothâ\200\234bl -; and faster growing in low GPR .countries. gfb
1% increase in the i
G _%AdDP ratio ¢ bxded with
. lower growth in rich countries d 057% lower growth in poor countries. Which means interven- tionism is dxsproportlonately more

- harmful for the poor.
- [0 Gross Domestic Investment G

glgseaaseg St 819%dln low GPR (cmlx)rp nd declined by 0,8

GPR countries. oo

- O Exports rose faster in low GPR
- . countries, investments as a share of

P were greater and annual productivity growth much higher. i

37 [» Nt 8 Wy

Government participation versus economic growth

of its history, size, race, cu 1 matural resource endowment.

DP growth rate per annum

.

Singapoge *~eMauritiusâ\204¢

eThailand

SKorN it g 812, | Paraguay Brazil PP

eCameroon » *Spain oUSA

Zairee oJamaica or ugal

_Source: WORLD BANK. 1983

Uruguaye Chile Nerl Zealand Liberid Zambla SA " Swedén

Graphk â\200\234FIONA KRISCH

12 16 20 24 28

Tax as % of GDP - Government participation rate

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in v1rtualfy any country regardless
ture or
It turns out that not all black Afri-
can states are the ruins of colonial-
ism embellished by African social-
ism. Among them there are, as on -
any other continent, good or bad per-
o formers.
Advanced and backward coun-
tries, large and small countries, re-
source rich and resource poor coun-
nual GDP
,,... } tries, each
f GPR meant
tnes;, â\200\230gemocracles mon-
\ar d dictatorships
- may
gro
"\hat{a}200\234high or I
wth countme; d
ing upon their GPRs
\hat{a}\200\230and nothing else.
Furthermore, the fol-
Iowmg blessmgs of put-
- ting peo dple before power
' emerge
Less government, more growth \hat{a}200\224 and the downward slide [J Average annual growth
as governmentâ\200\231s economic participation rises
for countries with low
GPRs was 7,3%, or 650%
more than the average of
1,1% for high GPR coun-
tries.
O Life expectancy in low
GPR countries rose 33%
more, by eight years com-
pared to six years in high
. countries. :
Ten low GPR â\200\230countries )
paired off with 10 high GPR ; "\2011r;?
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air having the same ann seven of 10 cases, a low
ess inflation. In fxve out

IN FREE JVIRRRSETS, T Pror GE7

' of six, it meant more government spendin {ngh GPR countries actually spent ess. . . o :

To the limited extent that welfare can be measured $\hat{a}\200\224$ rising incomes, longer life, better funded education, lower inflation, etc $\hat{a}\200\224$ governments can do more by doing less.

It has become fashionable to speak of Taiwan and other free market

success stories as $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$ economic miracles $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$. They are non-miracles since

- In SA prominent political parties
- . and economists advocate even more on education. Three of the $\,$

government coerced redistribution of wealth than the murderous levels

.«of redistribution we already have. -+ They blissfully ignore or deliber-

ately conceal the evidence that their policies will continue to make the rich poorer while making the poor poorer even faster. â\200\234Sigre Contrary to the fabricated charge that free markets make the rich -richer and the poor poorer, it turns

high growth and an impressive per-

formance in other social and economic indicators is not a $\hat{a}200\234$ miracle $\hat{a}200\235$ at all. It is the inevitable and predict-

able consequence of free market f

policies \hat{a} \200\224 wherever and regardless

P AR $\hat{a}\200\235$ -1 & : 8 $\hat{a}\200\224\hat{a}\200\230$ }.-out that some of the most egalitarian -+ countries have relatively free mar- $\hat{a}\200\230$ kets while many Marxist countries $\hat{a}\200\230$ have extremely skewed income distributions. % j 28

i of-"by ~whom ' they are £, adeptedigisitic e, Jn Taiwan a policy of privatisation, deregula-. tion â\200\230and low taxes led to ~GNP'inâ\200\230per capita growth rising from US\$70 in 1948 to US\$5 000 in 1987. In oth-

er words, from about balf SAâ\200\231s per capita income to double in little more than " a generation..
Taiwan is one of many - examples that explodes another unsubstantiated myth, that government â\200\230coerced wealth redistribution is necessary to benefit the poor.

The share of national income accruing to the - richest 20% declined by over 60% from 62% in 1953 to 38% in 1986. The â\200\230share of the poorest 20% grew by 300% from 3% to . 9%. Thanks to.t:â\200\230le high

econornic growth, the rich were much richer at the end of the period $a\200\224$ about six times richer. And the poor were a few thousand percent

richer. RS

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Inequality per se does not help :i(s%laln poverty in SA or anywhere Opponents of free markets cast around to identify determinants of wealth and prosperity. They perform spectacular intellectual gymnastics to avoid noticing the obvious role 6f free markets. - =
They suggest that poor countries are poor because they lack natural resources. They.may attribute fail- < ure to colonialism, race, culture, echistory, population growth, or

itever.

~ Poverty is normal. What needs to _

- . be understood is wealth. It is time we .
- . $r\tilde{A}$ Ocognised the self-evident, that free markets liberate wealth production and come the closest we can hope for to eliminating destitution. #

None of the other determinants so - frequently suggested can explain why any given country should oscillate so effortlessly between success and failure as soon as the GPR changes.

The closer countries are to being free markets, even if they are not pure free markets, the better is their - economic performance regardless of

 \hat{a} \200\230virtually any other factor.

While South African commentas tors and policy makers continue to slumber in the ideological past, most of the world has now recognised the virtues of free markets and is under-

goifig a_shift towards privatisation,

deregulation -and the devolution of power. - o
Virtually all people in all countries are being affected by the global free market revolution. At their own peril, South Africans may refuse t join the revolution. o)
Anyone who suggests that free markets, or any other policies that work elsewhere, will not work in SA owes us a very clear explanation as to why not. i â\200\231 "
Everyone, anywhere in the world, including SA, is more or less moti:

vated, thrifty, productive, enterpris-

ing, co-operative and diligent under one set of circumstances than another. s g ${\tt T}$

Since freer markets bring out the best in a peopleâ $\200\231s$ economic behav iour wherever else they might be in

the world, presumably they will do

the same here.

[Louw is executive director of th $\hat{a}\200\230$; o" $\hat{a}\200\230$:

Free Market Foundation.
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Arerip

ULUNDI: The United States Aid Mission was looking into a number of projects in Natal/Kwazulu that would meet the concern of the Kwazulu Government, the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly heard yesterday.

It was understood that the Chief Minister o Kwazulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, would be meeting with the US Aid director very shortly to discuss the issue.

This message was contained in a letter to Dr
Buthelezi from the former American Assistant
Secretary of State for
. African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker..

i Dr Buthelezi read the letter â\200\224 which was telexed to him â\200\224 by the American Consul-General in Durban, Mr Tex Harris â\200\224 to the Assembly.
In the letter, Dr Crocker expressed his

L T S Aâ\200\224â\200\224

Mission offers i

terday.

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ULUNDI: There would be
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01â\200\2317 "
end

no peace
in Pietermaritzburg until Inkatha, the

| ANC and the UDF develop common
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policy speech, Dr Buthelezi said he had always been dismayed that in the

cause, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said here yesspreading violence in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area, the carnage went on and on without the ANC and the UDF doing whatever could be done to bring about a cessation.

 ${\rm \hat{a}}\200\234There$ will be no peace in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area until

hief points
ALY News;
violence
in Capital area

Daily News Reporter

In the second day of delivering his $a\200\230$ and refuses to talk to us because it

to

leaders in the top echelons of Inkatha, the ANC and the UDF develop common cause, \hat{a} \200\235 he said.

The ANC could not bring itself to meet Inkatha for fear that this would bg, ugeognition that Inkatha must be dealt with-politically.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The ANC adopts this hostile role has no real political basis inside South Africa from which it could mount any initiative, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

Dr Buthelezi said there were many in the UDF and Cosatu, and in the external mission of the ANC itself, who perpetuated the myth that the ANC

 $a\200\224$] was alive and function-

S Damwll-

appreciation for the $\hat{a}\200\234$ statesmanlike role $\hat{a}\200\235$ Dr Buthelezi had played in the search for a practical and just solution to South Africa $\hat{a}\200\231$ s dilemma. $\hat{a}\200\234\hat{a}\200\234$ That solution, of course, continues to $\hat{a}\200\230$ elude us. But I believe

M

 \hat{a} \200\230that more and more

South Africans are coming to understand that

only through empower-11ent of the disenfranclised and the persistent building of mutual confidence will the goal of a non-racial, democratic Squlh Africa be attaineq, â\200\235 said Dr Crocker. Dr Crocker went on to say that their efforts were directed at both those goals â\200\224 promotion of dialogue and empowerment of the victims of apartheid to enable them to participate in that dialogue on equal terms.

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Buthelezi praised as US Aid assistance

9%, \hat{a} \200\2301 am, of course,

aware of your longstanding concern that our efforts in this regard may not have been distributed in a fully equitable way and have discussed with Ambassador Perkins how this concern can be adressed.

â\200\234I am pleased that you and he discussed the matter recently and that he has assured you that our US Aid Mission is loolgxng into a number of projects in Natal/Kwazulu that will meet your concerns.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ In fact I understand tl{at the US Aid director will be meeting with you in the near future to discuss this issue.

â\200\234I am eonfident that such projects will be identified and that the peace of Kwazulu will benefit equally from our all-too-modest assistance programme.â\200\235

ing inside South Africa. He said he would not like to be Oliver Tambo who relied for his political credibility on other leadership structures in other organisations. â\200\234Mr Tambo was plac-

ing faith in leadership which was itself ineffective. \hat{a} 200\230 \hat{a} 200\234We, who meet the UDF and Cosatu in political arenas on a dayto-day basis are aware of the extent to which they are dismembered, fragmented and scattered organisations in which action is actually very difficult. \hat{a} 200\234In our own dealings with these organisations in the greater Pietermaritzburg area we reluctantly came to the conclusion that when the tail was not wagging the dog, the dog did not even know it had a tail. \hat{a} 200\234We came to the conclusion that unless the top leadership of the UDF and Cosatu were brought into direct involvement in the peace initiative, there would be

no peace initiative.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We also know that the UDF $\hat{a}\200\231$ s top leadership

" â\200\230cannot afford to become

directly involved in peace initiatives in .the greater Pietermaritz-burg area because they do not control their own fate in this area, a\200\235 he said.

Dr Buthelezi said if the UDF and Cosatu did not receive the, lionâ\200\231s share of the millions that. came into the country, they would not even have. the wherewithal to hold Press conferences and orchestrate events as they do.

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ds flee after spate of killings

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by BRYAN PEARSON

HUNDREDS of people are fleeing a bloody shooting spree in the Shong-weni valley, near Hammarsdale, which has seen at least 22 people gunned down in the last month.

A KwaZulu police spokesman confirmed that $a\200\234$ a number of murders $200\235$ had taken place in Shongweni recently but could not give numbers or details.

Residents of the area known as Ezak-hiweni, an Inkatha stronghold, yesterday claimed automatic weapons were being used in a relentless bid to drive Inkatha affiliates out the area. Those who haven't fled $a\200\224$ among them local Inkatha chairman Victor Sibisi $a\200\224$ have been sleeping in the forest at night for fear their homes will be attacked and their families killed.

Earlier this year thousands of families fled a reign of terror directed against those living in the section known as kwaMbiza $\hat{a}\200\224a$ mainly non-In-katha area.

But residents report the balance of power in the area shifted dramatically early this month when a gang arrived in the area armed with weapons which | â\200\234make a noise like a motorbikeâ\200\235. Others described the firearms as â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230automaticâ\200\235.

now become a wasteland. The two schools $\hat{a}\200\224$ Wozamoya high and Charles Memorial primary $\hat{a}\200\224$ have

been closed down and partially destroyed. Trucks are being prevented from taking supplies into Ezakhiweni, forcing the storekeepers to shut up shop. Stores in kwaMbiza have also been attacked and burnt. Bottle stores stand empty and the streets are largely deserted, giving an overwhelming sense of desolation. Donkeys and emaciated dogs â\200\224 abandoned by their fleeing owners â\200\224 inhabit the houses.

When The Natal Witness visited Shongweni this week a number of families were loading their possessions on to trucks and getting out â\200\224 mainly to Pinetown and Clermont. Others have sought refuge at the nearby Albini Roman Catholic Mission, where they sleep, according to a sister there, â\200\234like goats on the floorâ\200\235.

Those few people still living in the valley were frightened, hostile and suspicious. However, from a number of interviews, including $a \ge 00 \ge 24$ in the absence of Mr Sibisi $a \ge 00 \ge 24$ one with his mother Betty, who has lived in the valley for i) years, the Witness has pieced together the following recent chain of events:

- o Mid-December to mid-February $a\200\224$ at least 30 non-Inkatha people die as kwaMbiza is ravaged by vigilantes.
- e February 18 $\hat{a}\200\224$ five people; all thought to be Inkatha members, are shot dead while drinking beer ata shebeen.
- e February 26 $a\200\224$ six people (non-Inkatha) are murdered, apparently in retaliation for the shebeen killings.
- e February 28 or March 1 $\hat{a}\200\224$ eight people are gunned down in Ezakhi-weni. Four die instantly and another three die of their wounds in hospital later.
- e March 4 $\hat{a}\200\224$ shopkeeper Mr Kheswa Lunga is shot dead and his shop in kwaMbiza is burnt and plundered.
- e March 6 $\hat{a}\200\224$ a group returning from burying some of those who died in the earlier attack is ambushed and two people $\hat{a}\200\224$ Mr Boya Ngcobo (18) and Mr Bheki Gwala (28) $\hat{a}\200\224$ shot dead.

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ABOVE: The people have fled; the donkeys have taken over. RIGHT: Walking wounded . . . Victoria Gasa (6) who hurt her eye after she tripped while fleeing an attack. The wound has become infected but the family is too afraid to visit the mobile clinic in the kwaMbiza section for fear they will be killed. With her is her baby sister Phumlani.

Economies in worldâ\200\231s poorest continent

Proposals for tackling

Africaâ\200\231s economic

By Rory Channing in Lusaka

minded rulers might well be shaken by some home-grown proposals of how to tackle the continentâ\200\231s economic ills.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa says debt repayments should be cut and military spending slashed.

It is not difficult to imagine what it would mean to social welfare...if a saving_of 50% can be achieved in defence spending, \(\frac{a}{200} \) 231 it said.

It also called for more progress towards democracy. ;

The proposals are contained in the commission $200\231$ s confidential document, The African Alternative to Structural Adjustment Programmes,

a copy of which has been obtained by Reuters.

Grim

* It paints a grim picture of African economies beset by mass poverty, food shortages, low productivity, backward technology, environmental decay and the ravages of drought.

The 62-page document won qualified backing from African finance ministers meeting behind closed doors in Malawi in early March to seek a kinder cure for their economies than the rigourous structural adjustment programmes of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. _

Critics say the IMF and World Bank loans are conditional on thrift polices which have too high a social and political cost.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Successive structural adjustment programmes are rending the fabric of the African society, $\hat{a}\200\231$ the commission $\hat{a}\200\231$ s document said.

The finance ministers said the document might need a lot of refining if it is to prove palatable to donors. 4

It outlines 29 measures African countries should consider adopting, and nine they

should avoid, in a strategy that looks beyond short-term crisis management to long-term development.

AFRICA'S foreign creditors and military-

The favoured measures include limiting debt repayments to one-tenth of annual export

. earnings in order to free money for productive

ventures and to ease balance of payments strains.

Nigeria, for example, now sets aside more than one-third of its foreign exchange to service its debt.

The document called for restraint on defence spending.

In Africa annual public spending on health has averaged less than one-third of military outlays, while spending on education has also lagged behind.

Development

SAID development has to be engineered and sustained by the people $\hat{a}\200\224$ hence a need to spend more on health and educa-

tion $\hat{a}\200\224$ and it called for excessively centralised bureaucracies to give way to decentralisation, grassroots initiatives and community self-management.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The political systems will need to evolve to allow for full democracy and participation (in development) by all sections of society. $\hat{a}\200\231$

Only 28 of the 49 Organisation of African Unity member states attended the talks, including highly indebted countries like Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Zaire and Zambia.

Ivory Coast, one of the biggest African debtors, did not attend. Nor did Ghana or Mauritius, held up as model devotees of IMF and World Bank reforms.

The ministerial conference and a 20-nation meeting of experts which preceded it accepted the UN commission $200\231$ s document as a potentially useful platform for aid negotiations.

They said in-depth review was needed on proposals such as:

[The debt repayment limit.

[]Diferential i courage national sa borrowing for groductive investment.

- []Multiple exchange rate systems which would encourage remittances by nationals working abroad while discouraging capital flight.
- []Import controls, tariff protection, and quota restrictions, designed to help national industries.
- [] Subsidies for selected groups, apparently the needy.
- [[]Selective price controls for goods vital to development.

_The ministers also called for a re-think on all nine measures which the document said should be avoided, including any generalised devaluation and acceptance of conditions governing disbursement of foreign aid.

Foreign debt

Africaâ\200\231s foreign debt has jumped nearly fivefold to 230 billion dollars during the 1980s, when prices for many farm and mineral exports $a\200\224$ its main source of self-earned income $a\200\224$ had slumped, although some had since recovered.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa, a think-tank set up in 1958 to foster economic cooperation and development in the worldâ $200\231s$ poorest continent, does not cover South Africa.

It says the document, which prescribes a long-term, $\hat{a}\200\230$ human-centred $\hat{a}\200\231$ rebuilding of economies to permit self-sustainable development, is not a programme in itself.

Rather it is a framework within which countries can design their own packages, incorporating whatever mix of complementary measures is appropriate to their individual needs. During the years 1980-88 some 33 countries adopted IMF reforms and 15 accepted World Bank programmes.

Soviets forced to curtail their aggressive intent

By Marshall Wilson in Melbourne

O could blame South Africans for being confused, if not downright puzzled, at the accelerated pace of change tak-

ing place in southern Africa?

Not only has the UN peace-keeping force moved in to oversee the gradual withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces from Namibia, which hopefully will eventuate in free elections come Christmas, the ANC in exile also appears to have lost considerable ground in its struggle for the hearts and minds of at least some of the people.

Last weekâ\200\231s news that ANC president Oliver Tambo received less than a raptuous welcome when he visited the Kremlin came like a breath of fresh air, not because the Soyiet-backed push for black African nationalism has come to a shuddering halt, but because senseless violence never was a legitimate means of ending apartheid.

Instead of a sympathetic hearing from President Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Tambo instead got the ear of Anatoly Lukyanov, a non-voting candidate member of the Politburo, and Valentin Falin who rates as head of the Communist Partyâ\200\231s Central Committee international department. Which in Soviet terms is significant downgrading indeed.

And if, as surely must be the case, bemused Pretoria political leaders are suddenly asking what theyâ\200\231ve done right to warrant so radical a _change in Soviet attitude, the answer lies not in any one solution but a basket of foreign policy initiatives.

Let thinking South Africans clearly understand that it has been the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which jointly orchestrated events now taking place in the region where previously Cuban troops and combined SWAPO-ANC guerilla activity had proved so costly a holding venture.

It seems fortuitous, in light of Russia \hat{a} 200\231s overt foreign adventurism in Africa, Afghanistan

and elsewhere, that the continued failure of Soviet agriculture has seen the nation reduced from providing arms to accepting alms.

Almost overnight, and certainly within the short space of Gorbachevâ\200\231s enlightened tenure, the Soviets have been forced to curtail aggressive intent with the West a bemused benefactor.

Without doubt President Gorbachev deserves praise for his efforts, having not only identified the needs of his people but been prepared to walk a fine line against dangerous protagonists in order to see them out of immediate danger.

And make no mistake that when it comes to engineering a ship of state the size of the Soviet Union off the rocks in hostile waters policed by the KGB, is $a\geq 0$ surely tantamount to swinging the Queen Mary through 360 degrees Sn Durban harbour during a gale on a busy

ay.

Formal denial

ND SO, in spite of the ANCâ\200\231s formal denial that there has been a switch in Soviet policy, Pravdaâ\200\231s official communique

which announced that apartheid could best be done away with by $a\200\230$ political means $200\231$ says it all.

As ever pragmatic and with time on their side, the Russians have perceived an immediate advantage if they withdraw their expeditionary forces from Angola and Afghanistan, with perestroika or restructuring continuing to win unexpected goodwill from all sectors.

From a South African perspective the results have been rewarding, with the promise that Cuban proxies will withdraw from any area of likely confrontation while at the same time the ANCâ\200\231s â\200\230Spear of the Nationâ\200\231 must regroup to consider strategy.

Leadership challenges within the ruling National Party aside, it seems an opportune time for South African whites to reconsider their future role in a land of plenty.

If, as now seems hopeful, the immediate

threat of armed insurrect is lifted and South Africaâ\200\231s diplomats continue talking with black leaders with whom they share so much common ground, surely the potential exists for a negotiated end to the countryâ\200\231s most damning indictment $a\200\224$ institutionalised apartheid?

No matter who leads the National Party, or any other group that eventually comes to rule once the nation overcomes its pathological fear of communism and racial equality, to the watching world the bottom line will always be the wording of the Constitution.

Democracy can withstand the rantings of Left or even Right-wingers within the laager,

â\200\234but the warped, irrational views of extremists

whose cockeyed philosophies are based on nothing less than racism have no place in a civilised society.

Political might

And since the Soviets have identified what General Magnus Malan told Pretoria a generation ago â\200\224 that the situation on the Republicâ\200\231s troubled borders can only be solved by political means not military might â\200\224 perhaps white South Africans who covert the vote will exercise their rights with more judicious forethought at the next general election.

The Communist Party is not a force to be reckoned with in South African politics. But even if it was $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ as it once was in Australia $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 24$ people should know that the Loonie Left withers on the vine and dies with lack of nourishment.

South Africaâ\200\231s lunatic fringe, of either pursuasion, deserves to be starved of votes to enable a pragmatic government to set a sane agenda for continued change.

It says something for the Nationalists that they have belatedly ventured from the laager to seek discussion with former enemies of the State.

But never forget they were driven to do so. The action was hardly spontaneous.

Audit shows

tot used for philanthropy

Simon Barber

WASHINGTONâ\200\224Less than 5% of the \$765000 U S mulitinationals provided the Coalition on â\200\230Southern Africa (Cosa) in September 1987 went on

the philanthropic activi--

ties in South Africa the organisation was theoretically set up to undertake, an audit being prepared for the donors shows.

The only money definite known to have reached Sou Africa is.a \$20 000 cheque sent to Winnie Mandela for completion of her controversial Soweto mansion and other purposes of her choosing.

Another \$10500 in unidentified $a\200\230$ contributions $a\200\231$ may also have reached South Africa.

Bs contrast, \$229000 was paid to Pagan International, a consulting firm that helped

create Cosa with North Caro- -

lina businessman Robert
Brown. Mr Brownâ\200\231s firm,
Band C Associates, received

\$65000. ey

s included Mobil Oil, Caltex, Johnson and Johnson, Pfizer, Combustion Engineering and Control Data.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ Draft contracts show Pagan and Mr Brown initially hoped to divide up almost the entire \$765000 between them, with

Pagan to receive \$500 000 and

Mr Brown \$260 000. i
Cosa acting executive director Frank Kent, who was

brought aboard last January \hat{a} 200\230to sort out the group \hat{a} 200\231s chaotic affairs, said this week that neither contract was signed. .

 \hat{a} 200\230We did not want to be a .

subsidiary of Pagan.â\200\231

" Leftwich, Moore and Douglas, a law firm, was paid \$55000 for unexplained rea-

sons. o:

 $a\200\230I$ don $a\200\231t$ honestly know what they were doing, $a\200\231$ Mr Kent said. Cosa $a\200\231s$ board $a\200\230$ never felt they had justified their billing $a\200\231$.

\$56 000 was spent on travel, including a $a\200\230$ fact-finding mission $a\200\231$ to South Africa led by Willy Leftwich, the law firm $a\200\231$ s

money, sai

 \hat{a} 200\230senior partner and until re-

cently a close friend of Mr Brown.

â\200\230Some people saw Cosa as a good thing, a way to make d Armstrong Williams, Mr Brownâ\200\231s spokesman.

The audit is for the financial year ending on June 30, 1988, and covers Cosaâ\200\231s first nine months of operation. No further contributions have been received since.

Some additional money has been spent sending used

_ clothes to black South Afri-

cans, Mr Kent said.

At least one container load was delivered to the Soweto Civie Association for distribution. According to a wit-

ness, the clothes were sold off

by a well-known shebeen
owner.
Late last year, Mr Leftwich

" received another \$29 000 after he successfully sued |

Cosa for non-payment of fees. For reasons that Mr Kent was

at a loss to explain, Cosa was not informed that it was being sued, failed to appear in court and lost by default.

Another \$10000 was given to African Research and Communications Inc to organise a Washington conference on small business last October.

The conference was never held.

- /7 MAReN]/989 Pressure on

ANC to armed struggle

Ian Hobbs
LONDONâ\200\224Evidence of an

campaign for peace in South Africa grew yesterday when the ANC admitted it was under massive pressure to abandon its $a\200\230$ armed struggle $a\200\231$ and enter peace talks with South Africa.

In a BBC radio interview, a senior ANC spokesman said they were prepared to enter talks with South Africa, but the onus was on Pretoria to create a \u00e1200\230climate of peace\u00e1\200\231. Optimistic

The ANC statement comes after high level political claims that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, with American support, was seeking to establish an Eminent Persons Group (EPG), similar to the 1986 Commonwealth group, to put pressure on the ANC and South Africa to meet around the peace table when she visits African states at the end of this month.

Mrs Thatcher told parliament in London yesterday that she was optimistic that Nelson Mandela would be released and that this would â\200\230change the atmosphere com-

| pletelyâ\200\231 in South Africa.

She felt $a\200\230a$ number of people in South Africa in very

high placesâ\200\231, who had not yet unprecedented_international ;-

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Atâ\200\231rico can Affairs

rrespondent

.ULUNDI'â\200\224The KwaZulu Govgrnment is. to implement six levelopment projects with lpams to the value of R30 millO:l vglelcrl; it lhas obtained

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of Southern Africgfnem .

Press release from the

Development Bank yesterday

said R27,6 million would
used to upgrade the watgfV{Jetlcglatlon systems in
mlazi and to provide a bulk
:vater supply at Sundumbili
ownship and the adjoining

Isithebe ind i
near Mâ\200\230andini.mmlal oo

HAKwaZWu to
'R30 m on projects

ditch â\204¢

been able to bring it about, wanted Mandela's freedom which, she said, would make it possible to start meaningful talks between the Government and black communities.

Mrs Thatcher also acclaimed South Africaâ $200\231s$ â $200\230$ overwhelming co-operationâ $200\231$ in the Namibian settlement programme, saying it augured well for the future of the region as a whole.

It is reliably understood that Mrs Thatcher will now

ask the Nigerian and Zimbabwean governments to | play prominent roles in her hopes for the establishment of a new EPG.

However, the ANC has so far shown no inclination to support moves by Mrs Thatcher, saying they feel she sides openly in favour of Pretoria.

The ANC told the BBC that if Foreign Minister Pik Botha could get his Government to $a\geq 0$ and $a\leq 0$ and $a\leq$

spend

The statement said the . u i ading of water $a\200\230$ reticulatiol;1 wfould help 500 000 residents of Umlazi and the provision Sundumbils pesa bRl to ili woul 20 000 residents. s The provision of bulk fvlå\200\2301) \ddot{q} \202géy to.Itsithebe, it å\200\230z:tifir assist more) $la; \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30 g \ddot{a} \geq 01$ industries. s o e statement saij R2400 000 of the loan fuilti(si would be used to help the gwaZglu/NataI Planning ouncil to co-ordinate the soclo-economic and technical aspects of a development programme for the region.