

Thursday 23 February 1989 *CITIZEN*

Mrs JOYCE SEIPEI, mother of Stompie (Mokhetsi) Seipei, who was allegedly beaten at Winnie Mandela's home, at a Press conference yesterday.

Police reject Winnie's wrong body claim

Citizen Reporter

THE police have dismissed claims by Mrs Winnie Mandela that the body found near New Canada station in Soweto on January 7 — and later identified — is not that of the child activist, Stompie Seipei, also known as Stompie Mokhetsi.

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday that the police statement on the identification of the body as that of the 14-year-old Seipei was "based on hard fact, not speculation".

It was pointed out that after the youth's mother had been unable to make a formal identification because of the advanced state of decomposition of the body, other forensic methods of identification had been used.

These had included comparing the fingerprints of the dead youth with others of Seipei, who had been detained on previous occasions, by the

leading fingerprint expert in the police.

As in all cases of murder, the police would have to satisfy the court that the body was indeed that of the victim — and thus before burial or cremation, certainty had to be reached on the identity of a victim.

The spokesman said

the police were satisfied that the body identified as that of Stompie Seipei was indeed that of the youth in question.

Mrs Mandela claimed in an interview with the London Daily Express newspaper that Seipei was alive and in good health when he left her house, and that the body

identified as that of the youth was not his.

Two members of Mrs Mandela's bodyguard, the so-called Mandela United Soccer Club, Jerry Richardson and Julius Sit-hole, have appeared in the Soweto Magistrates Court in connection with Seipei's murder and other charges.

THE NATAL WITNESS Tues, FEB 23 1989

Soviet Union

by Gwynne Dyer

Is communism reformable?

WHEN the first fish flopped out on to dry land, nobody criticised it for being ungainly, or pointed out that it still had a lot of changes to make before it would even qualify as a frog. Nowadays such epochal attempts at self-transformation are attended by far more critical audiences, but even Marxist regimes are entitled to the benefit of the doubt.

"We're learning democracy," Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev is frequently heard to say, and it is embarrassingly obvious that the Soviet system still has a lot to learn. Nevertheless, the election campaign that opened in the Soviet Union on February 23 and continues until the vote for a new 2 250 member Council of People's Deputies on March 26 is a momentous event.

It will be a decisive rupture with 70 years of Soviet history, and at least an apprenticeship in democracy for the whole Soviet people: an election with multiple candidates and a secret ballot (though no opposition parties as such).

Solidarity

And in neighbouring Poland, the next largest communist-ruled state in Europe, the government and the Solidarity union are currently discussing elections in April or May in which up to 40 percent of the seats in the Sejm (parliament) will be reserved for the opposition. Could it be that communism is reformable?

There are, of course, those who would say no, and they are particularly thick on the ground in Eastern Europe. After all, none of the democratic concepts that seem so radical in Moscow are new to people like Ludvik Vaculik, the author of the *Two Thousand Words* manifesto that played a key role in unleashing the Prague Spring of 1968.

"By the time an idea has been grasped by the Russian bureaucracy, it is hardly new where



Mikhail Gorbachev . . .
"We're learning democracy"

the rest of the world is concerned," Vaculik wrote recently in his book, *A Cup of Coffee With My Interrogator*. "To manufacture quality goods: what a revolutionary and daring idea! More than one candidate to stand for election: now there's a discovery for you!"

"... There are still more amazing discoveries to be made: for instance, the separation of legislative, executive and judicial power. But

whatever you discover, just leave us alone," Vaculik concluded.

You can see why people like the Czechs would feel sour when stark economic crisis finally forces the authoritarian Soviet regime to consider the same kind of reforms that it brutally crushed in Prague two decades ago... and by normal democratic standards there are still a great many things wrong with the Soviet elections.

One-third of the candidates to the Congress will not be directly elected at all, but rather chosen by a list of 37 approved "social organisations" that begins with the Communist Party and includes obedient oddities like the Philatelists' Society and the Cinema Lovers' Association.

Even within these organisations the candidates are often imposed by the leadership without any choice: the Communist Party is putting up precisely 100 candidates for its 100 reserved seats. That should ensure that all of Gorbachev's own candidates get in, and in general the reserved seat system will guarantee an overwhelming communist majority.

Room for manipulation

There is also a good deal of room for manipulation in the other 1 500 seats, where district election committees dominated by local communist bureaucrats approve the credentials of prospective candidates according to quite vague and flexible rules. Moreover, the Congress of People's Deputies will only choose a smaller 400-member Supreme Soviet that will function as the Soviet Union's full-time parliament.

It is this body, in which communist representation will be further distilled and concentrated, that will in turn elect the country's leader, the executive president. Indeed, some Soviet democrats even fear that the new sys-

tem is dangerously anti-democratic because of the way it creates a national leader "vested with absolute power," as Andrei Sakharov put it.

"Isn't the process of strengthening authoritarian power going too far?" asked Soviet legal expert Boris Kurashvile in *Izvestia* in November. "To have effective parliamentary control, one needs a multi-party system. And that means parliamentary opposition. We are trying to set up an office equivalent to a president under a one-party system."

Criticisms fully justified

All the criticisms are fully justified, and yet... There will soon be a legislature in session in the Soviet Union not three or four days a year, as in the past, but six or eight months a year. It will incorporate some notable non-communist figures including former dissidents, and its debates will be widely reported in the press.

It will have the right to initiate, reject or amend laws, and the exclusive right to authorise the use of Soviet troops beyond the country's frontiers. Government ministers will have to answer embarrassing questions from deputies.

Boris Kurashvili (and many other Soviet citizens) openly express their hope that there will one day be a genuine multi-party system in the Soviet Union, but that will be slow to come. In the meantime, however, there is something to celebrate.

For the first time in their lives, over 200 million Soviet citizens are going to vote in an election that may actually have some effect on their lives. God knows where it will end, but it's a start.

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

by London's Left-wing

LONDON. — The name of Winnie Mandela may be striking a sour note in South Africa, but among London's Left-wing she is still held in high esteem, the *London Evening Standard* reported yesterday. The newspaper said Labour-controlled authorities which have named buildings, a play group supply centre and, in one instance, given pride of place to her portrait in the council chamber, are refusing to back-track. "They say they have not considered removing her name despite the activities of her young bodyguards," the *Mandela United Football Club*," said the newspaper. A large portrait of Mrs Mandela, commissioned at a cost of about R20 000 last year, gazes across the chamber of the Hammersmith and Fulham Council. — Sapa.

COMMENT

Terreblanche and Zach de Beer

NOBODY will question the good faith of PFP leader Zach de Beer when he says that the new Democratic Party will maintain liberal economic policies notwithstanding the appointment of Professor Sampie Terreblanche as its economics adviser. However, De Beer is not the leader of the Democratic Party, and in any event leaders come and go. Policies, especially if they have powerful support within the party, tend to endure.

The difficulty is to reconcile De Beer's understanding of Terreblanche's views with Terreblanche's own statements, some of them expressed as recently as a fortnight ago, others contained in the considerable volume of his published work. For example, in his book "*Politieke Ekonomie en Sosiale Welvaart*", published in 1986 and cited this week in *Finansies & Tegniek*, he accuses the "English Establishment" of having no grasp of the economic and "state-financial implications" which must necessarily follow black political empowerment. He says that the English Establishment persists in the *laissez-faire* assumption that the state "authority" (*owerheid*) should play only a slight role in the economy, and that blacks will not abuse their political power to intervene in the economy.

Appalling

The assumptions in this single assertion are both appalling and offensive to the very tone, as well as the substance, of Anglo-Saxon liberal thinking. For one thing, there is no reason why black people must be assumed to be incapable of understanding and supporting liberal economic policies. Indeed, the political leader who most consistently defends those policies, now that Anglo-Saxon political leadership has collapsed, is Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is persistently attacked from the left for doing so. Secondly, Anglo-Saxon liberals do not subserviently think of government as "authority", but as "servant", and a poor servant at that. Nor is the "English Establishment", with its international ties to liberal societies, necessarily as ignorant as it may, from the perspective of the village of Stellenbosch, seem to be.

Terreblanche's understanding of liberal economics, as set out in his book, is that redistribution of wealth goes against the grain of a capitalist economy because it is supposed to suppress savings and discourage capital formation; he then proceeds to attack this proposition. To such rubbish it is difficult to reply at all. It implies that Terreblanche has not managed to master even the theory of market economics, that he is not up to date with modern thinking on growth strategies, and that he does not take liberal economics seriously enough to give the leadership which his elevated position in the party requires.

Structured

It does explain, however, why he wrote as recently as November 1988: "I like to call myself a Social Democrat". He added: "I am especially critical of the *laissez faire* (or Liberal or Bourgeois) Capitalism of the 19th Century."

More recently, in a letter published on February 14, Terreblanche wrote that the society which he envisaged would in the long run "only be attained if the market mechanism is structured in such a way that relative market prices will reflect the relative scarcity of production factors as correctly as possible". These are not the words of a man who believes in the efficiency of the market, or in the deficiencies of planners; they are the words of a social fixer who thinks that markets can be rigged to satisfy social planning.

In his book, as cited, Terreblanche predicted that the real disposable income of whites would have to decline 25% to 30% by the end of the century. If that is so, the new Democratic Party is proposing policies that will have the effect — among many others — of stripping the English universities of faculty as already impoverished professors emigrate in droves. The business community will similarly be stripped of skills, but there is no need to belabour the point. It is plain that Terreblanche proposes policies that will entail the destruction of the "English Establishment" that so obsesses him.

Are these the policies that De Beer intends to endorse?

LOOKING DEEPER INTO THE WINNIE ISSUE

THE mongrel is lying next to the bus stop. Humans protest about foul smell. One fella blocks his nostrils & takes a deep look at the carcass. "Oh, what a lovely set of teeth." Mr Fallible has just given that needed balance-of-nature dose — one good word. Just one. Fool stop!

Change of subject.

The people's press wrote of the "Mother of the Nation" with pride for a long time, not just Winnie Mandela. Today the bulk of the mainstream — all of a sudden — is going to town in reminding all & sundry that she is not Winnie after all.

Rapport, the Afrikaans Sunday, carries a colour picture of her under the banner *Die val van 'Mama Wetu'* Sarcastic or what? Wie se mama?

& since when is the media allowed to photograph police action in an unrest situation. The football team's name is unarguably political but we see lengthy scenes of riot squads & security



WITNESS ECHO 23/02/89

police raiding the Mandela home for unrest weaponry. Or was it not "unrest"?

Also, the saga has seen the overnight "unbanning" of the UDF by the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The SABC gave Murphy Morobe a colourful plug as a spokesman of the UDF to disown the mother of the nation. A friend in need is a friend indeed.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi did the opposite. Why do the Voteless distance themselves from Mrs Mandela? He reminded us that it was only fair to "presume innocence until a person is proved guilty".

Close nostrils to look deeper into the issue. For how many years has the Government dangled the insensitive carrot before her on the issue of "releasing Nelson Mandela from jail?"

How many humans could take what Winnie has endured over the past 30 years?

Besides, we in Natal, especially in Maritzburg & Mpumalanga, should bravely absorb some of the blame. Among the team are youngsters who are reported to have fled our violence. These lads would appear to be prone to violence.

Progressive comrades of Mrs Mandela should have asked her to embark on a no-comment response to the media in the light of the current crisis rather than disown her at such a critical moment. Stimela did this when Ray Phiri found himself in hot waters after the Graceland tour. They did not disown him. Diplomacy is discreet.

The efficiency in raiding the Mandela home to collect forensic evidence for investigations into the murders of Stompie Mokhesi, Maxwell Sibonelo Madondo is very impressive. It had to be since Minister of Law and Order Mr Adrian Vlok had personally ordered an investigation of the Mandela XI. Had we been given such attention in Maritzburg in 1987, we wouldn't be experiencing such a high toll of deaths.

More than 1000 lives have been wasted but has there been a Mandela XI-like efficiency displayed? Yet the Mandela team has not been connected to more than half a dozen killings, so far. What's good for the gander should be good for the goose.

Anyway, what the Mandela crisis has been able to achieve is the psychological "de-terrorisation" of the ANC. For once, everybody is quoting Oliver Tambo & the

ANC freely without any danger of being "stuffed" by the state of emergency press curbs.

For once the ANC is being discussed as a group of human beings not with horns.

The "relaxing" of restrictions in quoting the ANC gives us a picture of people who are not bent on defending a wrong.

We pay our condolences to the families of those who died under the controversial circumstances — controversial so far.

Weekly Mail co-editor Anton Harber observes: "If nothing else, the Winnie Mandela affair teaches us a lesson in the dangers in elevating political leaders beyond reproach..."

Voteless sees it this way: Politics is like a chess game; the only difference being that in chess players come out of the game without blood on their hands. Which who's who in politics can pick up a stone & throw it at Mama Wethu Mandela?

AN AFTERTHOUGHT: Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo once described the political violence in one corner of the country like this: "We hear that So And So is playing his little games ... But he speaks our language. Anyway, South Africa is not for the faint-hearted ..."

In other words Mrs Mandela should weather this storm. Why not ... she speaks our language of liberation. If AWP's Terreblanche survived yesteryear's scandal ... if some ouks survived the double scandal murder of National Party top politician Dr Smit & his wife ... if Tsafendas escaped the hangman's noose after knifing Dr Hendrik Verwoerd ...? Former United Nations secretary-general Kurt Waldheim still rules Austria in spite of accusations that he had a hand in dooming thousands of Jews in a concentration camp. Some people convict U; Some acquit U.

What is the PFP's role in South Africa?

1. THE PFP's role in South Africa is to enable every South African citizen to have the right to a say in his/her country.

2. PFP deals with law and order and works to resolve these issues. It does not think for "whites" only but every citizen in South Africa.

3. Mr (Radley) Keys did not go to Caluza, Edendale, Slangspruit and Ashdown. The residents came to him to seek assistance with their problems they faced.

4. Let us all work as South Africans and not make unfounded allegations.

5. God loves us if we love our neighbours. I

think Mr Keys and the PFP are concerned for all South Africans regardless of race.

6. As far as the PFP is concerned you may join our party without delay if you want to know more about what is happening in South Africa.

7. It negotiates with other organisations and bodies for a better future for all.

8. We have had interesting negotiations. Mr Keys was and is still a good speaker and a doer.

9. I know of many people who have been assisted by the kind offices of the PFP. Teachers for one, including myself, have been assisted.

S. MOLOI, Plessislaer

Women's club helps city vagrant

WITNESS ECHO 23/02/89

by S'khumbuzo Miya

THE Masakhane Women's Club from unit 13, Imbali, under the leadership of Mrs Veronica Mkhize, has offered a job and accommodation to one of the city's vagrants, Ms Beauty Mtshali.

The vagrants took the newspapers headlines in December when both the national and the KwaZulu social workers' departments declined to take their plight.

Ms Beauty Mtshali, the former city vagrant, was first taken to Edendale hospital for medication and was discharged recently after getting treatment for her burned right foot.

When Echo team visited her at the Masakhane Creche where she works as a helper, she still recognised the reporter who used to visit them at the corner of Berg and Retief Streets where she and the other fellow women vagrants used to live under the unhygienic and unsafe conditions of the doorways of shops in that spot.

When Mrs Mkhize was asked why she decided to help the women vagrants, she described the aims of their women's club as to learn doing things for themselves.

It became clear that no social workers' department was willing



Former vagrant Beauty Mtshali (standing behind the children) used to regard the corner of Berg and Retief Street as a home. Now Ms Beauty has been employed to look after the children at the Masakhane Creche which is administered by Masakhane Women's Club of Imbali, Unit 13, headed by Mrs Veronica Mkhize (left).

to aid them, when the social workers declined to take their plight. "We then decided to get them a house to live in at Imbali. We were prepared to help them all but most of them ran away and one rejected the help saying she has no problem in her livelihood," Mrs Mkhize said.

Ms Beauty Ntombizonke Mtshali is the third child of the late Mr and Mrs Aaron Agnes Mtshali from Mpolweni Mission. According to her, she started her primary education in the

late thirties and she was at her standard five when her father, who was the only source of income, died.

As a result her education future began to flicker. "I was very keen on furthering my education and become something in future but I was compelled by my family's financial disaster to retreat from doing the next class (std 6). A year later her mother died and her family composed of four children, two boys and two girls, was forced to live under her eldest

brother and sister's guide. "My brother started looking for work in the Pietermaritzburg city and fortunately he was employed by a shoe factory and he took my father's occupation as the only source of income in the family," she said. A few years later Ms Mtshali was old and responsible enough to seek employment in the city.

As a result she came to the city and began that thorn-full hunt for work as a domestic worker. "I did domestic service for only one year and my

relative who was trading at Ematsheni (Beerhall) came and offered me work as her helper there. I agreed and left my madam who was underpaying me," she said.

Later Ms Mtshali discovered that she was also underpaid at eMatsheni although her relative rented her a bed at the Church Street Hostel. "I then decided to leave that job and began living with my boyfriend, also living in the city where he was employed as petrol attendant. We had three illegitimate children and he was responsible enough to feed them."

Her last kid was barely one year old when her boyfriend drowned in the Masukwana River. His body was not found but only his clothes were found near the river to witness that he drowned in the river. "I was then compelled to return back to Ematsheni for the sake of my children who were later adopted by my brother," she adds.

The hostel in Church Street was closed down which resulted in the losing of accommodation for Ms Mtshali and some other hostel dwellers. "We then started living at Ematsheni where we were later disallowed and it was the beginning of our new life as the city's vagrant," she explained.

Asked how she feel about vagrant life Ms

Mtshali described it as the most terrible and surrounded by a lot of harrassments. "We used to encounter so many abuses and we were not living as the human beings there," she said.

On her eMatsheni service Ms Mtshali was seriously burned on her right foot by boiling oil and spent more than two months at Edendale Hospital and after being discharged, returned to eMatsheni and to her vagrant life.

Stories highlighting their unhygienic life in the city came into publication in a couple of the Natal Witness

issues, but no positive response from the general community was obtained.

Late in December last year the Masakhane Women's Club under the leadership of Mrs Mkhize attempted to adopt and keep the vagrants in the house at Imbali. Some turned away from the help but Ms Mtshali accepted it after being discharged from the hospital.

When Echo visited her last week at the Masakhane house at Imbali she was found playing with young creche kids.

She looked healthy and excited.

'They're SOWETAN trying to 23 FEBR. 1989 split us'

ANTI - APARTHEID groups yesterday said police officials are exploiting the criminal investigation of Winnie Mandela's bodyguards to create divisions in the black community.

Activists said police even offered to pay for the funeral of 14-year-old Stompie Seipei, who allegedly was beaten by allegedly was beaten at Mrs Mandela's home in December.

Seipei's decomposed body was found in January, and two of Mrs Mandela's bodyguards were formally charged on

Monday with the killing.

"Police are trying to divide the (black) community and blame Stompie's death on frictions in black groups," said Lister Skosana of the Tuma-hole Civic Association, an anti-apartheid community group from Seipei's hometown in the central part of the country.

A police spokesman, Colonel Steve van Rooyen, denied that police had offered to pay for the funeral.

Skosana said police had promised Mrs Seipei there would be no restrictions placed on her son's funeral, scheduled for Saturday.

• A former member of the Mandela United Football Club told a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday that he had only witnessed the killing of Maxwell Madondo, whose body was found in Orlando last week.

Mr Lerotodi Andrew Ikaneng (27) of Orlando West pleaded not guilty to the murder of Mr Madondo. — Sapa.



Miss JOYCE Seipei during an interview in which she challenged Mrs Winnie Mandela to discuss her son, Stompie Seipei's death.

I KILLED

SOWETAN - 23 FEBR. 1989

ASVAT

REPORTS, pictures and comments in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency.

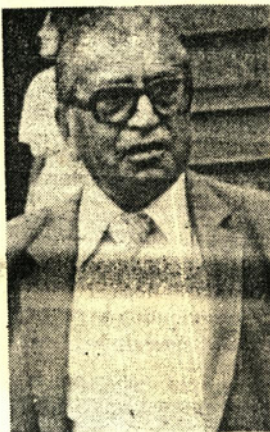
Accused
tells
court

TWENTY-ONE-YEAR-OLD Mr Zakhele Mbatha told a Johannesburg magistrate yesterday that he shot Dr Abu-Baker Asvat after he had gone to his consulting rooms to rob him.

Mr Mbatha, of no fixed address, told the court that a certain Johannes had planned the robbery.

He went to Dr Asvat's consulting rooms in Rockville, Soweto, on January 27 with a pistol Johannes had given him and demanded money from the doctor while holding him at gunpoint.

Dr Asvat managed to grab me and I fired a warning shot at his feet because I could see that he was much stronger than me," Mr Mbatha said.



Mr ABDUL-HAG Asvat, father of murdered Dr Abu-Baker Asvat, leaves the court.

Grabbed

The court heard that Dr Asvat then grabbed his legs and Mr Mbatha shot him in the chest.

Johannes then arrived on the scene and took an amount of R135 which he and Mr Mbatha shared, the court heard.

Mr Mbatha said that he didn't know his co-accused, Mr Toelane Dlamini (20), and that he had not been involved in the incident.

Mr P Bredenkamp accepted Mr Mbatha's pleas of guilty on charges of illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

Pleas of not guilty were entered on charges of

murder and robbery.

Mr Bredenkamp found that Mr Mbatha had not admitted that Dr Asvat died as a result of the shooting.

Mr Dlamini pleaded not guilty to all charges.

The case was postponed to March 3.

• Police have made more arrests in connection with the murder of Maxwell Madondo, former member of the Mandela Football Club.

A South African Police spokesman said yesterday it was possible the detained people would appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today.

THE STAR, THURS, FEB, 23, 1989

SA's sporting isolation: the answer lies at home

LONDON — The key to South Africa's sporting future lies not in the current writhings and manoeuvrings within the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (Sanroc) but in the controlling bodies of sport in South Africa.

No amount of name-calling, gagging and posturing, now tearing Sanroc apart, will lead to the breaching of the walls of international isolation. Without exception, the world's governing bodies will await total reunification in South Africa before extending a welcoming hand.

Classic split

Sanroc is racked by a classic split between moderation and militancy. The campaigning body which for so long has been in the forefront of moves to introduce a watertight worldwide boycott now finds itself cleft by precisely the same divide as the sports it seeks to exclude from the world arena.

Sanroc has fought its entire campaign on the grounds that virtually every sport in the Republic is split into what its calls the "cosmetic" integrationists and the "genuine" administrators. It believes the SA Cricket

Union is more concerned about test cricket than racial fair play while the SA Cricket Board is totally committed to the interests of non-racialism.

The same goes for rugby, golf, tennis, athletics, football, etc.

But, in the past decade, under the high-profile guidance of former Sanroc secretary (now restyled as executive chairman) Mr Sam Ramsamy, the militants have moved steadily to embrace all aspects of the social and political order in their quest for integration.

Mr Ramsamy is quite open about it. He wants no South African sports or sportsmen to compete abroad, not even through changes of citizenship *a la* Zola Budd, until the last vestiges of apartheid have been removed from society as a whole.

But the Sanroc moderates want to apply a little carrot in between doses of the big stick. Under founder and president Dr Dennis Brutus they are moving toward supporting an international reprieve for those sports which have purged themselves of apartheid.

Dr Brutus is convinced that the presence on the world stage of, say, South African soccer would have a massively beneficial effect on both sport

Sanroc is split between the big stick and the carrot over South African international sporting links but **ALAN ROBINSON** of The Star's London Bureau believes that the solution lies not with Sanroc but with the controlling bodies of sport in South Africa itself.



Mr Sam Ramsamy . . . blotted his copybook in Seoul but still seems to be a likely winner.

and society in South Africa.

The rewards of a place for the Springboks in, for example, the World Cup would soon persuade others to cast off the straitjacket of apartheid and the whole thing would then spiral, he feels.

Dr Brutus believes his approach has the tacit backing of the African

National Congress and, although the ANC may be less enthusiastic publicly, the policy it adopted after the historic talks with Dr Danie Craven and Dr Louis Luyt last year tends to bear him out.

The ANC told Dr Craven to go home and get down to serious talks with the militant SA Rugby Union. If they



Dr Dennis Brutus . . . has the ear of the International Olympic Committee.

could settle their differences and amalgamate into a single non-racial governing body for South African rugby, they would get ANC support in returning to international competition.

When that was announced last year, it was widely welcomed — except by the militants in Sanroc. And when much

the same thing happened during talks between Dr Brutus and SA Cricket Unions chiefs Mr Joe Parnisky and Dr Ali Bacher in London last month, the Sanroc split became a crevasse.

Which faction will win, remains unclear. Mr Ramsamy, an untiring lobbyist with a silver tongue and sharp mind, has strong support from

the African and Communist blocs but badly blotted his copybook in Seoul last year by failing to deliver the promised votes that would have given Delhi the 1994 Commonwealth Games in exchange for stopping the England cricket tour.

Dr Brutus has the ear of the International Olympic Committee and his moderation would be sympathetically received by bodies like the International Rugby Board and perhaps even the International Football Federation (FIFA).

Hearts and minds

But whoever is to triumph eventually must first win the hearts and minds of members of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos), the umbrella body for the various anti-apartheid sports authorities.

If Mr Ramsamy is the victor (and current odds are that he will be), the strangulation process will continue at an accelerated pace.

If Dr Brutus should succeed, the noose will begin to loosen ever so slowly. But he will need every bit of help he can get from his friends . . . and erstwhile enemies.

Swapo's disadvantages in independence stakes

BY BRENDAN SEERY of The Star's Africa News Service

When Swapo sits down at the UN Resolution 435 poker game (starts promptly on April 1) it could be forgiven for thinking it was playing against a card sharp with a loaded deck.

After all the comfortable years as the UN-acknowledged "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people", the South West African People's Organisation goes into the transition to independence with disadvantages that Mr Robert Mugabe or Mr Joshua Nkomo would not have tolerated when the British plan for Zimbabwean independence was foisted on them at Lancaster House in 1979.

Unlike Mr Ian Smith and his colleagues in Rhodesia, South Africa is holding most of the cards and is in a position to cut the deck and shuffle as it wishes.

For a start, Swapo will not have access to the powerful weapon of armed men coming back into the country and, rightly or wrongly, proclaiming they had won the war.

Assembly points

In 1979 and 1980, tens of thousands of Zanla and Zipra guerillas streamed into "assembly points" across Zimbabwe, with their weapons and a very obvious aura of victory. Not only did this provide Zanu and Zapu with political clout, it also gave the exiled leaders the muscle they needed to resist if anything went wrong, or if the Rhodesians decided to dictate things, like the result of the elections.

Under the Resolution 435 peace plan, approved by the UN Security Council in September 1978, Swapo fighters will be confined to their

camps.

Subsequent negotiations, and the fact that Swapo has not managed to establish permanent camps inside Namibia, effectively mean that its fighters will be restricted to an area north of the 16th parallel in Angola. South Africa has already let it be known that it is unhappy there are still Swapo people inside this cut-off line.

SA holds all the cards and can cut as it wishes

In Namibia, the South Africans have made it clear they believe the local arm of the SADF, the SWA Territory Force, will be demobilised (sent home on full pay) rather than disbanded. That these demobilised personnel may well have access to weapons must worry Swapo.

While in their camps in Angola, the Swapo cadres will be monitored by troops of the UN's Transition Assistance Group (Untag), and will eventually be disarmed prior to coming back to Namibia as "ordinary" refugees.

After being allowed back to Namibia, they will be given temporary residence permits, which will be confirmed at one of a number of centres by officials of the existing administration — an administration which will be headed by Pretoria's Administrator-General, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Registration

Before they will be allowed to vote in any election, they will have to be registered, a process also controlled by the South Africans, who say they wish to be satisfied that only true Namibians, and not foreigners, vote in the election.

However, anti-apartheid activists have already claimed that South Africa has registered, and is continuing to register, thousands of Angolan refugees who have found shelter in the Owambo and Kavango areas of northern Namibia.

There have also been allegations, denied by the authorities in Windhoek, that hundreds of South African soldiers are also being hurriedly registered for the election. Herero-based anti-Swapo parties have also talked about bringing back an estimated 40 000 Hereroes in Botswana.

Swapo's disadvantage

As far as election campaigning is concerned, Swapo will also be at a disadvantage, despite its undoubted popular support, simply because it will probably not at first have access to the substantial amounts of funds inside the country necessary to mount voter spectacles of the type in which Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance specialises.

Although matters may be slightly different when UN Special Representative Mr Martti Ahtisaari arrives here on April 1 for the start of the process, Swapo currently does not enjoy the same television or radio coverage as do its potential opponents.

It has only one newspaper — out of about nine which are published regularly in Windhoek — which is openly sympathetic to its cause.

It probably also has to contend with the fact that there is already a substantial flood of anti-Swapo propaganda being circulated in the north of the country, through the army and the police. They have been travelling around, ostensibly "educating the people about Resolution 435".

On top of all that, Swapo's own organisational abilities inside the country are open to some criticism, and it is unlikely that the crowd-pulling charisma of the "Old Man" Mr Sam Nujoma, will be available to the election machine during the early stages, as it is considered unlikely the Swapo president would risk returning to Namibia until his safety could be guaranteed.

Swapo does, however, have the ace of world opinion up its sleeve and that might help to even the odds in the high stakes tussle that lies ahead.

THE STAR 23-02-89



United Nations police adviser Commissioner Stephen Fanning (right) being greeted in Windhoek by Namibian Administrator Mr Louis Pienaar and UN representative Miss Rachel Mayanja.

PAGE 2