

The Natal Mercury

9 NOV 1989

LET'S HEAR IT

THERE'S NO question, though this week's broadcast acknowledgement in its Current Affairs programme shows the realisation has come late to the S A Broadcasting Corporation, that the ANC will figure large — among others — in any negotiations for a new South Africa. Yet South Africans, through the organisation being banned, are still largely in the dark about its policies and intentions.

What limited knowledge the public has comes from overseas broadcasts and the occasional use by some Government minister or other of quotations to show that what it intends bodes no good at all for this country or its peoples.

We're not much enamoured ourselves of some of what we have gleaned through various sources of ANC beliefs including, for example, the notion that the only way to eliminate poverty in SA is to pursue economic policies which communist parties in Europe are rejecting and which even Britain's Labour Party is abandoning.

Some of the objectives sound noble to the have-nots, like bringing the commanding heights of the economy under control, meaning the banks, mines and large corporations for a start. And being committed to the Freedom Charter's promises of providing education, employment and land for all, it's not difficult to imagine how the plot of land for all will be acquired.

But not knowing for sure, whites turn to looking for indications of what may be in store to neighbouring states, which those involved in one or other 'freedom' movement within South Africa indicate could

'help', as anti-apartheid activist Dr Beyers Naude has said Zimbabwe could do for Namibia.

Mr Mugabe's government, he says, could advise in the areas of investment, national development and land distribution.

How, we couldn't say, considering investment is all but non-existent, development is not much further advanced and Zimbabwe's Minister of Justice and Parliamentary Affairs, Mr Emmerson Mnangagwa, is now urging 'funeral arrangements' for the Lancaster House entrenched Declaration of Rights guaranteeing full compensation for expropriation of land as well as freedom of political association.

Considering that Zimbabwe's remaining 4 400 white commercial farmers virtually feed the nation and the tobacco growers earn hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign exchange, it's not difficult to see that Mr Mugabe's promises of land for the comrades could soon see the once-prosperous country slip finally into the pit of poverty as the unemployed grow by tens of thousands and agriculture goes the way of the rest of Africa.

Having seen only glimpses of what could be in store, we ask of President de Klerk: Isn't it time the ANC was unbanned, especially considering much of its formerly imprisoned leadership and its widespread membership is active, so that we can all come to know what the organisation stands for?

If it is still set on pursuing policies that have beggared the Communist world and been abandoned by Britain's socialists surely the bogey is easier exorcised by giving it the public's ear than continuing to ban it?

All political prisoners must be set free

SOWETAN 9 NOV 1989

SIR - Comrade Jeff Masemola of the PAC and seven other comrades of the ANC were recently released from prison by the Government and I hasten to state that the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed African masses must not be bluffed by this clever move of the racist regime. De Klerk and his other

settler-colonialist colleagues are trying to assist Margaret Thatcher in her anti-sanctions campaign. This move is also intended to boost the image of the racist, colonial regime. Africans and the international community should not mistake this move for a change of heart on the Government's side.

The oppressed Africans and the international community should note that other than the eight Azanian compatriots De Klerk decided to release, there are still hundreds of others languishing in jail.

Among them are PAC leader and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) commander, Enoch Zulu, Skotaville editor Jaki Seroke, PAC stalwart Mark Shinnars and many more. Therefore, the campaign for the release of all political prisoners should be intensified.

However, the African people should not forget that our struggle is not for the release of prisoners only, but for the achievement of national self-determination for the African people.

MLAMULI MFEKA
Katlehong

THE CITIZEN

Friday 10 November 1989

PAC man has 3-hour talk with Mandela

SENIOR Pan Africanist Congress member, Jafta Masemola, yesterday emerged from Victor Verster Prison after spending three hours with the jailed leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, but it was not revealed what the two men discussed.

Mr Masemola's aide, Mr Benny Alexander, said the PAC man, who spent 25 years imprisoned with Mandela on Robben Island, entered Victor Verster at 10 am and emerged at about 1 pm, even though prison authorities had allowed only two hours for the meeting.

Details of the encounter would only be released at a Press conference in Johannesburg after Mr Masemola had returned and consulted

PAC president, Mr Zeph Mothopeng, Mr Alexander said.

The time of the Press conference had not been set, as it was not known when Mr Masemola would return.

Mr Mandela had invited Mr Masemola for a six-day visit, but prison authorities scuttled plans for a lengthy meeting, saying the event had not been planned properly, Mr Alexander said.

Three lawyers who emerged from a meeting with Mr Mandela on Wednesday said he had appealed for unity among rival Black organisations, fuelling speculation that the jailed leader's meeting with Mr Masemola concerned ANC/PAC unity proposals.

Mr Alexander refused to comment on the issue.

The Mass Democratic Movement said yesterday

it would stage a march to Victor Verster Prison before Christmas "to release Mandela".

The organisation also condemned the detention of one of its members, Ms Cheryl Carolus, saying it made a mockery of the State President, Mr F W de Klerk's reformist statements.

In Amherst, Massachusetts, Mandela's daughter, Makaziwe Mandela Amuah, said the release of eight political prisoners in South Africa last month was only a "token gesture" as long as Mandela and others remain jailed.

"Releasing the leaders and not releasing everyone that is detained is meaningless as far as I am concerned," she said at a forum on South Africa at Hampshire College.

Ms Mandela Amuah (35), was one of four

South Africans who spoke to nearly 300 people about the changes taking place in South Africa.

The four said no significant changes have taken place since Mr De Klerk became President.

"If the government really wanted to show change, then they shouldn't have released just eight, but released all, and unbanned all organisations."

Ms Mandela Amuah said she would return to South Africa, perhaps to teach, when she completed her doctoral programme in Anthropology in about two years.

She had visited her father twice this summer, and he believed he would be released.

"It is no longer a question of his release, it is a question of when," she said. — Sapa-AP.

MEMBERS of the Media Workers Association of South Africa were urged to develop a liberation ideology which would safeguard the interests of the oppressed and exploited majority against "an avalanche of disinformation by both the State and liberal media."

The call was made by Mr Dullar Omar, president of the Western Cape region of the United Democratic Front.

In a speech described by the journalists as significant and politically important, Omar said mass struggles of the people had defeated the restrictions of the state of emergency.

It did not matter now whether De Klerk lifted the state of emergency or not because it is now no longer an issue, he said.

He said the past five years had shown the strength of the oppressed as well as the weaknesses inherent in the structures of the oppressed.

One of these weaknesses had been political intolerance which manifested itself in inter-organisational fights, leaving many dead, he said.

Omar said the oppressed had to guard against being co-opted into the system which would render the years of struggle meaningless.

He said the present Government initiative to negotiate with organisations of black people was precipitated by a crisis brought about by their struggles.

The call for negotiations was a way of maintaining the present position and co-opting people where the tri-cameral arrangement had failed, he said.

It was not sufficient



Mwasa members singing the national anthem at the end of their congress in Cape Town.

Warning on negotiation

Demoralising and demobilising - lawyer

for the oppressed to have won victories because the struggle was in danger of being subverted.

The present talk of negotiations was demoralising and demobilising people. This was the time to intensify the struggle because the oppressed are their own liberators.

Omar said the leadership of the oppressed had to be answerable to the people.

FOCUS

He said it was dangerous to leave decisions of policy to the discretion of two or three people.

"The Government Press and the liberal media now speak of De Klerk: they tell of his style of leadership and try to portray him as some kind of benevolent dictator who was different from PW Botha.

"They do not tell readers that they both belong to the National Party."

Danger

"The danger is that this tells us that decisions in white politics are taken by great men. All is left to them.

"They no longer talk of the National Party but of De Klerk. The problem is that the oppressed will follow this undemocratic practice. Democracy demands that those who

To PG 2

WARNING ON NEGOTIATION FROM PG 1

By MATHATHA
TSEDU

lead should be answerable to their followers," Omar said.

So it was important that while the white establishment was busy building a dictatorship, trade unions such as Mwasu should build democracy by getting their members to question their leaders. He said the fight was for democracy.

Omar said instead of the talk of negotiations, the oppressed should strive for the following: unity of the oppressed, strong organisations of their own, democracy and a liberation ideology.

He said in an attempt to defuse the militancy of the oppressed, the Government had embarked on a "disinformation campaign.

"South Africans are

now told that if trade is deregulated, everyone will open his own business and become rich and this is called free competition.

"There was nothing like that. The big capitalists will get richer while the workers will get poorer," Omar said.

In countering this, it was not enough to march in thousands if these marches were not consolidated.

Unity

He said while people cannot always agree, they should be able to work together and thereby build unity in action.

He said a difference in opinion and policy should not be allowed to become a division. People should differ without being divided, he said.

Omar said black journalists had to develop ways of cutting across the strategies of the regime in order to expose the inherent aim of the imperialists to keep SA a haven of capitalism.

Omar, an advocate and Cape leader of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), was speaking at the 10th annual congress of Mwasu in Cape Town at the weekend.

About 500 journalists, radio and television announcers, printers, drivers and other categories of workers in the media industry met to map out the future of the blacks-only union.

The congress could not complete its business and will be reconvened within six months.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlooe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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The Star

9 NOV 1989

Consultation a key to Soweto's ills

SOWETO, southern Africa's largest city, has been a chronic disaster area for so long that people tend to shrug off its problems as insoluble. Yet they must be tackled, if only to avert further decline, and it is encouraging to see the authorities at least making a start.

One of the country's top development economists, Dr Simon Brand, has looked closely at Soweto's financial ills and found the situation "difficult, but not hopeless". The Development Bank chief has outlined some useful guidelines for collecting the massive sums owing to the council, for improving deficient economic structures and providing bridging finance for the period of restructuring.

Budgetary assistance, he points out, is needed from other levels of government and also from adjacent local authorities which benefit from Soweto residents' labour and spending power. Johannesburg, which used to administer Soweto before rampant apartheid decreed otherwise, clearly must be ready to shoulder a big share of this responsibility.

It was apartheid, too, that once preferred to regard Soweto as a place of "temporary sojourners" and make

it not too comfortable to live in. Those years still account for a good many of Soweto's present problems, such as the housing backlog and the lack of a normal revenue-producing business and industrial base. In redressing past damage, responsibility must also fall upon central government and the Province.

Dr Brand's suggestions include accelerating the transfer of housing to residents and depoliticising service charges by separating them from rentals. Rent payments are still at a virtual standstill (about R280 million is outstanding) because of the boycott, a political action that requires a political solution. This can be found only in consultation with generally accepted leaders of the community. It is no good railing at Soweto's impotent and inefficient council to get its act together. Elected on a minuscule vote, it too is a product — and a victim — of apartheid.

The Brand report identifies the problems and the lines of some solutions, but successful implementation depends very much on consultation with "authentic" leaders — and even more so, on progress in the broader constitutional field.

Application to declare election null and void dismissed with costs

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Candidate's bid to oust Mabuza fails

Pretoria Correspondent

An attempt by a candidate of the kaNgwane opposition Insika National Party to oust Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza and the fourth legislative assembly failed yesterday when Mr Justice Eloff dismissed an application in the Pretoria Supreme Court to have the kaNgwane government declared null and void.

The application — by Mr Robert Makhaza Kumalo against the Commissioner-General of kaNgwane, the Chief Minister, and the 83 members of the legislative assembly — was dismissed with costs.

Mr Kumalo was a losing candidate in the kaNgwane election on September 24.

Counsel for Mr Kumalo, Mr D P J Rossouw, who asked the court to annul the election of assembly members, argued that the election was not held in accordance with the existing electoral, statutory and common election regulations.

He said that the election date had not been determined in the Government Gazette by proclamation of the State President.

Although the election took place in terms of the electoral regulations, it was contrary to the regulations of the constitutional proclamation, Mr Rossouw contended.

Mr Kumalo said in an affidavit that the dissolution of the third legislative assembly was contrary to the constitutional

proclamation, and that Mr Mabuza did not have the power to dissolve the assembly.

He also said the election date was not determined by the State President by proclamation in the Government Gazette.

Mr M Wallis, SC, who appeared for Mr Mabuza, told the court that Mr Mabuza undoubtedly possessed the power to dissolve the third legislative assembly by way of a general notice.

Mr Mabuza submitted in an affidavit that the notice to dissolve the third legislative assembly on August 5 last year was valid on the grounds that it was to take effect on August 21 by which time he had acquired the power to dissolve the assembly.

Disruption

He argued that if the application succeeded, he would be obliged to call a fresh election for the fourth legislative assembly.

Mr Mabuza said that this would "cause nothing but expense and disruption".

In his judgment, Mr Justice Eloff said there were several reasons for not annulling the election.

Legislature passed on the rights of the State President to the executive council of kaNgwane, along with the discretion vested in him to determine a date for the election, he said.

The judge added that the attack on the proclamation of the election was without substance.

Losing patience with Soweto

The Transvaal Provincial Council (TPA) dropped a bombshell last week when it told the Soweto City Council (SCC) to get its house in order before December 31, a "fair and reasonable" deadline.

Many people were taken aback by the TPA's suggestion that certain functions could be taken away from the city administration or that outsiders might be brought in to run the city.

Soweto mayor Mr Sam Mkhwanazi yesterday still sounded a little dumbfounded, saying the matter had been referred to his lawyers.

"This is a sensitive issue with legal implications. The TPA is getting rough."

The Soweto People's Delegation (SPD), a body of prominent community, church and trade unions leaders in favour of scrapping rent arrears and service charges, was also surprised. It accused the TPA of jeopardising sensitive negotiations by threatening the SCC in this way.

Many observers were also concerned about the TPA warning, since the ongoing negotiations between the provincial authority, the SPD and the SCC reportedly progressed well.

The efforts to solve the financial problems of Soweto were seen as an encouraging development, a significant pointer to future national negotiations.

Mr Olaus van Zyl, MEC for local government, has defended the TPA's actions by saying the TPA had been "going out of its way to help Soweto", but the SCC had

After months of sensitive negotiations with the Soweto Council and the Soweto People's Delegation, the Transvaal Provincial Administration seems to be losing its patience with the lack of progress in solving the city's financial crisis. **The Star's Political Reporter, ESMARE VAN DER MERWE**, reports.

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made no progress on certain projects which had been identified months ago.

"For example, they have not appointed a town clerk or a city engineer. In other instances they have not appointed the right people. The result is that accounts are not sent out at all. How can you expect residents to pay if they don't receive accounts?"

Mr van Zyl said the residents of Soweto were suffering because of the maladministration and mismanagement of the SCC.

"You cannot solve the political problems unless you improve the management and administration.

Complex

"Soweto's problems are complex — national and local political problems are at stake; so are social and economic problems.

"We can make progress, but we need the co-operation of all the interested parties."

He said the SCC had had a year (since the municipal elections in October 1988) to address key problems.

Not much had happened.

"Some people feel we are getting too tough. Others say we should have acted a long time ago. Of the R15 million to R16 million a month the TPA provides by means of bridging finance, R8 million goes for the non-payment of accounts. Other councils need money.

"We have had numerous meetings with the SCC, we have made suggestions, they have agreed. But there has not been any reaction. It is not as if we did nothing at all and suddenly decided to get tough," Mr van Zyl said.

Another criticism that has been levelled at the TPA is that the Simon Brand report, released on Tuesday, had not been circulated or discussed with the SCC and SPD before being published.

The report contains detailed proposals to put Soweto on the road to financial independence.

Asked to comment on Mr Mkhwanazi's remark that he had not received a copy of the report by Tuesday afternoon, Mr van Zyl lashed out angrily.

"This just proves my point about a lack of competent administrative personnel. The report was delivered to the SCC on Monday afternoon.

"We hope Soweto will get its house in order and that further steps will not be necessary," Mr van Zyl concluded.

In the pursuit of these aims, Path to Power assigns to the SACP a special role as the vanguard party, but it goes on to explain that, in the first stage of the two-stage revolution, the ANC and the SACP act as one, agreeing on "strategy and all key tactics".

According to Path to Power, the SACP also shelters these days within the Mass Democratic Movement. "Within this movement, South African communists strive for maximum unity in action around the day-to-day demands of the workers," it says, and then dwells at some length on the need to win over white workers, women, youth, and church groups.

The key paragraph, which really spells out the dimensions of the conspiracy, is this: "All of these sectors, drawn together into the Mass Democratic Movement, are the organised mass contingent of our national liberation struggle. The Mass Democratic Movement, together with the vanguard liberation alliance, constitute the Front of Revolutionary Forces."

More and more forces, it claims, which do not

share the aims of the MDM or the vanguard party, nevertheless identify with some of the aims of the Front, and should be drawn into the struggle behind the Front. That would explain the recent attempts by the left to woo liberals back into its embrace.

In the key paragraph Path to Power says: "Seizure of power will be the product of escalating and progressively merging mass political and military struggle with the likelihood of culminating in an insurrection."

Cynically, it adds: "We are not engaged in a struggle whose objective is merely to generate sufficient pressure to bring the other side to the negotiating table."

The government permits declared members of the Communist Party like Ahmed Kathrada and "scientific socialist" like Walter Sisulu to speak freely, from public platforms and in the press, but they do not reveal this hidden agenda. They do not permit the light of glasnost to fall on their conspiracies.

They simply hoist the Red Flag for all the sheep to follow.

Through the chinks made in the iron curtain of apartheid by President de Klerk's glasnost it is already possible to discern South African realities that have been hidden for a generation, but some things remain ominously hidden.

The Soweto rally, despite the organisational support of trades unions that command hundreds of thousands of workers, and despite long-distance busing, and despite sustained use of publicity techniques perfected by the organisers of pop concerts, drew fewer people than a good soccer match in the same stadium.

It's too early to say the African National Congress is being cut down to size, but it shrinks by the day: a gaggle of exiles who have mastered the diplomatic skills of tapping into foreign funds and scholarship rackets, some violent cadres who depend on dwindling Soviet aid to make bangs, and an inchoate, unorganised, essentially middleclass mass of vaguely sympathetic folk in the townships.

With every passing day, the ANC members look more and more like the people who surrounded every white South African's childhood and made it safe. Most of them, when the

ANC puts on a grand show, have the good sense to stay at home with the kids, or mend the garden gate.

There is, however, one remaining dark corner, filled with nastiness. The Soweto rally, says a clever headline, was ANC "but the day belonged to the Red Flag", and that is true.

The rally was organised not by the ANC itself, but by a shadowy amalgam of groups that resemble nothing so much as the old Congress movement, still dominated — as the Congress movement was in the 50s — by its white and Indian members, working through black members of the SA Communist Party.

Quibbles apart, there is no longer the slightest doubt that the ANC is led, organised and controlled to a dominant

degree by members of the South African Communist Party which is, by definition, a conspiracy whose stated aim is a two-stage revolution, first to overthrow apartheid, and afterwards to establish a communist state.

Don't take my word for it. Look at the SACP's programme of action adopted at the seventh congress earlier this year, and outlined in a document titled Path to Power: "The struggle for national liberation, the destruction of colonialism of a special type and the transition to socialism in South Africa required a vanguard marxist-Leninist party capable of providing a highly disciplined organisation and the guiding light of the scientific socialist outlook ground in South African realities."

Of course, it is a little difficult to take seriously a party which claims — in 1989! — that the main historical tendency of our epoch is "the transition from capitalism to socialism". The people of Poland and Hungary would die laughing if they overheard our true-blue Reds.

Path of Power also says, at a time of satisfying low inflation and high employment (rising even now in Britain), that "the working people of the advanced capitalist country are now experiencing growing unemployment and a rising cost of living". In the 50s the SACP at least got its facts right, even if its interpretations were silly. Now it can't even master the facts.

In recent years, a lovely man living, I think, on a Transvaal

smallholding, has been sending me furious letters insisting that the Soviet Union's steel production has outstripped America's, and that Soviet industry has overtaken German industry, and similar mad assertions. The SACP hierarchy, it seems to me, inhabits the same world of fantasy.

Nevertheless, the SACP can be dangerous, especially if the communist tail manages to wag the ANC dog. For example, Path to Power brushes aside the idea of peacefully negotiated solutions in South Africa: "Seizure of power by the revolutionary masses is the fundamental task of the national democratic revolution. This will entail the destruction of existing state institutions..."

The argument, in

seems, comes back to the theory of ungovernability, which has in the past five years inflicted such horrors on the people of the townships, and has virtually destroyed educational institutions in Soweto.

In an apparent reference to the sinister street committees, and perhaps to the people's courts, Path to Power asserts that where "racist institutions" have been destroyed or seriously weakened, "rudimentary forms of peoples government" are already in place. The people of the townships will know what to make of that assertion, but I would not be surprised if the "rudimentary forms of government" explained the curious lack of enthusiasm displayed so far for the released ANC leaders.

Worse is to come. Of the future, Path to Power says: "In the period after the seizure of power by the democratic forces, the working class will need to continue the struggle against capitalism ... Victory in the national democratic revolution is, for our working class, the most direct route to socialism and ultimately to communism."

The communists' hidden agenda for South Africa

D.D.

K

Namibia's ominous future

Foreign Report
9/11/89

In balloting that began on November 7th and is to continue through the 11th, Namibians are voting in their first free election. At least half are likely to support the South-West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), the party that has waged war against South African control of the territory for 23 years. Northern Namibia is full of rumours that South Africa is forming a guerrilla movement of its own to destabilise the country if SWAPO wins.

The rumours are odd in view of the liberal tone of South Africa's new president, F.W. de Klerk. But Namibia's National Council of Churches, a fiercely anti-South African organisation, has been assembling what it says is the evidence.

In Rundu, capital of the northern province of Kavango (see map), informants dispute South Africa's claim to have withdrawn all its troops from neighbouring Angola as part of a peace accord. They say they visited the Angolan town of Mukwe in October and saw South African army lorries there. In Rundu itself a former political prisoner says he saw the South African officer who had once interrogated him. He was wearing civilian clothes.

People in Rupara, a Namibian frontier town 60 miles west of Rundu, say they saw white soldiers with blackened faces in camps on the other side of the border. They also say they heard black soldiers speaking the language of the Namibia's Herero people, who live 200 miles to the south. If true, these reports would suggest that South Africa has not completely disbanded the Namibian army or the

feared para-military police, the Koevoet, as required under the UN plan for Namibian independence.

The Rupara people also report seeing military lorries moving troops westward. This coincides with reports from Ovambo-land, SWAPO's heartland, of soldiers from across the border raiding cattle herds and local shops.

Two missionaries who recently visited the Caprivi Strip's Omega Base, once used by the South African army and Angola's UNITA rebels, found it being run by 50 white South Africans who had been recently demobilised from the army. About 6,000 bushmen live nearby. Some 750 of them were part of the old Namibian army and could easily be remobilised.

A UN policeman told FOREIGN REPORT about two "teachers" in the Caprivi Strip who were thought to be working for the South African secret service.

A former major in the South African army boasted to FOREIGN REPORT that the Namibian army could be re-assembled in less than a week. A police colonel in Ovambo-land said he could recall Koevoet in a matter of hours.

Former Namibian soldiers have attacked SWAPO rallies. In Caprivi they have formed an organisation called the Stamping Elephants. They guard the offices of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), the multi-racial group opposing SWAPO.

Former army and police officers say openly that they will resort to force if the election is "unfair". They have little confidence in UN monitoring, which they believe (with some reason) is biased in SWAPO's favour. They will also take up arms if a SWAPO government seeks revenge on those who worked for the present multi-racial government.

SWAPO's leaders preach reconciliation, but plenty of Namibians doubt their sincerity. They point to the way SWAPO leaders ordered the detention and torture of dissidents in their camps in Zambia and Angola. They name the man who they believe was responsible. He is expected to be one of the most powerful figures in a SWAPO government.

SWAPO has tried to re-assure the territory's 80,000 whites that there will be a place for them and private business after independence. The party has held talks with De Beers, which mines diamonds, and RTZ, which mines uranium. It has also circulated a rumour that a well-known DTA leader, **Dirk Mudge**, might be invited to join a SWAPO cabinet.

But SWAPO's manifesto is not encouraging. While promising that there will be "no wholesale nationalisation", it asserts that "the state will have ownership of a significant part of the country's economic resources" and it talks about the "moral superiority of socialism over capitalism". Without foreign investment—and how much will come in if the line of the manifesto prevails in the new government?—Namibia's future looks bleak, whether or not South Africa tries to destabilise it.

