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NEWS PARLIAMENT

PW hints at inviting Mandela to take part in peace talks with Government

BRUCE CAMERON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P.W. Botha has indirectly invited African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to take part in peaceful negotiations.

Mr Botha indicated in his speech to a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday that Mandela's reaction could be important in considering his release.

It is understood a copy of President Botha's speech was given to Mandela soon after it was delivered in Parliament.

Senior Government sources indicated today that there had been a definite change in nuance in Mr Botha's speech yesterday which they said amounted to an invitation to Mandela to enter into talks with the Government.

The sources were also

expressing a greater understanding of the position of Mandela in his relationship to the ANC leadership in Lusaka.

But the spokesman said that Mandela was unlikely to be released soon.

In his speech Mr Botha urged Mandela to play a role in creating an atmosphere which could help facilitate his release.

But he repeated the argument that the Government could not release Mandela "if his release led to his rearrest and even to heightened violence."

Although Mr Botha said the criteria for his release remained, he added: "If he is prepared to make a contribution towards a peaceful settlement of South Africa's future, I shall personally welcome it."



President Botha

"In such a case the Government will react open heartedly."

Although Mr Botha acknowledged in his speech the international dimensions to Mandela's release, he pointedly rejected outside interference and welcomed the inference by Mandela in a letter to British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick that he also did not like outside interference.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP

(DP Houghton), who has long campaigned for his release, said today she felt Mr Botha's speech had dampened the optimism of those who thought Mandela would be released soon.

Although she had hoped Mr Botha would be the one to release Mandela, she felt this would now be done by his successor.

Meanwhile, no date has yet been set for a meeting between a KwaZulu delegation and Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The Government agreed to a meeting on the issue after the continued imprisonment of Mandela was acknowledged to be the major factor preventing negotiations between KwaZulu and the Government after talks between delegations representing the Government and KwaZulu last week.

Major drive to stimulate KwaZulu economic growth

ULUNDI: In a major deregulation drive, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is considering the suspension of a number of provisions which impede economic activities in KwaZulu.

A draft Government notice is being published for comment.

This is the latest step in the deregulation initiative launched by the KwaZulu Government to stimulate economic growth by making it simpler for people to enter the business world.

The secretary for economic affairs, Mr Alpheus Mkhwanazi, said the first step in the deregulation drive was to remove unnecessary legal restrictions which stifled

competition and economic growth.

"It is a recognised fact, both here and abroad, that the most effective solution to unemployment lies in stimulating the small business sector."

"To this end the KwaZulu Government intends to suspend a number of outmoded laws, rules and regulations which we believe hinder the economic growth of black entrepreneurs in the region."

He said the KwaZulu

Government would not limit the initiative to small enterprise.

Mr Mkhwanazi said a work group had been established to make recommendations for the suspension of regulations and provisions adversely affecting KwaZulu's formal and informal business sectors.

The group recommended that use be made of the KwaZulu Temporary Removal of Restrictions on Economic Activities Act to suspend a number of provisions which were either duplicated in other legislations, discriminatory or outdated.

INSIGHT

Swazi King comes of age

SWAZILAND'S King Mswati, who became the world's youngest reining monarch when he was crowned on April 25, 1986, turns 21 tomorrow.

But while excitement is building up among his 800 000 subjects, eagerly anticipating a festive public holiday of dancing and feasting, in Swazi tradition the age of 21 does not have any strong significance. Most young men are seen to be adult before that age, and in King Mswati's case he held just as much power when he came to the throne at the age of 18 as he will after tomorrow's festivities.

However, there are indications that there may be a psychological lift for King Mswati when he passes into his 21st year.

At his coronation in 1986 he said in his speech broadcast to the nation: "I have in my predecessors an example I can follow with certainty and confidence. I will continue to protect and preserve our revered traditional institutions, allowing them to develop in line with our cultural evolution."

The remarks promised no dramatic innovations, and since then, there have been none. The predecessor whose example he follows most closely is his father King Sobhuza, who died aged 83,

**Daily News
Africa Service
Mbabane**

after more than 60 years as Monarch, in 1982.

One of the highly-respected Sobhuza's achievements was to inspire unity among his people. King Mswati faced a problem of this nature as soon as he came to the throne.

After King Sobhuza's death there was conflict for about two years centering round a powerful traditional grouping known as the Likoqo Supreme Council of State. Many of its decisions shocked and upset the Swazi people, and at its height it was feared rather than respected.

When King Mswati came to power allegiance and loyalty went immediately to him, the Likoqo was downgraded and harmony was restored. It was a vivid illustration of how the Swazi people like to have a monarch, and do not respond to a committee.

With that disorder resolved, King Mswati settled into an ordered and predictable routine.

He took three wives, two of whom were selected according to traditional custom, and one he chose himself. There have been reports of other mar-

riages, but curiosity in such matters is discouraged. Certainly, King Mswati has declared himself a polygamist, and his father King Sobhuza was known to have at least 60 wives at his death.

The young king has also studied, in a perfunctory way, it is reported, since his coronation, with tutors visiting him at his Ludzidzini palace for classes in economics and history particularly.

Physically, King Mswati is a tall, well-built young man, but the isolated life he has so far been obliged to live does not allow him much freedom for sporting activity. He is known to enjoy squash, and the local squash club would be delighted to invite him to become their patron — without knowing quite how to go about it.

He said recently that he was a jogger, but this activity also brings problems peculiar to his royal position. When he does go jogging it is necessary that he be accompanied by a police bodyguard. Who unfortunately for him, must be in full uniform, and carrying a weapon...

Apart from these snippets, little has emerged over the past three years about Mswati the man.

However, observers have noted in the past month incidents which seem to indicate that King Mswati may be ready to emerge from the shell imposed on him by his royalty.

At a Press conference he asked assembled reporters, businessmen and diplomats if they had any questions. In Swazi tradition it is unheard of for a commoner to ask a monarch a direct question. Swazi reporters at the conference noted the invitation with great interest, and did put a few questions, despite the apparent contravention of protocol.

The reason King Mswati called the conference was to announce formally the formation of The King's Trust, a body set up to raise money for funding projects proposed for self-employment by jobless young people. This trust is similar to a scheme inaugurated by Britain's Prince Charles, to help jobless young people in his country.

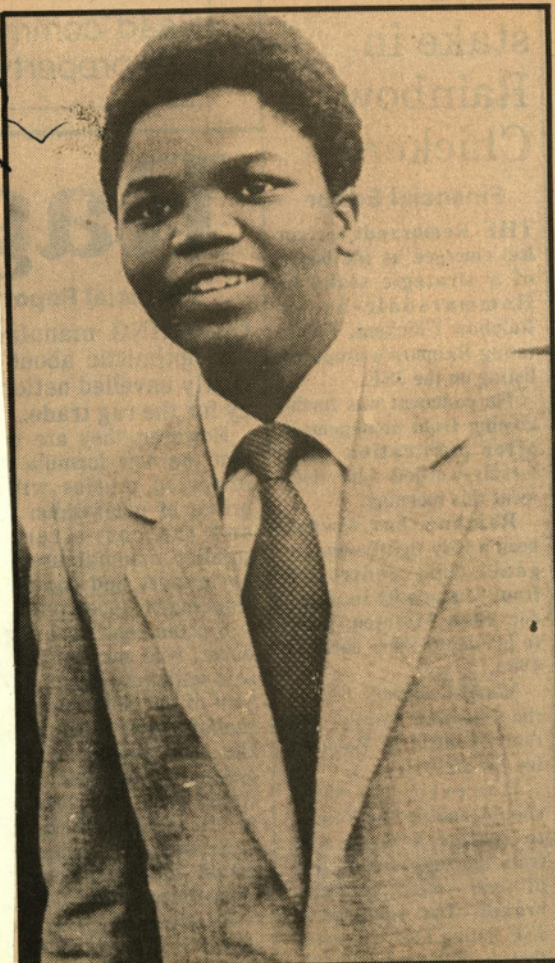
The point to be noted, according to observers, is that the Swazi Trust has been set up by King Mswati on his own initiative. His move indicates an awareness of the problem of jobless young people, and a willingness to do something about it.

Therefore, it can be seen as the first direct involvement by King Mswati, the absolute monarch, in the affairs of his country.

Once that psychological hurdle of the 21st birthday has been cleared, Swazis could start seeing more of the same kind of involvement by King Mswati in his country's affairs.



KING Mswati in traditional costume walks among his people.



WEARING western clothes the young king returns from boarding school in England.



MANDELA LETTER BRINGS HOPE

By
David
Upshal



MANDELA: Expresses "fervent hope" that "cordial relations" can be restored between opposing groups.

A letter received from African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela expresses his renewed hope for black unity in the struggle against apartheid.

The letter was sent to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu nationalist movement Inkatha. And, according to Buthelezi, it calls for reconciliation between Inkatha and pro-ANC forces in South Africa.

The Mandela letter apparently expresses the "fervent hope" that in due course "cordial relations" can be restored between the two opposing groups.

Cause

Conflict between radical ANC supporters, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF), and Inkatha's more conservative followers has accounted for over a thousand lives in the last two years alone,

often being the cause of so-called 'black-on-black' violence.

Relations between the ANC and Inkatha have grown steadily worse since the 1970s. Inkatha have objected to radical boycotts and strikes by students, trade unionists and other pro-ANC activists. Meanwhile, the ANC has condemned Buthelezi's acceptance of a 'homeland' Zulu state which he rules over as Chief with his own Pretoria-backed mini-government.

Inkatha's London representative Ben Skosona greeted the letter saying: "Peace is possible. We believe black unity is a prerequisite now or else apartheid will continue to feed on black disunity."

He added, however, that conciliation between the two groups would not come easily. "It will be difficult for anyone to achieve it," he said. "Even Nelson Mandela. But we feel his release is imminent and he has the clout to do it."

Cautious

However, ANC representatives were more cautious, stressing that they

are not yet in a position to confirm whether the letter to Chief Buthelezi was definitely from Mandela.

It would seem unlikely that such a letter would be sent without Mandela notifying his ANC colleagues. But indications that it is genuine were supported by a second letter, this time addressed to British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher in which he thanks her for the

"positive work" she has done.

The letters are seen as a clear sign that Mandela is beginning to exert his political and diplomatic influence in advance of his expected release from prison.

The very fact that the writings of a man who has spent 25 years behind bars could have such impact is seen by many as an indication of his stature and ability.

Rift between Inkatha and ANC must be healed, says jailed nationalist leader

THE VOICE
18 April 1989
London.

Ailing economy and corruption mar Mugabe's rule

Natal witness 18 April 1989 X Zimbabwe turns 10 today

HARARE — Zimbabwe, once hailed as a rare success story in a continent plagued by coups, civil wars and corruption, enters its 10th year of independence today with little of the jubilation that marked its birth.

Although still black Africa's most prosperous nation, Zimbabwe's economy is ailing.

When President Robert Mugabe led the white-ruled British colony of Rhodesia to independence as black-governed Zimbabwe on April 18, 1980, he inherited one of the healthiest agriculture-based economies in black Africa.

And, after waging a bloody seven-year guerrilla war for control of his homeland, he promised the 100 000 whites and nine million blacks peace and prosperity.

Many analysts believed Mugabe's Zimbabwe could serve as an example for the rulers in neighbouring South Africa, who maintain their black majority is not ready to run the country. But today, in light of Zimbabwe's problems, foreign analysts are as likely to point for positive examples to other black African countries with growing market economies as to Zimbabwe.

The economy is suffering shortages of foreign currency and a lack of foreign investment. Mr Mugabe says he favours a mixed economy, but the state is heavily involved in economic planning.

Potential Western investors, analysts say, have shied away because of the espousal of Marxist-Leninist principles by Mr Mugabe's ruling party and the absence of laws guaranteeing them profits.

Exporters who earn hard currency complain they get little encouragement from the government, and because there is no investment code the only significant foreign capital has been plowed into a baked beans cannery and a bubblegum factory.

The leadership of Mr Mugabe's avowedly egalitarian and socialist state is crippled following a series of corruption scandals.

Five cabinet ministers, a provincial governor and a junior minister have resigned and several others face prosecution in the latest scandal, the black marketeering of cars and trucks.

A war in neighbouring Mozambique, dubbed Zimbabwe's Vietnam by the 12 000 troops there, is bleeding the national treasury of a half-million U.S. dollars a day. The soldiers are guarding supply lines vital to landlocked Zimbabwe's survival.

At home, unprecedented popular discontent is growing over a host of ills ranging from official greed and economic mismanagement to record unemployment and galloping inflation.

And homeless blacks often complain that land hunger, the main cause of the war for independence, remains nine years later. While 160 000 families were promised plots, only 40 000 have actually been resettled.

On the credit side, Mr Mugabe (65) a onetime cattle herdsman and schoolteacher, has fulfilled pre-election promises of cheap education for all and free health care for the poor, who comprise most of the population.

He also instilled national pride in the black majority that had been subjugated by colonisers for nine decades, crushed a rebellion by armed dissidents in



Mr ROBERT MUGABE

the Matabeleland Province of western Zimbabwe and ended a feud with his old political foe, Joshua Nkomo.

The two signed an accord that will unite their two parties in the next year as a prelude to establishing a one-party state in one of Africa's few Western-style democracies.

But there has been mounting criticism that it could transform Zimbabwe into a leftist dictatorship, like Angola and Ethiopia, where the vote Zimbabweans fought for will be worthless.

"The leadership is rotten, and it will get more rotten in a one-party state," says Edgar Tekere (52) a founder of the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) and now its most vocal critic.

Mr Tekere, fired from the 15-member Politburo and the 90-strong Central Committee last October after he denounced top-level corruption, represents Mr Mugabe's only real political challenge. He has won widespread popular support for his stand.

Public hostility toward elected leaders has grown in the last few years as politicians have vaunted their wealth, power, position and privileges.

Cabinet ministers last year voted themselves earnings 20 times the statutory minimum wage of ZD100 dollars per month, which they also set. — Sapa-AP

South Africa

Natal witness - 18 April 1989

The decline of authority

THE extent of foreign exchange frauds in the past year is not yet known, but we do know that probably half the loss during 1988 of the country's gold and foreign currency reserves, its accumulated national treasure, can be attributed to fraud. Theft did us more harm than sanctions.

The disclosure last week that frauds cost us R650 million in foreign reserves — not quite as much as we paid off our foreign debt, but a sizeable sum anyway — has made nonsense of the theories put forward last year to "explain" why the national treasure was draining away. Leave aside the fact that these frauds were of a magnitude to dwarf all other crime put together — all muggings, all thefts, all car thefts, all armed robberies, all bank robberies, all dud cheques — and ask instead the question that hovers constantly in South African minds these days: what has happened to the moral standards of South Africans?

Tax collector Clive Kingon, desperately contemplating the equally desperate attempts by major corporations to find loopholes in the tax law, accuses his victims of a "moral sickness", but it goes beyond mere tax avoidance or the illegal exports of capital.

Appalling record

Corruption has rotted the very woof and warp of South African life. This is not the place to recount the appalling, if half-forgotten, record of the past 20 years, but we all know what has been happening: Eschel Rhoodie and the crooked accounting in government, the first-class "freebie" trips abroad; deputy minister Hennie van der Walt stealing trust funds; the officials giving each other free Krugerrands at a party;

the lavish parties to celebrate such mundane events as the opening of a toll road; the fleets of Mercedes-Benzes in the basement of the SABC; the funny banks that pay 30 percent or more in interest; the greed-maddened crowds chasing after riches in packets of rotten milk; the bankrupt State President; the lies to Parliament; the Italian criminals in high places; the leaking of government statistics to favoured people; the property deals; the father-and-son government contracts, and so much, so much more.

A deeper rot

These are mere symptoms of a deeper rot. At the heart of all these examples lies a failure of the law to hold the allegiance of the people, a failure of the authority of the State. The people of this country, excepting a couple of million whites, hold the State and its agents in profound contempt. That is, of course, the inevitable consequence of replacing the rule of law with the rule of men. It began, one suspects, when John Voster destroyed what is loosely known in this country as the right of habeas corpus, permitting his policemen to lock people away without trial.

The trouble is not simply that the detention laws led, inevitably, to the complicity of the State in various murders. That was bad enough, but worse was that the law — the very idea of law — lost its hold on men's minds. First it lost its hold on the rulers, then on the keepers of the law. We have descended so far that the State not only accepts the danger of its own complicity in unlawful killings, so that judges of the Supreme Courts must go from prison to prison to protect inmates against the

"At the heart of all these examples lies a failure of the law to hold the allegiance of the people, a failure of the authority of the State. The people of this country, excepting a couple of million whites, hold the State and its agents in profound contempt. That is, of course, the inevitable consequence of replacing the rule of law with the rule of men."

fate of Neil Aggett or Steve Biko, but the State sets aside the law in order to protect people accused of outright murder. At this very time, the State President is doing all he can to prevent the trial of six men accused of murder in Namibia.

When the law against murder is made subject to the judgment — or prejudice, or caprice, or malice — of one elected official, it is vain to talk of government under law. In a real sense, there is no law. Other laws besides the law against murder go unenforced. Some are simply so bad, like the pass laws, that they cannot be enforced, and must in the end be repealed. Others are simply too difficult, or costly, to overcome the problem by giving officials

discretionary powers to "regulate", but that doesn't work any longer, and the escape mechanisms become increasingly bizarre.

Rents go unpaid and government responds by selling off its rental properties; direct taxes are evaded, so government resorts to indirect taxes and user charges; when the Group Areas Act becomes unenforceable, the Act is modified, because government knows that it would need an army to enforce the law. Moral authority, the major instrument of any government, has gone.

The law weakens

As the law weakens, so does convention, and the concern for the decent appearance of things is lost. The Harms commission has found that neither the Defence Minister nor the Foreign Minister, each of whom accepted a hunting rifle as a gift from Wessel Albertus Vermaas, did anything wrong. That, in the present climate, is a welcome finding, but it does not entirely cover the appearance of things. The Defence Minister did, as it happens, recommend Vermaas for a position as a director of an Armscor company and Vermaas was appointed. A year later on the very day of the appointment of the Harms commission, Vermaas's directorship was terminated because, the commission was told, he failed to get a security clearance. The commission, more alert to the appearance of things than the cabinet ministers, was struck by the coincidence, but found it was just that — coincidence.

Nevertheless, the episode does demonstrate the need for public officials, if they wish to maintain moral authority, to be sensitive to appearances, and to be careful of gifts like hunting

7 The decline of Authority .

rifles or hunting trips. For one thing, lesser officials take their cue from the Cabinet. These days, it's not what you know but who you know. Merchant bankers complain that there are people walking around Pretoria who claim that, for a fee, they can get applications for foreign currency expedited. Certainly it is obvious, not only from the Vermaas affair, that Reserve Bank officials will intervene to assist those applicants who can marshal powerful support. It is also obvious that — outrageously — foreign currency applications are not necessarily dealt with in the order in which they are received.

This brings us back to the forex frauds. They represent in part the determination — indeed, the desperation — of people to get money out of the country before the currency decays even more. (They also represent, obviously, the efforts of criminals to exploit the existence of foreign exchange restrictions intended to prevent honest people from getting their money out.)

Plan to emigrate

The one thing certain about the currency is that it will lose its value; if you plan to emigrate, the sooner the better. Even if you don't plan to leave, or can't find a foreign passport, or lack the confidence, it still makes sense to spend your rands before they lose their worth. So, as the statistics tell us, savings drop, spending soars and it's each man for himself. During the Great Plague, the citizens of Milan are said to have cavorted drunkenly about the graveyards as they waited to die. Something similar happens when people lose trust in both the law and the currency; when your world is falling apart, cynicism becomes a refuge.

• Ken Owen is the editor of *Business Day*.

Sowetan

Tuesday 18 April 1989



KING MSWATI . . . has not left the country since he was crowned.

Mswati's lonely guest

Sowetan Tuesday
APRIL 18 1989
MBABANE — As Lesotho's King Mosho- excitement builds up in shoe, may delegate Swaziland for head of representatives. state King Mswati's. The reason for their birthday tomorrow, it non-appearance, accord- was beginning to appear ing to diplomats, could be that King Mswati, state, Zambia's Dr who was crowned in Kenneth Kaunda, will 1986, has not himself left attend. Swaziland to visit any other African state since then.

The others, according to celebrations officers, who include Mozam- bique's President Joa- quim Chissano and There was heavy representation of heads of state at Mswati's

coronation, including President P W Botha, Samora Machel, the President of Mozam- bique, President Quett Masire of Botswana and King Moshoshoe.

Protocol chief Mr John Dube said that President Kaunda was expected to arrive yesterday, but confirmed that he is now the only African head of state likely to attend.

Soviet official tells Swapo: 'Do not be foolish'

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — In a remarkable appeal for reason in Namibia, a top Soviet official has warned Swapo that it would be foolish to undermine the independence process in the territory.

The rest of the world would take it amiss if the international attempt to end the conflict were to be spoiled, the official, Mr Boris Asoyan, wrote in the Moscow newspaper *Izvestia*.

"Too many efforts and resources have been invested to make this agreement reality," he said. "Undermining it would mean striking a blow against the new atmosphere of trust in the world."

Mistrust

Mr Asoyan served until recently as Soviet ambassador to Lesotho, which made him the *de facto* Soviet envoy to South Africa. He has played an important role in the evolving relationship between Pretoria and Moscow.

It is believed that he was the guest of the South African Government in Pretoria on several occasions.

In the *Izvestia* article, Mr Asoyan mentioned Swapo only once, and in a

general context. But he directed his criticisms pointedly at "the leaders of the future independent Namibia".

Mr Asoyan said the armed clashes in northern Namibia had exacerbated the situation seriously and jeopardised the UN independence plan. It was regrettable but apparently unavoidable given the enormous reserves of mistrust and "many years of orientation toward deceiving the opposition".

These factors would continue to cause problems for years to come.

"Some people are naively confident that in the dense bush it is not easy to discover who is right and who is guilty and that the blame for this or that conflict can be shifted on to the enemy."

The participants, armed with the largest amount of weapons that had accumulated in the region for two decades, had still not grasped the fact that the battlefield should no longer exist and that the Namibia agreement was a compromise with no winners or losers.

"The leaders of the future independent Namibia must display wisdom and determination, suppress emotions, and concentrate all their energy on clearing the minefields of mistrust," Mr Asoyan said.

If the effort to find peace in Namibia

failed, he warned, it would "without doubt, complicate the process of improving the situation in other hotbeds of tension in southern Africa and ultimately slow the pace of steps to eliminate the main source of conflict in the region — the apartheid system."

Mr Asoyan said group interests could not be allowed to stand in the way of Namibian independence. "Everything must be done to ensure that those who died in the exchanges of fire in the first days of April are the last victims claimed by the war," he wrote.

SA churchmen bring letter to Downing St

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Two black South African churchmen called at 10 Downing Street yesterday and delivered a private letter for Mrs Thatcher supporting the British government's position on South Africa.

Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya, head of the United Apostolic Council, and Bishop Isaac Moekoena, who leads the Reformed Independent Churches Association of South Africa, also gave their views on sanctions and disinvestment, which they strongly oppose.

The two churchmen, who claim to represent between them about six million black South African Christians, are spending two weeks in Britain as the guests of the conservative Freedom Association.

New book grapples with realities of SA

Daughters of ANC

chief battle to make sense of life

By Garner Thomson
The Star Bureau



In her latest book, Gillian Slovo battles to come to terms with parents who put politics before family life.

LONDON — Gillian Slovo shares her sister Shawn's compulsion to try to make sense of an early life in South Africa as the daughter of top ANC executive Mr Joe Slovo and tireless anti-apartheid campaigner the late Ruth First.

To illustrate something of the sisters' confusion, she recalls school friends who knew her mother was in prison asking: "Is she a kleptomaniac?" And, the absence of her father is somehow bound up in the terrifying memory of being alone in a thunderstorm.

Shawn Slovo tackled the issues in the film "A World Apart", and achieved a kind of peace. Gillian, a writer with three detective books under her belt, has confronted these memories in a monumental novel, called "Ties of Blood", published by Michael Joseph in London recently, but not yet available in South Africa.

"Ties of Blood" is a sweeping assessment of the anti-apartheid movement as it affected several generations of two families, one white, the other black.

Real issues

Like Slovo, one of the characters tries to escape her roots by trying to ignore her South African origins. But, as in Slovo's experience, events — in real life, the assassination of her mother — force her to examine the "real" issues.

"Ties of Blood" starts at the turn of the century, telling the story of a young Jewish woman who abandons her Lithuanian home in a bid to provide a better life for her children. But in South Africa, where she arrives, the race laws are becoming bonds which will incapacitate black people for generations to come.

Described as "a triumph of narrative range and insight", "Ties of Blood" also tries to come to terms with the same issue that so confused and angered sister Shawn — the fact that their parents put politics before family life.

As Gillian says in an interview published here: "I'm still working out my relationship with my mother."

Trend towards soft targets, says report

Terror incidents up last year — De Witt

By Alan Dunn, Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The revolutionary climate in South Africa was still unacceptably high, the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, said in his annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

His statement was interpreted by well-placed observers last night as a plea for the continuation of emergency regulations.

Radical elements had in spite of the state of emergency occasionally succeeded in disruptions last year, his report said.

Terror incidents increased last year compared with 1987, and there was a marked trend towards "soft" (civilian) targets.

General de Witt said, however, that it was clear police and other security forces had succeeded in countering the so-called "military onslaught" of revolutionary organisations.

"It has become clear to the ANC, the UDF and their sympathisers that they will not be able to force South Africa and its peoples to their knees by means of violence."

Their emphasis had shifted, therefore, to increased political activity of which intimidation and other forms of extortion were unfortunately still an important element "against which an effective counter-measure is still in its development stages".

Visible violence last year had not reached proportions predicted, in spite of threats of a blood-bath before the municipal elections.

Statistics General de Witt cited in his report included:

- 80 policemen killed on duty.
- Serious crime was 0,37 percent higher than in

1987, involving 1 423 763 crimes, 57 percent of which were solved.

- 819 white rape victims were reported last year, and 18 549 black.

- There were 125 571 grievous assaults and 94 infanticides (up 15 percent on 1987).

- Breaking into business premises totalled 49 687 (down 7 percent), housebreaking in white suburbs 88 936 (down 36 percent from 140 835 incidents in 1987) and 44 131 housebreakings in black areas.

- Robberies with aggravating circumstances numbered 25 941, other robberies 19 906.

- Dagga with a street value of more than R595 000 000, almost a million kilograms, had been seized or destroyed.

- 15 500 people were arrested for dealing or possession of dagga, 987 people had been arrested for dealing in Mandrax, 20 for dealing in cocaine and 26 for dealing in LSD.

- Police had seized almost 16,2 million litres of liquor and charged 238 nightclubs for liquor offences, and illegal liquor trade netted 9 435 alleged offenders.

- Police charged 26 gambling houses, confiscated 313 machines, arrested 99 Fah-Fee bankers and 154 runners, charged 42 sex shops and arrested 70 people linked to them, charged 31 brothels and arrested 42 suspects in this connection.

- Police picked up 1 538 prostitutes, arrested 282 hotel prostitutes, charged 26 massage parlours and 66 escort clubs.

- Police issued 123 465 firearm licences last year, refusing 7 391.

- More than 7 500 firearms were reported missing, 3 400 recovered and 2 500 people declared unfit to possess firearms.

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Clemency for 11 death row prisoners

3 scheduled to be executed this week

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Three people, including two members of the Addo Youth Congress, are scheduled to be executed in Pretoria this week and two others were granted a stay of execution yesterday, according to Mr Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR).

The planned executions coincide with the granting of clemency to a further 11 death row prisoners, including another two Addo activists.

The granting of clemency by the State President was announced on Friday, Mr Currin said. It brings to 27 the number of condemned men spared by the head of State this year.

The scheduled execution of a sixth man, Harry Ngcobo, was stayed on Friday as a result of a Supreme Court action brought by LHR. The delay is to allow

Ngcobo to petition the Chief Justice for leave to appeal.

The three men who are scheduled to be executed are Alpheus Thantsha, Makhezwane Menze and Ndumiso Siphenuko.

John Ndlovu and Lazarus Mance were granted a stay of execution yesterday and Mance has until May 18 to petition the State President.

Ndlovu's petition was rejected by the State President, but after yesterday's order his execution will also be stayed.

Murder of farmer

The stay in the case of Ndlovu was requested in order to avoid prejudicing the case of Mance, who was his co-accused.

The two members of the "Addo Four" who are due to be executed are Menze and Siphenuko. They were sentenced in January 1987 for the murder of a farmer and his wife. The judge

found them guilty on the grounds of common purpose.

They were due to be executed on Thursday, while Thantsha had been informed he would be executed on Wednesday, Mr Currin said.

"We are presently investigating their circumstances and will make a further statement in due course about possible applications for stay of execution."

The two members of the Addo Four who were granted clemency are Similo Wonci and Christopher Makeleni.

Commenting on the act of clemency, Mr Currin said: "We welcome it as a further positive step towards the eventual abolition of capital punishment in South Africa."

A total of 10 people have been executed this year, according to the Department of Justice. At least four stays of execution have been obtained administratively or through the courts.

The Star Wed. April 19, 1989

Yes to double pay, no to apartheid

Indications from the National Union of Mineworkers' congress, which ended this week, are that the union will continue fighting for members' "bread and butter" issues while supporting the general thrust for the dismantling of apartheid, writes labour reporter **MIKE SILUMA**.

rate, set at R600 for underground workers and R543 for their surface colleagues, promises, in some cases, to double the bottom rate in the mining industry. In the top grade (category 8), the union will demand a new minimum rate of R1 165 and R1 287 for surface and underground miners, respectively.

The NUM also gave the Chamber of Mines, to which the wage demands are to be submitted this week, up to 1991 to pay a "living wage" to all mine-workers.

The wage demands, coupled with the decision to revive the union's living wage campaign, show optimism in

the union's ranks that it has gathered enough strength to mount a fresh challenge against mine employers over wages.

NUM general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said in his report to the congress that, following the dismissal of nearly 50 000 members in the 1987 wage strike, the union's membership was climbing again.

Saying it was "incumbent on miners to develop clear policies on how the mining industry should be run", the congress called on the NUM to draw up guidelines aimed at giving miners control over critical issues such as the introduction of new technology, work-

ers' housing, health and safety, labour requirements and the development of new mines.

As is the case in the rest of the black union movement, employee housing has recently become a major issue, given the union's campaign against the migrant labour and hostel systems, widely used in the industry.

Beyond the "bread and butter" issues, the NUM, not surprisingly, committed itself to the centre stage of anti-apartheid opposition.

Having been the first affiliate to adopt the Freedom Charter as the basis of its policy in 1987, the NUM has now undertaken to be actively in-

volved in the discussions on an alternative constitutional dispensation, based on the African National Congress' proposals. These discussions will take place both in Cosatu and the "mass democratic movement".

The NUM called for the formation of an anti-apartheid coalition spearheaded by Cosatu and the United Democratic Front.

Delegates pledged themselves to the mammoth task of making representations to the American, British and West German governments — South Africa's "main Western supporters" — to "highlight the brutality of the apartheid regime".

Also on the international front, the NUM offered political and material support to Swapo and the Namibian labour movement.

'850 Swapo guerrillas still in Namibia'

Business Day
18 Apr. 1989

UN, police to investigate intimidation allegations

WINDHOEK — Namibian police and UN police monitors would jointly investigate allegations of intimidation of civilians in the run-up to elections, a spokesman for Administrator-General Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

He said the procedure was agreed to by Pienaar and UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari.

Reports of intimidation received by Pienaar's office would be conveyed to Untag, and the other way round, for joint investigation.

The number of insurgents who had handed themselves over to be returned to bases north of the 16th parallel in Angola remained at seven.

The spokesman said about 380 Swapo fighters had crossed the border from northern Namibia back into Angola without reporting to any of the nine assembly points. About 850 Swapo guer-

rillas were still in northern Namibia.

The number of guerrillas killed was 278 while 28 had been captured by Namibian police. About half of them had been taken captive before the Mount Etjo agreement between SA, Cuba and Angola on April 9, which guaranteed Swapo insurgents safe passage back into Angola.

Forwarded

The spokesman said: "At the moment they are in police custody." They were being held in terms of security legislation but it was up to top-ranking officers to decide what to do with them.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) spokesman Nicolas de Rougemont said the ICRC had interviewed nine of the insurgents and had forwarded a confidential document on its findings to Pienaar's office.

The spokesman said in the latest skirmishes in northern Namibia yesterday,

an insurgent was killed when a military patrol followed tracks leading in a south-easterly direction from Swartboois Drift on the border with Angola. He died in an ambush while another insurgent was killed a few hours later after a police patrol had followed tracks leading southwards from Okandjera in northern Namibia.

He denied a weekend report that communications were poor between Pienaar's office and Ahtisaari. Both officials were "perfectly satisfied" communication was good at all levels between the two offices.

UN spokesman Cedric Thornberry said Untag had had to think of "ingenious ways" of deploying personnel to keep to the schedule for elections.

He said military forces were supposed to have pulled out of bases already but "they are not doing so" and in some areas there were possibly more forces. — Sapa.

NUM seeks a 95% hike on minimum rates

THE NUM said yesterday it would enter the 1989 wage negotiations with the Chamber of Mines with demands for a R600 monthly minimum wage for underground miners and R543 for surface workers.

These demands, devised at the NUM congress which ended on Saturday, represent a 95% increase on the minimum chamber rates for gold mines and more on collieries.

However, the R600 represented a lower percentage increase on actual wages paid. It is 55% above the minimum underground rate at Anglo American, the group with the highest minimum pay scales.

ALAN FINE

Substantial differentials on wage scales have developed between the six major mining groups during the last few years.

The demand for grade eight underground employees, the top grade negotiated for by the NUM, is R1 287, about 37% above the minimum chamber rate.

The congress resolved the mining industry "must make progress towards paying a living wage to all by 1991". It also called for a national minimum wage for the industry to reduce the differentials between

mining groups and further aimed to reduce skill differentials.

NUM general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, re-elected at the congress along with the rest of the union executive, said the pay proposals "came close" to what the NUM saw as representing a living wage.

Asked about the ability of marginal mines to pay, Ramaphosa said the earnings of the super-performing mines in each group should be used to subsidise wage at those which were struggling.

However, it had to be accepted that some mines were reaching the end of their lives.



● RAMAPHOSA

PW takes conciliatory stance

Mandela 'has Business Day role to play 18 April 1989 in his release'

CAPE TOWN — If Nelson Mandela was prepared to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of SA's future, government would respond in an open-hearted manner, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Botha, speaking in the vote on his budget, devoted 12 pages to the subject of Mandela, and said it was clear it would be futile to release Mandela if it led to his arrest and increased conflict.

He said: "I hope he realises this.

"No head of government who is responsible for the promotion of good order can lend himself to processes which result in group domination, the defeat of democratic principles and the destruction of private initiative and free enterprise."

For those reasons Mandela's release had to be handled carefully.



● BOTHA

Botha said he had said this to world and African leaders whom he had met.

Mandela had a role to play in his own release. "If he is prepared to contribute to a peaceful settlement of SA's future I will personally welcome it. In such a case, government would react open-heartedly."

SA's problems could be solved only if all South Africans were prepared to tackle them together. Interference from outside could lead to misunderstanding and trouble.

Botha said from Mandela's reaction to

MIKE ROBERTSON

the incident involving the letter he allegedly wrote to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher it appeared he too was not in favour of manipulation from outside the country.

"I find these actions of his encouraging and I leave it there."

Earlier, Botha said that since Mandela's release from hospital the circumstances of his imprisonment had been alleviated considerably.

"Although the circumstances of Mandela's imprisonment have changed, the existing criteria for his release still apply."

However, the reaction to Botha's speech from within the NP and opposition parties was one of confusion.

While some believed Botha had again shifted the requirement for Mandela's release, others said he had merely reiterated the existing position that Mandela would be detained until he denounced violence.

Contribution

Typical of the responses was that of DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer, who said: "If the President's address indicates a greater willingness than hitherto to consider the release of Nelson Mandela so that he can take part in discussions or negotiations, then the DP will be delighted."

"It's not just a question of Mandela's personal contribution, important as that may be, it's the fact that Mandela's release is critical in getting the participation of other important black leaders."

Numsa shuns strike for fear of lawsuit

ALAN FINE

NUMSA is refusing to intervene in a strike by more than 500 employees at Haggie Rand's Jupiter plant because management refuses to undertake not to sue the union for loss of production.

Union spokesman Enoch Godongwana said yesterday the union had asked for the undertaking as protection from an amendment to the Labour Relations Act last year.

Union members had been on strike since last Thursday in protest against the dismissal of their shop steward committee chairman. The strike was spontaneous and normal procedures had not been followed.

Numsa officials were reluctant to step in to resolve the matter as they feared their involvement could expose the union to litigation.

PW STATES TERMS

THE CITIZEN 18 APRIL 1989

FOR FREEING MANDELA

Must play role
in achieving
peaceful
solutions

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The government is willing to release Nelson Mandela, jailed African National Congress leader, if he is prepared to play a role in achieving peaceful solutions to South Africa's problems, the State President, Mr P W Botha, told a joint meeting of Parliament yesterday.

However, it would be futile to release him if he was committed to violence and acted in such a way as to cause his re-arrest, Mr Botha said in replying to the debate on his Budget vote.

Since his release from

hospital last year, the circumstances of Mr Mandela's imprisonment had been considerably relieved. He was now able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis.

"Although the circumstances of his imprisonment have changed, the conditions for his release have remained unchanged," Mr Botha added.

"It should be clear to all that it would be futile if his release was to lead to conflict and his re-arrest. No Head of State in South Africa can lend himself to the overthrow of democratic principles and free initiative.

"In the circumstances, his case must be handled with circumspection.

"If he is prepared to

TO PAGE 2

Mandela free if..

FROM PAGE 1

play a role in the peaceful solution of South Africa's problems, I would welcome it. In such a case the government would respond open-heartedly".

The State President said he was encouraged by the fact that Mandela was apparently not prepared to be manipulated by others, as shown in his respond to the alleged letter to British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

"I conclude that he will not allow himself to be manipulated from outside. I find his actions encouraging. I leave it there."

A Release Advisory Board under a judge, functioning under the Prisons Act, advised the government on the re-

lease of a prisoner, taking into consideration his offence, the purpose of the court in imposing the sentence it did, the interests of the community, and any probability of the prisoner again resorting to criminal acts.

It was against this background that Mandela's position was still receiving the attention of the government.

The possible release of Mandela had been repeatedly raised in the Press, but it had also been discussed by him with African and European leaders on his visits outside South Africa last year.

Mr Botha said there were both national interests and international considerations in considering the release of Mandela, and so the government was "treating the issue with the utmost

care".

He quoted his statement in opening Parliament in 1985 that the government was not insensitive to the fact that Mandela and others had spent a very long time in prison, and was willing to consider their release on condition they made a commitment against violence.

The then Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, welcomed his attitude as "an important initiative in détente policies and a genuine attempt to break the cycle of violence".

However, Mr Mandela had rejected the offer out of hand. Mr Botha responded by saying that his attitude and that of the government flowed from concern for men who had spent a long time in prison.

"On the other hand we cannot order their release if they remain committed to violence, sabotage and terrorism. Violence is unacceptable in South Africa," said Mr Botha.

As he had told the National congress of the National Party last year: "Personally I don't think at his age and in his condition it is wise for him to go back to jail.

"I hope he will act in such a way as to make it possible for me to release him".

Tuesday 18 April 1989

Unions plan Citizen to use ANC guidelines

CAPE TOWN. — A merger which would result in one national union with about 200 000 members in the clothing and textile industries was unanimously endorsed by two special union congresses.

Garment and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU) general secretary Mr Des Sampson said yesterday his union's congress in Cape Town at the weekend had also unanimously endorsed affiliation to South Africa's largest union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The merger would bring GAWU together with the 85 000-member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers (Actwusa).

Mr Sampson said the merger, now scheduled for the second half of 1989, would significantly improve the quality of life for workers in the sector and defend and advance their social and political interests.

Mr Sampson said the congress had decided to seek a national living wage for the industry and GAWU would continue its campaign for a National Industrial Council for the industry as the only way this could be achieved.

"In spite of last year's quite substantial wage increases our members find that they are getting poorer as a result of inflation and high taxes," he said.

Because it was both a political and an economic question members had resolved to take their fight for a living wage into the community and to campaign against employers and the state.

He said the union

would undertake an education programme at all levels and structures on the political situation in South Africa based on the freedom charter and constitutional guidelines issued last year by the African National Congress.

GAWU had noted Actwusa's reservations about the freedom charter and had resolved to discuss the document in greater detail.

"We want to look at Actwusa's position and for our members to have the benefit of full discussion on the issue," he said. — Sapa.

18 April 1989

Parliament

SA can learn from Swiss canton system — PW

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — While unique constitutional solutions had to be found in South Africa, the country could learn from the experience of countries such as Switzerland, the State President, Mr P W Botha said in Parliament yesterday.

Mr Botha said the Swiss canton system reflected "a total resistance" to the possibility that only one canton, one political party, one population group or one leader could dominate the system or disturb the balance of power between the various institutions and political actors.

Replying to the debate on the State President's Vote, he referred to the

Rautenbach report, drawn up by a team of South African constitution experts who last year studied the systems in Belgium and Switzerland, where there was not a homogeneous population.

The report said the Swiss state had grown up through the centuries from more or less sovereign units who worked together in a confederal system.

Switzerland was unique in that at federal canton and local level there were no "heads of government".

From this had developed a strong ideological stand against centralisation. There was an attitude that so far as possible social and economic problems should be solved without state involvement.

There was a lengthy decision-making process in the country. Not only were all interested bodies consulted, but it was part of the political culture that action was only taken in response to what was more or less the wish of all.

Greater effort was needed to attain results in South Africa because its constitutional reform was

in the opposite direction — South Africa was moving away from a centralised system.

However, the extent to which power had been devolved in South Africa to self-governing areas and provinces, power-sharing

in the tricameral Parliament, and the privatisation and decentralisation programmes, should not be underestimated, said the Rautenbach report.

Mr Botha said the report showed South Africa could learn many lessons in the experience of countries which has struggled with the same sort of problems.

PAC leader Madzunya dies

LEGENDARY fiery Pan Africanist Congress founder member, Mr Josias Madzunya, is no more. He died at the Siloam Hospital in Venda on Saturday after a long illness.

A family source said the funeral has been tentatively set for Saturday April 22 but this still has to be confirmed. He is to be buried at his home at Tshidzini, about thirty kilometres north-east of Sibasa. He was 80.

A fifth child and only survivor in a family of eight children, Mr Madzunya was born at Muledane Village near Sibasa in April 1909. He joined the ANC in Johannesburg in 1937 and came to be known for his fiery speeches in the streets of Johannesburg.

Mr Madzunya was in the forefront of the Alexandra township bus boycott in 1957 which lasted for over three months. He was an

By MATHATHA TSEDU

organiser for the ANC — a responsibility which entailed long distance travel and sleeping in awkward places.

The legendary Madzunya overcoats came about as a result of this responsibility. The overcoats became a trademark of Mr Madzunya and he has not been seen in public without an overcoat since 1939.

Coat

"The coat was my blanket at night and my jacket in the day. It became my uniform of the struggle and I have always worn a coat since 1939. There is no reason why I should stop now as the struggle is still on. A soldier only puts his uniform away when the war is over," Mr Madzunya once told me in an interview.

When ideological differences within the

ANC came to a head, Mr Madzunya, a staunch nationalist, sided with the Africanists and was a founder member of the PAC.

When the PAC was banned in 1960, following the Sharpeville shooting, Mr Madzunya was detained with other PAC leaders and released in 1962. He was immediately banished to Venda where he stayed until his death.

The president of PAC, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, yesterday said Mr Madzunya was "a great leader and organiser of the Africanist ideology."

"He had a great vision on the African membership. He was among the moving spirit and dedicated workers in the Africanist movement.

"We mourn his death as a great son of the African soil," Mr Mothopeng said before he jetted out of the country for Britain.



JOSIAS MADZUNYA in that overcoat.

Soviet official tells Swapo: 'Do not be foolish'

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau
WASHINGTON — In a remarkable appeal for reason in Namibia, a top Soviet official has warned Swapo that it would be foolish to undermine the independence process in the territory.

The rest of the world would take it amiss if the international attempt to end the conflict were to be spoiled, the official, Mr Boris Asoyan, wrote in the Moscow newspaper *Izvestia*.

"Too many efforts and resources have been invested to make this agreement reality," he said. "Undermining it would mean striking a blow against the new atmosphere of trust in the world."

Mistrust

Mr Asoyan served until recently as Soviet ambassador to Lesotho, which made him the *de facto* Soviet envoy to South Africa. He has played an important role in the evolving relationship between Pretoria and Moscow.

It is believed that he was the guest of the South African Government in Pretoria on several occasions.

In the *Izvestia* article, Mr Asoyan mentioned Swapo only once, and in a

general context. But he directed his criticisms pointedly at "the leaders of the future independent Namibia".

Mr Asoyan said the armed clashes in northern Namibia had exacerbated the situation seriously and jeopardised the UN independence plan. It was regrettable but apparently unavoidable given the enormous reserves of mistrust and "many years of orientation toward deceiving the opposition".

These factors would continue to cause problems for years to come.

"Some people are naively confident that in the dense bush it is not easy to discover who is right and who is guilty and that the blame for this or that conflict can be shifted on to the enemy."

The participants, armed with the vast amount of weapons that had accumulated in the region for two decades, had still not grasped the fact that the battlefield should no longer exist and that the Namibia agreement was a compromise with no winners or losers.

"The leaders of the future independent Namibia must display wisdom and determination, suppress emotions, and concentrate all their energy on clearing the minefields of mistrust," Mr Asoyan said.

If the effort to find peace in Namibia

failed, he warned, it would "without doubt, complicate the process of improving the situation in other hotbeds of tension in southern Africa and ultimately slow the pace of steps to eliminate the main source of conflict in the region — the apartheid system."

Mr Asoyan said group interests could not be allowed to stand in the way of Namibian independence. "Everything must be done to ensure that those who died in the exchanges of fire in the first days of April are the last victims claimed by the war," he wrote.

SA churchmen bring letter to Downing St

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Two black South African churchmen called at 10 Downing Street yesterday and delivered a private letter for Mrs Thatcher supporting the British government's position on South Africa.

Archbishop Mzilikazi Masiya, head of the United Apostolic Council, and Bishop Isaac Moekoena, who leads the Reformed Independent Churches Association of South Africa, also gave their views on sanctions and disinvestment, which they strongly oppose.

The two churchmen, who claim to represent between them about six million black South African Christians, are spending two weeks in Britain as the guests of the conservative Freedom Association.

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Clemency for 11 death row prisoners

3 scheduled to be executed this week

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Three people, including two members of the Addo Youth Congress, are scheduled to be executed in Pretoria this week and two others were granted a stay of execution yesterday, according to Mr Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR).

The planned executions coincide with the granting of clemency to a further 11 death row prisoners, including another two Addo activists.

The granting of clemency by the State President was announced on Friday, Mr Currin said. It brings to 27 the number of condemned men spared by the head of State this year.

The scheduled execution of a sixth man, Harry Ngcobo, was stayed on Friday as a result of a Supreme Court action brought by LHR. The delay is to allow

Ngcobo to petition the Chief Justice for leave to appeal.

The three men who are scheduled to be executed are Alpheus Thantsha, Makhezwane Menze and Ndumiso Siphenuko.

John Ndlovu and Lazarus Mance were granted a stay of execution yesterday and Mance has until May 18 to petition the State President.

Ndlovu's petition was rejected by the State President, but after yesterday's order his execution will also be stayed.

Murder of farmer

The stay in the case of Ndlovu was requested in order to avoid prejudicing the case of Mance, who was his co-accused.

The two members of the "Addo Four" who are due to be executed are Menze and Siphenuko. They were sentenced in January 1987 for the murder of a farmer and his wife. The judge

found them guilty on the grounds of common purpose.

They were due to be executed on Thursday, while Thantsha had been informed he would be executed on Wednesday, Mr Currin said.

"We are presently investigating their circumstances and will make a further statement in due course about possible applications for stay of execution."

The two members of the Addo Four who were granted clemency are Similo Wonci and Christopher Makeleni.

Commenting on the act of clemency, Mr Currin said: "We welcome it as a further positive step towards the eventual abolition of capital punishment in South Africa."

A total of 10 people have been executed this year, according to the Department of Justice. At least four stays of execution have been obtained administratively or through the courts.

New book grapples with realities of SA

Daughters of ANC chief battle to make sense of life

By Garner Thomson
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Gillian Slovo shares her sister Shawn's compulsion to try to make sense of an early life in South Africa as the daughter of top ANC executive Mr Joe Slovo and tireless anti-apartheid campaigner the late Ruth First.

To illustrate something of the sisters' confusion, she recalls school friends who knew her mother was in prison asking: "Is she a kleptomaniac?" And, the absence of her father is somehow bound up in the terrifying memory of being alone in a thunderstorm.

Shawn Slovo tackled the issues in the film "A World Apart", and achieved a kind of peace. Gillian, a writer with three detective books under her belt, has confronted these memories in a monumental novel, called "Ties of Blood", published by Michael Joseph in London recently, but not yet available in South Africa.

"Ties of Blood" is a sweeping assessment of the anti-apartheid movement as it affected several generations of two families, one white, the other black.

Real issues

Like Slovo, one of the characters tries to escape her roots by trying to ignore her South African origins. But, as in Slovo's experience, events — in real life, the assassination of her mother — force her to examine the "real" issues.

"Ties of Blood" starts at the turn of the century, telling the story of a young Jewish woman who abandons her Lithuanian home in a bid to provide a better life for her children. But in South Africa, where she arrives, the race laws are becoming bonds which will incapacitate black people for generations to come.

Described as "a triumph of narrative range and insight", "Ties of Blood" also tries to come to terms with the same issue that so confused and angered sister Shawn — the fact that their parents put politics before family life.

As Gillian says in an interview published here: "I'm still working out my relationship with my mother?"



In her latest book, Gillian Slovo battles to come to terms with parents who put politics before family life.

THE COLOUR photograph Newsweek chose to illustrate its Namibia story in last week's editions is an aftermath shot of PLAN corpses laid out to bloat in the Owambo sun. The extreme violence of their deaths is evident. A young man in the foreground appears to have been filleted from the waist up, his head reduced to an eyeless mask of skin. The image lingers.

Many over here will see in this picture further proof of South African savagery, because that is what they have been acculturated to seeing. They will shed the contemptuous tears of the white man, and in so shedding will become unwitting accomplices in the fraud that encouraged this utterly futile slaughter in the first place.

SWATF and Koevoet fingers may have been on the triggers, but the real killers are half a world away. The real killers are the churchmen, the United Nations bureaucrats, sleek and pampered, the intellectuals, journalists, activists and politicians who have sanctified the meaningless suicide of Africans in the name of "struggle".

Three-hundred people were sent to their death by the Swapo leadership," said Dr Chester Crocker on his return from Mount Etjo last week. Anybody who thought that SA would tolerate an incursion of 1 500 to 1 800 men, in violation of all the provisions of the settlement plan, was very unrealistic."

Whose was the unrealism? To answer simply Sam Nujoma or PLAN commander Dino Amaambo is not sufficient. There is a context to their reasoning.

Few who have had to deal with him would deny that Nujoma is a fool, but because he leads a "liberation" movement fighting the "racist regime" he has been made to feel wise and statesmanlike everywhere from New York to Moscow to Pyongyang.

Determined effort *Business Day 18 April 1989* under way to shift blame from Swapo

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Commissars, Lutherans, Swedish parliamentarians, American Congressmen and, most egregiously, the UN, all have taken his propaganda and fed it back to him so assiduously that he can hardly be blamed for coming to believe it himself.

In the process, the Swapo elite — especially its external wing — has fallen victim to a new kind of colonialism, a colonialism that treats its subjects if anything more like children than the old kind ever did.

The result, not surprisingly, is a childlike leadership, spoilt, sheltered from reality, convinced that it can do no wrong: the "sole authentic representatives" of a people who have never been permitted a genuine vote.

For a generation, Swapo has waged one of the most fruitless and incompetent guerrilla wars anywhere on the planet. It has been shielded from its failings by its dotting, cossetting parents at the UN who have assured it that it is heir to the estate, so not to worry.

It has therefore given little thought to how it will run things once it inherits, or even to how it will handle the transfer of ownership. Instead, it has been content to have a

few hundred of its own people butchered each year by the existing tenants on the theory that this will demonstrate who's boss (it does so demonstrate, of course, but not quite in the intended manner).

One would like to think that the week of April 1 brought Swapo to its senses. Mommy's and Daddy's blue hats weren't there to come to the rescue when PLAN combatants surged over the border illegally.

This in itself was entirely the fault of Swapo and its sympathisers who had delayed Untag's deployment by squabbling for months over how many blue hats would be sent. Besides, as Swapo has belatedly discovered, Untag would probably not have been much help anyway.

All told, the result should have been instructive, especially since a number of previously tolerant grown-ups — principally Cuba, Angola and the Frontline states — finally lost patience and told Nujoma to get his act together. Unfortunately,

it is almost certain that others will seek to vitiate the lesson.

A determined effort is under way to shift the blame. Already we are being told that SA's response to the incursion was too vicious; that SA is hampering the intruders' return to Angola by placing menacing forces next to the UN assembly points and demanding the right to interrogate those who do come in; that, therefore, by some spectacular leap of logic, SA has no interest in free and fair elections.

Worse, the pro-Swapo hive seems to be itching to provoke Pretoria into some act that will make everyone forget just who it was who violated the agreement. The hive would love SA to insist on a house-to-house sweep through Owamboland to hunt down guerrillas who cached their arms and melted into the local population. An atrocity is needed. Innocents must die.

What good will this do Swapo? Not much, and even less for the rest of Namibia's people. But then, of course, they don't matter much because, if you believe a recent report on the McNeil-Lehrer news hour, they represent rather less than 10%

of the country and most are white neo-fascists.

The saddest part of all this is that those most energetically seeking to slow Swapo's ascent up the learning curve are Westerners. The Soviets, by contrast, having discovered the hard way the gross flaws in what they have so long preached, seem altogether more level-headed and less fawning. I doubt a Russian journalist would fall on his knees before Herman Toivo Ja Toivo as one reporter of my acquaintance felt inclined to do a few years back.

The Soviets are happily free of the fatal sentimentality of left-leaning Western elites. They have done terrible things to Africa, but unlike the West — which has also done terrible things — they have never done them because they "cared".

They have supported communist regimes because the regimes were communist, not because they found them romantic or thought it was the Christian thing to do or felt sorry for them.

Few fashionable Western analysts would say that Mozambique's problem was not "South African-backed" Renamo but rather a case of "total social disintegration" of which Renamo was but a symptom.

A senior Soviet Foreign Ministry official I met last week said precisely that, adding, for good measure, that Renamo was just one of many "bandit" groups each seeking to make a living from a society that could no longer provide it.

"The Soviets have said that socialism shall not be built in Namibia," Crocker remarked recently. "Whether that's a prediction or a command is not quite clear." Nor is it clear how sincerely they believe it.

But at least they are prepared to say it, which is more than can be said of many in the West. In their view, Namibia is still a land exploited by capitalists, and they will not be satisfied until many more Namibians have died to make it a land exploited by Sam Nujoma.

COMMENT

De Klerk's law

AS A lawyer committed to reform, new National Party leader FW de Klerk must take personal responsibility for government's latest contemptuous dismissal of the courts when legal requirements might conflict with Nationalist ideology.

De Klerk's party has tabled in Parliament a Bill which would nullify a Supreme Court ruling that the half-million people of Botshabelo should not be incorporated in QwaQwa. Worse, the Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill precludes any court from pronouncing on any changes government may make to the boundaries of any non-independent homeland.

When De Klerk addressed Parliament in February in his new capacity, he promised change. He held out a vision of a new SA free of past antagonisms and free of domination. He said he would try to unite the country's silent majority of all races behind mutually acceptable goals. It is sad to see the man committed to negotiating a just and equitable constitution continuing the NP's long history of circumventing the courts and destroying the rule of law.

Denying courts the right to rule on the alteration of homeland boundaries is no different to the way his predecessors have overridden or excluded the courts on a host of issues, from the coloured vote to detention without trial and murder trials in Windhoek. De Klerk, like John Vorster, another lawyer, is telling the courts to get lost because government will have its way.

The implications for the rule of law are serious; it is unfortunately only one more example of laws which bypass court decisions by changing the law or excluding the courts altogether. The implications for government's relations with black people are equally serious. De Klerk will find it hard to get reasonable and responsible black leaders to his Great Indaba while telling them it is no use appealing to the courts against decisions with which they disagree. Botshabelo can go to QwaQwa and Moutse to KwaNdebele and no black leader will again be able to take the issue to court; the law might even enable government to resurrect its plan to give Ingwavuma and KaNgwane to Swaziland.

The reputation which will suffer most is De Klerk's. Foreign critics and local cynics will say that nothing has changed, that the Nationalist leopard cannot change its spots, that De Klerk is showing the same contempt for the law, and for black opinion, as have Nationalist leaders from Malan to President Botha. They will conclude that behind De Klerk's pragmatism, realism and willingness to explore new opportunities lies another Nationalist hard-liner.

And it is De Klerk who can rescue the situation, by withdrawing the Bill and committing his party to respect for the courts and respect for the law. When government actions transgress the law, it is government which must change, not the law. As things stand, De Klerk has lost an opportunity to put his new credo into practice.

Hatchet man Harald

FORMER Nationalist editor Harald Pakendorf, who acted as the NDM's main hatchet man against the PFP in the 1987 election campaign, has not quite buried his hatchet. He has used it at the weekend to whack Harry Schwarz for "chopping away at how he was not allowed to help draw up economic policy". For good measure, he whacked Zach de Beer, one of the *troika* of DP leaders, for not disciplining Schwarz "sharply".

De Beer, no doubt, will be pleased by Pakendorf's acceptance that he, rather than Denis Worrall or Wynand Malan, bears special responsibility for behaviour of the new party's senior members. It

acknowledges at least that in the *troika* De Beer is *primus inter pares*.

However, when it comes to exercising "sharp discipline" over Harry Schwarz, even De Beer may have doubts. Over the years, Schwarz has managed to out-think, out-fight and out-last enough political leaders, both friend and foe, to make up several *troikas*.

Anyway, if the price of preserving the new party is to gag Harry Schwarz — to "pull him into line", as ex-Nat disciplinarian Pakendorf puts it even now that he has become a "liberal" — then some of the old PFP crowd, brazenly got up in drag, will start digging up their own hatchets.

INTERNATIONAL



MANDELA LETTER BRINGS HOPE

By
David
Upshal



MANDELA: Expresses "fervent hope" that "cordial relations" can be restored between opposing groups.

A letter received from African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela expresses his renewed hope for black unity in the struggle against apartheid.

The letter was sent to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu nationalist movement Inkatha. And, according to Buthelezi, it calls for reconciliation between Inkatha and pro-ANC forces in South Africa.

The Mandela letter apparently expresses the "fervent hope" that in due course "cordial relations" can be restored between the two opposing groups.

Cause

Conflict between radical ANC supporters, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Inkatha's more conservative followers has accounted for over a thousand lives in the last two years alone,

often being the cause of so-called 'black-on-black' violence.

Relations between the ANC and Inkatha have grown steadily worse since the 1970s. Inkatha have objected to radical boycotts and strikes by students, trade unionists and other pro-ANC activists. Meanwhile, the ANC has condemned Buthelezi's acceptance of a 'homeland' Zulu state which he rules over as Chief with his own Pretoria-backed mini-government.

Inkatha's London representative Ben Skosona greeted the letter saying: "Peace is possible. We believe black unity is a prerequisite now or else apar-

theid will continue to feed on black disunity."

He added, however, that conciliation between the two groups would not come easily. "It will be difficult for anyone to achieve it," he said. "Even Nelson Mandela. But we feel his release is imminent and he has the clout to do it."

Cautious

However, ANC representatives were more cautious, stressing that they

are not yet in a position to confirm whether the letter to Chief Buthelezi was definitely from Mandela.

It would seem unlikely that such a letter would be sent without Mandela notifying his ANC colleagues. But indications that it is genuine were supported by a second letter, this time addressed to British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher in which he thanks her for the

"positive work" she has done.

The letters are seen as a clear sign that Mandela is beginning to exert his political and diplomatic influence in advance of his expected release from prison.

The very fact that the writings of a man who has spent 25 years behind bars could have such impact is seen by many as an indication of his stature and ability.

Rift between Inkatha and ANC must be healed, says jailed nationalist leader

THE VOICE

18 April 1989

London.

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PAC leader Madzunya dies

LEGENDARY fiery Pan Africanist Congress founder member, Mr Josias Madzunya, is no more. He died at the Siloam Hospital in Venda on Saturday after a long illness.

A family source said the funeral has been tentatively set for Saturday April 22 but this still has to be confirmed. He is to be buried at his home at Tshidzini, about thirty kilometres north-east of Sibasa. He was 80.

A fifth child and only survivor in a family of eight children, Mr Madzunya was born at Muledane Village near Sibasa in April 1909. He joined the ANC in Johannesburg in 1937 and came to be known for his fiery speeches in the streets of Johannesburg.

Mr Madzunya was in the forefront of the Alexandra township bus boycott in 1957 which lasted for over three months. He was an

By MATHATHA TSEDU

organiser for the ANC — a responsibility which entailed long distance travel and sleeping in awkward places.

The legendary Madzunya overcoats came about as a result of this responsibility. The overcoats became a trademark of Mr Madzunya and he has not been seen in public without an overcoat since 1939.

Coat

"The coat was my blanket at night and my jacket in the day. It became my uniform of the struggle and I have always worn a coat since 1939. There is no reason why I should stop now as the struggle is still on. A soldier only puts his uniform away when the war is over," Mr Madzunya once told me in an interview.

When ideological differences within the

ANC came to a head, Mr Madzunya, a staunch nationalist, sided with the Africanists and was a founder member of the PAC.

When the PAC was banned in 1960, following the Sharpeville shooting, Mr Madzunya was detained with other PAC leaders and released in 1962. He was immediately banished to Venda where he stayed until his death.

The president of PAC, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, yesterday said Mr Madzunya was "a great leader and organiser of the Africanist ideology."

"He had a great vision on the African membership. He was among the moving spirit and dedicated workers in the Africanist movement.

"We mourn his death as a great son of the African soil," Mr Mothopeng said before he jetted out of the country for Britain.



JOSIAS MADZUNYA in that overcoat.

'Third World disaster' syndrome afflicts UK

THE STAR Wed. April 19, 1989

By PETER JENKINS

Hillsborough has the character of a Third World disaster. So did the earlier Bradford football conflagration. So did the recent Clapham rail crash. So did the King's Cross fire. This is not to suggest that life counts for less in underdeveloped countries, only that such tragedies are a part of their condition. It is a shocking thought that they may be becoming a part of Britain's.

A Third World disaster has three lethal ingredients.

One is large numbers of people.

A second is inadequate, outdated and rundown facilities and equipment.

The third is human incompetence resulting from ill-education and poor training.

These last two help to produce a fourth, bad management, which then helps to perpetuate them and make them worse.

Numbers played their part in each of our recent disasters.

That was most obviously so in Sheffield on Saturday, as men, women and children were trampled and suffocated to death.

The King's Cross disaster took place at the busiest station on the London Underground network. Congestion frequently brought it to a total standstill.

The Fennell Report commented "Such habitual overcrowding in the very area of the station which bore the brunt of the fire is clearly a cause for concern."

Imperil safety

Congestion, without the additional hazard of fire, continues to imperil safety on the Underground.

Numbers may not have contributed to the death toll at Clapham but could easily have done so, for the two incoming commuter trains were packed to the corridors.

In each disaster outmoded and neglected facilities and equipment were in large part to blame.

Our terraced football grounds, of which Hillsborough is one, are late-Victorian or Edwardian institutions.

By comparison with many, Hillsborough is said to be a showpiece.

Sited originally in suburbs, many today are encircled by the city and unsuitable for huge congregations.

Our railway and urban transport systems are run down and obsolete.

The wooden escalator where the fire began at King's Cross was installed in 1939 and was in a filthy condition.

The stand at Bradford was an antique fire trap.

Along the stretch of line at Clapham, the signal wiring being replaced was of pre-war vintage.

In each case, human incompetence was a crucial factor.

At Hillsborough it is already quite clear that inadequate crowd super-

vision both outside and inside the ground, and at the gates and turnstiles, was a prime cause of what occurred.

When it happened, the emergency provisions were almost non-existent.

On the London Underground system, they were grossly inadequate and the remedies proposed by Fennell will cost £266 million (about R1 143 million) over three years.

At King's Cross the station staff, his report says, did the best they could in the absence of training and supervision.

At Clapham the signalling system was inadequately maintained under inadequate supervision, the staff overstretched, some working excessively long hours seven days a week.

These are becoming too familiar patterns.

But a "Third World disaster" is something more than the sum of its ingredients.

It has about it an air of dreadful inevitability and of human life held cheap.

This air of inevitability derives not from being unforeseen but, rather, from being all too foreseeable but happening nonetheless.

Our own four recent disasters resulted from known dangers — overcrowded terraces, a fire-trap stand, wooden escalators, obsolescent signalling equipment.

When the foreseeable occurs for want of proper precaution or because of insufficient resources, it is appropriate to speak of life held cheap.

Political issue

The physical neglect of public facilities is becoming an ever-more pressing political issue, borne home by such human disasters as the recent ones.

On the railways, the government is directly responsible as paymaster. In the case of football, this is not the case. But the question arises:

What greater help should it be giving towards the modernisation of the sport from which it reaps a rich tax harvest?

This deterioration in public facili-

ties and standards is, in part, the consequence of too-slow economic growth over the whole post-war period.

We have only to contrast the amenities of more successful nations and our deplorable state of dilapidation.

In the last 10 years, the economic performance has improved but the neglect has grown worse.

Two tendencies of the present government have contributed to this, both relevant to the occurrence of Third World disasters in what purports to be a highly developed, industrialised nation.

One has been the constant refrain that "money is not the problem" when money is plainly a large part of the problem.

The other is this government's tendency to see social problems not in environmental but behavioural terms, and to prefer law-and-order solutions to physical ones.

An appalling metaphor was before our eyes on Saturday when high fences designed to keep riotous fans from the pitch condemned them to death by slow suffocation.

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