

Pietermaritzburg, Friday, February 17, 1989

NATAL WITNESS

'Substantial' number of detainees will soon be freed — Vlok

CAPE TOWN — A substantial number of detainees will be released in the next fortnight. This was the assurance given to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a delegation of clergy by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday.

Asked at a press conference after the two-hour meeting whether he would regard a hundred releases as "substantial", he said: "No, a hundred would be piffle."

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokes-

woman on Law and Order, said it was a relief that something was at last being done by Mr Vlok.

"Much more, however, remains to be done, and of course the first prize would be the lifting of the state of emergency and the immediate release of all detainees," she said.

The clergy delegation said Mr Vlok had agreed with them that the death of a hunger striker would have consequences "too ghastly to contemplate". He said he was giving his

urgent and personal attention to the case of each detainee, starting with the hunger strikers.

Dr Allan Boesak, who has been on a sympathy fast, said he had suspended his own fast and he and Archbishop Tutu called on all hunger strikers to do the same for the next fortnight.

The detainees in Diepkloof Prison have suspended their strike, their lawyers said yesterday.

However, the strike is continuing

to gain momentum around the country, with detainees in Durban and Pietermaritzburg refusing food.

Attorney Mr Mamood Cajee said he was aware of at least 14 city detainees who had indicated they would start a strike this weekend.

Lawyers in Durban claimed yesterday that most detainees in Westville prison had begun a hunger strike on Sunday.

At least one Durban detainee was freed yesterday. He is Mr Abin

Badal, former treasurer of the SRC at the University of Durban-Westville, who was released after spending two periods in hospital during his seven-month detention. Mr Badal was served with a restriction order.

The two hunger-strike detainees who were released in Kimberley this week were issued with restriction orders preventing them from being in their home town of Upington.

In Cape Town only hours after the agreement with Mr Vlok, Archbishop

Tutu found himself in a confrontation with the head of the Reaction Unit, Colonel Frikkie Kellerman.

The incident began when hundreds of people emerged peacefully from the report-back to hear police announce that dispersal measures could include the use of firearms.

The tension was defused when Colonel Kellerman ordered his men to pull out and an officer announced to the crowd "if you disperse, we will move out as well". — Sapa.

Anti-Apartheid Groups Cast Out Winnie Mandela, Citing Terror

By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Special to The New York Times

2/17/89

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 16 — Winnie Mandela was effectively cast out today by the anti-apartheid movement to which she and her husband, Nelson Mandela, have devoted their lives.

The announcement by the movement's leadership, distancing itself from her activities and asking its supporters to do the same, was made as the police pressed an investigation into the killing of a 14-year-old youth whom Mrs. Mandela's bodyguards are accused of abducting.

At a news conference, Murphy Morobe, the publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, the country's major legal anti-apartheid organization, read a statement accusing the bodyguards of mounting a "reign of terror" in Soweto leading up to the kill-

ing and blaming Mrs. Mandela for creating them.

It was not known how Nelson Mandela, who has been in prison for 26 years, felt about the repudiation of his wife. But it seemed unlikely that the action would have been taken unless Mr. Mandela's lawyers had warned him and sought his tacit assent for the sake of the anti-apartheid movement.

Rumors About a Divorce

Today's announcement fed rumors among blacks that Mr. Mandela might contemplate a divorce in the interest of the struggle, particularly if Mrs. Mandela became the subject of criminal prosecution. She visited her husband in Cape Town on Wednesday.

The body of the youth, Stompie Moeketsi, was positively identified on Wednesday. He was among four youths reportedly abducted in December by the Mandela United Football Club, a group of about 30 young men acting as Mrs. Mandela's bodyguards.

"We are outraged at Mrs. Mandela's complicity in the recent abductions of Stompie," Mr. Morobe said. "Had Stompie and his three colleagues not been abducted by Mrs. Mandela's 'football team,' he would have been alive today."

Mrs. Mandela's increasingly erratic behavior has not dampened public admiration for her husband, whose image has assumed almost mythic dimensions during his years in prison. But the leadership seemed anxious today not to erode his accumulated prestige.

"We take the opportunity to reaffirm our unqualified support for our leader Nelson Mandela and call for his im-

Continued on Page A10, Column 5

Winnie: mother of the nation no more

NATAL WITNESS 17 FEBR.
1989

A fallen symbol of resistance

CAPE TOWN — The world's media learned to know Mrs Winnie Mandela as a lonely woman fighting to raise two daughters in the government-imposed exile of a council shack hundreds of kilometres from home.

A life sentence for sabotage and conspiracy on Nelson Mandela, leader of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), has separated her from her husband.

Resisting the harassment of the authorities with quiet dignity, she came to be known to millions of black South Africans simply as "Mama-wetu"—our mother.

Now, with her so-called personal bodyguards, the Mandela United Football Club, accused of irresponsible and even brutal behaviour, her image is crumbling.

Stompie Moeketsi, a child activist allegedly abducted by the bodyguards last month, has been found dead.

Another youth who had been staying at Mrs Mandela's home was killed earlier this week in an attack some see as community revenge for her protection of the bodyguards that most view as thugs.

Sometimes rashly outspoken, sometimes isolated behind the ill-mannered youths who form a living wall around her, Mrs Mandela (54) has begun to lose the trust of many who admired her.

She has become an embarrassment to the ANC, for which she was once a respected unofficial spokeswoman inside South Africa.

She was also widely listened to as the voice of her husband, who may not be quoted in South Africa and has spent more than a quarter of a century in jail for trying to overthrow the government.

Until yesterday no black leader had gone on record to condemn Mrs Mandela's actions or words. But her own people are turning against her, and the "mass democratic movement", represented by Cosatu and the restricted United Democratic Front,

yesterday publicly distanced themselves from her.

But a Western diplomat offered a different perspective: "One should not lose sight, in the tragedy of what is happening to her, of who she has been and what has happened to her."

"Winnie Mandela has proved herself to be a woman of immense courage through trials and harassment that would have broken a lesser person far sooner."

For eight years, she endured banishment from Soweto to an alien black township near Brandfort.

There, among black neighbours who did not even speak her language, she won respect for her dignified resistance to bullying policemen who peered through her windows and drummed rocks on her roof.

She refused to acknowledge the whites-only signs barring her from the small shops of the conservative little town.

Despite her poverty at the time, forcing her to scrimp for a twice-yearly visit to her husband, who was then still imprisoned on Robben Island, she recruited foreign donors to fund a small clinic where she offered basic medical care and moral support to black neighbours.

In August 1985, when her house and clinic were destroyed in a firebomb attack, she profited from the limited protection of her international stature to return to Soweto in defiance of the banning order.

She won the respect of many policemen through argument and the force of her personality.

Britain's Guardian newspaper said of her changing status that her image as a "heroine of immortal stature" should stand and her actions should be judged against "the accumulated pressure of intolerable events".

But a previously supportive white politician, who would not be named, said this week: "We cannot make excuses for her, not yet. What she has done is far too serious." — Sapa-Reuter.



WINNIE MANDELA: Losing the trust of many who admired her

Support for ANC leader, but Winnie's actions condemned

UDF, Cosatu shun Winnie Mandela

NATAL WITNESS — 17 FEBR. 1989

JOHANNESBURG — The "mass democratic movement", represented by the trade union federation Cosatu and the now restricted United Democratic Front, have distanced themselves from Mrs Winnie Mandela. At a press conference yesterday outrage was expressed "at Mrs Mandela's complicity in the recent abductions and assault of Stompie (Moeketsi)".

"Had Stompie and his three colleagues not been abducted by Mrs Mandela's 'football team' he would have been alive today," said former acting publicity secretary for the UDF, Murphy Morobe, who addressed the conference.

The 14-year-old Moeketsi's stabbed body was found in Soweto in January and identified by police on Wednesday.

Morobe asked the Soweto community to "distance" itself in a dignified manner.

Unqualified support was reaffirmed for jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and a call was made for his immediate release.

"These actions ... should never be used to undermine the esteem in which we still hold comrade Nelson."

The statement said the democratic movement had fought uncompromisingly against violations of human rights.

"We are not prepared to remain silent where those who are violating human rights claim to be doing so in the name of the struggle against apartheid.

"We are of the view that Mrs Mandela has abused the trust and confidence which she has enjoyed over the years ... and has often acted without consulting the democratic movement".

The recent conflict was centred around the conduct of the so-called football club which had been widely condemned by the Soweto community.

"In particular, we are outraged by the reign of terror that the team has been associated with. Not only is Mrs Mandela associated with the team, in fact, the team is her own creation."

The statement said Mrs Mandela had refused to co-operate in attempts to reconcile the conflict between her and the community.

Mrs Mandela's contribution over the years was commended, as she had been forced to rear her children single-handed in the face of lengthy house arrests, detentions, and "her cruel banishments to Brandfort".

She had also been separated from her husband for most of her married life, first as Nelson Mandela worked in the underground of the ANC and then during his 27-year imprisonment.

He said Mrs Mandela's safety depended on the discipline of activists. Strong views had been put forward by the community, but the consensus was that she should be shunned and no one should have anything further to do with her.

Mrs Mandela had not commented on the statement or her visit to Nelson Mandela by late last night. — Sapa.

Asvat probe 'advanced', says Vlok

CAPE TOWN — The police were doing their utmost to catch the two people allegedly responsible for the killing of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat in his surgery last month, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

He was replying to an interpellation by Mr Mahmoud Rajab (PFP Springfield) on what progress had been made into the Asvat investigation and whether an inquiry had been made into other killings of anti-apartheid activists.

Mr Vlok said the Asvat investigation was at an advanced stage. Two suspects, Shelela Nyavusa and Zakhela Mbatha, had been identified.

Up to now no further information had been received. However the police were following up a number of clues and all possible endeavours were being made to trace those responsible for the killing.

Mr Vlok said Dr Asvat had died instantly after being shot once in the chest. The bullet had gone through both lungs.
— Sapa.

Union dispute rages on

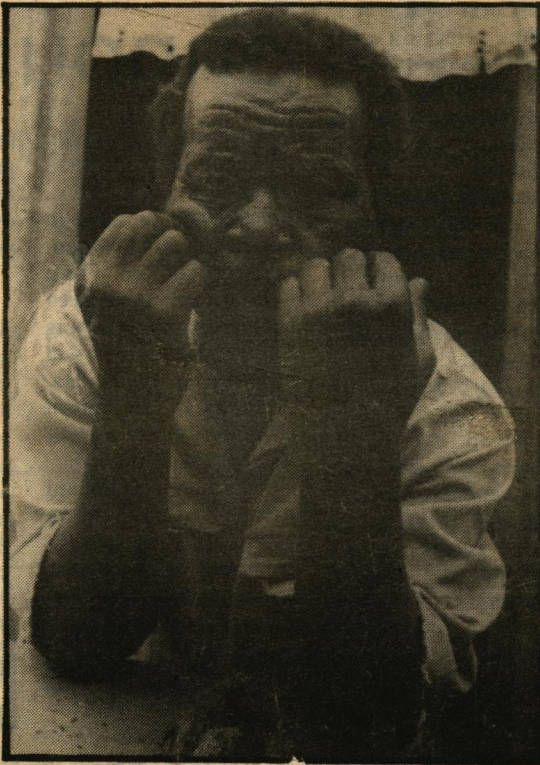
By LEN MASEKO

THE dispute between the South African Black Municipal and Allied Workers' Union and Soweto Easy Loo over the dismissal of the union's members by the company remained unresolved yesterday.

The two parties have not been in contact with each other since January 10, when negotiations broke down. Talks between union officials and management stalled apparently after management insisted that 24 employees of the company had violated internal grievance procedure by engaging in a work stoppage in December last year.

Sabmawu's general secretary, Mr Phil Dlamini, has questioned Easy Loo's sincerity in resolving the three-month-old dispute, saying company owner, Mr Sam Matona, appeared reluctant to reinstate the workers.

Meanwhile the 24 workers have also accused Mr Matona of allegedly failing to report to the Department of Manpower accidents or injuries to employees while on duty at the company. As a result, they said, employees injured while on duty did not receive any benefits in terms of the Work-

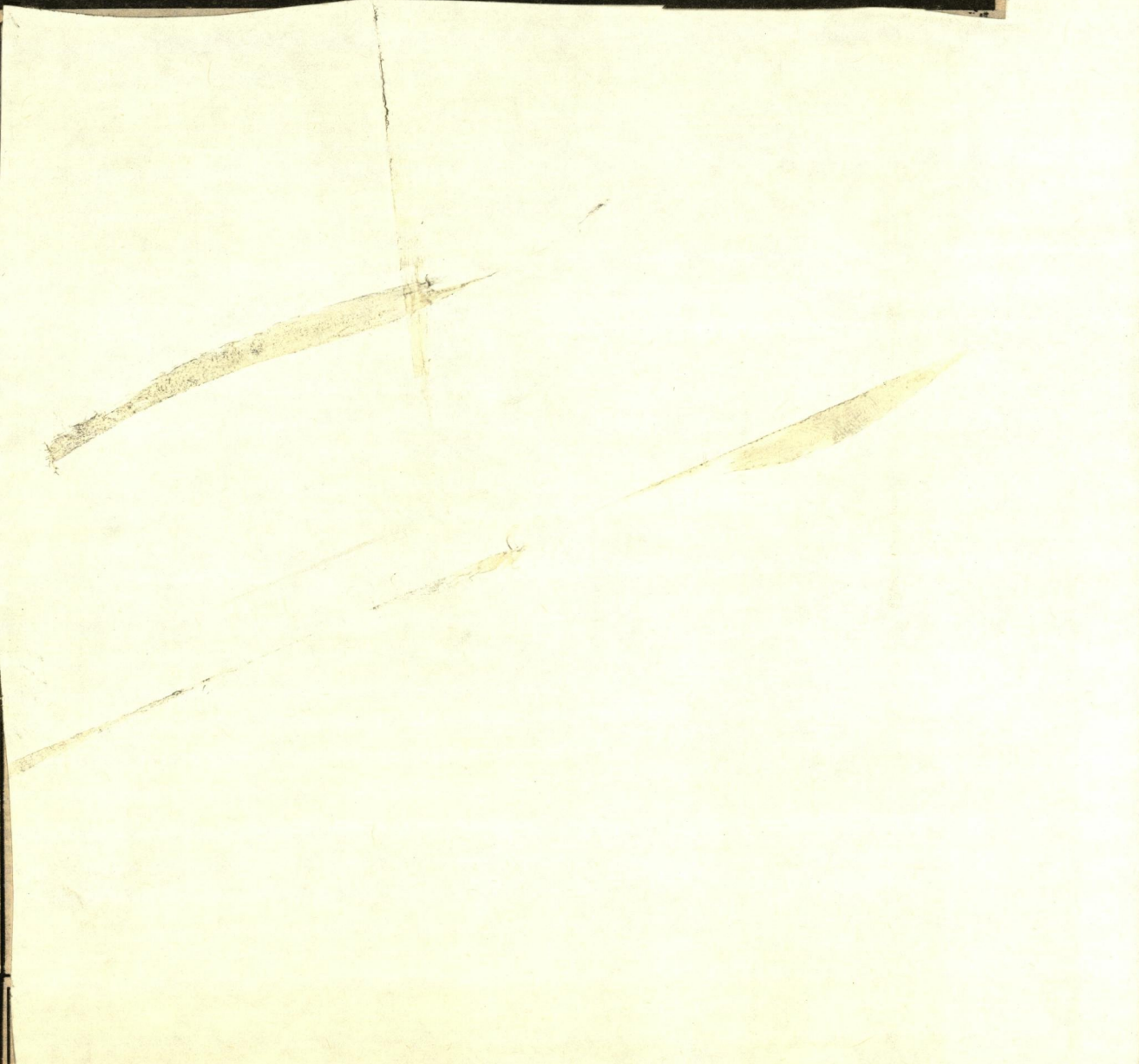


Mr MKHONZA displays his chapped hands.

man's Compensation Act.

One such worker was Mr Herman Mkhonza (62), who is in pain after sustaining serious burns

on both hands apparently while working for Mr Matona's rent-a-loo company. He said the company did not provide its labourers with protective clothing.



Ubuntu as African humanism

Background and comparison between African and Western humanism

GUEST COLUMN by DESMOND PITOI

A PERIOD in European history commonly known as the "Revival of Learning or the Renaissance (1300 AD — 1600 AD) gave rise to humanism as a general notion.

This concept can readily be classified into five main streams which are as follows; the classics, Christian humanism, scientific humanism, atheism and African humanism.

The Classics

In the classics we find Greek and Roman literature and arts which were re-discovered by hundreds of Italian scholars. Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) — painter, sculptor and scientist; Michelangelo (1475-1564) — painter and sculptor. Both from Italy and were among the most famous Renaissance figures.

Christian Humanism

The individual, according to this category of humanism must be saved by accepting Christ as a Saviour or else . . .

It makes the individual

feel guilty for being born into the world. This sense of guilt haunts the individual throughout life. Poor soul! The view that there is a Promised Land out there is not only problematic but oppressive as well. It's been used to subjugate people e.g. the Middle East, South Africa etc. All I can say is that do not allow this to mesmerise people's minds.

Scientific Humanism

It claims that man evolved and was not moulded out of clay. Charles Darwin as the chief proponent of this idea believed that there is no God and that life is not determined by a supernatural being. He also believed that human beings are animals with the highest order of intellect.

Atheism

The anti-God community i.e. the atheists also hold this extreme view that "there is no God". The agnostics, on the other hand, maintain that "there may or may not be God, we do not know."

African Humanism

Certainly this expres-

sion of humanism cannot be godless. In the world of Ntate Lebamang Sebidi: "It is incurably religious". The Africans believe that animals, vegetation, human beings and other aspects of nature are all significant in this whole (the universe), therefore one cannot be emphasised over the other."

"The chain is as strong as its weakest link," so says the old adage.

Features of African Humanism or Ubuntu-ism.

Ubuntu-ism, unlike its Western counterpart, is communal. "I am because you are, you are because we are," that on its own is a strong sense of community. The African believes that life is sacred therefore no person should terminate another's life, that on its own makes him a deeply religious person.

We also believe in the supernatural forces which western humanism dismisses as a belief in magic and/or superstitions.

To us the supreme being (Uqamatha, Um-

velinqangi, Modimo, etc.) exists. We believe that humankind is the expression of this Being.

As an expression of God, humankind has qualities in itself that give it the power to create a happy and meaningful life — meaningful life here refers to the norms and values set by the community, i.e. respect for elders. As children we are taught from an early age not to talk back rudely to adults — this is respect not fear as others might like to believe. We are also taught to yield a seat to an adult at home, in public vehicles and places.

It should be noted that since our communities have been broken up, respect for elders has been severely challenged. It is not only respect that has been challenged, but other aspects of the African way of life as well, i.e. communalism.

Since the advent of urbanization, the readiness and the willingness to share with others what we possess has constantly become a thing of the past. We tend to be self-centred and individu-

alistic — a state quiet foreign to African humanism.

Despite the impediment brought forward by Western ways of life (in the urban areas), the African way of life has endured. Whether or not the African will change is not important nor do we need to be unique in our system of values.

But we need to acknowledge traces of African moral action; attachment to the soil; social relationships; the sense of community and its welfare; the art of healing in our daily activities. Europeans owe us an apology for dismissing Ubuntu-ism as a belief in magic and/or superstition.

They do not know what they are talking about, they have not undergone the ritual.

Ubuntu is indefinite — it is an experience — there is no way that one can talk about it without having gone through it. To illustrate the everlasting power of ubuntu, I shall use the Afro-Americans as a case in study here.

They were slaves for 240 years and later they experienced the industrial revolution in America; still later they became full participants in American

industrialization.

Even though American culture attempts to combat their inborn part of Ubuntu they remain plainly African.

Zulu thanks his ancestors

Story by VICTOR METSOAMERE and pics by PAUL TSHABALALA

NOT even the rain could dampen the spirits of the Ama-Chunu people in the Esipongweni district of Natal from attending the traditional *ukubonga* ceremony at the weekend by Savuka percussionist and dancer Dudu Zulu.

The ceremony marked Zulu's celebration of having completed the building and furnishing of two identical houses for his two wives Mamkhandwa and Mamxethulwa, and five children.

He also expressed gratitude for his recent fortune to his ancestors, village elders and the community. The func-

tion meant a lot more to him, because, as a child, he was looked after by the community when his father died.

During the same occasion Dudu also dedicated a speech to Tom "Queen Victoria" Zulu, the 67-year-old elder-leader of the district's dance team, AmaButho, who travelled from Johannesburg to Zululand, especially for the function.

Dudu and Jonathan Clegg, who are dance partners in Savuka, are senior members of

AmaButho, whose members all work in Johannesburg. Dudu is also Savuka's percussionist. Savuka left on Tuesday night for France on a promotional tour which will include Italy and Scandinavia.

The festivities were characterised by frenzied dancing and ululation, with food and home-brewed liquor galore, the large crowd who braved the constant drizzle, were thrilled to the bone throughout.

Sipho Mchunu, Clegg's long-time friend and former Juluka partner, was also present.

Tears flowed when Dudu told the crowd how proud he was of the AmaChunu people for their genuine friendliness. He said he was also proud that, like any responsible husband, he had finally built two houses for his wives and children.

"I do not know my

father, he died when I was still a child, you helped me through, your sense of unity has been a great inspiration to me,"

Dudu told the crowd.

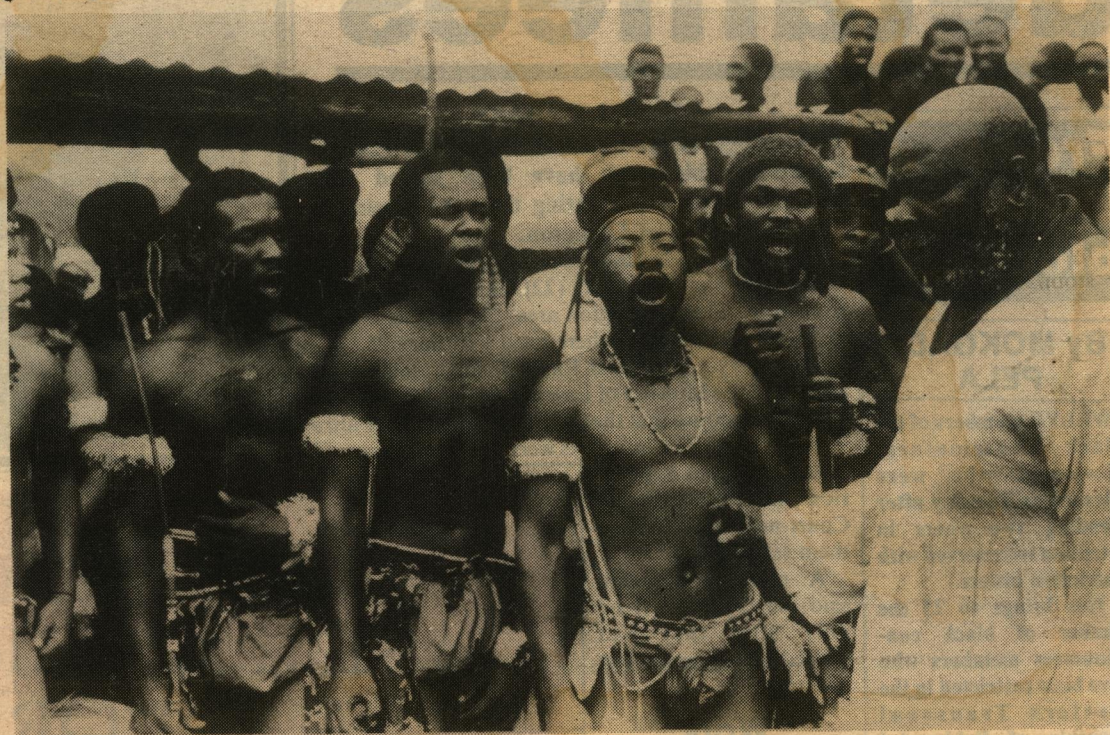
One village elder, Ntulizwe Zulu, in his 80s said this about Dudu: "He is a perfect example

for our youth. He is respectful and responsible. The youth of Esipongweni idolise him. He travels the seas and still comes back to the village he helped put on the world map."

Ntulizwe's son, Fahla-za (30), said: "For having

organised this traditional ceremony, Dudu has opened himself up for more fortune because he has appeased the ancestors."

The occasion was covered by local and overseas newspapers and television crews.



TOM "Queen Victoria" Zulu leads the "warriors" in song during the thanking ceremony.

JOHNNY Clegg addresses the AmaChunu people as his fellow Savuka member, Dudu Zulu, listens keenly.



UDF, Cosatu chiefs tell Sowetans to keep clear of Winnie

THE GOLD SHOULDER

SOWETAN - 17/02/89

By
**MOJALEFA
MOSEKI**

Addressing a Press conference at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg, acting publicity secretary of the restricted UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, said Mrs Mandela had "abused the trust and confidence" which she enjoyed over the years through actions which have increasingly brought her into "conflict with various

LEADERS of the restricted United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday denounced the actions of Mrs Winnie Mandela and her "football team" and appealed to their affiliates, especially Soweto residents, to distance themselves from her.

sections of the oppressed people and with the mass democratic movement as a whole."

Meanwhile, another two missing youths have been linked to Mrs Winnie Mandela's "football team" police said last night.

They are urgently looking for Mr Lolo Sono (21) and Mr Siboniso Anton Tshabalala (19), both of Meadowlands, Soweto.

Murder investigations got under way this week into the deaths of 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei, who was last seen alive at Mrs Mandela's home, and football team

Missing

Cold shoulder

• From page 1

member Mr Maxwell Madondo (19).

Mr Sono was last seen on November 13 at about 8pm talking to a member of the Mandela football team in a blue mini-bus near his home. He allegedly had visible assault injuries.

• To page 2

Mr Tshabalala was last seen on November 14 allegedly left for an appointment with the team.

He said the issues centred on the activities of the so-called Mandela Football Club.

Mr Morobe appealed to the public to stop referring to "Winnie's club as Mandela United because even Mr Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo have ordered that the club be disbanded.

Mr Morobe was flanked by UDF president, Mr Archie Gumede and Cosatu president, Mr Elijah Barayi.

He reaffirmed the movements' unwavering support of Mr Mandela and said the organisation will inform him of the decision to "distance" the democratic movement from his wife's actions.

'SA agents use UK passports'

UK role in freeing Olivia denounced

By John Ryan,
The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — Britain's role in the "Forsyth Saga" and its part in getting South African spy Olivia Forsyth returned to the Republic from Angola have been severely criticised by the ANC.

"The role of the British leaves a lot to be desired," the ANC said in a statement here yesterday. "They bear a heavy responsibility."

Persuaded

Forsyth was holed up in the British Embassy in Luanda for six months last year after escaping from an ANC security house in the Angolan capital.

The British authorities then persuaded the Angolan government to allow her free passage out of the country.

"All along, they were informed of the fact that she was a South African police officer who had been spying on the ANC, the Frontline states and even Commonwealth countries," the statement said. "Nevertheless, they insisted

on treating her as a British subject, disregarding her criminal activities.

"They put pressure on the Angolan government to secure her release. The passport they issued to her, enabling her to leave Luanda, was the third British document they presented her with in a short space of time."

The statement said Britain had been informed Forsyth was party to information she could use against certain people if she returned to South Africa.

"This raised serious questions about the ease with which the South African secret police have been able to use the British government for their sinister work. There are a growing number of South African agents using British passports to carry out subversive mission in the Frontline states."

The statement cited the case of Mr Steve Burnett, arrested in Botswana some years ago for allegedly attempting to assassinate Mr Ronnie Watson. Mr Burnett later claimed in a confession that he was an agent not only for South Africa but for Britain's MI6.



Olivia Forsyth . . . denounced by the ANC as a flop.

'Forsyth gave ANC lengthy profiles of police officers'

THE STAR - 17/02/89

The African National Congress claims South African spy Lieutenant Olivia Forsyth gave the organisation "lengthy profiles of scores of police officers" she had encountered in training, listing their strengths and weaknesses.

According to an ANC statement released in Lusaka yesterday, Lieutenant Forsyth provided addresses and details of many of the Security Branch's secret flats as well as the home addresses and even vehicle registration numbers of some of the top SB officers.

She apparently described her chief handler, Major A Oosthuizen, as "basically ambitious . . . and guilty about neglecting his family. When I am in South Africa he spends most of his free time with me."

Lieutenant Forsyth also provided intimate details of former agent Craig Williamson, the man who recruited her.

The ANC statement maintained that the extensive information Lieutenant Forsyth had supplied in her confessions represented a major setback for the Security Police.

The South African agent - "Toria's little errand girl" - was lying when she claimed after her return to South Africa that the information she had provided to the ANC contained a small amount that was true but was mainly false.

The statement denied:

- That Lieutenant Forsyth had deliberately revealed herself to the ANC as a South African agent so that its leaders would see her as a defector.
- That her first confession was a ploy to gain their confidence.
- That she had been sent out on two separate missions - Operation Yurchenko (named after a Soviet double spy) and Operation Olivetti.
- That Lieutenant Forsyth had been tortured or beaten during her 22 months in ANC custody.
- That during this period in detention she was in a position to obtain sensitive information for the Security Police - such as about the ANC's internal leadership conflict, ANC installations and facilities in neighbouring states.

The statement said the ANC had become wise to Lieutenant Forsyth within weeks of her arrival in Harare in September 1985.

TO PG. 2

'Police spy' went to Botswana

Staff Reporters

Mr Billy van Zyl, the South African who is alleged by the African National Congress to be held by them because he is a police spy, is a photographer who previously worked as a freelancer for a Port Elizabeth morning newspaper.

He studied photography at the Port Elizabeth Technikon and after working in the city, went to Botswana. His movements after that are unknown.

Mr van Zyl is thought to have come from Burgersdorp, in the north-east Cape.

A friend of black journalists, his flight into exile four years ago went largely unnoticed, except by those who had suspected him of being a police spy for some months before his departure.

FRIENDS

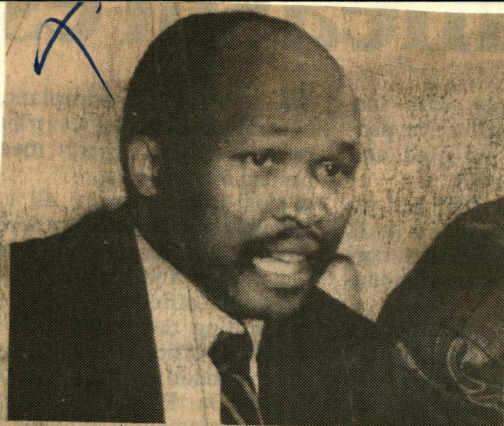
At the time Mr van Zyl told friends he had been called up for military service but did not intend to report for duty. Military police later questioned friends.

He intended claiming political asylum in Botswana and sold all his possessions. Nothing was heard of him until several months later when a friend received a letter postmarked Gaborone.

He wrote of having been detained for three months in a refugee camp by the Botswana authorities. He shared a house with a woman lecturer at the University of Botswana and started a photographic business with a Botswana resident.

Mr Ian Difford, the head of the photographic department at the Port Elizabeth Technikon, said last night Mr van Zyl had not been a particularly good photographer. "It's difficult to say what kind of person he was. He didn't adopt a very high profile."

UK ROLE IN FREEING OLIVIA
DENOUNCED
From Pg. 1



Senior UDF official Mr Murphy Morobe calls on the community to dissociate itself from Mrs Mandela.

2 more missing youths linked to Winnie's 'soccer club'

THE STAR
17/02/89

Staff Reporters

Another two missing youths have been linked by police to Mrs Winnie Mandela's "soccer club" in the wake of the public denunciation of Mrs Mandela by major anti-apartheid organisations.

Police have launched an intensive investigation into the disappearance of the youths, who were allegedly last seen alive in the company of members of the Mandela United "Soccer Club".

By this morning, no trace had been found of Mr Lolo Sono (21) and Mr Siboniso Anton Tshabalala (19), both of Meadowlands. Police have appealed for information.

Cosatu, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliates have distanced themselves from the "Mother of the Nation" and the actions of her bodyguards.

And in Lusaka, indications last night were that the African National Congress (ANC) would issue a statement today supporting this repudiation.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, senior UDF activist Mr Murphy Morobe called on the community, particularly Sowetans, to dissociate themselves from Mrs Mandela in a "dignified manner".

ORGANISATIONS

He was speaking on behalf of a number of organisations, including UDF affiliates and the country's biggest labour movement, the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu).

The president of the restricted UDF, Mr Archie Gumede, and Cosatu's president, Mr Elijah Barayi, were present as well as other anti-apartheid figures.

At the press conference, Mrs Mandela's "football team" was accused of waging a "reign of terror" in the community and she was said to have "violated human rights ... in the name of the struggle against apartheid".

Mrs Mandela and her daughter, Zinzi, refused to take calls yesterday.

● Murder investigations got under way this week into the deaths of 14-year-old activist Stompie Seipei, who was last seen alive at Mrs Mandela's home, and "football team" member Mr Maxwell Madondo (19).

Forensic tests are being conducted on Mrs Mandela's minibus which was seized on Wednesday. This is apparently being done in an attempt to find traces of Stompie's hair, clothing or blood.

Road clear for Resolution 435

Namibia go-ahead is an *THE STAR — 17/02/89* 'historic moment' — Pik

Political Staff and
Associated Press

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, has welcomed the United Nations Security Council agreement on the implementation of Resolution 435 for the independence of Na-

mibia as an "historic moment".

Mr Botha said in a statement the acceptance by the Security Council of the implementation of Resolution 435 "marks the last enabling step to the settlement plan for the independence of Namibia."

"This means 4 650 troops are approved and the United Nations will now strictly have to treat all parties in SWA/Namibia impartially."

"With the acceptance of this resolution, the road is now clear for the attainment of independence of SWA/Namibia."

Utmost importance

Mr Botha said he had instructed South Africa's ambassador to the UN, Mr Jeremy Shearer, to inform the Secretary General, Dr Javier Peres de Cuellar, that it was of the utmost importance that all people from Namibia — detained in camps in certain African countries due to differences with Swapo — be permitted to return to Namibia.

The Security Council yesterday authorised the independence plan and the General Assembly agreed to dispatch the first UN peacekeepers to the region.

In a departure from the usual Security Council decorum, applause and handshakes swept the chamber after the unanimous adoption of the resolution, which begins the transition toward Namibian elections supervised by the United Nations.

The council approved a recent report by Dr Perez de Cuellar on implementing the plan, which calls for sending 4 650 UN peacekeepers, 500 police supervisors and at least 1 000 civilian election monitors to Namibia.

"The decision also marks the

last major step toward decolonisation," said council president Mr Jai Pratap Rana of Nepal.

"We look forward to welcoming Namibia as a fellow member of this family of nations before long."

Untag officials

The first Untag officials are to arrive in Namibia next week, said the secretary-general's special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Commissioner Steven Fanning, the head of Untag's police unit, is expected in Namibia next Friday for weekend talks with that country's commissioner of police, General Dolf Gouws, said Mr Ahtisaari.

Namibia's police will remain responsible for civil order, but will be supervised by UN police.

Dr Perez de Cuellar has estimated Untag will cost \$416 million (about R998 million) in its first year, making it the biggest UN peacekeeping mission since the Belgian Congo operation of 1960-64.

The General Assembly yesterday approved funds for a 70-man team of UN military observers who will monitor the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola, as neighbouring Namibia becomes independent.

That group, the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem), was budgeted at \$9,2 million (about R21,6 million) for this year.

General Assembly President Mr Dante Caputo, announced that the assembly probably would meet next week to approve funding for the Untag force.

The price of unneighbourliness

THE STAR - 17/02/89

BY GERALD L'ANGE, editor of The Star's Africa News Service

South Africa is paying heavily for the destabilisation it is alleged to have carried out in neighbouring states. Whether it was worth the price will become clearer when Commonwealth leaders, influenced by a new destabilisation report, consider tightening sanctions.

When the Commonwealth heads of State meet in Malaysia in October they are expected to examine ways to tighten economic sanctions and other coercive and punitive measures against South Africa.

In this they will probably be strongly influenced by a new report on Pretoria's alleged destabilisation of neighbouring states.

The contents of the report were described as "shocking" by Canadian Foreign Minister Mr Joe Clark when it was presented to the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' meeting in Harare recently.

Compiled by David Martin and Phyllis Johnson, two journalists long preoccupied with the subject, it purports to update the catalogue of South Africa's acts of destabilisation and to estimate their cost to the victims.

Accuracy accepted

Its accuracy appears to have been accepted without question by the Commonwealth secretariat which commissioned it, and by the Foreign Ministers.

Mr Clark categorised the report as "precise information" when asked about it at a news conference.

So the Commonwealth leaders, if they too accept the accuracy of the report, will conduct their deliberations in the belief that the South African Government is to blame for the loss of one million lives, many of them children, in southern Africa in the past eight years.

Those who do not question the report's accuracy will accept that South African destabilisation has cost the Frontline states R88 billion and made more than 3 million people homeless.

These figures appear to have been arrived at through fairly arbitrary "guestimates" and it might therefore be difficult for anyone to challenge them.

Where the figures — and indeed much of the report — are wide open to challenge is in the assumption that everything can be laid at Pretoria's doorstep.

Destabilisation report lays blame at SA's door

The report takes the view that Pretoria is responsible for the deaths of all those killed by the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels since South Africa took over from the Rhodesian government as the MNR's chief supporter.

In this it makes the huge and obviously convenient assumption that the MNR would not have continued to exist without South African support. Pretoria is therefore held responsible, for example, for the deaths from disease of Mozambican children as a result of the MNR's destruction of rural health clinics.

The report goes further and makes South Africa culpable even in the deaths of Mozambicans who died as a result of drought-induced famine.

Sweeping approach

It argues that they might have lived had not the MNR, operating by the grace of Pretoria, prevented relief from getting to them.

Much the same sweeping approach is taken in respect of other countries and other calamities in the sub-continent. South Africa is blamed, for instance, for all the suf-

ferings of Angola and even for some of Zambia's because of South Africa's support for Unita rebels.

The report says landlocked Zambia lost the use of the Benguela railway through Angola "after South Africa's invasion of Angola in 1975 and the resultant war."

The Angolan war was caused by South Africa's invasion? Now there's one for all those who thought

it was caused by an ideologically-based power struggle between the MPLA and the opposing groups with whom it was supposed to have shared power pending elections in terms of the Alvor agreement that followed the Portuguese withdrawal.

Argument avoided

Whether Unita would have been able to survive without South African support is arguable, but it is an argument the Commonwealth report carefully avoids.

The report is replete with sweeping and arguable assertions. It does not bother to seek any credibility in Pretoria's denials that it is still aiding the MNR, or its assertion that it sees its own interests promoted more by stable neighbours than unstable ones.

Ironically, the overkill is unnecessary. There is enough evidence of South African skulduggery in the neighbouring states without it having to be exaggerated or invented, as some of the sources accepted without question by Martin and Johnson clearly have done.

There is no doubt that this skulduggery has been widely practised in the region by Pretoria in a variety of forms that could be classified as destabilisation. These range from support for the MNR — at least before the Nkomati Accord if not after it — to the squeezing of trade routes.

There is doubt only about some of the details — about the scale of the destabilisation, the form, the directors, the agents and the effects.

Some of it may be as pernicious in its intent and as vicious in its effects as claimed in the Commonwealth report. But the overall picture presented by the report is grossly exaggerated.

Tougher sanctions

Aside from moral aspects, this may be judged important only to the extent that it might lead to tougher sanctions against South Africa. But few things could be more important to the South Africans who might as a direct result of sanctions suffer hunger, disease and misery as bad as any caused by destabilisation in the neighbouring territories.

Those who directed the destabilisation can hardly complain about its effects being exaggerated, however. Once destabilisation was em-

ployed it was inevitable that its scope and consequences would be enlarged in the accounts of the victims — and turned against Pretoria by apartheid's foes.

Beyond that the issue becomes whether the exercise was worthwhile. The destabilisation ostensibly was aimed primarily at preventing the African National Congress from launching insurgency from neighbouring territories, keeping those territories dependent on South Africa's transport routes and discouraging them from implementing economic sanctions against the Republic.

To some extent these objectives have been reached but the price paid has been heavy and may get heavier. The necessity of it all is something to be pondered at the next turn of the sanctions screw.

To. P. 9. 2

THE PRICE OF UNNEIGHBOURLINESS
FROM P.G. 1



Canadian Foreign Minister Mr Joe Clark chats to ANC secretary general Mr Alfred Nzo at the Harare Commonwealth meeting.