

THE CITIZEN

Wednesday 27 April 1988

KwaZulu wants 'control' to restore order in Natal

Citizen Reporter

THE KwaZulu Legislative Assembly has made a call for the Black areas of greater Pietermaritzburg to be placed under KwaZulu's jurisdiction "so that order can be restored."

This statement is contained in the latest issue of Clarion Call, official organ of the KwaZulu Government, which is entirely devoted to the strife in the Pietermaritzburg area.

The statement called on all leaders and organisations to recognise that

the "vast majority or ordinary Blacks" in the region, including those not controlled by KwaZulu, would "welcome the protective presence of the KwaZulu police" and the administration of its government, as was the case in the greater Durban area.

It called upon the South African Government to take immediate steps to bring this, about and place the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly "in a position where we can legally sort out the problems created by the viol-

ence" in the area.

The issue also contains a study by the Inkatha Institute of the causes of the violence in the Pietermaritzburg area.

The conclusions of this study were that the violence could be ascribed to three main factors — the socio-economic conditions in the townships (poverty, starvation and unemployment), the uncontrolled criminal element, and the UDF/Inkatha conflict.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said in the publication that the primary underlying cause of the conflict in the area was apartheid.

But he amplified this by stating that elements within the UDF and Cosatu, along with criminal elements were attempting to exploit the "obvious and appalling deprivation" in the area for their own political purposes.

This, he suggested was in line with the ANC's commitment to make South Africa ungovernable.

Although there were similarities between the objects of Inkatha and the

ANC, UDF and Cosatu, the root of the conflict between them was a difference in tactics and strategies.

The ANC and its supporters in other organisations saw Inkatha's commitment to non-violence and negotiation as an obstacle to their success in making the country ungovernable and did not subscribe to the multi-strategy approach to liberation, while the ANC was also seen as the "sole authentic voice of the people," to which all organisations should defer.

27 APRIL 1988

The Daily News

Reviving Nkomati

EVEN the most optimistic will be wary of being too hopeful about the renewed attempts to revive the Nkomati Accord. Experience of past ineffectiveness of the agreement will ensure the utmost scepticism on all sides. The logistics of implementing the concept have, if anything, worsened in the last few years with economic, military and social problems remaining so great as to seem insurmountable. And political differences still run deep; indeed, at the very moment that Mozambique envoys were conducting "goodwill" discussions in Cape Town, President Joaquim Chissano was using the occasion of a conference on aid in Maputo to castigate the South African Government yet again for alleged destabilisation tactics.

Thus, there will be a resigned sense of déjà vu about the la-

test round of contacts and the expressions of good intentions. Perhaps the best that can be said of it all is that it beats doing nothing; and contact of any sort is better than no contact at all. Also, the latest talks should be seen in the context of the recent visit to Maputo by Anglo American chief Mr Gavin Relly, who made a number of practical suggestions for assisting development there.

So there is reason for cautious hope that tensions may be eased and that a climate can be created for bringing stability to the region. The rewards of greater co-operation and positive co-existence could be far-reaching. However, Mozambique would be wise to adopt a more pragmatic political approach; remarks like those of President Chissano are ill-advised.

LUSH Mozambican countryside has become a place of sudden death, constant fear and almost unimaginable suffering, a disaster on such a scale that it seems certain to defy the best efforts of the outside world to provide a remedy through food and military assistance.

Casa Banana, a fortified village in Sofala Province under Gorongosa Mountain, is a long way from the capital Maputo, where donors are meeting to consider government's request for US\$380m (R760m) in emergency aid.

However, its inhabitants are typical of the six-million Mozambicans, nearly half the population, who so desperately need help this year. Once the dirt airstrip on the banks of the Vundusi River was used by elephant hunters and bananas were sold at the house which gave the place its name.

After the country gained independence from Portugal in 1975, Casa Banana became the headquarters of the ruthless guerrillas of the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo).

Now, after changing hands three times in the war, it is a strategic hamlet of 10 000 people and occupied by the Zimbabwean troops who help the Frelimo government forces fight Renamo.

Bire Nyamazao has just arrived with his emaciated family after three days' walk without food through the bush from his rebel-held home village. People were starving there, with nothing to eat except leaves. He tells his tale in a hoarse voice after greedily drinking maize porridge from a tin plate clutched in shaking hands.

One of his children, aged seven, died on the journey. One survived, pitifully thin. Also with him are his

Even R760m won't feed the starving in Mozambique

VICTOR MALLETT in Maputo

wife (his other wife died during a previous escape attempt) and his niece, prematurely aged by suffering, with her surviving child. Another died. Her husband, a Frelimo soldier, has disappeared.

Nearby, a little girl drinks filthy water from a half coconut shell. Her mother cradles a starving child and relates how she was forced to carry hippo meat for the rebels in a column of slaves. Those who ran away were shot.

There may be food in Casa Banana but not very much. Floods have washed away a bridge and the village is accessible only by air.

In Sofala province, the hungry are receiving only about a quarter of the food they need. It is flown in by some of the oldest DC3 aircraft in the world, chartered by the state airline and paid for by European donors.

One crashed recently in Zambezia province, apparently because of engine failure, killing the foreign crew of two. The International Red Cross has suspended many of its food

flights since December because of threats from Renamo, which wants aid to be flown to rebel areas, too.

Children die ever week, suffering from malnutrition, diarrhoea, malaria, pneumonia and anaemia.

"Malnutrition is the worst problem we have here. It affects almost all the children. Last month, 15 children died of diarrhoea," said Dr Victor Camisela, the medical officer at Casa Banana.

The distinction between dying of hunger and dying of malnutrition seems to be academic. Farming is impossible except in a small area just outside the mud ramparts of the village, leaving the population almost entirely dependent on food carried in by air.

Three civilians were killed by rebels a few days ago, not far from the foxholes of the defending Zimbabwean troops.

To make matters worse, some of the Frelimo troops seem to be pursuing a scorched earth strategy to deprive the rebels of food, and one woman said they burned her crops and forced her to travel to Casa Banana.

"These are the masses that we recaptured back from the enemy," said a Zimbabwean officer, pointing to the settlement.

In Beira, the provincial capital, Manuel Nogueira, provincial director of Mozambique's disaster relief organisation, outlines the sort of authoritarian communist policies which drove so many of the conservative peasants of central Mozambique into the arms of Renamo in the first place.

In Ethiopia, the policy is called "villagisation". "It is the policy of government to move people into permanent concentrations," said Nogueira.

"It could be a drastic change, but it's a change which guarantees rapid civilisation and greater development ... for 500 years they have

lived dispersed and isolated. What has it brought them? Nothing."

The military and ideological aims of pushing people together into large communities are not pursued with such vigour by more diplomatic officials in Maputo, however.

Nogueira himself denies that government troops burn crops, even if they encourage people to move to protected government areas.

In Caia, once a prosperous agricultural centre and now a refugee community of some 9 000 near the Zambezi River, the situation is even worse than in Casa Banana. As we entered the town (again only reached by air), two Mozambican soldiers were being carried back from a patrol, their shattered legs the victims of anti-personnel mines.

The hospital is a grim sight, with no water, no electricity and no beds. Women beg visitors for food for their children in the corridors.

Everywhere the refugees are desperate for food. No one will ever know exactly how many Mozambicans are dying of hunger, of malnutrition or in the fighting, although a recent report commissioned by the US State Department said Renamo may have killed 100 000 people.

In the past eight months, more than 1 000 people are known to have died in a series of massacres. Pillage, rape and mutilation are routine. Thousands of children have been orphaned.

It is against this background that Mozambique launched its plea for emergency assistance to cover this year and part of next year. However, even if the war ended today, it would take many years and billions of dollars to restore Mozambique to any kind of normality.

The foreign help being channelled to Mozambique is, in the words of one aid worker in Beira, no more than rudimentary first aid.

FINANCIAL TIMES

Middle force necessary 'to replace mistrust and fear'

Verligtes plead

the 'centrist' cause

Graham Spence

Political Reporter

TWO once-prominent Natal Nationalists, Mr Theo Gerdener and Dr Jan Marais, have emerged from political "retirement" to plead the "centrist" cause and call for a drastic speeding up of reform.

Mr Gerdener, who was the first National Party Administrator of Natal and briefly served as Minister of the Interior in Mr John Vorster's Cabinet, and Mr Marais, the former chairman of Trust Bank and member of Parliament for Pinetown, were both considered verligte NP members while active in politics.

Although neither is considered a "source", their arguments are believed to mirror in many respects new Nationalist thinking. The term "centrist", as defined by verligte Nationalists, is the

"middle ground" between the Conservative Party and the Progressive Federal Party.

In a recent letter in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, Rapport, Mr Gerdener argued that it was imperative to build up a strong "middle force" to replace the alarming mistrust and fear among South Africans. This would be coupled with tangible evidence that the reform process was the primary goal in South African politics.

He said this could be done in these ways:

- ☐ New and consistent negotiations with all moderates and black leaders, despite previous problems such as those experienced with the Statutory Council;
- ☐ Open agendas to establish mutual trust;
- ☐ A fresh look at constitutional structures that would accommodate black political aspirations while providing guarantees for whites, coloureds and Indians;
- ☐ Establishing a power base across colour lines that could withstand attacks from both left- and right-wing radicals.

He said the initiatives from speeding up the reform process had to come from the Government. At the same time, left-wing non-revolutionary leaders should not make demands that could scuttle negotiations already under way.

Mr Gerdener said there were already several factors that were favourable to establishing such a new initiative. For example, there were a variety of alternative constitutional models already in existence which

had been drawn up by former political parties such as the New Republic Party (he did not mention the Indaba by name, although the NRP was the co-convenor). Although none was perfect, they did have merit and an adaption of these models could form the nucleus of political reform.

Also, virtually all political grouping to the left of the Government did have contact with black leaders. Although the power-bases of these groups were too small to make them effective middlemen between moderates, these contacts could be effectively used by the Government.

Mr Gerdener said he believed that an alliance of moderates as the guiding force behind the reform movement would have these implications:

- An establishment of the concept of negotiation rather than revolution;
- An acceptance that solving race problems was more desirable than partition;
- A constant search for consensus between people rather than emphasis on differences;
- A strengthening of community interests rather than fostering political party gains.

"I believe many thousands of centrists would welcome and support this type of reform. And, consequently, we can bring about a type of democracy that will be a lot better than that of 20 or 30 other countries with plural communities."

In a similar vein, Mr Marais said in a statement to newspaper editors that State President Botha had done



Jan Marais



Theo Gerdener

more in a few years for reform than all his predecessors in the past 300 years. Yet, ironically, this positive momentum was in danger of being lost because of several "psychological and public relations" shortcomings.

These were that the NP did not have a clear vision; there was a loss of grass-roots contact with the common voter; an image of dominating bureaucracy and colossal wastages of State money.

Although many of these problems were exaggerated, they were still in many cases the popular conception of the Government.

"For almost four decades I have been pleading for a vision, or programme of destiny, whatever one calls it. (The Government) should spell out in an easily understandable manner how it visualises our future and it should be marketed aggressively among the general public."

Mr Marais said if one faced up to the realities of the country, there was no practical and reasonable alternative to the NP. It was imperative that the Government exposed the "total impracticability" of what the opposition parties propagated and the "dire consequences" of their policies.

COMMENT

The Dark Ages

CONDITIONS in Mozambique are best described as a pre-medieval nightmare, a condition of disorder and backwardness that will not be overcome for many decades unless the territory has the unlikely good fortune to be colonised from the northern hemisphere. For these conditions, to judge from the reports of our Washington correspondent, South Africa is being made the scapegoat, and South Africa is being saddled with a responsibility for Mozambique's rehabilitation.

It is as well to be precise. Renamo, formed by the Rhodesians in response to Mozambique's support for the Zimbabwean liberation movements, was for some time supported by South Africa's clandestine services. The Nkomati accord was supposed to terminate that support in return for Mozambique's withdrawal of its support for the ANC, but several problems arose.

Firstly, the credibility of the Nkomati accord in South Africa was undermined by the continued presence in Maputo of known members of the ANC, and by continued ANC infiltration through Swaziland and into northern Natal.

Secondly, the SADF could not be contained within the limits of the foreign policy set by a weakened foreign minister. The military connived with Louis Nel to conduct its own negotiations with Renamo's Afonso Dhlakama and the disclosure in the Renamo diaries of these secret contacts undermined the credibility of the Nkomati accord from the other side.

Thirdly, by the time the Nkomati accord was signed, the Maputo gov-

ernment had lost control of much of the countryside, while Renamo itself had become a monster. A primitive organisation, loosely controlled and poorly supplied, it degenerated into plain banditry. The accounts of its atrocities have accumulated steadily, and there is no need to doubt its degeneracy.

That South Africa should now be burdened with the responsibility for the murderous gangs that roam Mozambique is a pity, but a foreseeable part of the cost of a policy of intervention beyond our national borders. When a country's reputation has been squandered by inept disinformation campaigns abroad, by failure to keep a promise to deliver officials for trial, by reneging on sovereign debt agreements, and by a 10-year record of surreptitious and overt intervention in the affairs of its neighbours, it must expect to be slandered.

This country cannot rescue Mozambique. It can help, and its major corporations can help, but only the rich countries of the northern hemisphere can possibly muster the resources needed to bring Mozambique out of the dark ages. To pretend otherwise is to do a disservice to SA, which has enough home-grown poverty to keep it busy for the next half-century, and to Mozambique itself. The idea that SA wrecked Mozambique is false but may be unstoppable; the idea that SA can repair the damage should be stopped right away.

The best we can do is adopt a long-term policy of benign cooperation, and try to avoid imposing further misery on that devastated region.

Witless action

HOME Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha is unlikely to understand, and should therefore be told, that the Weekly Mail is principally a cultural medium, read by the English upper classes for its coverage of arts and entertainment which is superb. Its political coverage is stylish, sophisticated, frequently clever, and aimed at an elite market. It is probably inconsequential.

The Minister, acting on the dubious advice of graduates from the sociology departments of the lesser Afrikaans universities, proposes to close down the Weekly Mail, and he has taken the preliminary step of publishing in the government gazette a warning to the newspaper to stop fomenting revolution.

The suggestion that the Weekly Mail — circulating mainly among the class of English-speakers who see their increasing cultural isolation and deprivation as a good reason to emigrate — may be stoking up a night of the long knives is quite bizarre. It proves what we have suspected all along: that the Minister and his advisers have neither the general education, nor the wit, to distinguish between revolution and radical chic.

Nothing else can explain why the Minister should choose to attack the pet cultural possession of its gentlest, least anxious, most anxious, guilt-ridden, sweetly intentioned middle class. It is the action of dolts.

BACKGROUND

Nkomati bid welcomed

**Gerald L'Ange
Africa Service**

JOHANNESBURG: The Mozambique Government's move to repair its tattered relations with South Africa is seen by analysts as one of the most promising developments since the decline of the Nkomati Accord.

The visit to Cape Town by President Chissano's envoy, General Jacinto Veloso, and the suggestion of a summit meeting with President Botha, has taken knowledgeable observers by surprise.

The reasons for the Frelimo government's latest overtures to Pretoria remain unclear.

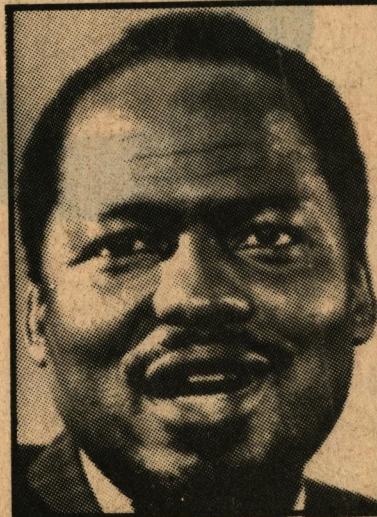
But they have raised hopes of a reversal of the deterioration in relations between the two governments, which have sunk to possibly their lowest level since the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984.

General Veloso's visit comes immediately after talks in Maputo between government officials and the chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, which were reported to have been about Anglo's possible involvement in developing Mozambique's natural resources.

There has been no sign, however, that the two moves are linked and analysts doubt that they are.

The Mozambican initiative is seen by well-informed analysts as a sign that the Frelimo government has decided its ambitions will be better served by a pragmatic accommodation with Pretoria than through the confrontational approach that has characterised its attitude in recent years.

President Chissano's proposal to revive the Joint Security Commission originally set up to monitor violations of the Nkomati Accord would fulfil an aim long promoted by Pretoria but rejected by Maputo.



President Chissano: hoping to revive monitoring committee

The JSC was suspended by Maputo in 1985 after the discovery of the documents at the captured Renamo headquarters at Casa Banana in

Gorongosa which purported to show that Pretoria had continued to aid Renamo in violation of Nkomati.

The revival of the JSC is seen as the key to the revitalisation of the Nkomati Accord, which is essentially a mutual security pact requiring South Africa not to support Renamo and Mozambique not to support the ANC.

Both sides have accused each other of breaching these obligations, and without the JSC neither side's charges could be investigated.

With the JSC back in operation a mechanism would again exist for monitoring alleged violations of the accord and possibly preventing them.

Only then could the accord's other opportunities — including government aid and private investment from South Africa in Mozambique — be pursued.

Last month a high-level source in Maputo was quoted as saying South Africa was trying to sell a new, re-

vamped Nkomati Accord to Mozambique.

Observers doubt, however, that South Africa would be interested in a new accord.

It would probably be satisfied with the revitalisation of the existing agreement.

For the Maputo government, Renamo remains the single biggest obstacle to the implementation of its new economic and social policies, which have had growing backing from Western countries anxious to woo Mozambique out of Moscow's orbit and closer to a free enterprise system.

Removal of the Renamo threat therefore is of paramount importance to Maputo — which claims the rebels could not continue operating without aid from South Africa, private if not official.

Maputo may therefore have decided to try a new approach to get Pretoria's cooperation in curbing Renamo.

THEO RAWANA

CONTINUING restrictions on black business has resulted in the formation of groups more militant than the more established organisations, says SA Institute of Race Relations Social and Economic Update.

It cites the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business, the Black Poultry Association, the Johannesburg CBD Chamber of Commerce and the Sechaba/Sizwe Co-operative as examples.

Black business turns to militancy

"It may be significant that these new groups appear more militant than established black business organisations and have stated a greater willingness to use tactics such as demonstrations and selective boycotts."

"Statements by these organisations suggest that their emergence is a reaction to what they see as the hostility or indifference of white business and government."

"Their emergence may, therefore, constitute a growing challenge to the practice of both groups."

The publication points out that hundreds of hawkers have been arrested in Johannesburg for allegedly trading without a licence or contravening regulations which require them to move at regular intervals

throughout the day.

"Unlike other business people, hawkers must renew licences — which are obtained from local authorities — annually."

"According to a small-business specialist, white local authorities often adopt a 'paternalistic and prejudiced attitude to hawkers'."

'Development aid' to SA's economy

Disinvestment has opposite results — Shell

DISINVESTMENT had produced reactions totally contrary to the hopes of its proponents and was a form of "development aid" to South African capitalism, according to Shell chairman John Wilson.

"The South African economy has not crumbled, but rather disinvestment has been welcomed by many businessmen and government as it has increased domestic control over business and, more importantly, silenced foreign critics," Wilson said in his chairman's report.

There are those on the sidelines "waiting for the pickings from distressed sales of fleeing multinationals", he said.

On the question of productivity, Wilson said recent wage settlements above the inflation rate had reached a stage where jobs could be put at

BRONWYN ADAMS

risk, and Shell believed it was essential for substantial wage demands to be linked to improved productivity.

He said Shell viewed the proposed Labour Relations Amendment Bill with grave concern. "It is incomprehensible that government should seek to destabilise industrial relations just when a positive consensual approach was crystallising by imposing legislation which is not acceptable to any of the parties involved," he said.

He conceded there was by no means agreement in the private sector concerning the Bill, which pandered to the growing right-wing electorate. But it was up to companies such as Shell, which have a vision of a different future, to make their voices heard and to make known their criticism and grave disquiet.

Ciskei tribal honour conferred on Pik

THE CITIZEN

27/04/88

BISHO — South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, is to be given the tribal honour of becoming a general councillor to Ciskei chiefs.

This status will be conferred on Mr Botha by Ciskei's President, Mr Lennox Sebe, at a ceremony at Ciskei's national shrine, Ntaba Ka Ndoda, tomorrow.

Government offices will close to allow public servants to attend the ceremony.

A statement for Ciskei's Foreign Affairs Department said the honouring of an adviser was a well known tradition and dated back to Paramount Chief Gaika, who honoured an advisor of Dutch origin called Coenraad Buys.

Mr Botha and his wife are to be flown by heli-

copter to Manyano tribal authority today where the entertainment will be tribal dancing, music and feasting.

Dinner will be at the presidential palace where Mrs Botha will be dressed in traditional attire by the Acting Paramount Chieftainess, Nolizwe Sandile. — Sapa.

Wednesday 27 April 1988

Message of goodwill, but. . . Chissano hits SA over MNR 'support'

MAPUTO. — President Joaquim Chissano sent a message of goodwill to South Africa yesterday but told a UN-sponsored conference that South Africa was to blame for a civil war that has devastated Mozambique.

Mr Chissano spoke to the opening session of a conference convened by his Marxist government and the United Nations to address Mozambique's emergency relief needs for the coming year.

Mozambique says six million of its 14.5 million people are in need of emergency food aid and has appealed for 900 million tons of donated food, as well as other assistance, with a total cost of R760 million.

UN Secretary General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, in a message to the conference, said Mozambique "remains the target of externally supported acts of destabilisation".

"This continued reign of terror has increasingly involved random and brutal killings, pillaging of the population, wide-scale destruction and sabotage," Mr Perez de Cuellar said.

Mr Chissano, addressing about 200 delegates from UN agencies, relief organisations and foreign governments, reiterated his charge that South Africa supports the Mozambique National Resistance rebels.

He said the support, which South Africa denies, was part of a "criminal and irresponsible" strategy to weaken Black-

ruled Southern African states.

As the conference started, Mozambique's Co-operation Minister, Mr Jacinto Veloso, flew to South Africa with a message from Mr Chissano to President P W Botha.

Mozambique's news agency, Aim, quoted Mr Veloso as saying the message was about peace, non-aggression and good neighbourliness and "is written in the spirit of the Nkomati Accord".

That treaty, signed by Mozambique and South Africa in 1984, pledged an end to assistance by each country for insurgents fighting the other country's government.

There is widespread international support for Mozambique's claim that South African security forces continue to provide logistical aid to the Mozambican rebels in violation of the treaty.

Mr Chissano, in his speech yesterday described the rebel movement as a purely military organisation "which has its command in South Africa, where it receives all kinds of aid".

A Swedish Foreign Ministry official at the conference, Mr Sten Rylander, urged the international community to provide security assistance, as well as emergency aid, in order to protect relief projects.

Despite the continuing strains between Mozambique and South Africa, there have been signs of increasing co-operation.

Officials of the two governments have en-

gaged in negotiations aimed at rehabilitating the Cahora Bassa project in northwest Mozambique that has been frequently targeted by rebel saboteurs.

And on Monday, the chairman of South Africa's largest conglomerate held talks with Mr Chissano and other Mozambican officials in Maputo on the possible involvement of Anglo American in developing Mozambique's natural resources.

Anglo's chairman Mr Gavin Relly, indicated that his company might be interested in forestry, agriculture and natural gas projects. — Sapa-AP.



TOM BOYA

Apartheid row over Boya choir

DUBLIN — Anti-apartheid activists plan to picket an Irish song and dance festival later this year, and some competitions have already withdrawn, because a South African choir is taking part.

But the leader of the choir from Daveyton has denied any connection with Pretoria and claims to have United Democratic Front support.

Nevertheless, the South African presence at the Cork Choral and Folk Dance Festival has prompted a Welsh choir

to withdraw, and the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement is planning pickets.

Mr Tom Boya, mayor of Daveyton and leader of the 65-strong choir, says the opposition is "totally unjustified".

Interviewed on Irish Radio, he said it was "absolutely wrong to suggest that the Daveyton choir is in some way a puppet of Mr Botha's Government".

He considered himself to be an oppressed black "like any other oppressed black" and condemned apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act.

He said he had made his position known publicly and the South African Government was well aware of it.

"We wanted to be part of the Cork festival and we raised the necessary money — R150 000 — using our own initiative. We asked various companies to help us, and we worked hard over a long period to get the money together. The South African Government gave us no help whatsoever."

Cork festival director Mr Geoffrey Spratt, said the Daveyton choir had approached the organisers over a year ago. It was asked to satisfy two conditions for participation — one on artistic grounds, the other on political grounds . . . a guarantee that it was not State-funded.

The choir had satisfied both conditions as well as assuring the organisers it had the approval of the UDF. Mr Spratt has appealed to the public to ignore the picket when the festival, featuring 80 choirs, opens tomorrow.



MTHETHELELI Mncube . . . "disciplined soldiers".

MTHETHELELI Zephania Mncube yesterday told the Messina Circuit Court that if he was released from custody he would carry on with the mission of the African National Congress because he was a trained, disciplined soldier and not a murderer.

Mncube (28), of Diepkloof, Soweto, is facing three possible death sentences for the murder of two white policemen and a black man between 1985 and 1986.

He was addressing Mr Justice J P O de Villiers on extenuation and mitigation of sentence in the Messina Circuit Court.

Mncube and Msondeleli Euclide Nondula of East London have been convicted on nine murder charges and 26 attempted murder charges arising from a series of landmine explosions in the Messina area.

Mncube, who admitted he shot Warrant Officer Theunis Gerber and Sergeant Joachim Nel dead before escaping from custody on December 18, 1986, said:

"I feel sorry for their deaths and for their bereaved families, but it is unfortunate that their children do not understand the political situation in South Africa."

He said as a disciplined

By THEMBA MOLEFE

soldier who was proud to be a member of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe, he would continue with the organisation's mission of ending violence in South Africa. He said he was not a violent person himself but he was forced to kill, especially the two policemen.

He said if he was a murderer then members of the South African Defence Force who had raided the ANC in other countries also had to be brought to court.

Attack

Recalling a 1981 Matola raid on ANC houses in Mozambique, Mncube said he was only three streets away from the attack which claimed 30 lives. He said that incident contributed towards him joining the military wing of the ANC.

Mncube said he was especially impressed by ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, represen-

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UK SPELLS OUT IT'S AID TO SA BLACKS

BRITAIN'S total commitment to the fight against apartheid by positive measures such as assistance for black education and economic advancement was spelled out yesterday by Mr Robin Renwick, the British ambassador.

He said Britain had no intention of disengaging from South Africa.

Mr Renwick was speaking at a breakfast of the Get Ahead Foundation in Johannesburg. The foundation is committed to helping black business and private enterprises.

Mr Renwick said the fundamental choice was in disengaging, cutting off ties and walking away from the problem in South Africa as some were increasingly tempted to do.

Many were calling on Britain to do so.

"We have no intention of disengaging. We will go on providing practical help and whatever the difficulties we will go on working for positive change.

"We are totally committed to the fight against apartheid and we intend to help provide the weapons to fight it.

"Those weapons will not be bombs but education and economic advancement. Britain is now providing R80 million in assistance for black higher education. Before long we will be sponsoring 500 black students at university level in Britain and South Africa."

Mr Renwick pointed out that British companies operating in South Africa had contributed over R130 million in black housing, education, welfare, training and pension programmes in a single year.

British interests were assisting a wide range of products in the townships and the rural areas. Soon there would be a grant for the construction of a covered market for small businesses at Katlehong, near Germiston.

This was one of 60 or 70 grants to be made to community and self-help organisations in the country in the course of this year.

"Britain will be continuing and increasing assistance of this kind and would not accept interference with these programmes.

"Why are we doing all this?

"It is not in our power to change the politics here in the way we would like to do, and were able to do in the countries for which we had direct responsibility," he said.

SOWETAN

Daily Mirror

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1988

MORNING FINAL

PWV 30c (27 + 3c GST) COUNTRY 35

Messina trial accused Mthetheleli Mncube tells judge

**'MY MISSION
IS UNFINISHED'**

THE DAILY NEWS — 27 APRIL 1988

Jackson using his limelight to hit SA

WASHINGTON: The Rev Jesse Jackson is using his national prominence as a US presidential candidate to focus the American political spotlight on South Africa.

His latest foray came yesterday when, before banks of television cameras, he challenged fellow candidates, Vice-President George Bush and Governor Michael Dukakis, to define South Africa as a terrorist state that endorsed mass killings in Mozambique.

The challenge followed a State Department briefing for the black preacher on the contents of the new and horrific US Government report on atrocities against civilians in Mozambique.

The report said at least 100 000 people had died in the civil conflict — more than 90 percent at the hands of Renamo.

The study concentrates on the

plight of the refugees and not on the causes of the conflict. It does not name South Africa as a supplier of arms to Renamo.

But in a statement yesterday, after a meeting in Washington with Deputy Secretary of State Mr John Whitehead and Africa policy chief Dr Chester Crocker, Mr Jackson accused South Africa of supporting and encouraging Renamo terrorism that had led to the destruction of services in the country and the deaths of 84 000 Mozambican children in 1986 — one of the world's highest infant mortality rates.

Political analysts here believe the Mozambique report has given Mr Jackson an opportunity to renew his attacks on US policy toward South Africa. They expect him to refer to the report whenever he can — and they say his statement yesterday is a forerunner to what will happen at

Neil Lurssen Foreign Service

the Democratic Party convention in June.

Mr Jackson will be a central figure at the convention and will demand that the Democrats endorse tough action against Pretoria. But not many analysts believe the party's likely presidential nominee, Mr Dukakis, will agree to the Jackson demand that South Africa be named as a terrorist state — along with North Korea, Iran, Syria, Cuba and Libya.

At his news conference yesterday, Mr Jackson urged the US Congress to stop blocking US humanitarian and security aid to Mozambique and the Frontline States to help them resist South African aggression.

A congressional delegation and the

major American news organisations should go to Mozambique to report on the atrocities taking place, he said.

The US should participate in a regional summit meeting including South Africa's black-ruled neighbours and representatives of the European community, and should apply comprehensive, mandatory sanctions — no trade, no investment, no bank loans, and no military or intelligence collaboration.

He called for a US commitment to SADCC countries with priorities given to the Beira corridor and the port of Maputo, and demanded an end of US aid to Unita, which he said included R60 million in CIA funds as well as Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.

Mr Jackson also called for the US to condemn violation of the anti-SA arms embargo by Japan, Britain, Israel, West Germany, and France.

His demands yesterday are seen as a foretaste of US policy should the Democrats win the presidential election in November and should Mr Jackson win the vice-presidential slot or some other top job in a Dukakis administration.

Mr Jackson was joined at the news conference yesterday by Dr Crocker. Asked what he thought about standing next to the man who had devised the US policy of constructive engagement, Mr Jackson replied: "I do not want to involve Mr Crocker... in our approach to ending apartheid."

Dr Crocker was asked if he agreed that South Africa was a state that sponsored terrorism. He replied that there was evidence that pointed to a pattern of support for Renamo from elements in South Africa. But that support meant a violation of South Africa's own commitment — a reference to the Nkomati Accord.

Wethule umbiko

ngosizo lweKFC

ILANGA

ngamathuba

27-29, 1988 APRIL

omsebenzi

OLUNDI - Inhlangothuthukisa eKwaZulu iKwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation seyivulele abantu ababalelwa ku-36 000 amathuba ezemisebenzi njengo-229 kulo lonke eKwaZulu.

Lokhu kuvele embikweni wonyaka ka-1988 owethulwe nguNdunankulu waKwaZulu futhi onguNgqongqoshe wezomnotho, uDr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ngesikhati ethula umbiko wonyaka walenhlangano

esiShayamthethweni saKwaZulu Ondini. Lokhu bekugondene nosuku lokugeda iminyaka engu-10 kwalenhlangano yasungulwa.

Ethula lombiko uNdunankulu uthi, inhlangano i-KFC ibambisene nezimboni ezizimele seyivule imisebenzi ngemali ecela ku-R1 billion. Wathi eKwaZulu lifisa ukwedlulisa ukubonga okukhulu ezimbonini ezizimele ngeqhaza ezilibabile ekuthuthukiseni umnotho kulesisifunda, kanye nendlela abakhombise ngayo ukubethemba kwabo abantu abamnyama bakuleli.

Maqondana namathuba ezemisebenzi uNdunankulu uthe ukuvulwa kwezimboni kanye nokuthuthukiswa kwazo kudala ukwanda kwamathuba ezemisebenzi wathi kodwa sekuyizikhashana ezingana egxekwa ngenxa yokwesekela kwakhe ukuthuthukiswa kwezimboni kwelaKwaZulu.

"Abakwa-KFC sebe-nze umsebenzi omkhulu ekusunguleni nasekugqoguzeleni ukuvulwa kwezimboni okufakazelwa ngukuthi onyakeni odlule walenhlangano isungule izimboni ezincane ezingaphezulu kuka-300".

Ephawula ngodaba lokwakhiwa kwezindlu zokuhlala uthe lokhu kuyinkinga okungeke inyamalale ngokushesha. Wathi esikhatini esedlule abakwa-KFC bekuyibo kuphela abebhekene ngqo nenkinga yokwesweleka kwezindlu ikakhulukazi yilabo bantu abahola amaholo aphantsi. Wathi sezikhona nokho izinhlangano azisiza-yo kulesisimo.

Uveze nokuthi ibhange elingaphansi kwalenhlangano elaziwa ngokuthi Ithala Bank lenze imali engu-R70 million kuwo lonyaka. Wathi esikhatini esingunyaka esedlule lithole abafaka kulo izimali abangu-35 njalo ngosuku.

Zimbabwe's whites come under fire for failure to integrate

By Robin Drew,

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Whites in Zimbabwe are coming under increasing pressure to attend national functions and political rallies.

Commentators on the State radio and in the national press drew attention to the small number of whites at this year's independence anniversary celebrations.

Interviewed on radio and television during the celebrations on April 18, the Foreign Minister, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, agreed with the questioner that the absence of whites should be condemned.

Dr Shamuyarira also criticised the Asian and coloured communities although he did add that there had been a better response by Zimbabwe's coloured people to calls to identify fully with the new State.

The Minister said the ruling party was

CONTROVERSIAL PLAY

Another talking point in Zimbabwe has been the decision of the State television service to screen a BBC television play, "Drums Along Balmoral Drive", which portrays the dilemma of a white family at the time of the transition from white to black rule.

The play, produced some years ago, shows how the father of the family whose

son was killed by guerillas comes to terms with his new black boss, but how it is too much for his wife who chokes to death from an overdose of sleeping pills and alcohol.

Careful thought was obviously given to screening the play which, with its strong language and even stronger display of racialism, would not have been shown in Zimbabwe in the early years of independence for fear of opening old wounds.

But the campaign to get whites to display their loyalty publicly has had its critics who have also had their say.

In a letter published in the press, a former Conservative Alliance MP, Mr JCA Welman, said minority groups had not been invited to take part in the unity talks.

concerned about the attitude of whites and intended to establish more branches in the wealthier suburbs.

It is not just in Harare that the failure of whites to attend major events has been criticised.

An editorial in a newspaper in the eastern border city of Mutare said, "The white community, unfortunately, seems still to believe that the policy of reconciliation means the government leaving them alone."

"They want to prosper in this little island of theirs while the rest of the country reels under the impact of the dwindling dollar."

WHITES REMAIN ALOOF

The paper said that, far from integrating

themselves into Zimbabwean society, whites, by and large, remained aloof.

"It can surely not be because they believe

"How then can speakers now expect members of those left-out minority groups who were not considered and who differ and sometimes hold opposing political views to Zanu, to support enthusiastically rallies that announce a purely party political marriage between the two major parties?" he asked.

He said anyone propagating free enterprise, a multiple party parliament and freedom of expression and criticism, and who attended rallies for personal advantage, gave a false impression of support to an agreement which would lead to a most undemocratic one-party dictatorship.

Other whites interviewed by the national news agency, Ziana, maintained they supported unity but did not wish to give up their weekends of sport to attend political rallies.

themselves to be superior in any way to the rest of Zimbabwe. Granted they still hold most of the economic reins of power, granted too that their standard of living is still higher than that of people in Europe or even the United States," said the editorial.

The issue of white attendance has been raised before. There was bitter criticism by a writer in the *Herald* newspaper when whites were almost totally absent from a rally to mark the death of Mozambican leader Mr Samora Machel.

Zapu leader Mr Joshua Nkomo has also been loud in his criticism of the failure of

whites to attend political rallies in support of unity. He has repeatedly stressed that the unity of his party with the ruling Zanu (PF) party should be seen not as a party political move but as a significant shift in uniting all the peoples of the country.

Reagan to veto US Trade Bill

BUSINESS DAY 27/04/88

WASHINGTON — The US trade representative said yesterday that President Ronald Reagan would veto a massive Trade Bill and called on Congress to revive the measure quickly without a controversial provision.

"We need a Trade Bill this year," Clayton K Yeutter told the NBC television network.

"There are a lot of good things in that legislation, so if a couple of necessary corrections are made and the Bill comes back, I'm really quite confident the President would sign it," he said.

Yeutter said the Bill would get Reagan's signature if it were not for a provision, strongly backed by Democrats and labour unions, requiring companies to give workers 60 days notice of intended plant closings.

The Senate approved the Bill 63-36 on Wednesday. That left Democrats at least three votes short of the two-thirds major-

ity needed to enact the measure over Reagan's objections.

Democrats had fought for 14 Republican votes to assure them of a total of 66.

But only 11 Republicans voted in favour of the measure produced by a House-Senate conference committee after three years of congressional debate over soaring US trade deficits.

□ Meanwhile, in Brussels the European Community (EC) threatened yesterday to take action against the US under international trading rules if the US Trade Bill comes into force.

The EC commissioner for external trade, Willy de Clercq said that the community "will react" using the rights that it has in the world trade body Gatt, "each time its interests are harmed by the unilateral measures taken by the American authorities".

However, the EC's threat of action depends on whether President Reagan vetoes the Trade Bill.

De Clercq said the EC would "follow carefully legislative developments" in the US. — Sapa-AP and AP-DJ.



● DE CLERCQ

BOTSWANA GOVT CLAMP ON EXILES

BOTSWANA is cracking the whip on South African exiles living there, with yet another refugee being served with deportation orders this week.

Lawyer and author, Mrs Christina Qunta, was called to the Gaborone offices of the immigration authorities on Monday and officially told she

SOWETAN Africa Service

would have to leave the country as a prohibited immigrant.

Sources in the refugee community said Mrs Qunta was told she must leave and never return to Botswana because her husband, Vuyisa, has been banned from the country in terms of a presidential decree.

Immigration authorities have confirmed that Mr Qunta and another prominent member of the refugee community, Mr Jairus Kgokong, have been declared prohibited immigrants under a presidential order signed on March 21.

The two men, both central committee members of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), have been in detention since then.

The authorities said they were being held while negotiations were taking place with a country which would accept them.

On Monday Mrs Qunta was officially told she would be deported along with her husband and their two young children.

The sources said Mrs

Woman lawyer latest victim

Qunta was told she would be detained pending the deportation, but she could make a written application requesting incarceration be set aside on humanitarian grounds.

They said Mrs Qunta would apply to the authorities to be kept out of prison on the grounds that she had two children, one eight years old and the other four years old, to look after.

The sources said there was some unease among

the refugee community over the impending deportations. It was unusual for the Botswana Government to take such measures in such a manner, and exiles did not know what would happen next and to whom.

Mrs Qunta and her husband, and Mr Kgokong, are well known in black South African political circles. They are all former associates of the late Steve Biko, reputed father of the black consciousness ideology.

IF JUDGES and lawyers did not distance themselves from the existing legal system in SA, they could not hope to save the Roman Dutch legal tradition in a post-apartheid society, Professor John Dugard, Professor of Law at Wits University, said on Tuesday.

He was speaking at a seminar on law in a post-apartheid society attended by about 100 people at Wits.

Dugard criticised the organised legal profession, such as the Johannesburg Bar Council, for failing to speak out on such issues as the case of the Sharpeville Six (currently under a stay of execution) or even the sending of what he termed an SADF "execution squad" into Botswana. "The legal profession must not be surprised if it is seen as part of the superstructure of apartheid," he said.

He quoted the 1971 statement by the late Professor Barend van Niekerk, Professor of Law at Natal University, which had resulted in Van Niekerk's conviction for contempt of court. Van Niekerk criticised the failure of the legal profession to respond to the introduction of the Terrorism Act. "Unfortunately, things

haven't changed much since 1971," said Dugard.

He criticised the tendency of lawyers to refuse to play a part in prescriptive thinking, and called for them to make a contribution by putting forward alternative constitutional models.

"It is appalling the organised legal profession is ducking this issue — the (last) General Council of the Bar of SA conference ignored it completely," he said.

Dugard sketched two possible scenarios for a post-apartheid society, and their effects on the legal system — although stressing such a society was "not just around the corner" and a state of siege could be expected for another 20 years or so.

The first, involving a relatively peaceful negotiated settlement, would mean a transition to a Zimbabwe-type situation. This was, he believed, "the best we can hope for".

If this happened, he expected com-

Lawyers in the dock

ROGER SMITH

mon Roman Dutch law would be retained, the judiciary and many existing judges and lawyers would be retained, but so would the NP government's security legislation.

Legitimacy

The other scenario, of a violent transfer of power after a long war of attrition, could see the scrapping of Roman Dutch law and, as the courts and lawyers had been seen to give legitimacy to apartheid, they too would go.

He expected Roman Dutch law would be replaced by something like a Code Azania, and it was only to be

hoped it might be as good as the Code Napoleon introduced after the French Revolution of 1789.

He said there could be Nuremberg-type trials, and he feared that these would be of not only NP leaders but other people. "I hope they do not apply the doctrine of common purpose as far as the Appellate Division has in some cases, such as the Sharpeville Six."

He concluded by saying that if the virtues of the legal profession were to be retained, "lawyers must come to terms with the crisis facing us".

The conservative attitude of lawyers was also criticised at the seminar by Professor Johan van der Westhuizen, director of Pretoria University's Centre for Human Rights, who said the Bar Council conference session on human rights had been "very flat".

"In order to establish the legitimacy of the legal system we need more than reform," he said. "We must try

to build a new society, and must look for new symbols of legitimacy, unity and justice."

Johannesburg attorney Kathy Satchwell condemned the SA legal system as based on discrimination and exploitation. "Our statutes can never claim to have been approved by the entire community affected by them — they are not of, by and for the people," she said.

"In a post-apartheid society the most striking change must be that our laws must have the approval and consent of those subjected to them, and must be enforced by them."

She referred to her experience of cases involving people implicated in "people's courts," which she regarded "not as a model for the future, but as a crisis reaction to a crisis situation".

George Bizos SC agreed with Dugard that the organised legal profession had often behaved as Van Niekerk had said, but he said it had not remained aloof.

He referred to the work done by labour lawyers and lawyers in legal resources centres and legal clinics, which he said would help to shape the laws and institutions of the future.

Dear Sir,

I MUST protest in the strongest possible terms at the unwarranted comments in your editorial "Killing competition" (Business Day, April 14).

The SA Black Taxi Association (Sabta) has never and will never condone violence. We can point to many, many occasions when Sabta officers have acted as peacemakers in local disputes where outbreaks of violence have been threatened. We go on record once again as saying we do not condone the acts of those who resorted to violence on April 12, and we convey our sincere condolences to the family and friends of the innocent person who was tragically killed.

We have repeatedly informed government that the root cause of this type of violence is the pressure on rank space. If there are 50 rank spaces and the authorities issue 150 permits, the pressure must and will increase. At some stage, in combination with other factors, this frustration could result in violent reaction.

Sabta is not against new entrants. Our statements and actions show

Sabta never condones violence

this clearly, but in the interests of operators, the commuter and — more importantly — the community in general, there must be adequate facilities.

We are not against deregulation, but in the interest of the public we submit that deregulation applied to the taxi industry should be evolutionary in nature, to allow facilities to be established to cope with the growth in the industry and to avoid the type of frustration and pressure which gave way to violence on April 12.

I treat with the contempt it deserves your question: "Is it too much to expect the leaders of Sabta will try to educate their members to an understanding of the difference between lawful competition and murder?" Apart from the assumption that Sabta members are involved in acts of violence, this statement gives offence to those of us who are struggling so hard to improve matters in this burgeoning industry.

We have practical plans for the vast task of educating and training drivers and owners of taxis. We are hopeful it will be seen in improvements in road behaviour and in a greater understanding of business and the nature of competition.

G NTLATLENG

**Vice-president, Sabta
Johannesburg**

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,

The coverage given by your paper on April 28 to the Press conference held by the Development Bank of Southern Africa in Cape Town the previous day on the financial situation of the TBVC countries is appreciated. However, on an important point we apparently did not get across our point of view clearly to your correspondent.

It is not the Bank's view that the financial difficulties experienced by the TBVC countries, and the conse-

quent build-up of government debt, arose largely from mismanagement by their governments, as stated in your report. In fact, in the background documentation for the press conference, the Bank's view is very clearly stated, namely that for the largest part their expenditure has been directed to essential public services and that their inability fully to finance those expenditures related back to the underdeveloped state of their economies, their consequently narrow revenue bases, and the *ad hoc* basis on which budgetary assistance from SA was determined.

Thank you for this opportunity to correct this misunderstanding.

SIMON BRAND
**Chief Executive
Development Bank of Southern
Africa**

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,

I READ your editorial "Obscene

prints" (Business Day, April 20). While I agree that the front page of Rapport was far from a "pretty sight," I would like to point out that acts of terrorism of the nature of the latest Pretoria bomb blast, which could have caused the loss of innocent lives, must be prevented at all costs.

I feel very strongly that Rapport should be applauded for publishing this horrific picture. Perhaps potential bombers will find the prospect of meeting the same fate a suitable deterrent. I hope so.

S W WILLIAMS
Pretoria

□ □ □ □

Dear Sir,

ONE HAS to feel some sympathy for the business community. On one hand the trade unions scream at them for keeping wages low. On the other the State President screams at them for keeping wages high. No wonder they are emigrating.

MICHAEL ALAN
Johannesburg

Talks may end 'cold war'

PW is likely to meet Chissano

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Talks aimed at a summit meeting between President Botha and President Joachim Chissano of Mozambique and a revitalising of the Nkomati Accord are expected to be followed up within days.

Diplomatic sources today described the outcome of yesterday's secret talks, between a special emissary from Mr Chissano and Mr P W Botha, as a major breakthrough in relations between the two countries.

The emissary, General Jacinto Veloso, a Minister in the office of the Mozambique president, held talks with Mr Botha and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Cape Town.

General Veloso has returned to Mozambique with a message from Mr Botha and further developments are expected within days.

A statement released by Mr Pik Botha last night said the possibility of a meeting between the two heads of state had been discussed at yesterday's talks.

Mr Chissano had proposed that the Joint Security Commission between the two countries, abandoned by President Samora Machel after the Gorongosa diaries were discovered, be reactivated.

The JSC was created in terms of the 1984 Nkomati Accord to settle security differences between the two countries.

Sources said Mr Chissano's proposal was so significant it could be considered to be the most important development in relations between the two countries since the actual signing of the Nkomati Accord.

One senior source said: "This is a major breakthrough at a time when a report in the United States has been published on alleged atrocities by MNR and when attempts have been made to associate South Africa with the MNR."

The message to Mr Botha from Mr Chissano assured the

CAPE TOWN

Government of Mozambique's firm intention of contributing positively towards resolving conflict in the region but added that Mozambique was convinced that the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) continued to receive support and advice emanating from South African territory.

Mr Pik Botha said that the South African Government was convinced that terrorists were operating from Mozambican territory against South Africa.

"Nevertheless, President Chissano assured President Botha that Mozambique stood firm in its decision not to permit the use of Mozambican territory for the launching of any violent action against South Africa," Mr Botha said.

President Botha had also said that the achievement of stability and good neighbourly relations between the states of the region was essential for economic development and progress.

South Africa was ready to make its full contribution in this regard, said Mr Pik Botha.

● In Washington yesterday US presidential candidate, the Reverend Jesse Jackson accused South Africa of supporting and encouraging MNR terrorism in Mozambique.

He said the US should participate in a regional summit meeting including South Africa's black-ruled neighbours and representatives of the European Community, and should apply comprehensive, mandatory sanctions — no trade, no investment, no bank loans and no military or intelligence collaboration.