

FOCUS

WASHINGTON — An American State Department report which accused Mozambican rebels of murdering thousands of civilians has enraged the rebels' conservative American supporters.

They say last month's report — which accused the movement of murdering as many as 100 000 Mozambican civilians — has laid ground for Washington to help Mozambique's marxist government.

The US right-wingers say the members of Mozambique National Resistance movement (MNR) are fighters for freedom against communism and claim the Frelimo Government and not the rebels is responsible for mass-acres of Mozambican villagers.

They regard the MNR — also known by its Portuguese acronym Renamo — as similar to the Contra rebels fighting Nicaragua's left-wing Sandinistas.

Africa experts, diplomatic sources and political analysts say the initial impact of the report has discredited members of the far right who have rushed to support the rebels and embarrassed and even silenced some US legislators.

"It is tending rather to isolate them and to make clear to South Africa and other people that association with Renamo is a very tainted business," said one Western diplomat, speaking on condition of anonymity.

Western and African governments accuse South Africa of supporting the MNR, originally created by the white minority government of what was then Rhodesia to destabilise neighbouring Mozambique and undercut black Rhodesian guerilla forces there.

South Africa denies it sponsors the MNR.

The US report, written by consultant Mr Robert Gersony for the State Department's Bureau of Refugees, was based on three months of interviews with relief workers and 200 Mozambican refugees in Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Tanzania.

"(The report) discredits the whole notion of

Rightwing Americans angered by report on MNR



CHESTER Crocker

backing "freedom fighters" without taking into account regional realities," says Pauline Baker, a senior associate at the liberal Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "It shows you just can't jump into bed with every anti-communist."

The United States commissioned the report after noticing a threefold increase in Mozambican refugees over the past year.

US conservatives criticise the government for issuing the report one week before a United Nations sponsored conference in Maputo aimed at raising aid for Mozambique.

They were further angered by deputy assistant secretary of state for African affairs Mr Roy Stacy's address

to donor nations when he accused the MNR of "one of the most brutal holocausts against ordinary human beings since World War 2."

The following day, the United States and other donors pledged R540 million in emergency aid to the war-torn country.

Peace

"Timing that report to come out when it did meant that instead of conservatives trying to block hundreds of millions of dollars to (Mozambique) we would have to justify our MNR support," says Mr William Pascoe of the Heritage Foundation.

The Washington-based conservative foundation supports peace talks between the MNR and Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano. It opposes any aid for the Maputo Government which it decries as a tool of the Kremlin.

Conservatives accuse the State Department's Bureau of Refugees of issuing its report to deflect attention from what they call a failing Western policy of weaning Mozambique away from communism.

The administration says the policy is succeeding.

Mozambique's leaders have been honoured guests of conservative President Ronald Reagan at the White House and Britain's conservative Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, is supporting Mozambique with military aid.

Mr Tom Schaaf, executive director of the Mozambique Research Centre, a group which campaigns in Washington on the rebels' behalf, questions the report's credibility.

"It is a desperate last attempt by (Secretary of State for African Affairs) Chester Crocker to stonewall his policy in

the final months of the Reagan administration," he says.

Other conservatives admit the report, whether accurate or not, has hurt the US right.

By stressing the violent tactics of the MNR, Mr Pascoe says, the government has removed the likelihood of support from the American public for the rebels who have been fighting the Maputo Government since independence from Portugal in 1975.

So far, the report has drawn only silence from two US legislators formerly linked to the Renamo cause, Senators Bob Dole and Jesse Helms.

Mr Dole and Mr Helms led a group of Republicans last year to block the appointment of foreign service career diplomat Melissa Wells as ambassador to Maputo because they were upset at the administration's antipathy for the MNR. — Sapa-Reuter.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

THE CITIZEN

Weekly Mail

2108/1988

SHOULD any newspaper or periodical be banned? In ordinary circumstances no.

In terms of the freedom and indivisibility of the Press, the answer is even more emphatically no.

But we are in a state of emergency. Newspapers and periodicals have to observe the restrictions on the media whether they like it or not.

And so, if the alternative Press, as it is called, wants to stay alive, it has to be clever enough neither to breach the regulations nor give the government cause to act against it.

Ah, it will be said, but that is not the function of a newspaper. It must be bold, it must be honest, it must express its convictions whether or not the authorities accept them or not.

Ah, it is said, newspapers do not promote revolution, but if there are no avenues for protest, the revolution is inevitable.

Ah, it is said, newspapers would rather die on their feet than crawl on their knees. Thus, if the authorities decide they must die, they will not crawl to avoid execution.

These are principled, even heroic attitudes, but the fact remains that newspapers can win the acclamation of their peers abroad — or even at home — but awards and commendations do not amount to anything when a defiant newspaper readies itself for its own execution.

It does not strike threatened newspapers that most of the foreign media, which also have to observe the restrictions imposed by the emergency, do not deliberately breach the regulations or risk falling foul of the government.

Freedom to report what you like, how you like, is curtailed for everyone.

No newspapers, no news agencies, no television news outfits would willingly agree to direct or indirect censorship, but if they have

to observe the regulations, they do, since they have no alternative.

It is not cowardly. It is commonsense. And they are still able to report most of the news, honestly and without breaching their own ethical standards.

Which brings us to the possible banning of the Weekly Mail.

One of its defenders, Business Day, says 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."

Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, who has the task of dealing with the Press, says that "certain elements obstinately refuse to accept that by means of propaganda, publications are being used to promote the cause of revolutionaries and to create a favourable atmosphere for the violent overthrow of civilised standards and good order in South Africa. The end result of what these people are promoting or supporting is the replacement of the existing order by a Marxist/Communist regime."

Of the Weekly Mail he says: "I have repeatedly explained in public the provisions and application of the media regulations. The procedure according to which action is taken against a publication is a long process and makes ample provision for such a publication to state its case and to decide what it wants to do."

"Due to the organised outcry about the warning which I have issued to the Weekly Mail, I want to state clearly and categorically that the matter rests squarely with the publishers of the Weekly Mail."

In practical terms, this is true, since the outcry here and abroad will not save the Weekly Mail.

Only the Weekly Mail can save itself. But that would mean observing the government's restrictions and warnings — and this the Weekly Mail will not do.

If, in the event, it is banned for three months, and this means its demise, it will be because it was too arrogant to save itself.

Webster

THE NATAL BUSINESS

jailed for

3/05/88

25 years

by PRAKASH NAIDOO

ANC member Gordon Webster (24) was sentenced to an effective 25 years' imprisonment by a Supreme Court judge yesterday after his conviction on charges of murder, attempted murder and 12 counts of terrorism.

Delivering sentence to a packed courtroom, Mr Justice McCreath sentenced Webster to a total of 116 years for all 14 counts and ordered that the sentences run concurrently.

Brother speaks of deep family unity

Witness Reporter

WHILE giving evidence in extenuation in the trial of ANC member Gordon Webster, his elder brother, Mr George Webster, spoke of the deep unity of his family following the arrest of his youngest brother.

Much of that unity was evident in the Supreme Court yesterday when Gordon Webster was sentenced to an effective 25 years' imprisonment for murder, attempted murder and 12 counts of terrorism.

Present in the packed courtroom were Webster's mother, Mrs Agnes Webster, his sister, Margaret, as well as several of his brothers, nephews, nieces and many friends. Also present was Mrs Lucille Webster, wife of Mr George Webster, and their little daughter.

Members of the family spent about half an hour with Webster in the court cells after sentence was passed, and when she emerged a tearful Mrs Agnes Webster announced: "My boy is fine."

She was relieved that her son was not to hang, but said she would miss him. "But I am sure they will allow me to visit him."

Often a lone person in the public gallery, Mrs Webster travelled daily from the family home in New Hanover to attend the trial.

Mr George Webster, who was also the instructing attorney in the trial, said he was glad the trial, which ran for over three months, was over.

"I can only hope and pray that the situation which makes young people opt for the armed struggle in this country will be resolved soon," said Mr Webster.

He is keen to contact his brother's wife and their infant child, whom the Webster family had not seen, as it is believed she has left the country.

Earlier in the hearing, Mr Justice McCreath found there were extenuating circumstances regarding Webster's conviction of murder following the death of Colonel Robert Welman, who was killed when a limpet mine, which Webster admitted placing, exploded at the Chamberlain Road substation in Durban.

He said Webster's intent was an indirect one and was based on foreseeability, as his object was not the destruction of human life, but to attack electrical substations.

Webster's background and personal circumstances were also found as extenuation and the judge said he was affected by "a complex situation" as a result of his "parentage and the colour of his skin".

On the murder conviction, Webster received 12 years' imprisonment and for the remaining charges he received sentences ranging from six to 12 years' imprisonment.

Sentencing Webster, the judge said he found it difficult to exercise his proper discretion at times as the court found him to be an unreliable witness in certain aspects.

He said on Webster's own admission, he lied while giving evidence on commission in London in the trial of his friend, Robert McBride, who was sentenced to death for placing a car bomb outside the Parade Hotel in Durban.

Referring to those aspects which the court found unfavourable, Mr Justice McCreath said Webster claimed in court that he was not equipped with firearms, yet when he was arrested such firearms were found to be in his possession.

He said he also found Webster's explanation as to why he placed a second limpet mine at a hole in the fence he cut at the Shongweni/Assagay substation unsatisfactory.

Each of the charges warranted lengthy imprisonment and when passing sentence the court must take into consideration the seriousness of each crime, the judge said.

He pointed out that the interests of the community must be considered when passing sentence and said it should also "act as a deterrent to others who considered conduct of a similar nature".

"You have shown remorse for that which you have done and you state you are no longer committed to that which you set out to do," the judge told Webster.

Mr Justice McCreath said it was not the policy of the South African courts to impose an effective sentence of 25 years and this was only done in exceptional cases.

However, in view of the "gravity of the crimes", the court came to the conclusion that, despite personal circumstances, the case falls into the category of exceptional cases, he said.

South Africa's Daily News 3/05/88 big Cahora offer

MAPUTO: South Africa is offering millions of rands of military aid to Mozambique to help protect a giant hydro-electric scheme from attacks by the very rebel movement Pretoria is accused of backing.

The South Africans propose to provide troops of the Frelimo Government with up to R82 million worth of mine-detectors, ration packs, vehicles and uniforms to help protect the Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme on the Zambesi River in central Mozambique. Renamo rebels, who have received assistance from Pretoria, have destroyed an estimated 520 pylons along a stretch of nearly 160km.

The South African-supplied equipment will be part of a package of financial and non-lethal military assistance designed to re-start the Cahora Bassa project. Delegates from South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal visited the dam, one of the biggest in the world, in February and agreed to meet later this month in Lisbon to agree on other details.

The dam was begun by the Portuguese in the late 1960s. The aim: to produce electricity for South Africa, not primarily to make a profit but to bind

South Africa more closely to the Portuguese colony. When the Portuguese left in 1975, Frelimo refused to take on the ownership and the cost of continuing the project. Today Portuguese capital still owns about 80 percent of "Hydro-electrica Cahora Bassa".

When it was finally opened in 1979 it provided 10 percent of South Africa's electricity but has never repaid its cost, which has been borne by Portuguese banks. Two years later Renamo rebels cut the power line and since then the scheme has not been fully operational. The Frelimo Government has not made restoring the line a high priority, although this has meant that Maputo, the capital, has been dependent on South Africa for electricity.

South Africa's deputy trade representative to Maputo, Mr Timo Bukes, said at least 1 500 soldiers would be specially trained to guard the energy scheme. This figure has been confirmed by other diplomatic sources. Mr Bukes put the cost of supplying the equipment to 500 Frelimo troops at R27 million.

The Maputo Government has already ruled out the stationing of South African troops in Mozambique to guard the pylons.—Independent news service

'Other side' will have to make concessions

SA taking tough line over Cuba

**Daily News
Correspondent**

CAPE TOWN: South Africa is taking a hard line in today's four-power talks with Cuba, Angola and the US — insisting that if there is to be any breakthrough in the stalemated Angolan war it will have to be a result of concessions from the other side.

President Botha restated the South African position emphatically in Parliament yesterday — South Africa would not allow SWA/Namibia to hold independence elections, nor would it pull its forces out of the region until the Cuban troops in Angola left.

"The moment the Cubans leave and South West Africa is out of danger, that moment South African forces will return to their bases," he said.

Mr Botha also warned against over-optimism regarding today's talks in Britain.

Top Government sources meanwhile said it would require a major change of attitude and strategy by the Angolans and Cubans for today's talks to make any progress.

They pointed to Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's statement after he met US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker in Geneva last March that there were no realistic proposals on the table about the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and an acceptable time scale within which such withdrawal should take place.

The sources said the position going into today's talks, according to South Africa's information, remained unchanged.

They doubted whether progress would be possible at today's talks unless there had since been a "substantial" change in attitude on the part of the other side.

South Africa evidently feels it has already made its major concession towards ending the regional conflict in accepting UN Security Council Resolution 435 for the independence of SWA/Namibia.

However, its one condition that Resolution

The Daily News 3/05/88

P W met African leaders in secret

THE NATAL MERCURY

03/05/88

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—On the eve of the London talks on Cuban withdrawal from Angola, President Botha revealed yesterday that he had had talks with African leaders in the past few weeks — something which has been kept highly secret until now.

He did not expand on who the leaders were or where they came from but he said they believed that 'peace will best be served if the Cubans go'.

The talks get under way at a secret venue in London today and Mr Botha, speaking in the House of Delegates on his Budget vote, said: 'The Cubans must go. We have said so from the beginning.'

'We would like to see South West Africa progress to independence,' he said.

'But what we cannot afford is for foreign troops to dictate to South West Africa how they should get independence.'

South Africa was a regional power and it was in the interests of SWA's future, and peace in the whole of southern Africa that the Cubans should leave.

The Cuban presence was contributing to civil war and was crippling the economy of Angola.

South Africa had supported President Ronald Reagan when he took a stand against the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

'The moment the Cubans go, it will be a new ball game and the whole situation will take a turn for the better,' he said.

Southern Africa could not go it alone without South Africa's technological expertise. South Africa was prepared to share it as long as it was not told from outside what should happen in the country and what its relations with its neighbours should be.

Members from all sides of the chamber voiced their approval.

'But I want to warn against being over optimistic. There are mischief makers who want to destroy all efforts in southern Africa,' said Mr Botha.

The moment SWA is out of danger, South African troops will return to their bases. We want them back to do their primary duty, guarding the borders of their own country.'

Sapa-Reuter reports that two groups absent from the London meeting say no agreement can last without their involvement.

Swapo (South West Africa People's Organisation) and the rebel Angolan movement Unita (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) have not been invited to the meeting.

'We are going to let the negotiations evolve ... but for there to be peace in Angola Unita must be part of the negotiating process,' said Unita's spokesman in Lisbon, Lt-Col Alcides Sakala.

Walk out

'If the South Africans bring Unita (to the talks), we will walk out,' the Angolan Ambassador to Zambia, Luis Kiambata, said.

A Swapo spokesman said the group had not been asked to take part in the London talks in spite of its declared willingness to negotiate South West African independence with Pretoria.

'If they are about Namibia, then the talks should have Swapo round the table,' the spokesman said.

Dr Chester Crocker, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, and the Angolan Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Alfonso Van-Dunem, are the only two ministerial negotiators expected to participate.

Our London Bureau reports that South Africa views the talks merely as 'the opening of a diplomatic window' and not an instant recipe for peace.

Facing the Angolans and Cubans across the negotiating table for the first time will, the South African delegation feels, allow all parties the chance to exchange information and views.

ANC terrorist Gordon Webster jailed for 25 years

THE NATAL MERCURY
03/05/88

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

ANC terrorist Gordon Webster was yesterday jailed for an effective 25 years on 14 charges of terrorism, murder and attempted murder.

The Supreme Court here had earlier found extenuating circumstances which reduced his moral blameworthiness in the murder of Durban policeman Col Robert Welman in a limpet mine explosion in January 1986.

Mr Justice McCreath, sitting with two assessors, told the convicted man he had given 'earnest consideration' to imposing a discretionary death penalty nonetheless, but said he had come to the conclusion that 'this is not the extreme case to which the authorities have referred which requires that I should pass the ultimate penalty on any of the charges.'

The Judge said however this was an 'exceptional' case. He sentenced Webster to a to-

tal of 116 years' imprisonment but ordered that portions of the sentences run concurrently, reducing it to an effective 25 years' imprisonment.

Mr Justice McCreath said it was not the policy in South Africa to impose effective imprisonment of more than 25 years and this should only be done in very exceptional cases.

Factors

He said in spite of Webster's personal circumstances and other factors in his favour he was of the opinion that this case fell within 'that exceptional class'.

'The interests of the community and the gravity of the crimes demand it,' he told Webster.

The charges against Webster include the sabotaging of various electricity substations; a plot to seize hostages in South Africa (including Supreme Court Judge, Mr Justice Shearer and senior po-

lice officers) to use in bargaining for the release of convicted Parade Hotel bomber, Robert McBride; the murder of Col Robert Welman and attempted murders of Sgt Roelof van der Merwe and Mr Mervyn Dunn in the second of two limpet mine blasts at the Chamberlain Road substation.

There was a tense atmosphere in the crowded courtroom yesterday as the Court gave judgment on extenuating circumstances in connection with the murder charge, and later when sentence was passed.

'Satisfied'

Gordon Webster's mother, Mrs Agnes Webster, said she was 'very happy' with the sentence imposed on her son and relieved that he had not received the death penalty.

'I think he is a lucky man today.'

Mrs Webster said she had spoken to Gordon after the sentencing and he was 'satisfied' with the outcome.

Webster, who was silent and impassive throughout the proceedings, was heavily guarded yesterday and two armed policemen sat on either side of him in the accused's dock. Immediately the Court adjourned he was rushed downstairs to the court cells.

The Judge said 'each and every one' of the crimes of which Webster stood convicted was serious.

'One of them has resulted in the death of one person and resulted in serious injury to

Trade unions *Mercury 3/05/88* resist official May Day

Labour Reporter

SOUTH Africa's official May Day will be observed on Friday, but some trade union federations said yesterday they would urge their members to disregard it and report for work as normal.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions, Cosatu, and the National Council of Trade Unions, observed Sunday, May 1, as 'Workers' Day' and some workers took the day off from work yesterday.

It was also a public holiday in KwaZulu yesterday.

Mr Isaacs Ngcobo, a spokesman for the South African Allied Workers' Union, SAAWU, said the union did not recognise the first Friday in May as 'Workers' Day' as declared by President Botha.

Arrangement

'It's between Mr Botha and the managements. It has nothing to do with the workers. We have in fact urged our members to go to work as normal on Friday,' he said.

Most industries in Durban yesterday reported 'good attendances' and said they would be closed on Friday, the official May Day, and where workers had stayed away it had been through prior arrangement with the managements.

Mr Theo van den Bergh, group personnel director for Toyota at Prospecton, said attendance at the giant motor assembly plant had been

'very good' yesterday. The plant would remain closed on Friday.

Friday will be a public holiday for all Tongaat Hulett group workers, Mr Ron Phillips, the group's spokesman, said.

In terms of the Shops and Offices Act it is a public holiday on Friday. Factory workers were free to negotiate with their managers whether they wished to work or not on that day, according to a spokesman for the organised industry.

Mercury 5/05/88 Warrant out for George Matanzima

Mercury Correspondent

UMTATA—A warrant has been issued for the arrest of former Transkei prime minister George Matanzima, Transkei Attorney-General Chris Nel said yesterday.

He said the warrant issued on Tuesday was in connection with allegations of corruption arising from the Alexander inquiry into the Transkei Department of Works and Energy.

The inquiry, currently dealing with the issue of gambling rights in Transkei, earlier lodged an interim report with Transkei's ruling Military Council on the Mbuque Park Housing Estate scandal.

Allegations of serious irregularities in the awarding of contracts for the construction of the estate were made in evidence to the inquiry last

year.

Mr Nel said the report had been referred to him and confirmed the charges related to the Mbuque Park issue rather than that of gambling rights.

Lawyers for the Auditor General yesterday refused to release the interim report of the inquiry as they believed it could now be sub judice.

Chief George's whereabouts could not be established late yesterday, but he is believed to have left Transkei late last week.

His attorney, Mr Johan Vlok, said last night he had only heard rumours of the warrant and had not been in touch with Chief George.

He did not know where he was and, asked when last he had seen Chief George, he replied: 'I am not going to tell you'.

Webster 'is a lucky man'

◆ FROM PAGE 1

two other people, and in all you caused damage well in excess of R1 000 000.'

The Judge said on all the counts, save for the attempted murder charge, the legislature had seen fit to empower the Court in appropriate circumstances to exercise its discretion and impose the death penalty.

'As far as the murder charge is concerned, had this Court not found extenuating circumstances, the death sentence would have been mandatory and I must impress on you that the consideration as to whether such circumstances did exist caused this Court grave and earnest concern in arriving at a decision.'

He took into account Webster's personal circumstances and that he had expressed remorse. He said Webster had also stated that he was no longer committed to that which he had set out to do.

Mr Ismail Mahomed SC, for Webster, said earlier his client told him he was no longer a committed revolutionary and now realised that he wished to return to normal conditions and pursue a career as a teacher.

In finding extenuating circumstances in Webster's favour on the murder charge the Judge took into account the views of three experts — a clinical psychologist, a specialist psychiatrist, and a lecturer in social work at the University of Cape Town — that Webster was emotionally immature, vulnerable and prone to be influenced by others. It was also their unanimous view that he had no inherent vice.

Impaired

Mr Justice-McCreath said in childhood Webster's skin colour caused him 'difficulties and frustrations' in various spheres of his early life and in his relationship with his mother.

The 'unchallenged' expert evidence was that his intellectual make-up was impaired as a result of his background influences.

He also took into account that Webster had not had a direct intention to cause death or injury but only an indirect intention in that he ought to have foreseen that his conduct could result in death.

Passing sentence Mr Justice McCreath said Webster

had been an unreliable witness in some respects. On his own confession Webster had given false evidence on commission in London at the trial of Magoos Bar bomber, Robert McBride.

He said the Court was also not satisfied with his explanation in connection with explosions at the Shongweni substation, as to why he had planted a second limpet mine at the hole in the fence where he gained access and set it to explode 9 hours after the first.

'It must have been very apparent to you that it would have been easy to have placed that limpet mine 100 metres or so away in the open veld where it could do no harm to anyone.'

THE N. MERCURY 03/05/88

The Natal Mercury

Mercury 3/05/88

ANGOLAN PROMISE

THE SEEMINGLY out-of-the-blue 'talks about talks' over Angola — with South West African independence negotiations a very outside possibility — which are expected to take place in London today might, to some, have been a surprising development if it were not for a Russian overture to the Americans during the meeting a few days ago during the signing of the Afghanistan peace agreement.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze surprised U S Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, with a request that discussions be broadened to embrace the Middle East, Persian Gulf and all other areas where a 'broader understanding' could 'avoid the risk of the superpowers being drawn into regional conflicts.' Angola was again discussed in passing between the two in Moscow on April 22 and the new talks are believed to flow partly from this.

It is reported the Russians have told the Angolans and the Cubans that after 13 years of devastating war the bottomless pit has cost Moscow billions in arms losses and Cubans a good few thousand dead and that Mr Gorbachev says it's time to talk.

Reports are that the Kremlin has accepted that South Africa is the regional power and is looking for a compromise. South Africa has had contact with the Russians, the Americans with all parties and President dos Santos has told President Botha that, like the Russians, he would like a chat too.

South Africa is unlikely to press the point in London, but considers South West independence uncoupled from Angola and while Britain's involvement at today's talks is reported to be as an independent broker, the threat from Pretoria is that only if the Russians and the Americans get the Cubans right out of Angola and allow for some sort of government of 'reconciliation' with Savimbi, will she talk at all. It's really the umpteenth deal in a long-running poker game.

If London flops, then Pretoria being totally disillusioned with the West anyway — especially the Americans, with or without a Dukakis in the White House — will fight on and seek an 'African solution, whatever that eventually means.'

The Russians want out; the White House Republicans would give a lot for some significant success as the curtain goes up on the final round of the presidential election; the Angolans have been all but hammered into the ground with an economy in tatters; and the Cubans, having to explain significant losses at home, are also growing ruinously expensive for the impoverished Angolans.

The Brits, pelted internationally with as many bad eggs and tomatoes as any indifferent player at Shakespeare's old Globe theatre ever was for their refusal to impose economic sanctions on South Africa lest their massive investment here be endangered — as well as fearing the loss of millions of jobs at home if it happened and the return of tens of thousands of British passport holders should they be successful — dearly want to say: 'Look, compromise we can achieve!'

Unita, too, is no longer without its dissidents seeking accommodation and an end to a war they believe only Dr Jonas Savimbi and others Luanda will not sup with are determined to perpetuate.

South Africa, it is said, having long since been subjected to every conceivable pressure and abuse and survived it, might well offer to do a deal over Dr Savimbi's head — as it did with Ian Smith's Rhodesia — if the Cubans can be got out, knowing that Unita will fight on anyway and allow for covert action to continue against Swapo in Angola.

Short of all-out economic sanctions, which don't really work and which would simply fan a 'trekker' spirit of defiance in adversity — a backs-to-the-wall, no-holds-barred response — what more's to be done to Pre-

toria short of force of arms on which neither East nor West could agree?

So why not play along while encouraging 'creeping independence' in South West. It could explain President Botha's recent return of powers to the Administrator-General allowing him to enforce second-tier ethnic elections there.

Weekend reports from the U S of a sudden increase in Cuban troops in Angola are unlikely to faze Pretoria. If Russia says the Cubans go, they all go. And even if an accommodating U S Government, over-anxious for settlement, says the 13th parallel would be far enough, they must still satisfy Pretoria.

Without a massive intervention by the Russians, which seems unlikely while they're sweet-talking the Americans, South Africa holds a number of very strong cards. And Pretoria, without some major concessions, is not going to simply pull out, allowing belligerent forces to roll right up to the Ovambo border — and surely not the Orange River!

The hope is that real advances are made in London and that, with Mozambique sending fresh greetings, greater stability for southern Africa is in the offing.

P W rules out possibility of unbanning ANC

THE MERCURY

02/05/88

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—President Botha yesterday ruled out any possibility of unbanning the ANC while it remained 'totally linked' to the South African Communist Party.

And, he said, there would be no release of political prisoners for as long as they refused to renounce violence, take part in talks and affirm that they would not use violent means.

Replying to Mr Pat Poovalingham (PFP, Reservoir Hills) who had called for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of prisoners during the debate on Mr Botha's Vote in the House of Delegates, Mr Botha said he was not prepared to allow the SACP to operate in South Africa because it was dangerous.

He said he could not unban an organisation like the ANC

which claimed to be the partner of the SACP.

Turning to the lack of co-operation from certain black leaders as far as the Government's constitutional initiatives were concerned, Mr Botha said one of the reasons for this was pressure from outside and influences which were being brought to bear.

Mr Poovalingham said earlier that it was no longer necessary or possible to say of Mr Botha: 'Lord, forgive him, for he knows not what to do.'

Mr Botha's 'almost hesitant, tentative' suggestions for the inclusion of blacks in the President's Council and the Cabinet constituted 'some evidence' of his awareness that blacks in South Africa were oppressed.

Until black South Africans were given 'a meaningful voice and a genuine vote' in the country's highest legislative organs, their perception will remain that they are oppressed.

'President P W Botha must surely be aware of this' when he was thinking about his 'beloved country' or 'down on his knees' praying, he said.

'Ja baas'

Mr Poovalingham said the support of National Peoples' Party members in the House for the National Party 'depends almost entirely upon the sad fact that the Government stands back and allows the NPP leader in this House (Mr Amichand Rajbansi) to handle so-called Indian 'own affairs' as his personal fiefdom.

'In the same way that the British Raj' permitted great excesses by the Maharajas so long as they said "ja baas" to the British king.

'But when it comes to the majority of South Africans, those other 18 million of whom Mr P W Botha is also president, domination gives way to naked oppression,' Mr Poovalingham said.

Separate development, he said, remained apartheid: "'Own affairs" is a fig leaf to hide the embarrassment of apartheid.'

Mr Botha said in reply that when the NP came to power 40 years ago Indians and 99.9% of blacks did not have political rights in South Africa.

Warrant out after bid to kill ANC man

Mercury Correspondent

BRUSSELS—The Belgian authorities have issued an international arrest warrant for a man — alleged to be a white South African — in connection with the attempted assassination of a top ANC official.

The man is suspected of being behind a series of attacks on the ANC representative to Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg, Godfrey Motsepe.

All details of his identity or country of origin are being withheld in line with Belgian policy that all judicial investigations be carried out in secret.

However, a spokesman for the Belgian Justice Authority confirmed yesterday that Judge Francine Lyna, who is in charge of the investigation, had issued a warrant for his arrest through Interpol.

The spokesman refused to give any further details or comment on claims made by Mr Motsepe, in an interview with the Dutch-language

newspaper De Standaard at the weekend, that the suspect was a white South African.

An Anti-Terrorist Brigade spokesman was quoted as saying that the investigation definitely concerned a South African individual, and an alert had been sent out via Interpol.

In the interview Mr Motsepe said the man had sought political asylum in Belgium, probably to escape conscription or after having 'deserted' from the army.

He said the Belgian State Police had told him this after he had criticised them for their 'lax attitude' towards the inquiry. He had been told to keep quiet 'so as not to tip the suspect off'.

It is understood that the warrant may have been issued as much as two weeks ago.

The ANC office in Brussels has been the object of two attacks this year.

P W sees need for unity among all

TERRORISM thrived on publicity and when South Africa took steps to prevent that opportunity to it, 'we are now being called names', President Botha said in reply to debate on his Budget vote yesterday.

Terrorism also thrived on people's lack of opportunities, but the Government had launched vast programmes of socio-economic development, such as the training schemes for the jobless, which was in fact primarily the task of the private sector and not the State, to counter that.

Mr Botha said violence had to be stopped, but there had to be a unanimity of purpose among all South Africans if that was to be done. — (Sapa)

Americans of all political persuasions are interventionists

Mercury 3/05/88

How Southern Africa might look when Reagan era ends

WATCHING the Reagan Administration play out its last cards in Southern Africa brings nothing so much to mind as the final scene in Roman Polanski's *Chinatown*.

The Faye Dunaway character has been shot dead at the steering wheel. Her father is slobbering incestuously over her and is getting away with the murder of his son-in-law.

Jack Nicholson's J J Gittes, the private detective who unwittingly made most of this possible, is led away by his assistants. One of them mutters the immortal epitaph: 'Come on, Jake, it's Chinatown'.

When Chet Crocker leaves his office on the sixth floor of the State Department, at a guess next January, a similar parting line will be in order just before the credits roll and some enthusiastic new sucker arrives to star in 'Africa — the sequel'.

For Africa, especially the southern bit, really is the *Chinatown* of American foreign policy: an alien, impenetrable place where outside intentions go wrong in almost perfect proportion to their worthiness and where only the profoundest cynic (France comes to mind) has any real hope of staying consistently sane.

New era

Let us sum up how Southern Africa will probably look when the Reagan era ends.

What will Washington, in all its governmental branches, fiefdoms and ideological factions, have achieved over the past eight years that Detective Gittes in *Chinatown* did not?

For all America's attempts, some high-minded, some less so, to cure the region's ills, Pretoria will be as truculent and as entrenched in its blossoming fascism as it was in the sixties, perhaps more so.

Mozambique, under increasingly simulated management, will be less a country than a charnel house with national borders.

Barring a miracle, Namibia will be no closer to independence than it has been for a decade.

And in Angola, this week's talks in London notwithstanding, the war will be playing itself out in an interminable end-game, probably at historic levels of bloodshed.

Washington Letter

Simon Barber



Successors

Is it conceivable that Crocker's successors will be able to do any better?

They could do worse (and if they are appointed by President Michael Dukakis, they almost certainly will) than to turn to the incomparably sober doyenne of Washington's Africanists, Dr Helen Kitchen, and her new study, 'Some Guidelines in Africa for the next President', published by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies.

Dr Kitchen's excellent advice turns upon one very simple idea — less is more — as expressed in 1985 by Noel Koch, the then principal Assistant Secretary for Defence for International Affairs:

'We must not, in a fit of philanthropic fervour, seek to do more good for Africa

than she can bear; we must not, in a rash miscalculation of the Soviet threat to US interests in Africa, overreact to that apparent threat, or doubt the capacity of Africans at length to deal directly with it themselves...

Destiny

'In the end, without ever confronting the Soviets directly in Africa, the Western democracies will prevail there by force of our values, by helping where help is needed and asked for, and by otherwise stepping back and letting Africa find her own destiny. Which she will surely do, anyway, whatever policy we here may set, and however we may construe our interests there.'

If Dr Kitchen does have a fault, it is that in her attempt to have both candidacies read and digest her advice, she finds it difficult to call a spade a spade.

Which is one reason she had to summon Koch to deliver her most important counsel — leave the place alone, if you can possibly help it and particularly if you haven't specifically been invited — and why many of her other key points are phrased as rhetorical questions.

Since, as well she knows, the wrong answers to her questions will lead to yet another *Chinatown* denouement some four years hence, I trust she will not mind if I translate the fruit of her considerable wisdom into declarative sentences.

Reality

Thus translated, it comes out as follows: The terms 'radical', 'moderate', 'anti-capitalist', 'pro-communist', 'freedom fighters', 'democratic', 'Marxist' and 'terrorist', while bandied about in political rhetoric and unthinking media shorthand on both sides of the Atlantic, rarely mean in Africa what they mean in the West.

THE REALITY distorted by words of this kind is that most African regimes and their oppositions (this in slightly amended form might apply to SA too) are still 'largely preoccupied with the distribution of privilege and power within the middle class elite that inherited' — or did not inherit — 'power at the end of the colonial interlude'.

The Soviet rethink of Africa as a theatre for superpower rivalry is genuine, though more complicated than is often portrayed.

In any event, US policy has been far too reactive to Soviet actions and far too slow to develop relations with African states when such relations are in US interests; commercial as well as political, regardless of the Soviet factor.

In this regard, successive administrations have put excessive store on how African governments vote at the UN and in other international fora on non-Afri-

can issues.

The purpose of having relations with other states is not ensure unswerving loyalty in the General Assembly or other public utterance, and the attempt to use aid and other such tools to buy such loyalty can only be counter-productive.

Influenced

Dr Kitchen asks one question that I will not attempt to answer for her. It is bold enough as it stands: 'To what extent should US policy toward Africa be influenced by the consideration that some 12% of US citizens are of African descent and that black Americans increasingly identify with the commitment of their ethnic kin to bring an end to privileged white minority rule in SA?'

This consideration has clearly been extremely influential and is the primary reason the US currently has in place the the broadest sanctions of any of SA's major trading partners.

By raising it Dr Kitchen deftly suggests that the next president will be obliged to devote a lot more concern to domestic black aspirations if he is going to have any hope of having a Southern Africa policy he can call his own, much less one that escapes the deadening dialectic of the sanctions debate.

Dr Kitchen herself evades the dialectic by refusing to confront the issue head on — again a wise manouevre — but rather dismissing it by insinuation.

Negotiation

Reagan's successor, she says, must recognise that 'conditions for negotiation do not exist on either side of the racial divide, and the black majority lacks both the organisational cohesion and the military capability to launch a classic revolution.'

In other words, the two main purposes of sanctions as understood by their sponsors — blackmailing Pretoria into 'genuine' negotiations or provoking revolution — are not currently achievable and will unlikely be promoted by the desperate measures currently espoused by the Democratic candidates.

The next Administration would be far wiser to recognise, however uncomfortable, that a stalemate exists and that Western energies would be much better spent keeping lines of communication open with all sides, the Government and the ANC included, while helping the disenfranchised 'prepare themselves for leadership roles in political, administrative, economic and other spheres of a post-apartheid society'.

Economy

'Note should also be taken' — and this is a particularly nice point — 'of recent Soviet counsel that the long-term interests of the forces for change in SA will not be served by actions calculated to demolish the infrastructure of the region's, indeed Africa's, most sophisticated economy.'

Unfortunately, Mrs Establishment though she is, Dr Kitchen's advice will not be heeded.

Americans of all political persuasions are interventionists at heart.

And so the *Chinatown* syndrome will continue.

Wise advice for the next US president: leave Africa alone

BUSINESS DAY

3/05/88

SIMON BARBER in Washington

WATCHING THE Reagan administration play out its last cards in Southern Africa brings nothing so much to mind as the final scene in Roman Polanski's "Chinatown".

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UDokotela

ILANGA

3-5, 1988

Dhlomo uliwinile elomhlaba

LESLIE NYASHENG

ETHEKWINI - Isicelo sikaMnuz. Adolphus Mpompo Mkhwanazi, abesifake enkantolo yamajaji eThekwini, ebanga isiza, uSite V. 863, eMlazi noDr. O. D. Dhlomo, uNobhala jikelele weNkatha, sichithiwe yinkantolo yamajaji ngolwesiNe.

Lokhu kwenzeka emuva kokuvumelana kwabameleli bommangali nommangalelwa ukuthi makwenziwe isivumelwano, kungakangenwa enkantolo, sokuthi abameleli bommangalelwa, bayehluleka. Ngakho-ke makuvunyelwanwe ngokuthi umangali makakwemukele ukuthi isiza ngesikaDr Dhlomo futhi wasithola ngokusemthethweni.

Kuvunyelwanwe futhi ngokuthi izindleko zonke zecala, zabameleli bobabili, bakaDr. Dhlomo, nabakhe uMnuz. Mkhwanazi zizokhokhwa ngayena uMnuz. Mkhwanazi. Kungenwe enkantolo sebazisa ijaji ngesivumelwano, nayo inkantolo yasemukela.

Isicelo ebesifakwe nguMnuz. Mkhwanazi enkantolo yamajaji beku- ngesokuthi uDr. Dhlomo; noVenesha N. Dhlomo; abanini bebhizinisi iKhanyas' Store C C kanye nabakwaMlazi Plaza C C mabazoziphe- ndulela enkantolo ukuthi kungani bengemiswe ekuqhubekeni nokwakha esizeni, Site V. 863 eMlazi, ngoba uMnuz Mkhwanazi ubethi singe- sakhe.

Esitatimendeni esifu-

ngelwe esibhalwe ngu- Mnuz. Mkhwanazi esi- phume ngabameleli bakhe benkampani yakwaMes- kin & Levy uthe; * incwadi yomhlaba iSite V. 863 eMlazi eyani- kezwa abangabamanga- lelwa ubethi mayithathwe njengento engekho; *Isiza esingu site V. 683, eMlazi sanikezwa yena ngokusemthethweni nga- phansi komthetho owa- bekwa nguHulumeni; UMnyango wezangaPha- kathi KwaZulu mawukhi- phe incwadi yomhlaba ngokomthetho kumuntu owayefake isicelo.

Esitatimendeni sakhe uDr Dhlomo uthi okuni- ngi okushiwo nguMnuz Mkhwanazi akusilona iqiniso. Yena akazange akhulume noMnuz Mkhwanazi ngalesisiza.

UMnuz Reuben Erastus Mfeka, imeya yaseMlazi, esitatime- ndeni sakhe uthe waye- khona emhlanganweni woMkhandlu womhlaka February 3, 1988 akezwa- nga kuphawulwa ngoku- thi uMnuz Mkhwanazi noDr Dhlomo sebefike esivumelwaneni nga- lesisiza okukhulunywa ngaso.

UDr Dhlomo ube- melwe ngabameleli bakwa Friedman & Friedman.

ILANGA

3-5, 1988



UMKHANDLU wokugcinwa kwamagugu aKwaZulu iKwaZulu Monuments Council, usukhiphe ibhuku lesithathu elinazonke izehlakalo ezithintene nomlando wesizwe samaZulu.

Lamabhuku ahlelwe ngendlela yokuba anikeze umqondo ophela ngomlando. Eminye imibhalo etholakalayo kulezizinsuku iqukethe umqondo wabaMhlophe beminyaka elikhulu eyedlule.

Lencwadi ixoxa kabanzi ngempi yasoLundi July 4 ngo-1987. Lapha kubonakala uMongameli weNkatha nonguNdunankulu waKwaZulu, uDr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, edlulisela ikhophi yalencwadi kuMnuz I.C. Watson onguMongameli wenhlangano yabaphathi bezimayini iMine Managers Association of South Africa. Obonakala ekanye nabo nguMnuz. E.A.M. Holmes oyiMenenja-jikelele yakwaTeba.

Bonke abaphathi abangu-43 abebekulomcimbi, banikezwe nguNdunankukulu ikhophi ngayinye yalencwadi.