

New focus on abuses against Press

17 March 1989

Daily News Foreign Service

WASHINGTON: South Africa continues to be one of 15 countries which are of major cause for concern to an American group monitoring abuses against the Press around the world.

In its fourth annual report, Attacks on the Press, the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) listed 51 incidents in South Africa out of a total of more than 800 cases worldwide in 1988.

The incidents are known attacks on journalists and the Press, and they include threats and silencing of individual journalists and their papers.

They also include killings. Twenty-six journalists were killed in the line of duty worldwide in 1988. Some were casualties of war, notably in Afghanistan.

Others were killed in circumstances that suggested they were targeted for what they had written. Two Brazilian reporters, given as an example by the committee, were shot after writing critical articles on powerful groups.

The report, released at a conference at the National Press Club in Washington this week, says the number of 1988 incidents was "many more" than those in 1987, although the figure did not represent an increase in Press abuses so much as CPJ's enhanced research capacities.

The CPJ made special mention of 15 countries in its 1988 report: Afghanistan, Burma, South Africa, Soviet Union, Chile, Czechoslovakia and Israel among them.

On South Africa, it reported the renewal of the Government ban on reporting the actions of security forces

and on first-hand coverage of unrest and that the Government had diversified its arsenal against the local anti-apartheid Press.

It said: "For the first time since the national state of emergency was imposed in June 1986, three newspapers were ordered closed for periods ranging from one to three months, on the grounds that they promoted revolution. Police confiscated issues of four publications but in 1987 there were no confiscations.

"The country's first anti-apartheid newspaper in Afrikaans encountered harassment within weeks of its launching in November, including an unprecedented requirement that it deposit R30 000 to register. And towards the end of the year, President P.W. Botha and Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha announced libel suits against three anti-apartheid newspapers or their editors.

"One measure announced by the Government, a registration requirement for small news agencies and freelancers, was withdrawn after vehement protest.

"In December, New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu was released after two years' detention without charge, but he was placed under heavy restrictions. Two other black journalists were in detention without charge at year's end, and another had been sentenced to a four-year term.

"Incidents involving foreign correspondents were down from 1987, prompting some observers to ask whether correspondents were submitting too quickly to the Government's media curbs."

The 'New Sobriety'

DAILY NEWS - 17/3/87

AFTER all the revelations about excessive drinking in the John Tower nomination controversy, the "New Sobriety" has hit the "Great Society" as Americans in increasing numbers turn their backs on drink. RAMSAY MILNE reports from New York.

SOCIOLOGISTS say that the anti-drinking movement is a social phenomenon of considerable significance because, unlike Prohibition, it is a massive, voluntary rejection of liquor.

Researchers tracking the drinking habits of Americans first began to note the shift away from hard liquor to aerated soft drinks in the early 1980s. They thought it was simply just another ebbing in the cycle of rising and falling consumption of alcohol.

But what seemed to be a passing fancy now appears to have taken root as a fundamental change in American culture.

Each year since 1980, Americans have drunk less beer, wine and hard liquor. From 1980 to 1987, beer consumption dropped seven percent, wine use fell 14 percent and consumption of distilled spirits went down 23 percent, according to a survey that also indicated that these trends will continue.

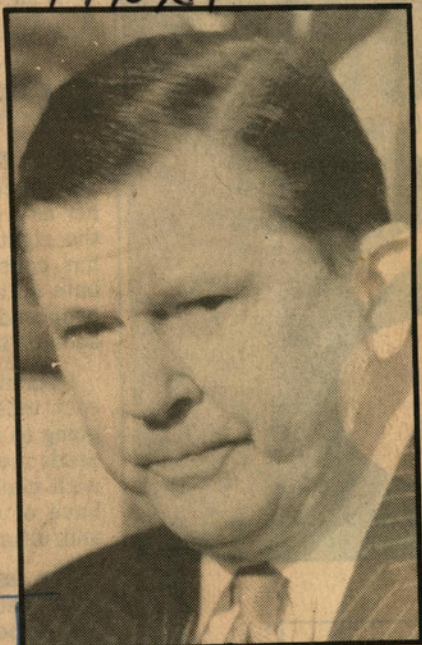
Trends

A number of disparate trends have combined to make drinking less attractive to Americans, who are able to enjoy what many regard as the most liberal liquor laws in the world.

The interest in health and fitness is one cause of the movement towards moderate consumption. An increased emphasis on work and productivity means less drinking in the work place. People are becoming more sensitive to the dangers of alcohol, with special interest groups waging campaigns against drunken driving and fighting to raise the legal drinking age.

"There has clearly been a real change in the American lifestyle," says Dr Howard Shaffer, director of the Centre for Addiction Studies at Harvard Medical School. "It is the new temperance movement, the new sobriety. One cannot say it will be permanent. But I don't see it changing for a long time."

Part of the decline springs from a



□ John Tower: drinking criticism

miscalculation. While the multi-billion dollar industry was launching promotion campaigns based on the assumption that when the "baby boom" generation reached minimum drinking age (between 18 and 21, varying state by state) they would take up their parents' habit of ending the day with a stiff drink. It just hasn't happened.

Not only are Americans drinking less, they have also become less tolerant of the drinking habits of others, as former Senator John Tower learned in his losing battle to become Defence Secretary.

In restaurants, where the trend to more moderate drinking began showing up nearly a decade ago, the change has become embedded, with surveys showing that the days of the two-martini, one-bottle of wine lunch are nearly over.

In certain circles, drinking is already passé. In the book publishing and magazine businesses in New York, for instance, where work is often done over lunch or dinner in restaurants, drinks are rarely part of the deal.

Much of the abstemiousness stems from the focus on work, not from moralism, or, as one business executive put it: "People who used to drink Scotch or vodka at lunch now have a glass of white wine, or aerated water. People work harder. It's a quicker pace. People want to be at the top of their game."

The "New Sobriety" may be less fun. But it shows that Americans, facing many new challenges, may at last be taking themselves more seriously.

Angry Mooi River residents may hold big anti-toll rally

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

MANY angry residents of the Natal Midlands, where emotions on the subject are reportedly "hotting up", have come out in favour of a mass rally protesting against the Mooi River tolls. The Daily News was told today.

And several people have offered money to pay for legal representation when a large group of alleged toll-breakers appear in the Mooi River Magistrate's Court next month.

Tolcon has laid nearly 600 charges against toll-busters this month. Warrant Officer George Nichas, of Mooi River, confirmed today. This number exceeds that of any previous month. Most of the people charged were from Estcourt.

Meanwhile, Estcourt people are "sitting tight"

until they have been addressed by Mr Ralph Hardingham, MP for Mooi River, on Monday morning.

One irate Midlands resident said that many people refused to use the alternative route through Nottingham Road and Rosetta, as it was not an alternative: "I helped pull many people from mangled wrecks caused by that road and the new N3 was partly built because of the many accidents on it."

"I won't let my wife drive on that dangerous stretch."

He said that emotions over the tolls in Estcourt and Mooi River were "hotting up".

The Daily News was told that one Estcourt woman who brought children for swimming training in Pietermaritzburg had paid R84 in tolls in one week.

Free Nelson then we negotiate — Mrs Thatcher

LONDON: The British Prime Minister said yesterday that negotiations on the future of South Africa could begin as soon as Nelson Mandela was released and she was optimistic that this would happen soon.

Speaking in the House of Commons yesterday, Margaret Thatcher said she had told Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, that Mr Mandela must be freed.

She told MPs: "We believe then the atmosphere would change completely and it would be possible to get negotiations started between the South African Government, blacks and the coloured people."

Britain is poised to play a role in setting up negotiations on the future of South Africa, but Foreign Office officials said yesterday that the leadership crisis in South Africa was preventing big decisions being taken.

"The ice is beginning to break," said one official, "but we still have

some way to go."

Mrs Thatcher is visiting southern Africa at the end of March, but has let it be known she will not go to South Africa unless Mr Mandela is freed and negotiations have begun.

In South Africa, National Party MPs appear to have backed off an attempt to force President P.W. Botha to resign.

The MPs held their weekly meeting yesterday, but a spokesman said the leadership question had not even been discussed.

Further evidence of warmer relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union emerged yesterday with the announcement that Moscow had invited prominent white South African academics and businessmen to hold talks with the African National Congress and Soviet representatives in the Soviet Union.—Independent News service

End to season of violence: Page 17

Government confirms that hunger strike has started again this week

500 detainees out since agreement

Daily News - 17 March 1989

Bruce Cameron
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: At least 500 detainees have been released since Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, agreed with churchmen to release substantial numbers of detainees four weeks ago.

Although no official confirmation could be obtained for the figures, reliable sources said today there were now between 350 and 400 people in detention.

The total number of detainees, including those released, was higher than the original estimate of 800 because there have been further detentions over the past four weeks.

Spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, today confirmed that the hunger strike had restarted as Mr Vlok had predicted in a statement in Parliament last week.

Brigadier Mellet said 85 detainees had gone on hunger strike on Monday but by yesterday a number had started eating again.

There were now 48 in Natal, mostly in Durban, and seven in the Transvaal still on hunger strike.

Senior police officers were probing the situation following Mr Vlok's claim last week that the renewed hunger strike was the result of some extraparliamentary organisations orchestrating it from the outside.

He said then that if a single detainee died of starvation the organisations would have to take responsibility.

The release of detainees comes at a time when the rate of detentions under the state of emergency had fallen off considerably.

According to figures released by Mr Vlok in Parliament yesterday, only 20 people had been held in detention for more than 30 days under the Public Safety Act whose names had not been included in the previous fortnightly lists.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP (PFP Houghton) said the drop-off in the rate was very encouraging but again voiced her opposition to detention without trial. She hoped the drop-off meant that the lifting of the state of emergency was imminent.

■ Natal hunger striker Mr Sandile Thusi has said after 28 days of refusing meals that he will not eat until he has been assured that he will be

charged or released soon.

Mr Thusi — a researcher at the University of Natal until his detention in June last year — was visited by his lawyers yesterday and is said to be weakening rapidly.

Meanwhile, at least 16 emergency detainees, who were being held in the Westville prison near Durban, were released late yesterday.

Their legal representative, Ms Saloshna Moodley, said no restriction orders had been issued at the time of their release.

INSIGHT

END TO SEASON OF VIOLENCE

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After meeting the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, this week, Mr Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, told South African reporters of a new era of co-operation in southern Africa. "The season of violence is over," he said. Mr Botha also spoke of an initiative to bring peace to Mozambique.

Mrs Thatcher is understood to have repeated to him her insistence that Nelson Mandela, the leader of the African National Congress, should be released. Mr Botha also dined with Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary.

SOUTH AFRICA may be on the verge of a concerted international drive for peace following Foreign Minister Pik Botha's talks with Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Moscow signals of a major shift in policy for ending apartheid. RICHARD DOWDEN, Africa Editor of The Independent, reports from London.

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"We do not want to emphasise the need to enlarge the armed struggle. South Africa should not be destroyed. It should also be spoken to not only through threats or pounding our fist on the table. There should be dialogue."

His words were backed by Mr Anatoly Gromyko, head of the Africa Institute in Moscow, who said: "There would have to be a programme of reforms submitted to nationwide discussion at which all sections of society would be

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Last week Mr Yukalov and Mr Gromyko attended meetings in Britain, sponsored by the Foreign Office, which were also attended by leading South Africans.

A senior US source at the conferences said that as Mr Chester Crocker, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, is retiring shortly, Britain was poised to take over the role of negotiation in the region. Senior Whitehall sources said Britain was playing a role in bringing South Africa and the Soviet Union together and important developments were expected shortly.

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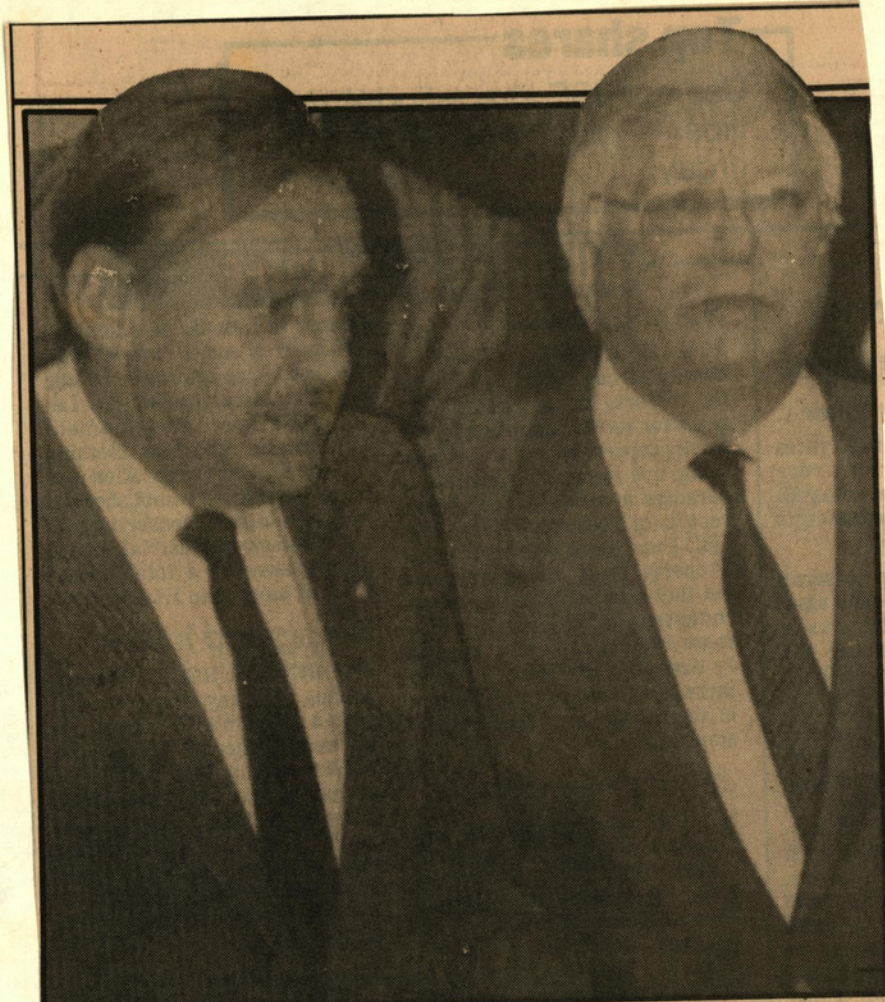
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Pretoria sees the settlement in Namibia as a chance to break out of its diplomatic isolation. Mrs Thatcher is visiting Zimbabwe and Malawi at the end of the month, and, as the only Western leader who stands firmly between South Africa and further sanctions, is well placed to play a role in forcing South Africa to change.

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END TO SEASON OF VIOLENCE.



FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha and British official Mr Charles Powell leave 10 Downing Street after a meeting with Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Hugh Dent's life meant total loyalty to conservation

A true pioneer of the Wilderness

I first met Hugh Dent in 1955 when he was supervising six cane farms in the Mtubatuba district. Ken Tinley who knew Hugh Dent from earlier days in Pietermaritzburg when they swam competitively, took me to meet Hugh.

I walked into the old farmhouse where there was only a table, a chair and a bed, but on the walls was a collection of wonderful portraits. I immediately saw Hugh as a potential Russell or Remington and pleaded with him to come and join our Parks Board team at Umfolozi Game Reserve.

I grew even more enthusiastic when I heard Hugh speak Zulu to an old induna who came to report to him.

Not only did he have a sound knowledge of and love of the Zulu language but a deep empathy with the Zulu people.

At that time in South Africa's history when apartheid's poison was reaching a peak with repressive legislation, Hugh's connection with the black people was to me a bright light in the darkness. To him the black people were people, such an astounding contrast in attitude to the local farming community.

We sat down to a dinner of puthu and mass and I probed Hugh, finding out more about his background.

He spoke matter of factly about his days at university in Maritzburg then his journey to London where he continued studying art and painted the portraits I saw on the wall.

He then told me of his service with the British South African Police and his time in the remount section.

It was clear that he was the kind of man we needed desperately in the Parks Board and particularly at Umfolozi, where Jum Feely, Ken Tinley and I were struggling against great odds, with poachers, hostile magistrates and suspicious chiefs.

But Hugh had other plans for his life and it took all the persuasive powers of Jim Feely, Ken Tinley and myself to get him to Maritzburg for an interview with Colonel Vincent who

VOICE FROM THE WILDERNESS

Ian Player



instantly recognized Hugh's many qualities and offered him a job.

Hugh accepted it and came to us at Umfolozi where we lived in rough conditions at Masinda. The game guards took to him

immediately and his knowledge of Zulu and wonderful rapport with the people soon made us many friends amongst our neighbours.

Hugh took me to Chief Buthelezi who he said was destined to become a great political leader.

Hugh had little time for politics but he recognized in Chief Buthelezi a man who was a real leader. It was for me the beginning of a friendship that has spanned some 35 years.

Hugh had another old friend at Mahlabathini, Falaza Henderson, a storekeeper and a great friend to Chief Buthelezi, and I will never forget being with these three men and listening to them talking about our country at a time when there was terrible hate and sick legislation.

They had the true Christian attitude and forgave those who trespassed against them.

Hugh was an outstanding game ranger. He trained game guards, did long horseback patrols and fought poachers. We had many conversations about art, reluctantly on his part because he was far too active and there was a block in his mind to painting, but he did sketches for us and sometimes a painting which showed glimpses of his intuitive understanding of the wilderness.

He re-introduced me to the writing of Grey Owl, perhaps the greatest wilderness writer of all time. Hugh had a great yearning to be a cowboy and he loved the stories of the North American Indians. They had



many of the stoical qualities that Hugh had and he walked in the bush with the same feeling for its wildness as the Red Indians.

Hugh Dent was no ordinary man. He was complex yet he himself lived by simple rules and one of them was total loyalty to the wilderness and the deeper meaning of conservation.

He left the Parks Board to go teaching but returned when I again pleaded with him, his time to take over the new job of wilderness trails officer. I had done it for a year and knew there was no other person better qualified than Hugh.

Some people considered him eccentric when he wore a beshu under his khaki Parks Board shirt and carried a wildebeest tail flywhisk, but people who were with him on trail came away with a fierce passion of the tiny wilderness area of Umfolozi and Lake St Lucia game reserves.

Whether he was walking along the Umfolozi rivers or canoeing at night across Lake St Lucia with mullet jumping and hippo snorting, Hugh never had fear. He accepted the wilderness and it accepted him. He lived at Lake St Lucia on a high tree platform, at one with the call of the fish eagles and the sound of surf on the eastern shores.

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A TRUE PIONEER OF THE WILDERNESS.

He was transferred to the Drakensberg and became the huntsman and chased the jackal, which he loved and admired because it had so much courage.

But Hugh was in his element on horseback and when he was on a horse, man and horse became one.

Hugh had a personality that appealed to everyone and whenever he talked there were people waiting to listen.

Hugh Dent was a teacher, a game ranger, artist, mystic and a real man. Those of us who knew him in earlier and later days will never forget him. He was our friend.

When I helped his son Chester and his cousins carry his coffin at his funeral I saw that someone had put the three-pointed Erythrina leaf of the Wilderness Leadership School and the mpafa leaf on the highly polished wood. Hugh would have appreciated this gesture because he knew what those leaves represented.

For Hugh not to be here leaves a terrible void for those of us who loved him.

INSIGHT

HOW the Owambo people will vote in the forthcoming United Nations-supervised elections is as simple as black and white: the blacks say one thing, the whites another.

The Owambo tribe constitute 52 percent of the total Namibian population and the way the people vote will largely determine who wins the election for a constituent assembly to write a constitution under which the country will come to independence.

Superficially the question may seem easy and any foreign journalist freshly into Windhoek will answer that Swapo, the South West Peoples Organisation, has the support of the vast majority of Namibians and will "walk the election".

Those whites who have lived and fought in the territory for years, and who readily tell anyone that they "know these blacks" will tell you Swapo won't get anywhere near winning.

One white policeman, seconded from South Africa, told me that the man in charge of the Owambo ethnic second tier administration, the Rev. Peter Kalangula, would "easily win" and, turning to his black colleague for confirmation, was told Kalangula was universally despised and would get very little support.

A South African administrator seconded to Mr Kalangula's administration told me that its black members were "100 percent Swapo".

In the schools and the churches of Owamboland the black teachers and priests will tell you that Swapo will easily win, as will most of the small educated elite throughout Namibia.

The white South African officers in charge of Owambo soldiers and policemen will tell you that Swapo will get virtually no votes because "the people are tired of their lies".

Owamboland, the vast flat plain stretching from the Etosha reserve to Angola, is the most populous area in Namibia, and as home to the majority Owambo tribe, is also the most crucial in the forthcoming political battles. Ken Vernon recently travelled to the area and spoke to the people on the ground about the political situation there.



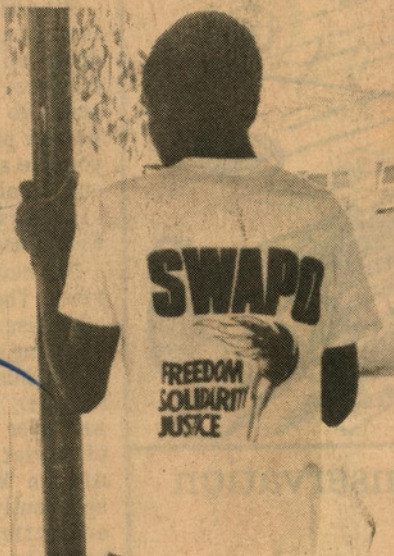
THE BIRTH OF NAMIBIA

Special reports by
KEN VERNON
The Daily News
Africa Service



'The Owambo gevaar'

Will Swapo attract enough support from the majority tribe?



Swapo t-shirts and slogans are beginning to appear in Owamboland after a long period



Two members of the family bodyguard of Owambo leader Gabriel Kautima, their weapons now taken from them, stand atop a gun shelter at his kraal at Oshikango.

But from the ground in the towns and villages and kraals throughout Owamboland the question does not appear to be so simple.

Swapo is largely an Owambo organisation, its leadership ranks are entirely Owambo, and it is true that it seems to enjoy overwhelming sup-

port in the area.

A survey being conducted in the area on behalf of "unknown" clients has found that Swapo enjoys about 70 to 80 percent of popular support.

But it is this support, and its uni-tribal make-up, that have created one of Swapo's biggest problems, a feeling of fear within other tribal

groups of being dominated by the Owambo. "Owambo gevaar" is the latest political catchphrase in Namibia.

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Several political alliances have been formed with the aim of thwarting Swapo from winning the necessary two-thirds majority it needs to dictate terms in the constituent assembly.

But these organisations, such as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) led by Dirk Mudge, the United Democratic Front (UDF) of Damara leader Justus Garoeb and the Patriotic Front of Herero leader Moses Katjiuongua, seemingly cannot stop Swapo from still being the majority party if it sweeps Owamboland.

It is in Owamboland itself that the fight will be won or lost for Swapo, and it is here that a major effort is being made to stop Swapo.

The Owambo people consist of seven tribes, of which the Kwanyama are the largest, making up 37 of the Owambo.

The most senior chief of the Kwanyama is Gabriel Kautima, leader of the National Democratic Party, which in turn is a

member of the DTA.

He is a man who wields tremendous influence over his tradition-bound tribesmen, and a man who is an avowed enemy of Swapo.

He says Swapo has made seven attempts to kill him by attacking his isolated kraal, and planted 13 landmines along the road to his front door, one of which killed a good friend.

His influence can be gauged by the fact that Untag leader, General Dewan Prem Chand, made a little-known visit to his kraal by helicopter last week especially to consult with the old man.

In the many rural areas I visited during a tour of Owamboland, most people told me they would vote the way their headmen indicated, giving an idea of the power of the traditional leaders.

Senior headman Gottlieb Dan of the Kwanyama told me that his people, who live near the Angolan border, were tired of Swapo killing

THE OWAMBO GEARA! DAILY NEWS - 17/03/89

vantage over Swapo, whose supporters have for years refused to register and who have boycotted local elections.

Swapo also seems to be relying heavily on support from refugees who have returned or will return to Namibia, but it could be disappointed in two ways.

Firstly the United Nations monitoring group which will decide on the eligibility of voters works according to a narrowly defined legal definition of a political refugee as someone who has fled to another country because of political repression and been duly recorded as such, with dates, by the relevant authorities in that country.

Most of the Swapo supporters who simply walked across the undefined border into a part of Angola where there was little government control and joined Swapo camps there, may not thus qualify according to the UN.

Swapo undoubtedly has almost total support among the youth of Namibia as the party who fought the liberation war, but, if as suggested by South Africa's Administrator General, the voting age limit for the election is set at 21 years, then up to 30 percent of Swapo's support could be lost.

Finally there is the question of voter intimidation, which could be a major factor given that it is generally agreed by soldiers and policemen in Owamboland that the Untag forces are nowhere near large enough effectively to police the area during the election.

Swapo are said to have been employing a tactic successfully used by Robert Mugabe's Zanu party during the Zimbabwean independence election and threatening that if they lose the election they will return to the bush and continue the "struggle" — something that no voter wants to see happen.

This is a powerful propaganda message in Owamboland where families have been split in two by the war, with some brothers fighting for Swapo and others in the SWATF.

If there is a single message coming from the people of Owamboland it is "the war must end because we want our children back".

On the other side there is a fear, expressed even by white SADF and SWATF officers, that the Owambos who fought against Swapo will not tolerate the presence of their avowed enemies to fight even a peaceable election campaign.

"The first Swapo fighter that walks into a cuca shop in Ondangwa will die," I was told by one officer.

Opinions may be black and white in Owamboland, but the result of the voting is far from being the same.

and kidnapping their children and would vote against them in the election.

If Chief Kautima can lead the majority of the Kwanyama to vote for the DTA, then that, combined with the votes gathered by other Owambo splinter parties (such as the Swapo-democrats led by Andries Shipanga and the Christian Democratic Action for Social Justice party of the Rev. Peter Kalangula) will effectively deny Swapo not only the two-thirds they seek, but possibly even a simple 51 majority.

Another factor ignored by most analysts is that while Swapo may enjoy majority support, that alone does not win elections. Chanting, poster waving crowds may be impressive, but to win a party needs to ensure that it gets a majority of eligible voters to vote for it.

It is here that the parties that have been organising and registering voters on the ground for years have a major ad-

INSIGHT

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17 MARCH 1989

SWA border checks to monitor influx of aliens

By Tony Stirling

ALL persons travelling to and from South West Africa will have to submit proof of identity with the institution of a monitoring system by the South African Government from Monday, March 20.

This was announced in a statement yesterday by the Director General of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl.

Mr Van Zyl said the monitoring of the movement of people crossing the border between South Africa and SWA had been taken in terms of a decision after consultation with the Administrator General of SWA.

It had been made specifically because of the expected influx of a large

number aliens who were granted conditional entry into South West Africa for purposes connected with the implementation of the SWA independence plan.

Orderly control of these persons required that everyone crossing the border, including residents of South Africa, would have to be subject to proper identification.

As from Monday, members of the South African police would be monitoring posts at 10 points.

These were Alexander Bay, Noenieput, Onseepkans, Rietfontein, Narogas, Vioolsdrif and four posts at Walvis Bay.

As from the same date officials of the National Parks Board would be monitoring a post at Mata-Mata.

Rail passenger traffic would be monitored between Walvis Bay and Swakopmund and between Upington and Ariansvlei.

Arrangements for those travelling by air would be announced as soon as possible.

Initially the posts will be manned on a 24-hour basis daily, but these service hours might subsequently be adjusted to suit the actual requirements of travellers.

At the monitoring posts, whether by train or road, a number of documents could be used for identity purposes. These were a South African or South West African identity document, a South African reference book, official and diplomatic passports, including

South African passports, and a variety of travel documents and travel certificates, as well as birth certificates for persons under 16.

Groups such as scholars could use a collective travel certificate.

Foreigners who did not have permanent residence in South Africa or SWA would require valid passports from their countries of origin as well as a visa for South Africa, unless they were citizens of countries exempted from visa requirements.

Foreigners leaving or who had left South Africa or SWA would still require a valid passport and return visa on re-entry.

Friday 17 March 1989



The second-in-command of the Untag in SWA, Brigadier-General DANIEL OPANDE, of Kenya, inspects a Danish troop, one of 103 who arrived in Windhoek yesterday. At Gen Opande's side is the officer commanding the Danish contingent, Major JENS KOEFOED.

Swapo gets R12-m for poll campaign

ADDIS ABABA. — The organisation of African Unity yesterday gave the South West Africa People's Organisation a cheque for \$5 million (R12-m) for its campaign in the forthcoming elections.

"It is an encouragement to Swapo in its difficult struggle to win the SWA elections, and to launch an onslaught to drive the racists from

SWA, not through arms this time but through the ballot," said Swapo President Sam Nujoma.

The money was part of R16 million OAU promised Swapo during the February Foreign Ministers conference. Mr Oumarou made no mention of when the OAU, itself perpetually plagued by lack of funds, would deliver the

balance. — Sapa-APR

De Cuellar begs money 'for Swapo'

WINDHOEK. — A Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) spokesman says nothing can be allowed to jeopardise the implementation of UN Resolution 435, which he describes as the only solution to the future of South West Africa.

Reacting to reports that the Secretary-General of the world body, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, had circulated an invitation to members of the UN to contribute to certain trust funds, known to be sources of income for Swapo, the spokesman warned that deviation from 435's strict code of impartiality could have dire consequences.

Details of the Secretary-General's invitation were released by news agencies yesterday morning and confirmed in Windhoek by a copy of the document addressed to South Africa's permanent representative at the UN, Mr Jeremy Shearer.

The invitation from Dr De Cuellar for members of the world body to contribute to the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, specifies the funds as being the UN Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa, the UN Fund for Namibia, General Account, the UN Trust Fund for the Nationhood Pro-

gramme for Namibia, and the Trust Fund for the UN Institute for Namibia.

Stressing the seriousness of the matter less than a fortnight before implementation date, the

spokesman again emphasised the DTA's commitment to content as well as letter and spirit of Resolution 435.

He said it was not only the Secretary-General, but also the South African Administrator-General who should be setting the pace and example of impartiality.

The people of SWA were entitled to expect the architects of its destiny to keep their word.

The spokesman expressed his satisfaction that Swapo had proclaimed to accept reconciliation, rather than violence, as the basic principle from which to negotiate the future of SWA.

He added he also agreed with Swapo's view that a free and fair election would determine who the authentic representatives of the people of SWA were. — Sapa.

'They aim to confine Swapo during polls'

Nujoma accuses SA, US, UK of plotting

ADDIS ABABA. — Swapo chief Mr Sam Nujoma accused South Africa, the United States and Britain of plotting to prevent his forces from taking part in the territory's general elections in November.

He warned that such a

move would be strongly resisted.

"I am aware of manoeuvres by racist South Africa, with the support of Britain and the United States, to confine Swapo fighters to their bases in Zambia and Angola during the elections," Mr Nujoma said.

"We are not going to tolerate such mischief... Swapo will open fire and fight to the end. We cannot be pushed around and let Namibian fighters be driven out of the country during the election period," he added.

Mr Nujoma was speaking at a ceremony in Addis Ababa where he received a cheque for R12 million from Mr Ide Oumarou, secretary-general of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

The money is an OAU gift to help Swapo in the polls that will lead next

year to independence for South West Africa.

The independence is part of a regional peace deal agreed by South Africa, Cuba and Angola at US-mediated talks last year.

Swapo, which is favoured to win the elections, and African states have already expressed fears that South Africa will try to rig the election after the UN Security Council cut the SWA peacekeeping force during the polls to 4 650 from the 7 500 originally planned.

Mr Nujoma said South Africa had brought into SWA 40 000 Angolan rebels and 40 000 Blacks from its tribal homelands to try to rob Swapo of an electoral win.

In addition, he said, Pretoria had raised the voting age to 21 from 18 and many young Swapo followers would be barred from the vote. — Sapa-Reuter.

CITIZEN

17 MARCH 1989

MANDELA MAY SOON BE FREE — MAGGIE

Citizen - 17 March 1989

LONDON. — British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, said yesterday that she was optimistic that jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, would be freed soon.

She was speaking in Parliament the day after her first official talks with a South African Government Minister since 1984. Answering questions,

Mrs Thatcher said she had urged the release of Mandela, jailed for life in 1964 on charges of organising violent revolution, in talks on Wednesday with South African Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who made a surprise visit to London.

Granting Mandela his freedom "would change the atmosphere completely" in South Africa and make it possible to start

meaningful talks between the government and the country's Black and other communities, Mrs Thatcher said.

"I think a number of people in South Africa in very high places take the same view, but have not been able to bring it about. I remain optimistic that before very long they will be able to do so."

Mr Botha told British television on Wednesday

that he looked forward to the day Mandela could be released unconditionally.

Mrs Thatcher praised Pretoria's role in helping to bring about the independence process under way in South West Africa and the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

"It is very, very good news indeed and would not have been done with-

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Mandela may be free soon — Maggie

FROM PAGE 1

out the overwhelming co-operation of South Africa. It augurs well for the future of Southern Africa as a whole," she said.

Mrs Thatcher will visit Zimbabwe and Malawi as part of a week-long African tour at the end of this month, but aides said she had no plans to go to South Africa itself.

Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, leader of Britain's Anti-Apartheid

Movement, attacked Mrs Thatcher over her talks with Mr Botha.

He said Mr Botha's diplomatic trip to Europe was a determined effort by Pretoria to reap political gain from the agreement over South West Africa.

"The tragedy is that South Africa only entered into negotiations over its withdrawal because of international pressures and the success of the freedom struggle," Archbishop Huddleston said.

"Mrs Thatcher, by receiving Mr Pik Botha, is relaxing the pressure on Pretoria and therefore undermines the very negotiations which it claims to advocate."

Mrs Thatcher's talks would "only bring comfort to the apartheid regime". — Sapa-Reuter.

17 March 1989

Time for new team to take over reins

AN important question now facing the National Party, the government and ultimately the country as a whole is whether the State President will insist on staying in office or if an arrangement can be reached to facilitate his early retirement.

The fact of the matter is that at no time during these past few decades has South Africa reached such a low point in the field of international relations as it did under the current Presidency.

The situation in the economical arena is just as bad. The rand is rapidly becoming one of the more worthless currencies on the international money markets and we are surely on our way to becoming an impoverished banana republic.

Some might say that all this has nothing to do with the President or his leadership. That all this is the result of pressures, boycotts and sanctions

forced upon us by a hypocritical and vindictive outside world.

Maybe so. But many will also say that it is precisely at times of crisis that a country is in need of determined and inspiring leadership locally as well as internationally, politically as well as economically.

And in all honesty, it is difficult to see where exactly the greatness of our present leadership lies.

So possibly after all the President should take heed of the writing on the wall. In view of his age, his state of health and of the fact that the National Party has already elected a new leader, he should now gracefully give up his office and retire.

The time is more than ripe for a new team to take over with immediate effect the challenge and responsibility of running the country.

**SOUTH AFRICAN
Orange Grove**

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Treatment of PW is 'a disgrace'

I THINK it is absolutely disgraceful the way PW is being treated, because he dared to fall ill. Anyone would think that an illness is something suffered only by the elderly, which in my experience is a complete fallacy. I work in an office where we have 28 permanent staff members, 17 of which are under 50 and the balance of 11 between 50 and 65. I also keep the leave records and looking back at last year's records, which are no exception, 95 days sick leave were taken by the under 50s and 17 days by the over 50s which gives an average of 5,5 days and 1,5 days respectively.

The older person knows that if he is off for every little sniffle his job could be on the line and

he also knows that he will be discriminated against in today's market place where the younger people wait around to "inherit" a position, rarely attempting to earn it. Their attitude is "so what, if I lose my job a thousand other companies will be only too happy to have my valued services". Surely age should not be a factor, but rather performance and in PW's case surely he should first be given the opportunity to show whether or not his past illness will effect his work detrimentally before calling for his resignation.

PW was chosen over and above much younger men because he was con-

sidered the man for the job, and until it can be shown that he is not able to fulfil his duty, he should be allowed to continue for the remainder of his term of office.

The Left and Right Wingers in the Press are using this opportunity to sow disharmony in the NP and they will be foolish to allow themselves to be inveigled into this position.

I am the one to say thank you to a man who has given so many of his best years to serving his country, he must ignore those few ingrates.

**APPRECIATIVE TAX-
PAYER**

Germiston

Accusations on reporters creates false impression — Stoffel

Citizen 17 March 1989

THE accusation that steps had been taken against individual reporters under security measures when they were "only doing their job" created a false impression, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said yesterday.

Speaking during a debate on a private member's motion by Mr Dave Dalling (PFP, Sandton) that government muzzling and harassment of the Press be condemned, he said the media emergency regulations had not been introduced to protect the government against criticism.

There was a general agreement that if rights were to be enjoyed by all, they had to be subject to qualification.

Leaders in the media world "readily acknowledge that freedom of the Press cannot be an absolute right".

Mr Botha moved an amendment that the House, while reaffirming its commitment to pursuing the objective that the public should be as fully and objectively informed as is permitted by considerations such as decency, the threat to public safety and the maintenance of

public order, express:

- Its appreciation to the vast majority of members of the media who performed their tasks with responsibility and dedication;

- Its disapproval of the fact that in these times material which was a threat to public safety or the maintenance of order, or was calculated to have this effect, continued to be published "to such an extent that it is imperative to address the publishers concerned in accordance with the existing media emergency regulations".

Mr Dalling said in his motion that by muzzling the free Press in South Africa, the government had damaged the state of democracy in the country and seriously impaired the right of all South Africans to be fully informed on current events and developments in their land.

He was moving a motion that the House, reaffirming its commitment of the right of the public to be fully informed, condemns the government's use of arbitrary executive powers during the past two years to muzzle the free Press, to suspend and close down newspapers and other publications opposed to it, and to harass, restrict and detain journalists doing their jobs.

Mr Dalling said there was no doubt a free and inquiring Press formed part of the very foundations of democracy.

Just as streetlights at night were proven deterrents to crime, the media were the streetlights of society — if the Press was free.

"In ideal conditions of darkness, of secrecy and security from discovery, those whose trade it is to perpetrate evil, can thrive unchecked.

"Under those same conditions, many people, otherwise law-abiding, will perversely do things and commit acts they would never contemplate, if they thought they would be found out."

These unpleasant realities were not confined only to crime and violence.

"They transport themselves into many spheres of life — into business transactions, financial dealings and, most particularly, into the conduct of public life," Mr Dalling said.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

17 March 1989

Soviet 'role'

IS the Soviet Union going to play a role for peace in South Africa as it did behind the scenes, in Angola and South West Africa? And if it does, will it mean that terrorism by the African National Congress, which it backs with weapons and limpet mines, will come to an end under Soviet pressure?

Clearly Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, is confident this will happen.

Speaking in London, he welcomed comments by senior Soviet officials rejecting a military solution to racial conflicts in South Africa.

"Of course, this will help us find a solution to our problems. I believe, in general, that the season of violence is over since the Soviet Union decided not to pursue its global interest in violence and terrorist organisation.

"Whether the ANC likes it or not, the season of their methods is over."

Mr Botha's confidence is based on a statement by Mr Yuri Yukalov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department of African Countries, that "we would prefer a political settlement and want apartheid to be dealt with by political means.

"Any solution through military means will be short-lived. There should be dialogue."

This view was reinforced by Mr Anatoly Gromyko, director of the Soviet Academy of Science's Africa Institute, who said majority rule in South Africa could only be achieved through stages.

"There would have to be a programme of reforms submitted to nationwide discussion at which all sections of society would be represented," he said.

"This will mean sitting down for negotiations for two, three or however many years necessary to solve the problems."

But Mr Vasili Solodovnikov, a senior member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and an African specialist, took a tougher line, saying he opposed talks with members of the South African Government. He also defended the use of armed force, saying that it was justified by "government violence".

At the same time, the ANC made it clear in Moscow that it intended to intensify the "military" campaign to end apartheid.

This does not suggest it is under any Soviet pressure to end the so-called "armed struggle".

But even if the Soviet Union wants a peaceful solution, it is not the kind of solution that South Africa wants.

It seeks not only the end of apartheid, but majority rule. Since it supports the ANC with its SA Communist Party component, it is an ANC government that it wants installed in Pretoria.

Peace at any price is out — particularly if it is peace on the terms the Soviet Union hopes to achieve.

The Russian Bear may try to make itself out to be a tame animal, but it is as dangerous as it has always been.

Nat branches don't want Windmill Park to be Indian

By Helen Truter

THE National Party branch of Dawn Park and the Germiston District divisional office is against declaring Windmill Park in Boksburg, an Indian residential area.

Brigadier Kobus Bosman, MP for Germiston District, was reacting to a call by the CP for him to resign from Parliament for "betraying the trust of his voters".

The CP claimed Brig

Bosman "guaranteed" that Windmill Pak would stay White, a promise which the government had now broken.

Brig Bosman said: "This reaction is ironical as the government had to step in because of an irresponsible decision by the CP town council.

"Temporary permits are now being granted to

stop the council from dragging the name of Boksburg, and South Africa, further into the mud.

"The decision to cut power to Indian families would have resulted in a tarnished image for both Boksburg and SA."

Brig Bosman said all parties concerned would be given the opportunity to state their point of view during the investigation

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Nat branches reject Indians

FROM PAGE 1

by the Free Settlement Board.

He and his divisional committee were against the proclamation of Windmill Park, and the adjacent Finaalspan, as an Indian area because Villa Liza would more than meet the foreseeable housing requirements for East Rand Indians.

"We are aware of the continued efforts of a Boksburg property developer to try and force the

area to become Indian in spite of the government's decision.

"I have great empathy with the individuals who have consequently found themselves in an unenviable position. We will give evidence in this regard before the board.

"I will put SA's interest first, and in spite of the CP council trying to make cheap politics of this issue, I will look after the interests of my voters as best I can," said Brig Bosman.

18 Africans to quit 'racist' China

BEIJING. — A group of 18 African students from Senegal will leave China over the next five days because they say China is racist and life had become intolerable.

Alpha Ndirye, a Senegalese student, said yesterday he and six other Senegalese students will

stay behind to finish the school year and then follow their countrymen home.

When they leave, he said, Senegal will have no more students in China.

Two Senegalese diplomats contacted yesterday refused comment. Beijing denies all charges of racism.

The departure would

mark the first time African students have left China en masse since anti-Black racial incidents exploded in four Chinese cities in December and January.

The incidents started in the eastern city of Nanking when Africans and Chinese fought on Christmas Eve after Africans tried to bring Chinese

girlfriends to a school dance.

Chinese later stoned the Africans' dormitory and marched through Nanking's streets, shouting "Kill the Black devils" and demanding that Africans involved in the fight be punished. One African was held by police for 25 days and two

others were detained for two weeks.

One of them, Alpha Robinson of Ghana, left China.

Lesser confrontations involving alleged racism against African students occurred in Beijing and two other cities. About 500 African students boycotted classes at the Beijing languages institute.

They returned to classes on February 22 after the end of winter vacation.

Ndirye said the Senegalese were returning home because they believe that "China is racist".

"Everywhere we go they still call us names and rub our skin to see if we will become whiter," he said. "The situation has become intolerable." — Sapa-AP.

Police 'must not be seen as the enemy'

Citizen Reporter

THE Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt, says the police should not be regarded as the enemy and has warned that strong action will be taken against those who disrupt law and order.

He was speaking at a function on Wednesday when the Nigel Town Council presented its annual honorary shield to the SAP.

The award is given annually to the organisation

or individual who has achieved success in or for South Africa.

Nigel's mayor, Mr J le Roux, said the award was being presented for the exemplary way in which the SAP had handled tense situations during the municipal elections last year.

"With this award you are telling those revol-

utionary forces, which are trying to drive a wedge between the police and the public, that they are not going to succeed.

"Our country is still under pressure from the onslaught from Moscow through the SA Communist Party, the ANC and the PAC.

"Through sporadic violence our enemies are

trying to give the impression that our country is ungovernable and will fall into communistic hands.

"South African and foreign countries are beginning to see that our people are standing together just as strongly as before. They have seen the positive results of police action to overcome anarchy and violence." Gen De Witt said.

US Blacks' quality of life worsens

By Robert Dvorchak

NEW YORK. — A quarter of a century after the Civil Rights Act outlawed racial discrimination, the quality of life for Blacks has substantially declined in some respects, recent studies show.

The studies, including a report released on Wednesday by the Department of Health and Human Services, also show a vast disparity between the average lives of Whites and Blacks.

The reports paint this cheerless picture: Blacks are twice as likely as Whites to die at birth; the survivors have shorter, harsher lives; they have twice the trouble getting jobs, and are three times more likely to be poor.

"The nation cannot allow such a significant part of its citizenry to experience such disadvantages," said Mr Billy Tidwell, Director of Research for the National

Urban League in Washington.

Mortality rates

Of 1 000 Black babies born in 1984, 18.4 died before they were a year old. The mortality rate for White babies was 9.4 per 1 000 births, according to the National Centres for Disease Control.

Low birth weight and lack of proper medical care were the main cause of death, the CDC said.

The poor and under-educated are the least likely to get prenatal and follow-up care.

A Black child born in 1986 can expect to die six years sooner than a White child, according to the US Census Bureau. Life expectancy among Whites rose from 75.3 years to 75.4 years between 1984 and 1986. For Blacks, it dropped from 69.7 to 69.4.

The poverty rate for Blacks in 1986 was 31.1 percent, compared with the 11 percent rate for Whites, the Census Bureau said. The Black rate is worse than the 1969 figure of 28 percent.

The jobless rate among Blacks in 1987 was 13 percent, 2.5 times the 5.3 percent rate for Whites. If agencies counted Blacks who were so discouraged that they have quit looking for work, the rate approaches 25 percent, according to the National Committee for Full Employment.

The median Black family income in 1987 was 17,604 dollars (R44 900) compared with 30,809 dollars (R78 500) for Whites, according to the Urban League. That same year, 44.2 percent of Black families had incomes of less than 10 000 dollars (R25 500), more than triple the rate for Whites.

Black males have the highest death rates from accidents to violence of any ethnic group with 153 per 100 000. The White rate is 98.6 per 100 000, according to a 1984 Urban League report.

More in jail

Blacks make up 12 percent of the national population, but 34 percent of prison inmates are Black and 54 percent are White, according to the 1988 Corrections Yearbook.

Blacks are twice as likely than Whites to be infected with Aids. The infection rate rose 51 percent among Blacks last year, according to the Health and Human Services Department.

Black males had the greatest slippage in college enrolment among any racial or ethnic group over the past decade, according to a study in January by the American

Council on Education. Enrolment dropped from 4.3 percent in 1976 to 3.5 percent by 1986.

Fair housing is also a challenge, according to a February study in the Social Science Quarterly.

An Asian or Hispanic who has finished the third grade has a higher chance of living in an integrated neighbourhood than a Black with a doctorate.

"Blacks are exposed to higher crime rates, less effective educational systems, higher mortality risks, more dilapidated surroundings and a poorer socio-economic environment than Whites," said researcher Nancy Denton, of the University of Chicago.

"Integration is possible, even likely, for all ethnic and racial groups except Blacks." — Sapa-AP.

Inkatha defamation case: judgment reserved

Citizen - 17 March 1989

JUDGMENT was reserved in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday in a "test" case about whether or not a political party may sue for defamation.

The Sowetan newspaper published two articles on April 1 and 2, 1986 which Inkatha claims defamed the party.

The Argus company had denied the articles were defamatory. It has alternatively claimed that Inkatha, as a non-trading corporation, cannot be defamed.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, the general secretary of Inka-

tha, is suing the Argus Printing and Publishing Company and Mr Joe Latakomo, the former Editor of the Sowetan, for R7 000.

The reports were about the since-banned National Education of Crisis Committee's (NECC) resolutions on Inkatha.

According to papers, Dr Dhlomo maintains that readers of the Sowetan would have understood that, among other things, Inkatha

- Was guilty of committing, or of inciting, criminal acts; and
- Was co-operating with

the government in perpetuating or enforcing apartheid.

As a result of this, the reputation, dignity and esteem of Inkatha and its abilities to promote and further its aims and objects had been impaired.

The Argus company has denied that the articles were defamatory or that they were intended to mean — or in fact were understood by Sowetan readers to mean — what Inkatha alleges.

Alternatively, they claim that even if the allegations are established, Inkatha, as a non-trading corporation, cannot be defamed.

It has further stated in papers that the articles were published to inform Sowetan readers — as members of the public — of the proceedings of the NECC conference. The readers had the right to receive this information.

Mr Brian Doctor, appearing for the Argus company, said there was no doubt a judgment in favour of Inkatha could constitute a severe restraint on what hitherto

been the limits of public debate.

"Never had there been a case like this before," he said.

He said there were no known cases of any political party having sued for this sort of relief before. There was a general consensus there were no grounds for this claim.

He said people could say, for example, the National Party was guilty of this or that without worrying about defaming it; but people were cautious of saying Mr X of the National Party did this or that, knowing that the individual could sue for libel.

DET probe: State Printer not consulted on prices

Citizen - 17 March 1989

Court Reporter

OFFICIALS of the Department of Education and Training never thought to ask the State Printer if prices paid to Mr Tinus Strydom — son of the director of the department, Mr Jaap Strydom — for printed matter were reasonable or not,

the Van Den Heever Commission of Inquiry heard in Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Richard Beech, assistant director of community communication for the DET, testified for a third day before the commission, investigating alleged irregularities in

transactions worth R2,5 million concluded by DET officials with Mr Strydom Jr.

Mr Beech said a number of posters and other printed matter, obtained from Mr Strydom Jr, were taken as examples to a 1987 meeting between officials of his department and the State Printer, where the possibility of urgent work through state contractors was discussed.

Two questions by Mr Nollie Niehaus, for the commission, and Miss Justice Leonara van den Heever, who heads the inquiry, Mr Beech admitted this meeting would have been an ideal opportunity to ask the State

Printer if prices quoted by Mr Strydom Jr were reasonable.

But, he said, the discussion was not about finances, and no-one

thought to ask the State Printer such a question. Mr Beech denied a suggestion by Mr Niehaus that they were in fact afraid to ask about prices.

Mr Beech was yesterday questioned about correspondence between various state departments aimed at eventually obtaining a special delegation from the State Tender Board in order for the community communication division to negotiate with outside concerns to obtain publicity material.

He said his department never discussed a consultancy service with either the State Printer or Provision Administration, although he regarded it as implicit that such a service would have been included when they talked about the printing of posters.

The inquiry continues today.

SA accuses UN chief of favouring Swapo

CAPE TOWN. — South Africa accused United Nations Secretary-General Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar, yesterday of favouring Swapo in the supervision of Namibia's transition to independence.

The government said Dr Perez de Cuellar planned a conference on March 22, the UN international day for the elimination of racial discrimination, to raise money for organisations funding Swapo.

The conference takes place only eight days before UN troops and civil-

ian monitors begin supervising the independence process under the terms of a peace agreement which also provides for the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from neighbouring Angola.

"This really is a most serious complication," said Mr Neil van Heerden, South Africa's chief representative at the talks which last year negotiated the peace agreement.

"These funds were in the past always fronts for

the collection of funds for Swapo . . . the Secretary-General is sponsoring a fund which seriously compromises his impartiality."

Mr Van Heerden said four funds benefiting from the New York fund-raising conference were established Swapo fronts.

"I nearly had a heart attack," he told reporters in Cape Town. "If the parties inside Namibia get wind of this there is going

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to be hell to pay."

South Africa hopes to prevent Swapo from winning a two-thirds majority in general elections scheduled for November 1, which would give it full control over the drafting of an independence constitution.

Mr Van Heerden said the fund-raising drive violated an agreement between South Africa and

the UN on ways of ensuring the elections were free and fair.

The contributions and pledges have been an annual event for some years now and concerns the following funds:

- United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa;

- United Nations Fund for Namibia, General Account;

- United Nations Trust Fund for the nationhood programme for Namibia; and

- Trust Fund for the United Nations Institute for Namibia.

It was general knowledge that these funds were spent only on the advice of Swapo and therefore to their benefit.

Mr Van Heerden said a related matter was Swapo's estimate of the number of refugees outside the territory.

Over many years Swapo had inflated numbers of refugees it claimed to be harbouring in camps because countries such as Sweden paid their contributions to Swapo on a per capita basis.

The result was that whereas Swapo now spoke of 80 000 refugees, the UN itself estimated figures between 40 000 and 60 000 while some estimated that no more than 15 000 Swapo supporters were outside the territo-

ry's borders. — Sapa-Reuter.

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THE CITIZEN - 17 MARCH 1989

10-year incubation for Aids?

By Malcolm Ritter
NEW YORK. — Half of gay men who become infected with the Aids virus may remain free of the disease for nearly 10 years, about two years longer than recently reported estimates suggest, a study says.

The median incubation time of 9.8 years is "the best estimate so far," but medical treatments might make it longer, says researcher, Mr Andrew Moss.

He and a colleague, Mr Peter Bacchitti, of the University of California, San Francisco and San Francisco General Hospital presented the work in yesterday's issue of the British journal, Nature.

New approach

The study represents a new approach to estimating Aids incubation time, and "it's good work," John Kalbfleisch of the university of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, says.

Prof Kalbfleisch, a statistics professor who has done similar research, says incubation estimates are uncertain because too little time has passed since the earliest Aids infections to give a clearer picture.

Researchers analysed three studies that indicated trends in infection rates among San Francisco gay men since 1978, and compared them to monthly totals of new cases of Aids.

The analysis estimated incubation times that would be consistent with the two sets of data. It was not designed to determine the proportion of infected men who would eventually get Aids, Mr Moss says.

He believes incubation periods seen among people who are infected

by transfusions will eventually approach the 9.8-year figure.

He also believes the incubation period will be lengthened by giving infected people the drug AZT and an aerosol form of Fentamidine.

The work suggests that the number of new Aids cases among San Francisco gay men will decline after this year. Other studies suggest the number of new infections started to decline after 1982.

Several teams of researchers have previously estimated Aids incubation times.

Last year, prof Kalbfleisch and colleague J F Lawless suggested that half of adults infected by tainted blood transfusions may still be free of Aids 7.3 years after infection.

Also last year, researchers at the Centres for Disease Control in Atlanta and the San Francisco Department of Public

Health estimated an average incubation of 7.8 years among 84 gay men.

Other estimates

A British economist suggested a 15-year average incubation period in a 1987 analysis of blood transfusion data, but his study has since been criticised by other scientists. Another transfusion study that year estimated an eight-year average.

A report by the Institute of Medicine esti-

mated that 25 percent to 50 percent of infected people will develop Aids in five to 10 years.

Aids has struck 87,188 Americans and killed 49,976 since June 1981, according to the most recent CDC figures. Sixty-one percent of cases have occurred in gay or bisexual males.

The Aids virus is called Human Immunodeficiency Virus, or HIV. It is spread most often through sexual contact, needles or syringes shared by drug abusers, infected blood or blood products, and from pregnant women to their offspring.

— Sapa-AP.

Tutu preaches on suffering in Nicaragua

MANAGUA. — South Africa archbishop Desmond Tutu preached a sermon of solidarity with Nicaraguans this week, telling them that their suffering was a sign that they were special to God.

"We share with you here in Nicaragua and we say when you suffer in some ways God is saying, 'You are special to me'," Archbishop Tutu told some 300 people packed into a Managua church.

"Just look what God did to God's son. When you are God's favourite, God leaves you to hang on a cross."

Referring to Nicaragua's 1979 Leftist revolution and subsequent war against US-backed Contra rebels, Tutu said, "God set free the people of Nicaragua and everybody thought Heaven had come to earth.

"And then the war broke out and some of the rich of the world decided they wanted to teach the people of Nicaragua a lesson. The people of Nicaragua want peace but they are not able to get peace. The people of Nicaragua want to be able to live in harmony." — Sapa-Reuter.

FW urges critical look at school system

By Fred de Lange

THE Minister of National Education and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, Mr F W de Klerk, last night called for a new and critical look at the school system in South Africa.

Speaking at the opening of a new campus for the Onderwyskollege in Pretoria, Mr De Klerk said the country was still looking towards education and its leaders for the key contribution in the

acceptance of the challenges of the future.

"I have no doubt that a large part of the solution for South Africa's problems, rests in the quality of the education and provision of education of all its children."

Research had shown that the provision of education in the future would be radically influenced by demographic factors.

"Our population profile is beginning to change

and with that the need in terms of the level of education for the total population is increasing.

"And, with the increase in the education profile, the need for more work is increasing due to the increase in population."

"On the one side people leaving school need to be equipped for the demands of our time but on the other hand, the labour market must be able to absorb our children," he said.

A further factor was the scarcity of economic sources which was causing a big challenge for education.

The time had come for cost effective, quality education, Mr De Klerk said.

"As positive loyal citizens we must destroy the growing spirit of materialism and the reduction in ethical values."

"The answer does not lie in asking for more anymore."

Mr De Klerk also called for a change in the education of children.

"In the year 2000 we are going to need more adaptable people and it is the duty of the teachers to equip children for a fast-changing world."

"In South Africa we have to teach respect for others and we must allow each other the possibility of an own community life."

"It is also here where we have to work out an accord of co-operation with each other."

"Our children may not be allowed to leave school as strangers in the world and for that reason our children must be ready, by the time they leave

school, to live and build on their Christian and moral values in a responsible way.

"They must support and renew their own culture but at the same time be able to cross-pollinate from other cultures, they must take their responsibilities towards South Africa and be able to live and work in harmony with others," Mr De Klerk said.

SOWETAN - 17/3/89

Whites ask R6,6-billion

RACIAL exclusivity in the tricameral system of parliament came under fire in Parliament yesterday with the presentation of the three own affairs budgets.

The three racially exclusive own affairs budgets were delivered in Parliament with the whites asking for R6,6 billion, the coloureds for R2,7 billion and the Indians for R1 billion for the year.

White Minister of the Budget, Mr Kent Durr, interpreted the rising budget of the white house as a further indication "there is still positive advance in the expansion of the own affairs."

Decried

But his opposite numbers Mr A A Julies of the House of Representatives and Mr Ismail Kathrada of the House of Delegates in their budget speeches decried racial exclusivity and called for non-racial government.

Mr Kathrada hit the Government for not fully implementing the constitution of 1983 which stipulated that funds for own affairs administrations had to be allocated according to a formula.

The non-application "inevitably postpones the achievement of parity with white in several fields.

"The area of substantial certainty in the funding of own affairs (in the constitution) which was a selling point of the tricameral system, is smaller than the area of complete certainty.

INKATHA SUES



**Colourful
opening**

ZULU warriors and women in traditional garb sang and danced at the opening of the first session of the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assem-

bly at Ulundi this week. Mr Chris Heunis, who was then acting State President, officially opened the session.

THE main issue of a trial, which began in the Rand Supreme Court this week, concerns whether Inkatha has the right to sue for defamation.

The action was brought by Inkatha's secretary general, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in his private capacity.

The defendants are the Argus Printing and Publishing Ltd and the former editor of the *Sowetan*, which published the articles complained of, Mr Joe Latakomo.

The articles were published on April 1 and April 8, 1986, and dealt with matters discussed at the National Education Consultative Committee (NECC)'s congress held in Durban at the end of March 1986. (The NECC has since been banned.)

The trial, being heard by Mr Justice M S Stegman, is the sequel to other court cases. The *Sunday Tribune* carried similar articles and when Inkatha attempted to sue that newspaper it said Inkatha, as a non-trading company, had no right to sue.

This view was upheld by the court and Inkatha appealed. The appellate Division decision said a non-trading company can sue in certain circumstances, such as when defamatory statements would cause financial prejudice.

But the question of whether an organisation with a political character can sue was left open.

The amount mentioned in papers was R25 000. (Proceeding)



Mr CHRIS Heunis, who was then Acting State President (centre), with KwaZulu Legislative Assembly Speaker, Mr S T Mthimkhulu (right), and presidential aide, Mr T Butler, stand in attention as the national anthems are sung.

ANTHEMS

SOWETAN - 17 MARCH 1989

SIMILAR

- HEUNIS

IS THERE any similarity between the black national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika*, and the white *Die Stem*?

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

Chris Heunis, says the two have a lot in common.

Mr Heunis drew attention to this when he

opened the fifth KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi on Tuesday.

Speaking of the abundance of common aspirations and beliefs among "all South Africans" he said: "Just as an example I invite you to compare the words of *Die Stem van Suid Afrika* with those of *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika*.

"I have studied the words of *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika*.

"Ignoring the political relevance that has become attached to the song, there is nothing in these words with which I cannot associate myself with. There is nothing in *Die Stem* with which any black South African cannot associate himself," Mr Heunis said.

He said *Die Stem* and the last seven verses of

the black anthem were written at about the same time, "both by well-loved poets.

"Both contain the same yearnings, the same aspirations and the same submission in prayer to the hand of the Lord.

"The fact that one sings *Die Stem* and another *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* is no indication that their strivings and aspirations are different.

"Enoch Sontonga in writing the first verse of *Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika* asked the Lord to bless Africa; in the other seven S E K Mqhayi prayed for the Lord's blessings and guidance for the leaders, the men, the women and the children, and again for Africa," Mr Heunis said.

"Langenhoven concluded the prayer in the last verse of *Die Stem* with the words:

"As our fathers trusted humbly, teach us, Lord to trust Thee still;

"Guard our land and guide our people in Thy way to do Thy will."

Students gunned down

AT LEAST three University of the North students were shot and injured — one in the head — when campus control personnel opened fire on chanting students on the eve of a boycott that started yesterday.

The injured, Mr Solly Matlala (26), of Seshego, Mr Alfred Dlamini, also of Seshego and Mr Mogale Charles Puane (26), of Burgersfort, have been admitted to the Pietersburg, Mankweng and Garankuwa hospitals respectively, Mr Puane was hit by four pellets in the head.

The shooting followed the expiry of a deadline set by students for the

On eve of boycott, Turfloop explodes

university administration to readmit 472 students.

The university has said these students, who were refused readmission, had failed all courses. Vice rector, Mr John Malatji, said the university could not readmit them now as they had already admitted more than the 6 500 ceiling.

The boycott resolution was adopted at a meeting held last Friday. The meeting also called for the immediate dismissal of business economics faculty head, Professor W J Botha, who has been linked to the Conservative Party in Pietersburg's town council.

The students gave the university up to Good Friday to dismiss Prof Botha. In its response, the university said the issue was being investigated and would be attended to by the university council which will meet on March 31.

Page 10

SOWETAN, Friday, March 17, 1989

Slogans take us nowhere

SIR — Allow me please to reply to Daniel D Seabelo's letter about education (*Sowetan* 28/03/89).

The first paragraph of the letter read, "please allow me to air my views

on education." The tone of the letter could easily mislead one into thinking he was going to come up with some novel idea, something philosophic or some creative thinking, which I learnt with repugnance was not to be. "His views" were of the man in the street, to say the least.

To his school of thought (since this is not the first letter of this genre) I would like to say slogans like "Education is the goose that lays the golden egg", "Education is the key to success" and the like, are known and acknowledged by all, the rank and file or at least those who can read a newspaper. So the least said about them the better, unless in a class debate.

Without condoning

the boycott of classes I want to advise him to please study the reasons for, and the circumstances surrounding the boycotts before pointing accusingly at (sometimes) innocent pupils.

Hasn't he realised that these boycotts happen to be the only language that the authorities understand? Our history bears testimony to that.

His letter proves beyond any reasonable doubt that he is a victim of what Bishop Tutu aptly calls slave mentality. He owes it to his fellow black compatriots to repent, for wittingly or not he is totally not running with the hares but hunting with the hounds.

DANIEL "FIRE"
RAMOLLO

Winterveldt

day, March 17, 1989

SOWETO

WHEN the ebullient Gaby Magomola became chief executive of the African Bank in April, 1987, he took over a financial institution that had a tarnished image.

He took over at a time when eight former employees were found guilty of charges relating to foreign exchange.

It was Mr Magomola's ambition to shape a new image for the financial institution, a brain-child of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, which represents black business people in the country.

Re-establishing the bank's credibility became Mr Magomola's primary objective.

After taking over he received support from many blacks and whites, including political organisations that hailed his appointment as "the right man at the right time".

But, there were some who were jealous of him, and critical, especially after he left his Soweto home to live in Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

They sneered at his American accent.

In a long memorandum presented to the board of directors of the bank before Mr Magomola's dismissal the staff said certain disturbing developments had caused "grave concern within the bank".

These included: The bank's financial position; dwindling staff morale; confusing and chaotic organisational structure; worsened channels of communication; irregular recruitment practices; the continued employment of white staff to senior positions; the racist attitude; Mr Magomola's style which lacked confidence; and his over-exposure in the public media which created the impression that the bank was a one-man show.

The memorandum said continuous losses were being incurred and the bank's financial position had deteriorated.

Staff morale had dwindled to a low ebb because of uncertainty about direction and an inevitable sense of insecurity.

The atmosphere at the bank was so bad that there was a totally confusing and chaotic organisational structure which lacked a lot in terms of clearly defined lines of responsibility, authority and line of relationships which resulted in communication breakdown.

They also claim that the channels of communication were worsened by cultural differences that were emerging not only between black and white, but also between black staffers themselves.

They claim there had been several cases of appointments made by the chief executive in mysterious circumstances. This was coupled with the continued employment of white staffers in key positions without any black secondments.

Another surprising factor was the racist attitude, typical of white

baasskap which excluded blacks in the corporate division.

They claim he expressed a total lack of confidence in black management, except for his friends.

In reply Mr Magomola said the memorandum was packed with wild accusations that had no foundation. It created a smokescreen to cloud

fears that prevailed over the retrenchments that were inevitable at the bank.

"I find it rather odd that the board has taken such a strong action over a clash with lower management," he said.

"I am terribly disappointed by the decision as I was acting in the best interest of the bank and its shareholders.

**Sacked
African
Bank
chief
Gaby
replies
to critics
who
claim his
actions
caused
grave
concern**



MOGOMOLA... "ethnic base has disadvantages."

MY VISION

FOCUS



SAM Motsuenyane... African Bank chairman.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

"I made a sound contribution to the bank leaving it in a far stronger position than it had been when I took the reins two years ago.

"I am still reeling with shock, he said, adding, "I have no immediate plans for the future".

Mr Magomola said he perceived the bank as an indigenous institution and belonging to the community. To many, it was a symbol of blacks' achievement against

Sowetan - 17 March '89

MY VISION

tremendous odds, he said.

A sophisticated institution like a bank required an infrastructure that took time to develop.

But as people move towards a more integrated economy and political legitimacy, their ethnic base, and even their name, may have its disadvantages, Mr Mogomola said.

He was committed to the cause of economic and political development, although he could not clothe himself in political garb.

His innovations had been an attempt to extend further bank share ownership to the community. To that end, he had plans to raise R5 million in equity capital

from workers employed in 10 progressive South African companies.

"The bank is a community-based organisation. We are not apostles of capitalism though we do believe in wealth creation. The bank is not an elitist bank, but has a mission to assist people to acquire wealth to improve their way of life," he said.

Some of the people who worked with Mr Magomola said he had a great vision for the bank.

"Despite his faults as a man, he was a nice guy who loved all and his job," a senior bank official who did not want his name mentioned, said.

Another said: "Gaby's appointment was an incentive to all of us after the bank's image was tarnished."

But others said he was "an impressionist" who was proud and underestimated views of lower management.

"He loved smart cars and clothes and even left township life to settle in the suburbs. He did not have the interest of blacks at heart, they said.

Mr Magomola was born in Venterspost on the West Rand. He received his education locally and abroad. He holds a B Comm degree and an MBA.

'The rent boycott . . . is perceived as the best way of resolving socio-economic conditions'

Features of the face behind Soweto

Star - 17 March 1989

Behind the Soweto rent boycott are the people of Soweto — people whose lives are so little known to researchers that even their true number is a matter for conjecture.

The Planact report draws together what little research there is to sketch some features on the collective face of Soweto and to suggest motives for the massive refusal to pay rent over the last three years.

The studies have found that:

- The average Sowetan is likely to come from a household exceeding five people (the average size is 5,48, according to the Bureau for Market Research's 1986 study) with fewer than two breadwinners (the average being 1,53 breadwinners). The odds are almost even that those in employment will be women.

- The chances are also almost even that Sowetans of working age will be unemployed. The Development Bank has put unemployment in Soweto as high as 53 percent, while the Bureau for Market Research at Unisa puts the proportion at nearly 30 percent in the 20 to 64 year age group, rising to 41 percent for those between 25 and 34 years.

Minimum living level

- University of the Witwatersrand political scientist Dr Philip Frankel found that only 40 percent of persons interviewed came from households not hit by unemployment.

- Between 54 percent and 68 percent of Soweto's families earn less than the minimum living level — the income calculated by scientists as necessary to

The Soweto Delegation, a group of community and church leaders pictured at the right, were mandated by township organisations to attempt to negotiate a solution to the housing crisis and an end to the three-year rent boycott, reports **JO-ANNE COLLINGE**. They asked private planning consultants to draw up a report on the Soweto housing problem as a basis for further talks with the Soweto Council. The report by Planact, entitled "The Soweto Rent Boycott", was released yesterday. Its major recommendations are: that the arrears amounts owed by rent boycotters be written off, that existing housing stock must be transferred to Soweto residents, that infrastructure must be upgraded, that affordable formulae for service charges be devised and ultimately that a single tax base be established for Soweto and Johannesburg.



The Rev Lebamang Sebidi.

maintain a family in an urban area, Planact concludes. This figure was R809 in 1987.

- Between 1980 and 1985, the proportion of Sowetans' income spent on housing and electricity almost doubled — increasing from 8,7 percent to 15,1 percent.

- These were the people among whom the boycott took root in mid-1986. They were poor people, in relative terms —

people with limited incomes being forced to stretch them.

Motivation for the boycott has been directly assessed in only one study commissioned by some American corporations from Dr Frankel.

Planact summarises his findings. "In short, the rent boycott enjoys widespread support because it is perceived as the best way of resolving socio-economic conditions.

"It is not being enforced by intimidation nor are overtly political considera-

tions as significant as socio-economic interests. This popular consciousness will not be easily dissipated through repression."

Frankel found that 60,9 percent of the Sowetans he interviewed supported the boycott because they regarded the cost of housing and services unreasonable for the standard of goods offered. A further 14,3 percent said simply they could not afford to pay. A total of 8,7 percent said they feared intimidation. The remaining reasons were that community organisations had called the boycott (six percent); that it was the best way to bring grievances to the attention of authorities (4,3 percent); and it was the best way of getting troops out of the townships (4,3 percent).



Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo



Mr Frank Chikane



Sister Bernard
Ncube.



Mr Cyril
Ramaphosa.



Mrs Albertina
Sisulu.



Archbishop Desmond
Tutu.

Interests converge, but privatisation methods differ

The authorities appeared every bit as keen to quit playing the role of "collective landlord in the townships" as tenants were to acquire title of their homes, but the difference of opinion lay in how this transfer should take place.

This was Planact's assessment of the convergence of interests between government institutions bent on "privatization" of housing and tenants forced for decades to rent homes because ownership was out of bounds to them.

Planact insists the method of residents attaining home ownership is far more important than the goal itself.

It cites the experience of the British during Margaret Thatcher's campaign to privatise housing, which was accompanied by a drop in government spending on housing, a decrease in the number of new units produced, a growth in the number of homeless and an increase in the number of reposessions due to default on bond repayments.

"The clear lesson to be learnt from

the British example is that it is invariably those already at the bottom of the housing hierarchy that have most to lose," Planact warns.

Its report notes the council has acknowledged the "entrenched rights" of present occupants of Soweto homes through the huge discounts offered in its "great sale" of housing.

Despite discounts, affordability remained an enormous problem, Planact stated. It pointed out that the National Building Research Institute estimated that 84 percent of black people would not be able to afford a low cost house without financial assistance.

"What is at issue here is not the absolute cost of the houses themselves, but the relationship between that cost and the income of the household responsible for its payment."

It proposes a Community Housing Trust be set up to guide housing policy, ensure building programmes commence and safeguard the interests of the poorer sections of the community.

A Soweto homeowner, living in a typical "matchbox" house on a typically untarred and undrained street, will pay nearly one-and-a-half times the rates and service charges due by a Johannesburg householder living in a R72 000 property in a modest, well-served suburb.

Bluntly put, Planact concludes: "Sowetans are being requested to pay more for a considerably poorer level of service."

In fact, it points out that Dr E Buch, who heads the Centre for the Study of Health Policy at Wits University, has stated unequivocally that Soweto's services are of such a low standard that they actually "constitute a hazard to health of the community" and are likely to promote the incidence of "water washed diseases", such as dysenteries and diarrhoeas.

The typical Sowetan site rent (rates) and service charges (excluding payment for electricity and water consumption) totalled R38,55 a month in 1987, according to information supplied by the Soweto City Treasurer, the

Sowetans fork out for unhealthy services

report says.

A Johannesburg householder whose land and house is valued at R72 000 will pay R25,97 a month, Planact calculates.

The root of this inequity is the maintenance of "apartheid cities", the report states. Whereas Johannesburg residents are subsidised in their payment of services and rates by the city's businesses, which foot the bulk of the Johannesburg City Council bill for these items, Sowetans have no such subsidy.

The Soweto Council derives no proportion of its running costs from businesses in Johannesburg, although Soweto residents were estimated to have earned R2 billion in the city in 1987 and to have ploughed R1 billion back into the Johannesburg economy in consumer spending.

The following figures indicate the extent to which business

bears the brunt of Johannesburg's costs. "Domestic residential properties pay 30 percent of (Johannesburg's) service charges, and businesses — including leased flats — contribute the remaining 70 percent."

"Domestic residential properties disburse 15 percent of assessment rates; commerce and industry contribute 74 percent; while several government bodies provide the remaining 11 percent."

"It is therefore salutary to note that Sowetans are being asked to finance a situation they did not willingly create (segregated residential areas) and at increased costs to themselves."

The only possible long-term solution to Soweto's development needs is the acknowledgement that it forms a single economic entity with Johannesburg and the establishment of a single tax base for the two areas.

THE STAR
17 MARCH 1989

THE STAR - 17 MARCH 1989

Being an exiled African leader is no picnic

Many exiled southern African revolutionaries are depicted as wearing three-piece suits and being chauffeured about in large Mercedes — spending much time at public functions generously toasting each other over glasses of sparkling wine.

The everyday reality is hardly as titillating. At African National Congress headquarters, located in an unpaved back-alley in Lusaka, Zambia, the overall atmosphere is neither one of flamboyant decadence nor zealous revolutionary efficiency.

In these dilapidated breeze-block buildings, one is struck rather with a sense of make-do. The office furniture is battered and ageing, the linoleum floors are cracked and stained. Here is the nerve centre of resistance to apartheid, the telephone rarely works and the telex machine is permanently out of commission.

It is the type of place that might make middle-class romantics think twice about becoming revolutionaries. Behind liberation, as behind every other collective enterprise, lies

If gossip on the cocktail circuits of southern African capitals is to be believed, the exiled leaders of the "liberation struggle" are as much playboys as revolutionaries. But is the gossip true? **NICHOLAS WOODSWORTH** of the Financial Times investigated.

the running of an organisation — the need to raise finances, to cope with a great mass of administration detail, and to assure the daily welfare of members.

Seen by themselves and many others as the nucleus of future, post-apartheid governments, neither the ANC nor Swapo, have adequate financing, infrastructure or expertise to deal with the job at hand. They have thus had to turn to outside help.

Every year, under the general heading of "humanitarian aid" the ANC and Swapo receive millions of dollars worth of cash grants, capital and consumer goods, technical assistance, vocational training, and academic scholarships from Western sources.

Western policies on aid to "liberation" movements are far from being uniform. The general rule is that the greater a stake a

country has in the economic and political future of southern Africa, the less likely it is to be a leading donor.

At one end of the scale are Britain and the US, which have declined to offer direct assistance to the ANC or Swapo.

Neither country condones the organisation's use of violence, and neither is happy with their claims to be the sole legitimate representatives of their people. Indirect aid coming through various UN agencies from the US and Britain has been slashed in recent years by up to 80 percent as the two countries decided to cut UN allocations.

British support has thus been limited to the activities of such groups as the London-based Anti-Apartheid Movement and a recent scholarship programme offer to South Africans in exile, including ANC members.

At the other end of the spectrum Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland all have clean slates in southern Africa — with no colonial history or economic ties there, their social-democratic governments have since the earliest days of African independence shown sympathy for the socialist-oriented liberation movements.

Supported by strong domestic public opinion formed by the popular activism of the Vietnam war years, Scandinavia's aid to the anti-apartheid groups is overtly political.

Sweden's aid to the ANC comes to about R25 million a year while Norway's is R15 million.

United Nations organisations are also a vital source of support to the ANC and Swapo but in one sense the most crucial time for the aid agencies is already past. If Swapo comes to power through elections in Namibia next year, it will find itself transformed from an armed resistance movement into a fully-fledged government overseeing one of the potentially richest countries in Africa.

The main issue of a trial which began in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday was whether Inkatha, the kwaZulu-based organisation, had the right to sue for defamation.

Mr Justice M S Stegmann reserved his judgment.

The defendants are the Argus Printing and Publishing Company Ltd and Mr Joe Latakomo, former editor of *Sowetan*, which published the articles about which Inkatha had complained.

An action by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who sued in his private capacity, was settled.

If Inkatha wins the case, it

Inkatha, Argus in 'right to sue' test case

has been agreed the amount for damages arising from the alleged defamation will be R7 000 — if it loses, the matter will be dismissed with costs.

This arrangement was made to get the test case to court as soon as possible. Both parties agreed the issue would be of great importance to newspapers and organisations such as Inkatha and to political parties.

This test case flows from events in 1986. Late in March the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) held a conference in Durban. On April 1 and April 8, *Sowetan* carried reports which dealt with resolutions taken by delegates and allegations concerning the hiring of buses and who was responsible for attacks on delegates.

This trial is the sequel to

other court cases. The *Sunday Tribune* carried similar articles and when Inkatha attempted to sue that newspaper it said Inkatha, as a non-trading company, had no right to sue.

This view was upheld by the court and Inkatha appealed. The Appellate Division decision said a non-trading company can sue in certain circumstances, such as when defamatory statements would cause financial prejudice. But the question of whether an organisation with a political character can sue was left open.

Mr Mike Daley appeared for Inkatha and Mr Brian Doctor appeared for the Argus.

Braving bannings and bullets

Star - 17 March 1989



Mr Stoffel Botha . . . sued The Star for defamation.

WASHINGTON — In its fourth annual report, "Attacks on the Press", the New York-based Committee to Protect Journalists listed 51 incidents in South Africa out of a total of more than 800 cases worldwide in 1988.

The incidents are known attacks on journalists and the press, and they include threats and silencing of individual journalists and their papers.

They also include killings. Twenty-six journalists were killed in the line of duty worldwide in 1988. Some were casualties of war, notably in Afghanistan. Others were killed in circumstances that suggested they were targeted for what they had written.

Powerful groups

Two Brazilian reporters, given as an example by the committee, were shot after writing critical articles on powerful groups.

The report, released at a conference at the National Press Club in Washington yesterday, says the number of 1988 incidents was many more than in 1987, although the figure did not represent an increase in press abuses so much as CPJ's enhanced research capacities.

The CPJ made special mention of

BY DAVID BRAUN of The Star Bureau

South Africa continues to be one of 15 countries which are of major cause for concern to an American group monitoring abuses against the press around the world.

15 countries in its 1988 report — Afghanistan, Burma, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Chile, Czechoslovakia and Israel among them.

On South Africa, it reported the renewal of the Government ban on reporting the actions of security forces and on first-hand coverage of unrest, and that the Government had diversified its arsenal against the local anti-apartheid press.

It said: "For the first time since the national state of emergency was imposed in June 1986, three newspapers were ordered closed for periods ranging from one to three months on the grounds that they promoted revolution."

"Police confiscated issues of four publications. In 1987 there were no confiscations."

"The country's first anti-apartheid newspaper in Afrikaans encountered harassment within weeks of its launching in November, including an unprecedented requirement that it deposit R30 000 to register."

"And, towards the end of the year,

President P W Botha and Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha announced libel suits against three anti-apartheid newspapers or their editors.

"One measure announced by the Government, a registration requirement for small news agencies and freelancers, was withdrawn after vehement protest."

"In December, *New Nation* editor Zwelakhe Sisulu was released after two years' detention without charge, but he was placed under heavy restrictions."

In detention

Two other black journalists were in detention without charge at year's end, and another had been sentenced to a four-year term.

"Incidents involving foreign correspondents were down from 1987, prompting some observers to ask whether correspondents were submitting too quickly to the Government's media curbs."

"Among the 51 incidents listed by

the report was the confiscation of a tape from *The Argus* which contained a sermon by Archbishop Desmond Tutu in which he defied a state of emergency regulation by urging a boycott of municipal elections."

Other Argus group newspaper incidents were:

- The charging of *The Pretoria News* with contempt of court for publishing an article on the sentencing of the Sharpeville Six defendants while the case was sub judice.

- The police raid of the Pietersburg office of the *Sowetan* and the confiscation of a telephone book, photographs and other material.

- Mr Stoffel Botha sued *The Star* for R100 000 over a magazine article and a reader's letter which he claimed were defamatory.

- The arrest of Robert Houwing of *The Argus* for picketing in Cape Town against press curbs and his later charge and acquittal.

- The questioning by police of Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan*, on his philosophy of "nation building".

- The detention without charge for 12 days of Diana Roussouw of *The Argus* along with 13 other people organising celebrations for Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday.

Hunger strikes 'are planned from outside'

At least 500 *THE STAR* detainees have *17 MARCH 1989* been released

Political Staff

Cape Town

At least 500 detainees have left jails in the four weeks since the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, agreed with churchmen to release "substantial numbers".

Although no official confirmation could be obtained for the figures today, reliable sources indicated that there were now between 350 and 400 people in detention.

The original total was higher than the 800 estimated by Government sources, but subsequently added to by further detentions.

Situation probed

The Ministry of Law and Order spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, confirmed today that the hunger strike had re-started on Monday as Mr Vlok had predicted in a statement last week in Parliament.

Brigadier Mellet said 85 detainees had gone on hunger strike on Monday, but by yesterday a number had started eating again. There were 48 in Natal, mostly in Durban, and seven in the Transvaal still on hunger strike.

Senior officers were probing the situation following Mr Vlok's

claim on Friday that renewed hunger strikes were the result of extra-parliamentary organisations planning them from the outside.

He said that if a single detainee died, the organisations would have to take the responsibility.

The release of more than half the number of people in detention comes at a time when the rate of new detentions has fallen to its lowest level in three years.

The figures were provided by Mr Vlok in Parliament yesterday in answer to a question by Mrs Helen Suzman.

● Two of the detainees on hunger strike are seriously ill, according to lawyers.

Mr Sandile Thusi (26) went into his 28th day without food today and was growing extremely weak at hospital in Durban, said lawyers.

Another detainee whose condition has caused concern in the community is Congress of South African Trade Unions secretary for the Northern Transvaal, Mr Donsie Khumalo, who is reported to have been on hunger strike since March 9 and to have started refusing even water.

● See Page 6.

Fighters can reach Tanzania

SA develops a long-range fighter-bomber

THE STAR
17 MARCH 1989

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Israel has helped South Africa to develop warplanes with an operational range long enough for them to reach Tanzania, a distance of about 2 100 km, according to the London-based bulletin *Southscan*.

Africa News Organisation (ANO) reports that *Southscan* said the Cheetah fighter-bomber — developed by modifying the French Mirage III which has been in service with the South African Air Force since the early 1960s — had been equipped with a new economical engine which South Africa and Israel were producing on the pattern of the French Snecma.

Modernised aircraft stationed at the air base at Louis Trichardt were capable of reaching Dar es Salaam, the bulletin said.

An Armscor spokesman declined to comment on the claims, saying the corporation would not like to comment on the capabilities of the plane. The South African Air Force would also not comment.

Deprived of Namibian bases

Southscan said: "The South African military command badly needs aircraft with a longer range of operation because the proclamation of Namibia's independence will deprive South Africa of its bases in the Caprivi, a part of Namibian territory which cuts deeply between Angola, Zambia and Botswana."

In recent years, South Africa had been spending a major part of its defence budget on military operations in neighbouring countries, which prevented Pretoria from developing and buying arms.

The situation had changed after the signing in December 1988 of agreements on a negotiated settlement in Namibia.

Southscan said that in 1988 the SAAF allocated 74 percent of its budget to rearmament. About 60 percent of the R8,6 billion for military purposes in that year went to rearm the Air Force.

ANO said, according to a report on the American ABC television network, it had come to light that Israel was assisting South Africa develop radar and the Cheetah multi-role fighter, to convert Boeing planes into flying tankers and to design missiles for the South African Navy.

There were also reports in London last year of the arrival in Pretoria of 50 Israeli specialists who were part of the team that developed the Lavi fighter-bomber.

Stoffel would like to end emergency

Parliamentary Staff

The Minister of Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, told Parliament yesterday that he was looking forward to the day when the state of emergency would be lifted and that he would "give it the serious attention it deserves at the proper time".

Responding to a debate on a private member's motion by Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton) on suppression of press freedom, Mr Botha said that while the Government wished to end the state of emergency as soon as possible, it could do so only in a climate "conducive to that and to peaceful reform".

The media regulations were an earnest attempt to restore peace and stability, and to enhance the prospects for economic growth and the further democratisation of South Africa in the interests of all.

"I do not relish the fact that in terms of them I have been charged with unpopular responsibility in respect of the media," Mr Botha said.

"I look forward to the day when it will be possible to lift the state of emergency and the regulations, and will give it the serious attention it deserves at the proper time."

Media curbs, misuse of SABC slated by CP and PFP

'Mantle of darkness and secrecy over SA'

Government media regulations had cast a mantle of darkness and secrecy over South Africa in which "those whose trade it is to perpetrate evil can thrive unchecked", Mr David Dalling (PFP, Sandton) warned.

Mr Dalling delivered his warning at the start of a debate on his private member's motion on the suppression of press freedom, in which MPs from the left and right accused the Government of protecting its own interests at the expense of the public's right to know.

Conservative Party MPs, who supported the Government view that press freedom had to be "qualified", said the National Party was guilty of selective censorship and arbitrary action against the media.

But Communications Minister Mr Stoffel Botha said neither press freedom nor the public's right to information were "absolute" rights and "essential restrictions" which were in the "national or general interest"

were internationally acceptable. "Suffice it to say," Mr Botha said, "that the emergency regulations have in no way been introduced to protect the Government against criticism", which was essential in any democracy.

Mr Dalling told Parliament the Minister, "God-like, can prosecute, judge, sentence and execute any publication opposed to the Government and he can do all this without any true recourse allowed to the victim".

'Formidable armoury'

Government's "formidable armoury" included measures to "muzzle" the press, detain journalists and close publications.

Dr Pieter Mulder (CP, Schweizer Reineke) said the CP believed in qualified press freedom. This was particularly so in South Africa where the press was at risk of being misused by terrorist groups.

"Terrorist acts," he added, "would be almost pointless if they were not reported."

Mr Con Botha (NP, Umlazi) said that in an era of reform there was considerable potential for conflict and the risks were high. If existing laws were not sufficient, it was necessary to apply extraordinary measures to "protect the foundation of democracy" during reform.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP, Green Point) blamed the media regulations for preventing "the ordinary citizen" from making "political choices on the basis of adequate information".

Mr S C Jacobs (CP, Losberg) accused the Government of "selective political morality ... or political immorality" by allowing publication of statements by ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo "only when it suits them". Perhaps the "greatest scandal" was the way it misused the SABC.

Brigadier J F Bosman (NP, Germiston District) argued that Britain's imposition of press curbs during the Falklands conflict vindicated SA regulations. The UN recognised the right of states to protect themselves.

Black trade unions and metal industry bosses square again

BLACK trade unions and employers in the metal industry enter into new wage negotiations next Monday, somewhat ill at ease over the outcome of this year's proceedings.

Both parties, still reeling from events that surrounded last year's settlement, are bracing themselves for yet another series of drawn-out bargaining sessions.

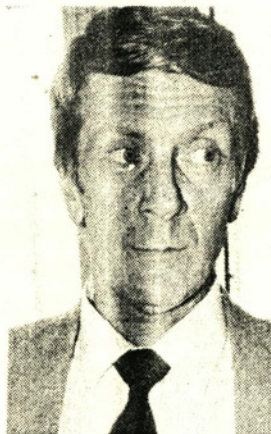
Last year's wage settlement was marked by divisions within the employer ranks, represented by the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of South Africa (Seifsa), and among the four unions negotiating jointly under the auspices of the International Metalworkers Federation (IMF).

The four are the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), Steel Engineering and Allied Workers Union of SA (Seawusa), Electrical and Allied Workers Trade Union of SA (Eawtusa) and Engineering and Allied Workers Union of SA (Eawusa).

The dispute within the four IMF unions revolved around Numsa's decision to enter into a "unilateral" wage agreement with Seifsa after the union's members embarked on a

NUMSA THE KEY FACTOR

SOWGIAN - 17 MARCH 1989



SEIFSA'S director
Mr Angus.

two-week strike.

Seifsa, on the other hand, also experienced internal problems when member companies negotiated wage settlements separately with Numsa without informing the employer body.

This year the four IMF affiliates — unlike the previous years — have submitted separate demands to Seifsa. This move may be linked to

the controversy which rocked the IMF stable during negotiations last year.

Numsa, now the largest union in the industry, will largely influence the outcome of the annual talks because of its numerical strength. No settlement will be reached unless the Cosatu-affiliated union signs the agreement.

Seifsa's executive director, Mr Brian Angus, anticipates "a good deal of rivalry" among the trade unions during the negotiations "particularly as the IMF unions have splintered."

"Despite these expectations it is hoped that the negotiations will not be as protracted as was the case in 1988," he said.

The fact that Numsa was now an important factor in the bargaining process meant that the union would be forced to take the negotiations

By LEN
MASEKO

seriously, the Seifsa director added.

He said: "Within this context it is probably not unreasonable to predict that the likelihood of strike action is diminished. This is not to say that the industry will necessarily be spared the burden of the now customary deadlock and dispute routine."

Last year's strikes, he

said, certainly did "considerable damage" in terms of wage and job losses.

Seifsa has received proposals for wage increases up to 98 percent as well as demands which include:

- Increase in overtime rates;
- Working hours to be reduced from 45 to 40 a week, without loss of pay;
- March 21, June 16 and May 1 to be granted as

- paid holidays;
- Six months' paid maternity leave;
- No deductions for the Standard Income Tax and Employees (Site) and Pay As You Earn (Paye);
- Three weeks' paternity leave; and
- Company to pay death benefits of R5 000.

Employers also have, for the first time, submitted proposals to Seifsa.

These include removal of limits on overtime work; exclusion of small businesses from the agreement between Seifsa and unions and removal of certain restrictions related to the employment of skilled people in the industry.

"It would therefore be surprising if the unions were to disregard their members' poor appetite for full-blown strike action in the face of fair wage offers by employers," Mr Angus said.

Heunis opens Assembly

^{Zululand} Appeal for ^{Observer} Mandela's release

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this week asked the South African Government to go to the people and seek a mandate to release goaled African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, to scrap the Group Areas Act and to scrap the Separate Amenities act.

He was thanking the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and former acting State President, Mr Chris Heunis, after the Minister had officially opened the new session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi.

Doctor Buthelezi said political ideals would not be preserved if they were kept in some kind of political suspension while the South African Government ruled by power vested in it in states of national emergencies.

He said it was the first opportunity the Assembly had had of receiving a head of the South African State.

Salute

Dr Buthelezi was loudly applauded when he said he saluted Mr Heunis for having had the courage to come to Ulundi himself.

None of the Heads of State, including Mr PW Botha, had ever been guests of the assembly at the official opening.

He said that the KwaZulu authorities were encouraged by the first quality speech of the new leader of the National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, in the House of Assembly. Dr Buthelezi said they had also been encouraged by recent statements by Mr Heunis on Free Settlement.

'Both of you have inspired hope that at long last we might as a country get out of the present political log jam,' he said.

Opening the Assembly,

Mr Heunis said that, if the ANC wanted now to act in South Africa's national interest, it could best do it by abandoning violence and declaring itself in favour of the peaceful process of political negotiations, together with other political leaders in South Africa.

'All South Africans have so much in common that there is no reason why we cannot together repeatedly find and agree on the next step to be taken on the road of constitutional progress,' he said.

Political leaders would forsake their responsibility if they did not use the moment for reconciliation against confrontation, Mr Heunis said

Opening of the new Assembly

Seen at the opening of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at Ulundi on Tuesday were from left, Pr Incess Jane, Chief Minister Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and King Goodwill Zwelethini.

2

THE ZULULAND OBSERVER, MARCH 17, 1989



"THE structural separation of Soweto from Johannesburg lies at the root of the former's financial and political crisis. No long-term policy solution will be found so long as Soweto is treated as a separate 'autonomous' city."

That is one of the main conclusions in the research document compiled by Planact on behalf of the seven-member Soweto delegation headed by SACC general secretary Frank Chikane on proposals for resolving the rent boycott and the township's severe developmental problems.

Planact is an advisory body on urbanisation matters to trade unions and community groups.

Research

Drawing heavily on research conducted by, among others, the Development Bank, the Urban Foundation, Nigel Mandy, RAU and Wits University, the document sets out to show that for decades the residents of Soweto have — through their labour and spending power — effectively been subsidising white Johannesburg.

The Johannesburg City Council (JCC) has, it argues, benefited from the rates paid by city businesses at which Sowetans spend R1bn annually. It is this, it says, that has contributed to the council being able to offer a 55% rebate on

How black Soweto has been subsidising white Johannesburg

Business Day 17 March 1989

rates to Johannesburg homeowners.

While the final call is for a single city comprising Soweto and Johannesburg, the document proposes an interim solution whereby a proportion of the rebate be transferred to Soweto to subsidise service charges at present unaffordable to most residents.

The unstated but clear implication of these proposals is that they will represent a substantial cost to white Johannesburg residents.

The document proposes the writing off of rent and service payments in arrears; a formula for the transfer of Soweto's housing stock to the ownership of occupants; the upgrading of infrastructural services; and the designing of an affordable service charge system.

So far 34% of Soweto's 118 300 houses have been sold to private owners. The present cost of an average four-roomed house is R1 750, although a study conducted for the project by a professional valuer puts the average market value of such a property at R22 000.

ALAN FINE

The document argues for the free transfer of older houses to their inhabitants. Newer housing should be sold at prices determined by age, quality, and region, but any plan should ensure that poor residents do not lose their accommodation because of inability to pay.

Solution

Soweto, the study says, has a backlog of 66 000 houses. A key proposal is that proceeds from the sale of homes be channelled into a community trust and used for the erection of new housing and the upgrading of infrastructure.

The authors of the study estimate that Soweto's debt now amounts to R701m, made up by R441m in loans, R200m in bridging finance

provided by the TPA because of the rent boycott and a R60m budgeted deficit for 1988/9.

Part of the solution to the boycott, the study says, is for central government to write off losses due to the boycott.

A 1987 study by Wits University's Phillip Frankel, commissioned by American companies, found that three-quarters of Soweto residents participated in the boycott for socio-economic, rather than broader political, reasons.

Residents could not afford rent and service payments, or were unwilling to pay for inferior services.

A 1986 Bureau for Market Research survey found Soweto households were, by 1985, spending 15,1% of household income on housing and electricity compared with 8,7% five years previously — indicating a severe squeeze on budgets necessitating decreased spending on items like food and clothing.

The boycott, it is argued, was a response to this. Frankel found that only 8,7% took part in the boycott because of intimidation.

This means, the document argues, that the boycott cannot be resolved through either repression or clever marketing campaigns.

A consulting engineer employed by the project found Soweto to have an overloaded and inadequate water supply and sanitation system resulting in the use of less and unpotable water, blocked drains and sewage overflows.

Community health expert Dr Eric Buch concluded Soweto's water and sanitation services constituted a health hazard. Refuse collection was the only service to have improved recently, but certain health problems still existed.

Income-linked

All this, the document argues, points to an urgent need for the upgrading of infrastructural services. However, the council does not have the finances available for this. And residents, without some form of subsidisation, would be unable to afford service costs.

The solution proposed by the report is an income-linked affordable service charge system, with cross-subsidisation within the Johannesburg-Soweto urban economy: "It is important to note the historical and current links between the two areas... Johannesburg's responsibility to Soweto cannot be overlooked."

COMMENT

National priorities

THE national Budget concerns priorities. However constraining the circumstances in which the Minister of Finance set the macro-economic framework, within that framework his choices reflect the real intentions of government.

And on this score — leaving aside the crucial question of the credibility of the Budget — there is cause for both satisfaction and alarm.

The Defence budget has been held to an increase of less than the expected rate of inflation, which is the least to be expected of an army that has just mislaid a war. In crude terms the Defence budget, at less than 5% of GDP, is not excessive, provided that the funds are earmarked for the replacement of obsolete equipment, especially for air defence.

The conviction has taken hold in Europe and North America that the Angolan withdrawal and the Namibian settlement were both achieved by SA's loss of air superiority. That proposition, we may be sure, will be tested again as soon as the outside world loses patience with the rate of change in SA itself — within five years, perhaps. If the expenditure of money can alter the perception of weakness, it is at least better than the expenditure of lives which would follow any determined effort to bully this country into change by military means. What is not acceptable is the military chiefs' notion that they need as much conscripted manpower in peace as in war. The economic cost to the country, though not reflected in the military budget, is immense, and it may be

necessary to persuade the officers' corps that if they want better equipment they had better let the country earn the money to pay for it.

More alarming is the evident decision of government to pour more money down ratholes in the bantustans. The Department of Foreign Affairs budget has been increased by more than 20%, most of it needed to prop up the regimes of such bastions of enlightenment and freedom as Venda, Ciskei, Transkei and Bophuthatswana. Such esoteric ventures in social engineering as "Development Planning" and "Development Aid" — still in pursuit of neo-Verwoerdian mirages — will consume as much as the armed forces, the police, the courts and the justice system, and the prisons.

Yet there is some progress. The pork barrel known as "Improvement of Conditions of Service" (essentially the augmentation of salaries of civil servants) has been cut by 95%, although we suspect close examination will find the money hidden elsewhere. The allocation for police, in an under-policed country, has rightly gone up, and various departments have suffered real cuts.

All this presupposes, of course, that the Budget remains credible. Already it strains both common sense and compassion to cling to the belief that the Finance Minister can hold to this Budget, but if he cannot, he must resign. His lack of personal credibility will have destroyed his ability to perform as Finance Minister, and he will have become a liability to his country.

LETTERS

Terreblanche's bona fides not in doubt

Business Day 17. March 1989

LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

Dear Sir,
THE NASCENT Democratic Party is currently in the painful, but necessary, stage of trying to define itself. The potential exists for the emergence of an effective, broadly based, white anti-apartheid political force.

In a party aiming at an intra- and extra-parliamentary support base one would expect a reasonable variety of opinions about an issue as contentious as economic policy. The Editor of Business Day has, however, done his utmost to humiliate the recently appointed economic consultant to the DP, Sampie Terreblanche.

Even within the "liberal" neo-classical school, the importance of appropriate State intervention and the issue of structural market distortions are recognised.

In a recent article on the top young economic thinkers of the Eighties (referring to the likes of Jeff Sachs, Sandy Gross and others), The Economist remarks that they differ from their neo-classical forerunners (like Hayek) in that they "are all con-

cerned with market failure of one sort or another". Is that not what Terreblanche focuses on within the SA context?

To my knowledge, Terreblanche believes in the logic and the necessity of capitalist economic development driven by the spirit of free enterprise.

As a democratic capitalist with a social conscience (clearly established in his contribution to the Theron Commission) he emphasises the responsibility of the State to remove structural rigidities which obstruct development in SA.

Where Ken Owen and extreme free marketeers demand the virtual disappearance of the State as economic actor, Terreblanche knows this is neither viable nor likely. He therefore simultaneously argues for the withdrawal of the State from areas where markets work or can

work, such as the deregulation of the small business sector and selective privatisation, and active State intervention in other areas such as poverty alleviation and social upliftment.

Moreover, Terreblanche takes account of the latent black demand for equality before the fiscus which is to become effective when democracy is broadened. Owen and fair-land liberals conveniently assume that the poverty-stricken black majority will be content with the "political kingdom" without a fundamental economic restructuring, and that

in the country with the worst wealth and income distributions on earth.

The DP will have to anticipate debate about this issue and contribute honestly to its resolution.

Owen's efforts to depict Terreblanche as a harsh and unfair critic of the "English Establishment" are not convincing. "Politieke Ekonomie en Sosiale Welvaart" criticises the historical mistakes in the English and Afrikaans establishment, with no bias.

Indeed, if Terreblanche had anti-English sentiments why on earth would he be involved in the formation of a party where English influence will undoubtedly be considerable? The Anglo-Boer War is over, Mr Owen.

In Business Day of March 1, Terreblanche restated his case with enough clarity to avoid further misinterpretation and misrepresentation. There is no further need to doubt his bona fides.

HENDRIK DU TOIT
Cape Town

Test case on defamation in court

Political debate *Business Day* 'will be restricted *17 March 1989* as never before'

SUSAN RUSSELL

IF THE Supreme Court ruled that political parties could sue for defamation it would severely restrict political debate in a way it had never been before, it was argued yesterday.

This submission was made before Mr Justice Stegmann in the Rand Supreme Court by advocate B Doctor on behalf of the Argus Company.

In what is regarded as a test case, Argus is being sued by Inkatha for two allegedly defamatory articles which appeared in The Sowetan in April 1986.

Both articles referred to an incident in Durban at which delegates at a National Education Crisis Committee conference were attacked by people alleged to have been Inkatha members. The reports also quoted a resolution passed at the conference blaming Inkatha for the attacks.

When the matter came to court, Mr Justice Stegmann was told it had been agreed between the parties that the two articles were defamatory.

The only issue before the court was whether Inkatha as a political organisation had a right to claim damages for defamation.

Inkatha counsel M Daley submit-

ted that in a country like SA which was neither in the First or Third World but in between, and with so many racial and cultural divisions, political parties should be able to claim the protection of the courts.

Daley said the purpose was not to try and take away the freedom of speech or limit debate but to protect political parties from scurrilous and unjust statements.

Extreme

Doctor said that what Inkatha was asking for was a revolutionary step which would fundamentally change the law.

If the court decided in favour of Inkatha, it would mean political parties would not only be able to sue for the more extreme or gross forms of libel. "Your lordship will also be including the entire range of libel, even those awarded R10.

"It would be a most ill-advised stage in our development to introduce a ruling that says you cannot attack a political party, including the ruling party."

Mr Justice Stegmann reserved judgment.

THIS WEEK'S Budget, by not significantly reducing the state share in the economy, virtually condemns SA to continued low economic growth.

A seminal World Bank study shows that more government means less growth and that a precondition for the economy to grow is for governments to leave economic activity to the private sector.

Free economies have a near universal correlation with such quantifiable factors as high growth, full employment, low inflation, low crime rates, less child abuse and alcoholism and higher life expectancy.

Contrary to a particularly tenacious myth, there is often a more egalitarian income distribution in freer economies. Instead of the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer, the rich get richer and the poor get richer faster in free markets.

Tragically many SA economists and economic commentators subscribe to theories that should have been relegated to the wax museum. They appear, like Rip van Winkel, to have fallen asleep 20 years ago, to have awakened only now without the slightest knowledge of developments in the meantime.

As if there had been no progress in economic thought and experience for 20 years, they continue spouting the same old econobabble that was invalid even then.

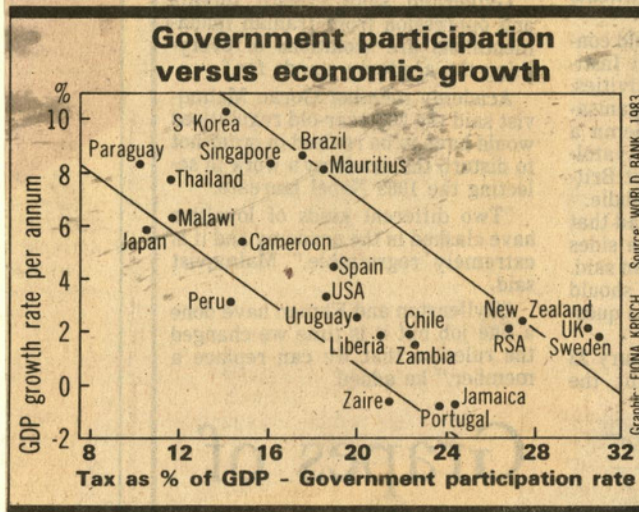
Everyone bold enough to comment on economic policy should, at the very least, be conversant with the 1983 World Bank study on the correlation between what I term government participation rates (GPRs) and growth rates during the decade of the Seventies. This and other studies should finally end the silly debate between advocates of free markets and interventionists.

The World Bank study reveals some unambiguous truths. Firstly, low government participation rates (as measured in this study by tax rates) coincide with high growth. Secondly, high growth is achievable

In free markets, the poor get richer faster

Business Day - 17 March 1989

LEON LOUW



Less government, more growth — and the downward slide as government's economic participation rises

in virtually any country regardless of its history, size, race, culture or natural resource endowment.

It turns out that not all black African states are the ruins of colonialism embellished by African socialism. Among them there are, as on any other continent, good or bad performers.

Advanced and backward countries, large and small countries, resource rich and resource poor coun-

tries, democracies, monarchies and dictatorships may be high or low growth countries depending upon their GPRs — and nothing else.

Furthermore, the following blessings of putting people before power emerged:

□ Average annual growth for countries with low GPRs was 7.3%, or 650% more than the average of 1.1% for high GPR countries.

□ Life expectancy in low GPR countries rose 33% more, by eight years compared to six years in high GPR countries.

□ The share of national income in the hands of the poorest 40% was both bigger and faster growing in low GPR countries.

□ A 1% increase in the GPR/GDP ratio coincided with 0.34% lower growth in rich countries and 0.57% lower growth in poor countries. Which means interventionism is disproportionately more harmful for the poor.

□ Gross Domestic Investment (GDI) increased at 8.9% in low GPR countries and declined by 0.8% in high GPR countries.

□ Exports rose faster in low GPR countries, investments as a share of GDP were greater and annual productivity growth much higher.

Ten low GPR countries were paired off with 10 high GPR countries, each pair having the same annual GDP. In seven of 10 cases, a low GPR meant less inflation. In five out

IN FREE MARKETS, THE POOR GET RICHER FASTER.

of six, it meant more government spending on education. Three of the high GPR countries actually spent less.

To the limited extent that welfare can be measured — rising incomes, longer life, better funded education, lower inflation, etc — governments can do more by doing less.

It has become fashionable to speak of Taiwan and other free market success stories as “economic miracles”. They are non-miracles since high growth and an impressive performance in other social and economic indicators is not a “miracle” at all. It is the inevitable and predictable consequence of free market policies — wherever and regardless

of by whom they are adopted.

In Taiwan a policy of privatisation, deregulation and low taxes led to GNP in per capita growth rising from US\$70 in 1948 to US\$5 000 in 1987. In other words, from about half SA's per capita income to double in little more than a generation.

Taiwan is one of many examples that explodes another unsubstantiated myth, that government coerced wealth redistribution is necessary to benefit the poor.

The share of national income accruing to the richest 20% declined by over 60% from 62% in 1953 to 38% in 1986. The share of the poorest 20% grew by 300% from 3% to 9%. Thanks to the high economic growth, the rich were much richer at the end of the period — about six times richer. And the poor were a few thousand percent richer.

In SA prominent political parties and economists advocate even more government coerced redistribution of wealth than the murderous levels of redistribution we already have.

They blissfully ignore or deliberately conceal the evidence that their policies will continue to make the rich poorer while making the poor poorer even faster.

Contrary to the fabricated charge that free markets make the rich richer and the poor poorer, it turns

out that some of the most egalitarian countries have relatively free markets while many Marxist countries have extremely skewed income distributions.

Inequality *per se* does not help explain poverty in SA or anywhere else.

Opponents of free markets cast around to identify determinants of wealth and prosperity. They perform spectacular intellectual gymnastics to avoid noticing the obvious role of free markets.

They suggest that poor countries are poor because they lack natural resources. They may attribute failure to colonialism, race, culture, size, history, population growth, or whatever.

Poverty is normal. What needs to be understood is wealth. It is time we recognised the self-evident, that free markets liberate wealth production and come the closest we can hope for to eliminating destitution.

None of the other determinants so frequently suggested can explain why any given country should oscillate so effortlessly between success and failure as soon as the GPR changes.

The closer countries are to being free markets, even if they are not pure free markets, the better is their economic performance regardless of virtually any other factor.

While South African commentators and policy makers continue to slumber in the ideological past, most of the world has now recognised the virtues of free markets and is undergoing a shift towards privatisation, deregulation and the devolution of power.

Virtually all people in all countries are being affected by the global free market revolution. At their own peril, South Africans may refuse to join the revolution.

Anyone who suggests that free markets, or any other policies that work elsewhere, will not work in SA owes us a very clear explanation as to why not.

Everyone, anywhere in the world, including SA, is more or less motivated, thrifty, productive, enterprising, co-operative and diligent under one set of circumstances than another.

Since freer markets bring out the best in a people's economic behaviour wherever else they might be in the world, presumably they will do the same here.

□ Louw is executive director of the Free Market Foundation.

Chief points out way to end violence in Capital area

DAILY NEWS
17 March 1989

Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: There would be no peace in Pietermaritzburg until Inkatha, the ANC and the UDF develop common cause, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said here yesterday.

In the second day of delivering his policy speech, Dr Buthelezi said he had always been dismayed that in the spreading violence in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area, the carnage went on and on without the ANC and the UDF doing whatever could be done to bring about a cessation.

"There will be no peace in the Greater Pietermaritzburg area until

leaders in the top echelons of Inkatha, the ANC and the UDF develop common cause," he said.

The ANC could not bring itself to meet Inkatha for fear that this would be a recognition that Inkatha must be dealt with politically.

"The ANC adopts this hostile role and refuses to talk to us because it has no real political basis inside South Africa from which it could mount any initiative," he said.

Dr Buthelezi said there were many in the UDF and Cosatu, and in the external mission of the ANC itself, who perpetuated the myth that the ANC was alive and functioning inside South Africa.

He said he would not like to be Oliver Tambo who relied for his political credibility on other leadership structures in other organisations.

"Mr Tambo was placing faith in leadership which was itself ineffective.

"We, who meet the UDF and Cosatu in political arenas on a day-to-day basis are aware of the extent to which they are dismembered, fragmented and scattered organisations in which action is actually very difficult.

"In our own dealings with these organisations in the greater Pietermaritzburg area we reluctantly came to the conclusion that when the tail was not wagging the dog, the dog did not even know it had a tail.

"We came to the conclusion that unless the top leadership of the UDF and Cosatu were brought into direct involvement in the peace initiative, there would be no peace initiative.

"We also know that the UDF's top leadership cannot afford to become directly involved in peace initiatives in the greater Pietermaritzburg area because they do not control their own fate in this area," he said.

Dr Buthelezi said if the UDF and Cosatu did not receive the lion's share of the millions that came into the country, they would not even have the wherewithal to hold Press conferences and orchestrate events as they do.

Buthelezi praised as US Aid Mission offers its assistance

DAILY NEWS
17 March 1989

Daily News Reporter

ULUNDI: The United States Aid Mission was looking into a number of projects in Natal/KwaZulu that would meet the concern of the Kwazulu Government, the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly heard yesterday.

It was understood that the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, would be meeting with the US Aid director very shortly to discuss the issue.

This message was contained in a letter to Dr Buthelezi from the former American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

Dr Buthelezi read the letter — which was telexed to him — by the American Consul-General in Durban, Mr Tex Harris — to the Assembly.

In the letter, Dr Crocker expressed his

appreciation for the "statesmanlike role" Dr Buthelezi had played in the search for a practical and just solution to South Africa's dilemma.

"That solution, of course, continues to elude us. But I believe that more and more South Africans are coming to understand that only through empowerment of the disenfranchised and the persistent building of mutual confidence will the goal of a non-racial, democratic South Africa be attained," said Dr Crocker.

Dr Crocker went on to say that their efforts were directed at both those goals — promotion of dialogue and empowerment of the victims of apartheid to enable them to participate in that dialogue on equal terms.

"I am, of course, aware of your long-standing concern that our efforts in this regard may not have been distributed in a fully equitable way and have discussed with Ambassador Perkins how this concern can be addressed.

"I am pleased that you and he discussed the matter recently and that he has assured you that our US Aid Mission is looking into a number of projects in Natal/KwaZulu that will meet your concerns.

"In fact I understand that the US Aid director will be meeting with you in the near future to discuss this issue.

"I am confident that such projects will be identified and that the peace of Kwazulu will benefit equally from our all-too-modest assistance programme."

Hundreds flee after spate of killings

Natal witness. Shongweni: once *17 March 1989* vibrant valley now a wasteland

by BRYAN PEARSON

HUNDREDS of people are fleeing a bloody shooting spree in the Shongweni valley, near Hammarsdale, which has seen at least 22 people gunned down in the last month.

A KwaZulu police spokesman confirmed that "a number of murders" had taken place in Shongweni recently but could not give numbers or details.

Residents of the area known as Ezakhiweni, an Inkatha stronghold, yesterday claimed automatic weapons were being used in a relentless bid to drive Inkatha affiliates out the area. Those who haven't fled — among them local Inkatha chairman Victor Sibisi — have been sleeping in the forest at night for fear their homes will be attacked and their families killed.

Earlier this year thousands of families fled a reign of terror directed against those living in the section known as kwaMbiza — a mainly non-Inkatha area.

But residents report the balance of power in the area shifted dramatically early this month when a gang arrived in the area armed with weapons which "make a noise like a motorbike". Others described the firearms as "automatic".

With more than 1 000 houses standing empty in kwaMbiza and another 200 to 300 abandoned in Ezakhiweni, the once-bustling Ntshongweni Valley has now become a wasteland.

The two schools — Wozamoya high and Charles Memorial primary — have

been closed down and partially destroyed. Trucks are being prevented from taking supplies into Ezakhiweni, forcing the storekeepers to shut up shop. Stores in kwaMbiza have also been attacked and burnt. Bottle stores stand empty and the streets are largely deserted, giving an overwhelming sense of desolation. Donkeys and emaciated dogs — abandoned by their fleeing owners — inhabit the houses.

When The Natal Witness visited Shongweni this week a number of families were loading their possessions on to trucks and getting out — mainly to Pinetown and Clermont. Others have sought refuge at the nearby Albini Roman Catholic Mission, where they sleep, according to a sister there, "like goats on the floor".

Those few people still living in the valley were frightened, hostile and suspicious. However, from a number of interviews, including — in the absence of Mr Sibisi — one with his mother Betty, who has lived in the valley for 75 years, the Witness has pieced together the following recent chain of events:

- Mid-December to mid-February — at least 30 non-Inkatha people die as kwaMbiza is ravaged by vigilantes.
- February 18 — five people, all thought to be Inkatha members, are shot dead while drinking beer at a shebeen.
- February 26 — six people (non-Inkatha) are murdered, apparently in retaliation for the shebeen killings.
- February 28 or March 1 — eight people are gunned down in Ezakhiweni. Four die instantly and another three die of their wounds in hospital later.
- March 4 — shopkeeper Mr Kheswa Lunga is shot dead and his shop in kwaMbiza is burnt and plundered.
- March 6 — a group returning from burying some of those who died in the earlier attack is ambushed and two people — Mr Boya Ngcobo (18) and Mr Bheki Gwala (28) — shot dead.

Natal witness - 17/3/89

SHONGWENI:



ABOVE: The people have fled; the donkeys have taken over.

RIGHT: Walking wounded . . . Victoria Gasa (6) who hurt her eye after she tripped while fleeing an attack. The wound has become infected but the family is too afraid to visit the mobile clinic in the kwaMbiza section for fear they will be killed. With her is her baby sister Phumlani.



NATAL MERCURY - 17 MARCH 1989

Economies in world's poorest continent

Proposals for tackling Africa's economic ills

By Rory Channing in Lusaka

AFRICA'S foreign creditors and military-minded rulers might well be shaken by some home-grown proposals of how to tackle the continent's economic ills.

The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa says debt repayments should be cut and military spending slashed.

'It is not difficult to imagine what it would mean to social welfare...if a saving of 50% can be achieved in defence spending,' it said.

It also called for more progress towards democracy.

The proposals are contained in the commission's confidential document, *The African Alternative to Structural Adjustment Programmes*, a copy of which has been obtained by Reuters.

Grim

It paints a grim picture of African economies beset by mass poverty, food shortages, low productivity, backward technology, environmental decay and the ravages of drought.

The 62-page document won qualified backing from African finance ministers meeting behind closed doors in Malawi in early March to seek a kinder cure for their economies than the rigorous structural adjustment programmes of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

Critics say the IMF and World Bank loans are conditional on thrift policies which have too high a social and political cost.

'Successive structural adjustment programmes are rending the fabric of the African society,' the commission's document said.

The finance ministers said the document might need a lot of refining if it is to prove palatable to donors.

It outlines 29 measures African countries should consider adopting, and nine they should avoid, in a strategy that looks beyond short-term crisis management to long-term development.

The favoured measures include limiting debt repayments to one-tenth of annual export earnings in order to free money for productive ventures and to ease balance of payments strains.

Nigeria, for example, now sets aside more than one-third of its foreign exchange to service its debt.

The document called for restraint on defence spending.

In Africa annual public spending on health has averaged less than one-third of military outlays, while spending on education has also lagged behind.

Development

IT SAID development has to be engineered and sustained by the people — hence a need to spend more on health and education — and it called for excessively centralised bureaucracies to give way to decentralisation, grassroots initiatives and community self-management.

'The political systems will need to evolve to allow for full democracy and participation (in development) by all sections of society.'

Only 28 of the 49 Organisation of African Unity member states attended the talks, including highly indebted countries like Algeria, Egypt, Morocco, Nigeria, Zaire and Zambia.

Ivory Coast, one of the biggest African debtors, did not attend. Nor did Ghana or Mauritius, held up as model devotees of IMF and World Bank reforms.

The ministerial conference and a 20-nation meeting of experts which preceded it accepted the UN commission's document as a potentially useful platform for aid negotiations.

They said in-depth review was needed on proposals such as:

- ☐ The debt repayment limit.

- ☐ Differential interest rates, designed to encourage national savings without discouraging borrowing for productive investment.

- ☐ Multiple exchange rate systems which would encourage remittances by nationals working abroad while discouraging capital flight.

- ☐ Import controls, tariff protection, and quota restrictions, designed to help national industries.

- ☐ Subsidies for selected groups, apparently the needy.

- ☐ Selective price controls for goods vital to development.

The ministers also called for a re-think on all nine measures which the document said should be avoided, including any generalised devaluation and acceptance of conditions governing disbursement of foreign aid.

Foreign debt

Africa's foreign debt has jumped nearly five-fold to 230 billion dollars during the 1980s, when prices for many farm and mineral exports — its main source of self-earned income — had slumped, although some had since recovered.

The UN Economic Commission for Africa, a think-tank set up in 1958 to foster economic co-operation and development in the world's poorest continent, does not cover South Africa.

It says the document, which prescribes a long-term, 'human-centred' rebuilding of economies to permit self-sustainable development, is not a programme in itself.

Rather it is a framework within which countries can design their own packages, incorporating whatever mix of complementary measures is appropriate to their individual needs.

During the years 1980-88 some 33 countries adopted IMF reforms and 15 accepted World Bank programmes.

NATAL MERCURY - 17 MARCH 1989

The puzzling switch in Kremlin policy

Soviets forced to curtail their aggressive intent

By Marshall Wilson in Melbourne

WHO could blame South Africans for being confused, if not downright puzzled, at the accelerated pace of change taking place in southern Africa?

Not only has the UN peace-keeping force moved in to oversee the gradual withdrawal of Cuban and South African forces from Namibia, which hopefully will eventuate in free elections come Christmas, the ANC in exile also appears to have lost considerable ground in its struggle for the hearts and minds of at least some of the people.

Last week's news that ANC president Oliver Tambo received less than a rapturous welcome when he visited the Kremlin came like a breath of fresh air, not because the Soviet-backed push for black African nationalism has come to a shuddering halt, but because senseless violence never was a legitimate means of ending apartheid.

Instead of a sympathetic hearing from President Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, Tambo instead got the ear of Anatoly Lukyanov, a non-voting candidate member of the Politburo, and Valentin Falin who rates as head of the Communist Party's Central Committee international department. Which in Soviet terms is significant downgrading indeed.

And if, as surely must be the case, bemused Pretoria political leaders are suddenly asking what they've done right to warrant so radical a change in Soviet attitude, the answer lies not in any one solution but a basket of foreign policy initiatives.

Let thinking South Africans clearly understand that it has been the superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, which jointly orchestrated events now taking place in the region where previously Cuban troops and combined SWAPO-ANC guerilla activity had proved so costly a holding venture.

It seems fortuitous, in light of Russia's overt foreign adventurism in Africa, Afghanistan

and elsewhere, that the continued failure of Soviet agriculture has seen the nation reduced from providing arms to accepting alms.

Almost overnight, and certainly within the short space of Gorbachev's enlightened tenure, the Soviets have been forced to curtail aggressive intent with the West a bemused benefactor.

Without doubt President Gorbachev deserves praise for his efforts, having not only identified the needs of his people but been prepared to walk a fine line against dangerous protagonists in order to see them out of immediate danger.

And make no mistake that when it comes to engineering a ship of state the size of the Soviet Union off the rocks in hostile waters policed by the KGB, is surely tantamount to swinging the Queen Mary through 360 degrees in Durban harbour during a gale on a busy day.

Formal denial

AND SO, in spite of the ANC's formal denial that there has been a switch in Soviet policy, *Pravda's* official communique which announced that apartheid could best be done away with by 'political means' says it all.

As ever pragmatic and with time on their side, the Russians have perceived an immediate advantage if they withdraw their expeditionary forces from Angola and Afghanistan, with perestroika or restructuring continuing to win unexpected goodwill from all sectors.

From a South African perspective the results have been rewarding, with the promise that Cuban proxies will withdraw from any area of likely confrontation while at the same time the ANC's 'Spear of the Nation' must regroup to consider strategy.

Leadership challenges within the ruling National Party aside, it seems an opportune time for South African whites to reconsider their future role in a land of plenty.

If, as now seems hopeful, the immediate

threat of armed insurrection is lifted and South Africa's diplomats continue talking with black leaders with whom they share so much common ground, surely the potential exists for a negotiated end to the country's most damning indictment — institutionalised apartheid?

No matter who leads the National Party, or any other group that eventually comes to rule once the nation overcomes its pathological fear of communism and racial equality, to the watching world the bottom line will always be the wording of the Constitution.

Democracy can withstand the rantings of Left or even Right-wingers within the laager, but the warped, irrational views of extremists whose cockeyed philosophies are based on nothing less than racism have no place in a civilised society.

Political might

And since the Soviets have identified what General Magnus Malan told Pretoria a generation ago — that the situation on the Republic's troubled borders can only be solved by political means not military might — perhaps white South Africans who covert the vote will exercise their rights with more judicious forethought at the next general election.

The Communist Party is not a force to be reckoned with in South African politics. But even if it was — as it once was in Australia — people should know that the Loonie Left withers on the vine and dies with lack of nourishment.

South Africa's lunatic fringe, of either persuasion, deserves to be starved of votes to enable a pragmatic government to set a sane agenda for continued change.

It says something for the Nationalists that they have belatedly ventured from the laager to seek discussion with former enemies of the State.

But never forget they were driven to do so. The action was hardly spontaneous.

N. MERCURY

17 MARCH 1989

Coloured, black churches 'could split from whites'

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The coloured and black Nederduitse Gereformeerde (NG) churches might split from the white church, moderator of the coloured church, Dr Allan Boesak, said yesterday.

'The real tragedy of the past 10 days is that the (white) NGK chose for the (Afrikaner) volk and against the truth,' he said.

The decision by the white NGK general synodal commission not to ratify key points of a statement by its delegation at Vereeniging had put 'immense pressure' on church unity, Dr Boesak said.

The commission did not ratify a confession of the 'participation of (the NGK) in the introduction and legitimisation of the ideology of apartheid and the subsequent suffering of people' made by its delegates at Vereeniging.

It decided, instead, to reaffirm the church's major policy document, Church and Society, accepted in 1986, and

which effectively condones apartheid.

Unity talks between the coloured NG Sendingkerk (NGSK) and the black NG Kerk in Afrika (NGKA) had reached an advanced stage and the synods of the churches would have to decide whether to split from the NGK or not, Dr Boesak said.

'There is really only one model if you want to be true to the scripture and the reformed tradition: one, united, non-racial church,' Dr Boesak said.

Audit shows most funds not used for philanthropy

Simon Barber

WASHINGTON—Less than 5% of the \$765 000 US multinationals provided the Coalition on Southern Africa (Cosa) in September 1987 went on the philanthropic activities in South Africa the organisation was theoretically set up to undertake, an audit being prepared for the donors shows.

The only money definitely known to have reached South Africa is a \$20 000 cheque sent to Winnie Mandela for completion of her controversial Soweto mansion and other purposes of her choosing.

Another \$10 500 in unidentified 'contributions' may also have reached South Africa.

By contrast, \$229 000 was paid to Pagan International, a consulting firm that helped create Cosa with North Carolina businessman Robert Brown. Mr Brown's firm, B and C Associates, received \$65 000.

Subsidiary

Donors included Mobil Oil, Caltex, Johnson and Johnson, Pfizer, Combustion Engineering and Control Data.

Draft contracts show Pagan and Mr Brown initially hoped to divide up almost the entire \$765 000 between them, with Pagan to receive \$500 000 and Mr Brown \$260 000.

Cosa acting executive director Frank Kent, who was brought aboard last January to sort out the group's chaotic affairs, said this week that neither contract was signed.

'We did not want to be a subsidiary of Pagan.'

Leftwich, Moore and Douglas, a law firm, was paid \$55 000 for unexplained reasons.

'I don't honestly know what they were doing,' Mr Kent said. Cosa's board 'never felt they had justified their billing'.

\$56 000 was spent on travel, including a 'fact-finding mission' to South Africa led by Willy Leftwich, the law firm's

senior partner and until recently a close friend of Mr Brown.

'Some people saw Cosa as a good thing, a way to make money,' said Armstrong Williams, Mr Brown's spokesman.

The audit is for the financial year ending on June 30, 1988, and covers Cosa's first nine months of operation. No further contributions have been received since.

Some additional money has been spent sending used clothes to black South Africans, Mr Kent said.

At least one container load was delivered to the Soweto Civic Association for distribution. According to a witness, the clothes were sold off by a well-known shebeen owner.

Late last year, Mr Leftwich received another \$29 000 after he successfully sued Cosa for non-payment of fees. For reasons that Mr Kent was at a loss to explain, Cosa was not informed that it was being sued, failed to appear in court and lost by default.

Another \$10 000 was given to African Research and Communications Inc to organise a Washington conference on small business last October.

The conference was never held.

Pressure on ANC to ditch armed struggle

Ian Hobbs

LONDON—Evidence of an unprecedented international campaign for peace in South Africa grew yesterday when the ANC admitted it was under massive pressure to abandon its 'armed struggle' and enter peace talks with South Africa.

In a BBC radio interview, a senior ANC spokesman said they were prepared to enter talks with South Africa, but the onus was on Pretoria to create a 'climate of peace'.

Optimistic

The ANC statement comes after high level political claims that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, with American support, was seeking to establish an Eminent Persons Group (EPG), similar to the 1986 Commonwealth group, to put pressure on the ANC and South Africa to meet around the peace table when she visits African states at the end of this month.

Mrs Thatcher told parliament in London yesterday that she was optimistic that Nelson Mandela would be released and that this would 'change the atmosphere completely' in South Africa.

She felt 'a number of people in South Africa in very high places', who had not yet

been able to bring it about, wanted Mandela's freedom which, she said, would make it possible to start meaningful talks between the Government and black communities.

Mrs Thatcher also acknowledged South Africa's 'overwhelming co-operation' in the Namibian settlement programme, saying it augured well for the future of the region as a whole.

It is reliably understood that Mrs Thatcher will now ask the Nigerian and Zimbabwean governments to play prominent roles in her hopes for the establishment of a new EPG.

However, the ANC has so far shown no inclination to support moves by Mrs Thatcher, saying they feel she sides openly in favour of Pretoria.

The ANC told the BBC that if Foreign Minister Pik Botha could get his Government to 'turn his words into deeds' the prospects for talks would be good.

KwaZulu to spend R30 m on projects

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The KwaZulu Government is to implement six development projects with loans to the value of R30 million which it has obtained from the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

A Press release from the Development Bank yesterday said R27.6 million would be used to upgrade the water reticulation systems in Umlazi and to provide a bulk water supply at Sundumbili township and the adjoining Isithebe industrial estate near Mandini.

The statement said the upgrading of water reticulation would help 500 000 residents of Umlazi and the provision of bulk water supply to Sundumbili would benefit 20 000 residents.

The provision of bulk water supply to Isithebe, it said, would assist more than 150 large industries.

The statement said R2 400 000 of the loan funds would be used to help the KwaZulu/Natal Planning Council to co-ordinate the socio-economic and technical aspects of a development programme for the region.