

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Emergency

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We suppose an emergency that has been in force for three years is somewhat long, but not in comparison with Zimbabwe's emergency, which was imposed 23 years ago.

A rather ambiguous statement by the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, that "the government is in the process of considering whether it is advisable or justifiable to lift or reinstate the state of emergency" was seized upon by some newspapers as an indication that the government was, in fact, going to lift the emergency.

Dr Van der Merwe has had to issue a statement saying that the speculation is "premature".

The national state of emergency was imposed on June 12, 1986, after a partial emergency had been imposed in some districts and subsequently lifted.

We do not doubt for a moment that the emergency was absolutely necessary.

It ended the township violence in which the homes of policemen and other "collaborators" of the "system" were set on fire, schools were damaged, people's courts were set up and suspected "informers" were necklaced.

The image of a country in flames, suggested night after night on overseas television screens, plus ugly shots of counter-violence by the security forces, gave South Africa its worst pasting.

This, in turn, encouraged the radicals to believe that "liberation" was around the corner, with the result that they increased the violence.

The wonder was not that the government declared an emergency, but that it hesitated so long before it imposed it.

As a result, when it did introduce severe clamps, it had a tough battle to restore peace.

Nevertheless, the false perception of a country about to be taken over by revolutionary forces has been dissipated and it is now acknowledged that there is no chance of the government being overthrown by force.

The emergency, in fact, has brought peace,

except in Natal townships, where there is a struggle for power between the ANC-UDF and Inkatha.

The radicals and their supporters have told us often enough that it is only a surface peace — that township resistance to the "system" has simply been driven underground.

At the same time government spokesmen like Dr Van der Merwe stress that the revolutionary potential or climate for violence is still there.

Most people would like to see the emergency lifted provided this does not lead to another bout of unrest that results in necklacings, burnings and destruction of schools and property.

Only the government and its security forces can judge whether the time is ripe to lift the emergency.

One major factor the government will have to bear in mind is the election.

Lifting the emergency now might be seen as weakness — and cost the National Party votes, particularly if there is a flare-up in unrest.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told Parliament last week that the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and other organisations would do everything in their power to disrupt the election because a peaceful and democratic election for 5-million people did not fit in with their plans for South Africa.

"Intimidation, threats and unrest will come as sure as we are sitting here," he said.

On balance, we do not think the government will lift the emergency. However, this does not stop it from easing restrictions where possible, including curbs on the Press.

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Citizen

22-05-89

UMSA suspends forum men

MEMBERS of the United Municipalities of South Africa (UMSA) who held executive positions with the National Forum have been suspended from all UMSA activities.

The motion was passed at a UMSA meeting at Khutsong township near Carletonville.

In a statement, the president of UMSA, Mr S

i Boya, said the National Forum was seen by UMSA and the majority of Blacks as "yet another wagon pulling Blacks into politics of coercion."

He said UMSA disassociated itself with the National Forum or any committee which did not involve the entire Black

population's consent.

"UMSA congratulates the leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk, in expressing his desire to negotiate with all political groups. This attitude has indicated to UMSA that Mr F W de Klerk is moving away from the politics of compulsion."

Mr Boya said if the National Party was sincere about negotiations, it should lift the state of emergency, unban all political organisations, release all political prisoners, remove all restrictions on freed detainees and create "a climate conducive for peaceful negotiations".

He said a special executive meeting of UMSA would be held within 21 days to discuss the future of the suspended members. — Sapa.

EVER SINCE the judges of the Supreme Court have taken to visiting detainees, the prisoners seem to have stopped killing themselves by slipping on bars of soap, or flinging themselves from high places, or falling on chairs.

This curious phenomenon helps to explain why many South Africans retain faith in the higher levels of the judiciary, even when they are convinced that all other organs of government are ineffectual.

Perhaps at this point I should hasten to say that I am not talking about the police whose role has lately been a matter of furious dispute. This is a political commentary, probably unfit to be read by policemen or children between the ages of two and 12, and it deals with the failure of the Cabinet to govern effectively.

Naturally, there will be some reference to various agencies of government — call them Vlok's Falcons, if you have a romantic turn of mind, or PeeWee's Parrots, or De Klerk's Cuckoos — but the comment is directed at the people who control them, not at mere dumb *apparatchiks*.

I begin with the detainees because they demonstrate so clearly what happens when a government ceases to govern in such a manner that justice is seen to be done. The judges are still seen to be effective; others are not.

When Neil Aggett was in detention, two magistrates and an Inspector of Detainees tried to see him and were told he was "not available" on the date on which, three weeks later, he alleged he had been tortured.

Then again, Mr Justice James, Judge President of Natal, acquitting four policemen on charges of killing Joseph Mdludli in detention, said medical evidence cast "grave doubts on the evidence of the policemen" that he had fallen against a chair.

The judge said the matter should not be left in that unsatisfactory state, but the Attorney-General of

Natal could not put together "even a prima facie case," and there the matter still lies.

No country is perfect. One or two such cases may occur in any society, but SA has had scores: Steve Biko, Looksmart Ngudle, Aggett, even an unnamed man who died in the Carletonville cells of undisclosed causes, and whose widow received from government an ex gratia payment of R5. Biko's killing remains a judicial mystery, but his family was paid much more.

These things have given SA a certain reputation. It has reached the stage when even playful sex comedies like "A Fish Called Wanda" can raise a cheap laugh by saying that a psychopathic thug who fled to SA became the Minister of Justice.

This country's name is a metaphor for evil. Pik Botha and his diplomats fight, as a result, against very heavy odds. So does the Reserve Bank, which is having trouble these days meeting its own targets. The odds in dealing with the outside world are so heavy that half the country's best businessmen have left, or they are thinking of it.

The failure of the criminal justice system to protect prisoners, or at

least to explain in convincing terms the astonishing sequence of deaths in detention that preceded personal supervision by the judges, has also done great damage at home. It has deeply eroded public faith in the entire justice system.

Many people no longer expect political crimes to be solved, so they have taken to nominating guilty people, with or without evidence. A few years ago, people who thought Natal lecturer Richard Turner had been assassinated by Cuckoos or Parrots, or perhaps even a more predatory flock, commissioned a firm of lawyers to survey the available evidence.

The findings were not quite conclusive, and the mystery was allowed to linger. When David Webster, the Wits lecturer, was recently assassinated, no such restraint operated. The "rightwing" was instantly pronounced guilty; practically nobody cared a fig for the evidence, one way or the other.

When the expectation of justice

When faith in justice falters, the thugs rule

BUSINESS DAY
22 MAY 1989

KEN OWEN

dies, so does the need to suspend judgment. People say what they like. They blame the Cuckoos, or off-duty Falcons, or any other politically convenient scapegoat.

The remedy, of course, is to catch the murderers, and bring them to public trial, and convict them on the evidence. But the Cabinet can no longer be sure of achieving such complicated ends; so they bend all their efforts to silencing the news media. That is why we have emergency regulations, and media spokesmen, and special arrangements between various bureaucracies and the Newspaper Press Union.

Facts aren't worth much anymore. Murders committed at one end of the political spectrum are reported with passionate conviction; murders committed at the other end of the spectrum are ignored. And since the criminal justice system is no longer likely to prove you wrong, you can blame any scapegoat who suits your political cause.

Among the people who now believe that killers don't get caught, and justice doesn't get done, are those with the most compelling interest in the matter: the killers. The failure of criminal justice becomes

an open invitation to settle political arguments with the knife or the gun, or the club or the burning tyre; the odds have surely never been so much in the killer's favour.

Where faith in justice falters, intimidation rules. The most complete breakdown of criminal justice in the West, so far as I know, has been in Sicily where a succession of oppressive and unjust foreign rulers taught the people that the law was an enemy, that justice was done only by the family and that silence — omerta — was the price of survival.

In recent times, the Sicilian conspiracy has defeated the Italian system of criminal justice; public prosecutors who have tried to penetrate the silence have been knee-capped or killed. The conspiracy stretches across the Atlantic to the United States, where it shields drug rings and crooked banks, as it once shielded liquor dealers.

This is what the Cuckoos and the Falcons and the entire incompetent aviary of government is bequeathing to the next generation of South Africans. Already some bureaucratic birds of prey cry that they can't do their job because they can't break down the intimidation.

That is sadly true. It was fear of speaking out that kept the townships in turmoil in 1985 and 1986. "Look, look," cried one gang of killers to a television cameraman, making way for him to photograph a burning body. Look, they cried as they enforced boycotts by making aged shoppers drink detergent. Look what happens to black policemen, and town councillors, and other "collaborators of the system".

This is what happens when the instruments of government become so blunted, and the system runs down so badly, that killers go free, and people die without explanation, and the judges must be taken from the bench to go about the country, from cell to lockup, to make sure that nobody is slipping on a bar of soap, or flinging himself from a high place, or falling on a chair.

Tekere's party to contest by-election

CITIZEN 22-05-89

HARARE. — Zimbabwe Unity Movement (Zum) leader, Mr Edgar Tekere, said yesterday his new party would contest the Dzivaresekwa parliamentary by-election scheduled for next month, Ziana National news agency reports.

He told a news conference in Harare that the party, formed last month, would hold an election rally in Dzivaresekwa on June 4 and that the candidate would be known by Friday.

The Dzivaresekwa parliamentary seat is vacant following the death last month of senior Political Affairs Minister Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, who committed suicide.

Mr Tekere said he would like a candidate of high calibre whom he could rely on in Parliament, because at the moment he was the only Zum MP. He said the ideal candidate should be able to play "the same vigorous game with me in Parliament."

Mr Tekere, who is former Secretary-General of the ruling Zanu (PF), was sacked from the party last year for not following proper procedures when airing views about the party. He then formed an Opposition Party.

He said the two ZUM

rallies which were scheduled for yesterday had been illegally banned, adding that there was no provision in the constitution allowing any authority to disallow a rally if seven days notice had been given.

Mr Tekere circulated a letter his party had received from the police, forbidding the rally in Mabvuku. The letter did not give reasons for the denial but said the party could apply for permission in future. — Sapa.

CITIZEN

22-05-89

ERPM, DURBAN

Mines
seek
financial
aid

Citizen

22-05-89

DEEP MAY CLOSE

Mines to close?

FROM PAGE 1

Higher bond rates announced recently come into effect at towards the end of the month and many home-owners face the prospect of losing their houses simply because they cannot afford the higher instalments.

South Africa's balance of payments is the biggest headache at the moment — gold is still the country's most-important single export product. Despite the favourable effect the weaker rand has on exports, the low gold price has put the trade ac-

count of the balance of payments in a vulnerable position.

Thus economists say it is likely that certain fiscal measures will be announced to protect the balance of payments.

● See Page 25.

IN SPITE of a 39 percent increase in attributable profits, from R66,8 million to R93 million, Rand Mines still says there is a danger of the imminent closure of ERPM and Durban Roodepoort Deep.

In its interim report for the six months to end March, 1989, Rand Mines says Durban Roodepoort Deep and ERPM in particular have — because of lower gold prices and rising costs — been hard hit and “at prevailing gold prices, are both incurring substantial losses”.

By Sapa and Daan de Kock

“Alternative strategies to avoid further losses are being evaluated.

“Representations have been made to government for further financial assistance to enable the two mines to continue their mining operations — a matter which is under urgent consideration,” the interim report says.

On Friday, Rand Mines suspended the listing of both mines in South Africa on the London Stock Exchange and the Paris Bourse.

“In the event that Dur-

ban Deep and ERPM stop mining operations, Rand Mines' investment will be written off as an extraordinary charge against reserves, which are more than adequate for that purpose,” the interim report says.

Mining sources said yesterday more than 300 000 jobs could be affected by the falling gold price as the industry begins to purge its marginal mines.

The mines are major employers of Blacks.

The closure of mines

comes as the economy slows down and mining groups are locked in tough negotiations with the powerful National Union of Mineworkers.

Meanwhile new measures may be taken by the authorities to protect South Africa's balance of payments should the gold price fall any further, as is being predicted.

Apart from the weak gold price, the country faces another possible petrol price increase as the value of the rand slides against most of the world's currencies.

TO PAGE 2

Cohen fights apartheid

WASHINGTON — Calling apartheid an "outrageous human rights catastrophe," President Bush's nominee to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Herman Cohen, told the US Senate that, if the United States does "nothing else in Africa during the next four years, we must work every day to promote a negotiated, non-violent

transition to a new constitutional system" in South Africa.

The new system, Cohen continued, must "guarantee equal political rights, and equal economic and social opportunity, for all South Africans regardless of race or ethnic affiliation."

"I do not expect a day to go by during which I would not be deeply troubled by the outrageous human rights

catastrophe known as apartheid," he emphasised during his confirmation hearing before the Foreign Relations Committee.

Africa is "a continent with enormous problems and significant challenges for US policy," he said, "but we — and the African people — continue to have high hopes for the future."

Cohen called on Congress to work together with him "to seek solutions to

problems, to rise to some of the challenges, and to fulfill some of the hopes of these courageous, hard-working people."

In his prepared statement, Cohen said that Africa is important to the United States for numerous reasons, among them: American strategic and national security interests, and a whole range of economic developmental, human rights and humanitarian concerns.

Twelve percent of

Americans trace their ancestry to Africa, he said, and they "want their government to reflect their ties of blood, culture and spiritual heritage".

If confirmed by the Foreign Relations Committee and the full US Senate, Cohen will succeed Chester Crocker as the top African affairs official in the Bush administration.

Cohen paid tribute to Crocker, saying that "American prestige in

the region is at an all-time high" because of his predecessor's "brilliantly mediated" and successful negotiation of Namibian independence.

"I believe we should try to build on that success in order to contribute to peaceful settlements of conflicts in Angola, Mozambique, and in South Africa itself," Cohen stated.

Looking at South Africa today, Cohen said, "I see some new thinking and a new sense

of realism among all the protagonists," which creates an opportunity for a major US role in pushing all parties "towards the imperatives of dialogue, negotiation, and compromise."

He emphasised that whatever negotiated constitutional changes resulted from the settlement, there must be "no losers".

He said the United States should "maintain a significant presence" in South Africa, and "coordinate our activities with our friends in Europe, Japan and the Frontline States who share our concerns about the future of southern Africa."

Cohen said that southern Africa "is not the only focus" of the administration's attention on the continent. In the area of economic development," he said,

Recognising that the "silent revolution" is "painful and hazardous," Cohen said "the US Government is responding... with targeted assistance designed to encourage the best performers" through the Development Fund for Africa.

"I believe the silent revolution in Africa deserves American support," through the Development Fund for Africa, private sector involvement, and debt reduction.

"I hope we can do more to encourage American business to take a new look at Africa" because of increasing trade and investment opportunities resulting from the economic restructuring, he said.

The African debt problem is "significantly different from debt in other regions," he said, because Africa's debt is largely owed to official creditors.

"I hope we can work together to find creative ways to make sure that the debt problems of Africa do not ultimately debilitate reform efforts undertaken with our encouragement and assistance," Cohen said.

SCA rejects rents move

SOWETAN 22/05/89

THE Soweto People's Delegation and the Soweto Civic Association (SCA) yesterday rejected the flat rate proposed by the council last week.

A spokesman for the SCA said the association rejected any announcement that the people of

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

Soweto should start paying while talks between the council and the Soweto People's Delegation (SPD) were still continuing. It said efforts to pressurise residents to start paying will breed conflict in the

townships.

A statement released by trade unionist, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, who led last week's talks with the council on behalf of the SPD, stated that the SPD was "not in a position to recommend to Soweto residents that they start payments of

service charges" the council has called upon the people to pay as from May 2.

The SPD said it is still to meet with the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) which grants "bridging funds" to the council and Eskom and the Rand Water Board which supplies Soweto with electricity and water respectively. The SPD will also meet the Johannesburg Municipality on the issue of a common tax-base.

The SPD also stated that: The Soweto council was R1 billion in the red — and was slipping deeper into debt.

- Soweto was grossly overcrowded — with an average of 10 people for each house. There was a shortage of 66 000 houses in greater Soweto, and no improvement was in sight.

- The low level of service provision in Soweto posed a health hazard for residents, particularly children, the elderly and sickly people.

- Soweto residents were unable to pay the high rent charges — a factor which led to the rent boycott, which is the only peaceful way in which residents could highlight their plight.

- That the government would like Soweto to be self-financing. For this to be realised residents will have to pay R250 a month rent.

The statement added: "Lasting solution to the problems, however, do not lie in Soweto. Not only does the Soweto City Council have insufficient resources and lacks credibility, it also has too little independence from the Transvaal Provincial Administration."

Sliding gold, wage calls killing marginals

300 000 jobs on line at 18 mines

THE STAR 22/05/89

Staff Reporters

The threat of unemployment looms over 300 000 workers on 18 gold mines as the sliding gold price begins to knock out our marginal mines.

This figure represents 60 percent of gold miners employed in the country and 40 percent of the total mine labour force.

The two mines at immediate risk are Rand Mines' Durban Roodepoort Deep (DRD) and East Rand Proprietary Mine (ERPM), two of SA's oldest mines, which together provide 20 000 jobs.

The Government expects today to receive an expert report on possible assistance to save ERPM and DRD.

The Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, said today the expert group had worked all weekend to complete the report.

The fate of the country's 18 marginal mines was highlighted last week when the gold price fell to its lowest level in nearly three years.

In Hong Kong today bullion opened at \$364. Last year's average price for gold was just over \$430. If the slump continues, the country could not only see the closure of numerous marginal mines, but also a loss in foreign exchange earnings to the tune of over \$1 billion (about R2,7 billion), which could force another round of austerity measures.

Durban Deep and ERPM called for assistance last week, as Rand Mines suspended their listings on the Johannesburg and the London stock exchanges. If this assistance is not forthcoming, the mines will close.

Local economy

The mines have been hard hit by the drop in the gold price and by a strong rise in working costs, caused partly by inflation and partly by more difficult mining conditions as both mines get older and have to go deeper.

The two mines spend about R50 million every month, much of which goes to sustaining the economy of their local areas.

The higher working costs of the mines are also likely to lead to increased confrontation between the mining houses and the powerful National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which last month pushed for a doubling of the minimum wage in some job categories on the mines.

NUM press officer Mr Jerry Majatradi said Rand Mines had not directly informed workers of the situation. He said management's decision would be challenged at both mines.

Mr Majatradi acknowledged that the mines had been established since 1894, and had probably reached their last days, but said management should transfer its interests to other industries within SA and secure jobs there.

He said the NUM was opposed to retrenchment in principle, but said Rand Mines' aggressive approach to retrenchment at its mines over the past few years had eroded some of the union's power to oppose it.

"Since 1986, ERPM, a major employer in the Boksburg area, cut its labour force from 18 000 to 11 000. Figures from Durban Deep, near Roodepoort, show they have reduced their labour force by 25 percent since 1987."

'Starvation wages'

Mr Majatradi said that given workers were earning a minimum wage of R260 a month, it was unlikely that a doubling of their wages to R540 would cripple the industry.

"The announcement by the Chamber of Mines of the possible closure of the 18 mines is obviously an attempt on their part to pressure workers to accept starvation wages in the face of annual wage negotiations."

But Chamber of Mines general manager Mr Johann Liebenberg said that, if granted, the NUM's recent wage demand for a 118 percent increase in wages would mean that 75 percent of mines operating in the industry would be wiped out.

He said drastic steps would have to be taken to decrease the working costs of mines, many of which were now costing far more than the value of their ore.

Dr Marais disclosed that he would be investigating the position of all marginal mines. He had asked the Chamber of Mines to prepare a report on their long and short-term prospects.

The solution for the ERPM and Durban Deep crisis would have to take into consideration the position of all marginal mines.

"We can't help them in such a way that we give all to them and leave nothing for others."

● See Page 14.

Inkatha members injured in Mpumalanga

Two attacked before funeral

by BRYAN PEARSON

TWO Inkatha members were attacked in Mpumalanga on Saturday morning — one on her way to the funeral of slain Inkatha chairman for the area, Zakhelo Nkehli.

The attacks fuelled the already tense situation in the township which increased with the death of Mr Nkehli on May 3 from injuries he sustained in December when he was shot in the neck while driving his car.

However, a massive police presence ensured that the funeral — which was attended by between 8 000 and 10 000 mourners — proceeded peacefully.

The more than 20 buses bringing Inkatha supporters from the Durban area were searched before they were allowed to enter Mpumalanga and according to the bus drivers, police confiscated "piles of guns, knives and spears".

However, a KwaZulu Police spokesman at the roadblock said that only "traditional" weapons had been found and that these would be returned to their owners after the funeral. Other sources indicated that a shotgun and a number of homemade firearms had been confiscated.

A senior Inkatha official attending the funeral surmised those on the buses had been carrying the weapons "for self defence".

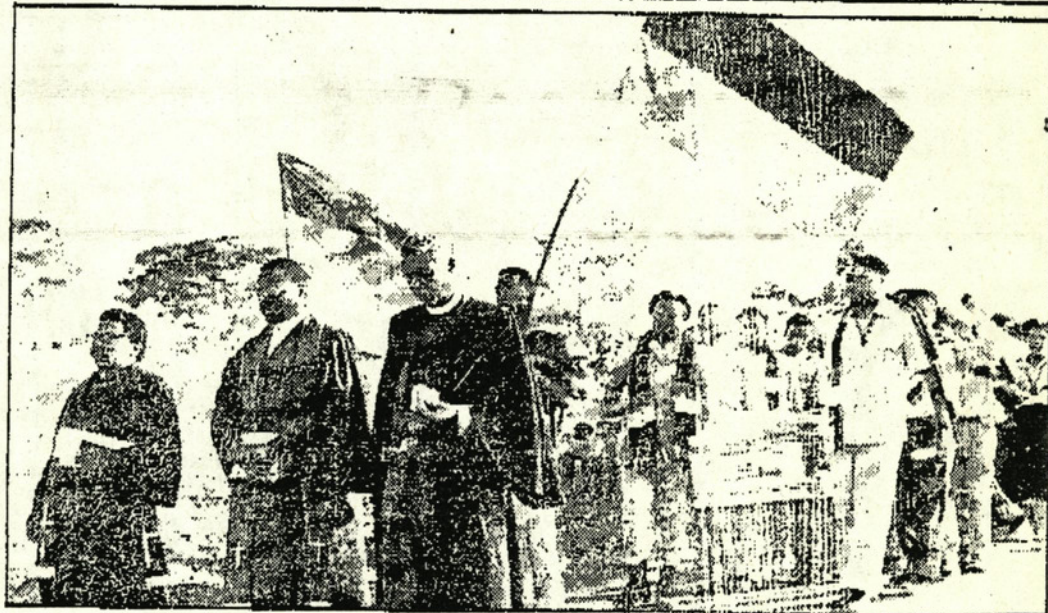
Speaking while waiting for an ambulance to take her to hospital, Miss Ntombi Mncube (23) said she had been sitting next to the window of a bus on the way to the Mpumalanga College of Education — where the funeral was held — when she was "shot in the head". However a police spokesman said the bus was stoned and Miss Mncube had been struck by a stone.

The other victim, Buyisiwe Mhlongo (14) — who spoke to The Natal Witness from a blood-drenched bed where she was lying with a gaping wound in her arm — said she



ABOVE:
Inkatha supporters arrive for the funeral of Mr Zakhelo Nkehli.

RIGHT:
The coffin of Mr Zakhelo Nkehli is carried to its final resting place in Mpumalanga cemetery.



had been sweeping her house when a man armed with a shotgun entered the room and shot her in the arm. She said her home was near a bus-stop where a number of mourners had gathered to await transport to the funeral.

The funeral was attended by a number of senior Inkatha and KwaZulu officials, including the Minister of Justice, Mr C.J. Mthetwa; the Deputy Minister of Works, Mr Velaphi Ndlovu; KwaZulu Urban Representative Mr V.V. Mvelase; the national chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, Mr

Musa Zondi and a number of members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Mr Mthetwa read out a message of condolence by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in which he praised the 32-year-old Mr Nkehli as a "young lion of Inkatha who died in the service of his people".

"The senseless slaying of our young men, women and children must now cease," Mr Buthelezi said. "Let there now be peace among the oppressed so that they may be joined together in a final assault on injustice."

Natal Witness
22/5/89

Peace move is God's will — Buthelezi

THE current peace move regarding township strife in Natal/KwaZulu came from God whose divine will it was that people must now stop the black confrontation which led to maiming and killing, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

The Inkatha president was speaking at a rally at the Emandleni-Malleng youth camp marking the National Day of Prayer. He said Christ was working on every side of all political divisions, but there was a terrible danger that people would spurn God in their midst because they put party political considerations above Christian commitments.

Peace talks between Inkatha and Co-

satu/UDF planned for Saturday did not take place following Mr Buthelezi's refusal to hold the meeting at any venue other than Ulundi. Cosatu and UDF officials had wanted a neutral venue and refused to accept Ulundi as the appropriate meeting place.

At Saturday's Inkatha rally, Mr Buthelezi said that the real change taking place in South Africa was that God was working in the minds of the people.

"Any minister of religion... who dictates what his flock shall and shall not think about life and walks out in front of them, daring them to be left behind, walks alone and without God." — Sapa-WR.

Natal Witness
22/5/89

The Natal Witness

Peace talks venue

While the government remains unwilling to concede that something more constructive than firm policing is needed to resolve the ongoing violence in Natal, the people whose lives are being devastated will surely be thoroughly dismayed that the peace talks planned for the past weekend failed to get started. By their agreement that talks should be held, the UDF and Cosatu on the one hand and Inkatha on the other tacitly admit their ability to contribute towards peace. This being so, it follows that by allowing themselves to be diverted by obstacles in the way of setting up the talks, they are in effect delaying the achievement of that peace. In all negotiations, particularly in negotiations between mutually antagonistic parties, the question of venue is significant and potentially vexed, and a neutral venue is the general norm. Despite Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's protestations, Ulundi can hardly be deemed a neutral venue, and a compromise will have to be reached. Having granted that talks could be fruitful, the leaders involved must now show the statesmanlike magnanimity needed to get them going.

THE NUMSA CONGRESS



Some of the 744 delegates who attended the Numsa congress in Johannesburg.

Pics by MOFFAT ZUNGU



Numsa president Mr Sphiwe Dube called for greater unity.

Numsa

• From page 1

or other role model for socialism.

Numsa was however committed to the Freedom Charter, not as an absolute, but as a starting point "towards maximum democracy," he said.

A brief overview of resolutions passed were presented at the end of the four day congress as:

- Introductions to Congress Resolutions — an analysis of the present situation was adopted as an introduction to all resolutions;
- Mr Harry Gwala was honoured as the Honorary President of Numsa;
- Numsa newspaper — the congress resolved to start a union newspaper;
- The process of political settlement — the congress indicated its strong opposition to any negotiations with the Nationalist Government before basic conditions of political freedom are established;
- Violence — Numsa resolved to take a number of actions in regard to violence of vigilantes and violence during strikes;
- Working class unity — the congress agreed that there should be a timetable to strengthen co-operation with Nactu and other independent unions. To continue towards one trade union one federation;

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- Political policy — the resolution deals with the need to rebuild community structures and to rebuild the mass democratic movement's strength in a more centralised form than the present;

- LRAA ! A range of actions against the Labour Relations Amendment Act were agreed to;

Other resolutions have been referred to a special extended meeting of the central committee which will meet in June.

Elections for office bearers were held with the following persons voted into office.

President: Daniel Dube (a shop steward at SKF in Uitenhage).

- First vice-president: Maxwell Xulu (a shop steward at Smiths Industries in Pinetown);

- Second vice-president: Percy Thomas (a shop steward at Market Cars Cape Town);

- Mayekiso (a full-time official).

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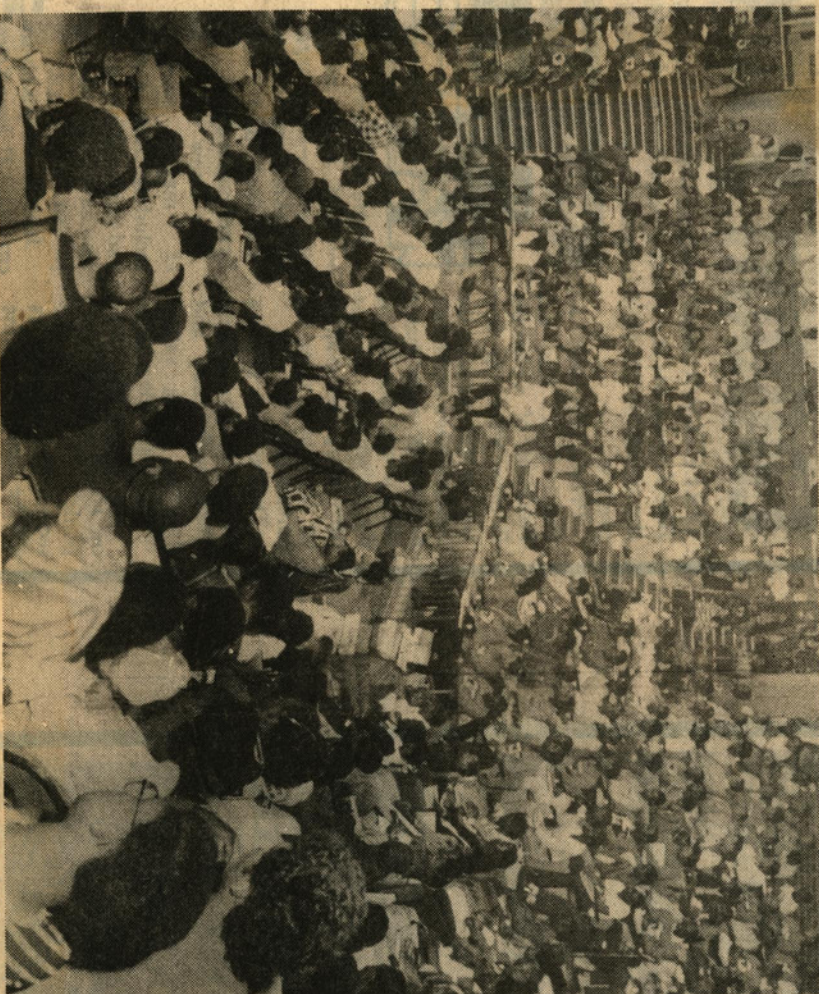
Delegates at the Numsa congress break into a toyi toyi at the congress.



General Secretary of Numsa, Mr Moses Mayekiso, who was elected to the post while in detention, giving his secretarial report.

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Workers listen to the speeches by union leaders at the congress in Gosforth Park.



Released ANC leader, Mr Harry Gwala, addressing the Numsa Congress.





A letter from . . . Lionel Abrahams

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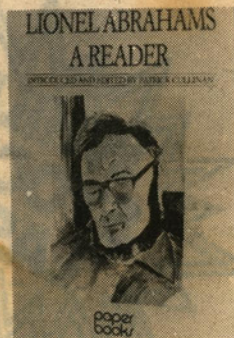
I AM extremely flattered to have this letter from the writer Lionel Abrahams, and if it is vain to use it in full as a form of public relations exercise for my initiative, let me pay the price.

For praise from a fellow writer of such standing, who is both my senior and type of hero, cannot go unrecorded.

As my modesty tells me this is an unusual thing to do, I might as well go the whole hog by giving a pen picture of Abrahams which comes from the sleeve-notes of a book on his writings by Patrick Cullinan. The book is called *Lionel Abrahams - A Reader* and was published by AD Donker.

Mr Cullinan writes: "The contribution that Lionel Abrahams has made to South African English literature is undisputable. As a distinguished poet, critic, editor and publisher, Lionel Abrahams has devoted his life to creative writing and the encouragement and promotion of new literary talent.

"South African literature is particularly indebted to him for his editing of the works of Herman Charles Bosman. Abrahams has published three volumes of poetry including the acclaimed *Journal of a New Man* and a noteworthy sequence of stories *The Celibacy of Felix Greenspan*.



Cover of *Reader*.



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Poetry

"This volume, *A Reader*, contains a selection from his published poetry and prose as well as selections from a large volume of uncollected essays and critical work and is edited, and introduced, by his lifelong friend and poet Cullinan and is espec-

ally published to honour and salute him on his sixtieth birthday."

The letter makes me feel good as it comes from an outstanding literary figure. It is also supportive of nation building. I am reproducing it almost in full and while I blush at the praise, it seems to me important coming from a man who is venerated in my craft.

He writes: "Dear Mr Klaaste, I am writing in response to the article about you and your ideas in the *Weekly Mail*. I had not read what you have written about Nation Building, so this was my introduction to your thinking. I am impressed and moved, on one level by the sanity and imaginativeness of your

approach, on another by your own courage, frankness and wisdom.

"I hesitate only, I feel bound to remark, over the element of inauthenticity in your relations with your financial helpers.

"I have no special qualifications to judge matters in the fields of sociology, economics or politics, but it does seem to me that yours is a wonderfully constructive and practical programme, offering more hope for South Africa than any other proposal I can remember hearing of.

Abilities

"Your perception that people may acquire abilities, confidence and authority through their participation in projects designed to improve the circumstances of their lives, and that these strengths are prerequisites of political power, strikes me as a visionary insight, and deeply democratic in spirit.

Sense

"Your clear sense of what is necessary and possible in terms of strategy — i.e. your stance vis-a-vis resources and politicisation — is also most impressive to me. To the reservations of the *Weekly Mail's* reporter regarding your aloofness, so to speak, from overtly political approaches, I think it should be said that your programme must not be seen as in rivalry or opposition to politics but as supplementary to the orthodox approach by others.

"I would say that you were building-in the foundation and walls under their levitated

roof!) If only the "politics" could be trusted to see it that way and leave you to get on with your magnificent endeavour!

"My purpose in writing is to say, is there anything I can do to help? I don't have money. I am a writer of stories, poems, articles, liberal and 'moderate' in my social attitudes — so I don't know whether my voice raised in support of you would be useful."

Lionel Abrahams.

All the money in the world could not possibly be as supportive as this kind of encouragement.

Debate

While Nation Building does need financial backing from those who have the money, I do not think we are overly concerned with that type of help. We need intellectual support, or criticism. We need debate at this level.

I have been told of other intellectuals who are saying the initiative is a "failure". Their problem is they do not seem to have the guts to say that in print and give reasons for their extraordinary conclusions.

Initiative

If the number of seminars I am addressing these days is anything to go by, if the number of people who are plaguing me at work and at home about this initiative, then it must be the most singular, the most extraordinary type of failure.

We thank Lionel Abrahams for his kind words.

Was Venda's Chief Mphephu poisoned?

FRIDAY April 15 1988 was a normal working day for Chief Patrick Mphephu as he went about his duties as President of the Venda homeland.

He arrived at the office just after 8am, saw Justice Minister Mr A A Tshivhase, then the Foreign Minister and an Ambassador during the morning tea break.

He left his office about 1pm for a function at a centre called Goede Hoop and came back a happy man. He continued with his work until 4.30 when he bid his private secretary goodbye for the weekend.

But by the following morning, Chief Mphephu was a critically ill and dying man, wobbling in his bedroom and unable to reach the toilet without leaning against the wall.

Running

An aide said there was clear indication in the morning that he had been having a running stomach. A doctor was called and he was later flown to a private hospital in Pretoria.

Doctors said all vital organs including the heart, lungs, liver and kidneys had failed. Attempts to raise the blood level by pumping water into the body had clogged the lungs. Resuscitation machines were used as he sweated and shivered.

He died the following night writhing in pain and passing blood

through the mouth, penis and scrotum.
The news of Chief

FOCUS



Chief Patrick Mphephu's death shocked many.

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Mphephu's death shocked many people in the homeland. The man who had been at the helm of the homeland's affairs since its inception, whose name had become synonymous with the homeland, was suddenly no more.

What had caused the sudden death of the 63-year-old chief who had become notorious for his uncompromising conservatism?

Rumours

Rumours were rife at the time that he had been poisoned. These rumours were denied by the South African Police in Pretoria who said he had died of multiple organ failure.

When the inquest

court sat in Louis Trichardt last week to determine the cause of death, those lucky enough to be allowed in were left in no doubt about what the family thought and had caused the death.

Poison

Widow Mrs Doris Mphephu, who surprisingly conducted cross examination of witnesses on her own without assistance of the lawyers, closely questioned renowned pathologist, Professor J D Loubser, about the presence of poison in her husband's body.

Prof Loubser said a thorough examination of the body had been conducted but no trace of poison would be found.

He said the rapid

decline of Chief Mphephu's condition was consistent with toxics derived from trees. He said Chief Mphephu's stomach had been empty of foodstuff but filled with blood. There had therefore been no food residues to check from.

In answer to a question by Mrs Mphephu, Prof Loubser said it was possible that if Chief Mphephu had been poisoned, the substance could have left the body with the heavy diarrhoea that had marked the beginning of the end of the president.

The kitchen staff at the palace were also called as well as the chief body guard, Major Samson Muladelo Raphulu. All were closely questioned by Mrs Mphephu about food preparation and what Chief Mphephu actually had for supper.

Wine

Evidence was led that police had searched the bedroom 4 days later and found a glass of wine, a coke, beer and biltong.

None of the staff members could explain how the items had got into the bedroom. Mrs Mphephu said she was not satisfied with the medical findings as well as the police investigations.

"They did not visit my husband's office or the house and there were no thorough inquiries into the procedures followed when tea was served to him and his visitors," Mrs Mphephu said.

Inquest magistrate, Mr W A J van Zyl, said he was "personally concerned about the symptoms the president displayed prior to his death."

He said he was however satisfied that Prof Loubser had done everything he could to determine the cause of the organ failure.

Absence

In the absence of any other evidence, he ruled that Chief Mphephu had died of multiple organ failure and that no one was responsible for this.

The finding has not answered the question of why a healthy 63-year-old man who was smiling the previous day as he prepared for a Saturday engagement, should wake up in an advance state of degeneration with all vital organs about to cease.

Was he poisoned? This is the question that will continue to reverberate. Mrs Mphephu's declaration that she was not going to let the matter rest is a sure indication that at least the family believes Chief Mphephu's condition was a result of poisoning.

Government stung by the

The Government seems desperate to "de-militarise" its octopus-like National Management System
Political Correspondent **BRUCE CAMERON** reports from Cape Town

securocrats

FIRST established in the early eighties as the "total answer" to the "total onslaught", the National Management System has increasingly been given the image of a creeping military coup.

In recent months Government Ministers, including President P.W. Botha, have been stung by the term "securocrat" and the image that the Government is being controlled by securocrats.

It has even changed the name of the system from National Security Management to National Management.

Last week the Government called a Press conference to reject any suggestion that Government was being overly influenced by the securocrats and that control lay

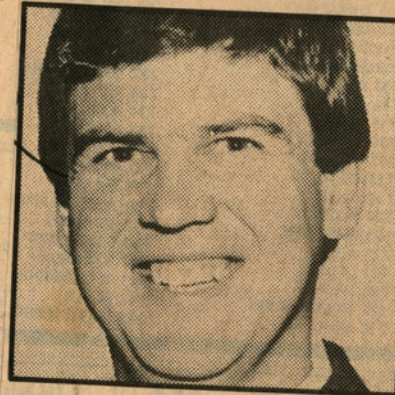
firmly in the hands of civilian politicians.

But at the Press conference Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Deputy Minister of Police, Mr Leon Wessels, who is nominally in charge of the system, and General Charles Lloyd, secretary of the State Security Council, had difficulty in explaining why the whole system was dominated by military and police officials.

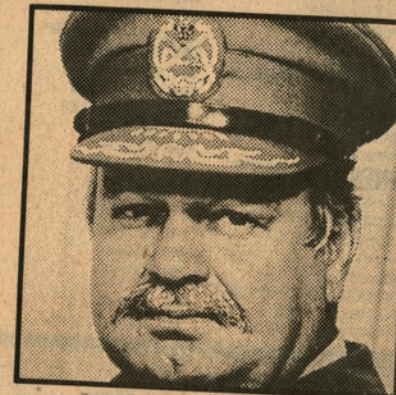
Dr van der Merwe said the appearance of the word securocrat was part of an attempt to create the impression that there was a "government within a government".

This was however wrong — the system was "nothing more than the co-ordination of government".

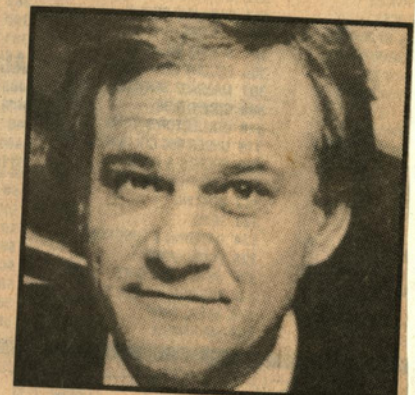
General Lloyd, although conceding the system was dominated by



Leon Wessels



General Lloyd



Stoffel van der Merwe

the security forces, said the first objective of the national management system in 1984 had been to quell the violence.

The second priority was welfare.

The unrest had been brought under control and the target had now become the improvement of welfare.

General Lloyd, who avoided saying whether he saw himself as a bureaucrat or a securocrat, said it should be remembered it was the military who advocated that

eighty, twenty principle.

In terms of the principle 80 per cent of the solution to gaining security was political.

Dr van der Merwe fielded a question on why welfare improvements should not be based on moral rather than security grounds.

He said both were intertwined.

General Lloyd said the national management system was basically a matrix management system used all over the world.

In terms of the system no government department could carry out its functions without taking into account the activities and the impact on another department. Problems of one department should not create problems for another department.

It was aimed at working towards targets and setting priorities.

The system had been structured at the central level under the State President and his Cabinet with the State Security Council, which was

Government Stung by the Securocrats.

chaired by the President, being one of the Cabinet sub-committees.

The State Security Council has various sub committees serving it — all chaired by deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels.

Two of these are the Working Committee of the SSC of the directors general of all the government departments and what is basically an executive of the committee, called the nuclear working committee.

The nuclear committee is made up of the security elements of the working committee.

The third committee is the National Joint Management Committee which oversees a phalanx of regional JMCs and mini-JMCs.

Mr Wessels said the implication in the word securocrat was that democracy was being militarised.

But he said the system was not under the control of security people but of politicians.

Neither did the national JMC control any funds. Any tasks also remained the job of line function

departments.

There had been three phases in bringing the unrest under control. The first, which was dominated by the security sector, was to bring the unrest under control.

The second was to address welfare needs. Because of the historical backlog and the acceptance of the permanence of blacks in urban areas the welfare situation could not be resolved overnight.

The emphasis had however changed from the security aspect to welfare.

He believed however that a new phase had now been reached where political solutions were receiving greater attention.

Dr van der Merwe said it was true that in all cases the JMCs were chaired by police or defence officials but this was because of the first phase of restoring order.

He compared the function of the national management system with that of a town council attempting to prevent a new road being dug up by one department within weeks of being laid by another department.