

16 April 1989

SUNDAY TIMES

# Perspectives

## Don't shoot the piano players!

(THEY'RE DOING THEIR BEST TO GET THE TUNE RIGHT)

WHEN Samuel Johnson said "All argument is against it; but all belief is for it", he was talking about life after death, not the Democratic Party.

But he might just as well have been.

Much argument preceded and accompanied the formation of the first united Opposition to the Government since the heyday of the United Party nearly 30 years ago.

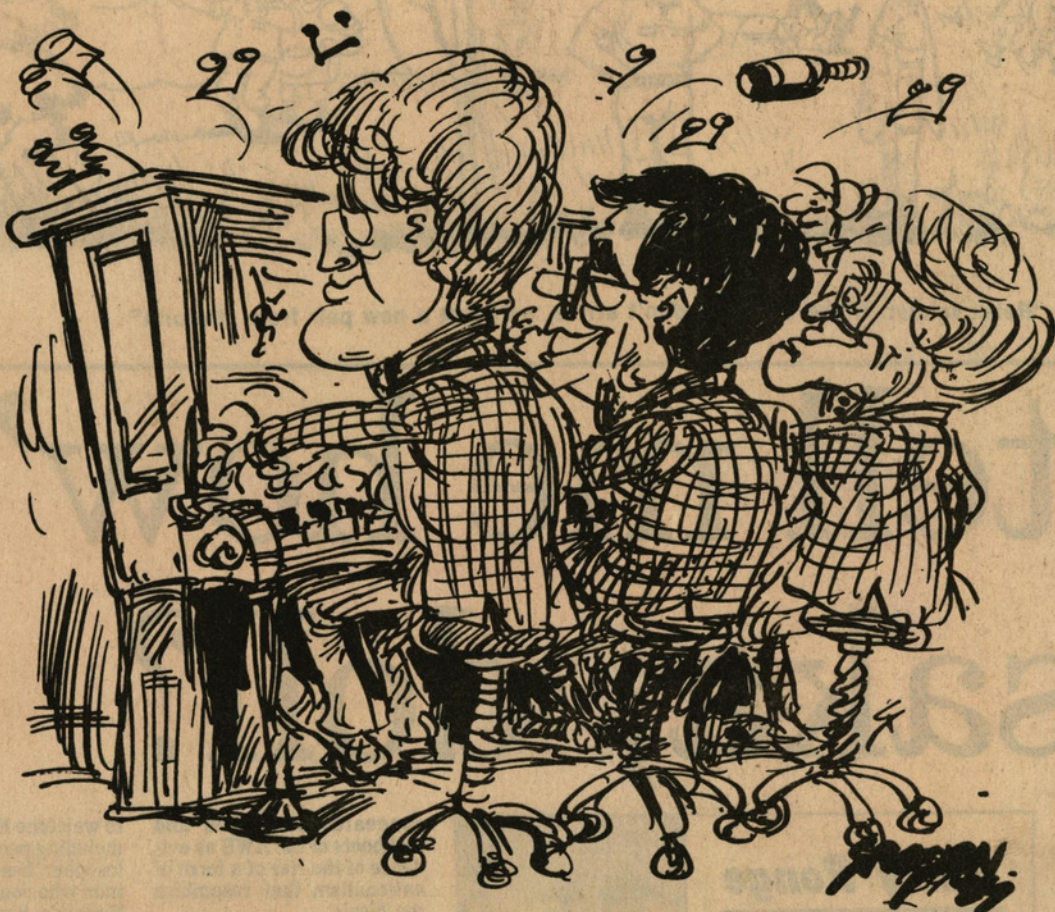
Much argument is to come as it struggles to mould its disparate elements to meet the challenges that lie ahead.

And argument is virtually certain to escalate to antagonism when the time comes to dump two members of the leadership troika in favour of one.

But all through the argument — and, presumably, that yet to come — the belief held that the right thing was being done; that South Africa was being tugged back into recent history by rightwing opposition; that creative opposition was needed to fill the agenda-setting role the Government is failing in; and that offering several parties for the job was an unaffordable luxury.

However, this didn't prevent argument over the issue being conducted at least partly in the public domain, being reported in the Press, and being relished and exploited by the movement's political opponents.

Largely, that is what makes this process of argument worth looking at again — particularly now that its first chapter is completed.



**Lester Venter**

*Sunday Times Political Correspondent, examines the chances for harmony in the Democratic Party's diversity*





Sunday Times - 16 April 1989

By PETER KENNY  
Oshakati

NORTHERN NAMIBIA remained tense and confused this weekend as the United Nations waited to repatriate hundreds of retreating Swapo guerrillas to Angola.

Despite a tenuous agreement between all parties on a safe passage for Swapo fighters, nine more guerrillas died in clashes with security forces on Thursday.

By midday yesterday, deadline for the safe passage offer, no more Swapo fighters had reported to designated assembly areas and the South African Administrator-General extended the deadline by another six days.

## SUSPICION

Poor communications have led to UN troop commanders and officials being cut off from their headquarters in Windhoek.

"We are terribly frustrated," an Australian officer said. "We don't know what is going on."

UN troops were kicking the dust in the hot, dry scrubland — waiting expectantly for guerrillas to come pouring into the assembly points.

But with deep suspicion expressed by civilians about

the proximity of heavily armed SA bases to the monitoring points it looks to UN troops as if waiting for guerrillas could be like waiting for Godot — it might never happen.

Namibia's precarious peace plan entered its third week on a knife edge as more isolated skirmishes between SA forces and Swapo guerrillas raged.

In the latest flashes, in the remote Swartboysdrift area of northern Kaokoland, nine Swapo fighters were killed in

fighting with security forces on Thursday.

On Tuesday, another four guerrillas were killed in a clash in the Eenhana area of north-east Namibia, bringing the number of Swapo fighters reported killed in the last two weeks to 76.

SWA Police and SA Army losses remained at 27.

Despite the roar of Ratel armored cars and Casspir troop carriers throughout the Owambo region this week, UN and SA officials and missionaries believe that UN

Security Council Resolution 435 for a ceasefire and elections leading to independence was still on course.

## TENSION

At the headquarters of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia, at Ontta, where the first four guerrillas handed themselves to missionaries for repatriation via the UN, there were no signs of more arriving on Saturday.

Mr Olle Eriksson, a Namibian missionary of Finnish

descent, said guerrillas were scared to come in "because of the police and army wall around us".

"I think 435 is still going to function. But it won't function as well as intended and there will be quarrelling about every step of the process."

During the week, tension erupted between UN troops monitoring the assembly points and SA forces dug in at nearby bases.

A UN patrol was called out to the Epembe Missions, near

the Okankolo monitoring points placed in the midst of the area of some of the worst fighting last week, and where a heavy guerrilla presence was still reported on Saturday.

British Captain Joe Cooper, 24, of the 30 Signals Regiment, led two UN vehicles into the mission grounds where a heavily armed SA platoon was dug in.

He strode up to a young SA second lieutenant and said to him: "Sir, I don't think you are acting in the spirit of the



Two Swapo fighters who handed themselves over to Untag at Oshikango

agreement for the repatriation of guerrillas by your presence here.

"If you stay here it will prevent us from getting the Swapo people back to Angola."

The young SA officer replied: "My orders are that we are not to shoot guerrillas, but must hand them over to you."

After their stand-off, the two officers saluted each other, saying they would report to their respective commanders.

One plucky group of Australian soldiers decided to try to follow a group of guerrillas they had heard about hoping to make contact with them to persuade them to gather at the assembly points.

They were informed by local civilians not to continue as the guerrillas would not come to the point but would make their own way to Angola after receiving orders from the Swapo leadership to do so.

On Saturday, it was reported that UN official representative in Namibia Martti Ahtisaari might visit the north to try to break the log-jam in the repatriation of the handful of guerrillas who had handed themselves over.

## BORDER

The officer in charge of the SA Army post at Oshikango, Commandant Jan Hougaard, one of SA's most decorated bush fighters, said: "If I was a member of Swapo I would not hand myself in here."

"I would just cross the border the same way I came in. Why would I want to hand in my weapons and have my name taken."

● See Page 14.



# Former 'rogue' Nat MP set to return

SUNDAY  
TIMES  
16 APRIL 1989

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

ONE of the country's most controversial, and irrepressible, political figures, Mr Louis Nel, is planning a comeback to Parliament.

The man who was once driven out of the National Party (then re-admitted) and later lost a Deputy Minister's post, is considering standing as an NP candidate in the general election this year — with the apparent approval of NP leaders.

In his roller coaster career, Mr Nel has been embroiled in:

- A fracas on an aircraft when he grabbed an insulting foreigner by the throat — to show him he was "dealing with a boerseun";

- The "bols affair" in which he accused then Transvaal leader of the Nats, Dr Andries Treurnicht, of telling an off-colour joke. He was expelled from the party — and later re-accepted after the intervention of Mr P W Botha;

## Newsmaker

- The "Gorongosa diary affair" in which the chance finding of a Renamo document alleged that Mr Nel had made secret trips to the Mozambique rebels — while he was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs;

- The "info song" debacle in which Mr Nel had to pilot a Government project to compose a song that cost R4.3-million — and more to broadcast when it flopped in the charts;

- A controversial land deal in which he represented Japanese business interests who wanted to buy SA Government-owned land in Tokyo.

He was iced out as the NP candidate in his Pretoria Central seat in the 1987 election.

But along the way Mr Nel was twice nominated newsmaker of the year.

It is understood Mr Nel has seen the NP leadership in the Transvaal and got the green light to run for nomination in either Randburg or Hillbrow.

He may consider more favourably the prospect of Hillbrow.

The NP won the seat with a slender majority in 1987.

It is currently vacant because its former Nationalist MP, Mr Leon de Beer, is in prison for falsifying votes.



Sunday Times - 16 April 1989

## WORLD WATCH

# Mugabe forgives six

**PRESIDENT Robert Mugabe has offered to pardon six disgraced senior government officials implicated in a massive scandal over black-market car deals.**

"I am still proud of them," Mr Mugabe told amazed correspondents at a Press conference, offering the six future rehabilitation after they had time to "adjust".

"All are really good men, by and large," said the president, praising their contributions to "revolutionary socialism" before they fell victim to "the evils of the capitalist system which we still have".

"I recognise that this one event should not mar their good performance in the past, and the party and Government will take regard of any adjustment they are able to make."

Observers point out that Mr Mugabe was motivated both by gratitude for their past loyalty to him during savage infighting in the Zanu party, and by his desire to

By DON JACOBS: Harare

prevent the six from joining the ranks of potential enemies.

But the president's unbribed attack on capitalism will hardly inspire the confidence of investors.

For three years advocates of urgent economic reform have vainly pleaded for radical liberalisation to create jobs for more than a million unemployed in a population of 9-million.

They will not be impressed by Mr Mugabe's excuse that the offenders — exposed by a commission headed by Judge Wilson Sandura — had run up debts because of their desire to "live high" and to meet the demands of their numerous relatives.

## President says he is 'still proud' of disgraced officials in car scam

Judge Sandura found that the six "grossly abused their positions" to order dozens of scarce new cars from the state-owned Willowvale assembly plant. Many of the vehicles were later resold for massive profits.

### Blow

In view of Mr Mugabe's forgiving tone, it seems unlikely the ministers will be prosecuted too rigorously for racketeering or perjury, as urged by Judge Sandura.

Last year Mr Mugabe gave a presidential pardon to a minister's wife who stole a baby at gunpoint.

A particularly heavy blow for Mr Mugabe was Judge

Sandura's censure of his mentor and close friend Mr Maurice Nyagumbo, a former waiter in beachfront hotels in Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

He rose to become a senior minister for political affairs — number three in Mr Mugabe's Soviet-style politburo — and the man with special responsibility for enforcing the puritanically socialist "leadership code".

The code bars Zanu (PF) stalwarts from owning more than one house, more than 20 hectares of land, or pursuing private business interests.

But the Sandura commission refused to believe that Mr Nyagumbo — a founder member of the Southern Rhodesia Communist Party — obtained no benefit from the

dozens of car deals he arranged.

President Mugabe ordered Judge Sandura to conduct a new probe into black market deals in trucks and buses, lashing out at rumour-mongering about further high-level corruption in his Government.

"It doesn't matter who is involved — we will expose them," he pledged.

But observers point out that, embarrassingly for Mr Mugabe, all those so far pilloried by the Sandura commission are members of outlying tribal groups acutely sensi-

tive to any loss of political influence.

Former Defence Minister Enos Nkala and Trade Minister Callistus Ndllovu were Mr Mugabe's first disciples in Matabeleland before his unity pact with Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu.

Education Minister Dzingu Mutumbuka and Minister of State for Political Affairs Frederick Shava are from the south-eastern Masvingo area, home of the influential Karanga section of the Shona people.

The only member of Mr Mugabe's own Zezuru section of the Shona tribe so far touched by party discipline is Mr Charles Ndllovu, who handed in his resignation as Deputy Minister of Sport on Friday after his conviction for fraud.

## Gold drops slightly

GOLD dropped the equivalent of 3.35 US dollars an ounce in Hong Kong yesterday, closing at \$386.03.

This compared with Friday's close of \$389.38.



## Curse

The reason is that the ability to argue differences openly and honestly, and then settle them, may prove to be the Democratic Party's single greatest asset in the divided society it must operate in. They may be playing slightly different tunes but they are all at the same piano.

South African politics has long since fallen under the sterile curse of uniformity.

It started when white South Africans chose for the country a government that promised racial exclusivity — and became compelled to legislate on the basis of fear that other South Africans would take away what the exclusive group wanted: Identity, jobs, land and nearly every other facet of life.

Along with the fear came insecurity, and insecurity brought with it the oldest foible of the intellectually infirm: The belief that those who are not with you are against you.

A reactionary left developed, emboldening itself with a belief in its own moral superiority — only to become simply the other side of the same tarnished coin.

Today, in radical opposition circles, those deemed not to be "ideologically correct" are dismissed as irrelevant.

In this way unity became understood to mean uniformity, and came to be seen as strength, while disagreement and debate came to be seen as weakness.

In this process an important political principle became obscured: Unquestioning and unqualified support for the party line is a mark of totalitarian systems; constructive conflict has

always been exactly what democracy is about.

The parliamentary democracies of the West enshrine conflict. It is guaranteed not only by the multi-party system but operates in the parties themselves.

Mrs Thatcher's Conservatives consist of many shades of opinion; liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats in America overlap enormously.

Our Parliament is unique in that all members of each party always vote in party blocks.

## Farcical

This obsession with rigid conformity, and the foregone conclusion it has superimposed on the outcome of every debate, is one of the main culprits in reducing so many of the procedures in Parliament so close to farce.

The public arena is the proper place for debate over the policies people intend to allow themselves to be governed by.

Political parties should not fear it — and up to now the Democratic Party has acquitted itself well.

There is great value in the formulation of public policy through democratic conflict; by devolving much of the responsibility onto voters, through their exposure to the debate, it forces the electors to think hard about what they want the elected to do and say — rather than making an impulsive and largely emotive choice once every five years.

This process also changes the emphasis on political leadership. The successful leader becomes

the one who best interprets public need rather than the one who can most successfully impose his will on it.

The fact that public need comes from a wide diversity of sources in this country is a fact not of the Democratic Party's making. It is a fact that many political parties have fallen on.

Some abused it through exaggeration. The National Party enshrined it and ended up institutionalising racism, an error it now admits. Parties to its right still wish to do so.

Some abused it through neglect. Many liberal parties have achieved little more than living out their wishful thinking that SA was a homogeneous society.

If anything, SA is set to become an even more diverse society as it moves into the 21st Century.

## Effective

By incorporating former white Nationalists and old-style liberals, by having members of different races, and by having official UDF and other radical observers at its launch, the Democratic Party has made a more effective start than any other in reflecting the nation's diversity.

But it hasn't nearly begun.

The party that proves it can best embody and live with diversity — by opening internal democratic channels through which that diversity can express itself without fatally injuring its parent body — will probably be the party with the best stake in the country's future.

THE recent visit by students from the University of Stellenbosch to Lusaka confirms an ever increasing disillusionment among young Afrikaners with their upbringing and its contradictory implications.

Moreover, it should be understood as an act of reasonable and responsible protest against traditional political leadership which is no longer trusted with its handling of a long-term future for South Africa.

This belief has its roots in a firm realisation that the future of South Africa cannot be determined through decision-making by a white minority — with the vast majority of the population being expected to conform to that minority's whims and fancies.

Hence, many young Afrikaners are refusing to accept that an organisation like the African National Congress should be written off as a terrorist or communist-inspired conspiracy which can be annihilated by a banning order in a Government Gazette, or by the rooting out of its supporters in South Africa and the frontline states.

The fact that these students continued their venture regardless of the odds dealt them by especially the National Party Press, illustrates their willingness to pursue a path which has cast them outside of the laager.

The forums in which most of the group participated, often seated beside the people whom they have

## Students' talks with ANC were a protest

### Mark Behr

*a Stellenbosch SRC member, explains why Maties recently went to Lusaka to talk to the ANC*

been taught to regard as enemy number one, were characterised by heated discussion and debate.

The issues on the agenda included: 1. Trends in the Afrikaner community and student movement; 2. Culture and education in a future South Africa; 3. The ANC-SACP alliance and economic policy; 4. The role of women in society as well as the ANC's policy of armed struggle.

While being addressed by people such as ANC president Oliver Tambo, SACP leader Joe Slovo and ANC cultural spokesperson

Barbara Masakela, the group was not inhibited from continually challenging or disagreeing with the ANC on a variety of issues.

Understandably, of these, the most important areas of disagreement were the armed struggle and violence as well as the ANC's controversial alliance with the South African Communist Party. Notwithstanding, it became clear very early in the discussions that the areas of agreement far exceeded those of contention.

Most striking about this safari to the ANC was the realisation among members of the delegation of the maturity and depth within the political organisation of the ANC.

In addition to such developments as the constitutional guidelines — which have received recent Press coverage following discussions between South African legal experts and the ANC — ANC diplomatic missions have assumed the proportions of governmental relations.

In the sphere of cultural development, the ANC has moved far beyond an understanding simply of the culture of resistance. One was impressed and reassured by the insight with which the ANC has developed a programme of the building of a national South African culture, which takes as its basis the diversity of culture in South Africa. It also uses the country's rich heritage in order to bind together rather than divide the nation.



# Can you lend us a jack, mate?

**Report:**  
**DAVID JACKSON**  
in Oshikango  
**Pictures:**  
**HERMANN PAINCZYK**

**THE** embattled United Nations took to the road in force this week in a determined effort to get its act together in Namibia.

But faced with the harsh realities of the African bush, it was a week when the wheels threatened to come off the operation — literally.

All week the blue-and-white UN convoys of four-wheel-drive vehicles snaked northwards along the road from Windhoek, bringing much-needed reinforcements to the UN monitoring contingent.

In the border bushveld, other UN personnel were waiting — in vain for the most part — for Swapo insurgents to come in from the bush.

For the Untag forces, Namibia's harsh and vast expanses are a world apart.

Two perspiring young Brits battle to change a punctured tyre at the roadside.

"Can you lend us a jack?" they



It ain't 'alf hot, mum! ... brollies up for this overheated UN convoy on the way from Windhoek to Oshakati

ask the Sunday Times team. "Our jacks are knackered." Further along the road, brand-new vehicles are stopped with their bonnets up to cool down overheated engines.

## Gutted

Where are they headed? "Osho-Oshi-Oshakati ... is that it?" asks a young British Untag member.

Oshakati in fact is a long, long way to the north. A fortress garrison in an Owambo-land hell-hole, where SADF troops, hardened and used to the terrain, have been fighting the bush war for more years than they care to remember.

In the opposite direction to the thin blue-and-white UN line, convoys of SA military vehicles head south.

For them the long haul could be nearing the end.

North-east of Oshakati, it is high noon at the former Santa Clara border control post at Oshikango, on the Namibian/Angolan border.

An Australian officer is seeking shade beneath a tree from which flutters a hastily raised blue-and-white United Nations flag.

All around are the signs of massive shootouts from battles past.

Colonel Richard Warren



# UNTAG FORCES SWEAT IT OUT IN SEARING HEAT OF THE NAMIBIAN BUSH IN A VAIN WAIT FOR SAM NUJOMA'S MEN

and his Untag contingent have met their midday deadline. Their assembly point in place, they sit back to await Swapo.

The backdrop of gutted and shell-pocked buildings is like a deserted film set.

Peasants on bicycles make their way carefully to the Angolan side, seemingly oblivious of undetected anti-personnel mines which could

blow them to smithereens at any moment.

The border post once saw some of the fiercest fighting in the Angolan civil war. Now, a few metres away, peace flags hang limply in the searing heat.

It is the unlikely rendezvous point for Swapo insurgents seeking to take advantage of the "safe haven" truce which will, one hopes,

end with their transportation back above Angola's 16th parallel.

An Australian TV team waits expectantly in a minibus parked nearby. More than 24 hours later, they are rewarded as four Swapo guerrillas — two of them wounded — are brought in from a church mission station nearly 40km to the south.

There are several other

such collection points scattered around the border bushveld. Aussies, Brits, Pakistanis and Malaysians, heavily outnumbered by South African-led security force personnel, are among the Untag vanguard.

## Daunting

More than 800km to the south in Windhoek, weary UN special representative Martti Ahtisaari, red-eyed and fighting back his irritation, tells a news conference: "It is a very precarious situation... but it is the best formula we have at the moment to save lives."

There are no guarantees of success. It's a hit and miss

operation. Mr Ahtisaari hints as much.

Slowly the UN is trying to mend the fences. But its monitoring mission is already two critical weeks behind schedule.

A giant transport plane disgorges the 271-strong Finnish contingent and its supplies at Windhoek. To add to the steadily growing UN mix a party of Irish troops was flying in with the latest Untag batch late this week. And 200 Kenyans have also arrived.

But the UN's supply lines are stretched to their limits. Already behind time because of a political squabble over Untag's budget, the logistics of monitoring Namibia's sprawling territory are daunting.

At the Oshikango border assembly point, Aussie lance-corporals Tony Langley and Lee Thomas lean languidly on their four-wheel-drive vehicle.

The trials and tribulations of Brits battling in the bushveld are a source of never-ending amusement to the Aussie contingent.

"We spend half our time waiting for the bloody Poms to arrive and the other half swatting mosquitoes," quips

## Beggar off, you rich lot

A VICAR has told people to stop giving money to beggars — because they are making too much.

The Rev Don Lewis told a conference in South Wales that scroungers in his city,

Swansea, rake in up to R80 an hour.

He said the money went on booze and added: "They buy only top brands of sherry."

But one beggar said: "I only make R80 a week."





The wheel comes off . . . young British Untag members struggle to change a flat tyre in the broiling Namibian heat



Battle-scarred . . . a peasant amid the rubble of the border post at Oshikango

one young Aussie. A few hundred metres away at a security force camp, weightier issues are being discussed.

Commandant Johan Hougaard, commander of 53 Battalion, briefs his UN counterparts, including a high-ranking Pakistani officer. He tells them that his men have swept the area for mines.

It is safe in the immediate vicinity, he advises, but else-

where, where newsmen are blithely trampling through the rubble, there could be undetected mines.

The atmosphere is relaxed. Untag and SA officers in their shirt-sleeves take over where the politicians have left off. They have to put the nuts and bolts on the "safe haven" assembly plan.

Commandant Hougaard tells newsmen that troops

have been pulled back to an area 10km to the east and west to give Swapo insurgents a chance to come in.

There is a flurry of excitement as figures are spotted approaching stealthily from the Angolan side of the border. They are armed. Swapo, perhaps?

The hopes are premature. A Fapla (Angolan army) border patrol has been attracted

by the activity. They are soon chatting amiably to the South Africans — former sworn enemies exchanging pleasantries on their old killing fields.

Back in Windhoek, Mr Ahtisaari tells of hourly radio broadcasts in several languages to persuade the insurgents to come in — and of appeals by loudhailer. But here in the Oshikango bush, there is only a deafening silence.

Less than 10km away, a roadblock is manned by the security forces. They heavily outnumber Untag. And therein lies the rub.

An Untag member says in a private aside: "If I was a Swapo guerrilla, I wouldn't come within 20 miles of the place."

## Avoid

The bush telegraph confirms the fears. Villagers who have had contact with Swapo cadres say the insurgents will avoid the assembly points because of the security force presence.

A windscreen sticker on an Untag vehicle proclaims: "Namibia: Free and fair elections."

At high noon in Santa Clara, they seem an eternity away.



# Mandela key to Nat talks

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

**THE new-look National Party is to revive its stalled attempts to draw blacks into negotiations about a future South Africa.**

And it is now widely accepted that the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mr Mandela is central to the success of the scheme.

This week Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis announced that the long-promised reform trump card — the Statutory Negotiating Forum — is to be established soon, perhaps even before the elections expected in September.

But, more important, there are indications the Government and other key parties are quietly readying themselves for Mr Mandela's release.

Evidence this week that points to this includes:

## Moves to speed up progress of reform

- Confirmation that a special committee set up recently to iron out difficulties in negotiations between Inkatha and the Government will meet Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to discuss the release of Mr Mandela.

The Inkatha President, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has insisted on the release of Mr Mandela as one of his main preconditions before starting negotiations with Pretoria;

- A personal letter written by Mr Mandela to Chief Buthelezi was read to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. In the letter the imprisoned leader thanked Chief Buthelezi for his efforts to secure the release of political prisoners;

- Indications that British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick might be granted an interview with Mr Mandela. This follows a recent statement by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, after a meeting with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, that she knew the South African Government was keen on releasing its political prisoner.

The release of Mr Mandela has now become critical to the Government's limping reform programme — and Pretoria would not be averse to sharing some of the credit with Chief Buthelezi, regarded by Pretoria as one of the most credible and conciliatory of black internal leaders.

The negotiations will probably be entitled the Statutory Negotiating Forum. Out of favour are the titles National Statutory Council and the "Great Indaba" — the name President P W Botha said black leaders preferred.

Pretoria is likely to give its official blessing to a meeting between Sir Robin and Mr Mandela.

If it does take place, it will do so against a background of intriguing events.

Britain pushed for the meeting after receiving hush-hush messages from Mr Mandela — the last being a "coded" letter in which Mr Mandela denied writing to Mrs Thatcher to thank her for her "positive stance" on SA.

But in the letter he indicated his preference for "a face-to-face discussion with you in person".

### Optimism

Mrs Thatcher is rapidly emerging as a possible "honest broker" in new peace initiatives in SA and the subcontinent.

This followed a meeting between Mr Pik Botha and the British Prime Minister on March 15 after which Mrs Thatcher told the House of Commons there was greater optimism than ever before for both Mr Mandela's release and peace in SA.

It is significant that Chief Buthelezi has been involved in the network of moves. Mr Mr Mandela wrote to him to urge reconciliation between ANC elements and the Zulu movement, Inkatha.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has also been invited to Lusaka for talks with the ANC.

SUNDAY TIMES  
16 APR. 1989



# Tutu clowns in courtroom

CITY PRESS

16-04-89

Trevor Tutu ... poses outside the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court wearing the traffic policeman's cap he is alleged to have damaged.

By HAPPY ZONDI

AFTER Trevor Tutu's attorney JH Bolleurs withdrew from his case this week, the irrepressible Tutu said: "I simply don't like his aftershave."

Tutu, son of Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu, entertained reporters throughout the

proceedings at the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court this week.

He has pleaded not guilty to crimen injuria, malicious damage to a policeman's hat, communicating false evidence about a bomb and obstructing police.

The trial continues on Tuesday.





**David Breier**  
**Political Correspondent**

**THE** far-rightwing return to petty apartheid in towns such as Boksburg and Carletonville could be outlawed shortly.

The Government is to announce this week whether it will introduce a Bill aimed at preventing the closing of amenities that have already been opened.

Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, told the Sunday Star he would address the issue in the coming week.

Government spokesmen, including Mr Heunis and his deputy Mr Roelf Meyer, have warned the CP against turning back the clock by undoing reforms that have already been achieved.

In turn the Nats have been accused of double-standards. The CP has been acting in terms of the Separate Amenities Act, which the Government has failed to remove from the statute book.

In October last year the Conservative Party won control of a number of towns in the municipal elections. They put up "whites only" signs in amenities such as parks which had previously been opened to all races.

This led to black consumer boycotts which have severely damaged businesses, notably in Boksburg and Carletonville where the controversy has centred.

The controversy threatens to become an explosive issue in the general elections expected to be held in September, with the National Party and CP both planning to make the most of it.

*Sunday Star*  
**Bill may outlaw closing of already open amenities**



**MR HEUNIS**

Dr Andries Treurnicht, CP leader, said this weekend that it appeared from various sources as if the Government was preparing to introduce the Bill.

"Let them do it. They will see the results as more and more people say they do not want to

vote for the NP again," he said.

He said such a law would expose the contradiction in NP policy as CP councils were reserving amenities in terms of the Government's own Separate Amenities Act.

Dr Treurnicht added that the NP had until now stated that each community had the right to decide with whom it wanted to associate. If the Bill was forced through, this would show up the contradictions in Government policy, he said.

Mr Harry Schwarz (DP Yeoville) said in Parliament this week that if the Government did not scrap the Separate Amenities Act, it could at least stop the closing of facilities which were already open. President Botha appeared to show support for this view.

*Sunday Star - 16 April 1989*  
**DP rejects applications by 3 MPs to join party**

**David Breier**

IN a move that could plunge the fledgling Democratic Party into an uproar, the party's National Board this weekend turned down applications from three MPs to join the party.

They are three independents: Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont; Mr Charles Redcliffe, for Schauderville; and Mr Cecil Kippen, representing Durban suburbs.

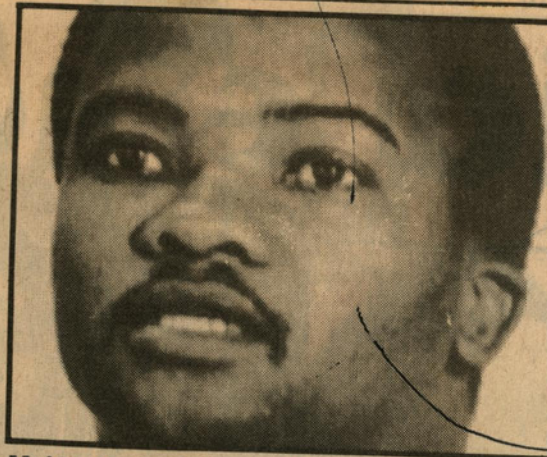
Both Mr Redcliffe and Mr Kippen are in the House of Representatives.

The DP's National Board issued a terse statement saying: "The National Board has, in view of the imminent dissolution of Parliament, decided not to grant party membership to any present applicants who are Members of Parliament."

The Sunday Star found, however, that there was strong opposition in the DP board to a statement by Mr van Eck that the DP would have to avoid alliances or associations with "non-democratic" and "violence-prone" organisations such as Inkatha.



# **Adultery case doesn't worry wife of 'Kei's leader**



Major-General Bantu Holomisa ... wants case to come to court "soonest"

By Yogin Devan

THE wife of Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, is not in the least bit perturbed by proceedings instituted against her husband for allegedly committing adultery.

According to friends, Mrs Holomisa was always prepared to accept attempts by her husband's political adversaries to blacken his name.

She has reportedly told a close friend: "These lies (about her husband's alleged adultery) are peanuts compared to what I expect from Bantu's enemies in their efforts to bring his name into disrepute.

"They can carry on trying to topple him but will not succeed because my husband is a straight man."

The publicity last week surrounding the R24 000 claim lodged by the husband of an Umtata woman against General Holomisa was the first time Transkei's strongman was made the subject of adverse reports.

Since he assumed power in a bloodless coup just over a year ago, he has only been lauded in newspaper articles for his efforts in combating corruption.

Last week the Sunday Tribune reported that a civil summons from an Umtata man had been delivered to General Holomisa.

The attorney acting for the complainant, Mr J.J. Vlok of Port Elizabeth, has also represented Chief George Matanzima, the former head of Transkei, who was brought to court on several charges after General Holomisa assumed control of the government.

The Umtata man has claimed that General Holomisa had enticed his wife to leave him and as a result she "lost her love" for him.

He claimed R12 000 damages for adultery and R12 000 for loss of co-habitation, love and consortium.

This week General Holomisa declined to comment on the civil action.

His attorney, Mr Dumisa Ntsebeza, however, confirmed, he had been instructed by General Holomisa to defend the action in the Umtata Supreme Court.

Mr Ntsebeza said to emphasise the urgency of the matter, General Holomisa had instructed him to see that the matter went to court "soonest" and to ensure the rules of the court were strictly observed as far as time limits were concerned.

"General Holomisa is prepared to defend the matter to the bitter end because he claims he has nothing to be afraid or ashamed of."

Meanwhile, Mr Ntsebeza also added he had been instructed by the wife of the complainant to prepare claims for statements made in various newspapers.

He said General Holomisa's and her instructions were independent of each other.

"She has denied she committed adultery with General Holomisa.

"The Umtata woman has asked that claims be instituted against her husband and whoever else associated with defamatory remarks associated with allegations made by her husband," said Mr Ntsebeza.

He added he had written to Mr Vlok requesting proof that the complainant had given instructions for the action against General Holomisa.



Londa Shembe gunned down, but Lungi declares her innocence

**I HAD**

SUNDAY TRIBUNE

**NOTHING**

16 APRIL 1989

**TO DO**

**WITH**

**THE KILLING!**



Rev Londa  
Shembe: Buried  
today.



By Mdu Lembede

THE WIDOW of Reverend Londa Shembe, a leading Natal religious leader who was shot dead in his home last week, will not bury her husband.

Lungi Shembe, still in hiding after being saved from a frenzied mob baying for her blood minutes after her husband was slain, was forced to leave her home under police escort. She said she was living in fear of her life.

Mrs Shembe, an attorney, said she has been barred from attending the funeral by members of her husband's family and followers, who she said were convinced she had a hand in her husband's murder.

Mr Shembe, 45, the charismatic leader of one of the two factions of the 500 000 member-strong *Ibandla lakwaShembe* (Church of Nazareth) in Inanda near Durban, was killed last Saturday by two unknown gunmen who had forced their way into his house through a bedroom window.

On the day Mr Shembe was killed, a pamphlet, circulated among church followers, claimed Mrs Shembe was involved in the slaying of her husband. The church committee denied any link to the pamphlet.

Mrs Shembe, who showed the pamphlet to the Sunday Tribune, described it as the "mischievous work of a very, very sick mind". She said she was told that thousands of pamphlets were dropped from a small aircraft, and some were handed to people in Inanda.

Mrs Shembe is four months' pregnant with their first child.

## The pamphlet that circulated in Inanda

THIS is the text of the poison-pamphlet which was widely circulated among the Shembe church followers and villagers in Inanda a few hours after Rev Londa Shembe was killed.

*REV LONDA SHEMBE HAS BEEN KILLED THE UDF and the ANC have to explain to the nation how our leader, Rev Londa Shembe, was killed.*

*Rev Shembe was a peace-loving man who could not stand violence and his violent death has touched the whole community.*

*From very reliable sources we have learnt that our spiritual leader was mercilessly killed by the ANC.*

*The community must also ask (his wife) Lungi Makhaye why our leader was killed. They must also ask her who is going to handle*

*church affairs and funds —her (Lungi Makhaye) or the ANC.*

*We now have no doubt in our minds that the blood of Rev Shembe was spilled by the ANC and the UDF. These organisations claim to represent and talk on behalf of oppressed black people. They claim they want to liberate us through non-violent means, but now they are the ones who have killed our leader.*

*The nation must pray hard that the killers of Rev Shembe are caught and brought to justice.*

*We are preparing to bury "our father" peacefully and with dignity. We warn Lungi Makhaye (Mrs Shembe) and her comrades not to attend the funeral of our leader.*

*Issued by: The Nazareth Baptist Church Committee.*

In the safety of a palatial three-storey mansion, surrounded by high walls, Mrs Shembe said: "I fail to understand how some people can think I had anything to do with my husband's killing. We were looking forward to the birth of our first child and had a lot to live for."

"I was aware the fami-

ly and church followers did not readily accept me as his wife. I was not a member of the church and did not join after our marriage. Some people told me they would have preferred he married someone within the church."

Describing how her husband was killed, Mrs

Shembe said: "I went to bed late on Friday night. My husband was studying in the spare room. At about 4am on Saturday I was woken up by a man shining a torch in my face. He pointed a gun at me and demanded money. He asked where my husband kept his guns. Before I could an-

swer another man came into the room."

Mrs Shembe said one of the men told her to wake her husband.

"Before I could wake him one of them did. When my husband asked the men who they were one of them shot him several times.

"I broke free and ran

screaming for help. I went to my mother-in-law's house. When we got back to our house the men had disappeared taking about R2 000, my husband's firearm and my two expensive gold and diamond rings. We found my husband in his bed in a pool of blood," said Mrs Shembe.

A large crowd started to gather outside the house. Church followers then asked her to explain how she had managed to survive the attack.

"Some suggested I be killed on the spot, but I was protected by my mother-in-law and some church elders who locked me in my bedroom. Soon the police arrived and escorted me to safety."

Police spokesman Lt Bala Naidoo said a murder investigation was still underway.

Rev Shembe will be buried today.

I HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE KILLING!



# Security *Sunday Tribune* holds the *16 April 1989* key to Mandela freedom

By John MacLennan  
Political  
Correspondent

SCENARIOS for the release of Nelson Mandela are now being discussed between the governments of KwaZulu and South Africa.

The NP is worried about security risks this might entail, but KwaZulu will not even consider constitutional negotiations until the ANC leader is free.

This demand is top of a list of tough conditions on which the Government will have to concede if it hopes to get talks going with Chief Minister Buthelezi.

His participation in such negotiations will provide a breakthrough for reform efforts and it is certain the possibility of such reward will be of intense concern to Government when KwaZulu representatives meet Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to discuss Mr Mandela early next month.

At the meeting of the joint Government/KwaZulu committee in Cape Town this week — which has the task of identifying obstacles to negotiation and finding ways to

## ... AND HIS RELEASE HOLDS THE KEY TO TALKS WITH KWAZULU

address them — the question of Mr Mandela's freedom emerged as a non-negotiable pre-condition from the KwaZulu side.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, committee co-chairman, and his delegation will now discuss Mr Mandela's release with Mr Coetsee, according to a spokesman for the office of Constitutional Development and Planning's Minister Chris Heunis.

No detail was given on the substance of this week's meeting, but it can be disclosed that KwaZulu demanded that Mr Mandela and all the other Rivonia trialists be released, that all political prisoners who have served 15 years be freed, and that political prisoners should also benefit from remission.

It is understood the Government may well see its way clear to meeting KwaZulu on all but the Mandela condition. It would dearly like guarantees before releasing Mr Mandela.

Dr Dhlomo would not be drawn on the substance of the talks, but said: "We are prepared to go to all lengths to address this problem of the imprisonment of Mr Mandela."

He said it did not follow that KwaZulu would automatically come to the negotiating table if Mr Mandela was released. This option, he said, would be considered once Mr Mandela had the opportunity of making a choice in freedom between revolution and negotiation.



# Full text of the Mandela letter to Chief Buthelezi

Tribune Reporter

LAST week the Sunday Tribune ran a report in which imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela expressed his hopes for a return to peace in Natal's townships and, more cordial relations between the ANC and Inkatha.

These thoughts were expressed in a letter to Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who made the contents public in Ulundi.

The full text of the letter was not published and a paragraph, not in the original text, inadvertently appeared at the end of the report. In the interests of clarity, the full text of the letter is published here:

Dear Shenge

I thank you for the warm and well considered telex message you sent me on behalf of King Zwelithini and Inkatha on the occasion of my 70th birthday. I also received your letter of August 26, 1988, in which you wished me a speedy recovery from illness, and in which you outlined your efforts, both locally and abroad, to secure the release of prisoners in South Africa.

Apart from your telex and a telegram from Mrs Helen Suzman, hundreds of similar messages came from well-wishers in the country and in different parts of the world. It is partly the unswerving support of such men and women, and partly the achievements made by our organisation within and outside the country which have given prisoners so much strength and hope.

You will readily accept that it is not at all easy from my present quarters to comment fully, and freely, on the sentiments you so eloquently expressed in the above correspondence. It is sufficient to state that your persistent demand for the unconditional release of prisoners before negotiation can start, is a stand which I have always welcomed as a positive contribution to the search for lasting peace in this country.

Obviously, my fervent hope is to see, in due course, the restoration of the cordial relations which existed between you and OR (a reference to Oliver Tambo, president of the ANC, whose middle name is Reginald) and between the two organisations in the Seventies.

The most challenging task facing the leadership today is that of national unity. At no other time in our history has it become so crucial for our people to speak with one voice, and to pool their efforts.

Any act or statement, from whatever source, which tends to create or worsen divisions is, in the existing political situation, a fatal error which ought to be avoided at all costs.

Far more information than I possess at the moment is required before I can blame any of the parties involved in the deplorable conflicts now taking place in Natal. All the same, I consider it a serious indictment against all of us that we are still unable to combine forces to stop the slaughter of so many innocent lives. The struggle is our life and, even though the realisation of our fondest dreams may not be at hand, we can nevertheless make that struggle immensely enriching or absolutely disastrous.

In my entire political career, few things have distressed me as much as to see our people killing one another as is now happening. As you know, the entire fabric of community life in some of the affected areas has been seriously disrupted, leaving behind a legacy of hatred and bitterness which may haunt us for years to come.

It is a matter which requires the urgent attention of all people in this country. Nothing will please me more than to know that my concern and appeal have not fallen on deaf ears.

Once again, I thank you, the King, and Inkatha for your inspiring message. My best wishes to you and Mndlunkulu.

Yours sincerely

MADIBA



He tries to keep the peace  
— and that's inviting trouble

# THE REBEL CHIEF

By Quraish Patel

CHIEF Mhlabanzima Maphumulo has chosen a dangerous road for his people: he has committed them to peace, and endangered his life.

Those who profit from the boiling violence in Natal see the chief as an annoying obstacle: a rebel who refuses to join the violence.

This rebel, who has refused to take sides among the ideological combatants, is also a peacemaker. That's almost like inviting trouble. Chief Maphumulo has had a fair bit of trouble so far mainly because, he says, he would not align himself with any political organisation.

The area which he controls near Table Mountain has become a haven for thousands of refugees fleeing the bloody street battles.

Supporters of Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — enemies in the townships — co-exist in peace when they enter his territory. That is the law of Chief Maphumulo. It was also the law of the chiefs before him — his father, grandfather and great-grandfather.



Chief Maphumulo

he repeated the law of peace. "There will be no recruiting by political organisations in my area." The people agreed.

That meant that Inkatha supporters who had sought permission to "renew" their membership drive were refused. "When the situation returns to

"Anyone who wants to stay among my people must accept the condition of peace," said the 39-year-old chief who takes up a British Council scholarship to study community development at Manchester University in September.

"Unlike other chiefs I refuse to get involved in the violence. I have chosen to be neutral. That is the only way to peace for my people."

Last week thousands of his people ululated as

normal, when the day of violence is at an end, then all political organisations will be allowed to canvass support.

"I tell my people they are entitled to their political beliefs as long as they do not make trouble in the area," said the chief.

However, sometimes the way to peace is through a maze of deceit, power struggles, and death threats.

His latest campaign is to seek support from prominent people to back his plea to the State President, PW Botha, to appoint a commission of inquiry into the violence in Natal. He expected ready support from all quarters. That was a mistake.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said he would not be surprised if Chief Maphumulo were involved in attempts to "prostitute the offices of chiefs" through the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Responding later to the petition, Chief Buthelezi questioned statements relating to the origin of the violence in the province. Chief Buthelezi said Chief Maphumulo misled Mr Botha when he said he was chairman of the Regional Authority of the Mphumalanga district. He said Chief Maphumulo's chairmanship of the regional authority expired on April 26 last year.

Chief Buthelezi reportedly said he hoped Mr Botha would not allow Chief Maphumulo to further muddy the political waters when the country's people were trying to find one another politically.

However Chief Maphumulo dismissed Chief Buthelezi's allegations. "He wants me to direct my complaints to his department. But I have made several attempts to meet him. We wanted to talk about the violence with the chief. I am still waiting

"Last year when I initiated peace talks in Pietermaritzburg I gave a letter to a KwaZulu MP to hand over to Chief Buthelezi inviting him to the meeting. Community representatives attended.

"He came here — but only a week later to take part in the Shaka's Day celebrations."

Chief Maphumulo said he had the impression that few people were prepared to look at the problems related to the violence. "Chief Buthelezi has been told about the violence; he knows about it. Then why did he not go to the State President?

"I can't understand why he does not want to back the call for a commission of inquiry.

"The only protection I have is from the Almighty. I leave my house alone. I travel about alone. I move freely around the townships."

The chief's efforts to keep the peace in his area and restore it in others have not gone unnoticed. People of all political affiliations, he says, have asked him to continue his peace efforts.

For his troubles, he has been assaulted once, and threats of injury have been made against him.

The chief is worried that renewed peace talks are being stalled by the restrictions on UDF activists who are unable to take part in meetings with their supporters or discussions with their opponents.

Chief Maphumulo has travelled regularly to the Shongweni area in a bid to end bitter fighting which has led to about 50 000 people leaving their homes.

"The three schools in Shongweni are closed and between 60 and 80 percent of the population have become refugees."

The chief called several meetings in the area. For the time being the violence seems to have abated.

The former Pietermaritzburg corporation labour clerk believes a chief is a shield for his people, protecting them at all times "like an umbrella".

"The violence increased because the chiefs took sides — and the people lost the umbrella."



# violence

## The children of



Lothe Nene  
pictured shortly  
before he died.

**A**LL that Lothe Nene wanted was to go home and go to school. Like many other young people in the Natal Midlands he was killed before he could do either.

He came from an area called KwaMgwagwa and was forced to flee after two attacks during which he was stabbed twice. He fled from his home fearing that he would bring danger to his family.

When he was visited by Wendy Leeb of the Centre for Adult Education, Pietermaritzburg, the 16-year-old boy lived in a mud room with six other young refugees. "They had one bed, one couch with springs sticking out, one blanket, no food and nothing to cook on," she said.

"We could offer little except the fact that we were recording their plight. Ten days later I was invited to his funeral," she said.

Ms Leeb offers Lothe's story as merely one example of the plight of thousands of refugees in the Natal Midlands. "The extent of the problem is vast, particularly when one realises that there are possibly 30 000 or more people living in these conditions, not to mention those living under constant fear of attack."

Research by the Centre for Adult Education's project to monitor violent political conflict indicates that about 3 000 houses have been burnt in the past three years in the Pietermaritzburg townships. This is a conservative estimate.

According to Ms Leeb, the physical and psychological welfare of refugees needs urgent attention if there are to be prospects for long-term peace. "It becomes apparent that the experience of violence has irreversible effects on the psyche of people ... children see violence as the norm, and in their fear

and frustration will sometimes actively seek confrontation.

"Young people who are in danger will suddenly and inexplicably seek out those who threaten them.

"Teenagers are particularly at risk. Life is hard in the townships, but life as a refugee is even harder."

Education, which might normally contain and channel the energies of young people, is almost at a standstill in the Natal Midlands according to Ms Leeb.

He just  
wanted  
to go  
home, but  
death  
stood in  
his way

**By Georgina Hamilton**

In a paper on the effects of violence on black schooling in Edendale and Vulindlela, educational researchers John Gultig and Mike Hart say that evidence at their disposal indicates that 52 different schools have experienced violent incidents, ranging from invasion by Inkatha, vigilantes or youths unable to find a place at school, to shootings and attacks on individuals and schools.

Ms Leeb asserts that refugees in Pietermaritzburg are victims of a war.





"The combined psychological toll is already immeasurable," said Ms Leeb. "Should the violence miraculously cease tomorrow, we are still looking at a future of three generations of traumatised people. The work to be done is enormous, and the time to begin is now."

Ms Leeb said that the children she worked with expressed the need for education as their primary one. "In a survey done in December, refugees said they wanted to return to school. This despite the fact that most of them had no bedding, no clothes and no food."

**Lothe's friends walk past his coffin (right). His sister mourns his death. Pictures by Clint Zasman.**

## THE CHILDREN OF VIOLENCE



By Quraish Patel

SEVEN-year-old Nkosinathi has a talent for drawing pictures of guns. That is not unusual for children in townships seething with violence.

It is not ever, macabre for township children like Nkosinathi and his friends of Ashdown, outside Pietermaritzburg, to spend their days playing around a man's decomposing body.

The bleak and unfulfilling environment in which black children are learning to survive and the daily upheaval in their lives is breeding a frightening generation. Researchers and community workers monitoring the "culture of violence" are alarmed at the disastrous consequences on black youth.

They say the emotions of black youth are being blunted, youth are losing respect for human life and becoming embroiled in acts of lawlessness and internecine feuding. It's only a matter of time before the popular games of death and war take their terrible toll as the youth forget the meaning of peace.

The devastating effects of violence were documented recently by the United Nations Children's Fund and released in Zimbabwe two weeks ago.

*Children on the Frontline* deals with the impact of apartheid, destabilisation and warfare on children in southern Africa.

In his contribution, Professor Hoosen Coovadia of the University of Natal, Durban, described the crisis of health affecting black children in the country.

Reporting on the impact of "state violence" — detention without trial — on children, Professor Coovadia said: "It is much more difficult to learn the effects of this detention, torture and general strife once children have returned to life in the townships. An increase in suicides, depression, indefinable agitation and a steep escalation in substance abuse was noted among young adults in Soweto."

# They're bred on Natal's killing fields

*Sunday Tribune*  
16 April 1989

Noting that many young former detainees have post-traumatic-stress disorders, he said psychologists have ascribed three groups of symptom patterns in young ex-detainees: depression, anxiety and behaviour disorders.

"Depression is associated with feelings of emptiness, helplessness, loss of self-esteem and suicidal urges. Anxiety is accompanied by fear, dread, suspiciousness and paranoia. Behavioural changes include impairment of interpersonal relationships, aggression and poor impulse control.

"The political world of future generations of black persons is being undermined systematically."

He said the residential environment of black areas was bleak and unfulfilling, and the collapse of social structures had led to community upheaval and terror in the townships.

"State violence has been shown to lead to a reduction in access to health services and an increase in the prevalence of firearms and injuries. A significant proportion of those injured, 12 percent in one study, were younger than 15 years.

"In addition to this, there is an appreciable increase in burns, fractures and motor vehicle accidents in areas of high state violence."

Dr Mamphela Ramphele and Dr Francis

Wilson wrote a section titled *A Crisis of Caring* which includes child labour, education and protests against black education.

"State violence against children," they said, "has accustomed many young South Africans to brutality, as is evidenced by the spectacle of children summarily executing informers, collaborators, sometimes merely political opponents.

"The means of execution has been the notorious 'necklace'... The growing concern is not only directed at the barbaric nature of the deaths suffered by the victims of the necklaces but more at the long-term consequences of these acts on the children who are the executioners.

"Their psyche runs the risk of permanent damage, hence the alarm expressed by some sectors of the South African public that we may come to face a Khmer Rouge situation.

"The loss of innocence that flows from these acts is a human tragedy whose full cost remains to be counted."

The South African contributors said they believed the emergence of a non-racial democratic system linked to the reorganisation of resources would have a positive effect on the welfare of children.

The Unicef report also includes an updated section on Namibia.