

Sovietologist analyses the divergence of interests

# Moscow-SACP split

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## over new thinking

**“W**HEN spokesmen of a trusted ally start interpreting your policy in ways which cannot be regarded as anything less than a prescriptive mode, something has gone wrong with the alliance.

“Despite repeated assurances that Moscow has not changed its policy towards the ANC, a careful reading of statements by both Soviet leaders and publicists reveals that this is exactly what is happening with the Soviet-SACP-ANC alliance.”

Dr Philip Nel, head of the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, makes these points in a recent publication in which he says there has been a divergence of interests between the ANC and Moscow as a result of the “new political thinking” in the Soviet Union.

And while the ANC has recently come to accept some aspects of the new thinking, he says, this appears not to apply to the SACP.

In fact, Dr Nel sees the SACP getting further and further away from the Soviet government.

“Ironically, it may be no longer true that the SACP represents the Soviet viewpoint in the ANC, but rather that the ANC remains

Perestroika in the Soviet Union has led to a divergence between Moscow and the African National Congress but perhaps to an even bigger split between Moscow and the South African Communist Party, says a noted South African Sovietologist. **GERALD L'ANGE** of The Daily News Africa Service reports.

closer to Moscow than does the SACP,” he says.

Dr Nel does not discuss in any detail the implications of his conclusions but clearly these are important for all South Africans, considering that for more than a decade the Kremlin has been the main source of foreign support for the ANC and of the weapons for its military activities, and has been the inspiration for SACP ideology and strategy.

The switching of Moscow's support from armed struggle to negotiation has changed attitudes not only in the ANC hierarchy but also in Pretoria, and may have a profound effect not only on relations between the ANC and the SACP, which have long been close, but also on the ANC's ability to negotiate with Pretoria.

In this light, Dr Nel's conclusions are of more than academic interest.

He sees nothing surprising in the development of a divergence between Moscow and the ANC and the SACP.

He regards it as in-

evitable that Moscow's interest in stabilising international affairs in order to gain access to Western technology and finance had to clash with the parochial interests of the ANC and SACP.

The prospects of these two organisations depend, he says, on the continuation of some form of instability in and around South Africa. While Moscow has been careful to avoid a straightforward choice between its own interests and theirs, such choices could not be avoided altogether.

One way of avoiding such choices is to get your allies to broaden their perspectives, and Moscow has tried to do that through repeated meetings with ANC and SACP leaders, Dr Nel says.

“According to ANC sources, the message that came through loud and clear was that the Soviet government would be prepared to continue its support for the ANC only on condition that the ANC (and the SACP) commit itself clearly to a political programme which could lead to a negotiated stabilisation of the South African situation.”

Because the message was unpopular, pressure had to be applied.

“Soviet officials and commentators prescriptively interpret

ANC policy and add nuances over which there is no unanimity in the ANC.”

Dr Nel says Soviet “new political thinking” has three basic elements as far as Southern Africa is concerned:

- The Soviet leadership's commitment in 1986 to the resolution of all Third World conflicts by diplomatic-political means;

- The emergence in 1988 of a willingness to co-operate with the West in stabilising the Third World; and

- The replacement of class interests by more universal values as a basis for international relations.

When Soviet leader Gorbachev told the UN General Assembly in 1988 that Moscow would not prescribe the road of development to be taken by other countries, “he signalled the death of the traditional Soviet belief that Socialism is a natural choice for newly-independent countries”.

Moscow's attitude to South Africa was also

shaped by the perception that South Africa was one of the flash points where Soviet and Western interests could clash head-on.

Soviet commentators then discovered the factors inhibiting a negotiated settlement and those which could contribute to it: the legitimate fears of whites as an impediment and the divisions among them as a positive factor; the intransigence of the government as an impediment offset by the government's isolation; the

commitment of the ANC and SACP to a revolutionary “peoples war”; and the inability of the ANC to consolidate its gains in international stature and exploit the divisions among the whites.

While working to soften white intransigence, Moscow put discreet pressure on the ANC and SACP to discard the notion of a revolutionary take-over and to prepare for a negotiated settlement.

The evolution of “new thinking” since 1985 has introduced new factors that have led to a gradual divergence between Soviet interests and those of the ANC and SACP, Dr Nel says.

“While in private discussions Soviet leaders have increased their pressure on the ANC to become more receptive to the idea of negotiation, the public image is one of continued solidarity with the ANC and SACP.”

“Despite some backtracking and deliberate ambiguity, the ANC and SACP did get the message that the Soviet Union was adamant that eventually negotiations must take place.”

While the debate on negotiations continues within the ANC, says Dr Nel, the joint ANC-UDF-Cosatu negotiations platform agreed on in 1989 shows evidence of a greater receptiveness to the idea of eventual negotiations.

Suspecting that Moscow might be losing patience with it, especially as the Angola-Namibia negotiations convinced Moscow that compromises with Pretoria could be found, the ANC leadership published material intended to pre-empt ac-



23 JAN 1990

cusations that it was not taking the Soviet Union seriously enough.

Dr Nel says the SACP has also moved marginally closer to the Moscow position.

"Yet, judging from its new programme, The Path to Power, The SACP still seems to be far removed from the spirit and letter of the most recent phase of Soviet 'new political thinking'."

*Daily News Jan. 23, 1990*

## Action for peace

NATAL's township violence is now claiming the lives of six people every day and there is no end in sight. It is a situation that demands all-out action by the authorities.

There will thus be widespread relief that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is to make it a top priority issue, and that the police are at last to "settle this very serious situation once and for all."

Accepting that the problem has roots that go deep into historical inadequacies such as the "Bantu education system", poverty, population migration and a high birth rate, most people

recognise that the solutions will not come quickly or easily. But it is equally clear that only a strong and impartial police presence can keep the warring parties apart for long enough to enable the process of reconciliation to begin.

Looking ahead beyond the immediate problem, long term social rehabilitation will be just as essential. If indeed a strong police presence can create a truce, adequate housing, employment and the hope of improving social conditions are the factors that can ensure a lasting peace.



Daily News  
January 23, 1990

## NEWS

### Transkei's political future to be discussed

#### Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: Transkei's military rulers have said that there would not be any camouflage uniforms in sight when delegates meet next month to discuss Transkei's political future.

So far about 150 organisations in Transkei have responded to the military rulers' invitation to send one delegate each to the conference.

They will meet in the parliament building on February 7.

Military leader Major General Bantu Holomisa is expected to open the meeting but is not likely to stay on for the discussions.

Delegates will have to review Transkei's continued independence from South Africa.

The military rulers expect that a person not connected to the Government should be appointed as chairman of the conference.

General Holomisa said today that there would be no "camouflage uniforms" near the parliament building "as the chaps must be left alone to do their job". Umtata is still holding two policemen for their alleged involvement in a plot to kill General Holomisa. Both governments are investigating the allegations.

Officials from the two governments are also to meet this week to discuss the Transkei ban on the sale of sorghum beer from Natal.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs said South Africa's Ambassador to Transkei, Mr Gert Terreblanche, would attend the meeting.

It was, however, premature to comment on the meeting, the spokesman said.

Meanwhile, Transkei has postponed indefinitely its planned conference in Umtata of leaders from the National States.



23 JANUARY 1990 STAR

Stepping into shoes of foreign states

# SA's growing links with Africa revealed

The Star's Africa  
News Service

South Africa is involved in about 120 aid projects in central, west and southern Africa, the director of the Pretoria based Africa Institute, Dr Erich Leistner, has disclosed.

In a paper presented at a symposium being held in Taiwan yesterday, Dr Leistner said South Africa was involved in agricultural, wildlife and nature conservation, education, training and health projects in those countries.

Although co-operation between South Africa and its neighbours is well documented, this is the first time that details of links between South Africa and more distant African countries have been disclosed.

## Significant

Although Dr Leistner did not name the west and central African countries involved, it is significant that in almost all the areas of co-operation mentioned, countries in west and central Africa were receiving aid from South Africa.

Dr Leistner said South Africa was involved in 15 agricultural projects in African countries, the majority in central and west Africa. Four of the projects were in Swaziland, one each in Malawi and the Comoros and the rest in central and west Africa.

Besides a well known cattle project in Equatorial Guinea, Dr Leistner mentioned another successful project in west Africa which is being run by a private company. He did not name the company.

"West African countries have been severely hit by falling cocoa prices. South African experts therefore

have begun to introduce South African citrus — (navels and clementines) — and are confident that positive results will be forthcoming under tropical conditions," he said.

In an unnamed west African country a chicken and pig farm was experiencing difficulties due to the high cost of animal feed. South Africa experts had then started a scheme to produce soy-beans which can be readily grown in that country and is an important ingredient of animal food.

Dr Leistner said South Africa was also involved in 11 schemes concerning wildlife and national parks, most of them in central and west Africa.

As far as health is concerned the director of the Africa Institute said South Africa had 20 projects in Africa. In 1985/86 1716 patients from 13 African countries received treatment in South Africa.

South Africa had also equipped clinics in unnamed west African countries and African doctors regularly came to South Africa from as far afield as west and east Africa to gain the international recognised diploma in tropical medicines.

In west Africa, South Africa was also involved in two housing projects, a desalination plant as well as a power plant.

Quite a few students from central Africa were studying geology in South Africa, Dr Leistner said.

He said the growing rapprochement between South Africa and black Africa was due to several important developments, including the disillusionment of foreign investors over Africa's economy and policies, the end of superpower competition for influence in Africa and the growing awareness that Africa's former allies, be it the United States or the Soviet bloc countries, were losing interest in Africa.



# Five more die violently in Natal at weekend

Natal witness

23 Jan - 1990

## Witness Reporter

FIVE more people were killed in violence in Natal's townships, according to the police unrest report for the 24-hour period ending yesterday morning.

Other deaths recorded in the report occurred at kwaMakutha and near Margate.

According to the report: "At kwaMakutha, Amanzimtoti, two incidents were reported in which private dwellings were attacked with petrol bombs. In the first incident, a woman and two youths were burnt to death and a man injured. The house was extensively damaged. In the second incident, a man was wounded when shots were also fired at the dwelling. The house was extensively damaged."

At Gcilima, Margate, a man was attacked and stabbed to death.

Incidents in Sweetwaters included a 17-year-old youth being stabbed to death and a mob attacking a policeman's home causing severe damage to furniture.

Arsonists set fire to several shacks in kwaMashu causing extensive damage but no injuries were reported, police said.

At Imbali a petrol bomb and stones were thrown at a number of private dwellings. In one incident, police dispersed a mob of stone-throwers with a round of birdshot and arrested three youths. No injuries were reported.

Residents of Imbali told The Natal Witness that attacks on homes surged last week, following death threats by groups of balaclava-clad youths carry-

ing shotguns.

A 53-year-old resident described how his home was first attacked on Thursday night.

"A group of boys threw stones at my windows breaking all of them," the resident said.

He said that his home was again attacked on Saturday night and his door broken down.

"They came at about 7.30 pm when I was alone at home with my eight-year-old grandson. We hid in my bedroom and lay down flat on the floor."

The gang came into the house grabbed a radio, his wife's handbag and other items.

"We were terrified and just waited until they left. Fortunately they did not see us. I don't know how that happened," he said.

The resident rejected a statement by police in yesterday's unrest report that "a group of about 30 UDF supporters" had attacked them.

"People outside recognised the boys and police were told. Three of them were arrested and I understand that my radio was recovered."

Lieutenant Henry Budhram, the city police spokesman, said that the police had no comment to make on the resident's rejection that UDF members had attacked homes in Imbali on Saturday night.

Police could not confirm reports that six youths were badly burnt when a home in Hlalanyathi Road was attacked and a petrol bomb thrown into the house with the occupants locked in.



# The implications of an open city

*Natal Witness 23 January 1990*

"OUR actions are the most ethical when guided by the desire for the maximum wellbeing of all," said Professor Martin Prozesky, of the department of philosophy and religious studies, University of Natal, speaking on the ethical implications of the move to an open city. He spoke of ethics as "concerning principles and choices that underlie a wise and durable lifestyle".

While ethics provided a foundation for the move to an open city, other forces were also to be found at work.

"The apartheid city is a socially engineered product and its collapse is inevitable," said Trevor Wills of the geography department, University of Natal, discussing the spatial implications of an open city. He didn't foresee immediate dramatic change "but rather a gradual implosion, a return to the city centre after a decade of explosion to the suburbs. People need to be nearer to their work, not further from it. Currently we have the paradox of the poorer people being on the periphery of the city".

According to Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, South African cities are in a state of transition from an outmoded European model to one better suited to an African setting. "The Government recognised this with the creation of the Free Settlement

**Despite the cancellation of the referendum on an open city, Pietermaritzburg 2000 decided to go ahead with its conference Pietermaritzburg an Open City — the Implications. STEPHEN COAN reports.**

Act. Though this has notable shortcomings — by concentrating settlement in specific areas you end up creating ghettos where they didn't exist before. But we must concede that this act marks a break with the principle of rigid racial segregation. It forms the basis for a new policy."

Noting the Government's reluctance to enforce the Group Areas Act, he said the current reform process was "reform by stealth". This obscure form of behaviour was largely designed to avoid destroying party unity. But it also provided an opportunity for leadership, he said.

In his opinion the issue of an open city required greater consultation. "I don't see an open city happening without talks at national as well as local levels. I suggest a conference of all local authorities interested in non-racial structures plus consultation with the broad 'mass democratic movement' to create a working group.

"Through negotiation we can restructure a new city for the post-apartheid South Africa and we can get it right."

Existing divisions made life

under a new political order difficult to achieve, according to Professor Douglas Irvine, department of political studies, University of Natal. "There is a disparity of wealth in this city that is possibly the most marked in the world. There are the divisions of apartheid that restrict access to various services and facilities, such as education."

Addressing the question of how an open city could heal these divisions and tensions, he referred to a report by the Institute of Race Relations dealing with the open cities of Harare, Windhoek, and Mafikeng. "Here racial tensions soon subsided. There was no overnight transformation. Desegregation was slow, with people adhering to their community bases. They tended to retain their ties to the areas from which they came. By and large the property market was not depressed and the opening up of new areas alleviated the overcrowding in the townships."

He said that declaring Pietermaritzburg an open city was a worthwhile experiment. "If it's a success it is a credit to Government. If it fails they can wipe their hands of the matter. But it

makes sense in terms of international pressures and would be seen as a token of goodwill."

"South Africa is going through the traumas and tensions of a society in transition," observed Yunus Carrim, department of sociology, University of Natal. "Not surprisingly people are anxious and insecure. By addressing the scrapping of the Group Areas Act we are confronting the racial psyche of this country."

"The spectre of an open city is far worse than an open city itself. Divisions should be along ideological not racial lines. Members of all races have doubts and hesitations... There should be a non-racial campaign for a non-racial city."

He warned that time was limited. "We don't have time to debate and do nothing. We need to defuse the political context and address the issues before they become more politically intense. There is still time... to reduce conflict. The challenge is before us, we have to ask ourselves if we are going to take it up."

Mayor Mark Cornell said in his opening address he regretted the referendum had become politicised and therefore had to be cancelled. "It was better this way. Especially if there had been a 'no' vote. It would have done everyone harm."

The final speaker of the day, Cosatu spokesman Roger Etkind,

brought politics firmly back into the arena of debate: "For us the issue is not the opening up of the city in any way to 'groups'. What we are in fact discussing here is the opening of the city to its entire population."

Stating that Cosatu and its affiliates represented the majority of organised workers in this country, he concluded that an open city meant a "reallocation of resources on a vast scale, the gaining of political power by the majority, and the 'opening' of the whole country. These implications are unavoidable. When Government at local and national level recognises this, perhaps we will invite you to another conference to discuss the details".



23 JAN 1990

STAR

## No justification for hit squads

On January 5 you published a letter from M Ducie in which he or she argued with facile but specious logic that "it would be irresponsible of the authorities not to have hit squads considering what we are up against".

M Ducie must mean the Government is responsible for the squads, and is ascribing it to a policy disgraceful in the eyes of the civilised world. In this case should we complain about sanctions?

However, elsewhere in his letter M Ducie emphatically states "hit squads identify a target they consider dangerous and then eliminate it". His knowledge of their inner workings is interesting. According to him, the selection of victims is left to the self-confessed criminals such as Messrs Strydom, Coetzee or Nofomela, who themselves plan and carry out the brutal murders. One asks whether anyone's fate should be left to the arbitrament of such gentlemen. For myself, I venture a "no".

But, says M Ducie, the ANC has a hit squad which has indiscriminately killed and maimed men, women and children with limpet bombs, and we cannot fight it "using the Queensberry rules".

It is true that the ANC has caused such horrors, sometimes with deliberation and sometimes with an element of inadvertence. But M Ducie takes no heed of the reasons why, as a last resort, the ANC took to violence in furtherance of their claim for fundamental human rights. Not that this excuses

such acts.

Finally, if, as M Ducie says, terrorism is the justification for hit squads committing murders, it is worthwhile considering some of those who have been their victims.

I mention a few — Richard Turner, shot in the presence of his young daughter, he was a peaceful academic; Matthew Goniwe and his three companions, hideously mutilated in the killing; the two Mxenges — lawyers, husband and wife; the Ribieros, — again husband and wife; David Webster, another peaceful academic; Anton Lubowski, an advocate; not to mention Mrs Schoon and her little daughter blown up by a parcel bomb.

Not one of these could conceivably be classed in any way as a terrorist. They were either the tragic victims of hit squad blunders — like the Schoons — or persons whose common distinguishing characteristics were courage, a belief in the sanctity of human rights and an unselfish devotion to achieving a better life for most South Africans.

If any of them had committed any crime there was a battery of legal sanctions open to the State.

It is infinitely sad that among the reputedly Christian white group there are still people who can argue that in order to uphold a system manifestly unjust, and to maintain "law and order" in that system, we must resort to barbarous methods.

Harry Barker

Parktown

## UCT award questionable

Your report ("UCT to honour Mandela", January 12) of the University of Cape Town's decision to award an honorary Doctor of Laws degree to Nelson Mandela is breathtaking.

The serious crimes against the laws of the land for which he was sentenced, as a convicted criminal, to life imprisonment are not legendary but cold, revolting facts precisely recorded by a Supreme Court judge. And this Doctor of Laws-to-be is the leading figure in an organisation, the ANC, of which The Star of January 13 insists he remains "a loyal member" — an organisation classified by the US Defence Department as "terrorist" and unashamedly guilty of practising one of the most gruesome forms of cold-blooded murder seen this century — necklacing.

Is Cape Town University displaying a dreadfully degraded sense of humour in its pending award, or is it carrying out a scientific experiment to see the effects of standing moral values on their head?

Edward W Pryor

Johannesburg

23 JANUARY

STAR



# FW won't jeopardise white power — Suzman

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has a bottom line to negotiations which rules out the transfer of political power to the black majority, according to Mrs Helen Suzman.

In her lecture "Highlights of a Political Career" at the University of Cape Town's Summer School yesterday, Mrs Suzman said she had, "so to speak, been through five Prime Ministers — Dr Malan, Mr Strydom, Dr Verwoerd, Mr Vorster and Mr P W Botha".

President de Klerk, she said, was "courteous, amiable and understands the art of communication". He had committed himself to reform and had already given an earnest example of his intention to introduce meaningful change in South Africa.

## Excise brutality

"I believe he will excise much of the overt brutalities inherent in the apartheid system.

"But he was, after all, elected to office on National Party policy, and by and large that is the policy he will implement," Mrs Suzman said.

He would certainly negotiate to bring blacks into the parliamentary system, but he would not interpret his mandate for reform as a mandate to jeopardise

the political position of the white minority or to threaten its survival.

Referring to Mr de Klerk's predecessors, Mrs Suzman described Dr Malan as a dour old dominee who commanded much respect from his own party, but not very great affection.

Dr Verwoerd and Mr John Vorster were "as nasty a pair as you could ever encounter in your worst nightmares".

"Dr Verwoerd was a most extraordinary man, harbouring a deep conviction that he had a divine mission, much fortified when the first assassination attempt by Pratt failed. I have to admit Dr Verwoerd was the only man who has ever scared me stiff."

She described Mr Vorster as a different cup of tea altogether — pragmatic, down to earth and with no pretensions to divine missions.

Of Mr P W Botha: "There is only one accurate way in which to describe P W — he was an irascible bully, and nothing demonstrated that more vividly than the humiliating dressing down over television he gave the Rev Alan Hendrickse.

"I cannot say his retirement caused any regrets on my part and I have no doubt the feeling is mutual, now that I too have left Parliament. But in all fairness I have to say that many important changes took place during the 10-year regime of P W Botha."



# Tutu's hotline:

STAR 23 JAN 1990

## Wrong number?

So the voluble, prating archbishop has a direct line to the Almighty who confides His innermost feelings to him!

This is the only conclusion one can draw from his telling the innocent Palestinians that God is on their side and, assumedly, approves of their actions in throwing petrol bombs at Israeli soldiers, knifing aged and innocent Jews, torching Israeli farmlands and forests and causing a bus to crash down a ravine — to the glee of the Arab world.

Perhaps Desmond will put another call through to find out if God was on their side in 1967 when, acting in concert with the Arab world, they attempted to wipe the Jewish State off the face of the earth — the reason Israel is now in control of the so-called occupied territories — and if He approved of their desecration of Jewish holy sites and continuous terrorist attacks against Israel from these territories prior to the war.

At the same time, he should

ascertain and let a breathless world know on whose side God is in the innumerable other international and regional disputes as, for example, the Christians or the Muslims in Lebanon, the British or the IRA in Ireland, the Hindus or the Muslims in Kashmir, Bush or Noriega in Panama and, of course, Inkatha or the UDF in Natal.

The chimerical Desmond should disconnect this private line and adopt a temporal attitude towards world affairs.

He will then realise the *intifada* is not merely a policy of revanchism on the part of the PLO, and the ultimate PLO and Arab intention remains the destruction of Israel.

Relinquishing control over these territories will not bring peace to the Jewish State but will merely facilitate this nefarious intent and lead to the launching of even more severe terrorist attacks against it.

D Simonson

Northlands



# When H F Verwoerd hurts ... it's suddenly a crisis

STAR

23 JANUARY 1990

In 1988, doctors at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto went public in an attempt to force the authorities to do something to alleviate the appalling conditions at the hospital.

In a letter published in the SA Medical Journal, they told of the hundreds of patients sleeping on the hospital floors and warned of the falling standards in academic medicine as tired, overworked doctors battled against ever-increasing patient loads and smaller budgets.

Transvaal Provincial Authorities claimed they had no money and it was private enterprise that finally stepped in with the funds to provide more beds.

A year later the chief superintendent of the Johannesburg Hospital, Dr Reg Broekmann, told the Star his hospital could no longer cope with the demands placed on it.

## Crippling shortages

Crippling staff shortages meant only 833 of the hospital's 2 000 beds were being utilised and once again academic medicine was under threat. Waiting lists for non-emergency operations grew from weeks to months.

In May 1989, the superintendent of the JG Strijdom Hospital, Dr Annette van der Merwe, announced her resignation in protest against the transfer of the hospital from "general affairs" to "own affairs" administration ... a move which had stripped one of the country's finest teaching hospitals of its academic status. By the end of the year

The budget cuts and staff shortages plaguing Pretoria's H F Verwoerd Hospital may have captured the attention of Health Minister, Dr Rina Venter, but these are problems which other State hospitals have been fighting against for a long time. **TONI YOUNGHUSBAND, The Star's Medical Reporter**, examines the threatened collapse of South Africa's top medical institutions.

more than 100 doctors and scores of nurses had left and the majority of the hospital's top specialist units had closed down. Today wards stand empty and the hospital's once-bustling casualty department sees only a handful of patients. Expensive equipment lies unused.

At the Hillbrow and Coronation Hospitals in Johannesburg patient loads are enormous and the staff is hopelessly overworked. Specialists-in-training have no time for study, working 36 hours shifts.

Two years ago Durban's Addington Hospital announced it was cutting back on some operations and scrapping others altogether because they cost too much. Last year, the hospital floundered amidst one of its worst nursing crises.

Cape Town's Groote Schuur Hospital, arguably the best academic hospital in the country, complained of overworked doctors and a serious nursing shortage. Sections of the hospital's new emergency ward were closed down late last year because there were no nurses to care for the patients.

In response to the hospitals' com-

plaints, health authorities called for investigations and commissions of inquiry, but pointed out the basic problem was a lack of funds.

Last week the Transvaal Provincial Administration's department of health services announced a 10 percent cutback in the number of patients admitted to hospital and outpatients treated. This directive was one of a series instituted to reduce the department's deficit of R130 million. The MEC for Hospital Services, Mr Fanie Ferreira, said the cutback would save his department more than R11 million.

A few days later, the head of cardiothoracic surgery at the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria, Professor Johan de Villiers, and Professor Mike Bennett, the head of cardiology, announced their resignations because they could no longer render acceptable patient service in that hospital.

Their resignations, which, compared to the desperate actions of staff at other beleaguered hospitals appeared minor, caught the attention of Health Minister Dr Rina Venter who has now promised to find a solution to this country's health crisis.

Yesterday, the heads of South Africa's medical schools said services sporadically collapsed and the exodus of nurses and highly-qualified physicians to the private sector posed a serious threat to the future of health services in the country.

The committee said the causes for the crisis included the fragmentation of health services, centralised decision-

making, the lack of deregulation, as well as the fact that provincial authorities and universities interpreted the role of academic centres differently.

Dr Venter responded by saying the medical universities should come up with recommendations on how to solve their functional problems and the problem of fragmentation would be tackled by the Government "in the same dynamic way it was tackling constitutional problems".

Various representative groups in the health sector have blamed the duplication of hospital services, the segregation of black, white, coloured and Indian institutions and poor salaries as the reasons for the growing crisis.

## Not attractive

The academic medical profession was no longer attractive to university graduates who could earn three times a provincial hospital salary in the private sector. Nurses get more working as secretaries or pharmaceutical representatives.

Whatever the reasons, the patient is the one who suffers in the end.

The Government believes part of the answer is to promote primary health care and to reserve academic hospitals for the indigent and specialist medicine. Medical aid patients are referred to private hospitals.

Some have suggested a national health service is the answer. Until Dr Venter's investigation is complete, South Africa's health services hang in the balance.



# NATALWITNESS Winnie and Mandela United

23 JAN. 1990

GOOD evening sportslovers and welcome to the Wide World of Sports. Tonight's guest is one of the new breed of sporting personalities that has emerged in recent years. A woman who not only has her own soccer team, but who has also emerged as a significant cricketing personality. Ladies and gentleman, please welcome Mrs Winnie Mandela. (Studio audience applauds enthusiastically).

Well, Winnie, if I can call you Winnie, tell us about the past season, the soccer season, I mean. Did Mandela United do as well as you expected?

Thanks, Brian. To be honest, we had a terrible season. Sick as a parrot, I was. We had injury problems, Brian, you wouldn't believe. The lads were going down left, right and centre. A couple of stab wounds, the odd concussion and the next thing you know, you're battling to put a team together come Saturday. I know it's a bit of a cliché, Brian, but the ball just didn't run our way during 1989. And that's not even to mention the trouble we had with referees. Diabolical, some of them, simply diabolical. They had it in for my lads, we couldn't put a foot wrong while the other lot were getting away with murder.

A question a lot of people want to ask, Winnie, is whether Mandela United ever actually played a game or not? Can you give a straight reply to this one?

The short answer, Brian, is no. We didn't manage to get out onto the park. But that's all part of the game, innit? You've got to take the rough with the smooth, keep plugging away and hope that eventually you get a result. I can tell you this, we'll be a force to be reckoned with next season.

What about your influences, Winnie. Do you model yourself on any of the great managers?

Well, Brian, of course you have a look at what other people have done. You've got to respect their records. Bill Shankly of Liverpool, for instance, and Alf Ramsey. I like the boy Terry Venables at Spurs, too, but if there's one person I look to above all others, I've got to say Che Guevara.

Che?

Yeah, Che. Great strategist, great tactician. And a lovely man, too, off the pitch. Always happy to pass on advice.

Right, if we can move away from football for a minute, Winnie, from what we can

**Columnist**  
**at**  
**large**



gather, cricket's your new love. Tell us about it.

Not much to say, is there Brian? It all comes down to the basics, doesn't it? You've got eleven on each side, one ball and you get in there and try and win it, don't you?

But you've never actually watched a cricket match. Or have you?

Personally, I don't see that it makes any difference. Cricket, soccer, they're all much of a muchness. But I will tell you this, Brian, from what I do know about cricket, I understand that most of the time the matches end in draws. That's very appealing, you know, Brian, for someone who's interested in a peoples' democracy. No winners, no losers, everyone comes out equal at the end.

Thank you, Winnie Mandela, for speaking so frankly. Good luck for the season.

Lovely being here, Brian, thanks for having me on your show.

**Peter Robinson**



NEWS  
Natal witness  
23 Jan. 1990

## Unrest: cautious reaction to Vlok's call for meeting

by CARMEL RICKARD

A GOVERNMENT initiative for round-table discussions on the continuing Natal political violence has met with a cautious response.

As the death toll in the violence topped 125 over the last three weeks alone, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced a plan for talks to which "all sides" in the conflict would be invited. Details about the talks are still sketchy, but it is understood they are scheduled for a Durban hotel on Thursday.

A spokesman for Mr Vlok, Brigadier Leon Mellett, said last night that "a long list" of people had been invited as the minister wanted everyone to attend who could make a contribution.

Among those invited is the Joint Working Group, a sub-committee of the UDF and Cosatu. Members of the group were to meet last night and this morning to consider how to respond.

There was no official confirmation or comment from Inkatha but Brigadier Mellett said that Inkatha had "of course" been asked to attend.

Over the years the violence has raged Mr Vlok has been criticised for his handling of the situation, and in particular for the Government's refusal to appoint a judicial commission of inquiry into allegations of police bias. Director of the centre for Adult Education, Mr John Aitcheson, said he hoped

Mr Vlok "was genuine". "It is a pity he did not take this attitude earlier."

Mr Aitcheson said that in the past Mr Vlok was "one of the people who poured fuel on the flames", when in 1988 he told police they were involved in a war and that they were in the townships to "beat the radicals".

"This was disastrous because it gave the police the impression they had to be partisan, and led to the kind of police behaviour which has drawn complaints from residents."

However, Mr Aitcheson said the situation was desperate. "The fighting is incredibly destructive and the sooner something happens to stop it, the better."

The Durban regional director of the Democratic Party, Mr Roy Ainslie, who monitors the townships in the greater Durban area, commented that the situation was so disastrous that he did not care where it came from as long as a solution was found.

He said the death toll for the Durban townships stood at 85 known murders since the beginning of the year.

Giving more details of his plan for round table talks, Mr Vlok said that he wanted to "start a process" through which it would be possible to find out "what the problems are". He said "the facts" of the root causes of the violence would be referred to the relevant Government departments for attention.



# NO PROSECUTIONS BY GROUP AREAS INSPECTORS

JOHANNESBURG — Group Areas inspectors have not yet initiated any prosecutions and there is no evidence they have pressed any black people to leave white suburbs, the South African Institute of Race Relations has found.

The latest issue of Quarterly Countdown, the institute's regular monitor of political reform, says this suggests inspectors might be meant to dissuade black people from deciding to live in

white group areas, rather than to enforce the act strictly.

To date more than half of the 70 proposed inspectors have been appointed and are manning notification points where the public can lodge complaints about contraventions of the act.

So far there have been no indications the inspectors have used their powers, and Government sources insist the idea is to avoid "unpleasant" action as much as

possible, according to the SAIRR.

Although authorities throughout the country seem reluctant to enforce the Group Areas Act, Government might still impose residential segregation by law, according to Countdown.

Government sources told the publication's author, Shaun Mackay, that authorities had not ruled out the possibility of introducing a "Community Relations Bill" which would embody the in-

tentions of both the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act, but "without being discriminatory".

The first four free settlement areas were proclaimed during the period under review.

These were Zonnebloem (District Six) in Cape Town, Windmill Park in Boksburg, Country View in Midrand and the Warwick Triangle in Durban.

The Free Settlement Areas

SAIRR

NEWS

NATAL WITNESS - 23 JAN. 1990

Board chairman, Hein Kruger, said city councils were holding back on applying for areas to be opened and were leaving this to township developers and the ministers' councils.

The only city council application to the board so far had been that of the Durban city council.

Noting the Government was planning to simplify the free settlement areas procedure, Countdown speculates Mr Kruger

will begin to use his powers to order investigations into the opening of areas in cities and towns over the heads of local authorities.

Countdown suggests this could result in many more areas being declared free settlement areas more quickly — especially as Mr Kruger also conceded it was probably best to open a number of areas at once in order to prevent slums. — Sapa.



## South Africa

by Ken O...

# Forging our own future

WHEN the Anglo American Corporation's Clem Sunter visits Nelson Mandela, and when senior members of the corporation trek to Lusaka to hand out to members of the ANC copies of a constitutional guide drawn up by Anglo's in-house think tank, the rest of us had better sit up and take notice.

The new South Africa is being constructed over our heads, and the process looks like becoming a messy business. Any liberal can jot down on the back of a cigarette box the main elements of a workable and civilised system: a universal franchise in which (as Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee put it felicitously last year) every vote has equal weight; proportional representation to a guarantee a voice for minorities; a standard bill of rights and an independent judiciary; maximum decentralisation in a federal structure to frustrate man's instinct to create tyranny; and a powerfully entrenched system of local government to give ordinary folk a direct say in matters that most affect them.

Nor will the ANC, freed of much of the Marxist claptrap of its recent past, quarrel seriously with these ideas. When even Joe Slovo admits, as he has done in the past week, that his lifelong convictions were rooted in error, he is hardly in a position to insist on the correctness of his latest set of funny prejudices.

As far as I can see, there remains one serious point of dispute to be settled:

the question of the ownership of property. To any modern liberal it seems obvious that individual liberty is impossible without individual ownership of property, and that socialism (whether of the pre-war German variety or the post-war Eastern European variety) must necessarily give the state the means to oppress its citizens. The only point of doubt, then, is which thug will wield that power. We know already that tyranny is inherent in socialism.

The ANC seems (I am not as sure on this point as some of the academics at our lesser universities) to have shifted away from banned Wits lecturer Raymond Suttner's insistence that the Freedom Charter requires the nationalisation of everything down to the barbershops, but nobody has yet explained how much of Mr Harry Oppenheimer's property the government of free Azania intends to steal. Will he be permitted to keep the family home at Brenthurst, which is the nearest thing we have to a farm in Eloff Street? May he keep his Africana library, which has been a priceless gift to South African scholarship? His shares in the De Beers and Anglo empires? One small gold mine? A handful of uncut diamonds and the company jet? Or will the new regime install a family in every room of his house, as the Bolsheviks did to the wealthy families of Moscow, forcing them to step over snoring peasants on the way to the bathroom?

Will Sanlam's policy holders be permitted to keep their stake in the indus-

**"When the Transvaal Education Department abandons a fine old school like Barnato Park, and a multiracial private school springs up in its place, the South African reality changes. Every time a black man is promoted to a position of authority in a corporation, the reality changes. Every time a black man buys a house, or a German car, or an insurance policy, the liberal democrats gather a potential ally."**

trial empire built up with such determination and shrewdness by the late Fred du Plessis? Will the trade unions be allowed to keep their pension fund investments in the great industrial empires, or will they be expected to trade in their pensions for a promise from the state to support them as the Soviet state supports its sorry citizens? Will the rest of us be permitted a choice between Checkers and Pick 'n Pay, or will

all shops be run by the ANC's equivalent (in terms of efficiency and courtesy) of the unlamented Department of Bantu Administration? After all, where there is no private property, there is no choice, and where there is no choice there is no freedom.

Frankly, there is no need for most of us — perhaps not even for Mr Oppenheimer — to suffer sleepless nights over the prospect of large-scale nationalisation. By the time the negotiations for a new constitution have been concluded, even Joe Slovo is likely to agree with Francis Fukuyama that liberal democracy — liberal in the classical sense of a system rooted in individual liberty — has triumphed. The socialist century is on its last legs. Liberal democracy is simply a better system for the creation of wealth and general welfare than any other.

The South African problem is different: the constitutional debate is distorted — beggared even — by the need for justice to be done to people who have been deliberately looted for the benefit of a rich white minority, and who are therefore acutely deprived. Socialism is one thing; the rehabilitation of people who may be fairly regarded as the victims of robbery — and not only in District Six or Cato Manor — is quite a different matter. This is what makes the constitutional discussions so messy. The demand for the righting of past wrongs — for restitution — spills over into every question of power, democracy or justice. If we are not careful, we



23 JAN 1990

shall end up with a rotten constitution, corrupted by attempts to make it serve as the instrument of retribution.

Both the government and the ANC have adopted strategies for negotiation that are destined to end in frustration. The government, of course, hopes to control the process while the ANC plans to dominate it — to the exclusion of all lesser parties.

The reality is bound to be different. Negotiation to create the new society is already well under way, in a hundred ways and a hundred forums. The most obvious negotiations are those between trade unions and employers about the division of the spoils — the central question of politics — but there are many other examples.

Every time a community delegation, or a human rights lawyer, persuades a police officer to let a family remain in its "illegal" abode, the South African reality changes. "White" suburbs turn "grey", and perhaps "black", and old laws fall into disuse, discredited by a new reality. When the Transvaal Education Department abandons a fine old school like Barnato Park (pettily taking the furniture with it), and a multiracial private school springs up in its place, the South African reality changes. Every time a black man is promoted to a position of authority in a corporation, the reality changes. Every time a black man buys a house, or a German car, or an insurance policy, the liberal democrats gather a potential ally.

This is our opportunity. While the ANC wrestles with the government, or while the Anglo American Corporation hands out its tracts (do they have little flowers in the corners, one wonders?) the rest of us can get on with creating the new South Africa by the choices we make daily. Liberals, white and black, need allies in the black masses. The more homeowners we create now, the more young people we help through schools and universities, the more black people we train and promote to positions previously reserved for whites, the more past injustices we erase, the more allies we shall have when it comes to drawing up a constitution.

Constitutions, after all, are too important to be left to lawyers.

• Ken Owen is the editor of *Business Day*.



# The implications of an open city

Natal Witness 23 January 1990

"OUR actions are the most ethical when guided by the desire for the maximum wellbeing of all," said Professor Martin Prozesky, of the department of philosophy and religious studies, University of Natal, speaking on the ethical implications of the move to an open city. He spoke of ethics as "concerning principles and choices that underlie a wise and durable lifestyle".

While ethics provided a foundation for the move to an open city, other forces were also to be found at work.

"The apartheid city is a socially engineered product and its collapse is inevitable," said Trevor Willis of the geography department, University of Natal, discussing the spatial implications of an open city. He didn't foresee immediate dramatic change "but rather a gradual implosion, a return to the city centre after a decade of explosion to the suburbs. People need to be nearer to their work, not further from it. Currently we have the paradox of the poorer people being on the periphery of the city".

According to Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Centre for Policy Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, South African cities are in a state of transition from an outmoded European model to one better suited to an African setting. "The Government recognised this with the creation of the Free Settlement

**Despite the cancellation of the referendum on an open city, Pietermaritzburg 2000 decided to go ahead with its conference Pietermaritzburg an Open City — the Implications. STEPHEN COAN reports.**

Act. Though this has notable shortcomings — by concentrating settlement in specific areas you end up creating ghettos where they didn't exist before. But we must concede that this act marks a break with the principle of rigid racial segregation. It forms the basis for a new policy."

Noting the Government's reluctance to enforce the Group Areas Act, he said the current reform process was "reform by stealth". This obscure form of behaviour was largely designed to avoid destroying party unity. But it also provided an opportunity for leadership, he said.

In his opinion the issue of an open city required greater consultation. "I don't see an open city happening without talks at national as well as local levels. I suggest a conference of all local authorities interested in non-racial structures plus consultation with the broad 'mass democratic movement' to create a working group.

"Through negotiation we can restructure a new city for the post-apartheid South Africa and we can get it right."

Existing divisions made life

under a new political order difficult to achieve, according to Professor Douglas Irvine, department of political studies, University of Natal. "There is a disparity of wealth in this city that is possibly the most marked in the world. There are the divisions of apartheid that restrict access to various services and facilities, such as education."

Addressing the question of how an open city could heal these divisions and tensions, he referred to a report by the Institute of Race Relations dealing with the open cities of Harare, Windhoek, and Mafikeng. "Here racial tensions soon subsided. There was no overnight transformation. Desegregation was slow, with people adhering to their community bases. They tended to retain their ties to the areas from which they came. By and large the property market was not depressed and the opening up of new areas alleviated the overcrowding in the townships."

He said that declaring Pietermaritzburg an open city was a worthwhile experiment. "If it's a success it is a credit to Government. If it fails they can wipe their hands of the matter. But it

makes sense in terms of international pressures and would be seen as a token of goodwill."

"South Africa is going through the traumas and tensions of a society in transition," observed Yunus Carrim, department of sociology, University of Natal. "Not surprisingly people are anxious and insecure. By addressing the scrapping of the Group Areas Act we are confronting the racial psyche of this country."

"The spectre of an open city is far worse than an open city itself. Divisions should be along ideological not racial lines. Members of all races have doubts and hesitations. . . There should be a non-racial campaign for a non-racial city."

He warned that time was limited. "We don't have time to debate and do nothing. We need to defuse the political context and address the issues before they become more politically intense. There is still time . . . to reduce conflict. The challenge is before us, we have to ask ourselves if we are going to take it up."

Mayor Mark Cornell said in his opening address he regretted the referendum had become politicised and therefore had to be cancelled. "It was better this way. Especially if there had been a 'no' vote. It would have done everyone harm."

The final speaker of the day, Cosatu spokesman Roger Etkind,

brought politics firmly back into the arena of debate: "For us the issue is not the opening up of the city in any way to 'groups'. What we are in fact discussing here is the opening of the city to its entire population."

Stating that Cosatu and its affiliates represented the majority of organised workers in this country, he concluded that an open city meant a "reallocation of resources on a vast scale, the gaining of political power by the majority, and the 'opening' of the whole country. These implications are unavoidable. When Government at local and national level recognises this, perhaps we will invite you to another conference to discuss the details".



# Five more die violently in Natal at weekend

Natal Witness

23 Jan. 1990

## Witness Reporter

FIVE more people were killed in violence in Natal's townships, according to the police unrest report for the 24-hour period ending yesterday morning.

Other deaths recorded in the report occurred at kwaMakutha and near Margate.

According to the report: "At kwaMakutha, Amanzimtoti, two incidents were reported in which private dwellings were attacked with petrol bombs. In the first incident, a woman and two youths were burnt to death and a man injured. The house was extensively damaged. In the second incident, a man was wounded when shots were also fired at the dwelling. The house was extensively damaged."

At Gcilima, Margate, a man was attacked and stabbed to death.

Incidents in Sweetwaters included a 17-year-old youth being stabbed to death and a mob attacking a policeman's home causing severe damage to furniture.

Arsonists set fire to several shacks in kwaMashu causing extensive damage but no injuries were reported, police said.

At Imbali a petrol bomb and stones were thrown at a number of private dwellings. In one incident, police dispersed a mob of stone-throwers with a round of birdshot and arrested three youths. No injuries were reported.

Residents of Imbali told The Natal Witness that attacks on homes surged last week, following death threats by groups of balaclava-clad youths carry-

ing shotguns.

A 53-year-old resident described how his home was first attacked on Thursday night.

"A group of boys threw stones at my windows breaking all of them," the resident said.

He said that his home was again attacked on Saturday night and his door broken down.

"They came at about 7.30 pm when I was alone at home with my eight-year-old grandson. We hid in my bedroom and lay down flat on the floor."

The gang came into the house grabbed a radio, his wife's handbag and other items.

"We were terrified and just waited until they left. Fortunately they did not see us. I don't know how that happened," he said.

The resident rejected a statement by police in yesterday's unrest report that "a group of about 30 UDF supporters" had attacked them.

"People outside recognised the boys and police were told. Three of them were arrested and I understand that my radio was recovered."

Lieutenant Henry Budhram, the city police spokesman, said that the police had no comment to make on the resident's rejection that UDF members had attacked homes in Imbali on Saturday night.

Police could not confirm reports that six youths were badly burnt when a home in Hlalanyathi Road was attacked and a petrol bomb thrown into the house with the occupants locked in.



LETTERS 1990

Few  
know why  
Mandela  
was jailed

SIR — There has been an enormous amount of publicity recently, both here and overseas, concerning the release of Nelson Mandela. What astounds me is the fact that few people have any idea as to the reason why he was jailed.

In response to queries, I have had replies such as he belonged to the ANC, or, "Didn't he lead a protest march in Cape Town?" There appears to be a general cover-up by the media (including the SABC), and attempts are being made to depict him as some sort of martyr. The true facts are briefly as follows:

In 1963 a group of saboteurs were rounded up, and on the farm Lilliesleaf, in Rivonia, Transvaal, documents containing over 100 plans detailing targets to be sabotaged were found.

They included police stations, homes of black policemen, power stations and all means of communications. In addition, an arsenal of 48 000 land mines, 50 tons of high explosives, 210 000 hand grenades and sundry other weapons were discovered, enough to kill tens of thousands of people.

Also uncovered was evidence that the saboteurs had been trained in Ethiopia, Algeria and Egypt, and that huge funds to finance the revolution came from Ethiopia, Algeria, Liberia and Tunisia.

Plans had been made for a revolutionary Council of State, waiting to come from a neighbouring black state, to take over the Government as soon as the revolution succeeded.

The trial of these saboteurs is now known as the Rivonia trial, and Mandela, who was one of the ANC leaders, was one of the 10 accused and pleaded guilty to three of the four charges under the Suppression of Communism Act. He admitted planning a violent revolution.

How many South Africans, and in particular the younger generation, are aware of these facts? And do those hypocritical American politicians, who come over here to try to tell us what to do, have any idea of what they are talking about?

It would be interesting to know what their reaction would be if an arsenal of the magnitude described above were to be found in their hometowns.

A.J. McLEAN  
Durban



*Daily News Jan. 23, 1990*  
**Action for peace**

NATAL's township violence is now claiming the lives of six people every day and there is no end in sight. It is a situation that demands all-out action by the authorities.

There will thus be widespread relief that Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok is to make it a top priority issue, and that the police are at last to "settle this very serious situation once and for all."

Accepting that the problem has roots that go deep into historical inadequacies such as the "Bantu education system", poverty, population migration and a high birth rate, most people

recognise that the solutions will not come quickly or easily. But it is equally clear that only a strong and impartial police presence can keep the warring parties apart for long enough to enable the process of reconciliation to begin.

Looking ahead beyond the immediate problem, long term social rehabilitation will be just as essential. If indeed a strong police presence can create a truce, adequate housing, employment and the hope of improving social conditions are the factors that can ensure a lasting peace.