

Nation/world

S. African strike is cut short

By Tom Masland

Chicago Tribune

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa—A union representing up to 80,000 black factory workers ordered members to abandon a strike just hours after it began Tuesday because the government imposed a wage agreement, making a strike illegal.

The National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), an affiliation of black industrial unions launched in May, said it had called off the strike after Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis reimposed a labor agreement that had lapsed June 30.

South African law prohibits strikes over issues covered in current labor agreements.

An industry group said new wage scales would be imposed Friday, the South African Press Association reported.

NUMSA, the only one of 15 metalworkers unions not to have accepted the final wage offer of an industry association on June 9, promised to challenge the govern-

ment in court, calling its action "a rank abuse of the procedures." NUMSA says it represents 80,000 of some 140,000 workers in the industry; the Industrial Council, which arbitrated in the negotiations, puts the figure at 46,000.

The union said the government had knowingly exposed union officials and members to "mass dismissals, mass arrests and detentions and criminal prosecutions" by waiting until the last minute to announce it was imposing the contract extension.

The abortive strike, which the union said shut down 500 factories and involved more than 60,000 workers, coincided with a warning of a strike by black miners and the opening here Tuesday night of a convention of the nation's largest and most militant black labor federation.

Leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers said its 200,000 members had voted overwhelmingly to strike over wages. They said a strike date had been set, but would not disclose it.

Officials in the mining industry, which brings in more than half of the nation's foreign earnings, said privately that the strike still might be averted.

The convention by the 750,000-member Council of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), of which the mine workers and metalworkers are the largest affiliates, was to center on debate over such divisive issues as disinvestment and growing political involvement by some black unions.

Since COSATU's founding in 1985, four of the largest affiliates, including the metalworkers union, have adopted the 1955 Freedom Charter of the outlawed African National Congress. Some union leaders are pushing for adoption of an explicitly socialist program.

The new metalworkers union, in its statement of principles in May, called for members to unify "under the guiding slogan of the international working class: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

METAL WORKERS SUSPEND STRIKE

CITIZEN 15/7/87

By PETER DELMAR

THE one-day old nation-wide strike by up to 60 000 metal industry workers was suspended yesterday.

The National Union of Metalworkers last night appealed to members to return to work pending an investigation by its lawyers into alleged irregularities in a Government Gazette which made the strike illegal.

The Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, yesterday renewed an expired Industrial Council agreement, reached between metal industry

management and 14 out of the 15 relevant trade unions early last month.

Numsa lawyers were yesterday investigating alleged irregularities in "the last-minute renewal of the old agreement", a Numsa statement said.

The statement said Numsa lawyers were considering challenging yesterday's Gazette on a number of grounds. These include:

- Whether the officials of the Industrial Council were authorised

to request the Minister to extend the old agreement;

- Whether the Minister satisfied himself as to the "representivity" of the parties as he is required to do. (The figures supplied by the Council were inaccurate and misleading, Numsa claimed.)

- The alleged defectiveness of the agreement's renewal;

- Numsa claimed the last minute gazetting of the agreement was an abuse of the discretion

conferred on the Minister by the Labour Relations Act.

Numsa accused the Minister, the Industrial Council and employers of having "acted secretly and attempting to create an illegal strike situation".

They also claimed the union and its legal advisers were obstructed when they attempted to obtain clarity on the Gazette.

The union called upon the Minister to resign "due to his failure to exercise his power and

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Govt denied visas to delegates, claims Cosatu

THE Government has refused a number of European and north American trade unionists permission to enter South Africa so they can attend the annual congress of the country's biggest labour federation.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) Press officer, Mr Frank Meintjies, said yesterday visas had been denied to delegates from Canada, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands,

Norway, Sweden and the United States.

Cosatu opens its annual congress at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg today amid a strike by thousands of metalworkers and reports of a looming strike by some 200 000 workers on the country's gold and coal mines.

Mr Meintjies said the following European unionists had been refused entry to the coun-

try: Mr Kaare Sandegran, a top Norwegian union official; Mr Stig Malan, president of a large Swedish labour federation; Mr Kjeld Ajkaer, a Danish unionist; Mr Wouter van der Schaff of the Netherlands; Mr Pertti Viinonen of Denmark; Mr Gerald Larose of Canada and Mrs Shirley Carr, president of the Canadian Labour Congress.

American unionists denied entry were Mr Don Strill of the United Automobile Workers (UAW), Mr Ken Zinn of United Mineworkers Union (UMWU) and Mr Bill Lucy of the American Federation of Service and Municipal Employees (AFSME).

"Many African countries, socialist countries,

Philippines and Caribbean countries have pledged solidarity but are unable to attend," said Mr Meintjies.

The congress is expected to debate key resolutions on Cosatu's political programme as well as its attitude to economic sanctions and disinvestment.

It is widely expected that the federation — the largest and most militant in the country — will adopt the freedom charter drawn up by the ANC and allied organisations in 1955 in line with resolutions recently adopted by four of its biggest affiliates.

Delegates are also expected to debate a more controversial resolution urging the drafting of a workers' political programme that is more explicitly socialist, than the freedom charter. — Sapa.

By BRIAN STUART

A ROW has erupted between the Government and the Labour Party majority in the House of Representatives over evictions in terms of the Group Areas Act.

A call for "an immediate stop" to Group Areas Act evictions was made yesterday by the Rev Allan Hendrickse, cabinet minister and leader of the Labour Party.

His statement was made in the wake of notices served on people of colour following the recent Government warning that properties could be sold if the owners did not comply with the Group Areas Act.

Those affected, include tenants of flats in Cape Town, Durban and parts of Johannesburg.

Group Areas evictions: new row erupts

Mr Hendrickse said actions now being taken, could pre-empt the President's Council report on the Group Areas Act.

"In the interests of restoring healthy relationships, I would again make a call for such actions to be stopped," Mr Hendrickse said.

"I would emphasise that through the years the Group Areas Act has caused a great deal of harm, to Coloured people in particular, and has created an atmosphere of hatred.

"In the light of this I would again make an appeal for an immediate stop to any evictions.

"Actions which are taken now could anticipate and have a detrimental effect on the President's Council report."

Mr Hendrickse's statement is in direct conflict with Government policy as stated by Mr Piet Badenhorst, Deputy Minister of Development Planning. He has sent a copy of his statement to Mr Badenhorst.

Mr Hendrickse and Mr Badenhorst first clashed on the issue in the House of Representatives last month, when Mr Hen-

drickse endorsed a motion that "this House is of the opinion that the Group Areas Act and related legislation should be repealed". The motion was adopted.

During that debate, Mr Badenhorst said action would be taken against the owners of buildings if they let their premises to tenants of colour in contravention of the Act.

"If owners do not follow the indicated channels, I shall act against them," said Mr Baden-

horst.

Referring specifically to people of colour living in Hillbrow, he said: "It cannot continue like that, because the Act does not make provision for it."

He had instructed the Group Areas Board to determine the extent of mixing in Hillbrow so that a Government decision could be taken.

It was reported yesterday that eviction notices were being served on about 50 Coloured tenants of a select block of

bachelor flats in the heart of Cape Town. The Coloured tenants have been asked to vacate the building by the end of this month.

Among them are Coloured professional people and businessmen who work in central Cape Town.

A spokesman for the building agent said owners had decided at their last annual meeting that all tenants occupying the premises in contravention of the Group Areas Act

should be given notice.

Mr Hendrickse said there were no bachelor flats in Coloured residential areas and evictions should cease, pending the President's Council report.

The report of the Constitutional Affairs Committee of the President's Council was due for release last year, but was delayed after a request by the steering committee of the Council that some aspects of the issue should be investigated further.

There is no indication at present, as to when the report will now be tabled and discussed in the President's Council.

Government, Blacks hold first National Council talks

By FRED de LANGE

THE first meeting between the government and Black leaders on participation in the National Council took place in Pretoria yesterday.

The Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Development, Mr Chris Heunis, and senior members of the United Municipalities of South Africa (UMSA), met yesterday in what was described as a "fruitful" meeting to discuss negotiation as a means of solving South Africa's political problems.

UMSA president, Mr Tom Boya, said after the talks that the government and UMSA had agreed on the concept of negotiation in a forum where people could sit down and "talk about talks".

Mr Boya said UMSA had certain preconditions before formal talks on a negotiated settlement between Blacks and Whites could start. These were the release of all political prisoners, the unbanning of all political organisations, and a declara-

tion from the government for the scrapping of all discriminatory laws.

He said UMSA felt there was a need for future meetings with the government and was aware of the problems facing the government.

Mr Heunis had been asked to arrange for general elections among Blacks before formal talks started to ensure the elected leaders of the people took part. This, he said, would solve the problem of negotiators being branded "collaborators" and "sell-outs".

"We also asked whether the government would allow leaders such as Nelson Mandela and other political detainees to take part in such elections. Mr Heunis told us such a step would be difficult and we can understand it," Mr Boya said.

Mr Heunis said what was important was the fact the parties involved were prepared to negotiate.

"We have pleaded in the past, and do so again today, that people should not paint themselves into a corner by saying they are not going to negotiate unless certain conditions are met," he said.

Effective negotiation also implied talks about the reservations some people might have. "Negotiation is a process of give and take," he said.

The government had several options before it. "We have chosen negotiation as a method for change and we have opted against violence."

Those not prepared to

negotiate peacefully were excluding themselves from the process, he said.

Mr Heunis said the government had already made a declaration of intent against discrimination. "We have said we are against discrimination on a racial basis and we say it again."

Putco may be sold to Black taxi group

By JACKY LESAGE and Sapa

PUTCO, South Africa's largest bus company, carrying nearly one million passengers daily in the Johannesburg, Pretoria and Durban area, may be bought by the South African Black Taxi Association, subject to Government approval.

A Putco spokesman told The Citizen yesterday that the company's owners, Carleo Enterprises

Ltd, had agreed to sell their 52 percent controlling interest in the company.

The spokesman refused to disclose to whom the company was to be sold, but the 45 000-member South African Black Taxi Association said it was the potential buyers.

The association's president, Mr T Nqcoya said negotiations to complete the purchase were continuing to lower the R200 million price asked by the Carleo family.

Putco's managing director, Mr Albino Carleo, could not be reached for comment. His late father, Gaetano, an immigrant from Salerno, Italy, took control of Putco in 1971 from British Leyland.

According to the spokesman Carleo Enterprises were "bound by terms of the agreement not to release any information which may jeopardise the nature of the deal."

The deal will need government approval and transport industry analysts said the sale might end boycotts and the burning of Putco buses. It could also become a powerful political tool.

Mr Nqcoya said his association would press the government to approve the sale.

"I don't think the government will be a problem," he said.

Members of the South African Black Taxi Association have become formidable competitors to Putco — until recently the bus company was virtually the only viable mass Black workers transport facility in most major urban areas.

Putco has suffered in the past two years from what it described as "series of socio-economic traumas".

The company suffered a loss of nearly R6 million last year and has been laying off drivers and cutting back on their services.

Meanwhile Putco advised shareholders in the company to continue to exercise caution in dealing with their shares.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, a spokesman said: "It must be ap-

preciated that a transaction of this magnitude takes considerable time to finalise and therefore pursuant to the rules of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, the purchaser will be required to make an offer to the minority shareholders of Putco Ltd to purchase their shares in due course."

Dakar delegate 'impressed by ANC's attitude'

By TONY STIRLING
JOHANNESBURG

businessman, Mr Albert Koopman, a member of the group which accompanied Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert to talks in Dakar, and one of the first to return to South Africa, said last night he had been deeply impressed by the willingness of the ANC to negotiate with the South African Government.

He said, however, that the ANC was not willing to abandon violence as a prelude to any such talks.

It was not even willing to consider a ceasefire as a precondition to talks because the organisation saw the armed struggle as its major bargaining point in getting the South African Government to negotiate.

Mr Koopman, who returned to his home in Oaklands yesterday after leaving the talks early on Sunday, was formerly managing director of Cashbuild, but is now a business consultant operating from home.

It was also still the ANC's position that it was only willing to negotiate a transition to taking power in South Africa.

He said, however, that it was his impression that the ANC would be willing to enter talks with the South African Government if there was a statement of intent by it, even if it would be willing to state that there would be a transition to majority rule in 50 years.

"The ANC's willing-

ness to negotiate with the Government was unbelievable," he said.

The ANC saw its use of violence as its only bargaining tool in initiating talks and was unwilling to abandon violence.

But he had gained the impression that if negotiations did get underway and the Government showed sincerity in eliminating apartheid, that the organisation would be willing to enter a moratorium on the use of violence.

"There was more common ground than there was not common ground on the issues," he said, "but there was no way in which the White group at the talks could say they endorsed violence."

Violence had, however, been discussed in depth and "they got a better idea of our fears, and we got a better insight on their reasons for using violence and their position", he said.

In relation to the economic question, the thrust of the ANC argument was that the Government's intransigence was causing immense pressure on the economy and that small reforms would not relieve this pressure.

The ANC had viewed developments such as the Regional Service Councils and the Natal/Kwa-Zulu Indaba as "divisive".

The ANC had shown flexibility on the degree of socialism there would be in a post-apartheid South Africa, but "visionary" steps towards change were required.

The organisation had also shown a willingness to accommodate Whites in a "democratic" post-apartheid society, but not any mechanisms which perpetuated racism or privilege.

Mr Koopman said he hoped the State President, Mr P W Botha or members of his Government would talk to Dr Slabbert and the group's leader about their experiences in Dakar and that this could lead to some benefit for the country.

Wooltry managing director Mr Tony Williams said, on his return to Cape Town from the talks yesterday, that he had attended the talks as an "observer".

He said that, as director responsible for long-term strategic planning in his company, he considered it necessary from time to time to observe at talks involving different groups.

It was not his compari-

y's police to make public statements on such matters.

He said that, given his observer status, he had not considered it appropriate to sign the joint declaration signed by the group and the ANC delegation.

Standard Bank's economic adviser, Mr Andre Hamersmal, also returned from the talks yesterday but was not available for comment.

A spokesman for the bank said, however, that Mr Hamersmal, who also did not sign the joint declaration, went as an observer.

Man killed in Alex was ANC terror — police



FLOYD CAMBELL, trained ANC terrorist who was killed outside his home in Alexandra, Johannesburg.

By JOHN MILLER
POLICE yesterday confirmed that the man who was shot dead and then stoned outside his house in Alexandra township over the weekend, was a trained ANC terrorist who left South Africa in 1982 and returned in April this year.

The man has been identified as 30-year-old Floyd Cambell, alias Bruce Mpo Tula. After leaving South Africa in 1982 he began his training in May 1983 at Caxito and Quieaxi in Angola.

After this, Cambell joined a special operations unit of the ANC in Mozambique.

In 1984 he infiltrated Swaziland through Maputo. It was while in Swaziland in April 1984 that he and seven other trained ANC terrorists were involved in a one-hour shootout with the country's police force in Mbabane.

Following the shootout, Swaziland police arrested the eight terrorists and confiscated eight Russian-made hand grenades, four AK47 rifles, 293 rounds of ammunition, four pistols and two magazines.

The eight terrorists were later tried and deported to Zambia.

In April this year Cambell returned to South Africa through Botswana.

Lieutenant Pierre Louw, liaison officer for the police on the Witwatersrand said Cambell's death followed an incident on Friday night

at a local township discotheque in which Mr Solomon Bafu Petersen was allegedly shot dead by Cambell.

He said the two men were first involved in an argument outside the discotheque before they walked across the road and Petersen was shot dead.

On Saturday morning a group of about 20 youths went to Cambell's house which is situated near the disco. After dragging him outside the youths took his Russian-made Makarov pistol which had been used on Petersen the night before, and shot Cambell three times in the head.

The crowd then dragged Cambell to the edge of the road and began stoning him. They also collected a 40kg rock and put it on the body before they dispersed.

About two hours later detectives found Cambell's body. In the dead man's pockets they found R208 in various notes, a 20 dollar Zimbabwean note and a 20 Pula Botswana note. Six spent cartridges were also found in the area.

Lt Louw said he could not say if anyone had been arrested in connection with the incident as this would interfere with the investigation. He also

said it was too early to say if Cambell had anything to do with last week's bomb blast in Johannesburg.

"In our past contact with members of the public in Black areas, people have become quite fed-up with certain radical individuals who make use of various circumstances in order to intimidate members of the public. However, we cannot condone vigilante action.

"We feel we should stress that our doors are always open should people experience any attack from any radical elements they should report the incident to the nearest police station."

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Blood-smeared stones, a Russian Makarov pistol, six spent cartridges, and money were some of the objects police found with the body of ANC terrorist, Floyd Cambell.

'Many differences apparent'

Boya: Govt recognises Umsa's existence

THE STAR

15/7/87

By McKeed Kotlolo
Pretoria Bureau

The president of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), Mr Tom Boya, said yesterday's meeting with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, was proof that the Government recognised Umsa's existence.

Umsa broke away from the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa).

Mr Boya, who is also the Mayor of Daveyton, told Mr Heunis Umsa stood by its call for the release of political detainees before it would participate in the Government's proposed National Statutory Council.

Umsa said other preconditions were that banned political organisations be unbanned and that all discriminatory legislation, such as the Group Areas Act, be scrapped. It said delegates to the NSC should be elected "by the people and carry their mandate".

Mr Boya, told the Press after the meeting that there had been more differences than agreements during the two-hour session at Mr Heunis's offices in Pretoria.

One aspect on which agreement had been reached was that a forum for negotiations between blacks and whites should exist.

Mr Heunis said he believed there were parties who were prepared to negotiate and also to discuss the conditions under which they would participate in the NSC.

Referring to the participation of prisoners such as Nelson Mandela, Mr Heunis said there were laws which governed the country and that these should be adhered to.

Two aspects which were not discussed at today's meeting included land and housing for blacks. Umsa asked Mr Heunis to conduct a nationwide investigation into these aspects for discussion at a later stage.

Further talks

Both parties agreed to hold further talks.

Mr Boya said one of his objectives was to see the country moving towards an "open and just" society based on the fundamental principle of freedom of speech, freedom of association and government by consent of the governed.

He said: "We aim to build support from grassroots before we can ask for formal recognition by the Government," Mr Boya said.

Numsa fears firings after ban

Metal strike ^{Business Day} called off ^{15/7/87} after one day

THE National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) yesterday decided to call off the one-day strike by up to 60 000 members at nearly 500 plants.

It said it feared dismissals and government action against strikers on the grounds that they considered the strike unlawful.

Numsa and the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa) have accused each other of committing unfair labour practices during the wage dispute that led to yesterday's strike.

The union has also made bitter allegations about collusion between employers, the Manpower Minister and the industrial council aimed at making "a perfectly lawful strike illegal".

And it has accused the council of withholding vital documents, an action it says torpedoed plans for a Supreme Court challenge to the legality of yesterday's notice renewing last year's agreement. The renewal effectively made the planned strike illegal.

Seifsa director Sam van Coller said he

ALAN FINE

was "naturally pleased" at the decision to call off the strike.

Both he and Manpower director-general Piet van der Merwe have denied any impropriety in the gazetting of the notice.

The industrial council chairman Ben Nicholson said the council acted properly and the decision regarding the renewal notice was made by the Minister alone.

The union said last night it was still considering challenging the lawfulness of yesterday's Government Gazette. But it appeared the strike was, to all intents and purposes, over.

Numsa condemned the Minister's action in promulgating the renewal notice. It said he was obliged to consult with both employer parties and trade unions to minimise industrial unrest.

It said his conduct "has resulted in

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Metal strike ^{Business Day} is called off

confusion and a situation of possible escalating conflict and unrest".

Van der Merwe has said the renewal of agreements was a normal procedure.

A Seifsa spokesman said late yesterday it had heard from 140 companies that 28 000 workers had gone on strike. Seifsa did not have complete data, but said the correct figure was probably not as high as the 60 000 on strike claimed by the union.

Numsa spokesman Bernie Fanaroff, although unhappy at the turn events had taken, said he thought the one-day stoppage had demonstrated the union's muscle. He believed this would pay dividends in future years.

He also predicted Numsa would grow as a result of the impression it had made on non-members in the industry. He said the union had signed up 1 000 new members yesterday at one Iscor plant alone.

Seifsa said the union had not negotiated in good faith and said it believed this constituted an unfair labour practice.

It accused the union of failing to adapt its demands during four years of negotiations, and of making purely political de-

mands which employers could clearly not resolve.

It said although Numsa had refused to sign agreements, it had allowed its members to benefit from them through other unions accepting them.

Seifsa said it was not in a position to continue negotiations with Numsa because employers had concluded a new agreement in the proper manner with 14 other unions. This agreement was due to be published on Friday.

It added Numsa had representation in only 500 of 3 200 plants covered by the agreement.

Numsa responded, in a telex to Seifsa, that it regarded Seifsa's refusal to continue negotiations as an unfair labour practice.

It said it was the largest party to the council and "noted for the future" the endeavour to categorise demands as political when they constituted demands that could be met by employers but would incur the wrath of government.

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Heunis meets black leaders on NSC

Govt may clear way for talks

Business Day 15/7/87

NONE of the preconditions demanded by black leaders for their participation in the National Statutory Council (NSC) were insurmountable, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said yesterday.

The preconditions include demands for the release of political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations and the scrapping of discriminatory laws.

However, Heunis said government had chosen a "certain method for change" in which it had opted for a negotiated settlement by peaceful means.

"Therefore people who are not prepared to negotiate peacefully on this basis have excluded themselves," he said.

United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) president Tom Boya said after meeting Heunis in Pretoria yesterday Heunis believed it would not be possible for political prisoners like Nelson Mandela and Zeph Mothopeng to participate in the proposed black elections for the NSC "unless these people are pardoned".

DOMINIQUE GILBERT

Boya and a group of 17 senior Umsa members including general secretary Solly Rammala agreed at the meeting to hold further talks with Heunis "in the near future".

Describing Heunis in an interview as having an "understanding ear", Boya said: "The minister is very much aware of what we have told him and we are also very much aware of the problems that he has."

Boya said both the Umsa group and Heunis agreed on the concept of "a negotiating forum" for talks about talks but Umsa stood by its preconditions for participation.

Heunis said the NSC bill was published not as a prescriptive method for institutional forum but a consultative proposal.

While homeland leaders had already been elected — some of whom had shown interest in the NSC — it was government's intention that rural people outside homelands be included in the election process.

The talks continue tomorrow when Heunis meets Transvaal MEC John Mavuso.

COMMENT**Seductive malady**

AS the state of emergency spreads its seductive illusion of peace the risk grows that people will come to accept their condition as normal. As Anglo American Corporation chairman Gavin Relly remarked this week, states of emergency and media controls create an artificial environment fostering illusion and complacency.

Does it matter? So long as fewer people are being "necklaced", so long as the horrors of civil disorder are absent from local and foreign television screens, does it matter that people live in darkness?

The answer is so trite, yet so easily brushed aside by complacency, that it is difficult to know how to bring home to South Africans the dangers which the state of emergency creates.

Perhaps it will help to say that in no sphere of life other than national politics would anybody suggest that ignorance is a better basis for solving problems than knowledge. But that is not the worst of it.

The real problem of a closed society — one in which the affairs of government are hidden from the people — is that secrecy itself is corrosive of sound government. Secrecy is a necessary pre-condition for the corruption of power. Already South Africans have lost many of the habits of free men and women, accepting as they do the progressive removal of government from public scrutiny. The process began with the abolition of the Senate, a review chamber that was supposed to check

the excesses of the Assembly but which, in lending itself to a cheap ploy to disfranchise the coloured people, so lost respect that it found no defenders when its own abolition became expedient.

Since then, the provincial councils have similarly been destroyed, and provincial government has been placed in the hands of functionaries, operating outside the sphere of public control, and generally without close public scrutiny. Cape divisional councils have been scrapped, and municipal councils have been displaced by management committees, substituting arrogance for dithering, and the principle of public accountability in local affairs has atrophied. As a result, the functions of public administration are being assumed — so far as outsiders and taxpayers can tell — by joint management committees which appear often to be run by military officers.

That plain corruption thrives under conditions of secrecy is sad, true, but not really important; what is more important is the corruption which power exerts on the minds of those who need account only to their bureaucratic bosses. The result is a self-perpetuating clique of mandarins, blinded to their own deficiencies and equipped with the power to hide their mistakes.

It is towards mandarism, an ultimately catastrophic condition, that the state of emergency is taking us. When Relly pleads for a return to openness, he is warning that the benefits of emergency government come at a high price.