

â\200\230Substantialâ\200\231

S00

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 A substantial number of detainees will be released in the next fortnight. This was the assurance given to Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a delegation of clergy by Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok yesterday.

Asked at a press conference after the two-hour meeting whether he would regard a hundred releases as â\200\234substantialâ\200\235, he said: â\200\234No, a hundred would be piffle.â\200\235 g

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP spokes-

woman on Law and Order, said it was a relief that something: was. at last being done by Mr Vlok.

â\200\234Much more, however, remains to be done, and of course the first prize would be the lifting of the state of emergency and the immediate release of all detainees,â\200\235 she said.

The clergy delegation said Mr Vlok had agreed with them that the death of a hunger striker would have consequences â\200\230â\200\234â\200\230too ghastly to contemplateâ\200\235. He said he was giving his

urgent and personal attention to the - case of each detainee, starting with . the hunger strikers.

Dr Allan Boesak, who has been on a sympathy fast, said he had suspended his own fast and he and Archbishop Tutu called on all hunger strikers to do the same for the next fortnight.

The detainees in Diepkloof Prison have suspended their strike, their lawyers said yesterday.

However, the strike is continuing

to gain momentum around the country, with detainees in Durban and Pietermaritzburg refusing food.

Attorney Mr Mamood Cajee said he was aware of at least 14 city detainees who had indicated they would start a strike this weekend.

Lawyers in Durban claimed yesterday that most detainees in Westville prison had begun a hunger

strike on Sunday.

At least one Durban detainee was freed yesterday. He is Mr Abin

Badal, former treasurer of the SRC at the University of Durban-Westville, who was released after spending two periods in hospital during his seven-month detention. Mr Badal was served with a restriction order. The two hunger-strike detainees who were released in Kimberley this week were issued with restriction orders preventing them from being in their home town of Upington. In Cape Town only hours after the agreement with Mr Vlok, Archbishop

Malutu found himself in a confrontation with the head of the Reaction Unit, Colonel Frikkie Kellerman.

The incident began when hundreds

of people emerged peacefully from the report-back to hear police announce that dispersal measures could include the use of firearms.

The tension was defused when Colonel Kellerman ordered his men to pull out and an officer announced to the crowd "if you disperse, we will move out as well". Sapa.

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Pietermaritzburg, Friday, February 17, 1989

number of detainees be freed Vloky

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Anvti-Apartheid Groups Cast Out Winnie Mandela, Citing Terror

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By CHRISTOPHER S. WREN & / /-r/ &
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Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 16

Winnie Mandela was effectively cast out today by the anti-apartheid movement to which she and her husband, Nelson Mandela, have devoted their lives.

The announcement by the movement's leadership, distancing itself from her activities and asking its supporters to do the same, was made as the police pressed an investigation into the killing of a 14-year-old youth whom Mrs. Mandela's bodyguards are accused of abducting.

At a news conference, Murphy Morobe, the publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, the country's major legal anti-apartheid organization, read a statement accusing the bodyguards of mounting a reign of terror in Soweto leading up to the kill-

ing and blaming Mrs. Mandela for creating them.

It was not known how Nelson Mandela, who has been in prison for 26 years, felt about the repudiation of his wife. But it seemed unlikely that the action would have been taken unless Mr. Mandela's lawyers had warned him and sought his tacit assent for the sake of the anti-apartheid movement.

Rumors About a Divorce

Today's announcement fed rumors among blacks that Mr. Mandela might contemplate a divorce in the interest of the struggle, particularly if Mrs. Mandela became the subject of criminal prosecution. She visited her husband in Cape Town on Wednesday.

The body of the youth, Stompie Moe-

ketsi, was positively identified on Wednesday. He was among four youths reportedly abducted in December by the Mandela United Football Club, a group of about 30 young men acting as Mrs. Mandela's bodyguards. <

â\200\230â\200\234We are outraged at Mrs. Mandela's complicity in the recent abductions of Stompie,â\200\235â\200\235 Mr. Morobe said. â\200\230â\200\230Had Stompie and his three colleagues not been abducted by Mrs. Mandela's â\200\230foot-ball team,â\200\231 he would have been alive today.â\200\235

Mrs. Mandela's increasingly erratic behavior has not dampened public admiration for her husband, whose image has assumed almost mythic dimensions during his years in prison. But the leadership seemed anxious today not to erode his accumulated prestige.

â\200\230â\200\234We take the opportunity to reaffirm our unqualified support for our leader Nelson Mandela and call for his im-

Continued on Page A10, Column 5

Winnie: mother of the nation no more

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A fallen symbol of resistance

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 The worldâ\200\231s media learned to know Mrs Winnie Mandela as a lonely woman fighting to raise two daughters in the government-imposed exile of a council shack hundreds of kilometres from home.

A life sentence for sabotage and conspiracy on Nelson Mandela, leader of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), has separated her from her husband.

Resisting the harassment of the authorities with quiet dignity, she came to be known to millions of black South Africans simply as â\200\234Mama-wetuâ\200\235 â\200\224 our mother.

Now, with her so-called personal bodyguards, the Mandela United Football Club, accused of irresponsible and even brutal behaviour, her image is crumbling.

Stompie Moeketsi, a child activist allegedly abducted by the bodyguards last month, has been found dead.

Another youth who had been staying at Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s home was killed earlier this week in an attack some see as community revenge for her protection of the bodyguards that most view as thugs.

Sometimes rashly outspoken, sometimes isolated behind the ill-mannered youths who form a living wall around her, Mrs Mandela (54) has begun to lose theâ\200\234trust of many who

admired her. T

* She has become an embarrassment to the ANC, for which she was once a respected unofficial spokeswoman inside South Africa.

She was also widely listened to as the voice of her husband, who may not be quoted in South Africa and has spent more than a quarter of a century in jail for trying to overthrow the government.

Until yesterday no black leader had gone on record to condemn Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s actions or words. But her own people are turning against her, and the â\200\234mass democratic movementâ\200\235, represented by Cosatu and the

restriced United Democratic Front,

yesterday publicly distanced themselves from her.

But a Western diplomat offered a different perspective: â\200\234One should not lose sight, in the tragedy of what is happeningto her, of who she has been and what has happened to her.

â\200\234Winnie Mandela has proved herself to be a woman of immense courage through trials and harassment that would have broken a lesser person far sooner.â\200\235

For eight years, she endured banishment from Soweto to an alien black township near Brandfort.

There, among black neighbours who did not even speak her language, she won respect for her dignified resistance to bullying policemen who

peered through her windows and -

drummed rocks on her roof.

She refused to acknowledge the whites-only signs barring her from the small shops of the conservative little town.

Despite her poverty at the time, forcing her to scrimp for a twice-yearly visit to her husband, who was then still imprisoned on Robben Island, she recruited foreign donors to fund a small clinic where she offered basic medical care and moral support to black neighbours.

In August 1985, when her house and clinic were destroyed in a firebomb attack, she profited from the limited protection of her international stature to return to Soweto in defiance of the banning order.

She won the respect of many police- }

men through argument and the force of her personality.

Britainâ\200\231s Guardian newspaper said of her changing status that her image as a â\200\234heroine of immortal statureâ\200\235 should stand and her actions should be judged against â\200\234the accumulated pressure of intolerable eventsâ\200\235.

But a previously supportive white politician, who would not be named, said this week: â\200\234We cannot make excuses for her, not yet. What she has done is far too serious.â\200\235 â\200\224 Sapa-Reuter.

WINNIE MANDELA: Losing the trust of many who admired her

Support for ANC leader, but Winnie's actions condemned

UDF, Cosatu shun

ATL Wy rrets 17 Feer . (989

Winnie Mandela

JOHANNESBURG The mass de : Mr Vlok said Dr Asvat v
met:nt, represented by the trade union t%cdr::ali- had die
d instantly after
}sla u a(xilq the now restriced United Democratic Front, being shot once in the
dave instanced themselves from Mrs Winnie Man- chest. The bullet had
ela. At a press conference yesterday outrage was ex- gone through both lungs.
pressed at Mrs Mandela's complicity in the recent - 15apa,

Asvat probe
advanced,
says Vloks.

CAPE TOWN The

abductions and assault of Stompie (Moeketsi).

Had Stompie and his
three colleagues not
been abducted by Mrs
Mandela's football
team he would have
been alive today, said
former acting publicity
secretary for the UDF,
Murphy Morobe, who ad-
dressed the conference.

The 14-year-old Moe-
ketsi's stabbed body was
found in Soweto in Jan-

| uary and identified by
police on Wednesday.

Morobe asked the So-
weto community to dis-
tance itself in a digni-
fied manner. i

Unqualified support |
was reaffirmed for jailed
ANC leader Nelson Man-
dela and a call was made
for his immediate re-
lease.

These actions 5
should never be used to
undermine the esteem in
which we still hold com-
rade Nelson.

The statement said the

democratic movement
had fought uncompromi-
singly against violations
of human rights.

â\200\234We are not prepared |
to remain silent where
those who are violating
human rights claim to be
doing so in the name of
the struggle against
apartheid.

â\200\234We are of the view
that Mrs Mandela has
abused the trust and con-
fidence which she has
enjoyed over the years

. and has often acted
without consulting the
democratic movementâ\200\235.

The recent conflict
was centred around the
conduct of the so-called
football club which had
been widely condemned
by the Soweto commu-

| nity.

â\200\234In particular, we are
outraged by the reign of
terror that the team has
been associated with.
Not only is Mrs Mandela
associated with the
team, in fact, the team is
her own creation.â\200\235

The statement said
Mrs Mandela had re-
fused to co-operate in at-
tempts to reconcile the
conflict between her and

the community.

Mrs Mandelaâ\200\231s contri-
bution over the years
was commended, as she
had been forced to rear
her children single-
handed in the face of
lengthy house arrests,
detentions, and â\200\234her
cruel banishments to
Brandfortâ\200\235.

She had also been separated from her husband for most of her married life, first as Nelson Mandela worked in the underground of the ANC and then during his 27-year imprisonment.

He said Mrs Mandela's safety depended on the discipline of activists. Strong views had been put forward by the community, but the consensus was that she should be shunned and no one should have anything further to do with her.

Mrs Mandela had not commented on the statement or her visit to Nelson Mandela by late last night. Sapa.

police were doing their '

utmost to catch the two people allegedly responsible for the killing of Dr Abu-Baker Asvat in his surgery last month, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in the House of Delegates yesterday.

He was replying to an interpellation by Mr Mahmoud Rajab (PFP Springfield) on what progress had been made into the Asvat investigation and whether an inquiry had been made into other killings of anti-apartheid activists.

Mr Vlok said the Asvat investigation was at an advanced stage. Two suspects, Shelela Nyavusa and Zakhela @ Mbatha,

had been identified.

Up to now no further information had been received. However the police were following up a number of clues and all

possible efforts
were being made to trace
those responsible for the
killing.

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SOWETAN, Friday, February 17, 1989

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Union dispute rages on

THE dispute between the South African Allied Workers' Union and Soweto Easy Lo over the dismissal of the union's

By LEN MASEKO

members by the company remained unresolved yesterday

The two parties have not been in contact with

each other since January -

10, when negotiations broke down. Talks between union officials and management stalled apparently after management insisted that 24 employees of the company had violated internal grievance procedure by engaging in a work stoppage in December last year.

Sabmawu's general secretary, Mr Phil Dlamini, has questioned Easy Lo's sincerity in resolving the three-month-old dispute, saying company owner, Mr Sam Matona, appeared reluctant to reinstate the workers.

Meanwhile the 24 workers have also

accused Mr Matona of allegedly failing to report

to the Department of Manpower accidents or injuries to employees while on duty at the company. As a result, they said, employees in-

-jured while on duty did

not receive any benefits in terms of the Work-

Mr MKHONZA displays his chapped hands.

man's Compensation Act.

One such worker was

Mr Herman Mkhonza
(62), who is in pain after
sustaining serious burns

on both hands apparently while working
for Mr Matona's rent-a-loo company. He said the
company did not provide
its labourers with protective clothing. :

â\200\230known as the â\200\234Revival
of Learning or the
Renaissance (1300 AD
â\200\224 1600 AD) gave rise
to humanism as a
general notion.

This concept can
readily be classified into
five main streams which
are as follows; the
classics, Christian
humanism, scientific
humanism, atheism and
African humanism.

Tâ\200\231he Classics
In the classics we find

literature and arts which
were re-discovered by
hundreds of Italian
scholars. Leonardo da
Vinci (1452-1519) â\200\224
painter, sculptor and
scientist; Mlchelangelo
(1475-1564) â\200\224 painter
and sculptor. Both from
Italy and were among the
â\200\230most famous Renais-
sance figures.

Christian Humanism

The individual, accor-
ding to this category of
humanism must be saved

â\200\230Saviour or else . . .

L_ PERIOD in
; European his-

tory commonly

Greek and Roman

by accepting Christ as a

~ It makes the individual

feel guilty for being born
into the world. This sense

of guilt haunts the indi-

vidual throughout life.

Poor soul! The view that
there is a Promised Land
out there is not only
problematic but oppres-
sive as well. It's been used
to subjugate people e.g.
the Middle East, South

. Africa etc. All I can say is

that do not allow this to
mesmerise people's
minds.

Scientific Humanism

It 'claims that man

evolved and was not

moulded out of clay.
Charles Darwin as the
chief proponent of this
idea believed that there is
no God and that life is
not determined by a
supernatural being. He
also believed that human

-beings are animals with
the highest order of

intellect.

Atheism

The anti-God com-
munity ie. the atheists
also hold this extreme
view that there is no
God's. The agnostics, on
the other hand, maintain

that there may or may
- not be God, we do not

know. e

~ African Humanism

Certainly this expres-

SOWETAN, Friday, February 17, 1989

sion of humanism cannot
be godless. In the world

- of Ntate Lebamang
Sebidi: "It is incurably

religious". The Africans
believe that animals,
vegetation, human
beings and other aspects
of nature are all signifi-
cant in this whole (the
universe), therefore one

cannot be emphasised

over the other.
"The chain is as strong
as its weakest link, so

* says the old adage.

Features of African
ism.

Ubuntu-ism, unlike its
Western counterpart, is
communal. "I am
because you are, you are
because we are," that on
its own is a strong sense
of community. The Afri-
can believes that life is
sacred therefore no
person should terminate
another's life, that on its
own makes him a deeply
religious person.

We also believe in the
- supernatural forces

which western humanism
dismisses as a belief in
magic and/or superstitions.

To us the supreme
being (Ugamatha, U.m-A

Humanism or ' Ubuntu-

velinqangi, Modlmo,
etc.) exists. We believe
that humankind is the
expression of this Being.

As an expression of

God, humankind has qualities in itself that give it the power to create a happy and meaningful life â\200\224 meaningful life here refers to the norms and values set by the community, i.e. respect for elders. As children we are taught from an early age not to talk back rudely to adults â\200\224 this is respect not fear as others might like to believe. We are also taught to yield a â\200\230'seat to an adult at home, in public vehicles and places.

It should be noted that since our communities have been broken up, respect for elders "has been severely challenged. It is not only respect that has been challenged, but other aspects of the African way of life as well, i.e. communalism.

Since the advent of urbanization, the readiness and the willingness to share with others what we possess has constantly become a thing of the past. We tend to be self-centred and individu-

â\200\234ment brought forward by

study here.

alistic â\200\224 a state quiet foreign' to African humanism.

Despite the impedi-

Western ways of life (in the urban areas), the African way of life has endured. Whether or not the African will change is not important nor do we need to be unique in our system of values.

But we need to acknowledge traces of African moral action; attachment to the soil; social relationships; the sense of community and

its welfare; the art of healing in our daily activities. Europeans owe us an apology for dismissing Ubuntu-ism as a belief in magic and/or superstition.

They do not know what they are talking about, they have not undergone the ritual.

Ubuntu is indefinite
it is an experience
there is no way that one can talk about it without having gone through it. To illustrate the everlasting power of ubuntu,

Ubuntu as African humanism

Background and comparison between African and Western humanism

GUEST COLUMN by DESMOND PITOI

,;’
- [240 years and later they

experienced the industrial revolution in America; still later they became full participants in American

I shall use the Afro-

Americans as a case in

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Even though American culture attempts to combat their inborn part of Ubuntu they remain plainly African.

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"OT even the
rain could
dampen the

spirits of the Ama-
Chunu people in the
Esipongweni district
of Natal from attend-
ing the traditional
ukubonga ceremony at
the weekend by
Savuka percussionist
and dancer Dudu
Zulu.

The ceremony marked
Zulu's celebration of
having completed the
building and furnishing
of two identical houses
for his two wives
Mamkhandwa and Mam-
xethulwa, and five
children.

He also expressed
gratitude for his recent
fortune to his ancestors,
village elders and the
community. The func-

tion thanks his ancestors

Story by VICTOR METSOAMERE and pics by PAUL TSHABALALA

tion meant a lot more to
him, because, as a child,
he was looked after by
the community when his
father died.
During

the same

occasion Dudu also

dedicated a speech to
Tom â\200\234Queen Victoriaâ\200\235
Zulu, the 67-year-old
elder-leader of the
districtâ\200\231s dance team,
AmaButho, who travel-
led from Johannesburg
to Zululand, especially

for the function.

Dudu and Jonathan
Clegg, who are dance
partners in Savuka, are
senior members of

AmaButho, whose
members all work in Jo-
hannesburg. Dudu is also
Savuka's percussionist.
Savuka left on Tuesday
night for France on a
promotional tour which
will include Italy and
Scandinavia.

The festivities were
characterised by frenzied
dancing and ululation,
with food and home-
brewed liquor galore, the
large crowd who braved
the constant drizzle, were
thrilled to the bone
throughout.

Sipho Mchunu, Clegg's
long-time friend and
former Juluka partner,
was also present.

Tears flowed when
Dudu told the crowd
how proud he was of the
AmaChunu people for
their genuine friendli-
ness. He said he was also
proud that, like any
responsible husband, he
had finally built two

- houses for his wives and

children.
I do not know my

father, he died when I
was still a child, you
helped me through, your
sense of unity has been a
great inspiration to me,

Dudu told the crowd.
One village elder,
Ntulizwe Zulu, in his 80s
said this about Dudu:
He is a perfect example

for our youth. He is
respectful and respon-
sible. The youth of Esi-

pongweni idolise him. He
travels the seas and still
comes back to the village
he helped put on the
world map.â\200\235

Ntulizweâ\200\231s son, Fahla-
za (30), said: â\200\234For having

g â\200\230durlng the thanking ceremony.

organised this traditional
ceremony, Dudu- has
opened - himself up for
more fortune because he
has appeased the ances-
tors.â\200\235

The occasion was
covered by local and
overseas newspapers and
television crews.

- JOHNNY Clegg addresses the AmaChunu
people as his fellow Savuka member, Dudu Zulu,
listens keenly.

UDF, Cosatu chiefs tell Sowetans to keep clear of Winnie

boo I
MOJALEFA
MOSEKI

~ Addressing a Press

conference. at the
Central Methodist
Church in Johannes-
burg, acting publicity
secretary of the
restricced UDF, Mr
Murphy Morobe, said
Mrs Mandela had
â\200\234abused the trust and
confidenceâ\200\235 which she
enjoyed over the years
through actions which
have . increasingly
brought her into
â\200\234conflict with various

appealed to their affiliates,
distance themsÃ@lves from her.

Missing Cold
They are ufgently ShOU|de

sections â\200\230of the
oppressed people and
with the mass demo-
cratic movement as a

whole.â\200\235

Meanwhile, another

been linked to Mrs Win-

l night.

two missing youths have

nie Mandelaâ\200\231s â\200\234football
teamâ\200\235 police said last

looking for Mr Loloy
Sono (21) and My
Siboniso Anton Tshaba-Â¢

lala (19), both of
Meadowlands, Soweto.
Murder investigations
not under way this week
into the deaths of 14-
year-old activist Stompie
Seipei, who was last seen
alive at Mrs Mandela's
home, and football team

Â® To page 2

LEADERS of the restricted United Democratic Front and the F
Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday denounced
the actions of Mrs Winnie Mandela and her 'football team' and
especially Soweto residents, to

Â® From page 1
member Mr Maxwell
Madondo (19).

Mr Sono was last seen

on November 13 at about
8pm talking to a member
of the Mandela football
team in a blue mini-bus
near his home. He

allegedly had "visible .

assault injuries.

'and Cosatu

I M Tshabalala was last

seen on November 14
allegedly left for an
appointment with the
team.

He said
centred on the activities

of the so-called Mandela
3, 7 | Football Club.

the issues ;

Mr Morobe appealed ;
to the public to stop re-

ferring to 'Winnie's club :

f

as Mandela United be- !

cause even Mr Mandela

" and Mr Oliver Tambo

have ordered that the .

club be disbanded.

Mr Morobe. was.

flanked by UDF presi-
dent, Mr Archie Gumede :

Mr Elijah Barayi.

president, . '

He reaffirmed the

movementsâ\200\231 unwavering . .

support of Mr Mandela

decision to â\200\230â\200\230distanceâ\200\235
the democratic move-
ment from his wifeâ\200\231s
actions.

i
, and said the organisation
will inform him of the

~

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e Nounecen
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TR, 7 T e w GO LT SCHI

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Road clear for Resolution 435

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Political Staff and
Associated Press

CAPE TOWN â\200\224 Foreign Minis-
ter, Mr Pik Botha, has wel-
comed the United Nations Secu-
rity Council agreement on the
implementation of Resolution

435 for the independence of Na-

mibia as an â\200\234historic momentâ\200\235.

Mr Botha said in a statement
the acceptance by the Security
Council of the implementation
of Resolution 435 â\200\234marks the
last enabling step to the settle-
ment plan for the independence
of Namibia.

â\200\234This means 4 650 troops are
approved and the United Na-
tions will now strictl & have to
treat all parties in S A/Nami-
bia impartially.

~ â\200\234With the acceptance of this
resolution, the road is now clear
for the attainment of indepen-
dence of SWA/Namibia.â\200\235

Utmost importance

Mr Botha said he had instruct-
ed South Africaâ\200\231s ambassador to
the UN, Mr Jeremy Shearer, to
inform the Secretary General,
Dr Javier Peres de Cuellar, that
it was of the utmost importance
that all people from Namibia â\200\224
detained in camps in certain
African countries due to differ-
ences with Swapo â\200\224 be permit-
ted to return to Namibia.

The Security Council yesterday authorised the independence plan and the General Assembly agreed to dispatch the first UN peacekeepers to the region.

In a departure from the usual

Security Council decorum, applause and handshakes swept the chamber after the unanimous adoption of the resolution, which begins the transition toward Namibian elections supervised by the United Nations.

The council approved a recent report by Dr Perez de Cuellar on implementing the plan, which calls for sending 4 650 UN peacekeepers, 500 police supervisors and at least 1000 civilian election monitors to Namibia.

â\200\234The decision also marks the

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last major step toward decolonisation,â\200\235 said council president Mr Jai Pratap Rana of Nepal.

â\200\234We look forward to welcoming Namibia as a fellow member of this family of nations before long.â\200\235

Untggfï-\201cials

The first Untag officials are to arrive in Namibia next week, | said the secretary-generalâ\200\231s special representative for Namibia, Mr Martti Ahtisaari.

Commissioner Steven Fanning, the head of Untagâ\200\231s police unit, is expected in Namibia next Friday for weekend talks with that countryâ\200\231s commissioner of police, General Dolf Gouws, said Mr Ahtisaari.

Namibiaâ\200\231s police will remain responsible for civil order, but will be supervised by UN police.

Dr Perez de Cuellar has estimated Untag will cost \$416 million (about R998 million) in its first year, making it the biggest

UN peacekeeping mission since the Belgian Congo operation of 1960-64.

~The General Assembly yesterday approved funds for a 70-man team of UN military ob-

â\200\230servers who will monitor the

withdrawal of 50000 Cuban troops from Angola, as neighbouring Namibia becomes independent.

That group, the UN Angola Verification Mission (Unavem), was budgeted at \$9,2million | (about R21,6 million) for this year.

General Assembly President Mr Dante Caputo, announced that the assembly probably would meet next week to approve funding for the Untag force.

Th :

| p THE S

BY GERALD L'ANGE, editor of The Star's Africa News Service

South Africa is paying heavily for the destabilisation it is alleged to have carried out in neighbouring states. Whether it was worth the price will become clearer when Commonwealth leaders, influenced by a new destabilisation report, consider tightening sanctions.

When the Commonwealth heads of State meet in Malaysia in October they are expected to examine ways to tighten economic sanctions and other coercive and punitive measures against South Africa.

In this they will probably be strongly influenced by a new report on Pretoria's alleged destabilisation of neighbouring states.

The contents of the report were described as 'shocking' by Canadian Foreign Minister Mr Joe Clark when it was presented to the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' meeting in Harare recently.

Compiled by David Martin and Phyllis Johnson, two journalists long preoccupied with the subject, it purports to update the catalogue of South Africa's acts of destabilisation and to estimate their cost to the victims.

' Accuracy accepted

Its accuracy appears to have been accepted without question by the Commonwealth secretariat which

commissioned it, and by the Foreign Ministers.

Mr Clark categorised the report as 'precise information' when asked about it at a news conference.

So the Commonwealth leaders, if they too accept the accuracy of the

" report, will conduct their deliberations in the belief that the South African Government is to blame for the loss of one million lives, many

of them children, in southern Africa in the past eight years.

Those who do not question the re-

portâ\200\231s accuracy will accept that
South African destabilisation has

cost the Frontline states R88 billion
and made more than 3 million people
homeless.

These figures appear to have
been arrived at through fairly arbitrary
â\200\234guestimatesâ\200\235 and it might
therefore be difficult for anyone to
challenge them.

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Where the figures â\200\224 and indeed
much of the report â\200\224 are wide open
to challenge is in the assumption
that everything can be laid at Pretoriaâ\200\231s doorstep.

Destabilisation report ~
lays blame at SAâ\200\231s door

The report takes the view that
Pretoria is responsible for the
deaths of all those killed by the Mozambique
National Resistance (MNR) rebels since South Africa
took over from the Rhodesian government
as the MNRâ\200\231s chief supporter.

In this it makes the huge and obviously
convenient assumption that the MNR
would not have continued to exist without
South African support.

rt. Pretoria is therefore held responsible,
for example, for the deaths from disease
of Mozambican children as a result of the
MNRâ\200\231s destruction of rural health clinics.

The report goes further and makes South Africa
culpable even in the deaths of Mozambicans
who died as a result of drought-induced
famine.

Sweeping approach

It argues that they might have lived had not the MNR, operating by the grace of Pretoria, prevented relief from getting to them.

Much the same sweeping approach is taken in respect of other countries and other calamities in the sub-continent. South Africa is blamed, for instance, for all the suf-

ferings of Angola and even for some of Zambia's because of South Africa's support for Unita rebels.

The report says landlocked Zambia lost the use of the Benguela railway through Angola after South Africa's invasion of Angola in 1975 and the resultant war.

The Angolan war was caused by South Africa's invasion? Now there's one for all those who thought

it was caused by an ideologically-based power struggle between the MPLA and the opposing groups with whom it was supposed to have shared power pending elections in terms of the Alvor agreement that followed the Portuguese withdrawal.

Argument avoided

Whether Unita would have been able to survive without South African support is arguable, but it is an argument the Commonwealth report carefully avoids. 4

The report is replete with sweep-

ing and arguable assertions. It does

not bother to seek any credibility in Pretoria's denials that it is still aiding the MNR, or its assertion that it sees its own interests promoted more by stable neighbours than unstable ones.

Ironically, the overkill is unnecessary. There is enough evidence of South African skulduggery in the neighbouring states without it having to be exaggerated or invented, as some of the sources accepted without question by Martin and Johnson clearly have done.

There is no doubt that this skul-

duggery has been widely practised in the region by Pretoria in a variety of forms that could be classified as destabilisation. These range from support for the MNR at least before the Nkomati Accord if not after it to the squeezing of trade routes.

There is doubt only about some of the details about the scale of the destabilisation, the form, the directors, the agents and the effects.

Some of it may be as pernicious in its intent and as vicious in its effects as claimed in the Commonwealth report. But the overall picture presented by the report is grossly exaggerated.

Tougher sanctions

Aside from moral aspects, this may be judged important only to the extent that it might lead to tougher sanctions against South Africa. But few things could be more important to the South Africans who might as a direct result of sanctions suffer hunger, disease and misery as bad as any caused by destabilisation in the neighbouring territories.

Those who directed the destabilisation can hardly complain about its effects being exaggerated, however. Once destabilisation was em-

ployed it was inevitable that its scope and consequences would be enlarged in the accounts of the victims and turned against Pretoria by apartheid's foes.

ghbourliness,

Beyond that the issue becomes whether the exercise was worthwhile. The destabilisation ostensibly was aimed primarily at preventing

" the African National Congress from

launching insurgency from neighbouring territories, keeping those territories dependent on South Africa's transport routes and discouraging them from implementing economic sanctions against the Republic.

To some extent these objectives have been reached but the price paid has been heavy and may get heavier. The necessity of it all is

something to be pondered at the
next turn of the sanctions screw.

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