hfu

on Jouthfal o

ffect 1§ds "

Last week a Free St

. primary schoolboy hanged himself after watching a TV ramme \mid in which two men %re hanged for smuggl N o the effect television has on

ing heroin.

MONICA NICOLSON looks at developing young minds.

The average primary school pupil spends as much time watching television as he does in school $a\200\224$ approximately 25 hours per week, according to a report by the Human Sciences Research Council. !;

" Last week watching a television programme led to the death of 12-year-old Free State boy,

Jaime Henning who accidentally hanged himself .

after seeing Dahdah is Death on M-Net, a story of two heroin smugglers who were convicted and hanged in Malaysia. \hat{a} \200\230

- Jaimeâ\200\231s body was found hanging on a bridle rein from his ;{?rentâ\200\231s poster bed.

A Harvard University professor and world authority on child psychology, Professor Gerald Lesser claimed in a recent article that television was the greatest communication medium in history and had a pow rful influence on children.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I\hat{a}\hat{a}\200\231s$ their window on the world. TV shows them the complex and exciting world outside the home and that is a very: stimulating instrument for eager minds. $\hat{a}\200\235$ %

* He said TV images were made more potent by young peopleâ200231s natural and relentless search for information about the world. : T

The Director of the Johannesburg Parent and Child Counselling Centre, Ms Joyce McMillan,

said' children had difficulty differentiating between reality and fantasy.

 \hat{A} «& vulnerable child could be so caught up in the grip of fantasy he could act it out to test reality, \hat{a} \200\235 she said.

She said a problem with television was that the consequences of violence and the finality of death were not clearly presented.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Children see a man shot dead, and the next day they see the same man in another programme full of life again, $\hat{a}\200\235$ she said.

Bright children use every source of stimulation, but television becomes unhealthy when it is used as a substitute for living and to avoid socialising and interpersonal relationships, Ms McMillan said.

Head of Pretoria Universityâ\200\231s Child Psychology Department, Professor Johan Piek said school children were most vulnerable to heg:-negatively influenced by television.

Cartoons were very popular with this age group, where children see cats and dogs plummeting to the ground from the top of buildings, only to get up and carry on running.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This encourages a misconception of death, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he said.

Professor Piek added that violent television programimes influenced children to be more ag-

ive.

 \hat{A} «It becomes the norm and an acceptable way of life. Violence is appealing to children because visually it has tremendous impact, full of action \hat{a} 200\230and fantasy, \hat{a} \200\235 he said.

The death of Jaime Henning could indicate a need for responsible media-studies in schools to teach children to be aware of the limitations and restricted horizons of television, some experts believe.

Ms McMillan said there could be no guarantee that . similar tragedy could be avoided.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Children can be so impulsive $\hat{a}\200\224$ it can happen to the best of parents. However, it helps if parents closely supervise television viewing, an let the t(;1hild iscuss and evaluate violence, sex and

eath.

 \hat{A} «But kids learn by doing things and need space to experiment \hat{a} 200\224 so parents have to take calculated risks, \hat{a} \200\235 she said.:

Wednesday, February 28, 1990

Third World

THE defeat of the Sandinistas in last Sundayâ\200\231s election in Nicaragua makes them the first of the non-European communist (or pseudo-communist) parties to follow their European mentors into political oblivion. President Daniel Ortegaâ\200\231s unsuccessful attempt at re-election poses the following question: can communism survive in the Third World after it has collapsed at the centre?

- One problem all these Marxist-Leninist regimes share is that Soviet aid
is drying up, and Moscowâ\200\231s willingness
to give them direct military support is
fading rapidly. The Soviet Union has
-already withdrawn from Afghanistan,
and is now pulling its naval and air
forces out of Vietnam (while vainly urging the United States to follow suit in
the Philippines).

The psychological impact of communist collapse in Europe may be even more important: it is demonstrably no longer the wave of the future. But most Third World countries differ from their European counterparts in that the communists came to power as the leaders in anti-imperialist liberation wars. Communism was the vehicle of nationalism in these a \200\230countries, and the local parties still try to wrap themselves in the glory of the past. Sometimes it works, and sometimes it does

not. .

Fidel Castroâ\200\231s regime in Cuba, despite its refusal to liberalise politically and its flagrant economic failure,

e Name Winess

Will communism survive? [

can still count on a weary tolerance from most Cubans. The United States is so close, and the memory of the indignities of the traditional Cuban relational algobian with the Americans is so green, that most Cubans grudgingly accept Castroa\200\231s go-it-alone defiance as a necessary evil. Washington might change that if it adopted a less domineering attitude towards the countries of the Cen-

tral American-Caribbean region, but that implausible thought probably does not keep Castro awake at night.

Things are quite different in countries where there is no fully formed national identity, and where the $a\200\234$ communistâ\200\235 regimes are in fact largely based on tribal or clan ties. Angola and Mozambique have already cast their lot with the West economically, and the South Yemeni regime is trying to re-integrate itself into the Arab world after 20 years of isolation. The beleaguered governments of Najibullah in Afghanistan and Mengistu in Ethiopia cling grimly to power in the face of widespread insurrections, but retain little support beyond the military and bureaucratic circles whose fate is tied to the regime. Neither regime has any future.

In Mongolia, the oldest Soviet satellite, the Eastern European disease is

already evident in the frequent pro-

democracy demonstrations in Ulan Bator. By contrast, North Korea, the hermit kingdom ruled for over 40 years by Kim Il Sung, remains as obdurately

With things falling apart in the communist countries of Eastern Europe, it remains to be seen whether communism will survive in the Third World. The Sandinistas have fallen

in Nicaragua and many .
other communist regimes
are finding themselves

; increasingly beleaguered. Gwynne Dyer investigates.

opposed to change of any kind as Ceausescuâ\200\231s regime was in Romania. But in fact North Korea is probably equally vulnerable to a sudden popular revolt against the entire system, especially if Kim dies and the army gets involved in the succession struggle among his leading courtiers. The prospect of reunification with far richer South Korea al-

ways beckons, and despite rigid censorship North Koreans cannot be

i

unaware of the dramatic changes elsewhere in the communist world and especially of the rapid approach to German re-unification.

In Vietnam the regime, shocked by the collapse of communism in Europe, is hurriedly backing away from a\200\234doi $moia^200^235$ (renovation), its programme of liberal reforms that was launched with much fanfare three years ago. Communist Party General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh has reverted to the language of 1945, rejecting â\200\234bourgeois liberalism and pluralismâ\200\235 and angrily condemning the â\200\234feverish acts and wicked attempt of war-like imperialist forcesâ\200\235 seeking to destroy socialism. The Vietnamese press was sharply curbed by new laws in December and the once lively public debate about reform in Vietnam has gone ominously silent. However, Vietnamâ\200\231s ageing communist regime has so much inherited nationalist glory that it may be able to limp on for quite a few years yet.

Cambodia is a tangled mess where a uniquely nasty breed of communists, the Khmer Rouge, is waging a guerrilla war against another lot of communists, mostly ex-Khmer Rouge, who were installed in power by the Vietnamese invaders after 1978. Now that the Vietnamese have left again their proteges are looking distinctly shaky, for the Khmer Rouge, despite its hideous crimes, has a_firm possession of the mantle of Cambodian nationalism.

However, the reluctance of almost

/

by Gwynne Dyer

everybody else in the world to see the Khmer Rouge back in control makes the outcome in Cambodia completely unpredictable. Meanwhile, forgotten up in the north-eastern corner of Indo-China, Laos is undergoing a homegrown version of perestroika that has not yet been halted by the reversal of course in Vietnam.

Which leaves, finally, the great imponderable: China. The shock of Tienanmen Square has not yet worn off, and everybody is keeping their heads down while the communist gerontocracy circles the wagons for its last

stand. The regime suffered an irreversible loss of legitimacy when it massacred its own citizens last June, and the reversion to a command economic model will inevitably create an acute economic crisis before the end of the decade.

The Chinese communist regime will probably hang on for some years yet, but it has already lost the mandate of heaven in the eyes of most city dwellers, and what the cities know now the countryside will know in five yearsâ\200\231 time. And in 10 years from now, you will probably be able to hold a summit meeting of the worldâ\200\231s remaining orthodox Marxist-Leninist regimes in a telephone callbox.

e Canadian-born Gwynne Dyer is a former Sandhurst lecturer who is now based in London. His international affairs column appears in 160 newspapers in $5\hat{A}$ countries.

T WILL take much less than the destruction of the SA economy to create a disaster for the country in 10 yearsâ\200\231 time.

_All that is required for disaster is

that the economy $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31s$ growth be reduced to an average 1% per annum in real GDP terms. -

In such a case, the evidence sug-

' gests net new job creation stops, and

structural unemployment continues to rise. No new job creation on a net basis implies an additional two-million unemployed by the year 2000; their dependants would take possible increased deg_rgvation to in excess of five-million. This could be enough to make social and political stabilisation of the country impossible, even for a future non-racial democratic government.

Inequality is the central issue of the political crisis. Too much wealth

. is in the hands of the white minority;

too limited is the share of the major-

ity in the total national income; too
- small is the participation of the ma-

jority in the entrepreneurial sector.

This suggests a need for redistri-

bution, but how can redistribution - take place without causing damage to the economy? It would serve no stabilising p! were the consequences of

istribution to be an !

aggravated flight of capital, a fur- | -greater and more enduring than

ther withdrawal of white skilled manpower and declining production levels, especially declining levels of food output.

A policy of redistribution would }

have to be implemented with cau-

tion, wisdom and due regard to complex social processes whose outcomes may be quite different from those assumed by those unfamiliar with economics. ; Essentially there are four ways in which redistribution can occur. The state can act by confiscating the property of the wealthy to give it to the poor, what might be described as the punitive option. Or the state can act through the fiscus, raising taxes to finance increases in welfare spending. Alternatively, the private sector can take action of its own to make state action unnecessary. Or . of growth. The need for a d{Nesy Bpsiness must redistribution or future state action the area of common ground between act on face Three SA economists presented businessmen and others in Pa RONNIE BETHLEHEM addresses the problem papers to the Indaba between the ANC, ris last December. In this first excerpt, of redistribution. {redistribution can happen through the normal consequences of economt..ic growth. = - Economic growth is by far the best of the alternatives. In a market eco-:

nomy, growth redistributes both income and wealth constantly, and

```
- Dothing is_tdone now to reduce or
over an extended period such redis-
tribiition can be considerable â\200\224
a\200\234 redistribution by other means.
The problem is that it takes time
for growth to do its work, So growth .
is caught in a Catch 22. There can be
no growth of sufficent magnitude to
meet the challenge of demo?aphy -
unless there is an inflow of foreign
capital to finance needed invest-
ment. But there will be no capital
inflow without improved prospects
political
solution, thus, follows from econom-
ic as well as from normal impera-
- tives. :
The need for redistribution is com-
lling and transcends y or ideo-
ogical differences.
community must know that a future
democratic government will have no
choice but to act against inequality if
e business
eliminate jt.
sThe business community owes j
o] es i
- itself to do Something abozt the mtatt?
~ter. To neglect it is to invi
~.trouble. Under to invite future
- 10, punitive state action jnyo]
Significant nationalisation of i; a\200\230:islia:3
a worst-case scenar-
éry with all that
ouragement of entre reneurshi
cannot afford g discoura%e-
ment of entrepreneurship. It means
implies for a dis-
â\200\224_â\200\224
lower levels of investment and
growth at best. At worst it means
stagnation and decline, and it would .
> wrong to think that the state can
. step in and take needed initiatives
```

once these have been abandoned by

'~ the private sector. If SA is to suc- |
ceeJ,] SO because the state
and the private sector reinforce and

. su ,

it will do

ort one another.:
i, Is in the entrepreneurial sector
economy is found. While black economic &ower has increased impressively in recent years, in the entrepreneurial sector black

) sect Participation remains infinitesimal.

In"labour

The growth of black power can be areas of the economy. argaining, in income shares, in the share of retail sales, the black presence looms large and will certainly dominate the future. But, as long as blacks remain outside the entrepreneurial sector, they

- must harbour ideological preferences in conflict with those of the business sector. The great majority

fae

 $.\hat{a}\200\231$ seen in man

of blacks in SA see socialism as the - |

preferred -system whereas the business
This threatens the future because of the conflict it implies.

the most serious defect in the SA

In today \hat{a} 200\231s world, the conflict between capitalism and socialism has

lost much of its previous revelance,

Both ideologies have been so changed by events as to make old arguments meaningless. However, in SA, the conflict between the ideas of philosophy of the business community (mainly whites) and of its workers and customers both real and important.

This conflict cannot be resolved by

jawboning. The business communitl')'

will not persuade blacks that socia ism is a failed system, not even by citing the changes in Russia and

Eastern Europe as evidence; and

reference is for capitalism.

black socialists will not persuade businessmen that capitalism is a failed system, not even by citing its links in SA with apartheid.

The business community needs to come to terms with black ideological preferences and to work with them and not against them in acting to secure its own future.

This it can do if it is prepared to acknowledge that it is a market economy rather than capitalism per se which is critical to its interests. Given the movement towards market socialism in the Soviet bloc and the shift away from central planning,

previously opposing. ideological interests can b{._gx:.eatly expanded. If the busines_sz;;;community does .

nothing regarding inequalit , Or if it does too little, the state will {e bound to act, most likely in ways discourag- m%]to the business community. . What can the community do to $f;g,a\200\224er_npt$ the need for state action? *In a final reckoning, the whole matter reduces to the question of ownership. Ownership in SA has to be restructured in order to correct the defect regarding black non-partici-- Pation in the entrepreneurial sector. Although redistribution has negative connotations for businessmen because it has been associated with punitive state action in the past, the restructuring of ownership, after all, is the normal process of the market economy. Ownership is restructured every day by market fluctuations and executive initiatives in the corporate sector. g e Dlsinyeetment from SA by foreign companies involves ructuring away from offshore towards onshore Interests. Privatisation.involves restructuring away from the public sector towards the private sector. Restructuring away gâ\200\230om whites towards blacks is now also needed,

(mainly blacks) is

28 - 02 - 90

%usme. 3 Must &k N\ Jeal 34w budvow

COMMENT e R

â\200\230Ending viole

HE ANC, meeting in Lusaka this week, faces a decision of critical importance \hat{a} 200\224 whether or not to respond to the

widening appeal that it should end the armed struggle. It has not done so up to now on the grounds that it is employing $a\200\234$ defensive $a\200\235$ violence against the state, but the argument is wearing thin. :

Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark, who is chairman of the Commonwealth special committee on southern Africa, has urged the ANC to abandon violence, supporting the call of the Anglican bishops on Sunday. Renunciation of violence, he

says, would be an important step

towards full-scale negotiations.

The bishops, who have previously expressed an understanding of the liberation movements \$\alpha\200\231\$ use of violence, while not condoning it, now state that many arguments for continuing the armed struggle have fallen away. The first of these, of course, was the ban on the ANC, and in lifting it nearly a month \$\alpha\200\230ago\$ President de Klerk said the season of violence was over. The cycle of violence had to be broken; the coun-

s youth deserved it. There was no need to beat the door down $\hat{a}\200\224$ it was open. : _

Since then, with the promise to release Nelson Mandela quickly fulfilled, government has given no reason to doubt its bona fides and commitment to genuine negotiations. Its aims include, in the Presidentâ\200\231s words, â\200\234a new democratic constitution; universal franchise; no domination; equality before an indepen-

dent judiciary, and the protection of

minorities as well as of individual rights $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35$. They may be open to different interpretations, but the will for peace is there. $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31$

In the month since President de Klerk appealed to the ANC to end its war talk, there has been little evidence of $a\200\234$ armed struggle $a\200\235$ violence, but township killings and arson have escalated considerably. At

first this may have been put down to

an outburst of emotion likely to subside with the realisation that South Africa was indeed entering a new era in which black leaders could play a full political role, but that is not happening.

Far from being in a position to meet ANC demands to end the state of emergency and withdraw troops from the townships, government has felt compelled to increase security force operations. Apart from having to cope with the Inkatha-UDF war in Natal, and anti-establishment violence in Gazankulu, Venda and other areas, there has been a marked increase in attacks on policemen, several of whom have been killed.

Nelson Mandela, in his address on Sunday, rightly appealed to the Natal adversaries to throw their weapons into the sea and end all forms of factionalism. Violence in that awful feud has been feeding on itself for a long time now, and there is a real danger that the same could happen elsewhere unless it is stopped. The ANC could make this

ible by changing its approach. Unless it does so soon, and takes President de Klerk at his word, the peace initiative will not be given a fair chance.;

```
expedient 10 beShut L po er gath
0 robably wield power rath-
er than o in perpetual opposition. selves according to \boldsymbol{v}
Loyalty seems to be a scarce corm- The values of democracy, freedom of
modity in politics speech, worship and association, the
: : : right to equal, education, equality be-
f(;rethela_vâ\200\231vand yrivate owne
of p and are well-
uh{:mblâ\200\231 pr;nciples. People of
ing by
would
minded person can
with people who refuse
the armed struggle and
stitutional an
s mel o
ееро
will work best in a future SA. The
Nats have now appropriated those
that they can currently digest. When
```

- Shooting, arson, â\200\230poison waterâ\200\231

s â\200\224923

Protest,

0)

lence

In homelands
on the increas

By Esmaré van der Merwe, ", Dirk Nel and Helen Grange

Several homeland governments are facing deepening crises in the wake of increasing demands by democratic organisations.:

â\200\234'Violence has flared in several self-

governing and independent national states \hat{a} \200\224 including Gazankulu, Venda and Bophuthatswana. Dozens of people have died or been hurt.

Homeland leaders blame violence, boycotts and strikes on Mass Democratic Movement structures such as youth and community organisations.

In Gazankulu, six people have died during the past two days in the Malemulele and Jimmy Jones districts.

Intimidation

/A statement issued by the Gazankulu government said 16 people had died since Monday last week, 65 huts and

two vehicles had been destroyed by fire, and one house had been gutted.

 $\hat{a}\200\234'$ At a meeting between the Gazankulu Cabinet and 80 government officials, it Was concluded that intimidation had been the main reason for the widespread stayaway by civil servants, employees and factory workers.

. Many people have returned to work t Giyani, Nl:(owaNkowa and Malemulele but stayaways were reported at Mhala and Lisbon Estates, an agricultural project near Skukuza.

â\200\234. The Newington Youth Congress has demanded wage increases and staff transport for workers at the estate. ~. The Chief Minister, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, said yesterday that he was anxious to have SA Defence Force units withdrawn, but the present situation did not allow for such a step.

He accused the MDM of waging $\ensuremath{\mathtt{a}}$

iberate campaign to embarrass and

discredit his government, to mobilise the youth and intimidate the $\hat{a}\200\234$ moder-

ateâ\200\235 population.

But organisations in the homelands claim security forces are brutally clamping down on legitimate protest.

This week residents of Temba in Bophuthatswana staged a massive stayaway backed by a school boycott. Two people were shot dead and 123 arrested after a crowd of 20000 refused to obey police orders to disperse in Tlhabane, Bophuthatswana.

Yesterday an uneasy calm

reigned in | Bophuthatswana. An official of the Na-

tional Union of Mineworkers in Rustenburg, who asked not to be

told Sapa more than 200 people, including children, had been arrested in SWoops since Saturday.

In Gazankulu, there were severe work :

and school disturbances. The Giyani Youth Congress has demanded the release of detained students, the readmission of failed matriculants and the abolition of corporal punishment.

In Venda, police have joined the clamour for higher pay, as the homeland remains in the grip of a deepening crisis that has disrupted schools, court proceedings and water supplies.

Police in the territory on Monday presented a petition to their department demanding a salary increase of between 80 and 90 percent and improvement in conditions of employment among other demands.

Magistrates join in ${\bf S}$ Thousands of teachers are boycotting

- classes to back demands for better sa-

laries. Civil servants, including trates, have also joined the protest. Pastor M P Phosiwa of the Lutheran Church at Sibasa said rumour was rife that water provided in trucks by the army had allegedly been laced with poison. Residents of Sibasa were f water from Ngovhela, 10 km away.

The superintendent at the hospital, Mrs L Naude, said $a\200\234$ numerous $200\235$ people

had arrived at the hospital with $\ensuremath{\operatorname{ab-}}$

dominal pains but she denied that the water was poisoned.

A $e\hat{a}\200\224\hat{a}\200\224$

Poo(cst, Vioience 1 n Nomel\anad \$

 \hat{a} 200\230At the hel

ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo.

wboporfmom of Information head Pallo Jordan.

Despite the pre-occupation with the role of Mr Nelson Mandela within the ANC since his release, the organisation remains committed to the concept of group

 $\tilde{\ }$ leadership. Its linchpin is the National Executive Committee (NEC). $\hat{a}\backslash200\backslash230$

The NEC at present consists of 34 people who control all the major management and operational functions of the ANC. i

While the NEC can make or alter policy,

m of th

the organisationâ\200\231s supreme policy-making | organ is a National Conference, the next of |

which is due to be held in South Africa on December 16 this year.

The main satellite bodies reporting to the NEC, all headed by NEC members, include: \hat{A} ® Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the organisation \hat{a} 00\231s armed wing, headed by NEC member Joe Modise.

® The Political-Military Council (PMC), which monitors, assesses and co-ordinates the progress of the political and military struggle in South Africa. Headed by NEC member John Nkadimeng.

@ The National Working Committee (NWC), responsible for ensuring NEC decisions are carried out. The NWC is usually chaired by acting president Alfred Nzo and may consist of any and all NEC members who happen to be in Lusaka when it sits.

@ The Internal Political Committee (IPC), re- /"
_sponsible for maintaining liaison with inter-

nal organisations in South Africa. It is co-ordinated by NEC member Steve Tshwete. The full list of present NEC members, in

alphabetical order after
Oliver Tambo
At present incapacitated after
is described
: ::wygx; a/ncâ\200\230}n teacher from the
ember/chairman of all ANC commi
_ Alfred Nao (67). Secretary s Sy
ng president during M â\200\231s illn
Froxl:)ln the Transkei, hg is Aol
working committees. He is thought to be
long time member of the So i :
munist Party (SACP), " Atrican Com-

Thomas Nkobi (68). Treasurer General former Johannesbur. : $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 224$

```
western Zimbabwe. â\2027 accountant, born in
the first three, is:
(72). President of the ANC.
Cllated after suffering what
as a â\200\234brain seizureâ\200\235 last year. A
Transkej, he is a
General and. ctf
35;;
also on all the ANC
ANC:
all
the 1 eaders
Stephen Dlamini (69). From Durban, he is a
member of the NWC: who rose through the
ranks of the trade union movement and may
be an SACP member.
\hat{a}\200\230Chris Hani (47). Chief of Staff and second in
command of MK. He is a member of the NWC
and is thought to hold a senior position in the
SACP. Believed to be from the Eastern Cape.
= \hat{a}\200\234.Josiah Jele (54). A key member of the PMC
_who is thought to be second in the SACP
\hat{a} \200\234hierachy. From Johannesburg.
Pallo Jordan (46). Born in Cape Town, he is
the head of the ANCâ\200\231s Department of Infor-
mation and Research and has a degree in so-
ciology from a US university. Believed to be
\hat{a} SACP member.
Ronnie Kasrils (50). A member of the PMC
and the NWC, he was until recently the head
of military intelligence. Thought to be a
member of the SACP. -
.Henry Makgoti (63). Deputy secretary gen-
eral of the ANC and head of the National Sec-
retariat. A teacher from Johannesburg, he is
\hat{a}200\234thought to be a member of the SACP.
Thabo Mbeki (47). NWC member and the
.~ ANC's spokesman on Foreign Afairs, he is an
economist who studied in the USSR and the
```

. UK. Thought to be a member of the SACP.

Thirty years of having to operate in the shadows has meant many facets of the African National Congress are virtually unknown inside South Africa. KEN VERNON of the Starâ\200\231s Africa News Service reviews the ANC's leadership structure and how it functions.

1

Stanley Mabizela (51). Deputy head of th¢

Department of Foreign Affairs, he is a memâ\204¢" ber of the NWC. Born in Durban with a de- \mid

gree from Durban University.

Mac Mabaraj (52). Born in Natal, he is a member of the PMC, the NWC and MK. It is

thought he is also a member of the SACP.

Simon Makana (50). The representative of the ANC in the USSR, he could be a member of the SACP. Born in East London, he studied

economics in the USSR.

{

Robert Nanci (60). Controller of ANC finances and second in charge of the finance

department. An accountant from Durban.

Francis Meli (50). Former editor of Sechaba, the offical ANC publication, he studied history in East Germany. Born in East Lon-

_don, he is believed to be an SACP member.

Sindiso Mfenyana (53). Administrative secretary in the secretary general $200\231$ s office and a member of the National Secretariat. Trained as an economist in the USSR, he is originally from East London. :

- Joe Modise (58). Head of MK and a member
- . of the NWC. Born in Johannesburg.

Timothy Mokoana Political commissar of

MK and a member of the NWC.

Jacqueline Molefe (47). Head of communi-:

. cations for MK and a member of the NWC.

Born in Johannesburg.

Ruth Mompati. Head of the ANCâ\200\231s Board of Religous Affairs and member of the PMC and NWC. A teacher from Johannesburg.

Anthony Mongalo (53). Secretary for Presidential Affairs and a member of the NWC, he is believed to be an SACP member. Born in Pretoria and studed at Fort Hare University.

Joe Nhlanhla (54). A member of the PMC and the NWC. A USSR-trained economist born in Johannesburg.

! John Nkadimeng (68). Chairman of the

PMC and a member of the NWC, he is also $\frac{200}{230}$ general secretary of the South African Trades Union Congress. He could be a member of the SACP. Born in Pietersburg.

Aziz Pahad (51). The British representative of the ANC. A British-trained economist, he is thought to be a member of the SACP. Born in Johannesburg.

 $2\hat{A} \ll 8 > 07'$ Z D q e\\ e \'\{_\N : Dâ\200\230 ;%Q.

GIYANI. \hat{a} \200\224 The Chie Minister of Gazankulu, Prof Hudson Ntsanwisi, has announced a commission of inquiry would be appointed to investig?te the causes of the ongoing unrest in the homeland. Speaking at a Press conference in Giyani, Prof Ntsanwisi took a hard stance against demands for his resignation and said he would continue as chief minister. His appearance at the

 \hat{a} 200\230conference scotched re-

ports he was in hiding. He also rejected a request by several members

it

Gazankulu legislative assembly, led by the speaker, Mr Michael Mushwana, for an emergency session to discuss the unrest.

Prof Ntsanwisi accused
Mr Mushwana of being
responsible for the unrest
in Nkowa-Nkowa, a village near Giyani, and
added an emergency session would in any case
serve no purpose. He said
he preferred a judicial inquiry.

Prof Ntsanwisi also rejected as wrong demands by the Giyani Youth Congress that the controversial Ximoko-Xa-Rishaka, the Gazankulu Womens Association and the Gazankulu Youth movement be disbanded.

Prof Ntsanwisi is president of both Ximoko and the youth movement, while his wife heads the womenâ\200\231s organisation.

ssion of inquiry(
nkulu unrest'

troops, who moved into the homelandâ\200\231s townships last week, would remain until â\200\234peace, stability and security of people and property is guaranteedâ\200\235.

He said unrest in the homeland was escalating and revealed that nine people were killed over the past weekend throughout the homeland in unrest-related incideftssc Sies,

Another four people were killed yesterday, one person went missing and about 30 dwellings were burnt down.

A total work stayaway has also affected the southern Mhala region where some 13 factories have been hit by a drop in production.

Scores of workers at Lisbon Estates, a government agricultural project, have also stayed away demanding increased wages and transport for staff. â\200\224 Sapa.

He said the SADF

Rage 18

By Keith Abendroth THE Leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, has told the SABC that it is doing probably a

better job of propagat- -

ing and white-washing ANC leader Nelson Mandela: than the

ANC could have done

itself.

In a biting attack on the corporation in tax mess. age to its Director-General, Mr Marais sajd there

was widespread unhappiness and concern over the way in which. SABC-TV was handling the Mandela affair.:

Every opportunity was being exploited to give him favourable publicity, and these were examples of continuing propaganda for the ANCâ\200\231s cause.

 $a\200\234$ It could justifiably be

could not have done better if it itself had been in control of the SABC, $\hat{a}\200\235$ said Mr Marais. 1

â\200\234It seems as if every feeling of reality is being sacrificed to the political necessity to build up- the image of the ANC and Mandela, and to give the impression of a power engulfing South Africa,â\200\235 he said.

And what was all the more surprising is that the SABC had joined the choir of the whole leftist spectrum both within and outside South Africa â\200\224 â\200\234in total harmony with the infamous enemies of Afrikanerdom and exterminators of White communities in Africaâ\200\235.

Without the television glorification of Mandela,

he would have .had \hat{a} 200\224to -

bear the responsibility of history as a political tyrant with links with the Communists.

â\200\234But. now the SABC virtually gives him the freedom of the ajr to emerge as the most important public figure â\200\224 while the policy he reptesents is a provocation of the Afrikaners and their White fellow-countrymen,â\200\235 said Mr Marais.

He warned: â\200\234Representations to the SABC have little or no effect â\200\224 and a point will be reached when Afrikaners will let themselves be heard in ways which

would avoided. . .»

1dela, says Jaap

. argued thzâ\200\230u the ANC

otherwise be

: st g -

 $\hat{a}\200\234T$ was vintage, bellicose Thatcher. : : $\hat{a}\200\234T$ hey hide behind my skirt, $\hat{a}\200\231$ she said scornfully of fellow leaders who accuse step on world issues. _ $\hat{a}\200\230I$ solated and right, $\hat{a}\200\231$ she added forcefully, speaking of herself in an interview.

For all the British leader $200\231s$ fighting talk, Margaret That cher $200\231s$ stance on various foreign policy issues has combined with domestic problems to present her ruling Conservative Party with a deepening political crisis.

An opinion poll published on Sunday put the Conservatives 17 points behind the opposition Labour Party, the widest margin since Mrs Thatcher came to power 11 years ago.

On Monday, the staunchly pro-Conservative Dai-ly Telegraph lamented: $\hat{a}\200\230$ It is no use pretending that the Government $\hat{a}\200\231$ s present position is anything other than depressing. $\hat{a}\200\231$

Even party chairman Kenneth Baker agreed the situation was $a\200\230$ very serious $200\231$.

The poll, which gave Labour a 51% share of the vote to 34% for the Conservatives, found general dissatisfaction with the performance of both the

her of being out of

{ t ! i

government and Mrs Thatcher herself.

It identified a deeply unpopular $a\200\230$ poll tax $a\200\231$ on all adults, which replaces local property levies, as the major issue of concern in Britain today.

Morale

But party members also concede that morale has been sapped by disputes over Europe and Hong Kong, criticism of Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s grudging response to the prospect of Gerraan unification and her abrasive and unflinching defiance of world opinion on the question of sanctions against South Africa.

Mrs Thatcher is unrepentant. $\hat{a}200\230I$ am accused of being out of step and isolated, $\hat{a}200\231$ she told reporters.

â\200\230It is pretty cosy isolation, pretty crowded, judg-

 $^{\prime}$ ing by the numbers of foreign statesmen who are

! talking to us. \hat{a} \200\231

! $\hat{a}\200\230(\hat{a}\200\231)$ She went further in an interview with The Sunday

\ Times, charging that other political leaders agreed

 $\mbox{i}\mbox{$^{\sc}$}\mbox{$^{\s$

!

• •

 $\hat{a}\200\2300$ f course they do. They frequently hide behind my skirt, $\hat{a}\200\231$ she said, adding: $\hat{a}\200\230$ We dared to say the

! realities and talk the sense which other people are

fearful of saying. $\hat{a}\200\231$

Britain acted in defiance of its European partners by unilaterally lifting a ban on new investment in South Africa to reward President F W de Klerk for freeing black leader Nelson Mandela and lifting a ban on the African National Congress.

Isolation is a word Mrs Thatcher cannot escape at
present. i)

Attacking her response to German unity, the progovernment Sunday Times declared: $\hat{a}\200\230$ Britain is once again heading for international isolation $\hat{a}\200\224$ the result of the cackhanded diplomacy Margaret

S

rom PETER GREGSON in LONDON

'Iâ\200\230héltcher has deployed as the cold war draws to an endâ\200\231. :

It added that Mrs Thatcher was becoming $\hat{a}\200\230$ an increasingly irrelevant voice that nobody bothers to listen to'.

Mrs"Thatcherâ\200\231s supporters say she articulates the concerns of core Conservative supporters, particularly in, 2 country which has fought two wars with Germany this \hat{A} entury and where a united Germany would be seen by many as a powerful and worrying concentration of economic and political power.

Her caution drew support in parliament.

Veteran Labour politician Eric Heffer, citing his own war-time experience, said: $\hat{a}\200\230$ We want unification, but we want certain safeguards. $\hat{a}\200\231$

Sir Russell Johnston, foreign affairs spokesman for the minority Liberal Democrats, added: $\hat{a}\200\230$ There are many fears about reunification. $\hat{a}\200\231$

William Cash, chairman of a Conservative Euro-

pean Affairs committee, called Mrs Thatcherâ $\200\231s$ approach $\angle 200\230$ perfectly balanced and sensible $\angle 200\231$.

He said accusations she was $\hat{a}200\230$ negative, narrow and nationalistic $\hat{a}200\231$ were $\hat{a}200\230$ neith \hat{A} ©r true, fair nor balanced $\hat{a}200\231$.

But former Prime Minister Edward Heath, ousted by Mrs Thatcher as Conservative leader in 1975, said her refusal to co-operate with European partners doing better economically than Britain was â\200\230perverse, unnecessary and very costlyâ\200\231.

Damage

Labour Party foreign affairs spokesman Gerald Kaufman told a weekend meeting: â\200\230The isolation of Mrs Thatcher on every key international issue is inflicting serious damage on Britain. She loses goodwill for Britain wherever she goes.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ She has become so isolated she makes Greta Garbo seem like a crowd lover, $\hat{a}\200\231$ he added referring to the reclusive film star.

Compounding Mrs Thatcherâ\200\231s problems is the worsening performance of the British economy, with inflation currently running at an annual rate of nearly 8% and interest rates at 15%), painfully high for the two in three families who have borrowed money to buy their own homes.

She has until June, 1992 to call a general election.

But there are already widespread fears among Conservative members of parliament that there may not be enough time to turn the economy around and they may lose their seats.

Labour leader Neil Kinnock would need the biggest political swing in 50 years to overturn the Governmentâ\200\231s 100-seat majority in the 650-member House of Commons. ,

But Labour has been ahead in the polls for the past year, The latest 17- oint opinion poll lead translated into votes would give them a 120-seat majority in parliament and more than one minister has whispered privately in recent days: $\hat{a}\200\230$ We could just lose. $\hat{a}\200\231$

Margaret Thatcher -

 $a\200\230$ She $a\200\231$ s so isolated she

makes Greta Garbo

seem like a crowd lover. $\hat{a}\200\231$

y John Ryan,

Starâ\200\231s Africa News Service LUSAKA â\200\224 Nelson Mandela moved into the warm embrace of Africa yesterday afternoon with his first trip beyond the frontiers

- of South Africa in 27 years. The crowd, thought to be the biggest ever seen in Zambia, came together in Lusaka to welcome the man Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda called â\200\234as much our leader as you are the leader of the African National Congressâ\200\235. More than 10000 people packed the precincts of the international

rt.

%ns of thousands more lined . the 25 km route into the capital from a point about 15 km out.

- It was an impressive statement of solidarity with the cause of reform in South Africa &nd a massive show of esteem for Mr Mandela himself.
- . The beat of drums from various

tribal groups around the tarmac reached a crescendo as his air-craft banked for landing shortly after 2 pm. :

Seven police sharpshooters | watched from the top of the airport building.

Yet it was a much more orderly arrival than that last month when Walter Sisulu and the other recently released ANC members arrived in Lusaka to meet the external leadership.

andela ap Jo Al e ore huge 4

On that occasion, foreign television teams almost trampled the children of the ANCâ\200\231s Young Pioneers.; 1

This time the 200-strong media contingent was placed firmly behind a cordon and only broke out when the Mandela party had alighted from the Zambian Air-

ways Fokker Friendship and had met an awesome reception committee of African leaders and world dignitaries.

Banners raised aloft by ANC members of Umkhonto We Siswe, in their black berets, white shirts and military green trousers, read \(\hat{a}\200\234\)welcome, commander-in-chief\(\hat{a}\200\234\)your release is equal to people\(\hat{a}\200\231\)s victory\(\hat{a}\200\235\).

FERVENT EMBRACES

Some of the most fervent em-

braces after Mr Mandela and his PO wife, Winnie, had met Dr Kaunda

and the ANCâ\200\231s top hierachy, came from Mr Herman Toivo ja Toivo of Swapo, who spent 15 years on Robben Island with the Rivonia men, and PLO leader Mr Yasser Arafat.

Mr Arafatâ\200\231s borrowed Iraqi airline jet touched down barely half an hour before Mr Mandela arrived.;

Among those lined up to meet
Mr Mandela and the other internal ANC leaders were all six
Frontline states presidents, Ugandaâ\200\231s President Yoweri Museveni,

eals for plian

funds

AT %
President Ibrahim B'q,angida of
Nigeria and various Commonwealth diplomats.

Earlier, $\hat{a}200\230$ successive groups of ANC miginbers $\hat{a}200\224$ most of whom were not born when their leader went to jail $\hat{a}200\224$ toyi-toyied before the crowd of Zambians.

Dr Kaunda, chairman of the Frontline states, told Mr Mandela: $a\200\234$ The Frontline states are proud to receive you on behalf of the rest of mankind. $a\200\235$

In a short speech, Mr Mandela paid tribute to Dr Kéundaâ\200\231s efforts on the ANC's behalf over a period of more than 20 years and said his members regarded Lusaka as their second home.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ From this city, $\hat{a}\200\235$ he added, $\hat{a}\200\234a$ remarkable team emerged who turned our organisation into a werful force.

 $a\200\234$ They have directed our people

to a point where w on the verge of a breakthrough in our struggle for peace, $\hat{a}\200\235$ Dr Kaunda said. S

Mr Mandela also appealed to the international community for funds to enable the ANC to continue its campaign for change within South Africa.

From the airport, the Mandela motorcade drove to the Mulungushi international conference centre for formal discussions with the Frontline states leaders and other dignitaries.

think we are

aseang -

ANC plays safe
The African National Congress,
N eager not to antagonise Chief
â\204¢ Mangosuthu â\200\234Butheleziâ\200\231s Inkatha
. theedomâ\200\230Parfy, yesterday
N blamed | â\200\234the death squads who
â\200\230N are defending apartheidâ\200\235 for the
assassination in Pietermaritzburg
> on Monday night of a local Zulu
chief strongly identified with the
ANC. The killing of Chief Mhlabunzime Maphumulo came two
weeks after 12 Inkatha supporters
were ambushed and gunned down |
in the same area. e

â\200\224 Independent

LUSAKA. â\200\224 African National Congress leader, = Mr Nelson
Mandela, in his - first address outside South Africa since his release, yesterday called on the international community to provide more resources for the successful completion of the struggle against apartheid. . He told more than 3 000 people on his arrival - at-"Lusaka International. -_ Airport that the people of South Africa were on'the verge of a breakthrough - in the struggle for peace.

Mandel

â\202¬N

 \hat{a} 200\234Commonwealth

PLO leader, YASSER ARAFAT welcomes ANC leader, Mr NELSON MANDELA, on his arrival in Lusaka yesterday. Mr Mandela is on a tour

zambique,

Uganda, Malaysia and $\frac{3}{200}$

The foreign ministers °

of Canada, Nigeria, the

Saharawi â\200\234Arab Demo-

cratic Republic, outgoing
Secretary-General - Shridath
Ramphal and Swapo Sec-

retary-General Toivo - ja-- Toivo were also present. . Mr Mandela, who said $\frac{3}{200}^234$ he did not have a pre-_ pared $\frac{3}{200}^230$ speech, $\frac{3}{200}^230$ because it was not an occasion for :

â\200\234

a, W

Tanzania, °

= YThe==

of African States.

nts, s for

He said the people of South Africa had fought for .-the changes taking place inside the country but these changes had created a host of otherproblems. .

â\200\234We appeal to the international community to provide us with the capital and other urces to undertake this work successfully, < =5 Sbed b - inttrnational = community has done

- be respo

more â\200\230AN

human rights in our country and we are certain that, even at this stage, they will provide us with the capital that we need, $\hat{a}\200\235$ hesaid. -

. He said no South African organisation was as committed to peace as the ANC, adding that, if his â\200\230organisation, was compelled to. intensify the armed struggle; the Pretoria Government would