

The Natal Mercury

29/04/88

THEIR FAIR DUE

THE DISCLOSURE by the Development Bank that the four independent TBVC homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei) have run up total long-term debts of R5 000 million largely through financial mismanagement will no doubt bring a fresh chorus of condemnation of the homelands.

As part of that choir of critics since the homelands policy was first proposed in the 1950s, we have always held that it was an act of economic folly and injustice perpetrated in a vain attempt to achieve the unattainable political goal of a predominantly white state coexisting with a number of independent black states. We still do.

But we also tend to believe that the time for repeated indulgence in the satisfaction of saying 'We told you so' is past.

The TBVC states exist. Their 'independence' may not be recognised beyond the Limpopo but it cannot be taken away from them. Our hope is that it may one day be subsumed by agreement in a federation that would also include 'white' S A and the self-governing homelands.

Meanwhile they exist as a political football to be kicked around between the Left, which

can neither forgive nor forget their dubious origins and supposedly unrepresentative governments, and the Right, which resents them as instruments for transferring wealth from white taxpayers to undeserving blacks.

That is contemptible. But hardly less so are those who begrudge the TBVC states their due because they had a spurious independence foisted on them.

A good case can be made out to show that the 6 000 000 people in TBVC countries would have had a consistently larger share of the central Budget (they got R1 874 million last year) if they had not taken independence.

Wasteful, inexperienced and sometimes corrupt, they may be; and that must be remedied. But not one has failed to show constant positive growth since independence — and that's rare in Africa. Their modest loan debt is quite manageable with the help of the Development Bank.

It is surely illogical to expect of the TBVC states what a disillusioned world no longer expects of the rest of black Africa, which has piled up largely unrepayable debts in excess of \$200 000 million, and is still going backwards.

White opposition to the Afrikaner Nationalist government flared up for the last time in 1951. Veterans of the Second World War came together in great numbers to defend the coloured vote.

The movement came to be called the Torch Commando, and was led by one of the most distinguished pilots of the war, Group Captain "Sailor" Malan. Tremendous meetings were held in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria, Pietermaritzburg and Durban.

Within a few months the membership of the commando had climbed to 100 000 and a few months after that it reached 200 000. I joined it myself, though I was no military figure. There was a feeling of hope in the air.

... The Torch Commando, after its brave displays of strength and its tremendous rallies in big, largely English-speaking cities, began to fade away. Why did this movement, so full of hope, come to nothing? There was one big reason: the Afrikaans universities and high schools were no longer turning out United Party members, they were turning out Nationalists.

There was another reason for the collapse of the Torch Commando. It also had the "worm i' the bud". It had come into being to protest against any interference with the Cape coloured vote. But the number of its coloured members was negligible.

Fatal weakness

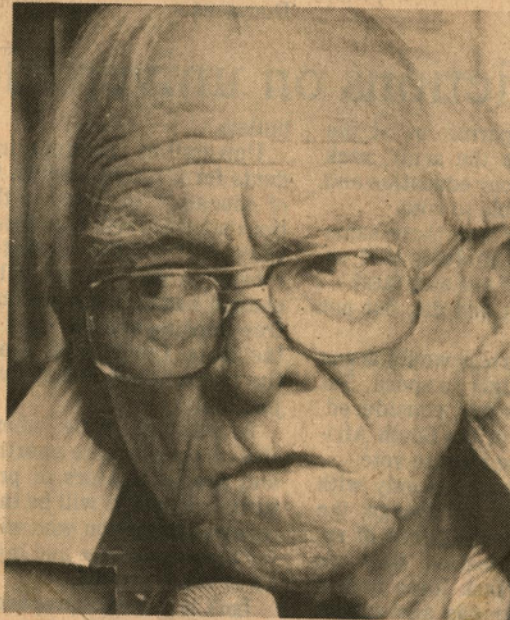
In the Free State, Transvaal, and Natal, it had no coloured members at all, on the specious grounds that in those three provinces they had no vote to lose.

This must be regarded as the fatal weakness in all white opposition movements at that time. They could offer no real opposition to the

Alan Paton's last thoughts on life, death and liberalism

THE STAR

29/04/88



These recollections of recent South African history are among Alan Paton's last written words. They are from "Journey Continued", the second volume of his autobiography, published today by David Philip. These edited extracts are taken from the new issue of *Leadership* magazine, which secured the first South African rights shortly before the author's fatal illness.

colour bar, or to the policies of apartheid and racial separation, because they were themselves infected.

The Torch Commando virtually destroyed itself on Alamein Day, 1953, when it excluded coloured ex-servicemen from the celebrations.

Early in 1953, the various liberal groups that had sprung up in the main centres of population came together to form the South African Liberal Association ... But on April 16, the National Party scored its tremendous victory.

Therefore on May 9, the Liberal Association formed itself into the Liberal Party of South Africa, with Margaret Ballinger as president,

Leo Marquard and myself as vice-presidents, and Oscar Wolheim and Leslie Rubin as chairman and vice-president respectively.

Our emergence as a political party was not universally well received. The strongest attacks came from JGN Strauss, leader of the United Party, and Yusuf Dadoo, the leader of the Transvaal Indian Congress, who declared that we were "half-baked".

The strong Congress movement, composed of the South African Indian Congress, the African National Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples' Organisation, and the white Congress of Democrats, accused us of weakening the only

true opposition in the country.

... Why had we not joined the Congress of Democrats, the COD? The answer was very simple. Although the COD was not a communist organisation — legally it was now impossible to have any such organisation — it was the heir to the banned Communist Party of South Africa.

Not all of its members were believing communists, but many had been members of the banned Communist Party.

Between communists and liberals — even if they co-operated on certain well-defined projects — there is a fundamental incompatibility.

I was in the course of the next few years to speak on the same platform with members of the COD. Almost invariably we kept our distances.

However, I became very close to one of them, the Big Chief of them all. He was an Afrikaner, and his name was Abraham Louis (Bram) Fischer.

At the time of his birth in 1908 his grandfather Abraham Fischer was the Prime Minister of the Orange River Colony, and his father later became Judge-President of the Orange Free State.

Bram was a brilliant student, and went to Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar from 1931 to 1934. Sometime after his return he took what was for an Afrikaner a most extraordinary step; he joined the Communist Party of South Africa.

It is impossible to exaggerate the courage required for an Afrikaner to take such a step. But even more extraordinary was the fact that he visited the small country towns of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to organise black workers and

to recruit them for the Communist Party.

Outrageous actions

His actions outraged the Afrikaner farmers of the platteland, and the fact that his father and grandfather had been Afrikaner heroes made his actions still more outrageous.

After the Communist Party had been outlawed by Parliament, the Congress of Democrats was established, and Bram, though not its titular head, was its most influential and respected member.

When I write that I became "close" to him, I mean that we had a deep affection for each other. When I praised him in my own circles, one of my liberal friends said to me: "Paton, don't bluff yourself. When Bram comes to power, you'll be the first on to have your throat cut."

I didn't believe that, but I was ready to believe that if Bram came to power, an emissary would be sent to me with a one-way ticket, and with a message, "Get out of here as fast as possible."

What would Bram have done if he had come to power? ... What would he have done to those who opposed or hindered him: would he have killed them?

I must confess that I do not know the answer to this question. It is hard for me to imagine Bram ordering the deaths of thousands of people. In any case I do not need to answer the question; it is totally hypothetical.

29-04-86

Thinking on death

... I must admit to one last dominant thought, and that is that my life is drawing to its end. Not long ago I read that Sir John Gielgud, who was then 82, had said that he thought of dying every day of his life.

I would not use these words, but I certainly think of my age every day of my life. I find Tagore's words on death most beautiful.

On the day when death will knock at the door, what will thou offer to him?

Oh, I will set before my guest the full vessel of my life — I will never let him go with empty hands.

All the sweet vintage of all my autumn days and summer nights, all the earnings and gleanings of my busy life, will I place before him at the close of my days when death will knock at my door.

... I shall not write anything more of any weight. I am grateful that life made it possible for me to pursue a writing career. I am now ready to go when I am called.

God bless Africa
Guard her children
Guide her rulers
And give her peace
Amen

MESSINA — Members of the ANC who entered SA to carry out military operations should be treated as prisoners of war, Wits University Centre for Applied Legal Studies director and Law Professor John Dugard said yesterday at the landmine trial in the Messina Circuit Court.

Dugard was giving evidence in mitigation for two ANC members — Mthethetheleli Zephania Mncube, 28, of Diepkloof Soweto and Mzond-eleli Euclid Nondula, 25, of Mdan-tsane East London — who were earlier found guilty on 38 of 41 charges.

Their trial is the result of a series of landmine explosions and discoveries in the SA/Zimbabwe border area between late 1985 and 1986.

ANC men are prisoners of war, Dugard testifies

The charges included murder, attempted murder, illegal possession of arms and ammunition, treason and terrorism.

Dugard told Mr Justice J P O de Villiers and two assessors that Mncube carried arms, wore a uniform and was subjected to a military commander, as well as military discipline.

He said Mncube regarded himself

as a soldier and was expected to be treated as one when captured.

He said the ANC was recognised by the international community as a national liberation movement engaged in a just struggle.

"The General Assembly of the UN gave its approval to the treaty that captured ANC freedom fighters should be granted prisoner of war status," Dugard said. — Sapa.

Dear Sir,
I MUST protest in the strongest possible terms at the unwarranted comments in your editorial "Killing competition" (Business Day, April 14).

The SA Black Taxi Association (Sabta) has never and will never condone violence. We can point to many, many occasions when Sabta officers have acted as peacemakers in local disputes where outbreaks of violence have been threatened. We go on record once again as saying we do not condone the acts of those who resorted to violence on April 12, and we convey our sincere condolences to the family and friends of the innocent person who was tragically killed.

We have repeatedly informed government that the root cause of this type of violence is the pressure on rank space. If there are 50 rank spaces and the authorities issue 150 permits, the pressure must and will increase. At some stage, in combination with other factors, this frustration could result in violent reaction.

Sabta is not against new entrants. Our statements and actions show

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Sabta never condones violence

this clearly, but in the interests of operators, the commuter and — more importantly — the community in general, there must be adequate facilities.

We are not against deregulation, but in the interest of the public we submit that deregulation applied to the taxi industry should be evolutionary in nature, to allow facilities to be established to cope with the growth in the industry and to avoid the type of frustration and pressure which gave way to violence on April 12.

I treat with the contempt it deserves your question: "Is it too much to expect the leaders of Sabta will try to educate their members to an understanding of the difference between lawful competition and murder?" Apart from the assumption that Sabta members are involved in acts of violence, this statement gives offence to those of us who are struggling so hard to improve matters in this burgeoning industry.

We have practical plans for the vast task of educating and training drivers and owners of taxis. We are hopeful it will be seen in improvements in road behaviour and in a greater understanding of business and the nature of competition.

G NTLATLENG
Vice-president, Sabta
Johannesburg

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir,
The coverage given by your paper on April 28 to the Press conference held by the Development Bank of Southern Africa in Cape Town the previous day on the financial situation of the TBVC countries is appreciated. However, on an important point we apparently did not get across our point of view clearly to your correspondent.

It is not the Bank's view that the financial difficulties experienced by the TBVC countries, and the conse-

quent build-up of government debt, arose largely from mismanagement by their governments, as stated in your report. In fact, in the background documentation for the press conference, the Bank's view is very clearly stated, namely that for the largest part their expenditure has been directed to essential public services and that their inability fully to finance those expenditures related back to the underdeveloped state of their economies, their consequently narrow revenue bases, and the *ad hoc* basis on which budgetary assistance from SA was determined.

Thank you for this opportunity to correct this misunderstanding.

SIMON BRAND
Chief Executive
Development Bank of Southern
Africa

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir,
I READ your editorial "Obscene

prints" (Business Day, April 20). While I agree that the front page of Rapport was far from a "pretty sight," I would like to point out that acts of terrorism of the nature of the latest Pretoria bomb blast, which could have caused the loss of innocent lives, must be prevented at all costs.

I feel very strongly that Rapport should be applauded for publishing this horrific picture. Perhaps potential bombers will find the prospect of meeting the same fate a suitable deterrent. I hope so.

S W WILLIAMS
Pretoria

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir,
ONE HAS to feel some sympathy for the business community. On one hand the trade unions scream at them for keeping wages low. On the other the State President screams at them for keeping wages high. No wonder they are emigrating.

MICHAEL ALAN
Johannesburg

BUSINESS DAY 29/04/88

Lawyers in the dock

IF JUDGES and lawyers did not distance themselves from the existing legal system in SA, they could not hope to save the Roman Dutch legal tradition in a post-apartheid society, Professor John Dugard, Professor of Law at Wits University, said on Tuesday.

He was speaking at a seminar on law in a post-apartheid society attended by about 100 people at Wits.

Dugard criticised the organised legal profession, such as the Johannesburg Bar Council, for failing to speak out on such issues as the case of the Sharpeville Six (currently under a stay of execution) or even the sending of what he termed a SADF "execution squad" into Botswana. "The legal profession must not be surprised if it is seen as part of the superstructure of apartheid," he said.

He quoted the 1971 statement by the late Professor Barend van Niekerk, Professor of Law at Natal University, which had resulted in Van Niekerk's conviction for contempt of court. Van Niekerk criticised the failure of the legal profession to respond to the introduction of the Terrorism Act. "Unfortunately, things

haven't changed much since 1971," said Dugard.

He criticised the tendency of lawyers to refuse to play a part in prescriptive thinking, and called for them to make a contribution by putting forward alternative constitutional models.

"It is appalling the organised legal profession is ducking this issue — the (last) General Council of the Bar of SA conference ignored it completely," he said.

Dugard sketched two possible scenarios for a post-apartheid society, and their effects on the legal system — although stressing such a society was "not just around the corner" and a state of siege could be expected for another 20 years or so.

The first, involving a relatively peaceful negotiated settlement, would mean a transition to a Zimbabwe-type situation. This was, he believed, "the best we can hope for".

If this happened, he expected com-

ROGER SMITH

mon Roman Dutch law would be retained, the judiciary and many existing judges and lawyers would be retained, but so would the NP government's security legislation.

Legitimacy

The other scenario, of a violent transfer of power after a long war of attrition, could see the scrapping of Roman Dutch law and, as the courts and lawyers had been seen to give legitimacy to apartheid, they too would go.

He expected Roman Dutch law would be replaced by something like a Code Azania, and it was only to be

hoped it might be as good as the Code Napoleon introduced after the French Revolution of 1789.

He said there could be Nuremberg-type trials, and he feared that these would be of not only NP leaders but other people. "I hope they do not apply the doctrine of common purpose as far as the Appellate Division has in some cases, such as the Sharpeville Six."

He concluded by saying that if the virtues of the legal profession were to be retained, "lawyers must come to terms with the crisis facing us".

The conservative attitude of lawyers was also criticised at the seminar by Professor Johan van der Westhuizen, director of Pretoria University's Centre for Human Rights, who said the Bar Council conference session on human rights had been "very flat".

"In order to establish the legitimacy of the legal system we need more than reform," he said. "We must try

to build a new society, and must look for new symbols of legitimacy, unity and justice."

Johannesburg attorney Kathy Satchwell condemned the SA legal system as based on discrimination and exploitation. "Our statutes can never claim to have been approved by the entire community affected by them — they are not of, by and for the people," she said.

"In a post-apartheid society the most striking change must be that our laws must have the approval and consent of those subjected to them, and must be enforced by them."

She referred to her experience of cases involving people implicated in "people's courts," which she regarded "not as a model for the future, but as a crisis reaction to a crisis situation".

George Bizos SC agreed with Dugard that the organised legal profession had often behaved as Van Niekerk had said, but he said it had not remained aloof.

He referred to the work done by labour lawyers and lawyers in legal resources centres and legal clinics, which he said would help to shape the laws and institutions of the future.

Parents are abandoning dreams of better life for their children, says counsellor

The Star Friday April 29 1988

'Some former detainees only nine years old'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

If an emotionally disturbed 10-year-old was taken to a psychologist the healer would try to find out whether the child's family background or environment caused his problems.

In the same way, when hundreds of children are locked in a country's prison cells "it is an indication that our society is desperately sick — it doesn't say anything about the children".

CHILDREN'S COMMISSION

This analogy was put this week at the day-long Children's Commission held in Johannesburg under the auspices of the Free the Children Alliance.

It came from a Soweto minister, the Reverend Paul Verryn, who has more than a decade's experience in counselling former detainees.

"When a country turns on its children it steps over a line from which it disinherits its future," Mr Verryn said. "It destroys the resources of our future and it is designed specifically to do that."

themselves as futureless people," said Mr Verryn. They see themselves as pupils without schools to attend; sons and daughters who are strangers to their families; human beings who are invaded by intense suspicion.

Ms Margaret O'Neil, lecturer in social work at the University of South Africa and a detainee counsellor, said there was often a puzzling absence of observable anger in her clients.

It was as if they feared to acknowledge their anger because, if it spilled out, the consequences would be too dire to deal with.

But the anger was there, Ms O'Neil said, and combined with it was the dreadful loss that was being experienced daily by parents in black communities — loss through death and detention of children; loss through exile; loss of their own status in relation to their children.

And the perception that "the better life that they dreamed of their children having will not be realised".

South African society did not offer channels to cope with loss and to burn up

Dr David Webster, an anthropologist at Wits University, spelled out the dimensions of child detention.

In the year June 1986 to June 1987 about 10 000 young people aged 18 years or younger were detained, he said. This group constituted some 40 percent of all detainees.

In the next nine months the proportion of young detainees dropped. They now made up about 24 percent of all detainees — about 300 in all.

Dr Webster rejected the idea that emergency detainees — be they children or adults — were criminals, pointing out that official figures claimed that 1 024 emergency detainees had been charged.

This represented only 7.76 percent of those detained for the corresponding period, Dr Webster said.

Mr Verryn said that he had counselled former detainees as young as nine years old.

"Sometimes — very seldom — children miraculously emerge from this experience reasonably intact," he said.

More usually they emerged showing one

anger constructively, Ms O'Neill said.

She pointed to studies in Northern Ireland where children had grown up in a similar authoritarian atmosphere, with their political aspirations suppressed.

MILITARISTIC AUTOMATONS

These studies showed that, in the absence of rehabilitative work, there was every likelihood of the young growing up as "militaristic automatons incapable of participating in their own destinies".

It was a theme touched on earlier by attorney Mr Peter Harris who showed how a set of repressive laws and regulations had wiped out almost every normal means of political expression.

Freedom of speech had been severely curtailed under the emergency, making it an offence to plot or plan such peaceful tactics of resistance as consumer boycotts; to reflect on conditions of detention; to say how the security forces were being deployed in residential areas.

For 12 years it had been impossible to assemble freely — ever since the ban on all outdoor gatherings had been imposed.

or more of the following disturbances:

- Hyper-vigilance and insomnia, often stemming from a fear of redetention, because typically detentions take place in the early hours of the morning.

LOSS OF MEMORY

- Lack of concentration. At school "they cannot put together the words coming from the mouth of the teacher and what is going on in their minds". Memory loss is often also experienced.

- Flashbacks, in which cues such as a knock on the door "re-create the entire experience of the police cell or that initial moment of detention".

- Disruption of social life. Many detainees do not welcome company; they feel isolated among people. They describe themselves as quick tempered and their parents complain they are cheeky.

Often they are nervous of physical contact because they are likely to have been "subjected to profoundly negative intimate physical contact" in detention.

- Anxiety and depression, which may last two or three years. "They describe

Schools and universities had in many societies served as places for the free expression of opinion.

But in South Africa "recent legislation has left virtually no stone unturned in regulating not only what pupils are taught but also their subsidiary activities at school".

It was illegal, Mr Harris said, to raise any opposition to the form and manner of education.

These regulations were indicative of the kind of lengths to which the authorities would go to control the youth, he said.

The latest blow against political expression had been the banning in February of 17 organisations — including a number of youth congresses.

Mr Harris concluded that the State of Emergency might have achieved a superficial stability, but it had compounded political problems.

The Nationalist Government was rearing "generation upon generation of young people who have experienced nothing but repression and who realise that they have nothing to lose".

Contested ANC documents submitted in Bethal trial

BETHAL — Secret African National Congress documents, photographed by a South African Intelligence operative at the organisation's Lusaka offices, were handed in as exhibits in the Bethal terror trial yesterday — despite an objection by the defence.

Mr Justice Daniels, sitting in the circuit court, overruled objections lodged by Mr H.K. Naidu on behalf of accused Mr

Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim.

The three accused — Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Ebrahim — face charges of high treason under the Terrorism Act.

Mr Justice Daniels ruled that he would review the matter of the photographs after all the evidence in the trial had been heard.

The documents, consisting of both hand-

written and type-written reports from ANC regional centres in various Frontline states to ANC headquarters in Lusaka, recounted the problems experienced by the organisation as a result of shortages of weapons (referred to as hardware), funds and the infiltration of informers.

One document dated November, 1986, from Umbrella Dubay — an ANC codename — was signed by "Mzwandile", earlier identified by a witness as Mr Ebrahim. The letter complained that there "was a need for tremendous improvement of the machinery".

It complained that "cadres" failed to turn up for appointments and that it was "difficult" to make progress under such circumstances.

The author also complained that the security situation "continues to be precarious" and that the enemy (presumably South Africa) continued to move around the area quite freely.

He wrote that secure accommodation had become a problem and that the support network enjoyed previously had thinned out.

The letter also dispelled the belief in some circles that the ANC had access to unlimited funds.

Of the eight so-called Lusaka documents handed in to court, five bore the signature "Mzwandile".

The defence contested the testimony and said they would later produce expert witnesses and evidence to counter the state's allegations.

An expert witness, Captain J.D. Quinton of the police forensic laboratory in Pretoria, testified that the handwriting in some of the Lusaka documents corresponded with that of a specimen document he had been handed earlier.

Another police witness testified that the specimen document had been compiled by Mr Ebrahim.

The signature "Mzwandile" appeared on five of the Lusaka documents, but Captain Quinton said there had been certain differences that prevented him from reaching a firm conclusion.

The case continues today. — Sapa.

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

The IP

NEW parties, like new brooms, promise to sweep everything clean. But in practice, they don't do anything of the kind.

Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party is no different.

Its statement of intent has the key words: Non-racial, democratic, free market. "These are the foundations for lasting peace, security and prosperity," it says.

"Think of the winning nations of the world: USA, Japan, West Germany, Great Britain. Countries whose citizens enjoy great personal freedom and high standards of living. What makes them winners?"

The answer, so ridiculous that we wonder how Dr Worrall can even put it forward, is: "Race, ethnicity and tribalism play no part in these nations."

Ridiculous because race, ethnicity and tribalism are problems of Africa — the US had a problem over its Blacks, and though it has granted them civil rights, it has still not been able to uplift the majority of them.

No, the success of these countries is due to factors other than those mentioned by the IP. The statement of intent says that if "people belong to 'groups' (in the winning nations), they do so by personal choice. Not by government decree. The same principle must apply in the new South Africa. We must be South Africans first, English-speakers, Afrikaners, Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, Moslems, Hindus second.

"Your rights in society must not be determined by the colour of your skin, the language you speak, the religion you choose. Or by the ethnic or tribal group you belong to."

Fair enough, but there is nothing new in pleading for a non-racial democracy. The Progressive Federal Party has been doing so for years.

The IP says that "winning nations are democratic nations. Everyone has a say in government. There are many political parties to choose from. Individuals have rights which are greater than the rights of the State. And the highest courts in the land protect these rights."

There is nothing wrong with the high-sounding democratic principles of the IP — but they are no different to those of the PFP.

"Winning nations have free market economies," says the IP. It's another quite unexceptional viewpoint — but there are no parties against the free market system.

The only organisations opposed to it are the African National Congress and the UDF, which support the socialism of the Freedom Charter.

Finally, the statement of intent talks of a new constitution for South Africa.

It says: "Does a non-racial democracy imply one man, one vote? Yes it does. But how people are able to exercise their vote will depend on the rules of the game — the constitution.

"So which set of rules — which constitution — is best for the new South Africa? Canton? Federal? One man, one vote in a unitary state?

"There is only one that will work. The one that is made in South Africa. A constitution that is negotiated and created by all South Africans. And which is based on three solid foundations: Non-racialism. Democracy. A free market economy."

The Independent Party does not say which constitution it favours. Or how the constitution is to be "negotiated and created" by all South Africans.

Indeed, it is high in principle and low on specifics.

No doubt Dr Worrall will appeal to some Left-wing voters who clutch at the belief that the PFP has failed, the National Democratic Movement is not really taking off, and so the knight from London, the man who has the ear of Margaret Thatcher, must have something new to offer, including his Chariots of Fire razzmatazz.

However, in the total battle game of South African politics, the IP is inconsequential, since the battle is between the reformist NP and the back-to-apartheid CP.

The IP deserves to be sidelined when that battle reaches its crescendo.

HARD ASSET & KRUGER AND BROKERS

CP want to halt progress, says Gen Malan

By Tony Stirling

THE coming municipal election campaign was one of the most important in the country's history. It was more important than last year's general election, said General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence yesterday.

Gen Malan was speaking at a function at the Ntongwen Country Club where he announced the National Party's candidates for Modderfontein in the October municipal elections.

Conservative Party he said, undoubtedly continue with its mis-

representations during the municipal elections.

"They want to halt progress. If that occurs, the country will slide down a slippery slope from which there will be no return," he said.

The importance of the municipal elections lay in the fact that it would lead to a new era of control in South Africa in which the government was transferring power to the third tier of government.

It would be the first truly "national" election and could be called "representative" in that it involved all the different race groups of South Africa.

The foundations for this election had been laid in the 1983 referendum when the principle of power-sharing on matters of a general nature was accepted by an overwhelming majority of the White electorate.

This concept was already functioning in South Africa as evidenced in the successful tri-cameral Parliament.

There were critics who pointed at certain confrontations that had occurred in the functioning of this system.

Gen Malan queried, however, what the position would have been if this system of government had not been installed and suggested the result would have been that many would have joined the revolutionary cause.

He said the municipal elections were "visible and concrete" evidence of the government's seriousness to structure the new South Africa.

The basis of NP participation would be that power would be shared between communities on matters of a general nature. Further that the right and interests of communities to exist as such would be acknowledged and protected and that communities would have the opportunity to decide on matters which affected them and their communities.

He said the constituency of Modderfontein was "geared and ready" for the election and would make as big a success of it as in the 1987 general election. Gen Malan won the seat for the NP in that election.

The NP would fight the election on a party political basis because its policy had been tested against the demands of the times and because it represented the practical implementation of the government's policy of the devolution of power to the third tier of government.

The NP candidates would be participating in the election in support of party policy and the established rights of their voters.

He said the NP in Modderfontein had a formidable infrastructure which would be used in support of its candidates.

He said it was being suggested that members of the CP in the constituency might stand as candidates for ratepayers associations. "Come out into the open," said Gen Malan.

The NP candidates named by Gen Malan for Modderfontein were Dr M S "Theuns" Applegryn, ward 10; Mr H W J

"Hennie" Smit, ward 11; Mr M G "Thys" Kotze, ward 12; Mr D F "Danie" Labuschagne, ward 13; Mr J J "Pine" Pienaar, ward 14; Mr R J "Rudi" Delpont, ward 15; Mr A W "Arie" Korf, ward 16; Mr J G "Fires" van Vuuren, ward 17; Mr G P "Gerrie" van Tonder, ward 18; Mr R "Robbie" van der Walt, ward 19; Mr M C "Thinus" Botha, ward 20.

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Mugabe's image was fading

IT has become abundantly clear that Robert Mugabe's target is South Africans of all races. According to reports he sends his own troops and helps ANC terrorists to infiltrate into South Africa through the Botswana borders and reportedly his orders are: "plant a bomb where it will cause maximum damage to the public — a landmine where it will destroy vehicles and occupants, so cutting down traffic by fear and destabilising the South African economy".

Mugabe had to show good faith to other confrontation leaders who accused him of shouting insults and hiding behind them rather than having the courage to take direct action. He saw his image fading as he tried in vain to provoke mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

One of the terrorist's most effective weapons of mass murder is the landmine, or the ordinary bomb. These don't discriminate, for when detonated, they kill or maim

everyone within their explosive range. Not only does this include innocent women and men, but also young children.

However, as the launching of ANC groups and his own troops across Botswana became more and more difficult, he threw caution to the wind and let them cross directly from Zimbabwe. Unfortunately for him, we found evidence of the identity and launching points of the invaders and these operations increased in 1987 and still continue. Who then can blame South Africa for taking retaliatory action? Hence in order to avoid such retaliatory action against Zimbabwe, it would seem that Mugabe will have to climb down his high horse or ride for a fall!

Meno

Pretoria

ANC unit attacks

THE CITIZEN 29/04/88

FROM PAGE 1

shells, five AK47s, 15 AK magazines, 450 rounds of AK ammunition, four big limpet mines and 15 handgrenades.

"He left on the evening of 19/6/1986 and landed safely on the 24/6/1986. They carried out the two operations — Wimpy and President Hotel. They indicated that they carried out two other operations with limpet mines. But we are still awaiting further details."

The report says the unit also ambushed police patrols in the Vosloorus area on July 6, 1986. Their vehicle was later intercepted and two members of the unit killed.

"Claremont communicated and said we should send him more materials, particularly explosives, and he has run out of money because of the number of people he has to train."

Several of the other documents were signed "Mzwandile". Earlier evidence was that this was the alleged alias of one of the accused, Mr Ebrahim.

In one of these documents, allegedly signed by Mzwandile, he says: "We have a serious prob-

lem this end relating to hardware. Presently our Stores are completely empty and we have a long list of customers on our waiting list." According to evidence hardware refers to weapons and landmines.

The document was addressed to the RPM (Regional Political Military committee) Harbour, the code name for Mozambique. It was from the RPM, Bay, the code name for Swaziland.

Another document, also allegedly from Mzwandile, includes names of ANC cadres and a sketch of their area of operation in Transkei.

"We received the names plus the sketch from a Nat contact. The sketch has been drawn up by the enemy with a plan to attack the area," says the document.

In another four page "security document", allegedly signed by Mzwandile, details of a suspected informer Muzikayifani Ngubane from Greytown, Natal, who skipped the country to join the "movement", are given.

"Note at this stage he is a suspected informer. We have however, asked for more details about him," says the document.

It also mentions a "September" who is "working with the enemy" and "Gorky" who had his house searched by the police.

The document also talks about the EMC (the code name for the Transvaal military machine of the ANC which operates from Swaziland) having suffered great losses.

"In about July one of its implementation committee (imp) members, Comrade Schotch was arrested in Soweto (sic). . . Nearly all the internal combat units have been wiped out."

It continues: "Then followed the clash with cadres in the border area which left four of our people dead. One was injured and is in the hands of the enemy. It is suspected the injured person is Stan — another member of EMC imp."

Another report from B Material deals with a report on "Scotch's" arrest. Evidence in court has been that Scotch is one of the names used by accused Mr Maseku.

"Scotch went inside on the 19/6/1986 and got arrested on 21/6/1986," says the report.

It said the car Scotch

and two others were travelling in developed problems and after fixing it, they decided to rest and have some beers. They spent the whole day in Alexandra and when they were leaving at 11pm, they ran into a roadblock. Scotch had a Makarov pistol in his possession and all three were arrested.

"They are now charging Scotch with landmine explosions."

Captain James Desmond Quinton, a handwriting expert attached to the police forensic laboratories in Pretoria, testified yesterday that handwriting samples he had examined were similar to the handwriting in some of the alleged ANC documents which had been handed in as evidence. The handwriting displayed similar characteristics and had the same fluidity.

Major At van Niekerk, of the Security Police, said that one of the samples of handwriting, which was handed in as evidence in the court, had been written by one of the accused, Mr Ebrahim, in his presence.

The case continues today.

ANC UNITS CARRIED

OUT ATTACKS

The CITIZEN 29/04/88

Documents
photographed
by informer
— claim

By Erik Larsen

SECRET documents, photographed by an SAP spy in the ANC's Lusaka offices, reveal details of limpet mine attacks in Johannesburg and two ambushes on police patrols.

The documents were admitted as evidence in the Bethal treason trial yesterday.

An ANC unit called "Claremont Unit" carried out limpet mine attacks on a Wimpy restaurant and the President Hotel in Johannesburg on June 24, 1986 in which 19 people were injured.

This unit was also responsible for two ambush-attacks on police patrols in the Vosloorus area of Boksburg.

This is according to the documents which were handed in as evidence in the Bethal treason trial yesterday.

The presiding judge, Mr Justice J A Daniels, ruled yesterday that the documents could be admitted as court evidence at the trial of Mr Acton Mandla Maseku, Mr Simon J Dladla and Mr Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, who face numerous charges including high treason and terrorism.

Earlier evidence by Warrant Officer Nic Deetlefs of the South African Police, Security Branch, was that a police informer had photographed the documents inside the Lusaka offices of the ANC.

Mr H K Naidu, for Mr

Ebrahim, objected to the admissibility of the documents on the grounds that they were not original documents and that no evidence had been led to prove their authenticity.

The document detailing the limpet mine attacks on the Wimpy and President Hotel was signed by B Material, an alias used by a top ANC member in Swaziland, Paul Dikalidi, who was recently killed.

It says that an eight-man unit, called "Claremont Unit" was "sent in" with an RPG, RPG

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have a different situation.

While all this is going on, our isolation hurts. Did you notice that Brian Mitchell was not even allowed to unfurl the South African flag during his defence in Madrid? All other flags were fluttering all over the place, and the closest anything came to Oranje-blanje-blou was a tiny thing on Carlos Jacamo's arm. Most of the people at the tournament probably thought it was Mitchell's club colours, so nobody threatened to withdraw from the tournament. That is what this country is leading us to.

That is what we have to face in the outside world.

A victim of SOWE TAN apartheid

29/04/88

It would be easy for me to say that it serves them right. But I would not be honest with myself, for it hurts me and other South Africans just as much.

It is pointless trying to blame it all on the "radical left" and the "maniac right". It is there, for all to see. A revelation of our truer selves. We are shooting ourselves so much in both feet that it is amazing we still can stand on them.

I am saying all this,

not because I sympathise with Zola Budd. She is a victim of apartheid, and, heaven knows, there are millions of other victims of apartheid. She could run away from it, but millions are trapped under apartheid right here. That is what the problem is.

• This is my last regular column for the *Sowetan*. Monday I will be joining the *Star*, where I will hopefully contribute to a better understanding among all South Africans.

THE past week has been one of hard-thinking for me. I had, like many citizens of this 'burg, been jolted by the State President's "bold new initiatives", which, I was told, provided impetus to the Government's reform programme.

So much happened during the week of the President's announcement that I began to feel utter despair. In London, there was the controversy about Zola Budd. Poor soul. She faced the axe for having gone to watch an athletics meeting.

In Washington, legislators were hard at work honing new sanctions measures against this country. The United States was gearing itself for a strike situation in the Gulf. Back home, several trials were in process, in which people were facing charges of

The whole reform thing is just simply baasskap

SOWETAN

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facing charges of treason or other political charges.

Some friends who had just come back from overseas told how they were treated almost like scum simply by virtue of being South Africans. For them to be invited to a dinner, needed clearance from the rest of the guests, and if only one objected, that sealed their fate. And they were not even vaguely connected to politics.

Then they come back, and read the great news item. P W Botha would announce some dramatic things. About time, they tell me, and

so we wait for it.

I tried desperately to find something good in what Mr Botha said. I really did. I actually found the thought of not finding anything constructive almost repellent, that's how hard I tried.

Cobwebs

The long and short of it is that all this talk simply confirmed my long-held view that the Government is still trapped in its own verbal cobwebs. Even in these critical times, they continue balder-dashing, dizzy in their own intellectual altitude.

The whole reform programme was simply a restatement of baasskap. Anything else was a no-deal. And yet, miraculously, the Government is still hoping that there will be takers for its bait.

The National Council was still-born. So now the Government believes that the concept is fine, only the name is a problem. The Great Indaba is born, and the Government believes that people will jump at it simply because there is some Zulu in the name. Remember the Department of Native Affairs, which became the De-

partment of Bantu Affairs, which became the Department of Plural Affairs, which became the Department of whatever it is now?

Even those names changed because the concept was right, but the name was wrong. Yet, those places are still just as unacceptable as they were thirty years ago.

Talks

One only needs to listen to Government spokesmen trying to explain how the whole machinery is supposed to work. Of course, blacks will be able to vote at regional level.

Devolution of power. No, the whole matter is all about talks about talks. No, there will be no super cabinet, but blacks could serve in some cabinet situation. No, blacks will not be represented, or they could be, or they may be, or they may not, no, will not.

No, but the Government does not wish to be prescriptive. No, the Government will not allow one group to dominate another. Yes, these regional bodies may have ethnic flavour in some areas, but not in others.

I mean, you have not heard of a Zulu in



JOE'S
BURG

QwaQwa, have you? Or a Xhosa in Lebowa. Those are regional realities which have to be faced. Of course, Natal will mostly be Zulu, as the Eastern Cape will be Xhosa. But Johannesburg, for instance . . . now you

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'Gave life for ANC'

SOWETO
28/04/88



MR MNCUBE
... Mthetheleli's father.

ONE OF the two young men convicted of killing two policemen by a Messina Circuit Court judge, sacrificed his life for the African National Congress and black South Africans.

Another one, found guilty of six murder counts, left the country with idealism of youth and returned to transform his country.

Mrs Fatima Meer, Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology, Natal University, said these words yesterday before Mr Justice J P O de Villiers.

Mthetheleli Zephania Mncube (28), of Diepkloof, Soweto, and Msondeleli Euclide Nondula (25), of East London, face possible death penalties on a number of murder counts.

"The ANC is at war with South Africa," Professor Meer said, "and the majority of black, Indian and coloured South Africans believe so."

Prof Meer, presenting a lengthy sociological report in mitigation of sentence, said of Mncube: "He sacrificed his life for the ANC and South Africa's blacks."

The post 1976 social climate in the black townships was far from conducive to schooling. The school population had proved itself as a ready made anti-government weapon and there



FATIMA Meer

were forces at work ready to exploit these weapons. In Soweto in particular, there were constant calls for school boycott," Prof Meer said.

Prof Meer said it was ultimately police harassment that expelled the two youths from the country.

She described the Silverton Siege of 1977 in which three young ANC guerillas were shot dead by the police. This affected Mncube so much because he knew two of the three young men as he grew up with them in Diepkloof, Prof Meer said.

Another traumatic event which ultimately contributed to Mncube's departure was the hanging on April 6, 1977, of Solomon Mahlangu, another ANC guerilla.

Professor Meer said Mncube was also distressed when his 16-year-old girlfriend left the country with her father, well-known poet, Molefe Phetoe, to live in exile.

(Proceeding)

Challenge for universal franchise

Ndebele women in court fight for vote

THE STAR
29/04/88

By Claire Robertson,
Pretoria Bureau

The State President's denial of the vote to kwaNdebele women could not be called "unreasonable", counsel for the respondents in a pioneer sex discrimination case said in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

The applicants, Paulina Machika and four others, are seeking an order to have declared void legislation denying women the franchise and the 1984 election of the 16 kwaNdebele Legislative Assembly members.

Mr William de Villiers SC, appearing for the State President, the Chief Minister of kwaNdebele and 15 other members of the Legislative Assembly, said the "discrimination" in the case of the franchise was not an "unfair differentiation" between men and women.

Women have the vote in other South African homelands.

Universal franchise in kwaNdebele was blocked by the Legislative Assembly in 1984 after a

speech by then Chief Minister Simon Skosane in which he expressed his uneasiness at having his wife, for whom he paid a dowry, pointing her finger at him (in the Assembly) and saying that he was not telling the truth.

"The Ndebeles will not tolerate that, so they will never do it," Mr Skosane said.

PRESIDENT SIGNED

Enabling legislation was signed by State President Mr Botha shortly afterwards, denying the vote and a place in the Assembly to kwaNdebele women.

A packed Pretoria Supreme Court heard Mr de Villiers explain that this was not unfair because it was in accordance with the traditions of the Ndebele people.

Mr de Villiers argued that denying women a say in public life dated back to Aristotle.

He referred to verses from Genesis in the Bible — Eve tempting Adam with an apple — to establish the Christian basis for women being regarded as "second-class citizens" — which they are even now described as" and

sketched the stormy suffragette period in Britain.

Votes for women in Western society had had to follow a lengthy constitutional process and was denied even today in some Islamic countries — "and now they want the Ndebele to change in the blink of an eye," he said.

He responded to the applicants' argument that the Legislative Assembly itself was a new style of government for the traditional kwaNdebele people by describing the Assembly as "a new institution seen through the eyes of their traditions and practices".

The applicants had earlier detailed the case of a widow who, as the sole breadwinner in the family, did not have the vote while her young son did.

"From a Western view we can say it is wrong — from their viewpoint, we cannot say it is wrong," Mr de Villiers said.

Two of the respondents, including speaker in the Legislative Assembly Mr Solly Mahlangu, are not opposing the women's bid for the vote.

The hearing continues.

Buthlezi to speak on E Rand

By Abel Mabelane

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, will be the guest speaker at the 77th anniversary of the Germiston Chamber of Commerce and Industry next month.

A spokesman for the Chamber, Ms Sylvia Saunders, said Chief Buthelezi had been requested to speak on "Kwa-Natal: the effects it will have on commerce and business".

"Although we suggested this topic to Chief Buthelezi, he is, as our guest, completely free to speak on any topic he likes," she said.

Ms Saunders said Chief Buthelezi will address guests at the annual general meeting of the Chamber which will be held on Tuesday May 17 at Germiston Civic Centre.

LIAISON

She said the achievement of the Chamber during the past 77 years was to liaise with Germiston City Council and to make it understand the problems of commerce and industry.

The Chamber had also been instrumental in getting the city council to open its central business district to all people.

"We also liaise with the Katlehong Chamber of Commerce and share ideas with them.

"The Chambers' membership is open to all people irrespective of race, colour or creed," Ms Saunders said.

Dinner will be served after the meeting, which starts at 6.30 pm.

Great Indaba 'stands no chance'

29/04/88
 UMTATA — South Africa's "Great Indaba", in which "recognised black leaders" would be invited to take part, had no chance of succeeding, the former chairman of Soweto's Committee of 10, Dr Nthato Motlana, said in Umtata yesterday.

He told a gathering at the University of Transkei that the South African Government would be compelled to abandon the Great Indaba because the "liberation struggle" would go on.

Dr Motlana said it should be left to workers to decide whether they supported sanctions as they were the people whose jobs were at risk.

THE STAR
 On the United States policy of constructive engagement with South Africa, he said he had met US representative Dr Chester Crocker and convinced him constructive engagement meant "sleeping in the same bed with South Africa."

He said Dr Crocker had understood his argument and would abandon the policy.

Asked why whites tended to assume leadership whenever there was a mixture of black and white, he said it was because whites were believed to have more money and could speak English better. — Sapa.

Dugard testifies in ANC trial

By Dirk Nel,
 Northern Transvaal
 Bureau

MESSINA — The fact that the two men convicted in the Messina terrorism trial believed they were legitimate soldiers, under orders from their ANC superiors to undertake military missions in South Africa, diminished their moral guilt, if not their legal guilt, the circuit court heard yesterday.

Professor John Dugard of the Wits law faculty was testifying in mitigation of sentence in the trial of Mthetheli Mncube (27) of

Soweto, and Mzondeleli Nondula (24) of Mdantsane.

He pointed out that, in terms of an international protocol conference in 1977, the international community did not regard members of liberation movements fighting for self-determination or independence as aggressors.

It was now part of customary international law to regard struggles against colonial or racist regimes as international conflicts, and the

two convicted men believed they were fighting such a war, Professor Dugard explained.

Mncube and Nondula were found guilty on Monday of murder, attempted murder, terrorism and the illegal possession of arms and ammunition.

The case arose from landmine blasts in the Messina area, the shooting of two policemen, and activities which the court found had endangered the security of the State.

29/04/88
 Another witness, Dr Tom Lodge, a lecturer in political studies at Wits, said he had made a thorough study of the ANC, and it was not ANC policy to attack civilian targets.

The man found guilty of the explosion at an Amanzimtoti shopping centre had admitted he violated the ANC code, said Dr Lodge.

In the light of overall statistics, the ANC did not appear to be a very violent body. But, he added, armed insurgen-

cy was part of the ANC strategy.

When asked by the judge whether the random laying of landmines was, in fact, armed insurgency, Dr Lodge replied that it was, particularly as the ANC regarded all border areas as battle zones, because the civilian population there was fully integrated into the SADF.

The State prosecutor, Mr Frans Roets, said he had no questions to put to these two witnesses.

The court adjourned to May 3 to hear further evidence in mitigation.

Apartheid in SA 'already become rotten'

THE STAR
29/04/88

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — In promoting "perestroika" the Soviet Union will not compromise on matters of principle such as support for the "liberation movements" or the MPLA government in Angola, says the acting Soviet ambassador to Lesotho, Dr Boris Asoyan.

He made it clear in an address to students at the University of Lesotho yesterday that the Soviet Union still supports the African National Congress and its use of violence insofar as this might be considered necessary.

And it will continue to support sanctions against South Africa to help bring about the abolition of apartheid.

Atmosphere of trust

Answering questions at the end of his address, Dr Asoyan said one of the goals of perestroika (restructuring) was to create an atmosphere of trust and confidence among nations which would be the basis for a safer world.

He said there was "no question of our compromising on Angola or any of the liberation movements".

While the Soviet Union was not taking part in negotiations between the Angolan government and the United States it respected Angola's right to conduct such negotiations, Dr Asoyan said.

On the question of whether there was a parallel between the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan and its stance in Angola, Dr Asoyan repeated Soviet Foreign Minister Mr Eduard Shevardnadze's recent response to the same question — that the only similarity was that the name of both countries began with the letter "A".

Dr Asoyan said in response to another question that there was no connection between Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano's visit to Moscow and his representative's meeting

in Cape Town this week with the State President Mr P W Botha.

In his address to the university students, Dr Asoyan said the reforms instituted by the Botha Government in South Africa "penetrated only the upper and very thin layer of apartheid, which had already by itself become rotten".

Confrontation in South Africa had reached such a stage, he said, that nothing but a fundamental reform of government and social structure would stop an accelerated movement to "more horrible violence".

Dr Asoyan asked how long the Afrikaner, whose sufferings at the beginning of this century had drawn the sympathy of many countries, would continue to turn a blind eye to the crimes of apartheid.

He said that from the speeches of white leaders in South Africa "one can judge there is very little trust from their side". On the contrary, there is more hostility and unwillingness to know and to understand.

Suppress the majority

"They had only one idea — to suppress and to impose their will, their decisions, on the majority.

"They talk of the necessity of changes but think how to evade changes."

A clear lack of confidence ran through all the arguments about the necessity of change.

Dr Asoyan said the Soviet Union did not want to see chaos in South Africa.

"We are for constructive decisions. We want to see the end of confrontation in the southern African region and the only way to achieve this is to stop South African aggression against the Frontline states."

South Africa, he said, was still growing — "sometimes violently and wildly" — at a time when some other states were declining.

Terror trialists get 6 months' jail after defying the judge

CAPE TOWN — Mr Ashley Forbes and his 14 co-accused in a Cape Town terrorism trial were yesterday sentenced to six months imprisonment for contempt of court after defying the judge and chanting slogans from the dock.

The incident occurred as the court resumed after the lunchtime adjournment when the accused continuously chanted "advance, retreat, consolidate" for a few minutes after the judge had taken his seat.

When it became clear that the accused intended to continue chanting, they were ordered down to the cells by Mr Justice D M Williamson.

He said he was satisfied that all of them had participated and had been "manifestly in contempt of court". He then called them to the dock individually.

Addressing Mr Ashley Forbes, Mr Justice Williamson said: "I consider your behaviour grossly contemptuous."

Asked if he had anything to say, Mr Forbes looked ahead and did not answer. He was found guilty of contempt of court and sentenced to six months imprisonment.

All the accused were then called and either refused to say anything or said they had nothing to say and were then sentenced to six months.

Earlier Mr Justice Williamson said: "After I adjourned yesterday there was again a disturbance. My information is that it emanated from the accused and that the public gallery responded. The other day I explained that that kind of disturbance could not be tolerated as it disturbed the other courts."

"It is something I feel very passionate about. I feel the only thing I can do in the circumstances is to exclude members of the public, certainly for today and tomorrow."

The accused are: Forbes, Peter Anthony Jacobs, Nicklo Louis Pedro, Nazeen Lowe, Anwa Dramat, Clement Baadjies, David Johannes Fortuin, Jeremy Alan Veary, Walter Rhooode, Wayne Ingemar Malgas, Collin Cairncross, Ashraf Kariem, Colin Clave Martin Petersen, Leon Scott and Yasmina Pandey. — Sapa

Zimbabwe to encourage rural development

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — People living in remote Zimbabwe areas are to be given the chance to air their problems nationally and hopefully prompt a swift government response.

The state-run Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) has launched three pilot rural radio clubs near the capi-

tal, Harare, in a bid to mobilise rural people to take leading roles in development projects in their communities.

"It is our aim to make people listen to educational radio broadcasts to mobilise them for development," said Mr Victor Mhizha-Murira, ZBC's director of programmes, at the launching of a radio club at Mubayira

rural centre in Beatrice, a small farming town 60 km from Harare.

"The advantage of using radio for mobilisation is that you quickly get feedback which will enable you to know how best to produce your educational programmes," he said.

Since independence in 1980, the socialist government of President Robert Mugabe has set as one of

its top priorities the development of rural areas, where about 80 percent of the country's estimated nine million people lives.

It has placed particular emphasis on co-operatives in its rural development policy and created a ministry of co-operatives, whose main focus is the rural areas where it helps form and manage small-scale co-operatives.

ANC detention camp in Angola, says US report

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The African National Congress maintains a detention camp in northern Angola and might hold other detainees elsewhere in that country and in Zambia, according to a new State Department report.

It says conditions at these facilities are likely to be harsh, with the degree of severity determined by availability of amenities, local laws and in some cases, personal animosities.

The report was prepared in terms of a law passed by Congress ordering a study of forced detention by the ANC and by the South African Government.

SOUTH AFRICAN AGENTS

The report does not estimate how many detainees the ANC has held at any one time. "The majority are suspected of being South African agents or infiltrators."

"ANC cadres who become politically dissatisfied or who refuse military training might also be detained, according to defectors."

"Some, although probably not a large number, are believed to be detained for non-political (for example, disciplinary) reasons."

Reports that the ANC has a large detention camp in Zambia could not be confirmed.

Turning to South Africa, the report devotes four pages of detail on detentions and treatment behind bars, quoting extensively from statistics kept by the Detainees Parents' Support Committee (DPSC), one of the groups targeted in a Government clampdown.

On treatment of detainees, the report says detainees are often held incommunicado, "a situation that provides considerable potential for police abuse of detainees".

ANC documents copies are handed in as trial exhibits

BETHAL — Secret ANC documents, photographed by a South African Intelligence operative at the organisation's Lusaka offices, were handed in as exhibits in the Bethal terrorism trial yesterday despite an objection by the defence.

Mr Justice J Daniels overruled objections lodged by Mr H K Naidu on behalf of Mr Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim.

In the case against the three accused, Mr Acton Mandla Maseko, Mr Simon Dladla and Mr Ebrahim, on charges under the Terrorism Act and of high treason, Mr Justice Daniels ruled that he would review the matter after all the evidence

in the trial had been heard.

The documents, consisting of both handwritten and typewritten reports from ANC regional centres in various Frontline states to ANC headquarters in Lusaka, recounted the many problems experienced by the ANC as a result of shortages of weapons, funds and the infiltration of informers.

One document dated November 1986 from Umbrella Dubay, an ANC codename, was signed by Mzwandile, earlier identified by a witness as Mr Ebrahim. It said there was need for "improvement of the machinery".

He complained that

"cadres" failed to turn up for appointments and that it was "very difficult" to make any progress.

He said the South African Police had arrested a "comrade" identified as "Comrade Scotch" in Soweto. His arrest was followed by the kidnapping of an ANC operative identified as "September" who commanded an ANC unit.

This "disaster" was followed by the death of four cadres in an armed clash.

Of the eight so-called Lusaka documents handed in to court, five bear the signature of Mzwandile.

The hearing continues.

How this small town is coping with AIDS

THE MERCURY
29/04/88

MARONDERA is a little town which straddles the main road from the Zimbabwean capital of Harare to the Mozambique border.

Outside the emergency ward of the local hospital a single poster warns of the deadly problem which afflicts this, and countless other African hospitals: *There is no cure for AIDS. Choose your partner carefully.*

When Dr David Collings worked at Marondera General Hospital three years ago, the subject of AIDS was barely on the medical agenda in Zimbabwe. Yet without realising it he was regularly operating on patients who carried the virus.

He also worked in Bulawayo, and it is impossible to trace exactly where he contracted AIDS. One African doctor irritably pointed out that he had been trained in Edinburgh, 'the AIDS capital of Britain, I believe.'

Marondera is a useful case study of how a small town in an African country with above-average medical care is coping with the most infamous disease of our time.

David Collings's death has inevitably focussed the minds of doctors rather sharply on the fact that their own blood can become contaminated by a patient's (the risk of a patient being infected by a doctor is much less). 'If you're doing a Caesarean section there's a lot of blood rushing around the place,' said Dr George Turner, a Marondera practitioner.

'I must have pricked myself dozens of times. If you're playing around with sharp instruments you're bound to get cut. Even if you had the facilities, it's not an operation where you could screen the patient first. It's usually an emergency job, and you just get on with it.'

Dr Kevin Martin, Medical Superintendent at the hospital, was equally emphatic: 'We do about a hundred operations a week here, so basically we're taking a chance every single time. Because of limited facilities, we would never be able to screen everyone. Every single doctor in Africa is at risk. Nothing can be done about it.'

Such fatalism is only realistic. Surgical gloves offer no protection against an accidental nick with a scalpel, and anyway they are often in short supply. Marondera has two main

By Peter Taylor, Harare

operating theatres (where gloves are always worn), but in the small theatre boils and abscesses are sometimes lanced without gloves. I came across a clothes-horse full of old surgical gloves, washed and hanging out to dry.

When Dr Collings was at Marondera, doctors were aware that AIDS might strike, but they were primarily on the lookout for patients with the traditional symptoms of 'wasting.' The virus later manifested itself in unexpected ways — in tuberculosis, shingles, and a sudden increase in infant mortality. Of the 12 patients who have died from AIDS at Marondera General, four have been children.

THE INCIDENCE of the HIV virus in Zimbabwe is almost certainly much lower than in countries such as Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania, but the sparse statistics are inconclusive and confusing.

Dr Godfrey Sikipa, principle medical director in Zimbabwe's Ministry of Health, recently estimated that 250 000 people in the country (about 2% of the population) were HIV positive, but some doctors believe the real figure to be between 3 and 4%.

Last October Zimbabwe notified the World Health Organisation that there had been 380 confirmed cases of AIDS, but revised the figure downwards to 199 just over a month ago.

The politics of these statistics are very sensitive. In order to generate concern, cash, and perhaps a dash of colonial guilt, the AIDS lobby in the West seems bent on inflating the figures.

African governments, angry at Western theories that the disease originated in their continent, and mindful of the effects on tourism, seek to damp them down. For revealing any figures at all, Dr Sikipa was firmly rapped on the knuckles.

'There is a genuine increase in the number of people being infected,' said Dr Martin, 'and I find that rate of increase alarming.'

The virus has been partly contained by Zimbabwe's excellent blood transfusion service, which, unlike many others in the region, has proper screening of donors. In the last two

years there has also been much greater care taken to use needles and syringes only once, although in Dr Colling's time re-use after sterilisation or boiling was common.

The virus in Africa is spread mostly by heterosexual contact and affects men and women in equal numbers and in Zimbabwe it appears to be associated with an increase in certain forms of venereal disease.

Before 1980, chancroid, a disease which results in external ulcers on the penis (and therefore bleeding during intercourse) was relatively uncommon. It is now widespread.

Attempts to persuade men to use condoms, moreover, have not been very successful. US Aid donated 9 million of them at the beginning of the year — popularly known as *Ronnie's Rubbers* — and they are freely available. But the usual response is: 'You cannot taste a sweet with the wrapper on.'

Tracing contacts is practically impossible. 'When I tell men they have the HIV virus I ask them how many sexual contacts outside marriage they have had,' said Dr Martin, 'they just look me in the eye, and say hundreds.'

Even in a town like Marondera, there is a thriving prostitution trade. About half of prostitutes probably have the HIV virus, and among their most regular clients — men who have left rural homes to seek work in the towns, members of the army — the infection rate is way above average.

The suggestion that doctors working in high-risk areas should be tested before practising in the West raises hackles.

'That would be penalising us for being at the forefront of the fight against disease and infection among Africa's poor,' said Dr Lesley Chironga, president of the Zimbabwe Dental Association. (Dentists have also taken to wearing protective surgical gloves when possible).

There are about 50 British doctors working in Zimbabwe at present, so the question of appropriate screening is not likely to go away.

AIDS itself is a disease which breeds irrational fear (barbers in Harare will no longer close-shave their customers) and the politics of AIDS is in danger of obscuring the medical realities. Last year's vigorous AIDS information campaign here has now largely fizzled out, and it is thought that the government no longer wants to draw attention to the problem.

SEBE'S NEW ADVISER

DAILY NEWS
Daily News
Correspondent 29/01/88

EAST LONDON: Mutual co-operation was pledged at Ntaba kaNdoda yesterday by Ciskei's President Lennox Sebe and South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Ntaba kaNdoda is the national shrine of the Ciskeian people and was the scene yesterday of a ceremony to admit Mr Botha as an honorary adviser to the nation.

The honour — with all its trappings — was conferred by President Sebe and his senior chiefs.

President Sebe said South Africa and Ciskei had the same ambitions and aspirations — even the same problems: "Why then, I ask you, should we continue separately to struggle forward when together the way could be made much easier for us all?"

"We have adjustments to make to one another as well as compromises to agree to. This can happen only if we trust and accept one another, even though our training and cultural background makes us express the same ideas in a different manner."

He said Ciskeians had had many dealings with Mr Botha over the years and had sensed his sincerity.

Mr Botha replied that the various



Pik Botha in his new 'robes' of office

communities and nations of southern Africa formed a chain that was as strong as its weakest link. The chain could be made strong through understanding and respect.

"Violence and force cannot provide a lasting solution to our problems," he said. "Only through peace at the conference table will we find solutions."

Angolan death claims challenged

The Daily News
5/05/88

Foreign Service

MUNICH: Cuba has lost 1 000 men in the 12-year-old civil war in Angola said the President of the Cuban Parliament, Severo Aguirre del Cristo, in Bonn today.

Aguirre, speaking to reporters during a visit by a Cuban delegation to the West German capital, challenged South African claims that 5 000 Cubans have died in Angola.

Aguirre said Cuba was ready to pull its troops out of Angola immediately the Angolan Government asked it to do so. But he also said a Cuban withdrawal was conditional on a real and just peace settlement in southern Africa.

The West German news agency report on Aguirre's remarks did not elaborate on the extent of the agreement he had in mind.

White education bill may be rushed into law

The Daily News 29/04/88

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The already controversial single education bill, which will make white education uniform, in all four provinces has been published in Cape Town.

And it appears the Education Affairs Bill (House of Assembly), which was surrounded by secrecy in its drafting stages, could be rushed through Parliament — minimising public debate.

The Bill has already been placed as the second item on the order paper of the House of Assembly, and it need not be sent to a standing committee of Parliament.

The Progressive Federal Party, which has repeatedly raised the issue in the way parents have been kept in the dark about the legislation since they obtained a draft copy of the bill seven months ago, objected again today to the way the legislation had been handled.

The Bill was also the subject of a bitter debate in the House of Assembly yesterday with National Party and Progressive Federal Party spokesmen clashing on the issue during the debate of the budget vote of white Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Piet Clase.

PFP education spokesman Mr Roger Burrows warned today that all four provinces now faced more restrictive education policies based on those formerly used in the Transvaal.

Mr Burrows said in the debate on the bill that the PFP would be focusing on

the powers given to directors of education, which centralised decision-making in Pretoria; on the increased restriction of the political activities of teachers and the powers of school boards to refuse to admit a child to a school within its area.

"We are totally dissatisfied with the handling of the bill up to now. In referring the bill to the provincial education councils, representatives from schools were expressly forbidden to consult with parents or, in case of teachers associations, with their membership.

"It now appears it will be rushed through Parliament with a minimum of debate.

"The PFP believes the bill requires considerable public debate, and will request that it be referred to a select committee of Parliament, which can call for evidence and submissions.

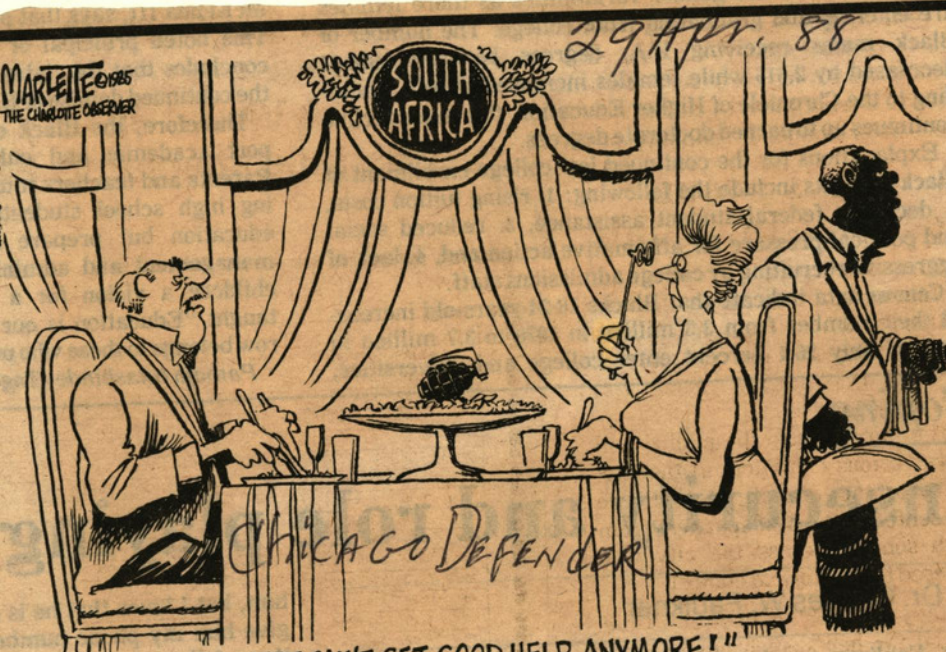
"The white public of South Africa will be bitterly unhappy if the bill is rammed through Parliament."

In yesterday's debate Dr Johan Steenkamp MP (NP Umhlatuzana) attempted to defend the secrecy, saying the draft was meant to be kept confidential "in order to maintain a climate in which the provincial education councils could make an uncompromised input".

In a speech in which he made repeated personal attacks on members of the PFP, he criticised the PFP for revealing its contents.

MARLEITE 01585
THE CHARLOTTE OBSERVER

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"YOU JUST CAN'T GET GOOD HELP ANYMORE!"

S. Africa white, black rebels talk

From Chicago Tribune wires

FRANKFURT, West Germany—Rebel white South Africans on Friday met leaders of the African National Congress to try to persuade the black guerrillas to lay down their arms and join in a ballot-box fight against apartheid.

Defying Pretoria's threats to confiscate the passports of whites meeting with the outlawed group, the South Africans and four guerrilla leaders held a second day of talks in a Frankfurt hotel.

Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, former head of the Progressive Federal Party and a foe of apartheid, met with four members of the guerrilla group's national executive committee, including information and publicity head Thabo Mbeki.

The same four met Thursday with an eight-member delegation from South Africa's antiapartheid National Democratic Movement led by legislator Wynand Malan.

The congress is the major guerrilla group fighting the white-minority

government in South Africa. Outlawed in South Africa, it is based in Lusaka, Zambia.

After Thursday's meeting, the two sides said they disagreed sharply about the use of violence to force reform in their homeland. Van Zyl Slabbert told reporters he was not trying to forge any new alliances or pursue any "hidden agenda," but he criticized Pretoria's refusal to negotiate with the outlawed group. South Africa refuses to lift its ban on the group unless it renounces violence.

"We disagree about violence, about the [African National Congress] strategy of boycotting elections," said Harald Pakendorf, another white delegate. "They say they won't participate. We want them to participate."

A joint statement following the Frankfurt talks said delegates from both sides agreed on what kind of postapartheid South Africa they wanted, but differed on how to achieve change.

Van Zyl Slabbert said, "You have

to create a situation where key black participants can address problems with whites ... such as what kind of government will there be in the future of South Africa."

Van Zyl Slabbert is director of planning and policy for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, an antiapartheid think tank he helped found. He is widely viewed as his country's most charismatic white antiapartheid leader.

Friday night, a powerful explosion rocked central Johannesburg. Police cordoned off a four-block area, and black smoke billowed into the air.

A police officer at the scene said the driver of a municipal garbage truck was injured when the explosion occurred in or near his vehicle. The truck was still burning a half-hour after the blast. Witnesses said the blast appeared to have been caused by a bomb in a trash bin.

On Thursday, the 40th anniversary of white rule by the National Party, twin blasts injured four people in Pretoria.

Nactu THE N. WINNER reacts to chief's 29/04/88 attack

Witness Reporter

OFFICIALS of the National Council of Trade Unions have described as "disturbing" critical remarks directed at a Nactu worker by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi had strongly criticised Nactu Durban official Mr Sisa Ntshakala for a statement made at a news conference called to clarify the relationship between the union and Inkatha, among other issues.

Mr Ntshakala said Nactu members and members of the public had become "confused" about the relationship between Nactu and Inkatha because of the close relationship between city Nactu unionist Mr Norman Middleton and Inkatha.

In particular the impression was created in some reports that Mr Middleton attended a recent KwaZulu prayer breakfast in his capacity as Nactu official. Mr Ntshakala said — and Mr Middleton agreed this was correct — that Mr Middleton had attended the breakfast in his personal capacity.

Chief Buthelezi objected strongly to Mr Ntshakala's remarks saying that they were "to trample on the holy".

Yesterday Nactu commented it was disturbing that "personal attacks" were made on its officials who had been only reiterating the policy and principles of Nactu.

Racial basis of wards excludes thousands

THE NATAL WITNESS

Some blacks can't vote in October

29/04/88

JOHANNESBURG — Thousands of black people living legally in central Johannesburg will not be eligible to vote in October's country-wide municipal elections.

The chairman of the Johannesburg City Council management committee, Mr Francois Oberholzer, confirmed that only white people could vote for city council candidates.

Indians living legally in the designated group areas of Fordsburg and Mayfair would not be eligible to vote in any municipal election, Lenasia's Indicator newspaper reported yesterday.

They join Chinese South Africans, who have no vote in any political institution.

Opposition groups said the disqualification of blacks living in the city centre "exposed the untruthfulness of government claims" that all South Africans could vote in the elections.

Mr Oberholzer said an "anomaly" had arisen as a result of the initial illegal influx of blacks into the city.

In addition to Indians living legally in their group areas, thousands of blacks live in central Johannesburg — some illegally but many legally as do-

mestic workers.

Johannesburg Indians are allowed to vote only for the Lenasia management committee, and coloureds for the coloured management committee.

Black people are allowed to vote in their designated townships.

Only Indian people resident in Lenasia, 30 kilometres from the city centre, are eligible to vote for the Lenasia management committee.

The demarcation of wards disqualifies coloured people from voting outside coloured areas.

The PFP leader in the Johannesburg

City Council, Mr Tony Leon, said the exclusion of Indians living legally in a central group area exposed the hypocrisy and untruthfulness in government claims that everyone would be voting in municipal elections on the same day.

He repeated the PFP's call for the inclusion of all race groups in a single chamber from local authority to parliamentary level.

The Transvaal Indian Congress said the exclusion of blacks had "given the lie" to government claims of reform. — Sapa.

Guard called a 'kaffir', THE NATAL WITNESS court hears

29/04/88 Witness Reporter

A SECURITY guard told a city magistrate yesterday that he was embarrassed when the wife of a Scottsville cafe owner called him a "kaffir" in the presence of several people in a busy shopping centre.

Mrs Wilma Meyer (31), the wife of Fitzroys Cafe owner Mr Gerhard Meyer, pleaded not guilty to a charge of crimen injuria.

In evidence before magistrate Mr A. Brink, security guard Mr Jabulani Mkhize said he was on duty at Nedbank Plaza on the evening of December 11 last year when a drunk man entered the cafe.

Mr Mkhize said a man who worked in the cafe — who was later identified as Mr Gert van der Linde — pushed the drunk man into a juice machine which fell to the floor.

He said he went to the drunk man's assistance. Mrs Meyer appeared and shook her finger at him saying: "Hey kaffir, do your job."

"I didn't like it; I was embarrassed and there were many people standing around and other whites laughed at me," Mr Mkhize said.

A witness, Mr Lingam Pillay — who is studying for a doctorate in chemical engineering — told the court he was at the cafe when a man behind the counter pushed a dishevelled man into the machine.

Mr Pillay said another man emerged from within the shop and started beating the dishevelled man who had fallen to the ground.

The security guard, Mr Mkhize, then appeared and picked the man up from the floor and took him to the doorway, he said.

Mrs Meyer approached Mr Mkhize and in the presence of a crowd shouted: "Hey you kaffir, take this kaffir and get out of my shop."

He said Mr Mkhize was visibly surprised and hurt and there was a stunned silence for a while.

Mr Pillay said he too was surprised that Mr Mkhize should be insulted while he was acting as any security guard would have acted.

In her defence, Mrs Meyer denied she had called Mr Mkhize a "kaffir". She said that when Mr Mkhize had picked up the drunk man she had addressed him saying: "Take this kaffir before I moer (hit) him and you."

She took it for granted that one called a black man, and not a white person, a "kaffir".

"If it had been a white I would have called him a bastard."

She said Mr Mkhize should not have been hurt at her comment because she had not addressed it to him personally. However, she admitted that any black person would have been hurt if the word "kaffir" were used in his presence.

Mrs Meyer said that when she made the remark Mr Mkhize looked shocked, and leered at her as if to say: "I'm going to get you for this".

She said she thought he had laid a charge against her because he was black and she was white and if he had been white he "wouldn't have laid a charge".

Mrs Meyer said she had a good relationship with her black customers in general, but alleged that Mr Mkhize had deliberately intimidated her.

Judgment will be passed today.

Little hope of black role at this stage

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—It is 'highly unlikely' that President Botha will appoint a Prime Minister this year or that blacks will be included in the electoral college at this stage.

It also appears that the Government is not banking on a delayed election — as it was hoping for — and will probably run its full term plus the six months allowed for by the constitution.

A senior Government source indicated yesterday that it did not expect a compromise by the Labour Party on its demand that the Group Areas Act should be scrapped entirely before it would agree to legislation delaying the white elections.

President Botha said in Parliament last week he was considering appointing a Prime Minister who would be responsible for the day-to-day running of the Government and relieve him of some of his responsibilities, leaving him free to concentrate on policy issues and ceremonial affairs.

He also wanted to give blacks the opportunity to participate in the election of the State President.

However, the source said yesterday that further investigations would be needed to

see whether the appointments could be made without having to amend the constitution.

There have been indications for some time now that the Government has abandoned the prospect of reaching a compromise with the Labour Party and that it is now preparing for a redelimitation of seats, in the hope of neutralising the growth of the Right wing, before going to the country.

There have also been counter-suggestions that the Government could still surprise everyone by calling a general election of all three chambers of Parliament to coincide with the national municipal elections on October 26.

However, this is generally being discounted.

77 000 jobless in Umlazi

African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—The KwaZulu MP for Umlazi, Mr Winnington Sabelo, has called on private enterprise to improve employment opportunities for the people of Umlazi in order to alleviate the township's critical unemployment problem.

Mr Sabelo said that at present there were some 77 000 unemployed people living in the township.

In an attempt to improve

the situation, he and the Mayor, Mr RES Mfeka, were liaising with as many companies as possible to try and obtain jobs for unemployed matriculants and those with a Std 8 pass.

In this regard, COIN Security would be recruiting about 150 people at the Umlazi magistrate's offices at 8 a.m. on Tuesday.

Mr Sabelo also appealed to the Durban Chamber of Industries to urge its members to focus their attention on Umlazi.

Reagan to veto US Trade Bill

BUSINESS DAY 27/04/88

WASHINGTON — The US trade representative said yesterday that President Ronald Reagan would veto a massive Trade Bill and called on Congress to revive the measure quickly without a controversial provision.

"We need a Trade Bill this year," Clayton K Yeutter told the NBC television network.

"There are a lot of good things in that legislation, so if a couple of necessary corrections are made and the Bill comes back, I'm really quite confident the President would sign it," he said.

Yeutter said the Bill would get Reagan's signature if it were not for a provision, strongly backed by Democrats and labour unions, requiring companies to give workers 60 days notice of intended plant closings.

The Senate approved the Bill 63-36 on Wednesday. That left Democrats at least three votes short of the two-thirds major-

ity needed to enact the measure over Reagan's objections.

Democrats had fought for 14 Republican votes to assure them of a total of 66.

But only 11 Republicans voted in favour of the measure produced by a House-Senate conference committee after three years of congressional debate over soaring US trade deficits.

□ Meanwhile, in Brussels the European Community (EC) threatened yesterday to take action against the US under international trading rules if the US Trade Bill comes into force.

The EC commissioner for external trade, Willy de Clercq said that the community "will react" using the rights that it has in the world trade body Gatt, "each time its interests are harmed by the unilateral measures taken by the American authorities".

However, the EC's threat of action depends on whether President Reagan vetoes the Trade Bill.

De Clercq said the EC would "follow carefully legislative developments" in the US. — Sapa-AP and AP-DJ.



● DE CLERCQ

Doctors forbidden to reveal statistics

Appalling Zimbabwean apathy about AIDS as deadly virus spreads

By

Michael Hartnack,
Harare

THERE CAN be few experiences so depressing as lying ill in bed trying to divert your mind from your own troubles with an horrific tone on the bubonic plague which ravaged Europe in the 14th Century, and being badgered by long distance telephone calls from Fleet Street foreign editors demanding that you arise and gird yourself to intrude into the private grief of AIDS victims and their relatives.

It happened to me.

The indecent frenzy into which the British press worked itself over the death of a brilliant young Zimbabwean surgeon, Dr David Collings, 31, was matched, as ever, by the tardy and inadequate reporting of his tragedy in the Zimbabwean news media.

The disaster to the career of our foremost professional boxer, Langton 'Schoolboy' Tinago, went entirely unmentioned in Harare (a pre-fight blood test caused the cancellation of Tinago's welterweight title bout against Lennie Closter in Britain).

My sources tell me the authorities have stopped the filming of a documentary on AIDS here, due for screening in Europe.

These incidents were further demonstrations of 'Hartnack's First Law of Information Dynamics': a Third World country may export debate about its life-and-death problems, but cannot suppress it.

(The Second Law is that the further the debate takes place from its subject, the more hysterical, ill-informed and tendentious it becomes).

Dr Collings was described, somewhat curiously, by the Zimbabwean Minister of Information, Dr Witness Mangwende, as 'an expatriate' but was in fact born in Bulawayo and educated at Falcon College, Somabhula.

He died suddenly in Exeter last month having gone to Britain to qualify as a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons.

It is almost certain he contracted the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) from a chance scratch with a surgical instrument while working in the routinely hectic conditions of a Zimbabwean hospital.

His former colleagues told me he may never have noticed the tiny smear of blood under his surgical gloves.

Implications

In considering the important public implications of this tragedy one must, at the outset, give the Zimbabwean health system its due. By Third World, and especially African standards, it works wonders.

In conjunction with the massively-expanded education system, which is producing a more enlightened class of mother, it has for example succeeded in halving the infant mortality rate since 1980.

Zimbabwe last year launched the most advanced AIDS awareness campaign on the continent.

The Secretary for Health, Dr Daniel Makuto, understandably told an AIDS seminar in Harare on April 11 that the country does not want to be panicked into diverting its scarce health re-

sources to the importation of cheap and nasty 'AIDS kits' churned out by manufacturers in the developed world with an eye to profit.

Any AIDS campaign, he protested, must dovetail with the existing 'Health for All by the Year 2000' drive.

Controversial

Dr Makuto became more controversial when he appeared to allude to the incident in January when one of his doctors was reprimanded for saying there were probably more than 250 000 HIV carriers already in Zimbabwe, with the prospect of over a million deaths in the next 10 years.

Dr Makuto demanded that doctors reveal no AIDS statistics. Many patients were being stigmatised as 'HIV positive', he said, on the basis of perfunctory tests indicating no more than suspected infection.

Against Dr Makuto's view must be put that of private doctors who say an 'AIDS corridor' has been established down the main Zaire-Lusaka-Harare road, where long-distance lorry drivers have spread the virus at squalid brothels charging less than R1 a night.

According to unconfirmed reports, four to seven suspected AIDS cases come to light each day in the towns of Karoi and Chinhoyi (formerly Sinoia) on this road.

A prominent farmer told me he feared Zimbabwe may have to abandon production of labour-intensive crops, such as tobacco, in the 1990s, because of the decimation of its rural workforce. He is not a qualified epidemiologist, so his fear is suspect.

Blitzkrieg

A FAMILY planning adviser to the farming industry, Dr Peter Fraser-McKenzie, last year compared the imminent AIDS onslaught on Zimbabwe to Hitler's 1940 Blitzkrieg against Europe: 'Munich is over. We are out of any kind of phoney war. The killing is about to begin,' he warned.

Yet in spite of such melodramatic comments and the official AIDS awareness campaign, few ordinary Zimbabweans have any sense of urgency about the menace.

President Mugabe's secondary schools may be driving back ignorance and superstition among young people, but their elders, particularly rural people, remain convinced that individuals and families only suffer misfortune when exposed to supernaturally malign influences.

Like mediaeval Europeans, in other words, they think charms and preparation ceremonies can protect in the midst of the worst epidemic.

Another far less pardonable form of the *it can't happen to me* syndrome seems to be abroad among wealthy Zimbabweans, similar to the British middle-class idea that outer-suburban heterosexuals will be able to stand back,

unscathed, while 'homosexuals, prostitutes and intra-venous drug users drown in a cesspool of their own making', to use the words of the Manchester Chief Constable, Mr John Anderton.

In a Zimbabwean context, this delusion betrays a dangerous lack of foresight on at least two scores.

Firstly, if several million people die of AIDS here, sudden financial ruin may force many comfortable people to share the conditions of people to whose plight they are currently indifferent.

The economic consequences of depopulation are unknown; there could be a disastrous deflation, due to a fall off in demand for goods and services.

Equally, there could be runaway inflation as survivors try to grab what is in the shops before Zimbabwe's gross national product, and its foreign currency earnings, take a nose-dive.

We just don't know. The phenomenon has not occurred since the Middle Ages when economies were radically different.

Secondly, the deaths of hundreds of thousands of sewage workers, rat catchers, night watchman, and so forth, must leave a gaping hole in society.

The rich and the cloistered might escape AIDS only to fall victim to cholera (endemic along our Mozambican border), to typhoid, diphtheria, dysentery, infective meningitis or bubonic plague itself, which subsists in meandering pockets among the gerbil rodents inhabiting our Kalahari sand series soils.

All these diseases are currently held in check fairly easily, but only because we maintain a basic degree of social co-operation.

Heresies

One of the heresies Africa has exposed in the last 20 years is the conceit that 'civilisation' stems from the contributions of a few self-styled geniuses.

On the contrary, it rests on the integrity and goodwill of thousands of humble people, painstakingly performing their everyday tasks.

Reading histories of the Black Death one is reminded of a third possibility which should shatter the complacency of any Zimbabwean who feels he or she could remain aloof from a general social tragedy; the recurrent epidemics after 1348 were accompanied by violent social unrest.

These were eventually directed against the rich generally (as supposed profligates who had aroused divine anger) but the first victims were members of ethnic minorities, specifically the Jews.

A few psychotic fundamentalists led mobs of destitute wretches, mad for loot, while popes, princes and mayors vainly appealed for calm.

We are not short of fundamentalist cranks in Zimbabwe, of either the Marxist or traditional animist kind.

If the current apathy about AIDS turns to hysterical mass fear of death, there may not be enough bullets or tear gas or abled-bodied policeman in Southern Africa to control an explosion of suicidal violence against 'the privileged few'.

We must, in other words, find the courage to face this horror together.