

**C**OMMON interest suggests that Western Europe and the countries of southern Africa should work together to develop, as fully as possible, the human and natural resources of the region.

Europe experienced the spectacular results of the Marshall Plan for the rebuilding of Europe after 1945.

In Africa it has been found that capital funds, by themselves, do not bring about development. Managerial and technological competence, together with personal integrity and dedication on the part of those utilising capital funds, are indispensable if economic progress is to be achieved.

SA is short of funds but has built up a wealth of technical and scientific knowledge and experience of African conditions. Western Europe has similar knowledge and experience, but its contribution to the development of southern Africa must be sought above all in respect of finance.

Urgent attention should be given to ways and means for Western Europe — and, more particularly, the European Community — to co-operate with the countries of southern Africa in developing the resources of the region.

**O**n a recent visit to Europe I proposed to Western leaders that a tripartite approach should be adopted. Europe, SA and the other southern African countries should together pursue the ultimate goal of co-ordinated economic progress in southern Africa. This co-ordinated effort should be of a dimension to compare with the historic European recovery programme.

The countries of southern Africa enjoy opportunities for economic upliftment unique in Africa. Through trade, transport, investment, labour migration, tourism and technology transfers they interact closely and beneficially with the strongest and most diversified economy south of the Sahara.

Commercial exchanges between countries stimulate development more effectively than handouts.

Western nations interested in the development of the region would support mutually profitable links between the countries of Southern Africa rather than actively discouraging them, as is so often the case — for example, in respect of the South-

Namibia

by Gwynne Dyer

# The trouble with Sam

A DIPLOMAT with an international organisation who has spent long years negotiating with Sam Nujoma, Swapo's leader, once told me privately that Nujoma was the only senior political leader he had ever met who was actually stupid. Which may explain his actions over the past few weeks.

Certainly nothing else will. It takes a truly extraordinary talent to get Swapo condemned by the United Nations Secretary-General at the very moment of its triumph, when the UN has recognised Swapo for the past 20 years as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people". And it requires stupidity of the highest order to act in such a way that South African troops were re-deployed against Swapo guerrillas with UN permission, immediately after the official ceasefire went into effect on April 1. But Nujoma rose to the occasion, and so for the first time ever South African troops went into combat under the general supervision of the UN.

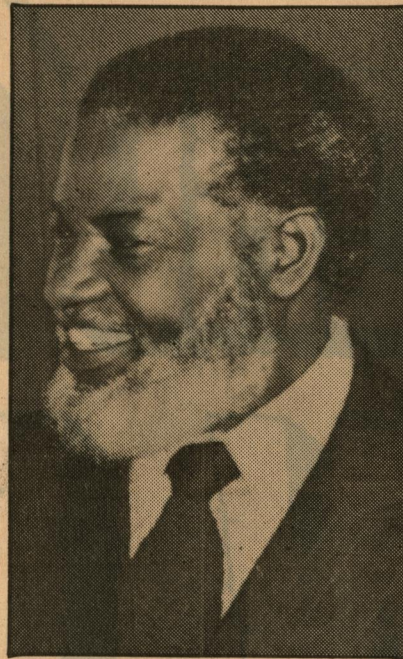
One cannot imagine how Nujoma ever thought he would get away with it. Despite 23 years of declared military struggle against South Africa, Swapo has never succeeded in creating a base on the territory of Namibia itself. Most of the time, it has not managed to do much more than mine the roads in Ovamboland, along the Angolan border where most of the population lives. In the end that was

enough: the war was costing Pretoria \$2 million a day, so it called it quits. The agreement signed under UN auspices last December by the United States, the Soviet Union, South Africa and Cuba provided for a South African withdrawal from Namibia and pre-independence elections to a constituent assembly in November, in return for the phased withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

The only fly in the ointment, from Swapo's point of view, was that all its 8 000 combatants were restricted to their Angolan bases, at least 150 kilometres north of the Namibian border. It would not have been for long, as they would be entitled to go home to Namibia in June — but then they would be going home unarmed and demobilised, in order to vote.

That was not good enough for Nujoma: he wanted Swapo to have the military presence on the ground that it had never been able to establish in 23 years of fighting. So on the very day of the ceasefire he sent over a thousand heavily armed guerrillas across the border into northern Namibia. Their instructions were to claim that they had been there all along, and to demand that the UN assign them to camps in the area. And most of the rest of Swapo's troops are just across the border in Angola, instead of well to the north where they are supposed to be.

It was just plain stupid. Everybody



Swapo's Sam Nujoma

knew what was going on, and on April 3 UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar submitted a report to the Security Council, based on investigations by his own officials and peacekeeping forces in Namibia, placing the blame squarely on Swapo. On the same day, UN officials authorised South African troops to leave their bases and go after the

guerrillas. Several hundred were killed.

The irony is that Nujoma, in seeking to prove to the Namibian voters that Swapo is the military victor of the war, may actually have managed to achieve the opposite effect. What he has provided to the doubtful Namibian public is a convincing demonstration that the UN troops are not there to force Swapo down their throats. This matters considerably, because it means that the outcome of the November vote may not be a foregone conclusion. Like most politics in Africa, Namibia's alignments are mainly determined by tribe, and Swapo's real support lies among the Ovambos, who account for just over 50 percent of the country's 1.3 million people.

But Swapo is also a brutal, old-fashioned Marxist-Leninist organisation. Many people in the ten other ethnic and tribal groups of Namibia, from whites (70 000) and Basters to Hereros and Bushmen, do not want to be ruled by communists and are very nervous about perpetual Ovambo rule. If Swapo won two-thirds of the vote next November, it would completely control the constitution-writing process, and Namibia would become an Ovambo-run one-party Marxist state. But that was only ever likely to happen if non-Ovambos were convinced that Swapo was an irresistible force to which resistance was futile, and that the UN was really on Swapo's side.

There is even a breakaway, non-Marxist Swapo Democratic Party, led by one of the original organisation's founders, Andreas Shipanga, that could win some Ovambo votes. Shipanga reckons that when the 69 000 civilian Namibian refugees begin to return from their Swapo-run camps in May, bearing tales of arbitrary imprisonment and executions by Swapo officials, the unquestioning wartime Ovambo solidarity with Swapo will begin to fade.

So a good deal depends on the November vote. That in turn depends largely on whether Namibians feel they are simply being summoned to ratify a UN decision to boost Swapo into power, or whether they really do have a choice. And Sam Nujoma, with that unerring instinct for the wrong move that has marked his entire leadership of Swapo, has provided the country with a quite unexpected demonstration that the UN really is impartial. He may also have killed the whole deal with his idiotic invasion, but if the ceasefire is restored and the elections go ahead, he has considerably damaged his own prospects of ending up as the effective dictator of Namibia.

• Canadian-born Gwynne Dyer is a former Sandhurst lecturer who is now based in London. His international affairs column appears in 160 newspapers in 50 countries.

THE NATAL WITNESS 26-04-80

## Evangelical delegation meets with ANC in Lusaka

A DELEGATION from Africa Enterprise which spent several days in Lusaka, Zambia last week, met with the ANC and secured the agreement of the Zambian president, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, to become patron of their evangelistic mission in that city during May and June of this year.

The delegation was accompanied by Mr Khaba Mkhize, the editor of Echo, who told The Natal Witness that the journey to Lusaka had "a three-fold purpose".

"Firstly, Mr Cassidy wished to hand over a copy of his book, *The Passing Summer*, to Dr Kaunda. Secondly, the local clergy of Africa Enterprise went to meet with their fellow evangelists from Malawi, Swaziland,

Uganda, Kenya and Zambia to prepare for the mission in May and June.

"Thirdly, they sought to meet with the ANC hierarchy in Lusaka as we believed they are our people from home who cannot be wished away," Mr Mkhize said.

Talking of their meeting with the ANC, Mr Mkhize said that their delegation exchanged notes with the ANC delegation over the Pietermaritzburg unrest and "sought ways and means of ending the violence".

In discussions the ANC had stressed that the violence in Pietermaritzburg was of deep concern to them and the sooner "it ended the better the climate for a settlement of South Africa's problems", he said.

# Europe holds key to southern Africa's economic progress

**Foreign Minister PIK BOTHA says SA can help develop Africa if Europe will help**

ern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC).

The European Community should embrace a programme to improve political and economic conditions through regional co-operation. Europe should:

- ☐ Acknowledge that SA has an essential contribution to make if Western efforts to uplift countries in the region economically are to have a chance of succeeding;
- ☐ Pursue policies supportive of — rather than impeding — South African efforts to evolve a domestic, social and political order broadly acceptable to all South Africans;
- ☐ Grant and/or mobilise funds and expertise for extending and modernising the physical infrastructures of the regions;
- ☐ Provide assistance for measures aimed at raising human productivity through education and training, as well as public health and family planning programmes and housing;
- ☐ Urge and assist governments in the region to create economic and legal conditions conducive to attracting local and foreign private investments in processing, manufacturing and other productive ventures; and
- ☐ Consider other appropriate measures to promote the development of



☐ BOTHA . . . "SA willing partner"

the region, such as steps to facilitate the importation of southern African products in the European Community.

The contribution of SA to such a development programme would be primarily in respect of technology, including research and advisory services, as well as the supply of goods and materials, notably in agriculture, mining, building and construction, business development, hu-

man health, education and training and diverse technical fields.

Trade and investment will continue to play a crucial role. Apart from investments, SA has traditionally supplied its neighbours with building materials, equipment, machinery, spares, pharmaceutical products, agrochemicals and food.

There is a wide range of activities in respect of which SA is already contributing towards the development of southern Africa.

In promoting an economic rehabilitation programme for southern Africa, SA is not merely well placed — it is uniquely placed. SA is both in and of Africa. Its own economic development has taken place in an African context.

It has had to cope with such traditional Third World problems as a rapidly expanding population and the resultant needs for housing, health and education, the effects of a harsh and unpredictable climate and the economy's exposure to the fluctuating world commodity markets.

In addition, the development of the so-called "informal sector" within the South African economy resembles closely similar "grassroots" growth of private entrepreneurship in the continent's less rigidly managed economies.

SA is a unique blend of the First and Third Worlds. The mining

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houses, industrial enterprises, business concerns and financial institutions of its formal sector, trace their roots to the economies of Western Europe and North America. In many respects in technology, organisation and operating procedure, First World standards are obvious in SA.

Despite SA's strengthening trade links with African nations, the trading and financial relationships of its very open economy are still primarily with Western Europe, and other industrialised economies in the developed world.

Two basic points follow from this:

- ☐ SA is in a unique position as the world's natural gateway to Africa and as a bridge between Africa and the industrialised world;
- ☐ SA and the rest of Africa possess natural resources and human capabilities that provide the foundations for mutually beneficial co-operation. SA's relatively advanced production apparatus, its sophisticated infrastructural facilities and its scientific, technological and technical, commercial and financial know-how are at Africa's disposal.

**G**iven the broad spectrum of Africa-related technological know-how available in SA, common sense suggests that European governments, development agencies and other institutes seeking to promote the material welfare of the peoples of Southern Africa should make maximum use of this locally available expertise.

Practical steps are needed to implement tripartite co-operation involving the European Community (or individual EC member countries) and the countries of southern Africa in promoting the development of the region.

My appeal today is that West European nations should serve their own interests by doing everything within their power to facilitate and encourage intra-regional understanding and co-operation in southern Africa, and the active involvement of West European business interests and institutions throughout the region.

They will find SA a willing partner in promoting the interests of the region by building bridges of co-operation in this way.

☐ This is an extract from Botha's address at the conference on "Europe 1992" in Sandton yesterday.

# 'SA is in a war'

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in the light of this.

Before a gallery packed to its very limits Masina stated: "We are soldiers in a patriotic army struggling to establish democracy and peace."

He outlined the ANC history of non-violent struggle and stated that even after resorting to violence the ANC had attempted to regulate its conflict according to internationally recognised rules of war embodied in the Geneva Convention and protocols.

Masina insisted that he and his comrades should be seen as prisoners of war.

"There is a war going on in this country. The fact that it has in the main been confined to the townships does not alter the fact that South Africa is involved in a war."

ANC policy was still opposed to the harming of civilians, said Masina.

He added: "There may be situations where individual combatants go beyond policy and commit acts which cannot be condoned."

The statement conceded that some of the acts for which the four had been convicted had been committed without direct ANC instruction.

More than 200 people attended yesterday's hearing and at each interval the court rang with ululating and cries of "Viva ANC."

(Proceeding)

SOWERANI

26-04-89

**U**NITED Auto Workers president Mr Owen Bieber blasted South Africa's apartheid government for the "malicious and outrageous" prosecution of a key trade union leader, who was found not guilty on Monday of charges of subversion and sedition.

Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), and four co-defendants were acquitted by Rand Supreme Court judge P J van der Walt at the close of a trial in Johannesburg that began in October 1987.

"The South African authorities knew all along that Mayekiso committed no crime, but they jailed him for 901 days and subjected him to a long and costly trial to keep him from his crucial role as the leader of the second largest trade union in South Africa," Mr Bieber said.

"Mayekiso should have been free to pursue his union's agenda of a better life for its members and their families, but instead he sat day after day behind the bars of apartheid's jails for crimes he never committed," the UAW president said.

### Attention

The Mayekiso trial drew international attention because convictions would have widened significantly the government's ability to prosecute political opponents on treason and subversion charges for what has been considered allowable political dissent.

Legal observers said



THE scene outside the Rand Supreme Court on Monday after the acquittal of the Alexandra leaders.

# 'A victory for all those who helped shine spotlight on Mayekiso trial'

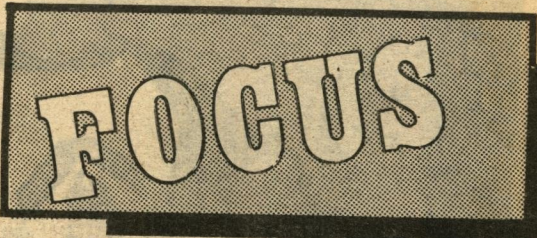
*SOWETAN*  
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that convictions would have wiped out the line between such dissent and criminal activity — subjecting a wide range of union, church and community activists to potential treason indictments for non-violent protest and organising.

"The acquittals are a victory for the defendants, but also for all those who helped shine the spotlight of international scrutiny on this trial," Bieber said.

"The UAW is proud to have been a part of the international campaign urging that justice be done in the Mayekiso case.

"When we began this



effort, Moses Mayekiso faced the horrible possibility of a hangman's noose," he said. "Today, he's a free man ready to carry on the struggle."

Mr Bieber convened a committee of prominent American judges and lawyers to monitor the Mayekiso trial shortly after it began in 1987.

**Universal  
News  
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Washington**

and the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and visited Alexandra township where the actions cited in the indictment allegedly occurred.

Mr Bieber yesterday sent a telex to South Africa's Minister of Law and Order strongly urging that the government not impose restrictions on the freedom of Mayekiso.

innocence," Mr Bieber's telex to Minister Adriaan Vlok stated.

"I strongly urge your government not to place any restrictions on him, or his co-accused. To restrict them following acquittal would undermine your own judiciary."

Mr Bieber commended Judge van der Walt for "his brave and outspoken judgment, which should serve as a reminder to South African authorities that treason, subversion and sedition are not charges to be brought casually."

Mayekiso and his co-accused faced charges of treason, subversion and sedition for their efforts to organise township residents seeking improved living conditions there.

The state claimed they supported rent and consumer boycotts and so-called "people's courts".

Conditions had deteriorated seriously in Alexandra in 1986, in part because the Government hoped to relocate many township residents further away from Johannesburg.

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### **Prominent**

The committee includes a former justice of the US Supreme Court, three sitting judges on US courts of appeal, a former US attorney general, the district attorney of Brooklyn, NY, and a number of other prominent jurists.

Benno Schmidt Jr., president of Yale University and former dean of Columbia University Law School, went to South Africa on behalf of the committee in February to observe the trial first-hand.

He met with the Judge presiding over the trial, as well as the Attorney General overseeing the prosecution, the defence lawyers, the defendants

In other "show" trials of prominent anti-apartheid activists, defendants who have been acquitted have quickly been placed under restriction orders, preventing them from meeting with groups of five or more, from giving interviews, travelling, etc.

"You have robbed Moses Mayekiso of his freedom for nearly three years, despite his

### **Bannings**

### **Failure**

The defendants were accused of organising yard, street and block committees to put pressure on the local town council to improve housing, health services, sewage disposal, crime control and transportation.

When final arguments opened in the trial on April 3, the prosecution acknowledged it had failed to prove the treason charges and moved that they be dropped. Monday's verdict of not guilty came on the remaining charges of subversion and sedition.

The UAW president had attempted to visit Mayekiso in John Vorster Square prison in August 1986, while he was detained without charge, but his request was denied.

Mr Bieber then met with South Africa's Minister of Justice in Cape Town to protest the detention.

The UAW sponsored a speaking tour earlier this month of Mayekiso's wife, Khola, in Detroit, Chicago, Washington and New York.

Mayekiso also discussed the trial with Sen. Paul Simon (Democrat - Illinois), who heads the Africa sub-committee in the Senate, and with Representative Howard Wolpe (Democrat - Michigan), who chairs the African sub-committee in the House of Representatives.

The Mayekiso case was the focus of a broad international campaign co-ordinated by the International Metalworkers' Federation, a 14-million-member trade secretariat based in Geneva. The UAW and Mayekiso's union, Numsa, both are affiliated to the IMF.

SOWETAM

26-04-89

# SA IS IN A WAR

SOWETAN

26-04-89

FOUR convicted African National Congress members stood in the dock in olive green battle dress yesterday morning and called on South Africans of all colours to "unite around the democratic perspective for which we are prepared to die."

They urged the building of "a new South Africa which must reflect our oneness" and in which human freedoms must be respected.

The plea made before a packed Delmas Supreme Court, was part of a statement read by the first accused, Jabu Masina.

Mr Justice de Klerk requested that the trialists statement be delivered before he heard evidence in mitigation of sentence.

Three of the four men — Masina, Ting-Ting Masango and Neo Potsane — have been convicted of murder and

## 'Soldiers of the ANC' tell judge

face a mandatory death sentence if mitigating factors are not established.

The fourth accused, Joseph Makhura, has been convicted on multiple counts of attempted murder.

Mr Justice de Klerk yesterday made the historic decision to allow counsel to lead evidence in mitigation of sentence on the instruction of families of the trialists.

The men in the dock are maintaining the

position that they are soldiers of Umkhonto we-Sizwe and will not participate in the proceedings of a civilian court.

Although the State opposed evidence being led on the families instructions the judge decided it would be "immoral" to refuse this.

He asked that the trialists read their statements so that he could construe evidence

# The Star

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## Political goals don't have to be treason

*"In the spectrum of politics of our citizens — from black to white and from far left to far right, with their grievances and aspirations in most cases legitimate, the often intemperate language ... most of these citizens are just striving for a better South Africa."*

— Mr Justice P J van der Walt.

THE VERDICT in the lengthy Alexandra treason trial is a landmark, not least because it redefines what is treason, and what is not. For the five accused, the judgment means an end to the anxiety of capital charges hanging over their heads during lengthy periods in jail (up to 2½ years).

But consider the wider significance in the judge's remarks. Blacks had no parliamentary vote, he said, so trade unions such as that of Mr Mayekiso and his colleagues gave expression to political aspirations as well as labour demands. In Alexandra township, redevelopment had benefited only a small section while the rest lived in squalor. Citizens formed the Alexandra Action Committee to help solve township problems.

Despite months of evidence the State could not prove its charges that the accused conspired to seize control of the township and make it ungovernable. On the contrary, Mr Justice van der Walt noted, the AAC minutes showed that they

wanted to involve the authorities in their efforts.

He also noted a phenomenon known elsewhere — attacks on "radicals" by vigilante groups, commonly supposed to be linked with the police. He said the perception of police involvement had substance, and regretted that the perpetrators had never been prosecuted.

Lastly, it is well worth considering what the judge had to say about the State's practice of bringing treason charges against political opponents. He urged that a charge of treason should be carefully considered and very carefully reconsidered before being brought.

"Treason is a crime in a very special category where the ideas and political aspirations of those charged are part of the issue," he said. If this argument leads to a rethink of policy regarding such prosecutions, and extra-parliamentary activity in general, the ordeal of Mr Mayekiso and his co-accused will not have been in vain.

First official visit in years

# Soviets say SA contacts are useful

THE STAR  
26-04-89

**The Star's Africa  
News Service**

The Soviet Union believes that contacts with South Africa are useful "because they make it possible to better understand each other," the Soviet ambassador-at-large Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov has said.

Mr Ustinov is expected to head the Soviet delegation which will visit South Africa later this week to attend a meeting of the Joint Commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba to be held in Cape Town.

It will be the first time that Soviet officials will officially visit South Africa since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1956.

The Africa News Organisation (Ano) reported from Moscow that Mr Ustinov said in an interview that the Soviet Union regarded its participation in the Joint Commission "as a possibility to outline our views on different issues".

## **Constructive**

"Our talks take place in a constructive spirit. There is no rivalry between us, nor can there be any. We have made it clear that we have no interests in that region, except humanitarian. We

stand for political freedom to the African majority, just as for all nations and racial minorities in South Africa," he said.

Mr Ustinov said South Africa and the Soviet Union had never been enemies as they had never been involved in any hostile actions "in the literal sense of the word".

"However, since we have different approaches to the political solution of South African problems, we are, apparently, opponents," he said.

The Soviet Union supported the right of the African people to freedom and independence and to use "all means and methods of the struggle that would accord, I specially emphasise this, with the well-known resolutions of the United Nations and its agencies".

Mr Ustinov said South African representatives had agreed that the image of the Soviet Union as an enemy did exist in South Africa and was especially strong among certain sections of the white community.

"On the other hand they noted the South Africans' great interest in the Soviet Union and its *perestroika* and new way of thinking. They said that practically all speeches by President Gorbachev were published in South Africa, sometimes even earlier than in the west," he said.

# SA needs new economy — Relly

By Winnie Graham

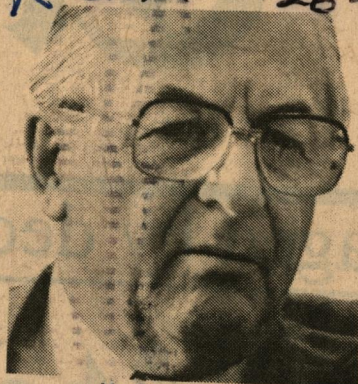
The ebb and flow of political economies demanded deregulation and the creation of a new economy in which the maximum number of people were able to participate, Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said last night.

He was delivering the keynote address at the Matchmaker 1989 preview reception at the National Exhibition Centre in Johannesburg.

The fair, which remains open until Saturday, gives black entrepreneurs an opportunity to show the range of their products.

Mr Relly said the philosophy behind major companies seeking to make greater use of small business was "wise", but it was not one of philanthropy.

"It is based on sensible, ratio-



Mr Gavin Relly.

nal decisions aimed at improving profitability and, in the process, expanding the free enterprise system and the economy of South Africa to the benefit of all South Africans."

If the country could release the energy and enterprise inherent in our people "to play their

role individually through small companies", this would have an important impact on cost structure and South Africa's international competitiveness.

Small businesses had to realise, however, that if they were to interact successfully with larger ones they would have to service the needs of bigger business effectively, he said.

Only by adopting a professional approach would small businesses establish lasting relationships.

"We must also recognise that big business will need, at least initially, to assist small businesses by creating opportunities for them to tender for contracts, by simplifying tender and delivery procedures and by ensuring that prompt payment is made for goods and or services," Mr Relly said.

## Ex-premier Smith accuses administration of corruption

Zimbabwe is economically "going down the drain", former Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr Ian Smith said yesterday while launching bitter attacks on Zimbabwean politicians.

Mr Smith accused Mr Robert Mugabe's administration of being made up of corrupt and incompetent politicians and riddled with nepotism.

Mr Smith was speaking in a telephone interview with Chris Gibbons on Radio 702's "News Talk" current affairs programme on the 10th anniversary of majority rule in Zimbabwe.

The former premier said Zimbabwe had the highest income

tax rates in the world; had no incentive for investment; suffered from high inflation and a critical lack of foreign currency.

The "Willowgate" scandal involving the buying of cars by top government officials was "only the tip of the iceberg".

Accusing officials of taking advantage of their positions, Mr Smith said:

"The only black people in this country I cannot get on with are the politicians."

He said despite the country's chronic shortage of foreign currency, Zimbabwean officials were the "world champions" at attending overseas conferences.

## 69 damages claims against police in '88

The sharp increase in the damages paid by police to members of the public arising out of unrest incidents was not the result of police "hiding behind their so-called indemnity clause," the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in Parliament yesterday.

He was replying to debate on his budget vote, during which Mrs Helen Suzman (DP Houghton) had asked for an explanation of why compensation paid out by police in 1988 amounted to R3,5 million, of which R1,5 million was the result of police action during riots.

"The police did not hide behind the indemnity clause in these cases ... the cases were fought in court on their merits," Mr Vlok said.

There was only one civil case for damages pending and which was being defended by means of the indemnity clause.

The Minister said the increase in the total amount of damages police had paid out for was the result of an increase in the number of cases from 12 in 1987 to 69 in 1988. — Sapa.

# Vlok rebutts 'radical left propaganda'

THE STAR 26-04-89

Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok yesterday gave Parliament an update on investigations into incidents at Khotso House, Cosatu House and Khanya House, rejecting "sharp accusations" and "scandalous propaganda" from "radical left-wing circles".

Replying to debate on the law and order budget, he also gave more details of investigations into the death of activist Matthew Goniwe and the disappearance of Mr Stanza Bopape.

New information included:

Cosatu House: Police had established through sworn affidavits and other sources that a hole in the fence had been there some time before the explosion. The hole gave access to the yard, but not the building. It also now appeared there was an escape route used in the event of police raids.

Khotso House: In this case, the police search for three assumed terrorists was continuing.

Mr Vlok said police had found books and documents belonging to "one Khotso Chikane" in one of the severely damaged cars parked in the basement car park. The car belonged to an occupant of Khotso House.

Beneath the documents was an identity document of "a certain Kgoro William Mabodja" who had died on September 7 last year "as the victim of his own limpet mine which apparently exploded prematurely at the Northpark Plaza in Northcliff".

Khanya House: Regarding the fire at Khanya House and "the possible involvement of Mr Strydom of the so-called Wit Wolwe", Mr Vlok said he could not give more information in view of the sub judice rule.

Matthew Goniwe and others: Mr Vlok said that while there had been wild accusations against the police — who had been as good as accused of murdering the activists — an inquest court had found there was no evidence whatsoever to suggest this.

Stanza Bopape: Mr Bopape escaped from police custody in June last year while pointing out "certain spots in connection with acts of terror in which he was allegedly involved".

Police have since tracked down persons "who have stated under oath that they have seen Mr Bopape after his escape", once in the vicinity of another terror attack in which people died.

## R146 885 cheque for Sats went astray

A cheque for R146 885 which should have been paid to the SA Transport Services was endorsed by an employee of Sats and handed to a third party who cashed it, the Auditor-General said in his annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

In reply to an audit query, the general manager had said the cheque had been endorsed in ignorance. Measures had been taken to improve control over receipt of cheques. — Sapa.

## 82 terror suspects being held — Vlok

There were 82 people being detained without trial in terms of section 29 of the Internal Security Act, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Replying to points raised by Mrs Helen Suzman (DP, Houghton) during debate on his budget vote, the Minister said the 82 detainees were all "suspected terrorists".

He said people could only be held in terms of section 29 for specified alleged offences. — Sapa.

# Apartheid divisions via a man's genes artificial

THE terms "African", "black", "coloured" and "negro" all reflect slightly different perceptions of human beings who happen to have African genetic roots. But it is extremely doubtful whether these terms have anything more than the most superficial value.

Certainly, history has had an effect in determining the mindset and value systems of large numbers of people of African origin — their starting-out point in a society where they have had to mix with other cultures and other mindsets.

But they are subject to exactly the same factors as are altering the mindsets of people in SA who are of European or Asian extraction.

## Misleading, mischievous

It is quite misleading, if not mischievous, to speak of a black "type" or "characteristic" or to imply that the brains of different branches of the human family are different.

That is not so. African, European or Asian genetic material has been shown conclusively to have nothing to do with neurological processing. Superficial categories and stereotypes should be abandoned.

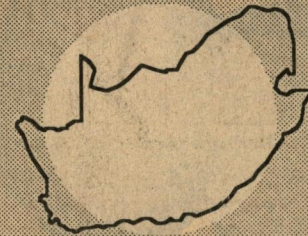
Yet clearly there were profound differences between indigenous Africans and Europeans who arrived from 1652. What were they?

They were differences in mindset

This is the third of a six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSKOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms.

Dr Beck is a psychologist and director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas.

## FOCUS ON SOUTH AFRICA



and values, caused by adaptation to challenges of existence which were altogether different.

Africa's natural habitat had produced a society which was dealing with a Garden of Eden.

Food was plentiful, the weather relatively benign and there was considerable *lebensraum*.

This made for thought-processing systems which were analogue/natural/intuitive/holistic. Society was collective/communal and decision-making systems tended to be egalitarian, each member of the tribe or clan making his contribution.

By the time the Europeans arrived, this was beginning to modify slightly. The natural evolution of value systems in a society becoming more complex produced empires such as those of Shaka.

The natural habitat in Europe

was far more hostile and required different skills if human beings were to survive. The weather itself forced earlier societies to develop more complex mechanisms to cope with seasonal changes and the relative food shortages.

## Brain skills

This developed, in turn, into mutually hostile city states, ideologies and nationhoods. The Phoenician reliance on trade made necessary the development of a written alphabet. The European brain was forced to develop in different adaptive/congruent ways.

Yet certain Europeans have developed relationship learning/right brain processing preferences (which one might expect in the African environment), while Africans have de-

veloped analytical/left brain skills, which produce mathematicians.

There simply are no racial characteristics about the functioning of the human brain. Different mindsets due to different circumstances — certainly. Human beings would otherwise not survive. Try to imagine a Johannesburg stockbroker suddenly being placed in a hunter/gatherer milieu. He would have to radically adjust his mindset or die.

European settlement has had a huge impact on the thought systems of the African population.

Africans have had to adjust first to colonialism then to industrialisation (which by no means implies that these value systems are superior morally or in any other way to what went before — they are merely more complex).

At the moment millions of Africans are ratcheting through to the values of materialistic First World society, where their tastes are for consumer goods, entertainment and personal success. In that society they find Afrikaners who were not there a generation ago, English-speaking whites, Asians, smaller minority groups.

These are all part of a cosmopolitan society artificially divided by apartheid.

Tomorrow: Fundamental polarisation requires sensitive handling.

THE STAR 26 04 89

# Decade of crackdown on dissent

## Introduction of tricameral Parliament saw number

of treason trials surge

Although treason trials have now come to be a common feature of South African life, before 1979 they were still very rare.

Records show that between the end of World War 2 and 1979 there was only one treason trial in the country. It involved key leaders of the then Congress Alliance and lasted from 1956 to 1961. ANC leader Nelson Mandela was one of the accused.

Charges were later withdrawn against all but 30 of the 156 accused, and the 30 who did go through the trial were all acquitted in 1961.

The introduction of the tricameral parliamentary system in 1983, and the strong resistance with which it was met by leaders in the black community, was to lay fertile ground for further treason trials.

### New dispensation

The insurrection that swept the country after the introduction of the tricameral Parliament led to the imposition of the state of emergency in 1985. Most of the community leaders who steered the resistance against the new dispensation were later to find themselves facing charges of treason, for which the maximum sentence is death.

Forty-four people were charged with treason in 1984. Of these, 11 were found guilty and sentenced to anything from two to 25 years. The rest were either acquitted or had charges against them withdrawn.

A trial that captured South Africa's imagination in 1985 was that in Maritzburg of 16 United Democratic Front leaders.

In December 1984, 11 detainees

held under section 28 of the Internal Security Act were released from prison and six of them, all key members of the UDF, were immediately rearrested and charged with the treason.

They six were Mr Mewa Ramgobin; Mr George Sewpersadh and Mr M J Naidoo of the Natal Indian Congress; Dr Essop Jassat of the Transvaal Indian Congress; and Mr Aubrey Mokoena and Mr Curtis Nkondo, both Transvaal vice-presidents of the UDF. Mr Archie Gumede and Mr Devadas Paul David were charged with treason soon afterwards.

They also faced alternative charges such as furthering the aims of a banned organisation and subversion under the Internal Security Act.

In a massive crackdown aimed at the UDF and its affiliates in February 1985, six more leaders of the organisation were arrested and charged with treason, thus bringing to 14 the number of UDF leaders facing treason charges.

The six were Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Cassim Saloojee, the Rev Frank Chikane, Professor Ismail Mohammed, Mr Sam Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo. Mr Kikine and Mr

Ngcobo belonged to the SA Allied Workers Union. Two more SAAWU leaders, Mr Thozamile Gqwetha and Mr Sisa Njikelana, were later arrested and faced similar charges.

When lawyers for the accused applied for bail, Natal Attorney-Gener-

al Mr Michael Imber, SC, refused and issued an order in terms of section 30 of the Internal Security Act, No 74 of 1982. The accused appealed and bail totalling R170 000 was finally granted.

In a surprise move, Mr Imber later appeared in person for the first time at the Maritzburg Supreme

Court and withdrew all charges against 12 of the accused, leaving behind the four trade unionists. The four were acquitted months later when Mr Imber again unexpectedly announced he was stopping the proceedings.

Dutch citizen Helene Passtoors was found guilty of treason, and acquitted on the second charge of terrorism in May 1986 and sentenced to 10 years' jail.

According to the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, 49 people faced treason charges in eight different trials in South Africa in 1986. Of

the six trials that were completed in the same year, 10 people were convicted and eight acquitted.

In 1987, 36 people were charged with treason at four different trials, but none of these trials were completed in the same year and there were no acquittals during the course of the trials.

### Guilty of sedition

In the Delmas treason trial, which ended in November last year, only four of the original 19 accused — Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Simon Popo Molefe, Moss Chikane and the Rev Thomas Madikwe Manthata — were convicted of treason. Most of the other accused were acquitted long before the trial was over.

In another treason trial at the Rand Supreme Court, in which eight people were charged, the accused were found guilty of sedition and acquitted on the treason charges.

At the Pretoria Supreme Court in October last year, ANC members Ebrahim Ishmail and Acton Maseko were convicted of treason, and the third accused, Simon Dladla, was convicted of a lesser charge of terrorism.

Charges of treason were withdrawn against 14 people in the Cape Supreme Court in October last year, and the accused are now charged with terrorism. In a forthcoming trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court, treason charges have been withdrawn against four men.

Before Mr Mayekiso and his four co-accused were acquitted on all charges this week, the State withdrew charges of treason because of lack of sufficient evidence.

When trade unionist Mr Moses Mayekiso and his four co-accused were acquitted on all charges in the Rand Supreme Court this week — after the main charge of treason was earlier withdrawn because of insufficient evidence — they joined many others who, after waiting for many months to hear their fate, ended up being acquitted. **KAIZER NYATSUMBA** reports.



Mrs Albertina Sisulu . . . vice-president of the United Democratic Front.



Mr Moses Mayekiso . . . landmark acquittal after lengthy stay in prison.

# Council might include blacks

CAPE TOWN — Blacks could become members of the President's Council in terms of a recommendation in a report, released yesterday, on the restructuring of the council.

The report, drawn up by an ad hoc committee of the council, also recommends that membership of the council be reduced from the present 60 to 36.

The investigation was undertaken at the request of President Botha.

The committee was asked to look into the rationalisation of the council's advisory function in terms of the Constitution in order to reorganise it into a part-time council consisting of persons with the necessary expertise and experience.

It also had to investigate the possibility of performing the functions of part-time or statutory councils or boards whose functions overlapped with its own, such as the President's Economic Advisory Council, the National Manpower Commission, the National Welfare Council and the Council for Population Development.

The report also had to deal with the council's present powers to resolve clashes between the Government and some of the Houses of Parliament — the council has the power to push through legislation that has been

turned down by some of the Houses.

The way to black membership of the council is opened by a recommendation for the scrapping of sections of the Constitution that limit membership to persons who qualify for election or nomination to one of the Houses.

Mr Botha has in the past expressed himself in favour of the possibility of black members.

The report recommends that the council's decision-making function on legislation be retained. It also recommends that the rationalisation of the council and other statutory bodies should not take place at this stage but that a greater degree of co-ordination and joint planning of the activities of the council and these bodies be promoted.

The report suggests that a smaller council should remain a full-time body consisting of 12 members designated by the leader of the majority party in the House of Assembly, six by the majority party in the House of Representatives and three by the majority party in the House of Delegates.

The President would appoint 15 members, six of whom would not be supporters of the majority parties.

The nomination of members by the President would ensure legislation while providing the opportunity to bring in expertise for specific needs.