

19 JAN. 1989

# African students make formal plea to quit China

BEIJING. — African students at the centre of racial clashes in China have made a formal plea to leave the country and accused their own governments of putting diplomacy before humanity by forcing them to stay.

The Nanking branch of the General Union of African Students in China urged the removal of all 1 500 African students, in a report handed to the Beijing office of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation yesterday.

The 35-page statement alleges chronic racial discrimination, police brutality and orchestration by authorities of an incident at Nanking's Hehai university campus on December 24 which led to fighting between Chinese and Black students and four days of demonstrations against the Africans.

"To the Chinese in the street, from the kid to the old, the African is an inferior being, poor, unclean, backward, evil and

does not deserve any decent treatment," it said.

"Chinese officials of course at the same time affirm the friendly relations between themselves and African nations and their support of the struggle against apartheid," it said.

"We strongly advise all African states . . . to recall all African students from China and effect scholarship transfer for the affected students to countries where there is social decency," the document said.

Students said the report would also be delivered to African embassies in Beijing.

"The present stance of various Beijing diplomatic missions and perhaps various African states is to put diplomatic relations over humanity . . .

"As long as we stay in China, our lives remain in grave danger and the diplomats, clearly aware of this fact, force us to stay

against our will," the report said.

"We call on your help for educational opportunities in other countries where we, regardless of race, colour or status, can pursue our studies and be respected as human beings — not 'Black devils' as the Chinese call us."

African students at Hehai university are still boycotting classes. Some said by telephone that railway staff had repeatedly stopped them boarding trains to Peking to seek safety.

The dossier said some students at the centre of the Nanking events had even proposed kidnapping African ambassadors, who flew to the city earlier this month to investigate the situation, as a guarantee they be allowed to leave Nanking.

It claimed four of six Africans detained by police investigating the riot were singled out only because they had earlier

been active in representing Africans' grievances.

The dossier alleged Chinese police gave one student, Goudou Dieu-donne from Niger, electric shocks with cattle-prods and threatened to break his arms and legs on December 31.

It also alleged that authorities at Hehai university had deliberately provoked the fight between Africans and Chinese on Christmas Eve to provide a pretext for new college rules isolating Blacks from Chinese.

The report quoted unnamed Chinese sources as warning Africans in advance there would be trouble at a dance where the violence erupted over the admission of two Chinese women.

A group of Chinese students who joined the fight appeared to have been waiting outside the dance for it to begin and officials recorded the clashes on video, camera, it said. — Sapa.



## Opposition to National Council grows

The Star

19/01/89

# Homeland leaders refuse to toe the line

By Peter Fabricius  
Political Correspondent

The Government is facing growing opposition from the six self-governing territories to its constitutional plans to give blacks a say in central government.

There are indications that all six self-governing territories are moving towards a united stand against participation on the Government's proposed National Council (NC) — the statutory body on which the territories and urban blacks are expected to serve.

Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on homelands, met Lebowa leader Mr Nelson Ramodike this week and said the Lebowa leader seemed to be a "moving force" in uniting the self-governing territories against the NC.

He said Mr Ramodike had already held meetings with kwaZulu and QwaQwa to discuss the NC and planned to meet Mr Hudson Nsantwisi of Gazankulu and the new leader of kwaNdebele for similar discussions.

The leaders of kwaZulu, Kang-

wane, QwaQwa and Lebowa have already said they will not participate on the NC. Mr Hudson Nsantwisi, the Chief Minister of Gazankulu, is said to be undecided but could possibly make a stand after meeting Mr Ramodike this week.

A big question mark hangs over kwaNdebele's position as the election for a Chief Minister takes place on Friday. However Chief Minister Mr Majozi Mahlangu — who would probably back the NP — has been ruled out of the election by the Pretoria Supreme Court.

### Urgent attention

And the person expected to be elected in his place, Mr Solly Mahlangu, the former Speaker of the Legislative Assembly who was fired by him, is known to oppose participation on the NC.

The move comes at a time when the Government is giving urgent attention to its long-thwarted efforts to get blacks into central government.

This week the Government persuaded black town councillors to agree to establish a national

forum which would represent urban blacks in central government and participate in national negotiations — probably on the National Council.

The move was backed by the leadership of the two main black municipal bodies — the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa) and the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa).

Enabling legislation to establish the National Council was passed last year. It makes specific provision for all six self-governing territories to be represented and for urban blacks outside the homelands to be represented indirectly through black town councils.

Mr Soal said he had discussed a broad range of political topics with Mr Ramodike in the Lebowa capital of Lebowakgomo.

"We had a very refreshing discussion about the values of democracy and non-racialism and found many areas of agreement between the PFP and the Lebowa government," he said.

Mr Soal will be meeting the leaders of the other self-governing territories in the near future.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

17/01/87

### Sol and R2-m

MR SOL KERZNER's admission to the Harms Commission that he paid R2 million into an account for the ultimate benefit of Chief George Matanzima to ensure exclusive casino rights in Transkei is bound to have wide repercussions.

Mr Kerzner accepts responsibility jointly with his legal representative, Cape Town attorney, Mr David Bloomberg.

He puts the blame on Mr Matanzima, who, requiring money to purchase a farm for himself, "abused his official and autocratic position by threatening to override the legitimate rights and interests of the Wild Coast Sun. He therefore managed to extort (if not legally, then certainly commercially) an undue payment to himself.

"In these circumstances, it is submitted that the payment to Matanzima may properly be regarded as having been made not for the improper obtaining of a benefit, but rather under undue pressure to protect rights which both the Wild Coast Sun and Transgames (companies largely owned by Sun International) already held, and to ensure that sound commercial policy was not overridden by the private ambitions of Matanzima."

Whether this is so or not, one doesn't pay R2 million to protect one's rights knowing the money is going to the personal benefit of a Prime Minister, and one with the controversial reputation in financial matters of Mr Matanzima.

The implication is that, in return for the payment, Mr Kerzner was assured of exclusive casino rights in Transkei.

Even if we were to accept Mr Kerzner's explanation, the payment was improper and should not have been made.

Furthermore, if Mr Matanzima was threatening to override the "legitimate rights and interests of the Wild Coast Sun", the matter was one for the courts.

On that score alone, there is a serious question mark over the actions taken by Mr Kerzner. Matters are not helped by Sun International's submission that under South African law it is not an offence for a South African to make a payment to a foreign official.

"At the relevant time the Transkei was governed by politicians who exercised a strong tribal influence in a traditional system which rendered it acceptable to receive gifts and distribute favours among their followers."

Even if this is so, in certain circumstances, an amount of R2 million hardly qualifies as an acceptable gift or favour.

There is another cause for concern. A year ago Sun International placed a full-page advertisement in national newspapers rejecting as being "without foundation" suggestions that it had been party to improper payments. It said its conduct and that of Transkei Sun International Ltd (Transun) in the gambling rights deal was beyond criticism.

The admission by Mr Kerzner shows that the advertisement itself was misleading.

Finally, the boards of Sun International, Kersaf Investments and Safmarine/Rennies Holdings (Safren), on which Mr Kerzner held executive positions, have expressed their unanimous support for, and confidence in, him.

This, however, will not allay the concern of the public or of shareholders about the R2-m payment and the boards will have to reassess the situation in the light of this.

There are issues of great importance, financial, moral as well as legal, that will have to be dealt with.



THE STAR - 19 JAN. 1989

### Wider political image

During the past six months, General Malan seems to have been putting in a strong bid, presenting a wider political image by making speeches which go well beyond his portfolio, often into the territory of Mr Pik Botha — much to the latter's chagrin, sources say.

There is no doubt that, in a deteriorating security situation, General Malan's chances have improved and the party might opt for a strong man to send a defiant message to the world.

He might also be seen as the man most likely to placate conservatives in the party and prevent them defecting to the CP.

But Nationalist MPs say they do not detect a great enthusiasm for General Malan in the caucus and he may be considered too one-dimensional to lead the party in a very complex period.

Mr Barend du Plessis is also believed to have presidential ambitions and is said to be President Botha's favourite, although, at 49, he might be considered too green for the job.

He is a verligte stalwart who was one of the most outspoken champions of President Botha's reform plans when they were still confined to the caucus.

Dr Viljoen, the "egg-head" in the Cabinet, has been mooted as a potential president but his low-key, academic approach probably counts against him.

His chances have been further dented by a series of corruption scandals in his department.

## Heunis likely as PW's 'watchman'

Political Correspondent

If State President Mr PW Botha's stroke has made him unfit to perform his duties, it is likely that Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Chris Heunis will take over as Acting State President until Mr Botha is fit again.

Mr Heunis is the most senior member of the Cabinet.

But the job does not automatically go to him. The Constitution says if the President is unable to perform his duties, he shall nominate a Cabinet member to serve as Acting State President.

If he is unable to nominate someone, the Cabinet must do so. In those circumstances, the Act-

ing State President will occupy the position "during the incapacity of the State President ... or until a State President has been elected and has assumed office".

If a nominee of the Cabinet becomes Acting State President, the Speaker of Parliament may decide at any time that the State President will be unable to resume his duties within 60 days of becoming incapacitated.

He must then inform the Acting State President and the Chief Justice of his decision and the electoral college, which elects the State President, must then be called without delay to elect an Acting State President.



# President's stroke fuels speculation on successor



Mr FW de Klerk ... most likely candidate.



Mr Chris Heunis ... stands a good chance.

## If PW goes *THE STAR* who will be 19 JAN. 1989 next leader?



Mr Pik Botha ... support remains uncertain.



General Magnus Malan ... a strong bid.



Mr Barend du Plessis ... PW's favourite.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen ... approach too academic.

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

State President Mr P W Botha's sudden illness has given new urgency to the mounting speculation about his successor. If the stroke forces him to retire from office, who will the National Party elect to succeed him?

Although there is no obvious successor, NP caucus sources believe that, at the moment, the front-runner is still Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Transvaal NP leader. Although his support appears to be waning, it is probably still strong enough to ensure his election.

As Transvaal leader he is still considered the natural choice even though the Transvaal NP no longer commands a majority in the caucus. It lost this dominance when the Conservative Party made gains in the May 1987 elections and now has 46 MPs to the 48 of the Cape.

Mr de Klerk's chances are also jeopardised by the uncertainty about the likely growth of CP support which could further erode his support base and even threaten his own constituency of Vereeniging.

This favours the chances of Mr Chris Heunis, Cape leader and Minister of Constitutional Development, who is also the most senior member of the Cabinet after Mr Botha.

Although he cannot be ruled out, his near-defeat in his Helderberg constituency in the May election and the failure of the reform effort may have dented his chances too severely.

### Pik has a chance

Some MPs believe that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's chances have improved considerably since his success in negotiating a peace agreement for Namibia and Angola.

There is speculation that Mr Botha may be available for the job but his support remains uncertain and he may not wish to risk another defeat such as he suffered when President Botha was elected in 1978. He was then, as now, by far the most popular choice of the public and probably of the NP at large, but received only 22 votes in the caucus.

Caucus sources say his problem is that he does not make enough effort to win the support of the ordinary MP whose one chance to exercise power is when he votes for a new party leader.

Other names mentioned as likely candidates for the job are Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, probably in that order.



# Imbali parents seek new schools for pupils' safety

ECHO 19 JAN. 1989

## Echo Reporter

MANY Imbali parents who fear their sons risk being killed in the ongoing violence are sending their children to areas outside Pietermaritzburg for education.

This follows an incident on Monday when men entered the township in a white kombi and a Datsun bakkie and killed four people, including an 11-year-old schoolboy, in Unit 1.

Witnesses said the vehicles were "well-known" in the area.

The witnesses, who asked not to be named for fear that they would be killed and their houses burnt, told Echo that a number of armed men—whom they named—alighted from the vehicles and began walking through the area shooting at people.

The first to die, according to the residents, was 11-year-old Simphiwe Majozi, a standard 2 pupil at Funulwazi Lower Primary School, who was returning from a tuckshop in Msululu Road. Witnesses say he was grabbed by two men who shot him twice in the head.

The next victim was Donnybrook man Mr Zazi Gwala (23), who was sitting in a kombi nearby. The men walked up to

the kombi and shot Mr Gwala in the head, killing him. The dead man was a relative of ANC activist Mr Harry Gwala.

The men then attacked Mr Mbongeni "My-dolly" Sithebe (21), shooting him three times—in the head, chest and back.

The killers then came across a man described as the local simpleton, Mr Frank Mdluli (20). They taunted him briefly before shooting him three times in the head and once in the chest.

The murderers then jumped in their vehicles and left the township.

Another three people have been killed in Imbali in the last week.

On Friday Thokoza Hlela (18) and Lolo Moloi were shot dead near Mdubu Road and on Saturday a prison warden, Mr Mjibha Skhakhane, was shot dead near the old bus terminus in Imbali.

The police unrest report said: "At Imbali police found the bodies of four black males. All appear to have been shot. One body was that of a 10-year-old child."



# PW IS 'IN

# FULL

*THE CITIZEN*

19 JANUARY 1989

# CONTROL OF HIMSELF'

## Total recovery is expected

By Tony Stirling,  
Cathy Luesley  
and Sapa

COLLEAGUES of the State President, Mr P W Botha, visited him at No 2 Military Hospital in Cape Town yesterday where he is recovering from a mild stroke suffered yesterday morning.

"He is in full control of himself and there are no visible impairments to his health such as paralysis or problems with his speech," a source close

to the President said late yesterday.

A spokesman for his office in Tuynhuys said last night the State President was quite clear-minded and capable of appointing an acting State President

in terms of his powers.

"Everyone was very relieved to hear this was the case," the source said.

The condition of Mr

Botha was stable, the medical superintendent of 2 Military Hospital in Wynberg said late yesterday.

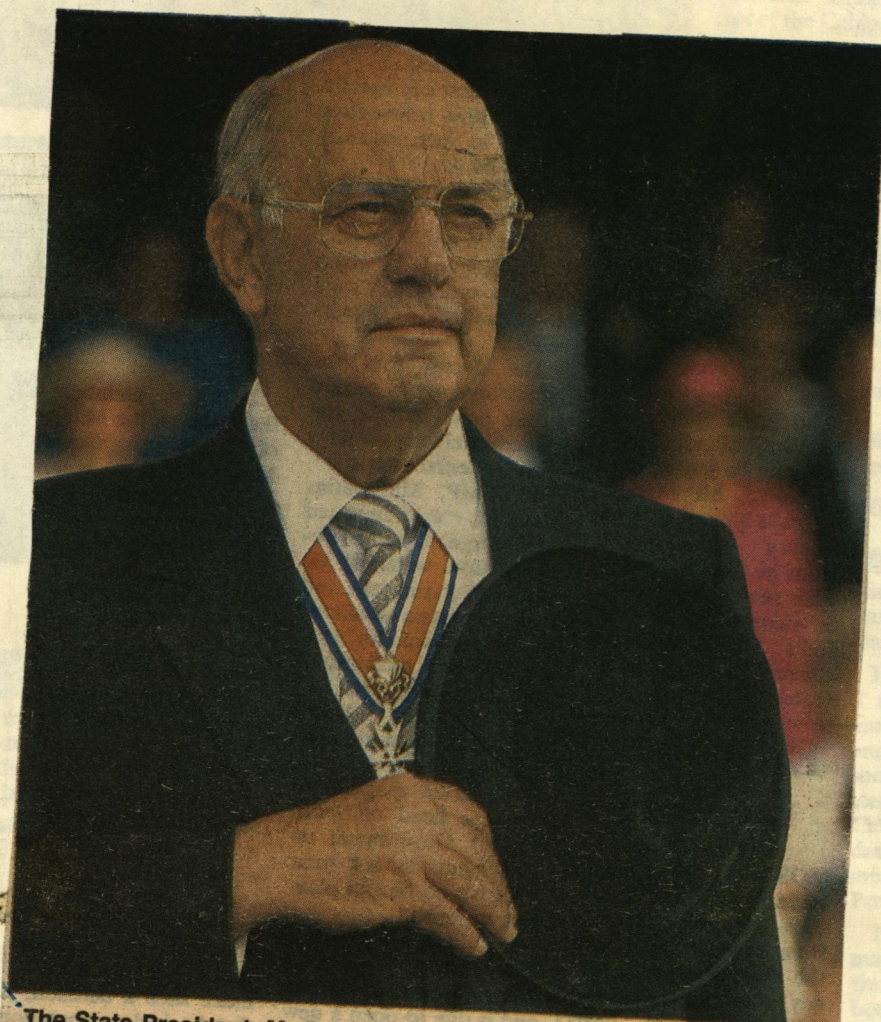
Colonel R Cloete said he could not remember the specific time at which Mr Botha had been admitted but it was "after eight" yesterday morning.

"He had a slight cerebral vascular incident — in other words a light stroke. His condition is stable."

Sources believed it probable that Mr Botha was undergoing a complete range of tests to de-

P.T.O





The State President, Mr P W Botha, photographed at the Voortrekker Monument on the Day of the Vow during the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the Great Trek.

## Public

MANY people, guests of the yesterday, enjoyed what was the first time President Botha had a public walk.

The ceremony was held in a grand ceremony.

A number of medals were given by the State President to the winners of the competition.

Two Black women were also present at the ceremony and they were very happy.

He was very happy to see the young people and the old people.

Mr Botha was the first to see the new statue of the Voortrekker Monument, which is now being built in the heart of the country.

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Mourn not the death of Robertson but the vacancy he leaves

# 'Old TC' — a friend of Smuts and mother earth

ONE of Smuts's intimate circle in the last war and a person especially dear to him, Terence Chalmers ("TC") Robertson, has just died at his home on the South Coast of Natal.

"Old TC", as he was affectionately known far and wide, was a direct descendant of Dr Robertson, one of the famous Scottish divines brought out to the Cape by Lord Charles Somerset, the first British Governor-General of the Cape after its final accession to Britain by the Dutch at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

(The flourishing Cape country town Robertson is named after Dr Robertson).

TC Robertson was born at Middleburg, in the Transvaal, and was essentially a product of the Highveld and its immense, unimpeded views and horizons where one saw a rock some 130km away throw a dark blue shadow like ink on ancient parchment and its illuminated, red-grass script.

Jan Christiaan Smuts was born in the abundant tempered earth of the Cape, some 1900km south. Yet, paradoxically, despite such a divide of distance as well as temperament and history in between, they were drawn together through their passionate love of that vast stretch of earth, its natural life and, above all, its plants.

Inevitably they grew, each in his own way, into a condition of spirit that was instant, deep, wide and universal.

So it was right that Smuts should go to war against the British with a copy of Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in his pocket, and Robertson, who rallied to his side 36 years later in World War 2, would do so always as full of his passionate love of the red grass of his uplands as his hatred of Nazidom.

**Renowned conservationist T C Robertson is remembered by Sir Laurens van der Post**



I remember as an adolescent how he would say, with genuine anguish: "The sands of your Kalahari are creeping eastwards, inch by inch, night



**TC ROBERTSON**  
Ultimate commitment

and day, taking over our red grass country, and we must bloody well stop it!"

After the war Smuts tried in vain to get Robertson to pursue a political career. Instead Robertson founded the Green

Crusade Veld Trust, one of the biggest and most successful conservation campaigns launched in southern Africa. Nothing would seduce him, no offers of wealth and power divert him from pursuing this end, until his retirement some 15 years ago.

Robertson's whole life, in sport, work and writing showed the capacity for ultimate commitment that is so marked a characteristic of the Scots at their best. He was also quick, witty, without malice, overflowing with laughter and a zest for life, so much so that Smuts said to him one day: "TC, it is a miracle that an old hedonist like you and a Spartan like myself can get on so well together."

Finally his love of the earth and the indigenous peoples of Africa was unconfined and immediate. He spoke Zulu fluently and colloquially, and wherever he went among the black people of Africa you could follow his trail by the laughter and the jesting that followed him.

Once, on a remote Free State plain, a tall old Afrikaner at a petrol pump observed the two of us intently, until he was compelled to approach Robertson, whose grey hair was almost alight in the sun and his moustache, by contrast, a glistening black: "Sir, would you please pardon a personal question? How is it that the hair on your head is so white and your moustache so black?"

"Sir", Robertson replied gravely, "the explanation is simple. The hair on my lip is

20 years younger than the hair on my head."

He had the same love that I had of the Bushman, the first people of Africa. In his teens — I was three years older — he and I would take our horses and go into the hills and valleys of the Eastern Transvaal for weeks to look for new Bushman rock paintings. And, of course, he wrote extremely well, always with lucidity, spirit and elan, and I hope the autobiographical sketches he left behind will be published.

For me the man is summed up by his last Christmas. We always spoke to each other on the telephone on Christmas Eve, except when I was cut off from him as a Japanese prisoner of war.

This last Christmas, already sick, one foot amputated and under the threat of more amputations, he answered my question: "What are you doing for Christmas?" With a great laugh that was as clear and deep as the laugh I had known for some 65 years, he told me he had had many splendid invitations to dine with friends, but had turned them all down.

"I will tell you, you old rogue," he told me, "I am spending my Christmas dinner with the people who have looked after me so well. I have ordered five turkeys, a case of brandy, six cases of wine and 20 plum puddings and I am having a party for 43 black people and their children, because I owe them so much."

The statistics may have been larger than what we call life, but not large enough as a measure of the spirit and heart of the man. One never knows, of course, about death and at the most one can have a feeling that he is still on his way, but one knows for certain that he cannot be replaced.

It is this vacancy and not the man we mourn, for he goes leaving a glow of gratitude behind him.



**A** GAINST the background of sanctions and internal social instability, the brain drain would probably continue. This would increase the scarcity of such people and add a premium to their regular remuneration.

Secondly, it is the technically qualified and the professional classes, and members of the business community, who, because of their accumulated savings, are best positioned to protect themselves from the consequences of inflation through hedge investments.

The increase that has occurred in share prices since the sanctions crisis broke in June 1986 is a reminder that the processes of adjustment do not only concern the distribution of income. They concern also the distribution of wealth.

Increases in share prices relative to the prices of fixed income securities and fixed property involve a redistribution of wealth on a large scale away from middle and lower income groups to the more privileged, and there is little that can be done by the authorities to counteract it. It is an irony of the adjustment process which the advocates of sanctions appear to have overlooked.

**W** hat are the income redistribution effects of sanctions most likely to be? In the non-agricultural sectors, the black share of total income in 1985 comprised about 29,6% against the black proportion of total population of around 72,6%. By the year 2000, the black proportion of total population will have increased to more than 76%, but the black share of income could fall to under 29% because of the effects of sanctions.

Indeed, were the effects of sanctions to be particularly severe, the black share of total non-agricultural income could decline to nearer 25% by the century's end. Without sanctions, and on current trends, the

# The tragic ironies Business Day 19 JAN. 1989 sanctioneers miss

**Sanctions could cost SA two-million jobs by the end of the century.  
JCI group economics consultant RONNIE BETHLEHEM  
argues that black political advancement would suffer accordingly**

## INDICATIVE MANPOWER REQUIREMENTS IN SA 1985 COMPARED WITH THE YEAR 2000

	1985 actual		Year 2000 projected			
	000s	%	Without sanctions 000s	%	With sanctions 000s	%
Professional, technical, managerial and administrative	1 763	20,3	3 153	25,0	2 585	20,5
Clerical and sales	1 170	13,4	2 207	17,5	1 892	15,0
Tradesmen and apprentices	388	4,5	1 892	15,0	1 072	8,5
Semi-skilled	4 070	46,8	3 783	30,0	5 044	40,0
Unskilled	450	5,2	315	2,5	757	6,0
Other	852	9,8	1 261	10,0	1 261	10,0
Total economically active population	8 692	100,0	12 611	100,0	12 611	100,0
Less unemployment	3 222	37,1	5 524	43,8	6 949	55,1
Total employed	5 470	62,9	7 087	56,2	5 662	44,9

Sources: Central Statistical Services, National Manpower Commission, for historical data only.

prospect would have been for the black share of total income to have increased to around 35%.

The difference between 35% and 25%, however, is far greater than the figures alone suggest, because the 35% would be a share of a very much larger cake.

For the black section of the population, it would be a massive sacrifice in foregone opportunity, not only in economic terms but also in politi-



19 JAN 1989

cal terms, for the political leverage of a black community whose income comprised nearly 35% of all non-agricultural income earned in SA would be very much greater than the leverage of a community whose income share was nearer to 25%.

The modernising Western-type industrial economy in SA has a limited job-creating capacity. Thus, it draws labour into itself to satisfy its needs.

If these are then reduced for whatever reason, it will discard the labour that is surplus to its requirements clinically and dispassionately. And this is the only way it can be.

It is not that the economy, itself, is heartless. It is that the economy is technological and is driven by an indifference to non-economic considerations which is the product of cost-benefit analysis. Individuals, trade unions and government, in pursuing their own interests, need to come to terms with that if they wish to be effective.

The table shows the way in which sanctions could be expected to change the labour structure in SA

and the effects this would have on various labour categories. Broadly, sanctions would be likely to retard the progress towards a structure that is consistent with the experience of existing industrial countries.

The most interesting changes shown by the table concerns the comparisons of the position in the year 2000 with and without sanctions. The structure shifts not only towards higher unemployment but also away from the skilled and towards the semi-skilled and unskilled.

selves show, because a rise in unemployment of the extent indicated, or a drop in the proportions of skilled to semi and unskilled workers, do not specify the impact of such changes on dependants.

In the black community, every employed person represents a means of income for between four and eight others on average.

This is the answer to those who would argue that an extra two-million unemployed by the century's end is a cost the black community would

Whereas it would be reasonable to expect that the numbers of tradesmen and apprentices would increase by about 1.5-million by the century's end in a normally growing economy, under sanctions the increase would be less than half that. The semi-skilled and unskilled, on the other hand, would increase, possibly by as much as 1.7-million, reflecting a serious weakening in the relative position of Africans, who account for the large majority of people in these categories.

Indeed, the position would be worse than the figures them

be prepared to bear to achieve political liberation.

It is an erroneous argument, both because it ignores such facts and because economic weakness can never be helpful to the achievement of political strength except in the extraordinary circumstance where such weakness, because of the desperation it generates, becomes the driving force behind an unstoppable and destructive revolution.

Black economic and black political power are positively correlated. This means that anything that diminishes black economic power will also diminish black political authority.

Despite apartheid, the relative and absolute improvement in black economic power that has occurred since the Fifties, but especially since the adoption of a new labour dispensation in 1979, has been considerable. It has compelled many of the political concessions that have been made to all peoples of colour in SA.

Sanctions could stop black economic progress were they to be successful. Nothing speaks louder than the projected figures of the table.

This shows that the total of the professional, technical, managerial and administrative, the clerical and sales, and the artisan categories would increase to more than seven-million from just over three-million in an economy unaffected by sanctions, whereas with sanctions the rise would be to approximately 5.5-million.

Not even the white, Asian and coloured communities taken together could meet the needs of the economy as projected here. Continued economic growth provides the greatest relative opportunity to Africans for career development.

With such a projection of black economic advancement, black political advancement would perform follow.

Whatever the historical truth of the association of capitalism and apartheid, the position has dramatically changed.

Apartheid has become an obstacle to economic growth, and economic growth the most truly effective weapon in the undermining and ultimate destruction of apartheid.

Seen in these terms, sanctions become a tragic irony.

□ This is an extract from an article in **Sanctions and the Alternatives**, published recently by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

—FOREIGN EXCHANGE/David de Kock—



# Going to their own funeral

THE

STAR

19 JAN. 1989

WINDHOEK — This week, Namibia's politicians will be in Cape Town, anxiously awaiting the State President, Mr P W Botha's, verdict about their future now that the gears of the United Nations Resolution 435 peace and independence plan appear to be finally meshing.

If all goes according to plan, the politicians will have to vacate Windhoek's Tintenpalst government building ahead of the arrival of UN Special Representative Mr Martii Ahtisaari on April 1. On that date, the territory will be ruled jointly by Mr Ahtisaari and South Africa's Administrator-General in Windhoek, Mr Louis Pienaar.

Even at this late hour, some of those in the transitional government delegation may still entertain hopes that Resolution 435 is a nightmare from which Mr Botha will gently awake them.

## Ignoring reality

In the past few weeks, the leaders of two parties in the government have aired proposals which appear to ignore totally the reality of impending majority rule and independence, a process which becomes more difficult to halt with each passing week.

Mr Hans Diergaardt of the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party was revealed to be thinking of declaring the Rehoboth Baster "gebiet", about 60 km south of Windhoek, an autonomous republic with a corridor of access to the sea at the South African enclave of Walvis Bay.

Mr Kosie Pretorius, Minister of Sea Fisheries and leader of the National Party of South West Africa, appears deter-

By BRENDAN SEERY,  
The Star's Africa News Service

"I brought you into this world; I can take you out again." The words of the angry parent to recalcitrant offspring in one of Bill Cosby's most famous comic sketches are ironically appropriate to the relationship between Pretoria and its political brainchild in Namibia, the "Transitional Government of National Unity".

mined to press ahead with plans for a whites-only election on March 1, in the sure knowledge that all will be invalidated when Mr Ahtisaari steps off the plane at Windhoek's J G Strijdom airport.

Other members of the administration, though, say they have accepted the inevitability of the UN plan and some, like Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, have been actively campaigning for the past four months with an eye on the planned one-man, one-vote election in November this year.

For the members of the transitional government, the visit to Cape Town will probably be more in the nature of finalising their own funeral arrangements.

The departure of the government politicians will probably cause no noticeable disruption to daily life, as this territory has effectively been run for years by the civil service.

The Windhoek politicians will want to clarify, as a matter of urgency, the position of the 10 separate ethnic authorities which, under instructions from their own legislatures, have dispensed social services on a racially-segregated or "own affairs" basis since 1980.

The South African-instituted system could be run by its bureaucrats in the absence of direction from politicians. These politicians would have to go under the provisions of Resolution 435, which provides for the scrapping of all racial laws after the arrival of the UN special representative.

In theory, the scrapping of race related laws would mean that white schools and health facilities would have to throw open their doors to all races.



## Fighting Swapo

This is a question which will probably be uppermost in the mind of Mr Pretorius when the delegation meets the State President.

Other questions which may worry the Windhoek politicians are the impartiality of the UN, the maintenance of law and order and the position of the SWA Territory Force.

The recent reaffirmation by the world body that Swapo is the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people" will worry the transitional government, whose individual parties will need all the help they can get in fighting Swapo at the polls.

The maintenance of law and order worries some people, although Police Commissioner General Dolf Gouws said this week he believed the force would have sufficient manpower to keep things under control.

Speculation in some left-wing circles here is that the transitional government may go to Cape Town hoping to get some form of insurance against the consequences of a Swapo victory at the polls.



Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma speaking at a news conference at the United Nations on Tuesday.

## Nujoma's diplomatic dance on the Bay

BY RAMSAY MILNE, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — In these times of delicate, tip-toe diplomacy, a head-on conflict over the future of Walvis Bay — a desert enclave of 1 200 sq km that possesses Namibia's only deep-water harbour — is not what either President Botha or Swapo president Mr Sam Nujoma appear to want.

But their positions on the most crucial issue affecting the future relationships between South Africa and an independent Namibia, as each leader has laid them out, are, on the surface, irreconcilable.

On a visit to Walvis Bay late last year, Mr Botha emphasised South Africa's determination to hold on to this vital port when he said: "The Walvis Bay enclave is an integral part of the territory of South Africa and so it will remain."

### Electoral win

Mr Nujoma, who expects after 22 years in exile to return to Namibia "within weeks" to lead Swapo to what he is confident will be a convincing electoral win in the territory's UN-supervised elections in November, believes almost exactly the opposite.

In what was a long and careful answer to some searching questions on the subject, Mr Nujoma told me this week: "Walvis Bay has been and will continue to be part of Namibia."

Yet there were some important nuances in our discussion. For instance, Mr Nujoma prefaced his remarks, made with great deliberation, with the phrase: "Now this calls for a political answer."

His "political answer", culminating in the above quotation on Walvis Bay "continuing to remain part of Namibia" came after a long historic preface.

He said since Namibia was part of Africa, it belonged to Africa. Swapo recognised neither the German "seizure" of the port, nor what he termed its capture by the British, each of whom was "part of the system of colonisation of South-West Africa" and against whom "the early Namibians fought heroically".

That was a considered statement of record, as seen by the Swapo leader, whose stance on white "colonialism" is well-known.

But nowhere did Mr Nujoma mention or directly challenge Mr Botha's declared position, not even when I read the State President's exact words to him. Even the anti-colonial rhetoric was carefully toned down.

For South Africa, this delicate egg-dancing is important — and promising. It comes after an equally "moderate" statement by Mr Nujoma earlier last year, when he said Swapo would not pursue the question of the enclave at that stage, in order not to erect any unnecessary obstacles to the peace initiatives under way.

A Swapo government in Windhoek would, he added, negotiate with South Africa about Walvis Bay after independence.

Now, even with independence almost within sight, Mr Nujoma still seems to want to leave the issue in abeyance.

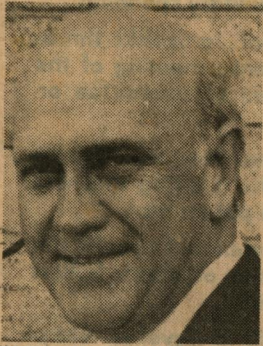
If so, it seems as if both parties have agreed for the foreseeable future to leave Walvis Bay just as it is — a "colonial" enclave Namibia cannot do without and a port South Africa has no intention of handing over.

THE STAR

19 JAN. 1989



## President's stroke fuels speculation on successor



Mr F W de Klerk ...  
most likely candidate.



Mr Chris Heunis ...  
stands a good chance.



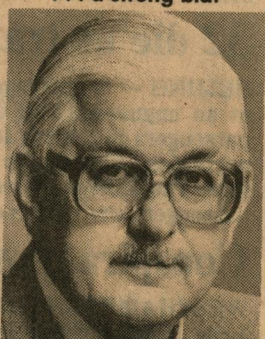
Mr Pik Botha ... sup-  
port remains uncertain.



General Magnus Malan  
... a strong bid.



Mr Barend du Plessis  
... PW's favourite.



Dr Gerrit Viljoen ... ap-  
proach too academic.

# If PW goes *THE STAR* who will be *19 JAN. 1989* next leader?

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

State President Mr P W Botha's sudden illness has given new urgency to the mounting speculation about his successor. If the stroke forces him to retire from office, who will the National Party elect to succeed him?

Although there is no obvious successor, NP caucus sources believe that, at the moment, the front-runner is still Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of National Education and Transvaal NP leader. Although his support appears to be waning, it is probably still strong enough to ensure his election.

As Transvaal leader he is still considered the natural choice even though the Transvaal NP no longer commands a majority in the caucus. It lost this dominance when the Conservative Party made gains in the May 1987 elections and now has 46 MPs to the 48 of the Cape.

Mr de Klerk's chances are also jeopardised by the uncertainty about the likely growth of CP support which could further erode his support base and even threaten his own constituency of Vereeniging.

This favours the chances of Mr Chris Heunis, Cape leader and Minister of Constitutional Development, who is also the most senior member of the Cabinet after Mr Botha.

Although he cannot be ruled out, his near-defeat in his Helderberg constituency in the May election and the failure of the reform effort may have dented his chances too severely.

### Pik has a chance

Some MPs believe that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's chances have improved considerably since his success in negotiating a peace agreement for Namibia and Angola.

There is speculation that Mr Botha may be available for the job but his support remains uncertain and he may not wish to risk another defeat such as he suffered when President Botha was elected in 1978. He was then, as now, by far the most popular choice of the public and probably of the NP at large, but received only 22 votes in the caucus.

Caucus sources say his problem is that he does not make enough effort to win the support of the ordinary MP whose one chance to exercise power is when he votes for a new party leader.

Other names mentioned as likely candidates for the job are Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis and Education and Development Aid Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen, probably in that order.



THE STAR - 19 JAN. 1989

### Wider political image

During the past six months, General Malan seems to have been putting in a strong bid, presenting a wider political image by making speeches which go well beyond his portfolio, often into the territory of Mr Pik Botha — much to the latter's chagrin, sources say.

There is no doubt that, in a deteriorating security situation, General Malan's chances have improved and the party might opt for a strong man to send a defiant message to the world.

He might also be seen as the man most likely to placate conservatives in the party and prevent them defecting to the CP.

But Nationalist MPs say they do not detect a great enthusiasm for General Malan in the caucus and he may be considered too one-dimensional to lead the party in a very complex period.

Mr Barend du Plessis is also believed to have presidential ambitions and is said to be President Botha's favourite, although, at 49, he might be considered too green for the job.

He is a verligte stalwart who was one of the most outspoken champions of President Botha's reform plans when they were still confined to the caucus.

Dr Viljoen, the "egg-head" in the Cabinet, has been mooted as a potential president but his low-key, academic approach probably counts against him.

His chances have been further dented by a series of corruption scandals in his department.

## Heunis likely as PW's 'watchman'

Political Correspondent

If State President Mr P W Botha's stroke has made him unfit to perform his duties, it is likely that Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Chris Heunis will take over as Acting State President until Mr Botha is fit again.

Mr Heunis is the most senior member of the Cabinet.

But the job does not automatically go to him. The Constitution says if the President is unable to perform his duties, he shall nominate a Cabinet member to serve as Acting State President.

If he is unable to nominate someone, the Cabinet must do so. In those circumstances, the Act-

ing State President will occupy the position "during the incapacity of the State President ... or until a State President has been elected and has assumed office".

If a nominee of the Cabinet becomes Acting State President, the Speaker of Parliament may decide at any time that the State President will be unable to resume his duties within 60 days of becoming incapacitated.

He must then inform the Acting State President and the Chief Justice of his decision and the electoral college, which elects the State President, must then be called without delay to elect an Acting State President.



# If only the world hated apartheid the way Canadians hate smoking

WITNESS ECHO - 19 JAN. 1989

"PASSENGERS en route to Johannesburg are advised not to get off the plane when we land in Nairobi airport," announced a British Airways staffer over the telecom system in the jumbo jet seconds after the wheels kissed the Nairobi soil. Strange. This has not been the case on past occasions. What an awkward situation — not to be able to stretch one's legs after long hours from London since the previous night during the one-hour wait at the Jomo Kenyatta airport was sheer harassment.

Mother had said before she quit earth that when one wanted to get something or get away with it, just play dumb. Behave like an ass. Like an ass i did by walking off the plane with the Nairobi-bound passengers.

Stepping down for the first time after three months on the African surface. In Montreal, Canada, it was minus 25 ice cold. Here it is 23 hot. From a freezer into a frying pan. Sweat ass. How exciting it was to sweat. How sweet to sweat, a thing the ass had always taken for granted until last Sunday. The ass had gone travelling on October 13 last year — probably running — but certainly he came



The Khabadian, as he was known there, tastes Canadian snow.

back a horse. As it set its hooves in the Canadian fridge, it indeed learnt something. Something that even the Oxford dictionary failed to explain over the years. The precise meaning of the word COLD.

Before the Canadian Trek i had felt the cold permeating through ma pores. i could feel it agitating ma body layers. i had understood it in terms of above zero. But there it simply hits U. i staggered at its impact when i walked out of Winnipeg's airport. Hits U like an invisible Tyson jab. The

than a minute. That's Canadian violence: hypothermia which leaves the country peaceful. Near-hypothermic weather nearly killed this ass in Winnipeg when it was minus 30.

The ass also noted the peacefulness of the Canadians in the absence of statues of people who glorified violence. A search in most cities around seven states only boasted of statues of politicians who had advocated communication. There's however a war memorial kind of statue incorporating all the wars of this century in which Canadi-

weatherman read his programme in terms of minus 10, 20, 30 etc.

★ ★ ★ ★  
CANADIANS are a very peaceful lot. Violence is not part and parcel of this assortment of races and tribes from all the corners of the world like South America, Latin America, Europe, Soviet Union, Africa, Asia and Australia.

The vast country has naturally built-in violence. There is something they call "hypothermia". When U get immersed in water under extremely cold temperature Uor body system simply shuts down & U die in less

ans participated. The "memorial" depicts ordinary soldiers pushing a chariot and it's erected in Ottawa, Canada's government capital.

In this tiny city of Pietermaritzburg there

are several statues glorifying men of violence and bloody wars. All over South Africa there are such symbols of violence. In various cities in the States and the UK the ass saw statues highlighting violence as part and par-



Krista Kessels (15), like all other Canadians, is ROOTS CRAZY.

cel of culture. In many other parts of the world it is presumably the same pattern which exposes the violent tendencies which are perpetuated by a larger section of mankind. What about glorifying Florence Nightingale with a statue highlighting the blessing of nursing?

★ ★ ★ ★  
RACISM is something very guarded there. If there is one incident which smacks of racism there is a swift exposé of it. Newspapers are prompt to insinuate "racist" whenever

there is an occasional shooting by police of a "black" in any city. So, basically the virus of racism is never allowed official nor informal ground to nurture.

And so in the absence of race discrimination they have created their own obsession. Their own discrimination. The victims are smokers.

Hardly two years since the campaign against smoking began, the habit has actually turned out to be a crime. A fine of \$200 is slapped on anyone found puffing where there are cigarette-

banning signs. Two guys who smoked in the plane's toilet were each fined \$2 000.

Smoking has also imposed a social stigma on those trapped in the pernicious habit. The ass remembers being

invited at a party in Ottawa. The host was asked whether the air in the house could be polluted. "Outside," was the reply. Every puffer, including the hostess, had to bundle themselves shiveringly onto the back verandah.

In the government buildings, stores, buses and bus shelters, trains and train stations, taxis, offices — even toilets, smoking is a mandatory offence. In one government department hundreds of civil servants recently staged a sit-in protesting over what they described as "discrimination" against them. The matter had not been resolved last week.

Two-year-olds never miss an opportunity of irritating elders who smoke by asking them why they are burning their lungs. The campaign is ferocious & successful. Statistics report a drastic drop in cigarette smoking in the country.

The ass came to one conclusion: If the world can hate apart-



WITNESS ECHO  
19 JAN. 1989

heid the way Canadians hate smoking, then we would not be arguing about sanctions and disinvestment; we would not be filling our news columns with kil-

lings and maiming of the innocent.

★ ★ ★ ★  
THAT Canada is without problems would be an understatement. The glaring ones look political at face value, according to the ass's assessment.

There is the "Native" problem, to begin with. These indigenous people are known by us here in South Africa as "Red Indians" (from the Hollywood movies of John Wayne). They are politically fighting

the Canadians to have their reserves preserved in order that their language does not become extinct. They say they don't want to be assimilated into the Canadian culture.

Then there is the Quebec problem. In this state there is a predominantly French-speaking population. The provincial government of Quebec has legislated against the use of English in outdoor signs, in courts, schools and other insti-

tutions. Tempers are still flaring as the French claim that their language is not enforced in other provinces of Canada as an official language, although the central government encourages bilingualism. The whole thing is based on the preservation and protection of the French culture.

On a broader level there exists the Canadian versus USA problem. This was evident during the elections in November where the theme among voters was on free trade with the Americans. The majority of Canadians were emotionally against signing any such agreement which they claimed would make them the U.S. 51st state. They pointed out that their culture was different to the Yankees and as such felt threatened it would be assimilated. They wished to protect their culture, the message was loud & clear.

So, as it can be seen, the bottom line of the problem in Canada is protectionism of cultures. It is all a matter of a "roots consciousness" which keeps all Canadians of all persuasion on their toes and ticking.



# NATAL WITNESS 19 JAN. 1989

## Another view of Donald McAlvany

### Columnist at large



DURING June last year, Mr Donald McAlvany, a dapper, humourless American, spoke to a gathering of city businessmen at a local hotel. The gist of Mr McAlvany's talk was that under President Reagan the United States was slipping, nay, plunging inexorably, to the political left.

The tide of godless communism, warned Mr McAlvany gloomily, is creeping up on us, apparently sponsored by shadowy organisations such as the Illuminati and the New Age Order. Stand vigilant, he told South Africans, and by the way if we could find it in our hearts (or, more accurately, in our pockets) to let him have 300 000 dollars, he thought he might be able to prevent anti-apartheid legislation passing through Congress.

I was there that day and came away impressed with Mr McAlvany's ability to talk non-stop for three hours, but somewhat puzzled by many of his assertions (4 000 KGB agents actively working within the American media, for instance. If he knows this, shouldn't he be tell-

ing the FBI and the CIA about it, and not us?). I said as much in a report on the talk, but my views were not shared by the local branch of the Donald McAlvany Fan Club. "Snide comments," sniffed T.E.C. Shearer and J. Maitland-Stuart from Pinetown, a "lack of objective reporting and constructive comment," grumbled Bruce Ferguson from Cleland, while Craig Anderson from Merrivale shook his head sadly: "Poor Mr Robinson, perhaps, and only perhaps, one day he will wake up".

Each to his own, of course, but perhaps readers might be interested in another view. Writing about Mr McAlvany and his associate Howard Phillips in *The Natal Mercury* and *Business Day* this week, Times Media Limited Washington correspondent Simon Barber had this to say: "Donald McAlvany (is) a creature of the right-wing lunatic fringe who has managed to con all too many South Africans into believing he is a substantial force in American policy-making.

"I will not mince words. They (McAlvany and

Phillips) are a pair of self-promoting, intellectual buffoons whose intention in the months ahead is to derail Namibian independence and Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola, and with them, all the promise these developments hold for civility in SA itself.

"Inasmuch as they lack the clout to achieve this here (in Washington), particularly with the dawning of the rather less sympathetic Bush administration, they plan to do it by stirring up Pretoria's own conservative supporters."

Perhaps, before Messrs Shearer, Maitland-Stuart, Ferguson and Anderson reach for their pens to argue that Barber is a typically leftist, pinko journalist, it should be pointed out that he has been a consistent opponent of sanctions against South Africa, recently describing Congress as "shameless" in its usurpation of presidential authority in regard to sanctions legislation.

Returning to McAlvany and Phillips, Barber notes that both have been assisted by the SABC and the Information Bureau, but sug-

gests that with the Soviet Union gradually responding to the demands of the market place and calls for individual liberty, their influence has begun to wane, except in South Africa "where there are still white English-speaking people like themselves still prone, and gullible enough, to believe them.

"They are as pestilential as the most committed sanctioneer. They seem to think that SA has no capacity, or even right, to order its own affairs in its own best interests, to make peace with its neighbours and through that process with itself, to have relations with whom it thinks fit. No, they want the place to be an armed camp descending ever deeper into a nightmare of savagery so that they might profit smugly from the accuracy of their own predictions.

"Each year, Phillips and McAlvany rake in thousands of dollars leading a tour of like-minded Americans to SA, promising access to 'her highest black and white, government, military and business officials'. Of McAlvany, the promotional literature claims 'he has been called one of the most knowledgeable geopolitical and monetary analysts in the world'.

"By whom, exactly? Not by any serious policy-maker, economist or businessman in this country. Only in SA does he appear to be somebody."

Barber suggests that the best thing South Africa's officials could do to the two would simply be to deny them visas they next time they wish to visit this country. It's by no means the worst idea he's ever had.

Peter Robinson



# To live and die in Soweto

THE SOWETAN  
19/01/89

By ALI  
MPHAKI

SOWETO continues to seethe with crime with figures for last year showing that at least three people were murdered daily in the township.

Murder cases reported to the police between January and November last year show that 1135 were killed in various acts of violence. Of these murders, 190 were committed with the use of firearms.

Other weapons like knives, pangas and sharp instruments claimed 945 lives.

The murder figures show a slight decline when compared to those of the same period in 1987.

## Concern

In that year, 1152 murder cases were reported to the police. Of these, 234 were committed with firearms, while 818 were committed with the use of other weapons.

Cause for concern has been the escalating number of rape cases in the sprawling township. Between January and November last year, 1820 rape cases were reported.

In December only last year, 21 cases involving girls between the ages of one and 21 years were reported. Sixty-seven cases involving girls from

## FOCUS

the age of 11 years to 16 years were also reported in the same period.

This means 88 cases of rape on girls between one and 16 years were reported in December only.

## Burglary

The Soweto police liaison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Fanyana Zwane, said the increase in the number of rape cases was disturbing. He said the figure could be higher considering that some of the cases were not reported.

Housebreaking cases on residential houses

numbered 2045, while on business premises amounted to 577. Motor car thefts amounted to 1661.

The stealing of cars has been declared one of the biggest problems facing owners and the police in Soweto. During the visit

by the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels, to Soweto this week, he made mention of this.

The Minister said a total of 5500 stolen vehicles in Soweto were recovered by police last year.

Dad hacks kid to death  
Six murders, 12 rapes in Soweto  
15 KILLED IN SOWETO

Killed by robbers  
VIOLENCE CLAIMS 17 LIVES

