

# Sunday Times

THE PAPER FOR THE PEOPLE

## Sneaky Nujoma: Slap him down

9-04-89

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**T**HE trick pulled by Mr Sam Nujoma is as cheap as it is transparent. Smarting under his well-deserved reputation as one of history's most abysmal failures as a "freedom fighter", he is now trying to do during a ceasefire what he failed, comprehensively, to achieve during a war.

Throughout the years of conflict Mr Nujoma, a man with a strutting, grandiloquent style on the international stage, failed to "liberate" a single centimetre of South West African territory. His poorly-trained cadres were wiped out whenever they crossed the border and relentlessly pursued when they fled back to their funkholes in Angola.

Thus unlike, say, a Mugabe or a Machel, he could never claim to control any part of a country of which he claimed to be the sole representative. It's the sort of humiliation that makes a man look silly among his peers in "liberationist circles". It also tends to reduce his appeal to voters, come election time.

And so, on the very day that a painstakingly crafted peace agreement came into operation, he struck when security forces had both hands tied behind their backs and with scarcely a foreign observer in sight.

His claims that Swapo cadres were there all along and merely sought confinement to their non-

existent bases are so patently spurious that they have been dismissed even by those who were once his fervent supporters.

The consequences of Mr Nujoma's folly are to be found in the blood that has been needlessly spilt this week and in the extent to which the whole Namibian-Angola deal has been imperilled.

Pretoria has displayed commendable forbearance even as South African troops were once again committed to repel the Swapo belligerents. It must be hoped that the four other nations who have underwritten the agreement will also spare nothing to get peace back on track. They will certainly need to address the limp-wristed incompetence of the Untag force at the first sign of trouble.

Just as important, those in the international community who see Namibia as something of a trial run for a future settlement further south must take heed of what The Times of London noted this week.

"Above all," said The Times, "the peace process must be rescued if white South Africa is to be persuaded that negotiation is the only path to peace and that promises by liberation movements are worth something."

Mr Nujoma's shamelsss perfidy gives the whole cause of negotiation a bad name.



# Enter the Democrats

Sunday June 09-04-89

**W**HITE public support for a left-of-government party does exist. It is a niche which recent elections and polls indicate could attract up to 25 percent of the electorate.

There is a visible, and growing, enthusiasm in the land for a return to fair and fundamental principles. There is recognition that the only hope for South Africa lies in a return to solid verities like a truly free market, due process, respect for the rights of the individual, non-racialism, a free Press, a reduction in state control over the lives of ordinary people, and faith in negotiation as the only means of fashioning a just constitutional dispensation.

Such noble causes have, in all truth, not always been well served by some of those who have claimed to espouse them. Too often such people allowed tolerance to appear like weakness, personalities to dominate principles and anti-apartheid arguments to be lost in anti-South African

rhetoric. Liberal whites have watched some of their most respected leaders desert to more exotic causes or foreign destinations. They have seen their ranks decimated by the skilful, sometimes ruthless, exploitation of fear by the ruling party in election times. To a considerable extent they have lost heart.

The launch of the Democratic Party yesterday is meant to find that niche and rekindle liberal and reformist hopes. It is a challenging task but one well worth pursuing.

The infant party comes with a varied, sometimes uneven, legacy from its component parts. The central question now is whether the whole will prove to be more or less than the parts. A natural tendency, when diverse constituencies must be served, is to fudge the issues and duck the tough decisions — like the leadership question. With a looming general election this would not only be weak. It could also be fatal.



THE CITIZEN

9-04-89

## Consult ANC for solution, — Richards

A SOLUTION for South Africa would not be found without consultation with the ANC, the Deputy Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives, Mr Miley Richards, said.

In debate on the Constitutional Development and Planning vote, he said the sooner it was realised that the ANC had a constituency in South Africa, the sooner the problems of this country would be addressed.

One should be aware not only of the violence used by the ANC but also of the violence of those who governed the country.

Apartheid was violence because it violently attacked people.

Group Areas was "a violence" and action that denied people freedom of movement was violence.

Mr Richards also said duplication of local government authorities for the different races was a waste of effort and money.

"If we can sit in one parliament, why can we not be seen taking decisions together at local government level as well?" he asked.

## SADF accepted most Black applicants

NEARLY all of the 1 268 Black people who applied to join the SADF Permanent Force last year were accepted, the Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

Replying in writing to a question from Mr Dave Dalling (DP, Sandton) he said that of the 1 231 successful Black applicants, 1 216 had been accepted into the army, as per their applications.

A total of 8 499 Whites had applied to join the Permanent Force, mostly in the Army or the Air Force, but only 2 363 had been accepted.

Out of a total of 1 576 Coloureds who applied, 208 had been successful, and of the 144 Indian applicants, 63 had been accepted.

## Jail for ANC men who were fined

MBABANE. — A Swazi land judge has imposed a mandatory two year jail sentence on two African National Congress members who appealed against a R200 fine for illegal possession of arms of war.

Arnolt Masimulo and Richard Morodi also had their fines increased to R2 000 each.

A third man, Albert Methula, a Swazi national won his appeal against his conviction and fine of R500.

The judge said in his judgment the sentences passed by the Magistrate's Court would encourage gun-running and similar activities in Swaziland.

He ordered that Morodi and Masimulo, who had earlier been released after paying their fines, be rearrested and immediately imprisoned. — Sapa.



Dear Sir,

THE ARTICLE by the Editor of Business Day on the defence of free speech (May 3) made interesting reading. It was a masterpiece of journalistic skill and yet it failed to convince because it ignored a most important aspect — ethics.

The Editor explained at great length what prompted him in the first place to give publicity to the advertisement of the Islamic Propagation Centre. One can understand that point of view, although not necessarily agree with it.

Since then, however, it has been brought to his notice that the advertisement contained misleading and untrue statements. Yet he allowed the same advertisement, in its original form, to appear — this time with the Editor's knowledge that the advertisement contained false information.

Is this "responsible journalism" on which the Editor lays so much stress in his article? Does the "defence of freedom of speech" go so far as to permit aiding and abetting in the propagation of a cause even when trickery and misrepresentation are involved?

J BLUMENTHAL

Chairman

Zionist Revisionist Organisation of Southern Africa

☐ In fact, Business Day does not know whether the advertisement is accurate or not, and has no basis on which to make that judgment. In any event, if only accurate statements could be published, very few political statements would ever find their way into print.

— EDITOR.

Dear Sir,

WITH regard to the Editor's article, "Defence of free speech needed most for unpopular views" (Business Day, May 3), the question arises: is freedom of speech licence to propagate racial disharmony?

MAX L NEPPE, Johannesburg



THE DAILY NEWS  
Mercury

17-04-89

## Funeral of a 'towering giant'

Pallbearers carry the coffin of the slain leader of the Inanda-based Church of Nazareth, the Rev Londa Shembe, at his funeral at the sect's headquarters at Ekuphakameni yesterday. Mr Shembe was gunned down in his kraal by two unknown black assailants just before dawn on April 7. In expressing condolences on behalf of the KwaZulu Government and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said: 'We have lost a young leader, who could have ended up as one of the towering giants of our times, at the prime of life. It is a shocking waste to lose one so young and one so gifted as Mr Londa Shembe... I had always seen him as a strong force for reconciliation between the warring political factions in South Africa.'



# Islam and ethics?

*Business 9-04-89*

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**MAX L NEPPE, Johannesburg**



Parties condemn attack on the Geldenhuys home

# Cause of bomb blast 'a mystery'

**BUSINESS DAY**

9-04-89

DANIEL SIMON

A TOTAL mystery was how the NP's senior information director, B L "Boy" Geldenhuys described Sunday night's bomb attack on his Randfontein home while his family was sleeping.

Geldenhuys said the police had said the blast — causing damage of about R30 000 — had been caused by "commercial explosives". It went off at about 10.05pm when his wife, Callie, and two young children were asleep but none of them were injured.

Two hours earlier at 8pm, he had left Johannesburg for Cape Town and on arrival at 10.10pm, phoned his wife who told him of the explosion.

"I caught the next flight back at 11pm and arrived home at 2.15am where I met the police who told me they suspected commercial explosives had been used in the attack."

Asked why his home should be singled out, Geldenhuys said he found the incident a "total mystery" which left him "flabbergasted".

However, he did not recall a single election campaign in which he had not been threatened. "I have been threatened before but I never took the threats seriously — not during an election campaign."

Asked if he suspected right-wing elements to be responsible, Geldenhuys

said he did not want to comment at this stage.

"I am not the NP candidate for Randfontein. I will be standing for the NP in the Brentwood constituency on the East Rand in the election. If it was a right-wing attack then I do not understand their reasons or motives."

He would, however, understand if the attack had been carried out by the left saying that the ANC had said MPs would be attacked.

## Forensic

Geldenhuys said: "Chris Hani — chief of staff of the ANC's military-wing Umkhonto we Sizwe — did say MPs would be attacked by the organisation."

A West Rand police spokesman said no arrests had been made and that police were still waiting for a forensic report which would determine the kind of commercial explosive used.

□ Sapa reports from Cape Town that CP leader Andries Treurnicht said it was premature and uncalled for to link the explosion to right-wing politics.

He said he condemned the deed in the strongest terms adding he had repeatedly expressed his opposition to violence in party politics.

Treurnicht said: "The CP has repeat-

edly expressed itself against violence in party politics. The cross at the ballot box is our weapon.

"We do not fight with thuggery and deeds of terror, but with moral persuasion and conviction of our standpoint."

□ Sapa reports from Cape Town that Deputy Law and Order Minister Leon Wessels said he condemned such a "senseless deed of violence" and that the police would do everything possible to track down the perpetrators.

He said people who believed that violence could solve problems of any nature were wrong and this form of expression "must and will be curbed at all cost".

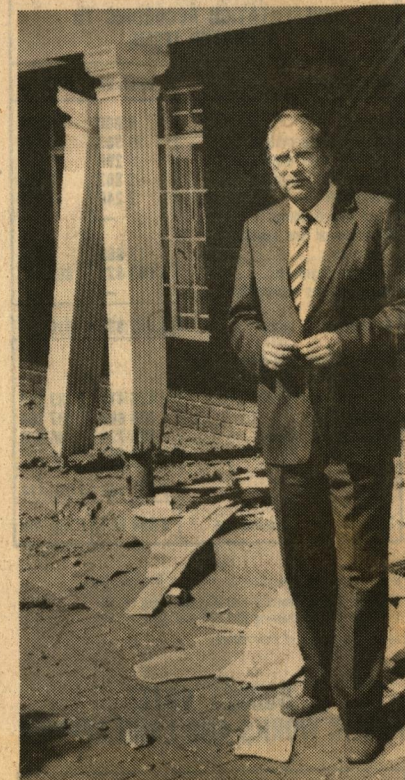
It was not possible, at this stage, to determine whether a particular organisation was responsible, but it appeared the motive could have been political.

Wessels said: "The senselessness of this and similar deeds cannot be over emphasised. I want to give the assurance that the police will continue to protect people in our country who strive towards a democracy."

□ Our political staff reports from Cape Town that the LP spokesman on security matters, Douglas Josephs, said his party was shocked by the bomb attack.

He said: "There is no place for such cowardly deeds of aggression where innocent people are the targets."

"My party and I reject terrorism from the left and the right."



B L "Boy" Geldenhuys outside his bomb-damaged home.

Picture: DANIEL SIMON



SUNDAY TRIBUNE 09-04-89

# 'Swapo has had it,' the pilot said

By Jane Conyngham

IT was the party of the year at the Upowa pub, popular haunt of former Koevoet troops.

Nothing much had happened for months, since Swapo ceased its incursions over the Angolan border just north. But now the town-folk had turned out in force to celebrate the departure of a mad bunch of hikers from their remote town.

At the bar counter, where grim tales of war were swapped for long years, the jovial lads buried memories and clinked beer mugs to future festivity instead.

Only three days later they were back at war.

"News travels fast in this district," said a grim South West Africa Police (Swapol) officer. "Many policemen were put on pension over the transition period. But it doesn't take long for news to reach them in the villages that friends are being killed. Now they are coming

back to war."

By mid-week the bar was deserted as battles raged around Upowa. Far removed from major towns, and a long 11-hour drive from Windhoek, Upowa was even more isolated in war — travel, except by Casspir, is just too dangerous.

At the Upowa airfield a small knot of SADF troopies, two blue-bereted Untag men and three journalists scanned the sky for a sign of the only way out — a military Dakota skimming the trees to avoid hostile artillery fire.

Inside the Dak, perspiring faces dripped between knees and clasped hands, and glazed eyes stared ahead at stacked boxes of ammunition. These troopies had been counting the days to returning home — now they were on their way to battle.

Ondangwa air force base, where we were headed, was by mid-week plunged deep in the combat zone.

As night fell, after months of inactivity, the base was buzzing again. The night before, two watch-towers were fired on and that morning Swapo tracks were found inside the closely guarded fence.

In the officers' bar, as helicopter gunships, military Dakotas, impala jets and dozens of Ratels roared into life outside, pilots spoke excitedly: "Swapo has had it now. We want action, we're ready to fly."

Outside, uninvited, two blue-bereted troopies wrung clenched hands together and paced the cold concrete.

They, too, had come to see the desert — and got caught in a war.



# Swapo move: bungle or clever tactic?

Professor Jeffrey Herbst, a commentator on southern African affairs who is attached to the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, at Princeton University, New Jersey, says more clashes can be expected in Namibia

THE recent clashes between South African security forces and Swapo that resulted in the death of some 300 combatants have caused concern that Namibian independence might be stillborn. The clashes by themselves will not cause South Africa to abrogate the accords. However, the battles do demonstrate just how difficult the next seven months in Namibia will be.

The basic problem in Namibia is that the United Nations force supervising the decolonisation process is outgunned by both the South African security forces and Swapo. As in any case where the regulatory authority has to rely on moral persuasion rather than force, the parties will be tempted to use their superior firepower to gain political advantage. For instance, before the ceasefire went into effect between Egypt and Israel at the end of the 1973 war, Israel tried to cement its military advantage by seizing control of more territory, even though the United States warned that it was threatening the agreement.

Similarly, Swapo may have calculated that because of the support it had gained from the United Nations, because the UN transition force was still getting organised, and because the South African forces were to be confined to their bases, it might be an excellent time to place a large number of guerrillas in Namibia to hide weapons and to provide some kind of counterweight to the armed South African presence in the territory.

Most importantly,

→ P.2



Swapo did demonstrate to the Namibian population that it was still willing to confront the South Africa military, albeit at a high cost. Demonstrating Swapo's willingness to confront South Africa might have been particularly important because Swapo was invisible during the negotiations that resulted in the December 22 New York accords, and most people are aware that Swapo's military campaign against South Africa did not play a role in the decision to grant Namibia its independence.

Swapo had to regain its revolutionary bonafides.

The risks for Swapo in this endeavour were not great. They did incur substantial casualties but might have been able to place a significant number of armed men across the border to provide a military presence and to hide weapons for possible future use.

Swapo's actions

might have alienated the UN forces temporarily, but the international organisation was hardly going to withdraw its support for Swapo simply because of one border dispute. Indeed, the United Nations' history of supporting Swapo might have emboldened the organisation to attempt to swing the military situation in its favour.

Swapo also understands that it will have to deal with Pretoria for

many years to come because of South Africa's huge commercial presence in Namibia. Showing that Swapo was not intimidated by either the South African military or the fact that it did not take part in the recent negotiations would be in the guerrilla group's interests.

South Africa and Swapo will still have to negotiate many conflicts of interest — notably over Walvis Bay — and a show of force at this time had sound strategic

logic behind it.

Finally, Swapo probably understands that South Africa is irrevocably committed to the decolonisation process and it could therefore attempt an incursion without fear that Pretoria would abrogate the agreement. And, at this point, the only thing that Pretoria could do in retaliation for Swapo's actions would be to threaten to break the December 22nd accords (as Foreign Minister Pik Botha briefly did). How-

ever, abrogating these accords would alienate the United States, ensure that further sanctions were imposed and cause the return of the Cuban threat in southern Angola.

As the Resolution 435 timetable progresses, South Africa will have less and less leverage over the decolonisation process because its threats to abrogate the accords will become less and less credible.

The clashes in northern Namibia do suggest

just how dangerous the decolonisation process may be. The Resolution 435 timetable is twice as long as the timetable for Zimbabwe's progress to independence and large numbers of people in Namibia have weapons. While fully-fledged battles are unlikely, the possibility of different groups' settling local disputes through force, or even attempting to campaign for political power through the barrel of their guns in parts of the country, should

not be ignored.

As was the case in Zimbabwe, the skills of the forces supervising the elections will be tested at every point. The UN undoubtedly realised that it would have to demonstrate early on that it would be able to meet any kind of threat to the election process, and for this reason let the South Africa troops leave their bases to fight Swapo.

The UN will have many more challenges in the next seven months.

SUNDAY

TRIBUNE

09-04-89