June 14 1989

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De Klerk

LUSAKA â\200\224 Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday he

~was ready to meet SAâ\200\231s National

Party leader, F W de Klerk, to hear his views on dismantling apartheid.

Kaunda told a news conference in Lusaka he had heard and seen reports about De Klerk talking of abolishing apartheid.:

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We.hope he means that,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ t $\hat{a}\200\230$ The-z goal must be one marm, one vote. $\hat{a}\200\235$ ;

De Klerk is almost certain to suc-.

ceed President P W Botha after the general election on September 6.

No conditions

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234I am quite happy to meet De Klerk and hear his views, $\hat{a}$ \200\235 Kaunda added.

He appeared to attach no conditions to such a meeting.

The offer was a fresh overture towards - Pretoria by the Zambian leader, an opf)onent of apartheid who favoured dialogue as a way of bringin% (peace to the region.

- Kaunda, chairman of the six southern African Frontline states, said Frontline leaders were willing to hold

® DE KLERK

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formal talks with SAâ\200\231s government on agartheid if Pretoria a\200\234honoured its obligations in the regiona\200\235.

This included implementin% to the full the UN independence plan for Namibia.

â\200\234If SA behaves well and shows that she can be trusted, that she can respect her international obligations,

en we are prepared to consider,

discuss through dialogue and recon-

ciliation the question of apartheid.

ady to  $\hat{a} \simeq 0.224$  ( $\hat{A}$ ¢ yune

n apartheid

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 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We are prépared to address that question itself with them,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Kaunda said.

. He called on SA to facilitate sucha dialogue by lifting the state of emer- | gency and the ban on political groups

such as the ANC, and by releasin litical prisoners such as jailed AN eader Nelson Mandela. !

Unsuccessful

Kaunda suggested that apart from :

the Frontline states â\200\224 Zambia, Zim-

babwe, Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana  $\hat{a}\200\224$  heads of state

of the Commonwealth, which groups former British-ruled territories, could take part in such talks.

He suggested that the Common-  $\hat{a}$ 200\230wealth Eminent Persons Group

(EPG), which made an unsuccessful

. attempt in 1986 to start a regional dialogue about ending apartheid,

should be revived.

The EPGâ\200\231s 1986 mission collapsed when SA carried out military raids against Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana.  $\hat{a}$ \200\224 Sapa-Reuter

POLITICS â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224

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SOurce o

EDUCATIONAL disadvantage and economic exclusion were the central issues of contemporary SA politics and would continue to be so for many years, Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn said in New York yesterday.

In an address to the Carnegie Council on Ethics and Inter-; national Affairs, a coFy of which was released in Johan- | nesburg, Steyn said black trade unions had been much more stable than

. political organisa-

tions in the last five years, and the biggest unions wefrf; now very powerfu indeed. ® STEYN

 $\hat{a}\200\234A$  representative of a leading mining house recently remarked in public that the fate of his corporation was as much dependent upon the National Union of Mineworkers as upon that of management or the shareholders.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

But the other major source of power for blacks  $\hat{a}\200\224$  the ownership of productive assets  $\hat{a}\200\224$  was not anything like as

. encouraging. The black share of productive assets was pitifully small, but a number of tendencies already existed that would tend to affect the present situation beneficially.

Urbanisation was rapidly creating a

Uniops â\200\230a major

powetâ\200\235

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much bigger and more concentrated market.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Small black entrepreneurship is growing rapidly and becoming much more visible. The principal constraints to further progress are the lack of technical and management skills and the difficulties of financing.

 $a\200\234$ The SA education system is grossly

deficient in technical and management training. The reasons are deep-rooted.

 $\hat{a}\200\2340$ ne is a poorly trained stock of teachers whose capacity to participate in innovative programmes is limited.

 $\hat{a}\200\234\Another$  is a persistent  $\hat{a}\200\230\academic \hat{a}\200\231$  bias amoung parents and pupils.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

The difficulty in financing black entreâ\200\230i) reneurial development were two-fold; firstly how to grant and collect repayments on the loan without incurring administrative expenses; and secondly, how to make loans against assets that were not conventionally regarded as colateral or against no assets at all.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ We need to be flexible in our approach to the future. No single strategy can succeed to resolve the complex is-

TIM COHEN

sues that we face.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ What I am sure of is that economic ruin will inevitably be followed by the construction of a new authoritarian political system with no F arantee of real development of people,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  he said.

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#### oral

PRETORIA â\200\224 A series of events from the mid-70s onward, including the Soweto uprising; the Uiten-Hage shootings, and Steve Bikoâ\200\231s death, had led to a growing conviction among many South Africans that government had surrendered its moral authority, a court was told here yesterday.

History Professor Colin Bundy was testifying at the trial of the three ANC activists convicted on terrorism charges in the Pretoria Regional Court this week. .

#### Convicted

Former Rand Daily Mail journalist Damian de Lange and Ian Robertson pleaded-guilty. to 11 counts of terrorism. British subject Susan Donelly pleaded guilty to 10 counts. k

They were convicted by the magistrate, W van den Bergh, after the State accepted their pleas of guilty on those counts. i

De Lange also pleaded guilty to two counts of arson and one of attempted arson for fires started by himself and

Marion Sparg at three PFP offices in

uNneSDAY

â\200\224 14 June

[ SUSAN RUSSELL ]

Johannesburg in 1981.

The three - pleaded not guilty to various other counts of terrorism and unlawful possession of ammunition, explosives and arms.

 $\hat{a}\200\230$ hey were acquitted on these charges after their pleas of not guilty were accepted by the State.

The  $a\200\234$ Broederstroom Three $a\200\235$  were art of an ANC unit formed on the

itwatersrand in 1987. They were arrested at a Broederstroom house in May last year. A fourth man who was arrested with them, Hugh Lugg, has thus far not appeared in court.

When the trial resumed yesterday afternoon the first two rows of the public gallery were filled with policemen. More police lined the back of the courtroom. '

Bundy testified on what he described as a period of crisis in SA dating from the mid-70s until the present day. One of the features of this crisis was a recurring and high level of popular or mass protest since 1976, he said.

Another feature of this overall crisis was the perception that government

### authori

had surrendered its moral autpqrity. Bundy described this as  $a^200^234a$  crisis of legitimacy  $a^200^235$ .

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ More recently since 1985 the repeated states of emergency with the inevitable inroads that that makes on normal rule of law has probably further increased that dwindling legitimacy,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Bundy said.

The historian told the court that at the same time there had been an enor-

mous shift in popular allegiance to the  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{ANC}}$ 

# Recognition

The organisation had won diplomatic and public recognition overseas, he

said, and surveys showed that whereas

reviously one third and more black South Africans had supported the ANC, one half and more did so now.

Bundy told the court visits to the ANC by prominent SA businessmen, clergymen, students and others since 1985 was a measure of recognition of the ANCâ\200\231s actual and perceived importance by individuals and groups which included opinion formers.

The trial continues today.

" added he never ate

threat

LUSAKA  $a\200\224$  Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, stung bly reports he and his family are guilty of corruption and poach-

ing, vowed yesterday to clear -

his name through libel suits in British courts.

Kaunda also disclosed he had

sent an urgent appeal to Zim-babweâ\200\231s President Rgebert Mugallll1:e to ask him to halt what he saw as an anti-Zambian propaganda campaign in the Harare government.

He denied any links to corru tion and told reporters the on y time he killed wildlife was in 1941 when he trapped a giinea fowl. He eat or eggs.

Kaunda angrily denounced the

- BBC and The Daily Telegraph b
! " accusing them of carryinggr ulr)nsub}-'

stantiated reports of alleged to level -.corrupt%)n and wildganimâ\200\230a)ipo:lchmg.d
\_He ordered Attorney-General
Frederick Chomba to lgdge libel actions against the British news-paper and accused past and present BBC correspondents in Lusaka of helping to wage an anti-Zambian crusade by reporting the Kaunda family was involved in corruption.

Kaunda did not elaborate on his

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allegations or provide dates of wllen the reports were published.

I have to take steps now to defend the respect of Zambia,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Kaunda said.

â\200\234I will prosecute in courts of law.rtsI b::l fight from British cou ause I stand fi loâ\200\230;g ang justice.â\200\235 Gt

aunda said allegations of to level corruption an%l poaching gf Zimbabwean wild animals emanated from Zimbabweâ\200\231s National

Parks and Wildlife Department.

Rangers have repeatedly blamed poaching of rhino on armed gangs of Zambians. They have also said they had evidence g?::1;gxl'lgï¬\201hqd links tf senior Zam-

cians, civil se seclgitâ\200\230y chiefs. e unda told yesterdayâ\200\231s conference he had sent sezeraliex Zsl}';e to Ziâ\200\231mtbabv;e for details of nce, but so far ! be;p p;oduced.' no proof had imbabwean game ran have shot about 40g alleged po%?:11â\200\230: 2 ers in the ?ast four years. Most were identified as Zambians,

Zunbabyve Natural Resources and Tourism Minister Victoria Chitepo has often warned poachers they risk being shot on sight if the set foot in Zimbabwe, â\200\224 Sapa-A

AUL JOHNSON, former so-

cialist now committed

Thatcherife, came to SA

with a clear message for its businessmen: capitalism is morally neutral but capitalists are morally responsible and should behave like good citizens, conducting themselves and their businesses morally.

In the South African context, his message could relieve businessmen from the compulsion to defend economic systems perceived as supporting apartheid, rather than their own

ractices. Their message should be:

Judge us by our actions, not the the. ories.

. Not that the doctrine is without its . responsibilities: in fact, the reverse. In essence, Johnson recommends businessmen taking responsibilities for their actions as capitalists who are also good citizens, rather than shrugging their shoulders and blam-

shrugging their shoulders and bla ing government when they are at home and defending government when abroad.

In addition, Johnsonâ\200\231s description of capitalism as morally neutral seeks to remove capitalism from discussion as an ideology. Instead, he implicitly conceives of capitalism as the sum of individual actions.

In other words, the system itself  $isn a \ 200 \ 231t$  good or bad; it is the practition-

ers of capitalism who can make it

seem to be either. Morality is all.

johnson speaks in austere tones

which have little tolerance for obser-

vance of the letter of the law, rather

than its spirit, or for the capitalist  $\mid$  who neglects the environment or  $\mid$ 

worker training â\200\224 or who passes the

buck for either to government.

Equally, he has as little time for -businessmen who assume social responsibilities beyond their competence or authority as for governments which assume economic roles pteyond their competence or authority.

Likewise, indefatigable defenders of the South African way of life against sanctioneers find little for ~ their comfort from the author of a\200\234A

History of the Jews,  $\hat{a}$ 200\235  $\hat{a}$ \200\234A History of

" ists. Those who apply them will, he

s, BB

nic socialism $\hat{a}$ 200\231 $\hat{a}$ \200\231

[J JOHNSON . ..  $\hat{a}$ 200\234Apartheid is a form of eth-Picture: ROBBIE BOTHA

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for mora
capitalistsâ\200\231

ments &

'ROBERT GREIG looks at Paul Johnson's code

for those who practise free enterprise

the Modern Worldâ\200\235 and, most recently, an excoriation of various writers, artists and thinkers of the Left  $a\200\234$ Intellectuals $200\235$ .

- " True, Johnson is no defender of
- . sanctions or disinvestment, but he is

equally clear that the real damage to

SA is not being caused by the bogey-

men of  $\hat{a}\200\234$ outside enemies $\hat{a}\200\235$  or  $\hat{a}\200\234$ anti-

cialismâ $\200\235$  â $\200\224$  alias apartheid.

South Africansâ\200\235 but by  $a\200\234$ ethnic so-

At the Institute of Directorsâ\200\231 conference on business morality yester-

| day, Johnson put forward his ten | j commandments for moral capital-

" believes, provide a moral basis to the | society in which they operate.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ Capitalism, though morally neutral, is necessarily materialistic, impersonal and non-human. However, the capitalist himself is as subject to moral discipline as anyone else.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

In an interview after his speech in Johannesburg, he said:  $\hat{a}\200\234SA$  is a country which sees itself surrounded by

enemies, a ot of unfair criticism and actions taken against it. T  $\hat{a}\geq 00\geq 34$  The way I see it, those enmities and actions are very marginal indeed, and any substantial damage done to South African society and economy is almost invariably the work of the South African govern-

## <. ment.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$  think that applies both socially, in terms of the division of races and so on, and economically. Apartheid is a form of ethnic socialism.  $\hat{A}$ »

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This is a country where there are far too many regulations and much too large a State sector, where there is an attitude that government knows best. Combined, this does much more harm to SA than all the efforts of the disinvestors and sanctions people put together. .

 $a\200\234$ Provided that SA is wisely gov-

erned  $\hat{a}\200\224$  and that  $\hat{a}\200\231s$  a big provision  $\hat{a}\200\224$ .

it has absolutely nothing to fear.  $\hat{a}\200\235$  Johnson greets jokey comparisons

. between his conversion to the Tories  $\mid$  \ from Labour and Saulâ\200\231s seeing the

## JOHNSON'S COMMANDMENTS

1. â\200\224 Never let your busin

standards fall below your p:f'f sonal ones.

- 2.  $\hat{a}\200\224$  Businessman m serve the law. St oh-
- 3.  $\hat{a}$ \200\224 Be loyal.
- 4.  $\hat{a}\200\224$  Give employees of opportuni t; yees equality
- 9.  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 Promote vast and radi
- : adical
  Improvements to 5
  tion systems. . Shwon
  6. â\200\224 Stress creativity.
- 7.  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 Seek to excell.
- 8.  $\hat{a}$ \200\224 Show a strict awareness of consequences of decisions.
- 9.  $a\200\224$  Have a sp&ii¬\201c duty to the environment beyond the call of legal obligation.
- |, 10.  $\hat{a}$ \200\224 Show a positive duty to promote beauty in design.

light on the Road to Tarsus stonily. By now heâ\200\231s probably bored with them. But they are irresistible nonetheless.

 $_{\hat{a}}200\234Although\ I$  was a socialist of a kind, I was never a Marxist. By birth

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Iâ $\200\231m$  a practising Roman Catholic and I've never been attracted to totalitarian theory. .

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$  was a member of the Labour Party for 20 years, not terribly actively. I came to the conclusion that the behaviour of the trades unions in the Seventies was so destructive, so unacceptable and so immoral that I found I really couldn $\hat{a}\200\231t$  support Labour -any more. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

â\200\230Studying world history helped persuade Johnson that the ideal of collectivist societies was doomed to fail and economic and political freedoms were indivisible.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This is something a lot of %iople have perceived right from the beginning, and I salute them; but it came to me after 20 years or more as an important truth which I hadn $\hat{a}\200\231$ t before perceived. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

China comes to mind as an exam-Ple of the indivisibility of freedoms.  $\hat{a}\200\230$ China has to some extent relaxed the collectivism norms and "un-leashed the desire for political freedom. And in trying to suppress political freedom, they $\hat{a}\200\231$ re going to set back their economic programme.  $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

Johnson is, by his own admission, a moral absolutist. Things are right or wrong, though his address insisted that capitalism is  $a\200\234$ morally neutral $a\200\235$ : morality is in the practice. To aid its South African practitioners at the Institute of Directors, he provided them with ten commandments.

His message to those who identify the evils of apartheid with those of

capitalism is couched in tones that Thatcher would be proud of:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ They are making a very serious error, and  $\hat{a}\200\231$ s important to them as well as to everyone else that it should be ex-

The error, Johnson said, has been appreciated by  $a\200\234$ some of the more intelliï¬\201gnt, open-minded blacks $a\200\235$ : capitalism is a force which, unless artificially restrained, will automatically destroy apartheid.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This is a reason I'm so opposed to sanctions, because insofar as sanctions inhibit the development of capitalism in SA, they are more likely to sustain apartheid than destroy it. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

lohnson is less trenchant when de-

scribing saying how to remove the inherited, historical or structural inequalities that apartheid represents and which stifle the liberating ener- \* gies of capitalism.

Still, there are always ideas. Though Johnson grants that the South Africans he chiefly meets are  $\hat{A}^\circ$  white and English-speaking, he said  $\hat{A}^\circ$  he finds  $\hat{a} \ge 00 \ge 34$  terrific open-mindedness, willingness to discuss the future . without any holds barred, a willingness to toy with all kinds of solutions, which I don $\hat{a} \ge 00 \ge 31$  find in any other country  $\hat{a} \ge 00 \ge 31$ .

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ This does tend to happen in a country under pressure. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

#### $= D Lâ \200 \231$

ional proposals with regard to the  $a^200^234ig_{'}$  hase of people $a^200^231s$  power,  $a^200^235$  its ultim% $a^200^231$ ;

## %«4%\ LSS DAY

THERE are cogent reasons why it would have been desirable not to renew the state of emergency. They have been eloquently expressed in

ve remains unchanged  $\hat{a}\200\224$  the revoluti seizure of power.

a number of newspapers.

{ It is intrinsically undesirable that government should have to augment ordinarf' aws of the land by emergency regulations. It is also clear that a number of important political groups in the country insist on the lifting of the emergency as one of their preconditions for constitutional negotiations with government.

It is argued that the fact that government' has to rule by emergency decree is an admission of

its own failure to rule effectively and does not

ins]ia(ire the kind of confidence which we need to

make economic and constitutional progress. Critics also point to strong calls from Western governments for the lifting of the state of emer- $\hat{a}$ 200\230gency as soon as possible. . These strong arguments were given careful ' consideration by government before it took its decision. However, government also had to consider its responsibility to protect the lives and property of all the citizens of the country. Government was of the firm opinion that it could not allow another round of unrest and violence as experienced from September 1984 until the declaration of the state of emergency on June 12, 1986. Whatever the arbitrary nature of the emergency regulations, it does not compare with the arbitrary and random injustice of mob and revolutionary violence which gripfxed the country for more than two years and left more than 3 000 people dead, the great majority of them killed by radicals. : Whatever the injustice of detention without trial, it pales into insignificance beside the dreadful injustice of the revolutionary â\200\234courtsâ\200\235 and their barbaric  $\hat{a}$ 200\234necklace $\hat{a}$ \200\235 executions. Whatever the problems of confidence caused by the continuation of the state of emergency, they do not compare with the collapse of international confidence in the South African economy brought about by the unrest and which led to tlâ\200\230; e severe international financial crisis which continues to ?lague the country. Whatever the cost to our international relations might be of the continuation of the state of

emergency, it cannot compare with the crisis

### Radicals reimposed &

he political objectives of the ANC/SACP  $\tilde{}$  and its allies within SA remain the same: mass obilisation, confrontation, unrest and violence

- '  $a\200\231$  : . eading to a transfer of power to the revolution-
- . aries. In terms of this scenario negotiations can
- : take place, but only when the balance of forces

STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE, Minister of Information, exblains why government has renewed the state of emergency in SA

created in our forei

relations by nightly scenes of violence cn

estern television and by

- . the widely held perception that the old order
- was about to be swe

### away.

Whatever the constitutional cost of continuing the state of emergency, the atmosphere for genuine negotiations is much better now than it was in 1986, when there was a disturbing escalation of polarisation and the perception that radicals would inevitably seize power drove the moderate majority from the political scene.

Normalcy prevails

The question government had to consider was

not whether law and order should continue to be maintained, but whether it could do so in terms of the normal laws of the land, without emergency powers.

Government could look to the progress in restoring law and order made possible by the state of emergency. It could look to the normal-cy which once again prevails in most black communities. It could look to the resumption of normal education of the overwhelming majority of black schoolchildren and the considerable progress in the provision of normal social services and housing for black communities.

It could also take into account the resumption of business confidence which followed the declaration of the state of emergency and which enabled our economy once again to grow. It was also aware of the fragility of that confidence, as illustrated by recent economic devlopments.

Above all, government could look to the restoration of representative local government for black South Africans throughout the country, which followed the successful 1988 municipal elections. These were all gratifying indications of the success of the state of emergency.

However, government also had to note the continuing violence in Natal, which has left more than 700 l;;eople dead and continues to rage in the Durban and Maritzburg areas. Although the root causes are complex, this violence has some 'national characteristics and some of the perpetrators come from outside Natal. The partial state of emergency in 1985 showed regional measures were ineffective.

More seriously, however, government had to take into consideration the escalating incidence of terror in the country and the %revailing revolutionary climate and planning. From November 1988 to April 1989 terrorist incidents were up 16% over the same period for 1987/88

 $\hat{A}$ » (deslpite all the ANC/SACPâ\200\231s discussions with well-meaning  $\hat{a}$ \200\234liberal-bourgeois $\hat{a}$ \200\235 elements -

from SA). : : The ANC has ?enly stated that it has no intention of aban  $\ensuremath{\mathsf{SA}}$ 

subject of some debate within the organisation.

Although legislation exists through which government can quite effectively deal with terrorism, terrorist activities cannot be divorced from the other leg of ANC policy: its political campaign. Notwithstanding the apparently

more moderate stance of the ANC/SACPâ\200\231s new DEZIEZWAS

oning its campaign of vio-  $\boldsymbol{.}$  lence, even though this has apparently been the

la

has sgifted sufficiently to ensure that the minimum demands of the radicals will be secured.

We would be naive to imagine that radical elements and their allies within SA are not working day and night to create circumstances in which such a scenario can take place.

Government has reluctantly reached the conclusion that the normal laws of the land are inadequate to maintain public order under these circumstances.:

It is, however, not government which has created the conditions which have necessitated the renewal of the state of emergency. It is the radical and revolutionary organisations, because of their refusal to stop their campaign of terrorism and their planning and mobilisation for revolution. It is not nec&ssar{ for them to follow this course. It is not true that they have exhausted all peaceful and constitutional chan-

nels to bring about change.

# Standing invitation

. Government has issued a standing invitation to all South Africans who do not support violence to join it in negotiations on the constitutional future of SA. We urge all South Africans of goodwill to join us in these efforts and make it possible for us to lift the state of emergency at the earliest possible moment.

Those who are unhappy with the renewal of the state of emergency (including government itself) should bring pressure to bear on radical organisations still working for violent change. There will be no such change in SA.

There is, however, every possibility of peaceful constitutional change as the vast majority of decent people are prepared to join government in negotiations. By Stephane Bothma and Sapa

THE three White  ${\hat a}\200\234$  Broederstroom ANC cel]  ${\hat a}\200\235$  tary training to the Re

three were motivated

public with a well-pla

terrorists returned from milinned terror mission, but all by a wish to avoid injury to civilians, the Pretoria

Regional Court was told in a biographical document presented yesterday.

Damian Michael de
Lange (32), Ian Hugh Robertson (36) and Susan
Catherine Donelly were
convicted on charges of
terrorism after admitting
being members of the
banned ANC and infiltrating South Africa with
a mission to attack chosen
military, economic and
other targets.

The three terrorists., all

members of the â\200\234Broederstroom ANC cellâ\200\235 were convicted on 10 counts of terrorism each by Regional Magistrate W I van den Bergh after pleading guilty to the charges.

According to the biographical document handed into court by the defence yesterday the commander of the Broeder-

stroom cell, Damian de Lange (32), was stoned when he travelled through townships as a journalist, and before he joined the ANC.

The report said De Lange, who was well-read in Eastern religions, - was influenced by fellow SAAN journalists Arnold

Broederstroom trial claims .

" s~Why they omed A

Alevels in 1979.

FROM PAGE 1

Geyer and Marion Sparg, while he worked for the now defunct Sunday Express.

Geyer and Sparg held views radically opposed to the government ;and were university educated, while De Lange was not.

The document added that De Lange, Geyer and Sparg petrol-bombed PFP offices in 1981 in protest against PFP statements in support of the SADFâ\200\231s cross-border attack on Matola.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ At the stage of these attacks, the offices were closed and there were no persons on the premises,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  according to the defence.

Geyer has since left South Africa, while Sparg is serving a jail sentence in the Pretoria Prison.

De Lange was born in Kitwe, Zambia, where his father, a South African, was working on the Copper Belt; mines.

His mother was born and bred in Belfast, and held a British passport.

His family held strong religious beliefs, and his mother was an ardent Catholic.

They later moved to South Africa.

De Lange matriculated after a largely Catholic education. There was a strong bond within the family that included three younger brothers.

De Lange, not having sufficient funds to enter university, became a trainee manager at the Hotel Kennaway in East London, and later proceeded to a Foskor phosphate mine at Phalaborwa, in June 1977.

He was apolitical at that stage, considered

- ~ himself a pac;flsfâ\200\230 and ~ read extensively in E;as%,
- ern religions.

He completed a SAAN . cadet course in 1979 in Johannesburg, and worked

for the Rand Daily Mail

and the Cape Times.

In Cape Town he came into contact with episodes of unrest including school boycotts and rioting. He was stoned on occasion

' during this period.

â\200\234He also had contact with Black community leaders in various townships and befriended other journalists including Black journalists through whom he came to

- who
â\200\234from

 $\hat{a}$ 200\230Her father was

acquire a new insight Black expenences perceptions in the town-ships,  $\hat{a}$ 200\235 the biographical sketch says.

De Lange befriended Sparg and Geyer when he

]omed the Sunday Ex-

press in Johannesburg in 1980, as well as Carl and Jansie Niehaus Dominee Frikkie Conradie, who opposed apart-

heid and expressed ap-

proval for the ANC.

The petrol-bombing of PFP offices took place at this stage, and Geyer fled the country.

De Lange also feared arrest and, having decided to join the ANC, was helped to enter Botswana by the Rev Conradie.

De Lange was joined by his wife, Diana, who was then pregnant with their twin boys.

De Lange was accepted as an ANC member and flown to Lusaka in February 1982, where he married Diana in April 1982.

He received military training in Angola, and later worked as a journalist for an ANC magazine Dawn.

He went to Tanzania in order to be with his family in 1983, and worked there as a teacherâ\200\231s aide in a primary school, and later in an ANC photographic laboratory.

He was sent on a mission to Swaziland in November 1985 where he met ANC members, and also met Susan Donelly, accused number 3.

Donelly (25) the British subject, made contact with the ANC in Swazi-land because she believed the SA Government should be opposed.

The sketch said Donel- ly knew the Swnss couple  $a\200\234$ . were  $^{\sim}$  kidnapped

their Swaziland

home after it had been attacked by suspected
South African security
force members.
"~ A friend of hers had
also been beaten up by
persons believed to be
South African police
members, the document
said.

Donelly was born in Mbabane, Swaziland. British and her mother was of German extraction.

She went to school in Swaziland, where she completed one year of A

and

and

~ She left for England in 1980, where she completed her A levels and

obtained a BA degree in

education from Warwick University in 1985. â\200\230Donelly regarded Southern Africa as her home, however, and returned to Swaziland in 1985 to begin teaching at the Swazi National High School. She

learned about

~SADF cross-border raids,

the civil conflict in South Africa, and formed friendships with various people who shared her political views and her commitment to a changed South Africa.

In 1986 she learned of actions allegedly carried out by South African military personnel, which, apart from the abduction of the Swiss couple and the attack on her friend, included a raid in which three people were shot dead, and another in which a child was killed.

The incidents confirmed her belief that the SA Government should be opposed.:

In 1987 she received military training and training in communications in Luanda, after she had made contact with ANC members in Swaziland.

She was later instructed  $\hat{a}\200\234$ to go to South Africa to carry out the mission referred to in the indictment $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

She understood that the attacks referred to in the charge sheet were carried ot with a wish to avoid injury to civilians.

Donelly, who was born in Mbabane, Swaziland, came into contact with Black South African students in Swaziland who

 $a\200\230$  had told her of their situa-

tion in South Africa and of their perceptions of the system of government which controlled their lives, the court heard.

In 1980 she attended a college in the United Kingdom and later obtained a degree in education.

She had, although a British subject, regarded herself as a South African and had developed a strong commitment to the country â\200\224 a commitment reinforced by friendships which she developed at university with exiled Southern Africans.

## NC

These students relate:
details about
South African Defence
Force raids into Mozambique and Swaziland and
she had also witnessed international TV coverage
of the extensive unrest
and rioting between
township ~ dwellers and
members of the security forces.

After several alleged raids by South Africa into Swaziland, where Donel-ly was teaching at the time, and several alleged deaths and kidnappings of friends, Donellyâ\200\231s beliefs that the present South African Government should be opposed were confirmed.

She contacted members of the ANC in Swziland, and went to Maputo where she had received military training \_ and

training as a communications expert.

She was later instructed by the ANC to infiltrate South Africa to carry out terror missions.

Robertson matriculated from Highlands North High School in 1971.

After his army service, he became a proof reader at SAAN in 1973 â\200\224 the nespaper group that later employed De Lange as a journalist. He did not meet De lange then, but came into contact with â\200\234journalists who expressed and frequently discussed their radical antiapartheid viewsâ\200\235, the de-

fence resume states.

In 1974, Robertson commenced to study for a BA degree in politics at Wits University in 1974,

but dropped out in 1977. At Wits he joined Nusas.

While in London with Merle in 1974/75. Robertson came into close con-

- tact with ANC ideas and

literature, and came to appreciate the extent of anti-apartheid feelings in Europe.

The 1976 disturbances deepened his views on the need for political action, and in 1977 he decided he should join the ANC.

After discussing this with ANC officials in Botswana, he flew to Lusaka on December 31, 1977, to join the ANC.

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#### OMMENT

## v~Alarming

THE disquiet over the spate of bank robberies, in which sums of up to R850 000 have been snatched at a time, has turned to alarm.

Hardly a week has gone by recently without armed robbers raiding banks.

They not only get away with vast sums of money, but they endanger the lives of bank staff and customers.

In a recent leading article on violence in South Africa, The Citizen compared the situation with that of American gangsters holding up banks in the main streets.

Our bank robbers are just as vicious and uncaring. .

Armed with a variety of weapons, including handguns and AK-47s, they raid banks in broad daylight, escaping in cars, some of which have been stolen.

It is frightening, when one thinks that these armed robbers are getting away with so much money that the total runs to R2,78 million in 13 bank robberies since January.

Not even the banks can afford to go on losing money at this rate, whatever insurance cover they have.

One top bank man says his own bank is coming to the end of its tether and the situation is extremely worrying.

 $\hat{a}\200\234I$  don $\hat{a}\200\231t$  think we have the answers. We have spent vast amounts of money to prevent these robberies and we will continue spending money.

 ${\hat a}\200\234\mbox{We}$  are a major player in this game and we must beat the robbers, but we need more  ${\hat a}\200\234\mbox{policemen}$  on the beat.  ${\hat a}\200\235$ 

Although the situation is particularly bad in Johannesburg, the robbers also strike in smaller centres  $\hat{a}\200\224$  even on the platteland  $\hat{a}\200\224$  and the police cannot provide protection everywhere with foot patrols.

The banks themselves have to bear the major brunt of providing adequate protection.

In some cases their security is both elaborate and successful, but some recent robberies have shown that the banks are not always sufficiently protected.

Clearly, even more sophisticated arrangements are necessary. The cost, though high, will be far less than the losses banks suffer when their security systems are penetrated.

The banks argue that they do not want to make it too difficult for customers to gain access to normal banking services, but it is better for the public to be inconvenienced than for customers to be shot in a bank hold-up.

- After talks last week, Assocomâ\200\231s legal adviser  $a\200\234$  a\200\234said that a number of proposals were consid-

The police and the business community have been holding meetings to consider measures :to curb the spate of armed robberies.

ered and  $a\200\234a\200\230$  certain strategies are to be implemented  $200\235a\200\231$ .;

It was agreed that more police needed in central Johannesburg an more should be attached to Business Watch which is based on the  $a\200\230\234B$ obby on the beat $200\235$ .

Policemen are allocated to specific areas in which they are in constant contact, threu two-way radios and pagers, with every store in the area. .

The system is to be extended to outlying areas.

Measures to be taken are also  $a\200\234$ aimed at protecting society, innocent byst'anderÂ\$ and passersby and to minimise the risk of injury and even death in armed robberies $a\200\235$ .

We have no doubt that, with their usual efficiency, the police will catch the robber gangs.

But with the vast number of weapons in circulation and socio-economic conditions encouraging some people to turn te crime, amed robberies will not be stamped out, but will be an ongoing problem.

The courts will have to treat armed robbery with even greater severity than they do now, and even stricter control will have to be placed on firearms.

Above all, the police force must be expanded so that greater protection can be given to the public, with uniformed policemen more visible on the streets of Johannesburg and Reef towns. B

The situation is serious enough to justify strong measures, for if firms and individuals ar  $\tilde{A}$  $\mathbb{O}$ -at.the mercy-of-armed r

will feel safe.