

Natal witness

9 Dec. 1989



Mr Don D.B. Mkhwanazi: "Cynical of white business to ask blacks to wait patiently for economic growth."

## Mandela meets five UDF leaders

PAARL — Nelson Mandela met UDF leaders for five hours yesterday in his latest contact with activists.

Regional president Christmas Tinto led a five-person delegation to see Mandela.

"Our visit to Comrade Mandela underscored the tragedy ... and the cruelty of his incarceration," UDF spokeswoman Cheryl Carolus said.

"This country is being deprived of so much by having some of our best people, including Comrade Mandela, behind bars."

Ms Carolus said the UDF endorsed undisclosed steps taken by Mandela in regular meetings with several Government ministers.

She added, however, that the nationalist leader was not negotiating on behalf of black South Africans.

"Comrade Mandela does not see himself playing any individual role. He has fought hard to be able to discuss his views with representatives of the people," she said after the meeting.

"All his activities are geared at getting the Government to see that it must negotiate with the masses of the people."

She said the UDF would not disclose details of the meeting. — Sapa-Reuter.



BACKGROUND TO THE NEWS

# When political power is hollow

BLACKS do not want political power without economic power because there is nothing more painful than to gain political freedom and then fail to meet the aspirations of the people, according to a black business expert.

"In my mind, blacks are assured of the political kingdom and should therefore look beyond this, as political power without economic power is hollow and ineffective," said Mr Don D.B. Mkhwanazi, management and marketing consultant and the national president of the Black Management Forum.

Discussing black economic empowerment at a recent seminar of the midlands region of the Life Underwriters Association of South Africa, he said he did not have to remind people of how political power without economic power had reduced some states in the Third World to a heap at the bottom of the economic ladder.

What is black economic empowerment? To put it simply, said Mr Mkhwanazi, it is the control by blacks of land, labour, capital and entrepreneurship.

He quoted Mr Paul Khumalo, chief executive of Business Challenge, as saying: "In the past year or so the phrase black economic empowerment had been used widely throughout the black com-

munity. It seems to offer hope of a brighter future and a way to peaceful change in South Africa."

And to financial journalist Jabulani Sikhakhane it is "the buzz phrase of the late 80s. Everyone who is anyone in the black business world talks of it as if the words have a ring of magic and will move black entrepreneurs into the mainstream of the economy overnight".

Mr Mkhwanazi said it was a fact of life that blacks would slowly but surely command a major share of the market. Already they accounted for 49% of the total retail sales last year, 50% of the total expenditure on audio-visual equipment, and according to a "reliable source" they contributed 40% of the total pension fund contributions which amounted to R25 million a day.

Discussing insurance marketing, Mr Mkhwanazi said: "We must go out there and systematically and professionally analyse the market, identify needs and gaps in order to be able to satisfy it properly."

He said that the image of the insurance industry in the black community left much to be desired, adding that the insurance world was trapped in past traditions and prejudices.

**In the face of powerful monopoly capitalism, South African blacks are turning more and more to their own economic empowerment as a vital corollary to political freedom.**

**LESLEY VAN DUFFELEN reports.**

The black market is regarded as a mass homogenous market with all the stereotypes, he said, adding that the attitude was "we know it because we know blacks. We don't go out there and find out what the individual's wants and needs are. We will sell him products that already exist".

As an example, he said he had struggled for two years to convince the insurance industry that members of the Black Management Forum needed a special policy tailored to their needs.

"I was told more about why it could not be done rather than how the hurdles could be surmounted."

Those people who aimed for the black professionals — the upper

end of the market — were missing the boat.

There was no short-cut to success, and because the major part of the black market was unsophisticated it called for hard work, patience, tenacity and education. It called for analytical skills to identify targets and gaps in the market.

A huge stumbling block in the development of black business was the lack or inaccessibility of capital. One of the corner-stones of economic empowerment was the ownership and control of capital. If this could be done through a variety of short-term investment policies, black economic empowerment would be provided with a major boost.

While blacks had an abundance of labour, they would sooner or later lose this control of ownership because of the capital intensive route being followed by many major companies and corporations in South Africa.

This was not in the long-term interests of the country as it added to the millions of unemployed and unemployable who lived in abject poverty and squalor, said Mr Mkhwanazi.

He admitted that the temptation was very high to invest in more reliable production systems, but said the concentration of eco-

nomic power in the country was not healthy and did not augur well for the future.

"In fact it makes alternative systems to the free market economy very attractive to the majority of the black people."

He quoted from Professor Prakash Seth's address to the 25th Nafcoc conference in August this year: "The South African economy is highly concentrated and controlled by a handful of industrial groups and historically these groups have been aided and abetted by Government policies."

"It is not a competitive economy when six industrial groups control over 85% of the value of shares listed on the JSE with Anglo American alone accounting for over 52% of the share capital. It is not a competitive economy when five percent of the firms control 63% of the nation's sales turnover."

"To all intents and purposes the system is closed to outsiders and it should be obvious to everyone that blacks are still outsiders as far as the system is concerned."

Mr Mkhwanazi concluded: "It is therefore cynical for the white business establishment to ask blacks who have been victims of discrimination to wait patiently for economic growth before they can claim a larger share of the economic pie."



# Birth of the death

STAR - 9 Dec. 1989

## squads

Grisly trail started with Act of Union when the free were divided from the unfree

PATRICK LAURENCE

**D**EATH squads, like concentration camps, do not emerge in a vacuum; they are conceived and nurtured by political actions and attitudes.

The genesis of death squads in South Africa started decades ago. Their origins stretch back to the Act of Union when black people were excluded from the ranks of first class citizens.

The formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 formalised the deep schism in the land between those who were free and those who were not.

But, as Abraham Lincoln observed in 1858 at Springfield, Illinois, a society which is "half slave and half free" cannot endure. "It will become all one thing or all the other."

In America the fatal contradiction was resolved, partially, by the American Civil War of 1861-65. In South Africa it has not yet given birth to a healing synthesis.

Instead it generated conflict. Unable or unwilling to recognise that the only way to retain freedom was to extend it to their rebellious black compatriots, whites — with a few honourable exceptions — sought to hold on to power and privilege through draconian laws.

These laws placed vast power in the hands, above all, of policemen; they led inexorably to detention without trial, to deaths in detention, to emergency decrees, to indemnity from prosecution and, ultimately, to death squads.

In a concrete sense the grisly trail which led to death squads started in 1963. In that year the Minister of Police, Mr BJ Vorster, placed the General Law Amendment Act or "90-day detention law" on the statute book.

It empowered a senior police officer to detain any person for up to 90 days if he, the police officer, suspected on "reasonable grounds" that he or she had information about acts of sabotage or contraventions of the Suppression of Communism Act or the Unlawful Organisations Act.

The detainee could be held for interrogation until, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Po-

lice, he or she had answered questions satisfactorily. They could be held for 90 days on "any particular occasion". If after 90 days, they were still unwilling or unable to respond satisfactorily, they could be re-detained for another 90 days.

Vorster's 90-day law was repealed in 1965, only to be replaced by a successive of statutory laws providing for arbitrary and indefinite detention: the 180-day law, the Terrorism Act and, more recently, the Internal Security Act.

**T**hese laws introduced a new feature into South Africa: deaths in detention. On September 5 1963, only a few months after the 90-day-law was placed on the statute book, Looksmart Ngudle was founded hanging in his cell.

He was the first of a long list of detainees — 69, according to the Human Rights Commission — to die in detention. The inquest magistrate found that Ngudle's death had not been the result of act or omission amounting to an offence by any person. It was a phrase which was to be repeated in inquest courts in years to come.

Since 1963, 69 detainees have died in detention; nearly half were found by the courts to have committed suicide.

The human rights lawyer, Mr George Bizos, SC, coined the term "induced suicide" when he

appeared for the family of Neil Aggett, the young doctor and trade unionist who died in detention in 1982.

The Muslim leader, Imam Abdulla Haron, was one of seven people to die in detention in 1969; 18 months before his detention he was declared fit for life-insurance purposes. He was found dead in his cell on September 27 1969; his body was covered with 26 bruises.

The police explanation was that he sustained them by falling down a flight of stairs; counsel for the Haron family submitted that he had been beaten in a bid to extract a statement from him.

The inquest magistrate found that some of his injuries had been sustained during an "accidental fall down a flight of stone stairs" but was unable to conclude how he had sustained the rest.

Steve Biko, the charismatic founder of Black Consciousness,

was found dead in a prison cell in Pretoria on September 12 1977; he had been driven up, naked and manacled, from Port Elizabeth the day before.

Like the Imam, Biko had injuries, including a scar over his left eye. Counsel for the Biko family, Mr Sydney Kentridge, SC, argued that the inquest court could only come to one finding: the death of Biko was due to a criminal assault on him by one or more of the eight security policemen in whose custody he was.

The magistrate, Mr MJ Prins, found that the likely cause of death was the head injury and an associated brain injury; he found further that it was probably sustained during a scuffle with the security police.

He concluded, however: "The available evidence does not prove that the death was brought about by any act or



omission involving or amounting to an offence on the part of any person."

Looking back, it is striking that no policeman was prosecuted for these deaths in detention; indeed, on the contrary, some were even promoted which, *prima facie*, meant that their superiors were not displeased with them.

The most conspicuous promotion was that of Colonel Pieter Goosen, the officer in charge of Biko's interrogation who — in Mr Kentridge's words — left the mortally injured Biko "on a mat in chains for 48 hours".

**T**he Minister of Police at the time, Mr J T Kruger, expressed no dismay at Biko's treatment. "It leaves me cold," he said to laughter at a National Party meeting.

The death of scores of detainees without visible punishment of the people responsible for their safety created an environment congenial to the growth of death squads. It encouraged some policemen to think they were above the law when dealing with people suspected of crimes against the state.

From that state of mind there are but a few steps to serving in, or even organising, death squads to hunt down anti-apartheid activists.

It is significant that the men who have confessed to participating in death squads were all ex-policemen: Captain Dirk Coetzee, Almond Nofomela and Mr David Tshikalange.

It is significant, too, that the men detained in South Africa for questioning in connection with the murder of Dr David Webster and Mr Anton Lubowski, Ferdi Barnard and Mr Calla Botha, are ex-policemen.

It is pertinent to recall that another ex-policeman, Robert van der Merwe, did not hesitate to kill the two men when he was told by a superior officer that the men had links to the outlawed African National Congress. "I know it had happened before," Van der Merwe said in a bid to explain why he shot the men at point blank range.

There are, however, additional links in the chain of causality, some of which amount to a chilling commentary on the state of mind of highly placed people.

The former head of Bureau for State Security (BOSS), General Hendrik van den Bergh, once boasted that he had men who would murder on order for him, irrespective of who their prey was. His statement was made to a judicial inquiry and was, therefore, presumably considered.

**B**rigadier "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, still speaks of "ANC and Swapo bastards"; by his own testimony, kills "terrorists" without thinking about it. He is a former Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto.

In 1987 the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, talked publicly of "eliminating" and "taking out" activists and revolutionaries. He later denied that he was using the words literally. His words, however, had an ominous ring, inviting comparison to Stalinist phraseology about "liquidating" enemies of the state.

These statements must be seen in the context of the "total strategy" doctrine. Devised as a response to what the "total onslaught", it rested on the assumption that the enemy was everywhere and not merely on preparing for war on the battlefield. He was in the universities, in the trade unions, and in cultural associations, plotting total psychological and economic warfare.

In the minds of right-wing zealots, imbued until recently with a sense of their own immunity from prosecution, talk from men in senior position about "eliminating" people is dangerous enough on its own. Linked to the doctrine of "total strategy", it is positively lethal.

Responsibility for these developments cannot be evaded. It lies in the first place with successive governments from Prime Minister Vorster's onwards. It lies, in particular, with successive Ministers of Law and Order, starting again with Vorster who introduced detention without trial.

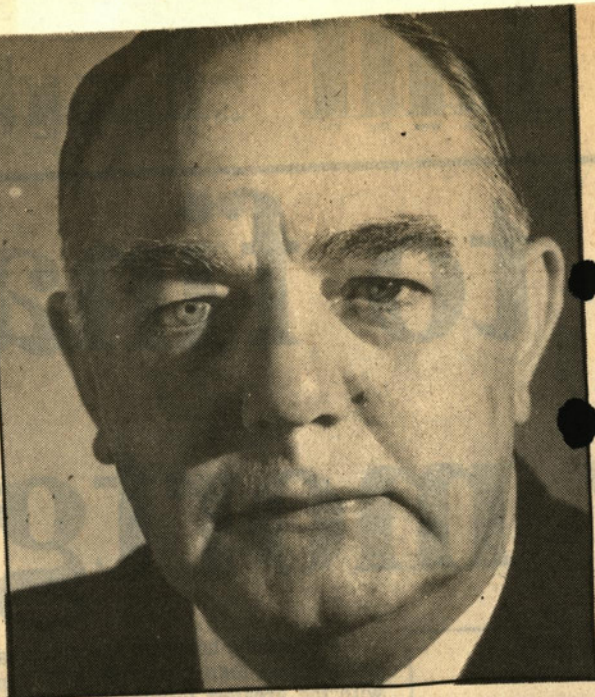
In the end, however, the responsibility spreads out to white voters; the vast majority either

accepted deaths in detention and the murder of anti-government activists by unknown killers or became too tired or too frightened to protest.

Free men cannot evade responsibility for what happens in around them. As George Bernard Shaw remarked: "Liberty means responsibility."



**DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL:** In 1963 Minister of Police, Mr B J Vorster, placed the General Law Amendment Act or "90-day detention law" on the statute book where a person could be detained until, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police, he or she had answered questions satisfactorily. Since then successive statutory laws have provided for arbitrary and indefinite detention.



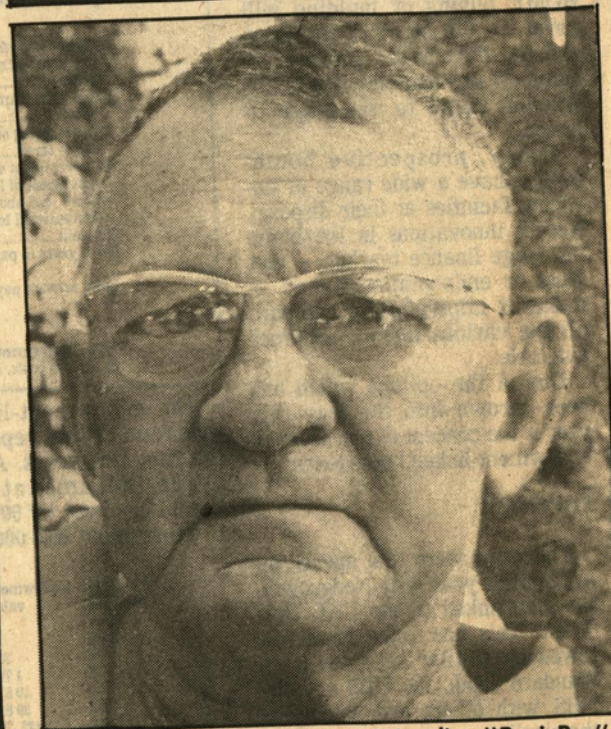
**DEATHS IN DETENTION:** In 1977, when Steve Biko was found dead in his prison cell the day after he had been driven naked and manacled from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria, the then Minister of Police, Mr J T Kruger, expressed no dismay at his treatment. "It leaves me cold," he said to laughter at a National Party meeting. Since 1963, 69 detainees have died while in detention.



**TOTAL ONSLAUGHT:** In 1987, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok, talked of "eliminating" and "taking out" revolutionaries.



**MURDER ON ORDER:** The former head of Bureau for State Security (BOSS), General Hendrik Van den Bergh, once boasted he had men who would "murder" on order for him.



**KILL WITHOUT THINKING:** Brigadier "Rooi Rus" Swanepoel, a former Divisional Commissioner, speaks of "ANC and Swapo bastards" and says he kills "terrorists" without thinking about it.



# 'Baby guerilla' missing

## Police say youth was freed six months' ago

THE 15-year-old "baby guerilla" who was produced at an international press conference by the South African security police in June last year has gone missing.

Self-confessed former ANC "freedom fighter" Herbert Nkosana Mtshali — claimed to have been the youngest captured — was detained by police 17 months ago.

Police say they freed him before June, but members of his family claim they have not seen or heard from him.

According to his father, Mr Josphe Mtshali, of Dlamini, Soweto, the family believes he is still in detention.

When the youngster was presented at the press conference on June 30 last year, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok announced that the ANC had embarked on "a campaign of child revolution".

### AK-47 rifle

Undaunted by television crews and cameras, the young boy stripped an AK-47 rifle in under a minute and announced that his mission was to sabotage power stations and to recruit new members.

### PAT DEVEREAUX

"I was trained at Punga camp in Angola to dismantle the AK-47 in 50 seconds."

He claimed he was recruited in Soweto by an ANC member called Thabo on November 18 1987, and was taught weapon handling and limpet mine theory for three weeks in Angola with about 25 other recruits. He allegedly re-entered the country in March last year.

The bespectacled teenager who appeared on local television screens was apparently arrested a week before his press

conference appearance in June. He was 14 at the time but turned 15 in the same week.

"I now regret joining the ANC. I am now going to work with the police and go back to school. The ANC can't win against the SAP. To be a member pays nothing. They can fight but where will they end up?" asked the slightly built boy.

At the time he was said to have joined the ANC of his own free will — "I was a comrade and concentrated on politics."

The police had not promised him anything, told him what to say, or tortured him.

However, he said he would have to join the police for his own protection from possible ANC retaliation. "I don't think I

will be safe in Soweto from ANC members. I was a freedom fighter but now I am nothing."

Mr Mtshali this week said members of the family had seen Nkosana once in Newcastle and once in Pretoria.

Mr Mtshali said he was praying that his son would be with the family one day. "If the police say they do not have him then I don't know who can help us," he added.

Asked whether Nkosana had been charged or released into his parents' custody, a police liaison officer, Captain Peet Bothma said: "This boy was released before June. We don't know where he is. We do not keep tabs on people we release."

Mrs Audrey Coleman, of the Detainees Aid Centre, expressed fears that in the light of recent police hit squad allegations the boy may have been a victim.

"All we can do is call for an inquiry into when and where the police released him, and an inquiry into his disappearance."

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**HERBERT MTSHALI:** Described as the youngest ANC guerilla yet captured, he has disappeared.