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APLN 3N \_12\_S

A Dec. 1239

Mandela

| meets  
| five UDR/

leaders

| PAARL â\200\224 Nelson Man-  
dela 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.

â\200\234Our visit to Comrade  
Mandela underscored  
the tragedy ... and the  
â\200\230cruelty of his incarcera-  
tion,â\200\235 UDF spokes-  
woman Cheryl Carolus  
said.

â\200\234This country is being  
deprived of so much by  
having some of our best  
people, including Com-  
rade Mandela, behind  
bars.â\200\235 :

Ms Carolus said the  
UDF endorsed undis-  
closed steps taken lby  
Mandela, in regular |  
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iment ministers. , .,

S gp?;d'ed, however,  
that. the nationalist  
leader was not negotiat-  
ing on behalf of black  
South Africans.

â\200\234Comrade Mandela  
does not see himself  
playing any individual  
\_ . rolg. Hle) has fgught ha;lrd

to be'able to discuss his

Mr Don D.B. Mkhwanazi: â\200\230Cy\_nlcal.of white . i views) with representa-  
business to ask blacks to wait patiently for tives of the people,â\200\235 she  
' economic growth. said after the meeting.

: )t T â\200\234All his activities are  
geared at getting the

P â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224â\200\224 Government to see that it

must negotiate with the  
masses of the people.â\200\235

She said the UDF  
would. not disclose de-  
tails of the meeting. â\200\224  
Sapa-Reuter. g

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e ST A AT T WA S W 9 P e

â\200\234In 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,â\200\235 said Mr Don D.B. Mkhwanazi, management and marketing consultant and the national president of the Black Management Forum. s

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.

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

[illegible]



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 mem-  
bers of the Black Management  
Forum needed a special policy tai-  
lored to their needs.

I was told more about why it  
could not be done rather than how  
the hurdles could be sur-  
mounted.

Those people who aimed for the  
black professionals the upper

end of the market were missing  
the boat. .

There was no short-cut to suc-  
cess, and because the major part  
of the black market was unsophis-  
ticated 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 capi-  
tal. If this could be done through a  
variety of short-term investment

\* policies, black economic empo-

werment would be provided with a  
major boost.

While blacks had an abundance  
of labour, they would sooner or  
later lose this control of own-  
ership because of the capital  
intensive route being followed by

many major companies and cor-  
porations 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 Mkh-  
wazani. g

He admitted that the temptation  
was very high to invest in more



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! PATRICK LAURENCE

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. EATH squads, like

(7 concentration  
camps, do not

. . emerge in a vacuum,  
â\200\230they are conceived and  
nurtured by political ac-

tions and attitudes.

â\200\230The genesis of death  
szuads in South Africa start-  
ed decades ago. Their origins  
stretch back to the Act of  
Union when black people  
were excluded from the  
rgnks of first class citizens.

:The formation of the Union of  
Seuth Africa in 1910 formalised  
tHe deep schism in the land be-  
tween those who were free and  
tlaose who were not.

â\200\230But, as Abraham Lincoln ob-  
served in 1858 at Springfield, II-  
ligois, a society which is â\200\234half  
slave and half freeâ\200\235 cannot en-  
dure. â\200\234It.will become all one

thing or all the other.â\200\235

diction was resolved, partially,  
(by the American Civil War of  
1&1-65. In South Africa it has  
not yet given birth to a healing  
sy.'nthesis. '

squ

ads

Instead it generated conflict. |.

Unable or unwilling to recognise  
that the only way to retain free-  
dom was to extend it to their  
rebellious black compatriots,  
whites â\200\224 with a few honourable  
exceptions â\200\224 sought to hold on  
to- power and privilege through  
draconian laws.

~ These laws placed vast power  
in; the hands, above all, of po-  
licemen,; they led inexorably to  
detention without trial, to  
deaths in detention, to emergen-  
cy 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

An America the fatal contra-

Minister of Police, Mr B J Vor-  
ster, placed the General Law |  
Amendment Act or â\200\23490-day de-  
tention lawâ\200\235 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 â\200\234reason-

- able groundsâ\200\235 that he or She had |

information about acts of sabo- |  
tage or contraventions of the â\200\230  
Suppression of Communism Act |  
or: the Unlawful Organisations|  
Act.

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

Grisly tra  
â\200\230liÂçe, he or she had answered  
could be held for 90 Qayâ\200\231s, on



any particular occasion. If  
after 90 days, they were still un-  
willing or unable to respond sat-

isfactorily, they could be re-de-  
tained for another 90 days.

Vorster's 90-day law was re-  
pealed in 1965, only to be re-  
placed by a successive of stat-  
utory laws providing for arbi-  
trary and indefinite detention:  
the 180-day law, the Terrorism

ternal Security Act.

These laws introduced a

new feature into South Africa:  
deaths in detention. On Septem-  
ber 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 in-

quest 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.

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The free were divided

the free were divided

questions satisfactorily. They

. And, more recently, the In-

death

13RS i  
h Act of Union when

from the unfree

%B\SAT: C AT

~ Since 1963, 69 detainees have  
died in detention; nearly half

were found by the courts. to

â\200\230have committed suicide.

' The human rights lawyer, Mr  
-George Bizos, SC, coined the  
â\200\234term â\200\234â\200\230induced suicideâ\200\235 when he

appeared for the family of Neil  
Aggett, the young doctor and  
trade unionist who died in de-  
tention in 1982. :

The Muslim leader, Imam Ab-  
dulla Haron, was one of seven  
people to die in detention in  
| 1969; 18 months before his deten-  
| tion he was declared fit for life-

found dead in his cell  
tember 27 1969; his body  
vered with 26 bruises.

The police explanation was  
that he sustained them by fall-  
ing down a flight of stairs; coun-  
sel for the Haron family submit-  
ted 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 â\200\234acci-  
dental fall down a flight of stone  
stairsâ\200\235 but was unable to con-  
clude how he had sustained the  
rest. w1

Steve Biko, the charismatic  
founder of Black Consciousness,

on Sep-  
was co-

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 in-  
juries, 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

â\200\230due to a criminal assault on him

by one or more of the eight se-  
curity policemen in whose cus-  
tody he was.

The magistrate, Mr M J  
Prins, found that the likely  
cause of death was the head in-  
jury and an associated brain in- -

Jury; 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 amount-  
ing to an offence on the part of  
;any person.â\200\235 ik

Looking back, it is striking  
that no policeman was prosecut-  
ed 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 promo-  
tion was that of Colonel Pieter  
Goosen, the officer in charge of  
Bikoâ\200\231s interrogation who â\200\224 in  
Mr Kentridgeâ\200\231s words â\200\224 left the  
mortally-injured Biko â\200\234on a mat  
in chains for 48 hoursâ\200\235.

I he Minister of Police at

the time, Mr J T Kruger, ex-  
pressed no dismay at Bikoâ\200\231s  
treatment. â\200\234It leaves me cold,â\200\235  
he said to laughter at a National  
Party meeting.

The death of scores of detain- |  
ees without visible punishment |  
- of the people responsible for |  
their safety created an environ- 3

ment congenial to the growth of  
death squads. It encouraged  
Some policemen to think they  
were above the law when deal-  
ing with  
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 ac-  
tivists.

It is significant that the men |

who have confessed to partici-  
pating 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 Lubows-  
ki, 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 |

. for State Security (BOSS), Gen- |  
. eral Hendrik  
. once boasted

- to kill the two men when he was |  
~ told by

lawed African National Con-  
gress. â\200\234I know it had happened  
before,â\200\235 Van der Merwe said in

.a bid to explain why he shot the  
men at point blank range.

There are, however, addition-  
al links in the chain of causality,  
some of which amount to a chil-  
ing commentary on the state of

people suspected of

a superior officer that ;%  
the men had links to the out- .

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mind of highly placed people.

The former head of Bureau ,  
van den Bergh,  
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 con-  
sidered.

B\_rigadier â\200\230â\200\234Rooi Rusâ\200\235

Swanepoel, still speaks of â\200\234ANC  
and Swl:):o bastardsâ\200\235; by his own  
testimony, kills â\200\234terrorists  
without thinking about it. He is  
a former Divisional Commis-  
sioner of Police in Soweto.

In 1987 the Minister of Law  
and Order, Mr Adriaan V\_lok,;  
talked publicly of â\200\234eliminating  
and â\200\234taking outâ\200\235 activists and  
revolutionaries. He later denied  
that he was using the words liter-  
ally. His words, however, had an  
ominous ring, inviting compari-

son to Stalinist phraseology  
about â\200\234liquidatingâ\200\235 enemies of  
the state.

These statements must be  
seen in the context of the â\200\234total

. strategyâ\200\235 doctrine. Devised as a

response to what the â\200\234total on-  
slaughtâ\200\235, it rested on the as-  
sumption -that the enemy was  
everywhere and not merely on  
preparing for war on the battle-  
field. He was in the universities,  
in the trade unions, and in cul-  
tural associations, plotting total  
psychological and economic  
warfare. : \_ :  
In the minds of right-wing

zealots, imbued until recently -  
. with a sense of their own immu-

nity from prosecution, talk from

' men in senior position about  
|- â\200\234eliminatingâ\200\235 people is danger-

â\200\234ousâ\200\235enough on its own. Linked to  
the doctrine Ofï-\202t?tfl strategyâ\200\235,  
it is positively lethal.

RÃ©so;onsibility for these de-  
velopments cannot be evaded. It  
lies in the first place with suc-  
cessive governments from  
Prime Minister Vorsterâ\200\235s on-  
wards. It lies, in particular, with  
successive Ministers of Law and  
- Order, starting again with Vor-  
ster who introduced detention  
without trial.

In the end, however, the re-  
sponsibility spreads out to white

voters; the vast majority either |

' ted deaths in detention  
. :ï-\201ï-\201e&e murder of antl-gov;lt\_ï-\201:  
.ment activists by unknown

ers or became too tired or too

. frightened to protest.

ee men cannot evade re-  
spg;x:â\200\230sibility for what happens in

\* around them. As George Ber-

nard Shaw remarked: â\200\234Liberty

e  
' means responsibility.



#### DETENTION WITHOUT

TRIAL: In 1963 Minister of Police, Mr B J Vorster, placed the General Law Amendment Act or 1190-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.

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

#### 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

is treatment. It leaves me cold, he said to laughter at a National Party meeting. Since 1963, 69 detainees have died while in

detention.

#### MURDER ON ORDER: The former head of Bureau

for State Security (BOSS), \_ den Bergh, once boasted he murdered on order

General Hendrik Van der Merwe had men who would do it for him.

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



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EÂ» .

guerillaâ\200\235 who was produced at an international

uth African security po-

gone missing.

Self-confessed former ANC

| â\200\234freedom fighterâ\200\235 Herbert Nkosana Mtshali â\200\224 claimed to have been the youngest j

captured â\200\224 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 Jospeh 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 â\200\234a campaign of child revolutionâ\200\235.

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

new members.

â\200\230Baby g

Police say youth was freed six monthsâ\200\231 ago

THE 15-year-old â\200\230â\200\234baby

gguess conference by the -

lice in June last year has

PAT DEVEREAUX 5

â\200\234I was trained at Punga camp  
in Angola to dismantle the AK-  
47 in 50 seconds.â\200\235

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 Ango-  
la with about 25 other recruits.  
He allegedly re-entered the  
country in March last year.

The bespectacled teenager  
who appeared on local televi-  
sion screens was apparently ar-

| ANC. I am now going to work  
, ber pays nothing. They can fight  
. asked the slightly built boy.  
power stations and to recruit |

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

â\200\234I'now regret joining the  
with the police and 0 back to  
school. The ANC ganâ\200\231tâ\200\230 win  
against the SAP. To be a mem-

ut where will they enq up?â\200\235

}lge time he was said to  
have joined the ANC of his own

rested a week before his press  
e

| members. I was a freedom  
fighter but now I am nothing.â\200\235

....Mr Mtshali this week said

~members of the family had seen

â\200\234Nkosana 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."

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. / 7 - i

However, he said he would have to join the police for his

own protection from possible ANC retaliation. "I don't think I

"»

rilla

°

missing

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

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