

Every time an aircraft is lost it's a write-off

# Arms embargo could make SA vulnerable in air

THE STAR

28/03/88

South Africa's up-dating conversion of the Mirage 3 jet fighter to the Cheetah has stopped a gap but not solved a problem.

This is the opinion of Mr Chris Foss, Military Editor of the authoritative journal, *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

"Every time South Africa loses a plane it's a write-off. Angola and the other Frontline countries simply have their numbers brought up to strength from time to time. That's the final problem South Africa must face," Mr Foss commented at the time of the 1986 unveiling of the Cheetah.

The loss last week of a SAAF Mirage and its pilot, Major J W van Coppenhagen, brought to three the confirmed number of pilots missing in the Namibia/Angola region since November last year.

Professor Mike Hough, director of the Institute for Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, assessed the South African Air Force's total combat aircraft capacity as 356.

A breakdown of specific types of aircraft was not available but in 1985 a French publication with a reputation for the accuracy of its scoops, *Le Canard Enchaîné*, reported that South Africa originally purchased 56 Mirage 3s and 46 Mirage F1s from the French Dassault Aviation Corporation.

## SPARES IN CONTRACT

This purchase included a contract for supply of spares, which prompted a Dassault engineer to explain: "When we are selling one Mirage we are really selling three when you include the spare parts."

The 1977 mandatory embargo on arms sales to South Africa included the cancellation of spare parts supply agreements.

In 1983, the then head of the SAAF, Lieutenant-General A M Muller, said in an interview with the American magazine, *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, that the air force was busy with an investigation into what aircraft needed to be built in South Africa.

Even before the arms embargo, the need for improved fighter aircraft was recognised.

The first option was upgrading of existing machines, a result of which was the Cheetah, a modified Mirage 3 reputed to have a top speed in excess of the Mach 2.2 claimed by the Soviet-built MiG-23 which is currently active against South African forces in Angola.

The Impala, primarily a jet fighter trainer, has been built by the Atlas Aircraft Corporation since 1967.

It was difficult to assess the success of the Cheetah project as it had not yet been properly deployed in operational conditions.

"But there was a general realisation of the need for a completely new fighter," said Professor Hough.

"The enormous costs involved in such a project as well as the scarcity of the sophisticated technology have been the main prohibitive factors.

"The development of the Israeli Lavi jet fighter cost in the region of R580 million before the Israelis shelved the project last year. The scheme was believed to place too much of a burden on an already strained economy.

"A potential export market for the finished product is an important factor as it can provide much of the funding," said Professor Hough.

## LUCRATIVE JOB OFFERS

When the Lavi scheme was stopped, it was reported that South Africa was wooing the Israeli aeronautical engineers with lucrative job offers in the South African arms manufacturing industry.

A spokesman for Armscor said at the time: "Officially we do not canvass for staff abroad", but it was later reported that 50 aeronautical engineers had arrived in South Africa. It was also speculated that South Africa could, at a later stage, establish a plant near Pretoria to manufacture a fighter jet, probably a scaled down version of the Lavi plane.

Referring to last month's successful air raid on South West Africa People's Organisation bases in Lubango, southern Angola, Professor Hough said a rumour was doing the rounds in military analytical circles that these engineers had been instrumental in ensuring the SAAF jets evaded detection by the highly-sophisticated radar installations at the disposal of the Angolan government.

These radar installations gave rise to Angolan claims in November 1985 that the SAAF had lost the vital air superiority it had previously enjoyed in operations in the country.

This claim was not entirely correct. Because there were instances of localised air dominance by Angolan forces, the SAAF were concerned about the loss of often irreplaceable equipment, Professor Hough said.

It was an indication of how important South Africa viewed the Angolan situation that they were prepared to risk aircraft in the region.



March 28 1988

Murder up 53 pc, robbery 45 pc at end of 1987

THE STAR  
28/03/88

# Durban and Maritzburg 'crime capitals of world'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Durban and Maritzburg have become the new crime capitals of the world as the unrest and flagging economy tighten the violence's grip on the province.

Their crime rates are higher than in Los Angeles and New York, according to figures obtained from America, while Durban's daily murder figure is higher even than that in Medellin, the Colombian city that has attained notoriety for deaths related to vicious cocaine wars.

During the last six months of 1987, the number of murders in Natal soared by 53 percent and robberies by 45 percent, police say.

Opposition politicians have claimed that the police cannot cope with the crime wave and that the Government is incapable of tackling its causes.

The Progressive Federal Party MP for Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis, says the statistics demonstrate beyond doubt that the crime rate is rising. The causes are obviously related to political unrest and the economy, he says, problems which the Government has proved incapable of solving.

There is a grave shortage of policemen and the force is being "extended beyond its limits by the unrest".

Fellow PFP MP Mr Harry Schwarz said the crime problem was so serious it threatened the country's stability. Every minute, there was one assault on a person and two on property.

"The truth is that crime is a fearful spreading social disease that has to be controlled, it is affecting the stability of the country and is a handmaiden of revolution," he told Parliament.

## UNACCEPTABLY HIGH

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said last week the crime rate was unacceptably high and was being given highest priority by the police.

The increase in recent years had coincided with the surge in unrest, he said.

A multipronged campaign had been launched to counter the increasing crime and had already succeeded in some areas, Mr Vlok said.

In 1986, at the height of the unrest, Mr Vlok told a meeting of the Security Association of South Africa that at times, police

crime prevention in some of the larger centres had come virtually to a halt.

The situation has since stabilised in most of the country, Natal being the notable exception.

Mr Vlok's spokesman, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said Natal's crime figures for 1987 had inflated and distorted those for the entire country. Police had succeeded in putting a brake on crime in most of the country.

According to figures for the Maritzburg region released by Mr Vlok in Parliament recently, the murder rate in Edendale Valley had doubled and 623 people had been killed in the area patrolled by the Plessislaer police station. In 1986 this figure was only 298.

In Durban, the number of murders increased from 1 534 in 1986 to 1 557 in 1987, culpable homicides from 685 to 739, and assaults with intent from 6 341 to a chilling 10 473.

Brigadier Mellet has said recent weeks have brought encouraging signs that crime in Natal is beginning to ease off and that police were confident of an improvement during the year.



# Politicians' <sup>THE STAR</sup> fear of press <sup>28/03/88</sup> spells freedom — UK editor

By Martin Challenor  
Tension between journalists and politicians spells freedom for a country's citizens, a former Tory Cabinet Minister and *Daily Telegraph* editor, Lord Bill Deedes, has said.

Drawing on his 25 years as a Conservative Party MP for Ashford, Kent, combined with his 57 years in Fleet Street, Lord Deedes said: "There is a natural antagonism between newspapers and politicians, and so there should be.

"I have always believed politicians should be a bit nervous about journalists and newspapers. Journalists should have a fairly

healthy scepticism, but not contempt, for politicians.

"And there is always tension between journalists and politicians. Having lived on both sides I can say that tension spells freedom for the citizens. When the government and the press are in love, citizens have no freedom, no guarantee of liberty. Newspapers and politicians must never, ever get on. It is a hallmark of a free country."

The British peer was recently in South Africa gathering information for newspaper articles he is to write. His visit coincided with the temporary closing of the



Lord Bill Deedes, former editor of London's *Daily Telegraph* ... politicians should be nervous and journalists sceptical.  
Picture by Herbert Mabuza

*New Nation*.

"I regret the banning. The Government is shooting itself in the foot because it has been greatly to South Africa's credit that in the past it was one sub-Saharan African country where open reporting was possible.

"Whatever you can say about the policies of the regime, there had

never been an attempt to conceal it. Affairs were openly conducted. It was often painful, but within reason, they kept their window open.

"It is very sad that this credit has been lost by the state of emergency. Those of us who try to avoid condemning South Africa on every count have pointed to the fact that they had a

free press and it was more than you could say for many African countries.

"As a journalist I am saddened by the effect of the state of emergency. I regret it."

South Africa at the moment was a test for journalists. "The skill of journalism is working against a handicap. You are working under

greater handicaps than any body of journalists in a country associated with Britain."

In his own way, Lord Deedes is a most distinguished scribe. Many issues he reported on are now part of world history. At 74 he is happy to still be reporting.

"I love journalism. The greatest excitement is finding out. A week

here finding out ... I loved it. It is like alcohol or drugs. I never really got the chance, being an MP and editor, to chase the stories I wanted. I now have the freedom to chase news as I find it, and I enjoy it. Being an editor you become a well paid nanny."

Lord Deedes joined the *Morning Post* in 1931. The paper was taken over by the *Daily Telegraph* in 1937. After World War 2 he followed six ancestors, dating back to the 1600s, into the Commons.

Journalism was suspended while Lord Deedes served as a junior Minister for two years, in housing and then home affairs. Later he served as a Minister without portfolio in Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's cabinet and then that of Sir Alexander Douglas-Home.

Lord Deedes' friendship with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's husband, Denis, has led many people to believe that the editors of *Private Eye* have him in mind when they pen their spoof letter to "Dear Bill" from "Denis".



# New light, fresh propaganda on sanctions issue

THE STAR

28/03/88

Living with sanctions is an adjustment South Africans have already made. From various sides, the morality and effectiveness of sanctions have been comprehensively debated, without opposing sides finding common norms by which to judge the issue.

Two recent publications serve to throw some new light, and to underline established responses, to a subject that will remain a topic for debate for as long as sanctions are imposed.

"Understanding Sanctions" is not, as its title might suggest, a book of balanced analysis — unlike the other, which is thought-provoking and incisive.

The purpose is essentially propagandistic in the cause of opposing sanctions, with the author, a foreign policy analyst, stating immediately his belief that Western politicians have been misguided, particularly in their view of the stance of black South Africans. He wishes primarily to emphasise the alternative black view of sanctions to that expressed so volubly by radical spokesmen.

Sound as some of his arguments may be, his partisanship destroys the book as a serious contributor to a well-worn debate.

Briefly, Mr Hoyle believes commercial involvement in South Africa has done more to destroy apartheid than any number of conferences or demonstrations in Western Europe. "To damage, by means of sanctions and disinvestment, this inherently anti-apartheid commercial pressure weakens the prospects for a peaceful resolution of SA's problems," he says.

## Opinion polls

He dwells on opinion polls which from time to time have shown that a majority of blacks oppose sanctions. He argues that a positively charged economy would see the increasing emergence of black entrepreneurs with a share in the future of South Africa, and more black consumer power which would be able to force more and more concessions.

Looking at effects, Mr Hoyle sees damage to Western economies as well as to South Africa's imports and exports. Valuable social projects for improving conditions in the black communities would be reduced to a tangled mess, he says.

There is considerable merit to Mr Hoyle's case, which is buttressed by interesting factual information, but the book at no stage appears as a balanced consideration of the merits of the opposing schools of thought.

Jack Bloom, on the other hand, has written a much fuller book. It discusses the political dilemma, it looks at consequences, it weighs the disinvestment strategy against the pain, it looks at the development of possible compromises, and it allows the vari-

ous opinion leaders to speak in their own words without imposing a judgment on top of those thoughts.

He believes that black opinion gravitates to support for conditional investment and selective disinvestment as a way of maintaining political pressure on apartheid.

But he warns of the potential of high levels of black anger, "which make disinvestment an ever more attractive option as long as Government reform efforts fall far short of expectations". He sees a trend in opinion polls towards a larger proportion of blacks (at present still a minority) endorsing disinvestment. But whole-hog disinvestment, he says, cannot easily claim moral justification on the basis of majority assent from black South Africa.

Across the board, he finds black leaders favour increased overseas pressures on South Africa and there is a strongly-held perception that foreign investment amounted to complicity with apartheid.

from the Western capitalist system as a whole is at times profound."

Looking at this scenario through Western business eyes he says: "The heavy implication is that too close an association with South Africa is simply too damaging in the long term, no matter the merits in terms of encouraging reform." That is a telling observation indeed.

Against these considerations, it is possible to appreciate his claim that "it really is the easier and less risky option" for the United States to follow the route of international threats and action to keep in touch with the country's future leaders, whether or not it has any concern for the consequences of its actions or for the welfare of the ordinary people of South Africa.

Coming to the crunch, he says, the West has to throw in its lot with the blacks, even to the extent of taking certain measures likely to be counter-productive, but nevertheless demanded by a desperate black leadership.

Looking to the role of business in

the future, Mr Bloom suggests individual businessmen and businesses should seek ways to express solidarity with black aspirations and to criticise "particularly outrageous" Government actions such as the death of a trade unionist in detention.

He suggests that businessmen should share common platforms with black political organisations, attend political funerals and church-organised prayer vigils, call for the release of political prisoners, assist funds for detainees and arrange with company workers how they might jointly mark anniversaries such as June 16 and March 21.

John Patten reviews "Understanding Sanctions" by David Hoyle (International Freedom Foundation) and "Black South Africa and the Disinvestment Dilemma" by Jack Brian Bloom (Jonathan Ball).

If some of these ideas might seem outlandish to businessmen, they will feel happier with Mr Bloom's view that South Africa "simply cannot be allowed to go into economic reverse or stagnate in any way without catastrophic future consequences."

He says this unavoidably means working "within the system," since it is the only system South Africa has.

A final stimulating shot, in a book full of deep thought, is Mr Bloom's claim that the greatest irony is that "the greatest force for impelling moderates to come together to avert catastrophe is the actions of extremists".

Extremists he sees as indispensable to the change process, but he warns that the great danger is that they could actually succeed in their aims before moderates can join forces to undercut them by "achieving genuine change through rational compromise".



## ANC plans, passport found in ruins

# Student danced in flames, says Natal university's report

28/09/88

DURBAN — African National Congress plans of electrical substations and the passport of a student who left the country were found after a fire at the University of Natal two years ago last week, the *Sunday Tribune* reported yesterday.

This and other bizarre pointers — among them bloodstains and a student being seen dancing wildly in the flames — are recorded in the university's report on the fire.

The 40-page report, compiled by Professor Ellie Newman of the Department of Adjectival and Clinical Law, has been kept firmly under wraps because of its "sensivity." However, in a response to a *Sunday Tribune* investigation coinciding with the second anniversary of the fire, the principal, Professor Peter Booysen, agreed to release a copy to the newspaper.

Among the evidence it records is:

- Strips of ANC film bearing detailed plans of electrical sub-stations were found outside Memorial Tower Building on the night of the fire,

- The passport of a masters student in economic history was found with two black refuse bags in a burnt-out political science study. Weeks afterwards, it was learned that the student had left the country suddenly,

- An anonymous caller who telephoned the Students Representative Council offices the day after the fire told an SRC member "last night was a sample of things to come" and shouted: "Amandla, you white pigs, you racist bastards."

- The door to an air-conditioning plant, three levels above the fire, had been blasted open by gunfire. Four bullets were found embedded in the door and walls.

- The key to the office of Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, main victim of the fire, had disappeared two months before the fire and was replaced with an ill-fitting replica. On the night of the fire, the office door was opened with the original key.

nal key.

- The university did not liaise with the police as it was believed that is might "have led to harassment of members of the university community".

According to the report, in the chaotic moments after the fire:

- A student was seen dancing in the flames that swept Shepstone Building and had to be removed forcibly from the roof;

- Students outside Memorial Tower Building shouted "No Indaba" as the fire department arrived to fight the blaze. The same words were found scrawled outside Professor Schlemmer's office;

- Another group of students moved from building to building photographing the damage, and

- Fire hoses had been slashed and windows, doors and fittings smashed. Blood was found on a broken window in the political science department.

Despite the evidence collected, the culprits have not been found. Police confirmed this week that they had investigated the student whose passport had been found, but no arrests had been made and the docket was still open.

The docket is in the hands of the security branch, which has established that the student, a white, had left and re-entered the country several times.

The *Sunday Tribune* has established that he is the son of a university employee. He has been described as a "model" student who did not have obvious political inclinations.

### OTHER REASONS?

Professor Booysen said police investigations into him had not led to any conclusion. "It seemed there could have been other reasons for his leaving the country."

The report criticised the university's lack of security, fire preparedness and facilities for evacuation. — Sapa.



# Sabta takes anti-sanctions stand

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — An organisation representing 45 000 black South African businessmen has told the US Congress that money and a strong economy were more powerful weapons against apartheid than sanctions and political rhetoric.

The Southern Africa Black Taxi Association (Sabta) sent a delegation to committee hearings in Washington on Wednesday on legislation to impose tougher sanctions on South Africa — and told the committee's Democratic Party majority things it did not want to hear.

## ENTHUSIASM

In a prepared statement, Sabta's president, Mr Thupane Ncgoya, described how the or-

ganisation had grown in nine years from "almost nothing but enthusiasm".

It was an example, he said, that could be followed by many other black businessmen — but more important, it showed how black people could gain political influence through having economic strength.

"No one can ignore the fact that we are the largest consumer of tyres and gasoline outside the Government.

"We buy and service tens of thousands of vehicles. More than one million people depend on us to get them to work each day," he said.

The association was not a political body, but recent actions by the Government had made it necessary for Sabta to have a more active political stance.

"We therefore call today for the immediate lifting of these bans (on 17 black political organisations) and the restoration of political freedom of actions and expression."

Mr Ncgoya said his statement would not be popular with the South African Government and he could be detained on his return to Johannesburg and Sabta could be banned.

## INJUSTICES

His association understood American anger at the injustices in South Africa and appreciated the wish to do something about it. However, sanctions had not led to any political reforms and had, in fact, had unfortunate effects.

In the next two years there would be an election — with no black votes.

"If the Conservative Party comes to power, and sanctions will certainly help them to do so, then black people will have even less hope than now," Mr Ncgoya said.

Sabta did not agree with those who believed the road to reform was through the destruction of the economy.

"We believe it lies through the creation of jobs and wealth. From that strength will come political influence no one, no government, can resist."

The best way to increase black political influence, Mr Ncgoya said, was for the US to help black business to grow.

"We have come too far to turn back. Do not take from our hands the tools of liberation we have forged at such a price," he told the congressmen.

# Tutu causing church split

NO Christian can be happy about the clash between church and state. Historically the relationship between the two has always been potentially traumatic. The role of the church must certainly be to draw attention to any false values in society — but they abdicate their true calling when they attack "the government" instead of their congregations, who would quickly leave their pews of self-righteousness over the sins of others, instead of facing their own.

In the present case the

State President is quite correct in calling upon the Archbishop to state unequivocally whether he supports the Kingdom of God or that of soulless Marxism.

The question has not been answered. Instead it is turned into accusations of the State "portraying Archbishop Tutu as a Marxist."

Furthermore, the church is not "under attack" from the State. It is under attack from within. Nor is P W Botha "dividing the church". It is the Archbishop himself who is guilty of causing many Anglicans to leave the fold. We should pray for him — for he is in worse trouble than all those he condemns in this life and the next.

EX-ANGLICAN

Parklands



# SACC PROBES PW's CHALLENGE

THE CITIZEN

28/03/88

THE South African Council of Churches has instructed its lawyers to investigate litigation against the State President, Mr P W Botha, following a challenge by him to the SACC to present its case in court.

"Our lawyers are looking into it, but no decision has yet been made," the secretary general of the SACC, Rev Frank Chikane, said yesterday.

**By Helen Grange and Bert van Hees**

Mr Botha made the challenge on Friday night at the opening of a National Party youth conference in Naboomspruit, saying that the government would "put all its facts on the table" if the challenge was taken up.

Archbishop, Desmond Tutu kept a low profile yesterday following the challenge for him to take President Botha to court for defamation.

Archbishop Tutu's Press liaison officer, Mr John Allen, told The Citizen yesterday that there had been no reaction yet from Mr Tutu to Mr Botha's challenge.

And Mr Allen added: "If the archbishop does react to the challenge, it will be through me."

Warnings were issued at the weekend of the vast implications should the

threats and counter-challenges of court action between President Botha and church leaders materialise.

One of those to appeal for calm was the Moderator of the NGK, Professor Johan Heyns.

He said it was his heartfelt wish that the issue would not lead to court action, and added: "I would like to appeal to all the parties concerned not to solve this matter by court action, but rather by negotiation."

The Anglican Church indicated that it was considering instituting action against Mr Botha for defamation, in response to which Mr Botha said he would welcome it.

The latest challenge comes at the peak of an ongoing clash between church leaders and the State President, culminat-

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## SACC probes PW's challenge

THE CITIZEN 28/03/88

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ing in letters to and from Mr Botha after a march in Cape Town on February 29 in protest against recent government clamps.

Mr Chikane reiterated that the march was conducted in terms of the principles of non-violent direct action and was done in accordance with the Christian doctrine.

"Our position remains clear. We are interested more in getting the government to respond posi-

tively to the unjust system in this country, which creates a pastoral crisis," said Rev Chikane.

"It is our duty to oppose a government in which the majority of people cannot participate and which uses the army and police to secure its position," he said.

In his speech, Mr Botha had said the SACC

did not represent the majority of Christians in South Africa and that church leaders had embarked on a collision course with him.

He said the State was always prepared to listen to the church, but the church could just as little take over the task of the State as the State could of the church.



# Secret 1986 report released to Press Student 'danced in fire' at Durban varsity

DURBAN. — African National Congress plans of electrical sub-stations and the passport of a student who left the country were found in the wake of a fire at the University of Natal, Durban, two years ago this week, according to a Durban Sunday paper.

These and other bizarre revelations — among them bloodstains and a student seen dancing wildly in the flames — are recorded in the university's report on the fire.

The 40-page report, compiled by Professor Elie Newman of the Department of Adjectival

and Clinical Law, has been kept firmly under wraps because of its "sensitivity." Only the principal, vice principal, chairman and council members have seen it.

However, in a response to a newspaper investigation coinciding with the second anniversary of the fire, the principal, Prof Peter Booysen, agreed to release a copy to the newspaper.

Among the evidence it records is:

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The docket is in the hands of the security branch, which was established that the student had left and re-entered the country several times.

The Newspaper has established that he is the son of a university employee. He has been de-

scribed as a "model" student who did not have obvious political inclinations.

The report criticised the university's lack of security and fire preparedness.



# Boesak gets more death threats

CAPE TOWN.

Reverend Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches who says he has received repeated death threats, said yesterday suspicion should fall on the police if he is killed.

"Over the last week there have been more death threats," the minister told a news conference attended by a delegation from the World Alliance who had come to express solidarity with South African clergymen engaged in confrontation with the government. 28/03/88

"One doesn't say these things to create an atmosphere of martyrdom," Boesak said. "It has happened before in this country. People have died mysteriously. Many leaders have been assassinated in South Africa. I want the world to know the light of suspicion should fall on the South African Government and the police if something like that should happen."

Dr Boesak said students had volunteered to guard his home and while sitting in a car at 3 am last Tuesday they

TO PAGE 2

## Boesak gets more death threats

FROM PAGE 1

had seen a police car drive by with its lights out. "As the car passed the students flicked their lights on and saw a police car. There were three in the car, one in the back who had a gun pointing out the window," Dr Boesak said. He said the students saw a police emblem on the car, which turned on a spotlight and sped away.

"This is a very sinister development," Dr Boesak said, because when a journalist friend called police about the incident "they categorically denied there was even a car in the vicinity. If

they had said the car had come on patrol duty to see if I was safe, no one would have believed them, but they at least would have had an excuse."

Dr Boesak accused South Africa's White Dutch Reformed Church of laying the groundwork for the Government to take action against anti-apartheid churchmen.

"The White Dutch Reformed Church is quite deliberately trying to provide a theological justification before the fact so that the state can take action against

us..." Dr Boesak said. The Dutch Reformed Church fuelled the row recently by calling on Tutu and Boesak to "abandon their wicked ways".

Dr Boesak is head of the Coloured branch of the Dutch Reformed Church, often at odds with its White sister church.

Dr Boesak said events were following a similar pattern to 1977 when the anti-apartheid Christian Institute was banned after coming under fire from the Dutch Reformed Church. — Sapa-Reuter.



# Support for PW's challenge to Tutu

28/03/88

THE State President's challenge to Archbishop Desmond Tutu to declare openly whether he is for God or the ANC comes as no surprise to many thinking Anglicans.

For years now, clergy and laity alike have been bombarded with literature drenched in Communist phraseology and Marxist philosophy, so much so that the average parishioner has begun to think that the language used is the language of the Bible and of Christ Himself.

No longer are we in-

volved with creation, man, sin, grace, salvation, the Holy Spirit, love, forgiveness, sanctification and eschatology, but are inundated with phrases and sentences overloaded with blatant Marxist meanings of liberation, freedom, social justice, passive resistance, unjust regimes, the proletariat and dialectical materialism which through the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels demands active revolution.

The Archbishop himself in a biography written

of him, "Hammering Swords into Ploughshares" states openly that the church's main task is to bring about social justice. Very little is emphasised regarding the propagation of Salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ. Still less about man's ultimate destination in the Fellowship of His Lord. Very subtly, sometimes quite openly and brashly, Christ is represented as the revolutionary and not as a peacemaker and reconciler.

Very recently and through the controversial Lusaka Statement those who accepted it declared emphatically that to their meaning the government of this land was illegitimate and of no consequence whatsoever! They, acting as God, have taken His means of grace and process of sanctification away from those in authority! Moreover, they are bent, as the statement demands, to increase violence against the government and its people in an all out attempt to overthrow "this oppressive, illegitimate regime with whatever means possible".

The church also demands an increase in

sanctions and disinvestment against South Africa in the hope that it will crumble economically to such an extent that the ANC will take over.

Is it any wonder that the State President issued his challenge, yet properly to be answered by Archbishop Tutu, are you for Christ or Communism — Barrabas or Jesus?

(Rev) JACQUES DE METZ  
Verwoerdburg



# Inkatha 'wolves' in sheep's clothing

*New Nation 28/1 to 3/2/88*

## 'Cosatu T-shirts used to wrong-foot defence committees'

TRADE union and United Democratic Front defence committees in the Pietermaritzburg townships were warned this week to beware of attacks by Inkatha supporters dressed as Cosatu members.

A former member of the Inkatha Youth Brigade – who asked not to be named – revealed last week that a well-known Inkatha "warlord" had decided to operate under false colours in response to the creation of community self-defence groups.

The use of stolen Cosatu T-shirts was one method used to throw defence groups into confusion, he added.

The source said the homes of known Cosatu members in Mpumuza – renamed "Ulundi" by the Inkatha Youth Brigade – had been visited in the last month by large groups of armed teenagers.

Residents were tipped off in advance so that they would flee. When they returned, Cosatu T-shirts were found to be missing.

The pattern has been repeated in Swartkops. Both areas are under the control of Inkatha supporter Chief Ntsikayezwe Zondi.

A dairy worker who administers Cosatu's Pietermaritzburg office told the NEW NATION that suspicious characters had approached office workers, claiming to be from Cosatu-organised factories and demanding T-shirts.

"We don't sell shirts to people we don't know. We told them to send their shop stewards," the Cosatu man said.

A Food and Allied Workers Union spokesman said a warlord – described as "a very aggressive man who drives around the townships with a shotgun beside him" – was behind the thefts.

Meanwhile, lawyers are planning further interdicts against high-ranking Inkatha supporters following claims that Inkatha meetings at the Mpumalanga Training College had discussed recruiting teenage boys for attacks.

At one of these meetings, which was chaired by the local Inkatha chairman, Zakh-  
ele Nkehli, it was said that only Inkatha members would be allowed to attend schools in the Hammarsdale district, according to a young woman who was present.

It was decided that known UDF supporters who came to school would be attacked, she alleged.

The woman, who also asked not to be named, said she had opposed Inkatha after three members entered her parents' house and threatened her mother with a knife for not joining the organisation.

A Descom official said about 24 people had died in Inkatha/UDF violence in Mpumalanga since the beginning of the year.



# The whims of the President

SOUTH African politics is becoming a matter of presidential whim, it seems, as the country's future is decided in a narrow circle of security advisers surrounding the state president. More and more, President Botha and one or two of his ministers in the state security council are governing by decree on the advice of the security establishment, often, as it appears, without reflecting very much on the probable consequences abroad.

They close down a newspaper or stop a Supreme Court trial, as they did last week, or perform sundry other repressive acts in the name of national security. Consider the recent restriction of 17 organisations, coming out of the blue at a time when the country by recent standards was relatively calm and peaceful. The baleful consequences abroad were evident again recently as steps began in the United States Congress to intensify the sanctions already in place in terms of the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. In the European Community, which has

never been enthusiastic about sanctions, the climate has likewise begun to harden.

If anyone would like a first-hand explanation of this rapid transformation they might consult the South Africa Foundation's representatives abroad, who happened to be visiting Cape Town last week on their annual report-back to the foundation's membership. Messrs Rudolph Gruber (Bonn), Desmond Colborne (Paris), David Willers (London) and Michael Christie (Washington) are unofficial South African diplomats who move in influential circles in their respective capitals. Each has a thorough understanding of the society in which they live and work — and sensitive antennae for detecting changing political signals.

Judging by what they have been saying in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, there has been a sharp turn for the worse just when it seemed that a new realism about South Africa was taking hold in world capitals. The shift in the EEC countries was noted by Desmond



Mr P.W. Botha

Colborne in a newspaper interview in which he spoke of the dismay in Europe at the prospect of legislation restricting funds coming into South

Africa. The EEC has protested very strongly against this proposed interference in its aid programmes.

More and more it is plain that the attitudes and perceptions of the security establishment are calling the tune in South Africa — in a fashion which can only be described as counter-productive. President Botha listens to what the military have to say, we conclude, and gives little weight to advice from other quarters. As the media become progressively less informative, the state-run television is perfected as an instrument to promote calm by alternately boring and soothing the population to sleep.

Apart from the zealots of left and right, most whites in this situation are turning aside from politics to make the best of a spacious and privileged lifestyle which is hardly rivalled anywhere in the world. What blacks think can only be guessed at. Abroad, television coverage of South Africa is currently fastening attention on the AWB and its Nazi-style antics. This is perceptive

as it is only right-wing extremism which is likely to endanger stability and the status quo in the foreseeable future, by sparking disorder and bringing the suppressed tensions in the country to a head in an orgy of violence. The ANC sees the AWB as potentially its most effective ally. Yet the AWB now seems likely to join the ranks of the banned and restricted organisations, so there is nothing much on the horizon to upset the even tenor of life in the garrison state.

Except, perhaps, the dispute over Angola and Namibia which Washington and Moscow have decided between them must now be resolved, whatever Pretoria or Luanda may say in the matter. If there is a disposition in Pretoria to thwart the superpowers in their present bent towards regional peacemaking, the going could become pretty rough. The country is in the hands of President Botha and the military and we must hope for the best.

• Gerald Shaw is associate editor and political columnist of the *Cape Times*.



# Hands off church — Winnie

THE NATAL WITNESS 28/03/88  
by TONY OOSTHUIZEN

THE government must keep its hands off the churches or "face the wrath of the nation", Mrs Winnie Mandela warned at the weekend.

Addressing a graduation ceremony at the Federal Theological Seminary (Fedsem) in Imbali on Saturday, the wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the churches were the only platform left through which the "just struggle" of the oppressed could be furthered following the effective banning of 17 political organisations.

"We have seen the greatest act of solidarity (with Archbishop Desmond Tutu) when other bishops said 'you touch one, you have touched the other'. We say to (President P.W.) Botha,

you touch the people of God, you unleash the wrath of the nation. We shall stand by our churches. Enough is enough."

She told graduates: "We see you as one with us in the struggle against a common enemy. You are the only voices we have left... The challenge... is how to bring about peace and justice in the shortest possible time. You are being launched into leaderless communities which will be looking up to you, since the political leaders have been incarcerated."

Referring to the "senseless" violence in Pietermaritzburg's townships, Mrs Mandela said the government was using the oppressed people against themselves to promote black-on-black violence.

## City is one of the world's crime capitals

THE NATAL MERCURY 28/03/88

NATAL'S two major cities — Pietermaritzburg and Durban — have become the new crime capitals of the world with crime rates higher than those in Los Angeles and New York.

Political unrest and the flagging economy have been cited as the main reasons for the excessive crime rates.

Crime statistics obtained from America show that Durban's daily murder figure is even higher than that in Medellin — the Colombian city notorious for its high number of deaths related to the cocaine wars.

According to police sources, the number of murders in Natal soared by 53% during the last six months, and robberies by 45%.

Figures released recently by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, revealed that the murder rate in the Edendale Valley

had doubled. He said 623 people had been killed in the area patrolled by the Plessislaer police station last year in comparison with the 298 killed in 1986.

The latest crime figures indicated that every minute there was one assault on a person and two on property.

Meanwhile, according to the police unrest report, one person died and a home was damaged in two separate incidents of unrest in Pietermaritzburg's townships at the weekend.

A woman was fatally wounded in Mpumalanga when a shotgun round was fired from among a group of people. No other details were provided.

The unrest report also said that a private home was damaged in a petrol-bomb attack in Imbali. — WR.

## Boesak THE NATAL VOWS MERCURY to defy PW 28/03/88

CAPE TOWN — The Reverend Allan Boesak vowed yesterday to continue resisting the government but said he feared he may be killed.

Mr Boesak, at the centre of a row between church and state, has received several death threats recently and his home and office have been stoned.

"Even though it may be true that we will be called to give our lives for this cause... I cannot change my obedience to God," Mr Boesak said in an emotional sermon at his church in Bellville township.

"I cannot withdraw the challenge to the state that we will continue to work for peace and justice. If I die, it will not be because I have called for bloody revolution..."

"If I die, it will be because of the faithfulness to the gospel of Jesus

Christ that I have tried my best to fulfil," said the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Mr Edmond Perret, leader of a visiting delegation from the World Alliance and the organisation's general secretary, said the threats and accusations were in fact directed at the movement's 70 million members worldwide.

At a news conference later, Mr Boesak accused South Africa's white Dutch Reformed Church (DRC) of laying the groundwork for the government to take action against anti-apartheid churchmen.

"The white Dutch Reformed Church is quite deliberately trying to provide a theological justification... so the state can take action against us," he said.

The DRC fuelled the row recently by calling on Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mr Boesak to "abandon their wicked ways".

Mr Boesak said events were following a similar pattern to 1977 when the anti-apartheid Christian Institute was banned after coming under fire from the DRC.

Archbishop Tutu, a Nobel peace prize winner and head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, is still considering whether to sue Mr Botha for a letter last week in which he called the archbishop and other clergymen "messengers of enmity and hatred". — Sapa-Rtr.



## NEWS

### Winnie<sup>28/03/88</sup> comments add to my hope,<sup>NEWS</sup> says<sup>THE DAILY</sup> Buthelezi

Daily News  
Reporter

DR Mangosuthu Buthelezi said that he was not surprised that Mrs Winnie Mandela was prepared to meet him to discuss black unity and that her comments added to his hope that constructive relationships could yet emerge between the "real" ANC and Inkatha.

He also pointed out that Dr Mandela had on no occasion made the kind of "hideous attacks" on his integrity and political motivation which had so frequently come from the ANC mission in exile.

"There is hope yet that the real ANC will re-emerge to be the pragmatic, constructive political organisation it was before it was banned," said Dr Buthelezi.

On Wednesday, after telling students at Wits University in Johannesburg that it was time that blacks closed ranks, Mrs Mandela told reporters that her appeal for unity extended to meeting Dr Buthelezi.

In a written response to The Daily News, Dr Buthelezi said that it was not surprising to him that Mrs Mandela had now called out for black unity and was prepared to meet him in an attempt to unite South Africa's feuding black factions.

"She is the wife of one of the most outstanding black leaders in the country who has already suffered more than 20 years of martyrdom in jail. It is befitting Dr Mandela that his wife speaks to recapture the idiom of his leadership."

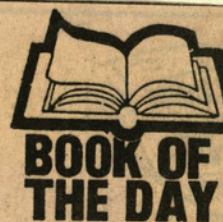
He said that a great deal of affection existed between himself and Dr Mandela and went back a long way.

"Throughout his term in prison he has from time to time found it possible to convey messages to me and my family."

"When the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group was in South Africa, he told them through General Olesegun Obasanjo that I would have to be included in Dr Mandela's company and the company of Mr Oliver Tambo in the solution of South Africa's problems."



# Scathing attack on THE NATAL DAILY NEWS 28/03/88 Inkatha movement



**AN APPETITE FOR POWER — Buthelezi's Inkatha and the Politics of Loyal Resistance, by Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton (Ravan, R24,95)**

GRAHAM SPENCE

DUE to the current tensions between Inkatha and the United Democratic Front — which have regularly resulted in bloodshed — this is not the easiest book to review. The authors are clearly no fans of Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, and have latched onto the movements' alleged shortcomings with a vengeance.

As a "backgrounder" to the Inkatha movement, which claims a paid-up membership of 1½-million, such bias could pose major shortcomings. However, both authors are academics and do not fall into the trap of merely relying on emotive rhetoric (so prevalent among both left and right-wings) without providing convincing back-up material. In that context, a lot of what they say is difficult to refute and makes disturbing reading.

In a nutshell, Mr Mare and Ms Hamilton argue that Dr Buthelezi is fast losing support,

Inkatha does not have the huge membership numbers it claims, and it is basically a conservative, ethnically orientated movement which has done more to wreck black unity than anything else.

The authors label Dr Buthelezi's style of leadership as one of "loyal resistance" which poses little threat to the present status quo. They point out that Inkatha has never faced the same harassment as any other so-called liberation movement. They also, usually indirectly, attack his support for the free enterprise system and pro-investment lobby — an attack which a lot of South Africans would no doubt have difficulty in coming to terms with.

The authors have done much research, and base many of their arguments on excerpts from Dr Buthelezi's voluminous speeches. In some cases this may be regarded as unfair, as many of the speeches they refer to were made some years ago, and as any observer of the South African imbroglio will vouch, the situation is extremely fluid. Dr Buthelezi may also argue that his sayings have been taken out of context. He also is never personally interviewed — and that certainly could be considered a major flaw.



## ZULULAND POLICE HUNT FARMER'S WIFE KILLER

POLICE in Zululand are hunting for the killer of farmer's wife Mrs Pamela Brown (57), who was shot dead outside Mtunzini on Saturday night.

Mr Bob Brown, who also works as a homeopath at Empangeni, is offering a R2 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of his wife's killer.

Lieutenant Hendrik Engelbrecht, head of the Mbonambi Murder and Robbery Unit, said Mrs Brown tried to get away after being shot.

"A stone was thrown at her car on a farm road near the South African Sugar Association Research Station," he said. "The attacker then fired a shot which hit

DAILY  
NEWS

Crime  
Reporter

28/03/88

Mrs Brown in the back.

"She made a desperate bid to get away, but lost control and drove through a sugar cane field before crashing against a tree."

Earlier in the evening Mrs Brown attended the wedding of her niece at the Mtunzini Town Hall. Later she had given three guests a lift to the home of a friend, Mrs Helen Markham. After a chat with Mrs Markham, she left.

Police were alerted after a farmer, Mr James Brown, found the car about

11.15pm. When police arrived and the bullet wound was noticed, they began a murder investigation.

Police said Mrs Brown had been assaulted. It has not been established whether she was robbed.

□ In a second shooting incident, a policeman allegedly shot and killed a woman on the Bluff yesterday.

Police said they received a report from the policeman that, after an argument with Mrs Audrey Nicolene Theunissen (30), he had shot her.

A man has been arrested and police have taken possession of a firearm.

□ A man has been arrested in connection

with the death of shopkeeper, Mr Yusuf Joosab (40), a director of West End Stores in West Street, on Saturday.

Mr Joosab was stabbed in view of customers and his son Baboo, who went to his father's aid and was also stabbed. He is in a satisfactory condition in hospital.

Police said a man walked into the shop and stabbed Mr Joosab several times. He died at Addington Hospital soon after being admitted.

A police spokesman said a black man had been arrested and was to appear in court later today.



Woman begs for help in Gaborone attack

THE DAILY NEWS

# Four slain in mystery raid

28/03/88

## Daily News Africa Service

**GABORONE:** At least four people, and possibly five, were killed when a house in Gaborone was attacked today by raiders officially identified in Botswana as South African.

As police sifted through the badly damaged and blackened house today neighbours said they believed three men and two women who had lived in the house had been killed.

However, one witness described seeing a woman wearing only a pair of panties running from door to door among neighbouring houses begging for shelter as gunfire reverberated through the area.

The head of the Botswana Defence Force, Lieutenant General Mompoti Meraphe, said at least four people were believed to have been killed in the house.

"We are still trying to fit all the pieces together," he said, but added "there is no doubt that South Africa is responsible."

There was no immediate comment from the SADF.

Neighbours said all five people who lived in the house were black, but they did not know whether any were South Africans or had African National Congress connections.

A blue Volkswagen Kombi without number plates was found abandoned in the veld about 250 metres from the house.

One neighbour said he heard a helicopter hovering overhead during the attack, which started about 1.15am.

The three-bedroomed house was today cordoned off by police. From the outside it appeared badly damaged.

Another neighbour said he heard gunfire lasting for about two hours. It was not immediately known whether

the occupants of the house fired back at the attackers or the raiders had been engaged by the Botswana Defence Force.

Early today the BDF were out in strength in Gaborone and put up roadblocks.

The house was visited by the Botswana Foreign Minister, Dr G.K. Chiepe, but there was no statement from the government.

The house is in the suburb of Thiring on the northern edge of Gaborone.



THE DAILY NEWS 28/03/88

## POLITICAL CHRISTIANS DUPED ME, SAYS TEARFUL MISSIONARY

Foreign Service

MAPUTO: Jailed missionary Ian Grey told journalists with tears in his eyes that his father saved him from a Mozambican firing squad.

Sitting straight-backed in neat khaki prison uniform and sandals, Mr Grey said: "I was duped by political Christians into believing the (rebel) Mozambique National Resistance were free-

dom fighters, and churches were being destroyed."

He named two of them: Renamo Washington spokesman Tom Schaaf, and Mike Howard, leader of the Shekinah sect who recruited Mr Grey in Tel Aviv in 1986 to "do the Lord's work" in Mozambique, working in Renamo-held areas.

He was on his first overseas visit with a friend, he said, when he suddenly "had a powerful feeling", started weeping, and told the friend he had a feeling the Lord had a mission for him.

When he was detained in the central Tete Province on November 2, Mr Grey described himself as a freedom fighter. His unrepentant stance could easily have got him shot, as Mozambique takes a tough line on people working with the rebels.

Like his father Alan, Ian Grey is a fundamentalist Christian, and a plumber, from Toowoomba near Brisbane.

Alan Grey came over

for the trial last week and attended an Assemblies of God church where more than 1 000 believers said they would pray for his son.

In security headquarters Ian Grey said: "When I heard from my father there was religious freedom, and more churches now than when Frelimo took over in 1975, I realised how I had been duped."

Ian Grey denied he had been tortured at any time during his detention. He said Press reports that he had been forced to stand neck-deep in water for hours were not true.

"I was not abused physically. I was not tortured, they never hurt me.

"I had some hostile questioning when I was first detained.

"I was naive, foolish, and was a tool of those who committed horrendous acts against the Mozambican people."

Mr Grey described himself as a Renamo messenger boy.

He said he was based

in neighbouring Malawi and often entered the country illegally to preach in Renamo areas.

He said he was given information on Renamo activities, Frelimo troop movements, Renamo reports of battles with government troops, and telephoned them to Tom Schaaf from Malawi.

Mr Grey said he told the tribunal: "You have every right to throw a book at me."

But, within himself, said to God: "Your will be done."

The tears began when Mr Grey admitted he worked for Renamo, although Christian-based helped them carry out their attacks on civilians through fund-raising for weapons in the US.

He also said he knew South Africa continued to supply Renamo in spite of the 1983 Nkomati peace accord with the country.

"I saw a lot of suffering in the areas I preached. Some people had only bark for clothing. But today I realise the only way to change that is to get rid of Renamo."



THE STAR MAY 28, 1988

# New hassles for 'Ndebele

PATRICK LAURENCE

kwaNdebele Chief Minister Majozi Mahlangu has resumed office lawfully after spending nearly a week in a constitutional limbo.

He was one of 16 members of the Legislative Assembly whose election was declared unlawful by Mr Justice Eloff last week because they were elected in a poll restricted to men.

Because the Chief Minister has to be a member of the Legislative Assembly, the Supreme Court judgment effectively disqualified Mr Mahlangu from holding office as Chief Minister.

But now that the kwaNdebele government — and President Botha, who signed the proclamation barring women from exercising the vote in kwaNdebele — has been granted leave to appeal against Mr Justice Eloff's judgment, the legal status quo reverts to what it was previously.

Pending the decision of the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein, Mr Mahlangu and the 15 men elected with him are lawfully elected Assembly members.

But Mr Mahlangu will hardly have time to heave a sigh of relief. On June 6 his besieged regime faces yet another legal challenge in the Supreme Court.

His administration is alleged to have unlawfully interfered in the affairs of the Ndzundza tribal authority, dismissing its chairman, Prince James Mahlangu, and withdrawing another notable, Mr Solly Mahlangu, as its nominee to the Legislative Assembly.

Mr Solly Mahlangu was Speaker of the Legislative Assembly until February last year, when he was removed in what appeared to be part of a concerted move to purge the Assembly of known opponents of independence.

But in November Mr Solly Mahlangu, a known opponent of independence, applied successfully to the Supreme Court to reinstate him, contending he had been unlawfully dismissed.

The administration then allegedly intervened to "hijack" the Ndzundza tribal authority, purging it of opponents and

## Homeland regime faces fresh legal challenge

appointing its own men to replace them. It is those actions that will be challenged in court on June 6.

Chief Minister Mahlangu has suffered three major legal defeats in the past six months:

- The Supreme Court order restoring Mr Solly Mahlangu as Speaker.
- The Appeal Court judgment in March declaring transfer of the Moutse area to kwaNdebele unlawful.
- Last week's judgment ruling that denial of the vote to women was illegal.

Chief Mahlangu still has to devise a way of proving to President Botha that his quest to lead kwaNdebele to nominal independence has popular support.

Meanwhile the full text of Judge Eloff's historic judgment upholding the right of women to vote provides some interesting insights into kwaNdebele.

One is that the kwaNdebele constitutional committee originally proposed that the vote be extended to all adults, not merely men. But it was vigorously opposed by the then Chief Minister, Mr Simon Skosana, who claimed he was backed by tradition and by God.

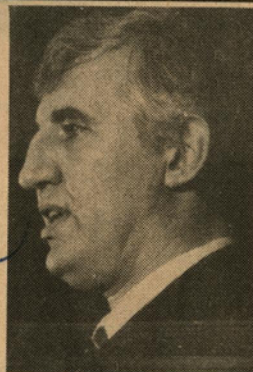
But it seems Mr Skosana was opposed to any elections at all and that elections in which the vote was restricted to men was merely the lesser of two evils.

Referring to a letter from the Chief Minister's office, dated November 1981, to the Commissioner-General, Mr Justice Eloff labelled it "instructive" (*insigewend*). It indicated that the notion of elections had been accepted reluctantly (*met lang tande*) and that if they had to be held, then under no circumstances should women be enfranchised.



THE ~~SA~~ STAR - 28 MAY 1988

## Flak from Vlok for liberals who talked to ANC in West Germany



WYNAND MALAN:  
leader of the NDM.

BONN — SA liberals yesterday met ANC leaders and tried to persuade the movement to lay down arms and join in a ballot-box fight against apartheid.

Defying Government threats to confiscate passports of whites meeting the ANC, the South African group and four ANC leaders held a second day of talks in a Frankfurt hotel.

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, analysed Pretoria's crackdown on dissent with Mr Thabo Mbeki, ANC information secretary, and three other members of the exiled group's executive committee.

Their talks followed discussions on Thursday by the ANC and eight members of MP Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

NDM member Mr Harald Pakendorf, former editor of *Die Vaderland*, said the white liberals wanted the ANC to join the political process.

"We disagree about violence, about the ANC's strategy of boycotting elections. They say they won't participate; we want them to participate," he said.

Bomb attacks in Pretoria during the talks severely embarrassed the liberal Afrikaners. Mr Malan, who returned to South Africa on an overnight flight, was immediately attacked by the Government for meeting the ANC.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok coupled condemnation of the bombs with an attack on Mr Malan and fellow liberals, saying it was incomprehensible that they wanted to talk with the ANC.

Mr Vlok's views were echoed by *The Citizen*, which brushed aside Mr Malan's statement that the NDM opposed violence and armed struggle.

"We can tell Malan and Co that their fellow South Africans are filled with revulsion at the thought that there were people who were chatting to the ANC in Frankfurt while the ANC endangered the lives of people in Pretoria with a double bomb attack," the paper said.

The Frankfurt talks, part of a series of meetings abroad between liberals and the ANC that began three years ago, showed common ground on long-term goals, both sides said. — Sapa-Reuter.