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South Africa

Winning the hearts of radicals

The Natal Witness, Thursday, May 26, 1988

by Mark Swilling

A manual "The Art of Counter-Revolutionary Warfare" has been distributed to politicians and civil servants by the State Security Council. Mark Swilling of the centre for political studies at Wits discusses . . .

"DIE man wat weet" is the pseudonym used by a mole located near the heart of the state power structures. Writing recently in *Die Suid-Afrikaan*, "die man" confirmed that real power in the state is wielded almost entirely by "die groot krokodil" (P. W. Botha) and his "inner cabal" of National Intelligence Service "securocrats", cynical security branch strategists and seasoned generals from military intelligence.

Does this "cabal" have a strategy?

The answer has emerged in a booklet, distributed to leading politicians and state functionaries by State Security Council officials. Entitled *The Art of Counter-Revolutionary Warfare*, this booklet claims to be a manual for all those who want "to defeat revolutionaries" in order "to regain the initiative".

"A governing power", the introduction to the manual asserts, "can defeat any revolutionary movement if it adapts the revolutionary strategy and principles and applies them in reverse."

The rest of the manual is a detailed strategy for "winning hearts and minds" (or WHAM, as some officials have dubbed it).

WHAM is significantly different from earlier security strategies authored mainly by ex-police chief General Johan Coetzee. Coetzee and his protegé Craig Williamson argued that the United Democratic Front, low-level protest action, trade unions and other township organisations should be allowed to exist but controlled through infiltration, selective bannings and detentions.

In the meantime, grand reformist plans to stabilise the urban system (Riekert Commission), legalise unions (Wiehahn Commission) and "extend democracy" (tri-cameral constitution) should gradually legitimise state and government.

Sustained resistance soon put paid to this strategy and a new one was needed. But this time, the generals told "die groot krokodil", it's not grand reform from above that will work but the careful remoulding and re-organising of the communities from below.

Major General Bert Wandrag of the South African Police Riot Unit summed it up: "Drastic action must be taken to eliminate the underlying social and economic factors which have caused unhappiness in the population. The only way to render the enemy powerless is to nip the revolution in the bud by ensuring there is no fertile soil in which the seeds of revolution can germinate."

The Art of Counter-Revolutionary Warfare spells out in detail how this should be done.

The first step, to "annihilate" or "eliminate" the enemy, involves the relatively simple task of "seeking out the enemy and destroying him".

The second step is to restore "effective administration. An effective and well-motivated administration will deny revolutionaries the initiative."

Once these two objectives have been achieved, a co-ordinated WHAM campaign should be implemented. This involves "civil educations", "counter-organisation of the masses", "self-defence", "the intelligence system", "area defence" and the creation of "mobile forces."

"Civil education" involves the creation of a "good working relationship between the administration and the masses." This is done by identifying "problems locally . . . and implementing corrective measures." In addition, an extensive programme to train "loyal leaders" and "the youth" for local administration must be initiated and these people must "receive good remuneration".

"Counter-organisation" is "the main weapon against revolutionaries". "The government must take the lead under all groups, classes, clubs and societies with the organisation of social, career, sport, education, medical, religious and military activities. This must be done on a person-to-person basis by sympathetic and helpful personnel. The population must become involved and identify with the group's activities."

A new pamphlet underlines the need to win the hearts of township children

"Self-defence" is the "most important part of counter-organisation of the masses." The recruitment of what the British in Malaya called "special constables" should be undertaken with the support of local leaders.

These local "militias" should be armed and must be "oriented towards the environment". They form the "bridge between the administration and the masses and . . . should therefore be politically oriented", i.e. they should "influence/mobilise the masses".

An effective intelligence system is indispensable: "It is essential for the government to have a covert intelligence system with roots among the masses and all organisations. The state must be able to identify revolutionary and non-revolutionary political organisations."

To manage this sophisticated intelligence gathering process, "joint committees" of "security force and administrative and political institutions" must be established.

"Area defence" must be carried out

by the military co-operating closely with the administration to "defend the area". To do this the military must assist the administration "with the building of roads, dams, irrigation schemes, schools, churches, etc". Significantly, the manual contains the instruction that "atrocities against the population by the security forces must be avoided". Security forces must be "extremely mobile and be able to support self-defence units immediately".

All these strategies are being implemented and co-ordinated by the complex network of Joint Management Centres (JMCs) that comprise the National Security Management System (NSMS). The president and his "security cabal" control the state through these committees and have managed to unite officialdom around their "counter-revolutionary warfare" strategies.

To begin, 34 of the "hottest" townships were identified for special attention after the 1986 State of Emergency was declared. They are called "oilspots" by JMC officials. The manual defines "oilspots" as "strategic bases" where "effective control over the population in an affected area" is regained. These "oilspots" will then steadily "expand" and coalesce into bands of loyal local populations. This loyalty is achieved by way of the "co-ordinated application of area protection forces and initial military civic affairs teams".

In places like Alexandra, New Brighton, Mamelodi and Bonteheuwel — four well-known showpiece "oilspots" — JMCs are spending large amounts of money on upgrading projects. They are establishing new sports, cultural, church and political bodies and propagating government policy.

During 1987/88, R3,2 billion was spent on upgrading in many of the 34 "oilspots". Another R16 billion is supposed to find its way into the Directorate of Urbanisation in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning for the upgrading of another 200 townships. P. W. Botha's opening of Parliament speech indicated that this would come from the proceeds of privatisation — a pipedream as far as many top economists are concerned.

Regional Services Councils (RSCs) are a crucial component of WHAM. They will be using money raised from levies on business to finance township upgrading. The Central Witwatersrand RSC will be spending R66 million in this way, while the Pretoria RSC will spend R32 million, Algoa RSC R12 million and the Western Cape RSC will have R53 million to spend (if it does not have to finance the R34 million deficit inherited from the Divisional Council).

The private sector has welcomed this increased expenditure on urban townships and has ignored the political implications. When the Urban Foundation announced the R800 million private sector contribution to housing development, there was no mention of political quid pro quos on constitutional issues.

Using massive public and private sector resources, the JMCs are co-ordinating:

- mass detentions and show trials;
- the "normalisation" of local government by the breaking of rent and election boycotts;
- establishment of counter-organisations — new sports bodies, cultural groups and political organisations;
- civil education programmes to co-opt new local leaders and administrators;
- creation of "self-defence units" — kitskonstabels, vigilantes and municipal police;
- intelligence systems;
- area defence through military involvement in public works programmes.

It is unlikely this strategy will succeed.

Economic conditions and international sanctions are likely to push national economic growth below two percent, thus severely limiting resources available for upgrading.

And the strategy ignores the question of political rights, regarding nationalism and the demand for political rights as the ideologies of agitators and not the concerns of "ordinary people".

The most the strategy may achieve is compliance, not the spontaneous consent required to legitimise state structures.

With acknowledgement to the Weekly Mail.

26-05-88

Don't worry about a 'future vision' . . .

Deal with 'monster' of apartheid — Ramaphosa

THE STAR 26/05/88

By Adele Baleta

Address the "monster of apartheid" today instead of constantly worrying about a "vision for the future", the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, told a conference of 150 business leaders in Johannesburg yesterday.

He had been asked to speak on "My Vision for Tomorrow" by the Human Resources Contact Group at a two-day conference which ended yesterday.

"Both myself and others do not have a today. We need to deal with the reality of the situation now. We need to eradicate the monster of apartheid which has devoured our people.

"The regime has destroyed the economy, laid waste education, health and welfare services. Townships are filled with homeless and despairing people. Hardship for both young and old in the rural areas has been intensified and over 5 million people are unemployed," he said.

Bosses, who were hunting for solutions, had introduced share ownership schemes. However, these kinds of solutions "smack of blackmail", he said.

Starting point

Mr Ramaphosa was concerned that the way of visualising the future was by securing sectional guarantees instead of dismantling apartheid.

Replying to questions about what business could do now, Mr Ramaphosa said the Labour Relations Amendment Bill was a starting point.

"Business has participated in drafting the Bill. During recognition negotiations, we heard management talking about the possibility of restricting strikes and sueing unions for loss of production."

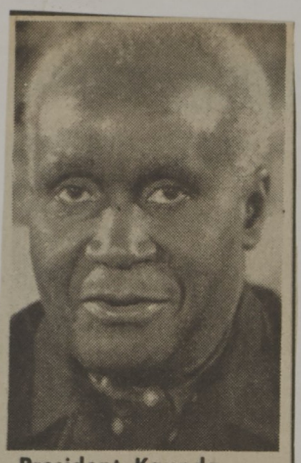
In time, these "possibilities" were ensured in the amendment Bill and many companies were waiting in anticipation for the Bill to be passed so they could begin dealing more "constructively" with the unions, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa pointed out that union proposals to get the Government to pass a Bill drafted with the concensus of labour and mangement had been rejected.

At the outset of his speech, the NUM general secretary said he was unable to talk on his assigned topic — "My Vision of Tomorrow" — as he could not separate himself from the millions of dispossessed, disenfranchised South Africans whose vision for the future society was enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

"I have no personal vision of a tomorrow."

The vision Mr Ramaphosa said he would like to put forward was that of a future non-racial democracy as set out in the Charter.



President Kaunda ... "SA delaying day of reckoning."

Many will die warns Kaunda

THE STAR 26/05/88

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — There will be thousands more deaths and thousands more refugees before apartheid is abolished, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has said.

Dr Kaunda, who is the current chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), was speaking in an interview with the Pan Africa News Agency on the eve of the OAU's 25th anniversary celebrations.

Dr Kaunda said South Africa had violated agreements it had signed with Angola and Mozambique.

South Africa continued to destabilise the Frontline states.

"The idead behind destablisation is to delay the day of reckoning.

"Destabilise the Frontline states and then all will be well," he said.

Dr Kaunda said the only question that needed to be answered was at what cost would apartheid be abolished.

NON-VIOLENCE

"This question must be addressed to the likes of the Thatcher government, the Reagan and Kohl administrations and those who are supporting apartheid South Africa," he said.

The OAU chairman said although he believed in non-violence, he could not tell the leaders of the liberation movements what to do.

"I am afraid I have no right at all, morally or politically, to say to leaders in Swapo and the ANC be non-violent."

Dr Kaunda said the ANC had been a non-violent organisation until it had been banned by South Africa.

The Zambian president said that Africa's external debt remained the continent's main problem.

"The debt burden is a terrifying problem.

"If nothing is done we are going to have a lot of political and social upheavals leading to probably the deaths of thousands of people if not millions.

"Nobody want to see that."

DIALOGUE

Dr Kaunda said Africa suported the idea of dilogue to solve the debt problem.

"We must declare in very clear terms that we owe these people something and we must pay and we are going to pay," he said."

However, conditions had to be re-negotiated.

"If they insist that we must pay now, we will not pay because we can't pay. It is not defiance.

"It is inability to pay that we are talking about," he said.

There should be longer terms of repayment for Africa.

"At the moment, everything we are getting for what we sell to outside markets goes into paying debts.

"How can we recover?" he asked.

'Right-wing bickering will drive me out of Parliament'

THE STAR 26/05/88

By Esmaré van der Merwe

Progressive Federal Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman said last night that the constant bickering between the National Party and the Conservative Party about which party really protected white Afrikanerdom could "drive me out of Parliament very soon".

It was a tragedy that the CP had become the official Opposition. She found it very hard to forgive the radical elements which had stirred up poll stayaways among liberals during last year's general election.

Mrs Suzman addressed a 400-strong PFP meeting in Houghton with fellow-MP Mr Peter Soal and the PFP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, to mark the "40 wasted years of Nat rule" marked today.

Mrs Suzman ... found it hard to forgive radical elements who stirred up poll stayaways.

Mrs Suzman, Houghton MP for 35 of those 40 years, said the NP had recently repealed discriminatory laws which should never have been put on the statute book.

Many of those laws, such as influx control and job reservation, were repealed out of economic necessity and not because of "a change of heart".

"If we had tried to create an unstable society in South Africa, we could not have done better than the NP.

"The experiment of apartheid has caused terrible damage," she said.

The PFP should marshal forces in support of a nonracial, democratic dispensation and re-motivate the middle ground, she said.

Johannesburg North MP Mr Soal said as long as exclusively white residential areas, white own schools and white own political structures remained non-negotiables, South Africa would continue to be isolated from the rest of the world.

A commitment to a nonracial democracy in which the government and society respected fundamental human rights and individual dignity was needed.

Referring to the NP's 40 years in power as four decades of missed opportunities, Mr Leon said the Government's reform plans were nothing more than rhetoric.

Once NP membership had been regarded as "a source of shame and embarrassment" by people who believed in human rights. However, now some people regarded NP membership as a badge of respectability.

Those people should be ashamed to support a government which had perpetrated "massive frauds and injustices against the people and politics of South Africa".

Tutu to speak at Free Mandela rally

THE STAR

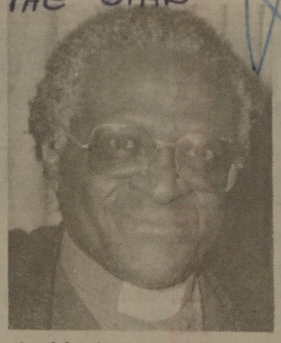
LONDON — Archbishop Desmond Tutu will address a "Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70" rally in London's Hyde Park on July 17, according to a statement by the organisers. 26/05/88

Archbishop Tutu will be joined on the platform by a leading South West African People's Organisation official, Mr Andimba Toivo ja Toivo; the president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston; and British film director Sir Richard Attenborough.

The statement said the Hyde Park rally would be preceded by a march through London.

The event would also mark the end of a 950 km Glasgow to London "Nelson Mandela Freedom March" by 25 people.

The organisers of the Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70 campaign say they have received messages of support from Mrs Winnie Mandela, African National Congress president Oliver Tambo, United Nations Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath Ramphal, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe and several British opposition politicians, church leaders and trade unionists. — Sapa.



Archbishop Tutu ... to speak in Hyde Park.

British court told of plot to kidnap ANC member

THE STAR 26/05/88

LONDON — Details of a plot in which a former army officer was recruited to kidnap an ANC member with the promise that he would become police chief in the Seychelles have emerged in a court case, *The Guardian* reported.

The newspaper said yesterday Winchester Crown Court had been told that Mr Peter Ferrari was to be shipped secretly from Britain to South Africa in a plot to win South African support for a counter-revolution by exiled members of the Seychelles Democratic Party against the governing Marxists.

The plot was uncovered, but charges against Mr Ferrari, a Seychellois, and his co-plotters were dropped on orders of the Attorney-General. — Sapa.

Angola: SADF says supporting Unita is in SA's own interests

THE STAR 26/05/88

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of Brigadier Krynauw's letter (The Star, May 4 1988) is his assertion that it is obviously in SA's interests to assist Unita in Angola. It is not obvious.

It may be in the interests of the Government; but the Government is not synonymous with the country as a whole. The ruling party only represents a very small minority of the people.

There is no military threat to SA from Angola. In spite of this, the SADF has invaded Angola and was/is engaged in open conventional warfare there. This is costing a lot of hard-earned taxpayers money. Our taxes can be spent far more productively in SA on improved health services, education and pensions to name just three. SA would have been far better off if the SADF had never entered Angola.

Brigadier Krynauw says of the importance of Cuito: "There was every military reason to render Cuito Cuanavale ineffective as a military springboard for Fapla operations into south east Angola".

He goes on says: "Militarily, therefore, Cuito Cuanavale is insignificant, but politically and for propaganda purposes, it is of importance to the Angolans, but to nobody else".

Brigadier Krynauw appears to be somewhat confused. Also he does not mention that Cuito Cuanavale has an important airfield which must be of military significance.

The political and propaganda value applies to both sides. Had the SADF and/or Unita captured the town, the SADF would, no doubt, have gone to great lengths to make it front page news on every South African newspaper and the main news item on the SABC.

Thus the argument that the SADF was not trying to capture Cuito Cuanavale is not very convincing. The battles for the town produced a stalemate if not a defeat for the SADF.

In dealing with the question of an SADF withdrawal, Brigadier Krynauw seems to suggest that this did not happen because of tactical problems.

Bearing in mind that the SADF is/was only supposed to be helping Unita — ie not bearing the brunt of the fighting and that the withdrawal was supposed to start in December, it seems as if he is implying that either:

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- The SADF is incapable of a rapid retreat while under fire. In other words that it is at least partly incompetent; or
- The SADF was doing most of the fighting and Unita was not militarily important. This would complicate a disengagement because it would result in the collapse of the front line.

Then Brigadier Krynauw casts doubt on the accuracy of authoritative reports of 200 to 300 South African deaths in Angola, by claiming that the SADF publicly announces all its operational fatalities.

However, there are several grounds for scepticism.

- It seems that casualties in the special forces (parabats, reccies, etc) are never made public;
- There has been at least one reported case of a conscript killed in Angola where his name was not announced and his next-of-kin had been ordered not to publicise the fact;
- Angola has stated that it has physical evidence of the death of at least three South Africans whose names do not appear on the lists released by the SADF;
- All the reported deaths announced by the SADF have been of whites, but there have been numerous reports that predominantly black units of the SADF were also deployed in Angola and therefore they must have suffered casualties;
- According to an analysis done by the *Weekly Mail* (29/4/88) there are discrepancies in the SADF's own figures;
- Hence there are good grounds for suspecting that the military are hiding the full facts from the public.

They have done so many times in the past, and not only with respect to Angola. Why should they expect us to believe them now?

John Hamilton

Johannesburg

We stand by our statement that the actions of the Defence Force in support of Unita in Angola are in South Africa's own interests.

It is surely in South Africa's interests to prevent by all possible means, including diplomacy and military action, the infiltration of terrorists into South Africa and South West Africa/Namibia.

There is no doubt that Angola houses, trains and actively supports Swapo and ANC terrorists. By assisting Unita to decisively smash a Cuban-led and planned offensive into south east Angola, Swapo and ANC terrorists were effectively prevented from using that area of Angola to infiltrate into South West Africa/Namibia and South Africa.

The intentions of both ANC and Swapo terrorists inside South Africa and South West Africa/Namibia cannot, by any stretch of the imagination, be described as peaceful or directed at hard targets.

On the contrary they have been far more successful in killing and maiming unarmed and defenceless civilian men, women and children than they have been at attacking the security forces.

No country in the world will permit terrorists to operate against its people at will from neighbouring states. It must be remembered that Angola — and other countries — were not forced to support Swapo and the ANC. Angola of its own free will has even gone so far as to protect Swapo by sheltering them under Fapla's security umbrella.

It was therefore in South Africa's interests to prevent Swapo from re-activating the Caprivi and the Kavango and to ensure that ANC terrorists could not use South East Angola as a transit route.

As far as Cuito Cuanavale is concerned, the military realities described in the first letter remain valid as do the realities of a tactical disengagement.

There is a difference between rendering a town or place militarily ineffective and capturing it.

Mr Hamilton is sceptical of the Defence Force's casualties during the operation without providing a single fact to support his doubts.

Firstly, all operational deaths are announced after the next-of-kin have been informed. This includes all members of the Defence Force, whether they are permanent force, citizen force, national servicemen, commandos, special forces, air force, army, navy or medical service, black, white, coloured or Indian.

The South West Africa territory force also announces casualties in precisely the same way and in all categories.

The Defence Force rejects totally the so-called authoritative figures of 200 to 300 quoted by Mr Hamilton. They are propaganda or a figment of someone's imagination.

A total of 31 Defence Force members died in action in support of Unita in South East Angola.

The newspaper analysis Mr Hamilton mentions is a combination of the casualties suffered in support of Unita in South East Angola and those suffered in action against Swapo terrorists. All these casualties were also announced either by the Defence Force or the South West Africa Territory Force after the next-of-kin had been informed.

The Defence Force would like to point out that Angola has never produced the "physical evidence" of three South Africans alleged to have been killed, neither does the Defence Force have the authority to "order" next-of-kin not to publicise deaths, nor would it wish to do so.

Once again realities dictate. The death of a loved-one is not something that can be kept quiet because quite naturally the immediate family informs friends and other relatives.

There are also numerous practical arrangements that have to be made. In a relatively short time, therefore, a large number of people are aware of the death.

There is also no way in which the Defence Force can avoid informing the next-of-kin of injuries, sickness or death. It is impossible and in contravention of policy and the overall philosophy of the Defence Force that its people are its most precious asset. To presume otherwise is to ignore the realities of South African society and to presume that the next-of-kin of black, coloured and Indian soldiers are less concerned about their loved-ones than their white counterparts.

Union federations call for national protest against amended labour Bill

Witness ECHO 26/05/88

by Lakela Kaunda

THE National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) has joined the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) in calling for national protest action against the Labour Relations Amendment Bill.

Nactu is calling for five days (June 6-10) while Cosatu had called for three days of protest. The two federations will work together in organising the protest action.

The Nactu decision was taken at a national shopstewards meeting held in Johannesburg this week. Shopstewards called for the total rejection of the bill as the State's efforts to rush the power of organised black workers.

Nactu will consult Cosatu and others including the church, youth and students organisations for joint action, they said in a statement.

The federations say the government Bill impinges on the right to strike, bans sympathy strike action and encourages employers to sue unions for losses due to unlawful strikes. It also disallows workers to strike for the same action within 15 months.

Replying to the Bill, Cosatu said it was not only aimed at curtailing the right to strike, but also to undermine worker unity. A ban on sympathy or solidarity strikes was an attack on the very basis of Cosatu's existence, said a Cosatu statement.

The statement said: "Solidarity action was the meaning of Cosatu's slogan 'An injury to one is an injury to all.' How many times have we won struggles through solidarity strike action or a solidarity boycott for particular products, or through blacking the goods of a company where our comrades are on strike?"

Winnie Mandela indicted for harassing businessman

WITNESS ECHO 26/05/88

JOHANNESBURG — An urgent interim interdict restraining Mrs Winnie Mandela and a friend, Miss Joyce Leballo, from threatening, abusing, harassing or injuring a Soweto businessman was granted on Tuesday in the Rand Supreme Court, **Business Day** reports.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone issued an interim interdict pending the outcome of the application.

In a supporting affidavit, businessman Mr Joseph Billy Leballo said Mrs Mandela had ordered a gang of comrade youths to evict him, keep him from his home and to "do him harm" if he returned.

The interdict also prohibited Mandela and Leballo from directly or indirectly removing or damaging property belonging to Mr Leballo and to pay the costs.

Mr Leballo said his wife Joyce had been friends with Mrs Mandela since about June, 1976. The friendship developed into a political involvement and in June, 1987 Joyce was detained under the emergency regulations for harbouring insurgents.

A divorce action had been stalled because of his wife's detention, he said. "Since I left the common home, (Mrs) Mandela put comrades in the home with what seemed to be the support and consent of my wife." — Sapa.

NEWS

BLA DISAFFILIATES FROM NADEL

Democratic lawyers say death penalty must go

WITNESS ECHO 26/05/88

by Lakela Kaunda

THE National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) has called for the abolition of the death penalty and for death sentences already imposed for politically inspired offences to be stayed.

The resolution was taken at the first annual meeting of Nadel held in Cape Town last weekend. The meeting was addressed by the general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Mr Allan Boesak.

Mr Ramaphosa called upon lawyers to stop sitting on the fence and being "spectators at their own funerals". He said they tended to be mercenary and saw political trials as their only area of activity.

Meantime, the Black Lawyers Association (BLA) has disaffiliated from Nadel for what it termed "rabid sectarianism and mischief making resulting in a series of soul destroying developments aimed at asserting hegemonic control by a single tendency".

The BLA recalled its members who were serving on the national executive of Nadel. A few days before the Cape Town meeting, four members of Nadel's executive committee announced their resignations — BLA president Dumisa Ntsebenza, Natal vice-president Donald Kali, assistant secretary Imrann Moosa and assistant treasurer Justice Poswa.

Their statement said: "We are committed more deeply than ever to the struggle for democracy and justice, which struggle includes the effective mobilisation of all democratic lawyers as South Africa slides further into a permanent state of emergency. We, however, are unable to pursue this struggle with those who violate all democratic principles in order to build puny fiefdoms."

Nadel was formed by lawyers' organisations and individuals to forge unity between lawyers irrespective of their political ideologies.

THE CITIZEN
COMMENT
26 MAY 1988

Clerics again

NO SOONER is Archbishop Desmond Tutu back from his trip to America calling for sanctions and giving Democratic Presidential candidate, Mr Michael Dukakis, his blessing than a group of churchmen begin their travels in Europe, seeking the intervention of European governments against the Bill that will curb foreign funds for radical purposes.

The group consists of the secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban, Dr Beyers Naude, a former secretary general of the SACC, Bishop Hans Brenninkmeirjer of Kroonstad, and Dr Khoaza Mgojo, President of the South African Methodist Conference.

Why Europe? Because the European Economic Community programme for the victims of apartheid has channelled the equivalent of about R105-million through South African churches and trade unions since it was set up in 1985.

The cash goes to 156 projects, mostly educational and training programmes and legal aid and advice centres.

However, it is known that a great deal of money is used for radical activities, which is why the South African Government wants to control the flow of funds.

In any other country, foreign funding would come under such control, since no funds are allowed to come in for political or radical purposes.

For example, South Africa would not be allowed to pour money into America to fund victims of White racism in that country or to interfere in that country's politics.

The Americans, in fact, see to it that foreign agents register by law and account for every cent they spend.

The clerics say they are worried that the proposed law will permit only the receipt of funds for "non-political activities" and exclude projects perceived as "anti-apartheid."

Witness tells of kidnap, assault at Cosatu House

THE CITIZEN 26/05/1988

Court Reporter

SCENES from a video, which were shown on SABC-TV news, were mentioned in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Eighteen men are accused of four murders, one attempted murder, five kidnappings, four counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, two counts of robbery with aggravating circumstances and intimidation.

Mr M Luitingh who is representing some of the accused told Mr Justice T T Spoelstra that faces of two of the accused appeared during Tuesday night's news and that this was prejudicial to his clients. He said it might make it easier for further witnesses to identify the accused.

The judge said he did not watch the news, so did not want to comment. He left if up to the State and defence advocates to draw up a document requesting members of the media to be careful in the way in which they reported on the court proceedings.

The visual material which accompanied the report by Chris Olckers was taken off a video recording which was handed in as a court exhibit.

On May 16, Mr Albert Phuluwa gave his evidence-in-chief. He left the witness box a number of times to touch men in the dock to identify them as the men who took him to Cosatu House during the illegal South African Transport Services strike last year.

Mr Phuluwa told the court he was kidnapped from Bosmont station on April 28, last year, and taken to Cosatu House where he was beaten with a piece of broomstick and with an iron rod.

Three Black men and a Coloured man were also at Cosatu House, he said. The three men were taken away. Later he and the Coloured man were also taken from Cosatu House and driven to a field near a freeway, Mr Phuluwa said.

Mr Phuluwa said he escaped and when he returned to the area with members of the SADF, four burning bodies were discovered, one of which was the Coloured man.

A number of videos have been shown during the trial, including one filmed by the SAP which shows the flickering flames.

On May 17 a video was shown in which Mr Phuluwa identified men as being the ones who took part in the events which form the basis of the charges.

The trial was adjourned until the next day to give the defence time to go through the video with their clients.

After a further adjournment, cross-examination began last Thursday. It was suggested Mr Phuluwa might have been coached to identify certain people so the State asked to hand in a further statement and a video made during the taking of statements.

This was opposed by the defence but after arguments, the judge ruled the statements and video could be admitted as evidence.

The video was shown on Monday May 23. It continued on Tuesday and that day SABC-TV reporter, Chris Olckers, filed a report which was the first item on the evening news bulletin.

The trial was adjourned early yesterday to give the defence team time to go through the latest video with their clients.

The trial is expected to resume at 10am today when Mr Phuluwa will be questioned about the circumstances surrounding the taking of a statement and the making of the video.

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

SOWETAN 26/05/88

IT is a pity that Mr John Mavuso, the first black man to take part in joint debate with Transvaal members of the tricameral Parliament, did not elaborate on his remarks that he was not in the provincial administration "out of the magic bag of the State President" but was there because he had to be there.

He would have shed light on one of the mysteries of South African politics — how he got to be appointed to his august position.

The facts that are available to the world now are:

- He was appointed by the State President, Mr P W Botha;
- The political organisation he belonged to at the time of his appointment was Inkatha — he was in fact a member of its central committee; and
- Inkatha dissociated itself from his appointment, saying it was not consulted about it.

In his speech at the meeting of the Extended Public Committee on Provincial Affairs, Mr Mavuso said the situation in South Africa had in the past been bedevilled by the fact that there was very little communication between black and white.

He said that this had been exacerbated by paternalism and whites talking down to blacks as if they wanted blacks to accept that they were a lesser people.

If Mr Mavuso was suggesting that his appointment to the provincial administration marked a change from that paternalism, then he is blind.

He forgets that his colleagues on the Transvaal executive came into office by way of a process of democracy — but a democracy that is the exclusive preserve of whites.

Whites will continue to choose "leaders" for blacks, and these "leaders" will speak only at forums that the whites create.

And those "leaders" will continue to tell the world that they believe they "have really arrived in South Africa".

WINNIE TAKEN TO COURT

SOWETAN 26/05/88

Mrs WINNIE Mandela

A RAND Supreme Court judge granted an urgent interim interdict restraining Mrs Winnie Mandela and another woman from threatening or injuring a Soweto man.

The application was brought before Mr Justice R Goldstone by Mr Joseph Billy Leballo, a Soweto businessman.

He told the court in an affidavit that his wife Joyce had first become friends with Mrs Mandela in June 1976 and had been detained in June 1987 under the emergency regulations.

Divorce

As a result of his wife's detention Mr Leballo had postponed a divorce action.

Since he left his home Mrs Mandela had "put comrades in the home with what seemed to be the support and consent of my wife."

Mr Leballo said Mrs Mandela ordered a gang of comrade youths to remove him from his home and to harm him if he attempted to return.

Mr Justice Goldstone issued an interim interdict restraining Mrs Mandela and Mrs Leballo from threatening, abusing, harassing or injuring Mr Leballo.

In terms of the interdict the two women are also prohibited from removing or damaging property belonging to Mr Leballo.

Mrs Mandela and Mrs Leballo were also ordered to pay the costs of the application.

UK ignores priests' plea

SOWETAN 26/MAY 1988

LONDON — A delegation of South African churchmen this week failed to persuade British foreign secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe to take a stronger stand against proposed South African legislation which would ban foreign funding for any organisation the government deems political.

Dr Beyers Naude, a former secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, said afterwards: "The whole delegation was deeply disappointed and frustrated by the fact that nothing tangible or meaningful has come out of this discussion."

Sanctions

The delegation, which was led by the current secretary of the SACC, the Rev Frank Chikane, and included Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban, hoped to persuade Britain and the European Economic Community (EEC) to impose further sanctions against South Africa to force Pretoria to repeal the state of emergency and not to press ahead with new legislation. The churchmen suggested diplomatic missions in South Africa should be reduced and downgraded, visa requirements tightened for South Africans, more restrictions imposed on trade and finance, and direct flights to South Africa should be stopped.

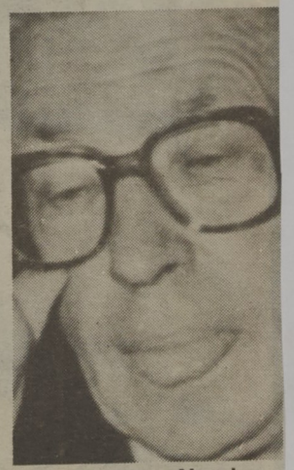
The foreign office said Sir Geoffrey listened to the churchmen with "sympathy and concern" but would only use "persuasion and pressure" against Pretoria. Archbishop Hurley said these tactics would not work against the South African Government.

Campaign

"Something much more effective is needed," he said.

In particular the church delegation wanted Britain to campaign against the Promotion of Orderly Internal Politics Bill, which is now going through the South African Parliament. It is expected to become law later in the year, and would block outside funding for any organisation deemed political by the Pretoria Government. It will diminish the work of organisations like the Black Sash and the trade unions, but will also probably kill the EEC special programme for the victims of apartheid, which is administered by the churches.

After the meeting Dr Naude said it "confirmed the fears of the black population that there is very little we can expect from the British Government . . . to what extent is the British population satisfied with this sort of response?" — *The Independent.*



DR Beyers Naude.

$280,000 awarded to Blacks in S. Africa

Blacks in South Africa will benefit from an award of $280,000 from the Kexagon Trust for scholarships and community development projects.

Developed last year by the Union Carbide Corp., the Trust is being built with dividends from that company's two remaining investments in South Africa, and it is currently funded at $3.5 million.

The award was approved by the Trust's board, which is made up of five South African Blacks, one Indian and one White. The money will be used for college-level scholarships, community development programs and programs to improve the skills of teachers.

Leaders of the Trust are currently working out programs to involve the foundation in making loans to Black South African business persons and to establish a teacher training center.

"We believe that this is a far more constructive way to work toward social change in South Africa than a largely symbolic and ineffective withdrawal," said Robert D. Kennedy, chairman of Union Carbide Corp.

He said: "We do, however, retain the right to divest our remaining assets in South Africa at any time if we determine that doing so will hasten the end of apartheid. There should be no misunderstanding of our basic position. Union Carbide abhors apartheid. And we are particularly concerned by the South African government's recent repression of church and Black activist groups."

The establishment of the Hexagon Trust followed a fact-finding trip to South Africa by Mr. Kennedy in 1987. While there, he sought out the views of more than 200 South African Blacks involved in the anti-apartheid struggle.

The trustees of the Hexagon Trust are: M. Nathaniel Mkhara, a Port Elizabeth township businessman and current president of the Eastern Cape Chamber of Commerce; Sebolelo Mohajane, chairwoman of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, and organization formed last year to address an elementary and secondary school boycott in Soweto and director of the Soweto Careers Center; Peter Motale, a Guguleto, Cape Town resident and transportaiont fleet owner; Leslie Peters, principal and rector of Springfield College of Education for Indians in Durban; Joyce Siwani, a research evaluator for the Witwatersrand Centre for Continuing Education and a tutor for the University Cadet program; Paul Zulu, formerly of the Unilever Corp. and currently lecturer and researcher at the University of Natal's Centre for Applied Social Sciences and Robert Hart, vice president of Union Carbide Corp.'s Carbon Products Business Group.

South Africa's tragic mistake

26 MAY 88

South Africa is the only instance of a society which has institutionalized racial discrimination in the constitution, at almost every level of society and government. This in a state which proclaims itself as firmly part of Western society and upholding civilized, Christian values.

Apartheid is neither Western, nor civilized, nor Christian. The practice of apartheid, as of oppression elsewhere, drives those in power with inexorable logic away from democracy to totalitarian methods. . . .

The adoption of apartheid was a terrible and tragic mistake. I believe that many thinking white South Africans know this in their heart of hearts. South Africa has tremendous potential to work together with other African countries and with the West for the economic development of the continent. South Africa could be a leader in Africa.

There are forces for change at work. I believe that industrial interdependence in the modern South African economy, combined with demographic trends, will make apartheid increasingly unworkable. Projected population figures must make somber reading for those who are still committed to white supremacy. In 1980, those classified as African blacks made up 72.4 percent of the total, and the whites 15.7 percent—about 4½ to 1. On a reasonable birth rate projection the ratio of black to white in 10 years' time will be 8 to 1. . . .

No change is simply not an option. Change is coming, and the sooner the white community as a whole can face that fact, the better the chance of negotiating a settlement in which their concerns will be met.

Chicago Tribune

Excerpted from an address by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London last week.

ne city offers the best chance for people to realise their highest potential

The Star Thursday May 26 1988

Urbanisation: SA has now reached point of no return

Professor Wilfred Mallows (82), South Africa's first professor of town and regional planning and doyen of city planning consultants, last night delivered the first annual Nola Green Memorial Address at his old university, Wits.

Professor Mallows, in looking at Johannesburg's "next 100 years" examined the Rand's current social trauma as migrants pour in and saw it as a positive sign.

Brought up in rural England he also experienced the shock of moving into a big city (London) in his youth.

The 90-minute address, organised by the SA Institute of Town and Regional Planners, is published in edited form.

By Professor Wilfred Mallows

Civilisation is due entirely to urbanisation. The habits of civilised behaviour — "meeting without fighting" — arose only in cities.

We are dealing today with industrial urbanisation which began 200 years ago and gave a new direction to society in two ways: vastly increased productivity and a drastic reduction in working time. The combination resulted in a greater availability of consumer goods and far more time to use them.

These benefits occur only in cities. Because only in cities can the economics of proximity, scale and location be optimised and can these increased benefits fuel a permanent, ongoing, process of adaptation and invention. This internal dynamic of cities depends on the degree of skill and commitment devoted to it.

Cities have mostly grown, not from their own natural increase of population, but from immigrants from rural districts or from other countries where conditions were inferior. The urban expansion which has created our present standard of living would have been impossible without this immigration.

The price to be paid for this increase in living standards is obvious: the creation of new skills, through education, so that these re-educated immigrants can be absorbed into city life as quickly as possible in order to maximise its productivity and preserve the ongoing improvement in living standards.

The time required to gain new skills for the countryman — often a generation or even more — means that city growth by immigration always includes large masses of poor people. But as the poor graduate into productive and settled urban life, the pain begins to dissolve.

From the "pre-industrial age", when an average 10 percent of people were urbanised, the urbanisation ratio in Britain rose to 25 percent and then to its first important threshhold — 50 percent.

It has continued to rise in the older developed countries to an apparent ceiling — West Germany 85 percent, Australia 86 percent, Sweden and Belgium 87 percent, the Netherlands 89 percent and Britain, the most urbanised country, 91 percent.

An interesting fact emerges: The bigger the city, the bigger the attraction. The bigger the city, the greater, wider and deeper the demand for labour of all kinds.

At about 90 percent urbanisation, with the experience of the developed nations as a guide, world population is likely to level off to zero, and later, negative growth.

Of all these threshholds, the most critical is clearly 50 percent — that is when, for the first time, the balance between country and city shifts towards the city. It is a point of no return and the moment of the greatest trauma when conflict is most violent, decisions most divisive and uncertainty and doubt universal.

South Africa stands now on this Great Divide. It is the fundamental reason for our tensions, conflicts and violent cross-currents.

It is a Great Divide in another sense: it separates us from the rest of Africa south of the Sahara whose states are essentially rural — Zambia, the most urbanised, is only 36 percent so. Zaire is 30 percent urbanised and the rest vary from Zimbabwe's 20 percent down to Malawi's 6 percent.

PARALLEL WITH BRITAIN

Africa can be no guide. We are on firmer ground looking at Britian, which was the first to pass the 50 percent point in 1860. For a number of reasons Britain of 1860 offers a series of interesting parallels to ourselves:

- It was the same size as South Africa today and had the same problems of scale: 30 million people in a drastically divided society.
- Greater London, with 3 million people, was about the same size as the central Witwatersrand — including Soweto and Johannesburg.
- London's East End compared to the 2 million in Soweto and other central Rand townships.

A contemporary description of London's East End made in 1870 by Walter Besant carries many echoes from Soweto:

It is a city full of churches and places of worship, but there are no cathedrals. It has elementary schools but no private or high schools, no colleges of higher education and no university. There are no fashionable quarters. People, shops, houses, conveyances are all stamped with the unmistakable seal of the working class. Perhaps the strangest thing of all, this is a city of 2 million people there are no hotels. This means of course there are no visitors.

- Britain in 1860 had just completed its new railway network, together with mainline terminals in all the larger cities, which immediately made its previous transportation network of turnpike roads completely out of date. We in South Africa are now completing our new network of motorways which together with the air network are making our railways out of date. New transportation methods always mark the start of a new age.
- Education for the first time in Britain was made compulsory, universal and free — but only up to the age of 12. Thirty years later in 1900 it was estimated that only one in 70 children reached high school. But, however limited, it acknowledged the basic fact that urbanisation, once past the 50 percent mark, must have education to enable it to operate, or even survive. South Africa is now involved in a huge education drive.
- Most significantly: trade unions were legalised in 1871 giving workers, in most fields, the right to organise themselves for their own advancement. We have just done the same.

Someone said history does repeat itself because nobody ever listens. Perhaps sometimes it is worth listening, for I believe similar conditions produce similar results — just like a chemical reaction.

Inkatha member stabbed in back by pupil, court told

THE DAILY NEWS 26/05/88

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

AN INKATHA member, Imbali town councillor and deputy chairman of a school board, who is charged with the murder of three youths, said in the Supreme Court here yesterday that in April or May last year he had been stabbed in the back in the centre of Pietermaritzburg by a pupil of the school.

His car had been damaged in March last year and his house set alight in May last year.

Mr Jerome Mncwabe (38) blamed the United Democratic Front for all the incidents.

He and his co-accused, Mr Nkosinathi Mncwabe (19), have pleaded not guilty to the murder of Bongani Mseleku (16), Victor Mthiyane (18) and Mduduzi Dlamini (16) on November 28 last year. The two Mncwabes are appearing before Mr Acting Justice Wessels.

Spectators jammed the courtroom yesterday and some people were turned away at the door.

Mr Jerome Mncwabe said that on November 28 last year he was driving in Imbali and saw a group of about 50 youths, some armed with bushknives and knives, moving towards him. They were chanting UDF slogans.

"They stopped me. Some of them hit the bonnet, saying that I must stop so that they could kill me.

"They surrounded the vehicle and tried to open the passenger doors and windows, but they were closed.

"One of them pulled the driver's door open and I pulled it closed again. He tried to stab me during the struggle.

"I reached for my shotgun on the back seat and when they saw it they retreated. I placed the gun on the window and some of them returned. I fired two shots.

"If I had not fired the shots they would have stabbed me."

Asked by Deputy Attorney-General Mr Les Roberts, SC, how he knew that the attacks on him earlier in the year had been by members of the UDF, Mr Jerome Mncwabe said when he was stabbed he saw school pupils wearing white shirts and grey trousers and girls wearing a school uniform standing nearby.

He was one of those who had tried to restore order at the school during unrest.

He had run into a shop and the pupils then walked up the street singing.

When his house had been burned he found a petrol bomb.

"I knew it was the UDF because I was seen as an enemy for being an Imbali councillor, member of the school committee and member of Inkatha.

"The UDF opposes the council, Inkatha and the school committee and wants student representative councils."

Mr Jerome Mncwabe was giving evidence after his counsel, Mr Rob Griffiths, had unsuccessfully applied for the discharge of the Mncwabes at the end of the State case.

The State alleges that Mr Jerome Mncwabe alighted from the car with a shotgun, whereupon the youths began to flee.

"It is alleged that he then fired at least twice at fleeing youths, hitting Mduduzi Dlamini and Bongani Mseleku.

Mr Nkosinathi Mncwabe said that he hit a youth — who had attacked Mr Jerome Mncwabe — over the head with a knobkierie to arrest him.

The case continues today.

THE GUARDIAN
Thursday May 26 1988

Secret talks with ANC

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

A DELEGATION of white South African politicians, including two parliamentarians, will hold talks in West Germany today with the outlawed African National Congress on the possibility of a new anti-apartheid strategy by which extra-parliamentary groups will contest future elections in their country.

The delegation, led by the former leader of the official opposition, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, left Johannesburg amid considerable secrecy last night. They are expected to hold at least two days of talks in Frankfurt.

The group includes the rebel former National Party MP, Mr Wynand Malan, and a second MP belonging to his new National Democratic Movement, Mr Pierre Cronje. Six other senior NDM members will take part in the talks, together with other whites.

The meeting comes amid speculation in South Africa that President P. W. Botha will call a snap general election in October this year.

The country's biggest daily newspaper, the Star, reported yesterday that there was "a growing probability" that an election for all three Houses in the tricameral Parliament would be held in October.

Countrywide municipal elections, in which blacks will be allowed to participate on a racial basis, are already scheduled for October 26, and under the present Constitution, Mr Botha has to hold a general election by the end of next year. He has attempted to postpone it until 1992, but has been blocked by the "coloured" House of Representatives who have denied their support.

Speculation that a snap general election is in the offing is based on a belief that by the end of next year the fast-growing, extreme rightwing Conservative Party could challenge for power.

Against this background, the meeting with the ANC represents a significant development, reflecting a further move in a crucial debate within the extra-parliamentary left on the merits of contesting elections.

The case for participation is based on a belief that candidates backed by the country's big anti-apartheid organisation, the United Democratic Front, could make a clean sweep of the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament and forge a "democratic alliance" with anti-apartheid members of the white House of Assembly. Such a development could reduce the Government's constitutional policy to shambles.

The UDF was established to oppose the entire concept of the tricameral Parliament in 1983, but the possibility of its reversing its position to fight elections was raised by one of its presidents, Mr Archie Gumede.

The suggestion was bitterly opposed within the UDF, but in the face of the State's effective crackdown on anti-apartheid activities the argument appears to have gained ground.

It is believed that the UDF is considering a decision to allow its white supporters to contest elections. The implication would be to reduce the issue of participation from one of principle to one of strategy, opening the way to further debate on black involvement in elections.

But fears within the UDF that participation would lead to the "cooption" of successful candidates remain a hurdle. Debate within the UDF on the issue is handicapped by Government restrictions, which verge on outright banning.

Daily Telegraph May 26 1988
LONDON.

position. It is a position most stubbornly protected from behind the barricades of South Africa's burgeoning bureaucracy — but increasingly at a cost which the economy can no longer sustain.

For the National party's very success is the key to its own downfall. It has created expectations so high that they can no longer be fulfilled. Its traditional voters have sensed this too, which is why they have turned to the far-Right parties in such alarming numbers.

The price of buying the support of the country's vast civil service is too great, especially now that foreign credit lines have been cut and growth cannot be achieved through borrowing on the international money markets. Further swingeing sanctions are likely to be spirited through the US Congress in the dying days of the Reagan Administration, further limiting the economy's chances of an export-led recovery.

These forces are compounded by the National party's own brand of political reform. This is essentially a process of co-opting brown- and black-skinned people into the system. Although this falls short of giving them full political privileges, it is nevertheless hugely expensive.

For the South African economy, the truly ruinous change in the past 40 years has been the spectacular growth in the bureaucracy. In 1948, the Government comprised a dozen Cabinet Ministers drawn from a single parliamentary chamber of 153 members. Today, if the Coloured (mixed race), Indian, and homeland parliaments are all taken into account, South Africa has no fewer than 144 Cabinet Ministers and 1,369 members of various parliaments. All these politicians must be supported by fulsome, racially designated bureaucracies; and the fact is that South Africa's economic base — already shrivelled by sanctions and foreign disinvestment — can no longer sustain them.

Daniel Malan led the National party to a surprise victory over General Smuts's United party in 1948 largely because of Afrikaners' memories of pre-war poverty and unemployment. He was charged by his voters with ensuring that this could never happen again, by establishing their own privileged position in perpetuity. Malan, and after him Stijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster, carried on the same tradition. The civil service, armed forces and business world were systematically and thoroughly Afrikanerised.

The Natal Mercury, Thursday, May 26, 1988.

Only large-scale sanctions would 'topple whites'

Sipho Khumalo

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said only large-scale sanctions applied by united international action could bring white South Africa to its knees.

However, the Inkatha president told a group of American industrialists and business people in Ulundi, it was unthinkable to him that sane people — knowing the facts about South Africa's mass poverty — could support actions which could succeed only if mounted on a scale large enough to destroy the country's potential growth.

'To make white South Africans really feel the bite of sanctions, the scale at which they are mounted would have to be devastatingly large,' he said.

Such large-scale sanctions 'however, would commit South Africa permanently to Third World poverty because the vastly spreading poverty they would create would become the mortal enemy of democracy.

Only a totalitarian state could emerge to survive against the background of the total destruction of the South African economy, he said.

'Democratic governments need the means to govern for the benefit of the people, otherwise in the end there is always revolt against them.

'Rob South Africa of its future economic growth potential and you rob (it) of its future democratic potential.'

Witness Echo, Thursday, May 26, 1988

Inkatha mass rally to protest sanctions

by Lakela Kaunda

KATHA will hold a mass rally at Glebe Stadium in Umlazi on Sunday to protest against sanctions and disinvestment.

e rally will be addressed by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha president, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

e movement has not held a mass rally in Durban since the declaration of the state of emergency which prohibits open air rallies.

e last rally held by Inkatha — which attracted about 70 000 supporters — was when the United Workers Union of South Africa (Uwusa) was launched in May 1, 1986.

nce the beginning of the week some chiefs have been given slots on Radio Zulu to invite tribesmen to attend the rally.

Inquiries about the reasons for holding the anti-sanctions rally failed as Inkatha officials declined to elaborate.

Meantime, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of the Anglican Church recently returned from a month-long tour of the United States where he reinforced his anti-sanctions stand.

Archbishop Tutu said he would return all honorary degrees he received if the universities that granted them did not impose sanctions on South Africa.

The controversial archbishop was met by a group of 35 unemployed black supporters of Uwusa when he landed at Jan Smuts airport last week.

50 cents minimum outside Lower Mainland

THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1988

35 CENTS

LOOKING LIVELY AFTER HOURS, C1

The Vancouver Sun

HOGAN SUFFERS SILLY SEQUEL, C6

S. African policemen to hang

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG — Two white policemen were sentenced today to hang for the murder of a black youth who was tortured during a police unit's drunken foray into a black township.

If Warrant Officer Leon de Villiers, 37, and Const. David Goosen, 27, are executed, they would be the first white policemen hanged in South Africa for crimes committed while on duty in a black township.

Key testimony came from other members of their 10-man riot unit.

Several officers testified that de Villiers, the unit leader, had ordered Goosen to "take out" 18-year-old Mlungisi Stuurman because the youth had been too badly beaten to be set free.

Stuurman was shot in the back of the head on July 26, 1986.

REAGAN

Reagan begins pre-summit visit to Finland

Reuter

HELSINKI — U.S. President Ronald Reagan began a 3½-day visit in Finland's capital today to prepare for his fourth summit with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Reagan and his wife, Nancy, were greeted by President Mauno Koivisto and a Finnish military honor guard during a pre-dawn welcoming ceremony at the Helsinki-Vantaa airport.

Reagan went by motorcade to a seaside government guest house where he will complete preparations for the May 29-June 2 Moscow summit, which will be his first visit to a country he once called an "evil empire."

As the first U.S. president to travel to the Soviet Union in 14 years, Reagan planned only a few public events during his stay in Helsinki, including a pre-summit address.

His speech was to dwell on human rights, a key facet of the four-point agenda for his talks with Gorbachev, which will also focus on arms control, regional conflicts in the Middle East, southern Africa and elsewhere and bilateral issues such as cultural and scientific exchanges and fishing rights.

☐ Modest gains predicted, B5

In an interview with Asian journalists released by the White House during the president's eight-hour flight from Washington aboard Air Force One, Reagan said he would seek progress in Moscow on all elements of the superpower agenda.

"My goal is to bequeath to my successor next January the firm basis for a stable, sustainable relationship with the Soviet Union," he said.

A 600-member entourage, including a White House chef and more than 200 Washington-based news people, was accompanying the president.

Reagan, at 77 the oldest president in U.S. history, is in the final months of his second four-year term in the White House and is barred by the U.S. constitution from seeking a third term.

Colleges given $8.3 million to allow higher enrolment

By KARENN KRANGLE and CAROL VOLKART

An $8.3-million boost to B.C.'s cash-strapped and crowded community colleges will open up the colleges to another 2,600 full-time students this fall, Advanced Education Minister Stan Hagen said Wednesday.

The increase was announced by Hagen following a government study of post-secondary education that found the colleges were under pressure to enrol more students.

"It is our intention to ensure that the demand is addressed," Hagen said.

When he commissioned the study in April, Hagen called on colleges and institutes to examine their abilities to cope with an expected increase in demand for enrolment this fall.

Earlier, a report from the B.C. Association of Colleges predicted that up to 3,500 full-time students would be turned away from courses for lack of government money.

The report, prepared by government-appointed members to college boards, was submitted before the provincial budget revealed in March that colleges would receive only a "slight" increase this year.

Hagen said in an interview Wednesday the budget originally gave colleges a two-per-cent increase, but "at budget time we didn't know what the enrolment pressures would be."

The increase comes on the heels of Hagen's announcement last week that he was restoring $2.6 million originally cut from the B.C. Institute of Technology's budget.

☐ Marian union to meet, A3

"The flip-flops are a sure indicator of bad planning or no planning, and crisis planning," said Darlene Marzari, New Democratic Party critic for post-secondary education. "The monkeying around with BCIT generated so much public opposition that he was forced to give more to colleges."

Marzari (Vancouver-Point Grey) said the $8.3-million increase is an improvement, but colleges will still see lineups of students in the fall.

She charged that the increase was the "bare minimum" that would "save the government from embarrassment.

"We're still nowhere near catching up to have a system we can be proud of."

Hagen said his study — the report of which will not be made public — was intended to find out if the money allocated in the budget allowed for "increased enrolment pressures.

"I told the (college) presidents and

Please see COLLEGES, A2

CREAM-BOAT DREAMBOAT!

MARK VAN MANEN

IT FLOATS! Gleeful Grade 2 and 3 pupils from Coquitlam's Cape Horn elementary school paddle their unusual six-metre boat Wednesday on Como Lake. Youngsters took four months to tape 1,800 milk cartons together to make the craft, which safely carried a crew of 30 during the test.

Provincial dissent cited over trade bill clause

By JULIET O'NEILL
Southam News

OTTAWA — Half the provinces are against the key compliance clause in the free-trade bill, but it is the only way to convince the United States that Canada will keep its side of the bargain, says Trade Minister John Crosbie.

New cracks appeared in provincial support because of the compliance clause in the day-old trade legislation.

Crosbie conceded the clause might be used in the future to bring provinces in line with the trade deal, but challenged anyone who thinks that it

☐ U.S. bill stalled, A12

violates provincial rights to "put your money where your mouth is and take a challenge to the courts."

The controversial clause would give Ottawa "reserve power" to enact legislation in the future to ensure that federal, provincial and local jurisdictions comply with the trade deal negotiated by the Mulroney government and the Reagan administration.

Liberal trade critic Lloyd Axworthy accused Crosbie of "capitulating to the Americans" with a "major takeover of provincial jurisdiction."

New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent said the provinces should go to court immediately.

Ontario Premier David Peterson, the most vociferous opponent of the

Please see TRADE, A2

NORIEGA TALKS BREAK DOWN

Talks intended to achieve the resignation of Panamania leader Manuel Noriega broke down Wednesday. ● Details, A11

NHL fans not happy

Most Canadians believe the quality of play in the National Hockey League is deteriorating, an Angus Reid poll suggests.

● Details, D1

River rafting legislation introduced

By KIM BOLAN
Sun Victoria Bureau

VICTORIA — River rafting companies are hoping legislation introduced Wednesday requiring the licensing and testing of all rafting guides will reassure the public about the sport marred by two multiple rafting fatalities on B.C. rivers last year.

Business is down as much as 50 per cent this season and while bad weather is partially to blame, some think the drownings of 10 rafters in just over a month last summer might have something to do with it.

"After the accidents last year, people need to be reassured that the industry is safe," said Brian Fogelman, of REO Rafting Adventures.

Fogelman said his bookings are down 50 per cent over last year, though last year's business was double from the summer of 1986.

While Fogelman hopes the legislation will provide the public with the security to book trips, he says he isn't happy with some restrictions that limit the size of rafts.

"It says rafts have to be a certain size, that larger rafts are safer, when in actual fact, depending on the river and the skill of the guide, a smaller raft is more manoeuvrable," he

Please see RAFTING, A2

Rocker donates funds to hospital

In a short, emotional ceremony inspired by a 12-year-old Abbotsford boy with leukemia, Bryan Adams donated $20,000 to cancer research Wednesday at the Children's Hospital.

Adams held an impromptu benefit concert for cancer research Tuesday night in honor of Chris Padwicki. The 900 tickets that went on sale the morning of the concert at 86 Street Music Hall — the first concert by Adams in his home town since 1985 — were sold out in seven minutes.

● Details, A14

BRYAN ADAMS: with Chris, 12

Surrey theme park rejected

By JEFF LEE
Sun City Hall Bureau

Saying it should not be seen to be "holding the hands of developers," Greater Vancouver Regional District rejected plans Wednesday for a $50-million theme park for Tynehead Regional Park in Surrey.

The decision means amusement rides left over from Expo 86 will likely not remain in B.C., GVRD manager Michael O'Connor told the board of directors.

Toronto-based York Hannover Leisure Properties Ltd. wants to build the theme park at Tynehead and move many of the old Expo 86 rides to the new park. It would open about the same time the company's lease of Playland at the Pacific National Exhibition ends.

The GVRD was asked to support York-Hannover's bid for the Expo rides and to lease the company 40 hectares in Tynehead regional park in Surrey. The offer, including a 50-year lease, was contingent on several clauses, including support from Surrey municipality and favorable results of a Vancouver city study on the future of the Pacific National Exhibition.

It was the second time in 12 months the company has asked the GVRD for land for an amusement park at Tynehead.

The new proposal did not go through the normal committee channels but instead was sent to the board by O'Connor, who supported the idea.

He said the offer had to be dealt with quickly because York-Hannover had only recently learned that the Expo rides were again on the auction block.

York-Hannover's request raised the ire of a number of directors, including Port Coquitlam Mayor Len Traboulay, who likened it to "a gun being held to our head."

"I'm unhappy that we're proposing to hold hands with a developer and go to the government and urge them to support this bid. I think the whole thing is a sham," Traboulay said.

WEATHER E1

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"I'b spled, I'b spill ab de benpisp."

☐ LOTTERIES: A2

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May 26, 1988

Dear Chief Buthelezi:

I think that a short, fact-based, calm, courteously-worded letter to the editor might be a good idea. It is interesting to me that each and every interview with each and every South African artist, writer, poet, singer, dancer, etc., has something to say about you. It appears almost obligatory for some denunciation to get into print. Why?

Thought you should see this. I also sent same to Ben Skosana, Oscar Dhlomo, Nana Mahomo and Sal Marzullo. Can't help being a pest.

Yours, Barbara

ADDRESS: NEW YORK NEWSDAY 780 THIRD AVENUE NEW YORK, NY 10017 USA

THE **NEW YORK NEWSDAY INTERVIEW** WITH **HUGH MASEKELA**

He's Blowing Apartheid's Walls Down

Newsday / Jeffery A. Salter

BLACK GABRIEL

Hugh Masekela is a South African jazz flugelhornist living in exile since 1960. He collaborated with Mbongeni Ngema on the music for the current hit Broadway musical "Sarafina!" Don Palmer spoke with him for New York Newsday.

Q. "Sarafina!," which is now playing at the Cort, has been nominated for five Tony Awards, including best musical. How did you get involved?
A. I met Mbongeni Ngema in 1983 when he was doing "Woza Albert," his first play, in England. The show started with a song of mine, and it was so ingeniously done I went backstage and asked how he got that arrangement. It turned out that he had all my records, so we had a mutual admiration, and we just decided that we had to do something one day.

Q. How do the artists in "Sarafina" feel about having to go back to South Africa?
A. Ambivalent. They came for 10 weeks, but now it looks like the show could run for a long time. If they have the opportunity, I think most of them would stay. If people in the arts are allowed to come overseas, they're not going to say ["no"] because of what might happen when they go home. They are already living in jail.

Q. . . . Are you in exile?
A. I was never formally exiled, but I was identified as a real foe of the government. I decided that I wouldn't go back until the place was free. I tried to go home in 1964 but Harry Belafonte and Miriam Makeba said, "Isn't it better to stay here and try and build a name for yourself so that when you say something people will listen?" Rather than sitting around and saying, "I wonder if I'll ever go back," we're involved in the struggle to make [freedom] a reality. It could be tomorrow, it could be 10 years.

Q. What contact do you have with South Africans back home?
A. I have all my family there, and we talk on the phone weekly. And I lived in Botswana for four years, which is just across the border. And there I had a [24-track mobile] studio where I recorded "Techno Bush," which brought me back on the scene after a long absence. My sister is head of the cultural department of the ANC [African National Congress]. I've grown up and worked with all the liberation movements.

Q. . . . Does the fact that South African political parties arise from particular ethnic groups hinder the anti-apartheid movement?
A. The South African government has been very ingenious in causing division, first by building the homelands and then trying to get credibility for people like [Zulu Chief] Gatsha Buthelezi. Buthelezi's movement is doing the dirty work and the [Afrikaners] can say [the fighting] is black on black, but the Afrikaners are fueling it.

Q. You've lived in the United States for 28 years. Do you see parallels between the situation during the height of the civil rights movement and the current one in South Africa?
A. The difference is that there is no way that we can have a nonviolent movement in South Africa. Here, though there were lynchings, they could be fought through the Constitution. In South Africa there's no Constitution. But as far as exploiting black people for cheap labor, there is no difference. I've seen everything that Malcolm X and Martin Luther King fought for eroded very quietly but effectively.

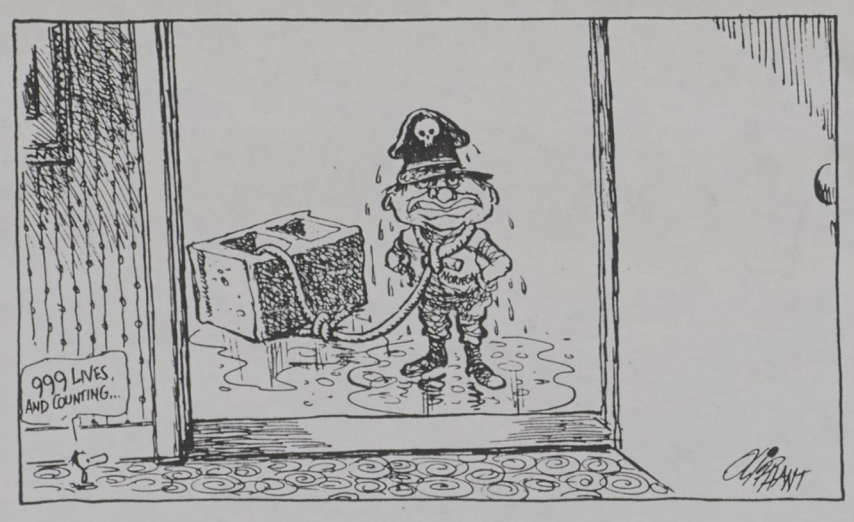
Q. Is there a need for white pop stars such as Paul Simon or Sting to bring Third World artists to a Western audience?
A. I think so, because the marketplace is basically Europe and America and the music business is really an English-language profession. It wasn't until Eric Clapton did [Bob Marley's] "I Shot the Sheriff" that you found the infusion of reggae music here. Another thing is that it seems like [Western musicians] have to go to Africa, the Caribbean, South America for fresh, raw material.

Q. Your "Grazing in the Grass" was a hit in the '60s. Why is there new interest in African music?
A. It was always bubbling. But more and more [Europeans] have lost their interest in holding onto their colonial privileges. They don't have that cultural shield against being turned on by other cultures.

Q. . . . Should artists go to South Africa and work with black South Africans, or should they observe the UN-supported cultural boycott and stay away?
A. It depends on the circumstances and the intention. Look at the result [of Paul Simon's "Graceland tour"], which is that Ladysmith Black Mambazo became an internationally famous group, and that brought [our] traditional music to the ears of the world. When you help South African musicians who otherwise would not get the attention, there's no way that you could be impeding the awareness of what's happening in South Africa.

Q. Is there anything special about South African music that makes it accessible to Western ears?
A. The large European presence in South Africa over the last three centuries means that we have a connection with European culture. The parallel of our urban lives with African-Americans' in the States meant that they became our role model for how to survive in an urban environment. Dixieland was accessible to us, so we had ragtime bands and Dixieland bands. By the time swing bands came in we had swing bands. And in the streets, we had guys with nicknames like Satch and Duke and Miles and Dizzy. I knew guys who could tell you where Charlie Parker was playing and who was on bass, and they had never even been out of the country. You won't know until the day we are free just how much black Americans have been a part of our life.

OLIPHANT



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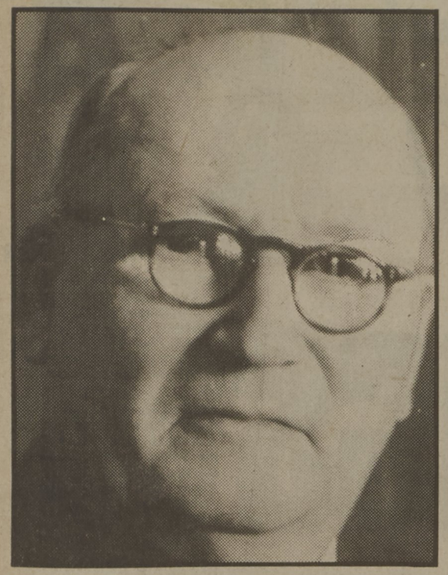
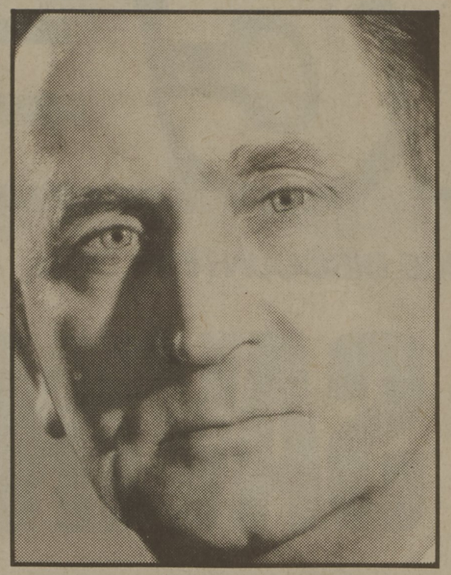
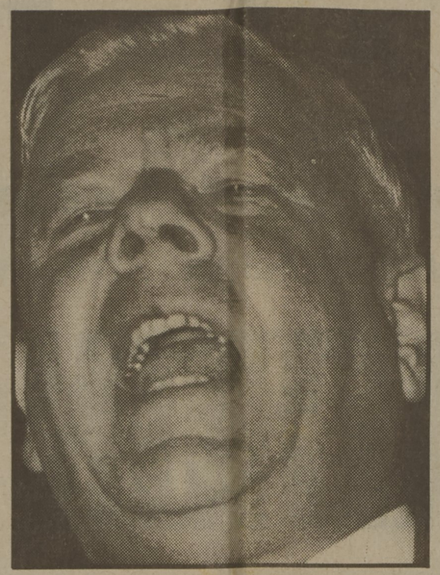


No 1: The first National Party Prime Minister, Dr D.F. Malan.

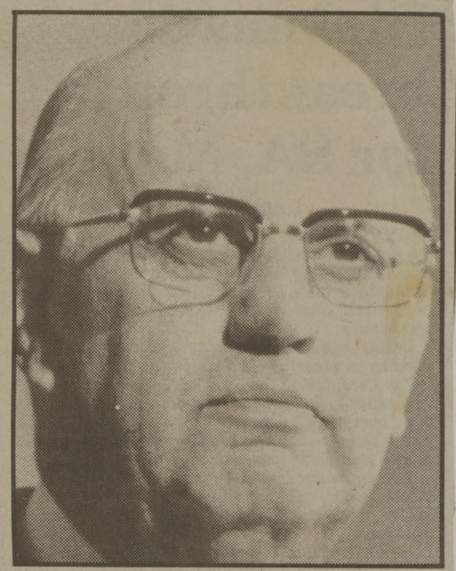


No 2: The "Lion of the North", J.G. Strydom — even tougher than Malan on racial matters.



No 3: The main architect of apartheid, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd.

No 4: Mr B.J. Vorster. Began the slow process of reform.



No 5: The current State President, Mr P.W. Botha.

WHEN IT ALL BEGAN . . .

The election that changed SA's history

Tos Wentzel

FEW South Africans expected big changes or surprises when the electorate went to the polls in the general election on May 26, 1948.

The United Party was comfortably in power. In 1943 it had won 89 of the Assembly seats, its wartime partners, the Labour Party and the Dominion Party, had 16 and the National Party 43.

There were warning signals however. The year before the UP had unexpectedly lost the Hottentots Holland by-election.

By 1948 the United Party had been in power for some 15 years and post-war shortages and difficulties were having an effect on a war-weary public. There had been irritations like the wartime ban on white bread as well as meatless and breadless days. In some cases demobilised soldiers were dissatisfied with the deal they had received.

The then Prime Minister, General Jan Smuts, rejected all suggestions that in order to counter all this, he should have an early election. Some of his close confidantes advised him to have an election as early in 1946 and also to have a redelimitation which would have eliminated or at least have brought some better balance between the number of voters in the urban and the platteland seats.

By May 1948 the electorate had been subjected to propaganda onslaughts from all sides. Apart from the UP and the National Party many smaller groups were in the field. In the Peninsula the Communist Party was putting up a determined fight in a number of seats. It was especially trying to appeal to the coloured vote. In the Cape Province coloured men were on the common roll with whites.

In the election campaign the term "apartheid" was presented to the voters for the first time. The National Party propagated its new policy through a sustained pamphlet blitz.

The Nationalist approach to apartheid at first, on the surface at least, tried not to be an out-and-out racist one.

Although it dismissed apartheid as a crazy concept born out of prejudice and fear, the United Party itself had a segregationist approach.

On May 25 1948, the day before polling day, UP leaders were also confident that, if all supporters of the party voted, there would be another "great victory for national unity and progress."

The Nationalists did not make any firm predictions.

From Standerton, the Transvaal country seat of the Prime Minister, General J.C. Smuts, it was reported that it was only a question of how big the United Party's majority would be.

A bitter disappointment awaited the UP.

On polling day General Smuts had an early start and was out and about in the constituency all day.

Dr Malan, who was standing at Piketberg, only went to vote in Stellenbosch where he was living at the time and spent the rest of the day planting trees in his garden.

The first results started coming out late on the night of May 26-27.

There were the first indications of Nationalist gains in the Transvaal.

Late that afternoon results started pouring in which gave an indication of the dramatic overall result to come.

At about 6pm on that Thursday May 27 it was announced that Major Piet van der Byl, then Minister of Native Affairs, had lost his Bredasdorp seat.

A few hours later came the most dramatic individual result of the whole election: General Smuts had lost in Standerton.

On May 28 General Smuts resigned and it was announced that the Governor General would be sending for Dr Malan to invite him to form a Government.

It was only late on the afternoon of May 28 that the last result, Victoria West, showed that Dr Malan and his coalition partner the Afrikaner Party had won eight more seats than the United party and the Labour Party. Because there were three "Native representatives" in the Assembly, for the blacks of the Cape Province, who would not support the new Government, the working majority would be five, only four if the Speaker came from Nationalist ranks.

The UP hoped that the Malan government could not survive with such a slender majority and that there would therefore soon have to be another election.

The theory was that the UP could then regain power.

Nothing of the sort of course happened.

The legislative origins of apartheid

Frans Esterhuyse

Preparations for the Nationalists' racial policy started long before their accession to power. In 1938, they had adopted the policy of enforced racial separation and at their federal congress had launched a countrywide petition which drew more than 230 000 signatures which their leader, D.F. Malan, submitted to Parliament the following year.

It called for legislation to prohibit marriages between whites and non-whites, make blood-mixing punishable by law, prohibit mixing in residential areas and enforce economic and political segregation between whites and non-whites.

When they came to power in 1948, the key to the elaborate apartheid system was the Population Registration Act of 1949 whereby all were to be classified according to race.

Its most important pillar followed, in 1951: the Group Areas Act enforced racial separation in residential areas, beginning with the elimination of black spots in Johannesburg, the removal of Indians in Durban, many removals elsewhere and District Six's slum-clearance after its declaration under the act as a white area. It resulted in the uprooting of countless people and the disruption and destruction of communities.

The ultimate aim was political apartheid, but it also presented the biggest hurdle. The immediate purpose was to remove coloured people from the common voters' roll, and one of the justifications for it came from P.W. Botha, then Nationalist MP for George, who told Parliament on September 21 1948:

"The attitude of the National Party is that the coloured person must be removed from the European voters' roll so that the coloured people will not be buffeted about in every election and by-election between the political parties. That will conduce to greater contentment and deeper mutual respect among the races."

Entrenched sections in the Constitution Act stipulated that this should be done by two-thirds majority of the Assembly and Senate sitting together, which the Nationalist majority fell far short of. But relying on earlier court pronouncements to the contrary, they forced through the enabling legislation by simple majority in 1951, sparking a constitutional crisis that saw the formation of the Torch Commando which organised mass protest meetings and inside Parliament led to high emotions and the first breakaway from the UP opposition.

The legislation was declared invalid by the Appeal Court, and immediately new legislation was passed to turn Parliament itself into a High Court, which, too, was declared invalid.

For all the protests, and constitutionally repugnant as the whole episode was, the Nationalists won by an increased majority in the 1953 election.

Though still far short of the required two-thirds majority, the plan struck on to remove the coloured people from the voters' roll was to simply enlarge the Senate by a sufficient number of their own. Legislation to do so was passed in 1956, when the Cape's Malan had already been replaced as Prime Minister by "Lion of the North" J.G. Strijdom who held even tougher views on apartheid.

The new government relentlessly pursued its racist course. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act was passed, a provision was included in the Immorality Act to prohibit sex across the colour line, the Separate Amenities Act came about, and an elaborate pass law and influx control system was designed to enforce stringent controls over the movement of black people.

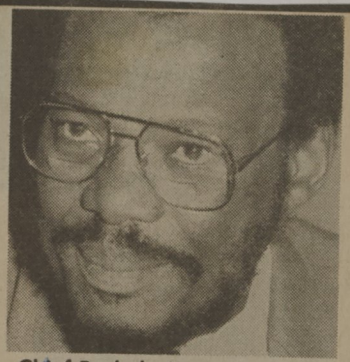
Within six or seven years the legislative framework had been set up for a new South Africa, one in which race would be the predominant consideration, meaning, for the individual, compulsory racial separation in taxis, ambulances, hospitals, funeral carriages, buses, trains, lifts, counters, public benches, toilets, parks, church halls, town and city halls, cinemas, theatres, restaurants, hotels, entrance gates, schools, universities, residential areas, jobs, marriage and sex relations.

When Dr Hendrik Verwoerd succeeded Strijdom, he pushed on relentlessly. In 1959 the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was passed which recognised eight ethnic national units and provided the machinery for these to become self-governing. The first to be given limited self-government, in 1963, was Transkei which had the largest single block of land under black occupation. Others were soon to follow.

Verwoerd refused to deviate in the slightest from his vision of maximum racial separation in social and political life. In the early 1960s segregation was extended to entrances to public buildings, lifts, beaches and even libraries (in the South African Library in Cape Town blacks and whites had to read books at separate tables).

Apartheid had reached its zenith . . .

Trade shutout 'insane' — Chief



Chief Buthelezi . . . warning

THE STAR

ULUNDI — Only large-scale trade sanctions applied by united international action could bring white South Africa to its knees, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

26/05/88

But, he told a group of American industrialists and business people, it was unthinkable to him that sane people, knowing the facts about South Africa's mass poverty, could support actions which could succeed only if mounted on a scale large enough simultaneously to destroy the country's potential growth.

DEVASTATING

"To make white South Africans really feel the bite of sanctions, the scale at which they are mounted would have to be devastatingly large," the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said, according to a statement released by his office.

Only large-scale sanctions applied by a really united international community which acted in unison to close all trading loopholes could bring white South Africa to its knees.

"Such large-scale sanctions would, however, commit South Africa permanently to Third World poverty because the vastly spreading poverty they would create would become the mortal enemy of democracy.

"Only a totalitarian state could emerge to survive against the background of the total destruction of the South African economy," he said.

"Democratic governments need the means to govern for the benefit of the people, otherwise in the end there is always revolt against them.

"Rob South Africa of its future economic growth potential and you rob it of its future democratic potential."