

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

29/03/88

The raid

SOUTH Africa has warned its neighbours often enough that it will not allow the African National Congress to attack it from their territories.

It has also warned them to take pre-emptive action by getting rid of the ANC.

But they never heed these warnings.

So from time to time South Africa sends raiders into these countries to attack ANC offices or transit facilities.

A few people are killed, South Africa is condemned as being an aggressor and destabiliser, and the ANC remusters to plot or carry out new attacks.

It is all most unsatisfactory. For South Africa, because it is forced to act in neighbouring countries to protect its own citizens from attack.

Neighbouring countries feel outraged by what they consider a breach of their sovereignty. And the world reacts with customary venom, without understanding the nature of the terrorist war against South Africa.

Nobody wins — and all are losers, one way or another.

Of all the countries involved, South Africa has the best reason for acting as it does.

The terrorists do not come out of the air. They have overland routes from their terrorist training camps in Angola and Tanzania. They have transit facilities in Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana, and they cross into South Africa, pick up arms and explosives from caches planted by others, and carry out their terrorist attacks on border farms or in urban areas.

No country can allow terrorists to cross its borders, with the knowledge of neighbouring countries, to kill or maim civilians or members of the security forces.

For if it turned a blind eye to what was happening, it would invite terrorist attacks on such a scale that it would be continuously under attack, with the terrorists achieving their objective of creating panic and fear among the civilian population.

Besides, as the government has pointed out often enough, South Africa is within its rights when it attacks terrorist bases across its borders.

Which brings us to the latest cross-border incident. It began on Friday when soldiers tracked terrorists on a farm near the border with Botswana. The soldiers pursued the gang and opened fire on them 40 minutes later on a neighbouring farm.

Three terrorists were killed and a quantity of arms was seized.

In a follow-up operation, elements of the SADF attacked an ANC transit house on the outskirts of Gaborone. Four terrorists were killed.

The transit facility, it turns out, was used by the Heinrich Grosskopf gang, alleged perpetrators of the bomb blast at the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court.

So the raid may have been a pre-emptive strike and a retaliatory one.

The raid follows the warning given by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in the Northern Transvaal a few weeks ago, when terrorists crossed over from Zimbabwe and launched a rocket attack on a farmhouse.

General Malan said at the time, "We've had enough." It was the primary duty of the government to protect its people. South Africa would send its troops across borders in pursuit of terrorists who had carried out attacks against innocent people in South Africa.

Mr Botha said that South Africa reserved the right to take such action regardless of the criticism it might bring internationally.

Botswana cannot say it was not warned. In fact, it has received several warnings in the past couple of years.

We hope it will now stop the ANC using its territory for its foul attacks on South Africa, and that it will enter into a security pact like the one South Africa has with Swaziland and Lesotho.

That will put an end to attacks and counter-raids and we can be truly good neighbours.

Call for anti-SA sanctions made in Zimbabwe

HARARE. — The Association of West European Parliamentarians against Apartheid, AWEPA, yesterday called on Western nations to implement sanctions against South Africa, Ziana, the national news agency reports.

The call was specifically directed to Britain and the United States and also

urged that the SADCC be bolstered economically.

At the opening of a three day conference on Western Europe's role in Southern Africa's future, AWEPA chairman Jan Nico Scholten likened Pretoria to Nazi Germany, saying there was no reason why it should not be punished by mandatory sanctions.

He called on Britain and the US to stop vetoing sanctions at the United Nations.

"Pretoria does not have any interest in fundamental change and only serves to protect the privileges of a few at the expense of the masses," he said.

Mr Scholten proposed that Western nations implement mandatory sanctions; decline to re-

new loans to South Africa; cut air links between South Africa and Europe, and ban imports such as coal by West European governments.

"We must also give more assistance to the Frontline states to increase their defence capabilities," he said.

President Mugabe also said urgent action was required to dismantle apartheid.

"The world cannot afford to look at the event unfolding in South Africa with its arms folded. Action is required," he said.

The racist regime continues to violate the sovereignty of Angola by mounting invasions in support of its surrogate, the puppet Unita movement," he said.

"We in the SADCC region yearn for peace and development, but no meaningful development can take place in a hostile and unstable political environment such as that in which we live," he said.

— Sapa.

THE CITIZEN

Wednesday 30 March 1988

11 ANC's shot in 4 days

By Fred de Lange
FOUR ANC terrorists were shot and killed in Venda on Monday by elements of the South African and Venda Defence Forces.

This brings the total of ANC terrorists killed on Monday by the security forces to eight and the total for the past four days to 11.

The Chief of Staff of the Far Northern Transvaal Command, Brigadier F Botha, said yesterday the four terrorists were

killed after information was received that a group of people had crossed

from Zimbabwe to Venda.

During a follow-up op-

eration seven sets of tracks were found leading from the Zimbabwean border into Venda.

After a combined operation by elements of the Venda Defence Force, the SA Army and the SA Air Force, a group of terrorists were cornered on an island in the Mutala River in the north eastern corner of Venda at 4.30 pm.

Brig Botha said after a firefight four terrorists were killed and one wounded. More tracks are being followed by the security forces.

An unspecified number of machineguns, RPG rocket launchers and a large quantity of explosives were seized by the security forces.

Earlier on Monday morning South African Forces killed four suspected ANC members in Gaborone, Botswana, in a follow-up on leads obtained in a skirmish near Derdepoort in the north western Transvaal during which three ANC terrorists were killed.

No evidence of ANC link to Bop coup —

Intelligence

By Tony Stirling

INTELLIGENCE

Sources yesterday described the allegations of Mr Peter "Rocky" Malebane-Metsing, leader of the abortive Bophuthatswana coup who has surfaced in Zambia, that he had only become involved after members of the national guard and defence force had staged the coup.

The sources said that documents captured in the days following the coup on February 10 — and which are certain to be produced at the coming treason trial of the more than 450 persons held in connection with the coup — will show that as early as last December Mr Metsing, leader of the Progressive People's Party (PPP) plotted with members of the national guard and Bophuthatswana Defence Force to topple the government of President Lucas Mangope.

These were handwritten documents found when the Bophuthatswana security forces and police, with South African assistance, arrested a large number of people alleged to have been involved in the coup, including more than 160 members of the PPP and

the Deputy Commissioner of Police, Brigadier M L Sekame.

Mr Metsing made the claim in an interview in Zambia published at the weekend, after one of his alleged colleagues, Mr Lawrence Mahila, who acted as a spokesman for the coup group had made a similar claim when he temporarily fled into South Africa.

Mr Mahila later handed himself over to the Bophuthatswana authorities and was arrested.

According to The Citizen's sources, the presence of Mr Metsing in Zambia was known.

They said Mr Metsing had fled to neighbouring Botswana, where he has relatives, after the coup and from there had made his way to Zimbabwe, before travelling to Zambia.

The evidence which surfaced in the coup investigation had indicated that Mr Metsing and his co-conspirators had again met to discuss final plans to the coup late in January.

The sources said that although the South African Government had shortly after the abortive coup suggested a possible ANC link, there was no

evidence at this stage that Mr Metsing was in contact with the organisation in Zambia.

The fact that the ANC had to date taken no credit for involvement in the abortive coup, was taken as an indication that it was not linked to the coup, since the ANC had named homeland governments as one of its targets this year and would have been quick to make claims in this regard if it could back such claims.

They said Mr Metsing's version of how he had managed to flee while South African security forces were surrounding the Mmabatho Independence Stadium in President Mangope's bullet-proof car were probably correct.

It was pointed out that Mr Mahila had managed to flee although he was addressing an international Press conference no more than 50 m from where South African security forces took up position around the stadium, before moving to free President Mangope and a number of hostages, who were the primary concern at that time.

Most of the arrests of those alleged to be involved in the coup in fact took place over the following two days.

In a statement issued yesterday, the Bophuthatswana Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Solomon Rathebe indicated that his government — which does not have extradition arrangements with countries other than South Africa — would nevertheless approach Zambia in regard to his extradition, if he was hiding there.

"He must answer for his crimes and cannot fool the world all the way," said Mr Rathebe.

Mr Rathebe said his government had "faith in the incontrovertible sense of justice in the world," and would approach the

Zambian authorities to "expatriate him", so that he could stand trial.

"If we cannot get him to answer for his brutish crimes, retribution will stalk him all the days of his life," said Mr Rathebe.

Mr Rathebe accused Mr Metsing of cowardice for seeking sanctuary in a foreign state, and said his government was "amazed and disgusted at his (Metsing's) cowardice and brand of leadership."

Liqhamuka nokuthusayo ibhuku ngoButhelezi

UMAFRIKA

29 OCTOBER

1988

KULINDELEKE ukuba izazi zomlando ziphinde ziwathuntuthe amabhuku azo omlando kulandela ukushicilelwa kwebhuku elichitha izinkolelo eziningi ngoDr Mangosuthu Buthelezi nangobuholi bakhe.

Lelibhuku elithi: *Gatsha Buthelezi Chief With a Double Agenda* liyakuchitha ukuthi uDr Buthelezi unguMntwana. Leneka elikubeka njengobufakazi bokuthi kuwukuhlanekezela umlando ukuthi igazi lobuholi linqenqeza emithanjani yegazi lakhe.

Indaba liyisusa phansi uDr Buthelezi esabanga nomfowabo isikhundla sobushifu besizwe sakwaButhelezi, kuze kuyofikiswana ezinkantolo, kudingiswa nalowomfowabo.

Umlobi uthi kakulona iqiniso futhi ukuthi uDr Buthelezi walwa nokungena kukazibuse KwaZulu, empeleni lithi wasizwa yiPitoli nokuba aze adlondlobale ebuholini.

Liwuqala phansi umlando wesizwe sakwaButhelezi, liye liyofika ekuzalweni kukaDr Buthelezi lapho lichaza khona ukuthi kuliphutha ngani ukuba lomholi abizwe ngoMntwana, okuyigama elibekelwe ukubiza abasebukhosini.

Lingena kabanzi ebudlelaneni balomholi weNkatha ne-African National Congress. Ngaphandle nje

kokuthi liyangabaza ukuthi wake waba yilunga likaKhongolose njengoba esho uDr Buthelezi, lelibhuku liqhuba lihebeze ukuthi ukusebenza kwakhe ngaphansi kohlelo lwamaBhunu kwafakwa umdlandla ngabholi bakaKhongolose abanohlonze njengoChief Albert Luthuli noDr Nelson Mandela.

Lelibhuku lichitha nokuthi uDr Buthelezi wengamele umhlaba welaKwaZulu ayevele ngabe uzoba ngundunankulu walo noma ngabe abamhlophe kabafikanga nezabelo.

Umlobi walo uMzala ubuza ukuthi kungenzeka kanjani ukuthi uDr Buthelezi asebenzele ukubhidliza uhlelo olumholela okungenani R35 000 ngonyaka?

Umlobi walo uMzala wayefundela ezomthetho oNgoye, futhi useneminyakana esebenza ophikweni lokuphenya (Research Department) lwe-African National Congress eLusaka, eZambia. Lencwadi izotholakala khona maduze nje naseNingizimu Afrika, ngokusho kwabakwaDavid Phillip eCape Town okuyibona ezophuma ngabo.

Konke lokhu, namanye amaphuzu avezwa yi*Gatsha Buthelezi Chief With A Double Agenda*, kuzokwendlalwa kabanzi kUMFRIKA wangesonto elizayo.

GATSHA BUTHELEZI

CHIEF WITH A DOUBLE AGENDA



MZALA

Yilo-ke lelibhuku esizobe sikukhinindela ngalo kabanzi ngesonto elizayo.

Buthelezi may quit backing Indaba

THE CITIZEN

29/03/88

ULUNDI. — The KwaZulu Government is to consider withdrawing support for the Indaba's constitutional proposals and pulling out of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority.

The debate, initiated yesterday by the Chief Minister, chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, comes in formal reaction to the November 27 Press statement by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, in which he rejected the proposals on behalf of the South African Government.

Chief Buthelezi urged the Legislative Assembly to exercise caution in deciding the matters.

Market research had indicated "very substantial support" for the Indaba by National Party members.

He would have withdrawn from involvement in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba immediately after Mr Heunis's statement had he not known that the Minister (although with Cabinet support) was speaking against the wishes of large numbers of Nationalists.

The Chief Minister said that the Black people of the region had shown that they were prepared to make compromises by participating in the Indaba and it was now up to Whites to get their political leaders to do likewise.

"I see it as terribly dangerous for Inkatha and this House to be hung up at some kind of crossroads while we wait for Whites to arrive there and decide which direction they are going to take.

"Our support in principle for the KwaZulu/Natal constitutional proposals must not be allow-

ed to become a millstone around our necks and limit our political options."

The issue was so fundamental that he would not dare to act unilaterally as the president of Inkatha or as the Chief Minister of KwaZulu. Inkatha's final response to the matter would have to come at this year's annual general conference.

Chief Buthelezi said it was not prudent to leap into action on the rejection of Mr Heunis's statement. Nor, however, was it prudent to "hitch the whole of our political future to the KwaZulu/Natal star."

The Indaba was an exploration in co-operation, and if this did not work there had to be freedom to experiment again until something emerged which did work.

Japan warns groups trading with SA to be 'cautious'

BUSINESS DAY

29/03/88

TOKYO — Japan's International Trade Minister Hajime Tamura yesterday asked the presidents of the country's six largest trading companies to adopt a "cautious stance" on exports to SA, but he did not make any specific requests.

One of Tamura's officials who met the company presidents yesterday and passed on the minister's request, said that "fundamentally, they accepted this".

However, the official said the discussions did not touch on any concrete measures for slowing trade with Pretoria. He added that the minister has made similar requests to Japanese trading houses in the past.

The six largest trading houses are Mitsui and Co, Mitsubishi Corp, C Itoh and Co, Sumitomo Corp, Marubeni Corp and Nissho Iwai Corp.

Japan has attracted criticism for its SA trade, the value of which has been growing even as corporations in the US, Canada and Europe have been slowly reducing their trade.

Japan recently surpassed the US as SA's largest trading partner.

According to the Japan Foreign Trade Council, export contracts concluded by 17 major Japanese trading companies in February with all African countries rose 29.9% from the year earlier period.

The council said it did not compile monthly figures on export contracts

with SA, but noted the volume of exports to Pretoria came to nearly 40% of Japanese exports to Africa in calendar year 1987.

A few Japanese companies have recently announced tentative moves to review their trading activities, but none has so far made a firm commitment to cut off or substantially reduce trade with the country.

Car-maker Nissan Motor Co said last week it was reviewing its total vehicle exports to SA, but denied reports it will suspend exports of its four-wheel-drive Safari.

Toyota Motor recently said its overall exports to SA had declined, but it did not say it was making an effort to reduce exports. — AP-DJ.

NATAL MERCURY, TUESDAY, MARCH 29, 1988

Malan's warning after Gaborone raid

Ormande Pollok
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—South Africa would repeat its commando raid into Botswana, or anywhere else, if terrorism against South Africa continued, a senior Defence Force spokesman said last night.

He would not elaborate but made it clear that South Africa would not hesitate to act as it did in Gaborone at the weekend in a lightning strike which left four dead.

The raid was described by Defence Minister Magnus Malan as 'a surgeon's incision against the ANC' which had prevented the 'killing or maiming of innocent people at a later stage'.

'Transit route'

Gen Malan also indirectly confirmed that South Africa would repeat the dose if necessary, having stated on numerous occasions that 'the export of revolution from neighbouring countries is totally unacceptable'.

He also pinpointed Zimbabwe and Zambia as the points of departure of the alleged terrorists, some of whom were killed by security forces in a 'contact' in the bush shortly before the strike against the survivors in Gaborone.

Botswana had been used as a 'transit' route.

'The Government is aware that these deeds are launched from neighbouring states, often with the silent

approval of the governments concerned,' he said.

They gave the ANC freedom of movement in their countries and the local population was used to shield them, but the 'political havens' indicated terrorist activities.

'It is the policy of the South African Government to combat terror, wherever it may occur,' said Gen Malan.

'The action was not aimed at the Government or the people of the state concerned. It is the declared policy of the Government that it prefers a policy of peace and co-operation with its neighbours.

'The daily traffic in terms of trade and support in many fields is a practical example of this.'

Sapa reports that Botswana said yesterday that two of three women killed in the raid were Botswana nationals and a man was a South African refugee. The identity of the third woman was still being checked.

Several vehicles had been used in the raid, including one with South African registration abandoned near the scene when it hit a tree stump, the Government statement said.

Witnesses said the raiders attacked about 1 a.m., using machineguns and petrol to firebomb a four-bedroomed house in the suburb of Phiring, in the northern part of the normally placid capital, just 10 km from the South African border.

A military spokesman in Pretoria said the raid followed a clash with black ANC terrorists at a farm near the Botswana border on Friday.

Three men were killed in the clash and a quantity of arms was seized, including automatic rifles, pistols and handgrenades.



Gaborone—Botswana schoolchildren view the burned shell of the house raided by South African soldiers. — (Reuter)

KwaZulu Govt to debate withdrawing from Indaba

Mercury Reporter

THE KwaZulu Government is to debate whether or not to withdraw its support for the Indaba's constitutional proposals as well as pulling out of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority.

The debate, initiated by the Chief Minister, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, comes in formal reaction to the November 27 Press statement by Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, in which he rejected the proposals on behalf of the South African Government.

Dr Buthelezi urged the Legislative Assembly to exercise caution in deciding the matters.

A spokesman for the Indaba said: 'This sort of thing is routine. It's a matter of course. From time to time they (the KwaZulu Government) like to review the situation.'

'This happens with all major policy issues when they come under review and Dr Buthelezi likes to be seen discussing policy with the Legislative Assembly. There is no drama involved,' he said.

Market research had indi-

cated 'very substantial support' for the Indaba by National Party members.

Dr Buthelezi said he would have withdrawn from involvement in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba immediately after Mr Heunis's statement had he not known that the Minister (although with Cabinet support) was speaking against the wishes of large numbers of Nationalists.

Crossroads

The Chief Minister said that the black people of the region had shown that they were prepared to make compromises by participating in the Indaba and it was now up to whites to get their political leaders to do likewise.

'I see it as terribly dangerous for Inkatha and this House to be hung up at some kind of crossroads while we wait for whites to arrive there and decide which direction they are going to take.'

'Our support in principle for the KwaZulu/Natal constitutional proposals must not be allowed to become a millstone around our necks and limit our political options.'

Dr Buthelezi said it was not prudent to leap into action on the rejection of Mr Heunis's statement. Nor, however, was it prudent to 'hitch the whole of our political future to the KwaZulu/Natal star'.

The Indaba was an exploration in co-operation, and if this did not work there had to be freedom to experiment again until something emerged which did work.

The Indaba proposals had come about after years of hard work and negotiating. They were the final outcome of initiatives he had begun in 1979 when he began steps to set up the Buthelezi commission.

The commission was followed by difficult negotiations with the Natal Provincial Council and which led to the establishment of the Joint Executive Authority which was today a constitutional reality.

All of this was done in pursuit of the kind of political and constitutional breakthroughs which would enable the people of this region of South Africa to escape the tyranny of apartheid.

Poll puts PW tops in Durban

THE NATAL MERCURY
29/03/88

JOHANNESBURG—White South African opinion of President Botha's performance has increased, with Durban emerging as the most supportive area, according to the latest Omnichiek survey.

Refuge

Seventy-four percent of people in Durban polled by Omnichiek said he was doing a good job, compared with a low of 64% in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal area.

The poll, conducted in all the major urban centres last month, shows that 68% of the 1 300 men and women interviewed said they thought Mr Botha was doing a good job.

This reflects a 13% increase in support over a similar survey conducted in November, 1986.

The latest survey shows a new vote of confidence among the youngest group polled (18-24 years). A whopping increase in support among that group brings the total to 62% (from the 43%) who approve of Mr Botha's role as President.

Many of the young people who once said they did not know seem to have made up their minds. Whereas 29% of the 18-24-year-olds took refuge in that answer in the 1986 poll, only 20% gave that response in the latest poll.

Six in 10 of the young men in that age group have given the President's performance the nod of approval.

Seventy-three percent of Afrikaners surveyed gave Mr Botha a 'thumbs up', an increase of 13% over the November 1986 poll.

Respondents aged 50 and older have shown a 9% increase in support of the President's leadership, bringing the total to 75% who feel Mr Botha is doing a good job.

Mob shoots and fatally stabs man

THE N. MERCURY
29/03/88

Mercury Reporter

SEVERAL incidents of unrest were reported by police at the weekend.

At Georgedale, near Hammarsdale, a man was attacked by a mob who fired several shots at him, then stabbed him to death.

A 16-year-old youth was slightly injured when a group of blacks attacked a house in Mpumalanga, near Hammarsdale, and fired a number of shots at the house with a shotgun.

An 18-year-old man was wounded and arrested in Inanda, Durban, when police fired a round of birdshot at a group which had gathered illegally and refused to disperse.

At Kagiso, near Krugersdorp, a man was admitted to hospital with stab wounds

after a group of blacks attacked him with knives. The group also stoned a private dwelling.

On Sunday morning a mini limpet mine exploded in the garden of the Pietersburg Holiday Inn. There were no injuries and damage was slight, police said.

Emergency Day 654

Because of the emergency regulations, the free flow of information relating to unrest is severely restricted. Certain news reports have had to be excluded because of the latest regulations. This newspaper will do its utmost to keep readers informed.

NATAL MERCURY, TUESDAYS, MARCH 29, 1988

Rosy report from the KFC

**African Affairs
Correspondent**

ULUNDI—A new industry was established in KwaZulu every 4,6 working days by the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation last year.

This was announced in the KFC's annual report for 1987, tabled yesterday in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

In the chairman's review, the late Bishop Alpheus Zulu said the creation of new industries at the KFC industrial estates led to the creation of 23 new job opportunities every working day.

Employment at the estates stood at 31 502 workers with a total capital investment in industrial development of R36,7 million for the year.

At present there were 19 active tri-partner companies in which the KFC had a total direct investment in the form of equity and loans of R4 400 000 and indirect involvement in shopping centres and bakery buildings of R15,2 million.

These companies employed a total of 1 254 blacks while blacks collectively owned 567 700 shares in them.

The KFC's development department concentrated on functional specialisation, focusing on agriculture, housing, commerce and small industry.

Financed

It performed most favourably, exceeding its budget of R27,7 million for loans to clients in these areas by R7 400 000.

On the commercial front, it is estimated that between 20% and 25% of all commercial ventures in KwaZulu had been financed by the KFC.

In a special effort to develop rural areas, 40% of all additional funds had been directed into this sphere.

The KFC's housing section, the KwaZulu Housing Company, increased its volume of loans from R9 900 000 in 1986 to R22,1 million, in an attempt to meet the critical housing shortage in KwaZulu.

By March 31 last year it had also finalised contracts amounting to R2 600 000 with private sector companies for the provision of housing facilities in KwaZulu.

The KFC has spent a total of R480 million in capital expenditure over the past nine years and will spend a further R106 million in the coming financial year.

Masire condemns 'dastardly attack'

Eight dead in new blitz on the ANC

BUSINESS DAY

29/03/88

DOMINIQUE GILBERT
and GERALD REILLY

A RENEWED blitz on the ANC has left eight dead in the past week, including four people who were killed by the SADF in a raid near the Botswana capital Gaborone at 1am yesterday.

Botswana President Quett Masire said yesterday's raid on a private house at Phiring in Gaborone's northern suburb of Tshologelo — where four people were allegedly first shot then set alight — resulted in the death of one SA refugee, two Botswana women and a woman whose nationality was still uncertain.

Two days earlier, SA soldiers killed what the SADF said were three suspected terrorists at about 12am during a patrol on the SA border with Botswana.

Last week, it was reported that ANC guerrilla Mazizi Attwell Maseke was shot dead by an unknown gunman in his hospital bed at Maseru, Lesotho.

The SADF yesterday claimed responsibility for yesterday's deaths in Gaborone as well as the border deaths on Friday, and said all those killed in the two incidents had been ANC members.

The Botswana government did not name any of those killed in yesterday's attack, saying their next-of-kin had not yet been informed.

Sapa reports Defence Minister Magnus Malan said that with the information at his disposal, it could be stated without doubt that the action in Gaborone resulted in the prevention of killing and maiming innocent people at a later stage.

Malan said: "In this case, terrorists originating from Zimbabwe and Zambia used Botswana as transit. The action was like a surgeon's incision against the ANC, with a minimum force to achieve maximum advantage."

Masire strongly condemned what he termed "this dastardly attack and murder of innocent people in Botswana by the SA army."

"The office of the president once again reiterates Botswana's belief that SA's problems cannot be resolved by attacking neighbouring countries such as Botswana and strongly urges the SA government to engage in meaningful negotiations with the genuine leadership of the oppressed majority in that country."

The SADF said Friday's border inci-

Eight dead in new blitz on ANC

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dent resulted from a follow-up operation after an SADF patrol made contact with what it said was a small group of terrorists at about midday on the farm, Smaldale, about 10km south of Batavia.

The group fled and about 40 minutes later contact was re-established on the farm, Stellenbosch, where three terrorists were shot dead.

The SADF said: "Four AK47 rifles, four Makarov pistols, four fully-loaded AK47 magazines, eight hand grenades and other equipment was captured."

It said yesterday's deaths near Gaborone resulted from a "follow-up on intelligence gathered during Friday's operation".

The official Botswana news agency, Bopa, said the suburban house in Phiring was set alight after yesterday's attack, in which automatic rifles were used.

The four who were killed were described by deputy police commissioner Norman Moleboge as being burnt beyond recognition. He said some petrol containers were found at the scene.

Masire said a minibus, with SA registration plates MPH494T, was found abandoned outside the gutted house

after it had been "immobilised by a tree stump".

He said it appeared that several vehicles were used in the operation.

Tsholofelo residents told Sapa-AP they heard automatic gunfire and possibly grenades, during the sporadic shoot-out that continued for an hour. The neighbours reported seeing people fleeing in a vehicle and running into the bush near the house and two reported that the attackers left in a helicopter.

An SADF spokesman declined to comment on the minibus and sightings of helicopters yesterday.

The UK's deputy high commissioner in Gaborone, Brian Berry, said he had no immediate comment. London had been notified and comment would be issued today.

Sapa-Reuter reports the raid is the first cross-border incursion acknowledged by Pretoria since a small unit attacked an alleged ANC weapons store in the Zambian border town of Livingstone in April last year, killing five.

BUSINESS DAY
29/03/88

Anti-sanctioneers at show trial get an unfair hearing

SIMON BARBER in Washington

THE HEARINGS on new sanctions against SA held last week by Congressman Howard Wolpe's House Africa Sub-committee were, as are all such events hosted by the egregious member for Kalamazoo, in no way intended to help Congress reach a reasoned decision.

Rather, they were the legislative equivalent of a Stalinist show trial: a nauseating little charade intended to cloak a predetermined outcome with the trappings of due, democratic process.

The testimony offered by, among others, the SA Institute for Race Relations' John Kane-Berman, economist Merle Lipton and the president of the SA Bus and Taxi Association (SABTA) Thupane Ngcoya, was as magisterial as it was futile.

Throughout much of the proceeding, Wolpe was the only committee member on hand to hear it. And since he did not like what he was hearing, his attention-level was low — so low, in fact, that there were interludes when he seemed to find the upper reaches of his nose more interesting.

As for testimony not presented in person (not to mention the full statements those present were forced to abbreviate savagely), neither the remarks submitted for the record by Helen Suzman and Colin Eglin, nor the excellent essay provided by UCT's Professor David Welsh, will have the slightest impact.

For all its eloquence and cogency, for all the time and effort evidently spent on its preparation, the entire anti-sanctions presentation was headed straight for the memory hole of the official transcript.

Such is the incredible lightness of being a Congressman, no one with a vote on Capitol Hill will ever read it again.

Indeed, like the proverbial tree-toppling unheard in the midst of the primordial forest, it is possible to say that these hearings did not happen.

One is left to fantasise about what might have happened had this been a jury trial, with the participants vying to impress a panel of 12 citizens plucked at random from the street. There is no doubt in my mind that the question of sanctions would now be closed.

On the evidence presented it, the jury would, without unduly long deliberation, have found unanimously against the sanctioneers with a recommendation that Wolpe and his friends themselves be charged — with grievous assault on the aspirations of black South Africans for private political gain.

For the purposes of this day-dream, the proponents of sanctions will play the role of prosecution. After all, they do in real life represent the political establishment and next year, possibly, will formally control the state.

At no point did either they or their expert witnesses ever manage to nail down what surely must lie at the heart of their case: a causative connection between their prescriptions and the alleviation of the ills said prescriptions are supposed to cure.

The mere incantation of oppressive practices, however odious those practices might be, does not validate a counter-policy unless it can be demonstrated beyond a reasonable doubt that the policy would end the practices.

As it happens, only one witness — Roger Riddell, of the London-based Overseas Development Institute — seriously attempted to so demonstrate. Yet even he, after constructing a detailed and not unconvincing argument for SA's vulnerability to economic punishment, pulled up lame at the moment of truth.

The effect of sanctions is likely to be limited," he ultimately conceded. "While external pressures can help, few if any people believe that their effects will be a major factor in the political dynamics that must necessarily remain the crucial element in the process."

So why was he so in favour of such pressures?

"In the first place, there has been no conclusive evidence that the alternative strategy of constructive engagement or dialogue with Pretoria has led to change in the intended direction" (if there was a second place, the witness did not proffer it).

Moments earlier, he had been counselling unprecedented international co-ordination against the South African economy, effectively urging Washington to consider greater coercion of its allies than the Com-

prehensive Anti-Apartheid Act had ever applied to Pretoria.



□ NGCOYA ... text was barred

"Ladies and gentlemen of the jury," the defence would be bound to say in its summation, "you are being asked to believe that for all the whit of man there are only two possible approaches to SA, and that, as a result, you have no option but to undermine a series of long-established economic and political relationships of considerable significance to the well-being of this country for the sake of actions the prosecution's star expert admits would be of 'limited' use."

The defence might then feel obliged to point out that the logic behind several of the steps demanded by the prosecution had nothing to do with their potential efficacy but were intended to secure rewards of a rather more personal nature.

It is no coincidence, for example, that Congressman Mickey Leland, a Congressional black caucus member from Texas, should be seeking — as his Bill, HR 3328, puts it — "to prohibit investment in US capital markets

by certain South African mining interests".

HR 3328 was introduced last September when Consolidated Gold Fields and T Boone Pickens, the American takeover specialist, were vying for control of Newmont Mining.

Pickens happens to be a constituent of Leland, who in turn is closely connected to the law firm of Democratic Party eminence gris Robert Strauss which was representing Pickens in the Newmont fight.

Perhaps a little too obviously, the law firm authored an article, published in the Journal of Commerce shortly after Leland had had his legislative "inspiration," vigorously supporting the Bill.

It is equally difficult to accept at face value Congressman Mervyn Dymally's preposterously impractical HR 1051, "to prohibit the import of South African diamonds into the US".

Dymally explained in his testimony that his purpose was not merely to lay low apartheid. "It is my intention that by prohibiting South African diamonds, we give support to those countries such as Botswana and Australia who have a legitimate right to the profits of their resources, independent of the De Beers cartel".

How thoughtful.

In his list of producers that might, in his somewhat warped view, benefit from the smashing of the Central Selling Organisation (CSO) — his unabashed purpose — the Congressman conveniently left off Zaire, whose President Mobutu happens to be a close friend with a strong antipathy for the CSO.

To clinch the case, the defence would turn not to Kane-Berman or Lipton, as compelling as their testimony was, but to the spell-binding submission of SABTA's Ngcoya.

The prosecution finally rests on

two propositions. First, that all the black leaders it has declared credible are on the record in support of its approach. Second, that there are only two conceivable avenues open, theirs and the one they assert the Reagan administration and its principal allies are embarked upon.

In his full prepared text — which, in the real hearing, Wolpe predictably would not give him an opportunity to present and which will disappear into the Congressional ether along with everyone else's — Ngcoya blew both propositions away.

Based on that text, the defence peroration might run thus:

Though it will no doubt strive to find evidence that SABTA is a corrupt organisation somehow acting as a "stooge" for "the regime," the prosecution cannot immediately dismiss 100 000 self-employed, unsubsidised taxi-drivers, carrying a million passengers a day in direct, often acrimonious, competition with government-backed services, as "not credible" — especially since the driver/owners come in all political stripes.

With the help of the foreign corporations the prosecution seeks to evict, SABTA, perhaps more than any other single black organisation, has made a significant bite into government's monopoly of power in ways that government will find it very difficult to stop.

Banning political parties is easy, but outlawing an entire industry that is becoming increasingly essential to the functioning of the economy is not.

But by its own testimony, the prosecution says it wants to crush SABTA by attempting to block the sale of foreign minivans and starving SA of the fuel to run them. And then in the same breath it says that such sanctions will quite likely be of only "limited" effect in changing government's mind.

What kind of a case is this that seeks to destroy the very forces that are already achieving what it claims to be its goals?

"We and thousands like us," Ngcoya testified, apologising to the prosecution for his broken accent as he did, "are trying our best everyday to build a future for ourselves and our children and our nation.

"We ask you for your understanding and assistance — we have struggled more than you know. We have come too far to turn back. Do not take from our hands the tools of liberation we have forged at such a price."

Will you listen to Ngcoya, members of the jury, and his pleas for help, or will you listen to the contradictory and self-interested wind of these Congressmen?

There can be not doubt how the jury would find — but this is a daydream, and there is no jury. Only a memory hole.

BUSINESS DAY 29/03/88

KwaZulu to re-think Indaba

ULUNDI — The KwaZulu government is to consider withdrawing support for the Indaba's constitutional proposals and pulling out of the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority.

The debate, initiated yesterday by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi comes in formal reaction to the November 27 statement by Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis, in which he rejected the proposals on behalf of the SA government.

Buthelezi urged the Legislative Assembly to exercise caution in deciding. Market research had indicated "very substantial support" for the Indaba by NP members.

He would have withdrawn from involvement

in the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba immediately after Heunis' statement had he not known that the Minister (although with Cabinet support) was speaking against the wishes of large numbers of Nationalists.

The Chief Minister said black people of the region had shown they were prepared to make compromises by taking part in the Indaba and it was now up to whites to get their political leaders to do likewise.

"I see it as dangerous for Inkatha and this House to be hung up at some kind of crossroads while we wait for whites to arrive there and decide which direction they are going to take."

The issue was so fundamental he would not dare to act unilaterally as Inkatha president or as KwaZulu Chief Minister. Inkatha's final re-

sponse would have to come at this year's annual conference.

Buthelezi said it was not prudent to leap into action on the rejection of Heunis' statement. Nor, however, was it prudent to "hitch our political future to the KwaZulu/Natal star".

"In reconsidering our support for the constitutional proposals of the Indaba, we must necessarily also have to reconsider our involvement in the Joint Executive Authority.

"We have never become involved in this authority as an end in itself. We have always seen it as a first step towards establishing a joint legislative authority. If the second step is not possible, the first will be isolated in history as nonsensical." — Sapa.

KwaNdebele's drive for independence is in jeopardy

BUSINESS DAY 30/03/88

Moutse wins appeal against incorporation

AN Appeal Court judgment which yesterday invalidated President P W Botha's proposed incorporation of Moutse into KwaNdebele has put a further stumbling block before the homeland's drive for independence.

Legal experts monitoring the case said the judgment not only brought imminent relief to the territory's embattled tribe but also posed serious political implications for KwaNdebele's independence.

Yesterday's judgment in Bloemfontein — which ends a three year battle in favour of Moutse's 120 000 tribesmen — held the President's incorporation proclamation of December 31, 1985 to be invalid.

Mr Justice Grosskopf found the president had used his powers in terms of Section 1 (1) of the Constitution of the National States for a purpose for which it was not intended. He

ELSABÉ WESSELS

said incorporation for administrative convenience disregarded the ethnic origin of the majority of the inhabitants, Sapa reports.

Constitutional lawyers yesterday said without Moutse, KwaNdebele with its 312 000 people and small territory, was not a viable entity for independence.

Homeland cabinet members have repeatedly voiced their determination to fully implement incorporation and ultimately independence.

The Moutse people, who are North Sotho, were part of the North Sotho homeland of Lebowa until their territory was excised and brought under government control and finally incorporated into KwaNdebele — home of the South Ndebele.

Sapa reports Mr Justice Grosskopf emphasised the case was judged on

special facts. "Here was a large group of North Sothos in a fixed and traditional area where they formed the majority and where an attempt had been made to add the area to the South Ndebele's national state.

"It was consequently easy to conclude that this attempt clashed with the whole object for which the Constitution of the National States had been created. Clearly, the same conclusion would not necessarily follow where the facts were different," Mr Justice Grosskopf said.

Mr Justice Viljoen, Mr Justice Hefer, Mr Justice Vivier and Mr Justice Boshoff (acting judge of appeal), concurred and upheld the appeal by acting Moutse Chief Gibson Tlokwe Mathebe.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis could not be reached for comment last night.