

Inkatha to debate withdrawal this year

kwaZulu may retract support for Indaba plan

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

A debate on the withdrawal, initiated on Mon-

day, by Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, comes in formal reaction to the November 27 press statement by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in which he rejected the proposals on behalf of the

Government.

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

He said it was not prudent to leap into action after Mr Heunis's rejection. Nor, however, was it prudent to "hitch the whole of our political future to the kwaZulu/Natal star".

"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," he said.

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.

He would have withdrawn from involvement in the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba immediately after Mr Heunis's statement had he not known that the Minister (although with Cabinet support) was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.

Research

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

He said the blacks of the region had shown that they were prepared to make compromises, and it was now up to whites to get their political leaders to do the same.

"I see it as terribly dangerous for Inkatha 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.

"I make the point that in re-considering our support in principle for the constitutional proposals of the Indaba, we must necessarily also have to re-consider our involvement in the Joint Executive Authority."

THE Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev Aubie Gonville French-Beytagh, was the subject of secret police surveillance which would see him in court in a highly-publicised case to face charges of terrorism.

At the Rand Supreme Court he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but was freed on appeal and was on the first plane to England after he heard the news.

In the meantime the black sector of the church was becoming restive, questioning the relevance of the scriptures to black political and social conditions and concluding that the gospel could not be divorced from the material being of Christians.

Black theology was born and one of its earliest advocates, Sabelo "Son of Man" Ntswana, a close associate of Steve Biko and other early black consciousness exponents, was banned before his ordination as a priest of the Anglican Church and had to seek ministerial permission to attend his own ordination.

Hardships

Put simply, black theology taught that the gospel had to be reconciled with those to whom it was preached. It was not enough to tell people they would inherit a kingdom after death, but expect them during life to endure hardships created by a temporal authority acting contrary to the dictates of God.

Allan Boesak, himself a leading exponent of black theology and one of the country's two "turbulent" priests of the moment, summed it thus: "The gospel is a gospel of liberation. Therefore, black theology is a theology of liberation. It believes that Christianity is not a 'white religion', an instrument for the effective oppression of blacks. It believes that God is a God of justice and liberation, always choosing the side of the

The birth of liberation theology

SOWETAN

30/03/88

FOCUS

Yet another clash in the long history of confrontation between the Church and the State in South Africa is upon us. Even though this time the heat is primarily on Anglican prelate Archbishop Desmond Tutu and, to a certain degree, Dr Allan Boesak of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, many leading South African clergy have interpreted it as an assault on the Church itself. JON QWELANE looks at celebrated clashes between temporal and spiritual authority, past and present. This is the second of a two-part series.



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

weak and down-trodden."

This interpretation of the scriptures obviously posed a problem for the Government, not least its main spiritual allies, the Dutch Reformed Churches.

Many documents on black theology were banned, and most still are.

The central theme of black theology is not unlike that of liberation theology. Both are openly biased in favour of the poor and oppressed and say that



Dr BEYERS Naude

was the option Christ took, and such course can only lead to justice and the restoration of humanity to the downgraded people.

Dr Boesak, ironically, is a minister in the "coloured" wing of the establishment church, the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk; yet he has never hesitated to lambast the "mother" church whenever he could, accusing it of giving spiritual justification to the policy of racial segregation.

Mind

He spearheaded the campaign by World Reformed Churches to have apartheid declared a "heresy and a blasphemous" as well as "idolatrous" creed, leading to the excommunication of South Africa's white Reformed Churches.

In October 1981, chiefly through him, the Alliance of Black Reformed Christians in South Africa (Abreca) was founded with him as chairman. Even though it was an alliance of "black" reformed Christians, among its founders were leading white clergymen like the Rev J Francois-Bill of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of South Africa.

They accepted Dr Boesak's definition of "black" to mean a state of mind rather than pigmentation.

At its formation Abreca said it would conduct dialogue with white Reformed Churches

provided they "declare unequivocally that apartheid is a sin and that the moral and theological justification of it is a travesty of the gospel, a betrayal of the reformed tradition and a heresy".

The Most Rev Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of Southern Africa, is undoubtedly the most "turbulent" priest of the times. He has crossed words with authority more times than all his predecessors put together.

His clashes with the State go back many years — to the days when he was still Dean of Johannesburg.

Then, in June of 1976 at the height of class boycotts by Soweto pupils, he wrote a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, warning of dire consequences if black grievances were not heeded.



SOWETAN

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For his trouble he got a sharp rebuke, and the Premier scoffed that the cleric was out to cause sensation with his warnings. Two weeks later the largest wave of political unrest yet to hit the country came about, and at its end more than 500 lives were lost and racial tension was at its highest.

The Government has withdrawn Archbishop Tutu's passport several times, the most notable occasion being when the cleric, then secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, returned from an overseas trip where he had exhorted Denmark to stop buying South African coal.

The Government demanded he retract his call to the Danes, and he refused. They withdrew his passport, and he still would not retract his words or apologise.

In the end they gave the document back, and on his European tour the following year he again called for economic pressure to help end apartheid. Again he was in hot water with the Government, again they took back his passport, and again he refused to back down.

Attacks

The white terrorist group of a few years back, the Wit Kommando, gave him one month to leave the country or be killed. The National Front called him "a bastard" and threw silver coins at him, and mysterious attacks were made on his home, in addition to threatening and abusive telephone calls.

He has calmly explained that his stand stems from the teachings of the Bible, and has said if there is any subversion at all then the Bible must be a subversive publication because the exodus makes it clear "God is a political being whose greatest political act was to free slaves from bondage".

Archbishop Tutu's latest troubles with the Government stem from the march on Parliament he and more than 100 other senior churchmen staged a few weeks ago to deliver a petition to the Government.

For their trouble the priests were doused with water from a cannon operated by the police, arrested and then taken to the police station to be booked.

Archbishop Tutu then asked for a meeting with President Botha, and according to him it did not end amicably.

2

Zimbabwe ex-combatants are still looking for work

From Robin Drew
in Harare

Nearly a decade after an end to the fighting to overthrow the white Rhodesian regime, some 20 000 Zimbabwean ex-combatants are locked in a losing battle to find jobs.

The problem is not a new one. But the issue has been revived through a debate in Parliament initiated by a white member of the ruling party, Mr Sean Hundermark, who asked the House of Assembly to take note of the plight of the former guerillas.

About 60 000 fighters went into the assembly points hurriedly set up in Rhodesia in 1979 after the Lancaster House conference agreed on a ceasefire.

Thousands were absorbed into the Zimbabwe National Army but about 36 000 were demobilised.

For the first few years of independence, many of those who had run away from school to join the liberation forces had money in their pockets for the first time under a scheme in which war veterans were given R240 a month while they

sought to establish themselves in civilian life. But when the demob pay scheme stopped, thousands were jobless and still are.

Organisations were started to help them, the outstanding one being the Zimbabwe Project which placed emphasis on co-operative ventures in which 10 000 war veterans took part. The project director was Mrs Judy Acton, daughter of former Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister Sir Garfield Todd.

Six years after independence Mrs Acton said most of the co-operatives had failed because of inadequate capital, lack of management skills, fraud and irresponsibility.

She said then the number of ex-combatants needing help was increasing.

In 1985 the demobilisation directorate estimated that half the 36 000

men and women who had been drawing an allowance were unemployed. The figure today could be as high as 25 000.

Mr Hundermark told Parliament that some ex-combatants had even gone to South Africa to look for work, "humbling themselves to cross the enemy border."

Suggestions were made that when the government bought into private concerns, as it has done on a big scale, the concerns should be required to employ a certain proportion of ex-combatants.

Another white MP, Mr Andre Holland, a farmer, said he had taken on a number of former guerillas and found them the most serious workers and usually high disciplined.

Even though he and they had been on different sides during the guerilla war, they related well to each other.

Zapu MP Mr Sidney Malunga said a fund should be established to aid ex-combatants.

He also called for accurate comparisons of qualifications obtained in Eastern bloc countries with those obtained in Western countries which were generally considered higher.

Many hundreds of guerilla fighters obtained grants to study in Eastern bloc institutions.

Analysts in Harare believe however that the problem of jobless war veterans will not be substantially reduced until the country gets to grips with the rising level of unemployment generally, now regarded as the single most important internal issue.

What is essential is more private investment, both domestic and external. But drawbacks remain of lack of foreign currency, the system of labour laws and minimum wages which are weighted against employers, and central government control over many of the functions which investors and businessmen feel should be left to them. — The Star's Africa News Service.

SA denies

shooting ANC rep

By Brian Stuart and
Sapa

CAPE TOWN. — South Africa yesterday formally denied any involvement in the assassination of Miss Dulcie September, African National Congress representative in Paris.

Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said yesterday that the South African ambassador in France had notified him of the killing of Miss September and also the contents of media reports about the assassination.

Mr Botha said the South African Government could not be held responsible for such acts.

"While details about the assassination are not yet known, the South African Government must bring attention to that fact that serious quarrels arise within the ranks of organisations who employ violence in order to achieve political aims," Mr Botha added.

According to the Paris report, the ANC representative to France was fatally shot by an unknown assailant while she was on her way to work. A co-worker said someone had been following her for several days.

Miss September (45) who represented the ANC in France, Switzerland and Luxembourg, was found dead in her dilapidated central Paris apartment building in the 10th district, which also served as an office for the ANC.

Miss September was shot in the face while entering her office about 9 am, the French News Agency Agence France-Presse reported.

TO PAGE 2

ANC rep is shot

FROM PAGE 1

A French Foreign Ministry spokesman, speaking on condition of anonymity in keeping with government policy said no claim of responsibility had been received.

She had been shot five times. He declined further comment.

Police cordoned off the Rue des Petites Ecuries, a narrow one-way street near the Gare du Nord railway terminus, to keep reporters away from the scene.

The gunman was apparently waiting to ambush Miss September as she arrived to open the

office. The key was found in the door.

The ANC's treasurer in Paris, Maurice Cukierman, said Miss September had received threats against her life.

"For the past eight months she has been telling the police but nothing was done," he told reporters at the scene.

French communist leader Georges Marchais, whose party has close links with the ANC, rushed to the scene and blamed "racists" for the killing.

"She was a woman who showed great strength of will in her struggle," Marchais told reporters.

Police said Miss September was the only South African in the office, the other staff members all being French.

Miss September was banned from South Africa in 1963 and had been in France since 1984. Of mixed race with her hair tied back in a bun, Miss September was well-known in France's anti-racist movement and appeared at Leftist Party congresses.

The assassination follows two incidents involving the ANC's Brussels offices. In February shots were fired at it, and on Sunday police defused a bomb outside it.

At ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, spokesman Tom Sebina called the killing "part of

a deliberate South Africa campaign to assassinate ANC members and ANC leaders."

Representatives of the Association of West European Parliaments for Action against Apartheid (AWEPA), also blamed the death of Miss September, on the SA Government.

A statement issued on behalf of officers of AWEPA — who are in Harare to discuss apartheid — said: The parliamentarians in Harare react with horror to the news of the murder of Miss Dulcie September, by agents of the Botha regime.

"This bestial act strakly reveals the nature of the savages in control in Pretoria.

French Prime Minister Mr Jacques Chirac, visiting the French Indian Ocean island of La Reunion, said he was "shocked and scandalised" by the killing.

Harlem Desir, head of the French anti-racist organisation SOS Racisme, called on the French Government to break off all economic and diplomatic relations with South Africa.

"It is unbelievable that Western democracies, including France, continue to hold normal relations with this criminal regime," he said. — Sapa-reuter.

Boesak shows a lack of humility

THE CITIZEN

30/03/88

ALLAN Boesak's total lack of humility when he sets himself up as missary of God, smacks of blasphemy, and his exhortations tantamount to sedition. Together with his religious cohort Bishop Tutu, it appears they staged their march on Parliament in a deliberate attempt to get themselves jailed, so as to justify the false image they have given our country all over the world (who seem fallaciously to believe that priests are always truthful).

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Do they open their mouths to denounce the evil perpetrated by the Sharpeville six? Oh no. Together with the PFP, they can find compassion only for the evil-doers. And the tired mealy-mouthed cliché that "violence from whatever source" is wrong, rings utterly false. People who are guilty of the kind of savagery that the Sharpeville Six did, are going to elicit counter-violence — be it from the quiet man in the street, or the authorities who have to uphold the law.

L STRYDOM

Roodepoort

Methodists in dilemma over 'Peace Church' plan

THE CITIZEN

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Citizen Reporter

SOUTH Africa's almost 400 000 Methodists are in a quandary over plans to declare the church a "Peace Church" with anti-conscription and potential civil disobedience membership requirements over a wide field.

A 15-page document setting out motivations for the proposal, including arguments for and against it, is now before executives of the country's 1 800 Methodist churches, it was learnt in Pretoria.

Early feedback to Methodist sources indicates considerable opposition to the plan, particularly in middle-class predominantly White congregations.

One source told The Citizen: "This could split the church right down the middle, driving members to the growing traditional Wesleyan Church, just as Anglicans are deserting the Church of the Province for the Church of England."

He added: "The danger is that Conference (the highest forum of the church) will presume that a silent majority of Methodists who have not vigorously opposed the proposals, support them."

"And these people — who wake up too late to oppose the plan — will either have to stifle their consciences and get involved in radical political activism, or get out of the church."

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Apartheid laws eroded by change on the ground ✓

Apartheid laws change when they no longer work. Institute of Race Relations executive director JOHN KANE-BERMAN spells out how business can help the further erosion of apartheid. This is an extract from his argument against sanctions before a US Congressional committee

THE MOST striking development in South Africa is how ordinary black people are taking matters into their own hands, and the very Parliament from which they are excluded is having to catch up behind them.

Just as they forced policy changes on trade unions and the pass laws, they are beginning to force policy changes with regard to the Group Areas Act.

Liberalisation of racial laws comes about as a result of change that has already taken place on the ground, not the other way round.

The key process at work is one of black empowerment. The crucial ingredients in this are:

- Rising wages, enabling people to move out of overcrowded townships into the usually more expensive accommodation in white suburbs;
- Increasing levels of education and skills already shown to have forced a policy change with regard to black unions;
- The availability of more jobs and better incomes in urban as compared with rural areas; and
- Action and organisation.

The question that must be asked about revolutionary strategies and measures such as disinvestment or trade embargoes is whether they would help or hamper the process of black empowerment.

Blacks now account for one-third of high-level manpower, and the proportion is increasing.

By the year 2000, nearly 80% of matriculants will be black. By the same year, blacks will account for 44% of private consumption expenditure, against 20% in 1970.

Nothing should be done to retard this steady accumulation of economic power.

An Institute of Race Relations analysis of change in the past 15 years not only shows that apartheid is vulnerable to pressure arising from this process of empowerment, it also demonstrates that business can assist the process of black empowerment and apartheid erosion.

Companies which started training black people for skilled jobs or signing agreements with black unions, or which employed black people disqualified by the pass laws, or which are leasing apartments to black tenants despite the Group Areas Act have helped to create on the ground

the kind of situation that has already stimulated government to introduce policy changes, or will in due course induce the law to be amended to take account of reality.

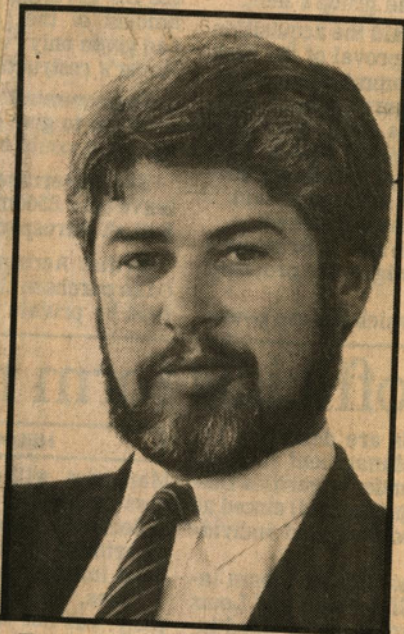
The key condition of such action by business is its active participation on the ground. Many people argue that the private sector was slow to take up the challenge and that it still has not done enough.

The real issue, however, is what it can do in the future. Our research shows that unprecedented opportunities now exist. Gaps have opened up that American and other companies, in conjunction with blacks, can move into.

In the US, educational desegregation was ordered by law. In SA the constitution imposes segregation, but actual desegregation on the ground has been necessitating subsequent changes in the law.

Government has recently committed itself to reducing the huge backlogs in black teachers and school facilities, but does not have enough money to do it.

This presents an opening for the private sector and other agencies with the necessary financial resources further to erode apartheid — for example, by building additional multi-racial private schools and



□ KANE-BERMAN ... apartheid is vulnerable to pressure

teacher training colleges and offering to take over half-empty white State facilities on condition that they, too, can be multi-racial.

There is no area where desegregation is more important than in education. Black and white children are nearly all going to work together in adult life, so it is logical that they should grow up together and be educated together.

One appropriate strategy to start tackling the most strongly defended aspect of apartheid — which is political apartheid — is to tackle it first at local level.

Once local government has been effectively desegregated, the maintenance of apartheid in Parliament itself will become less and less sustainable.

Blacks who are richer, better educated, more strategically situated in the economy, and living in open areas, will be in a stronger position to organise themselves to press political demands at national level.

Apartheid is vulnerable to the effective application of pressure. Although the current climate seems hostile to further changes in policy, the steady erosion of apartheid on the ground is likely to compel such changes, whether government contemplates them or not.

Faced with the unworkability of its discriminatory policies, government is retreating gradually and reluctantly — but nevertheless steadily — from ideology into pragmatism. Whereas ideologues are impervious to the influence of others, pragmatists are not.

The pressures which are likely to be influential are those which are strategically targeted and offer practicable solutions backed by thorough research. Protest on its own is never enough.

The risk inherent in effective imposition of sanctions against SA is that they will slow down the pace at which the balance of economic power is shifting in favour of black people.

The experience of the past 15 years has shown that black people *can* act to change their situation: there is substantial evidence to demonstrate that a growing economy generates forces which blacks can harness to empower themselves to do the job of dismantling apartheid.

Foreign influence can help them in this task — but only if it does nothing to undermine the empowering forces.

For the outside world to perpetuate the myth that it can end apartheid is actually to prolong the agony by offering people in SA false hopes and empty promises.

As long as this illusion persists it strengthens one of the greatest obstacles to effective black action for change — the belief that black people are powerless and that they must therefore rely on others to bring about change on their behalf.

This will help to undermine the racial stereotypes on which apartheid rests.

Government has finally come to recognise that the enormous shortage of black housing — according to some estimates it is in the region of a million units — is a threat to stability. Once again, it does not have the money to do much more than make a dent in the backlog, which causes untold suffering.

Business can make use of this opportunity by involving themselves in housing development on a major scale, subject to acceptance by government that all new housing and infrastructural development programmes that they carry out are exempted from the Group Areas Act.

If funds could be made available to black farmers to buy farms in depopulated white rural areas, it could set in motion the kind of pressures that would erode the Land Acts, which are a key element in apartheid.

The process of erosion of physical apartheid could indeed spill over into the political field.

The erosion of the Group Areas Act could thus prove to be the back door through which blacks get on to the voters' roll. As residential areas become increasingly desegregated, apartheid in local government will become more and more unworkable.

Woman gunned down in Paris

BUSINESS DAY

Assassins stalk ANC outside SA

30/03/88

SIX ANC members — including high-ranking officials — have died outside SA at the hands of unknown assassins, one of whom gunned down the ANC's Paris representative, Dulcie September, 45, yesterday.

Several other officials — including secretary-general Alfred Nzo and treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi — have escaped assassination attempts in six foreign countries since the start of the year.

The bullet-riddled body of September — originally a teacher from Cape Town — was found outside the ANC's office in Paris' 10th District. She had been shot five times with a .22 calibre rifle between 9 and 10am.



● SEPTEMBER

Her death brought to 10 the number of officials killed in mysterious circumstances outside SA's borders.

As well, the SADF claimed it has killed eight ANC members in clashes in Venda and on the Bophuthatswana border in the past week.

Sapa reports the SADF said yesterday another four ANC members died in a shootout with it in north-eastern Venda on Monday afternoon.

An SADF spokesman said the men

SIPHO NGCOBO
and MIKE ROBERTSON

were killed after being cornered on an island in the Mutala River. Machine guns, RPG rocket launchers and a large quantity of ammunition were seized. Security forces were still following four sets of tracks.

As well, four people were killed in Gaborone, Botswana, at about 1am on Monday while two were killed in a car-bombing incident in Bulawayo in January. The SADF has claimed responsibility for the Gaborone raid.

In January, ANC member Jacob Malokoane, 19, was shot dead 40km outside Francistown, Botswana, while Siphon Ngema was shot dead in a Manzini restaurant. A third ANC member, Mazzi Atwell Maghekeza, was shot dead in his Maseru hospital bed last week.

Our Political Staff reports the SA government last night disclaimed responsibility for September's assassination. Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said: "Government cannot be held responsible for this deed. Although details concerning the assassin are not known yet, government must point out that serious differences appeared among the members of organisations that used violence to achieve political goals."

In London, it was reported that French police suspected the murder was carried out by French right-wing groups while an ANC spokesman blamed September's death on SA agents.

Boesak shows a lack of humility

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APARTHEID BAROMETER

DETENTIONS

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok said in parliament last week that a total of 71 people were being held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act (detention for interrogation). He said that none of the written representations submitted by these detainees had resulted in release.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said in parliament that a total of 84 people were detained under section 31 of the Internal Security Act (detention of potential state witnesses) last year. The person who had been detained for the longest period as of December 31 last year had been held for 14 months and one day.

A total of 49 people were still being held under section 31 as of February 29 this year, one of whom had been held for 15 months and six days.

STATE ACTIONS AGAINST THE MEDIA

According to the last Detainees' Parents Support Committee report before the organisation was restricted, the following are among the actions taken by the state against the media in the past year:

On June 11, 1987 the media regulations of the State of Emergency were promulgated.

On August 28, 1987 amendments were made to these regulations empowering the minister of home affairs to curb publications "which systematically or repeatedly publish" material regarded by the minister as a threat to public safety.

During 1987 the following newspapers received formal warnings from the minister: *New Nation*; *Die Stem*; *Work in Progress*; *The Sowetan*; *Azania Focus*; *South*; *Weekly Mail*.

The following newspapers received notices in the Government Gazette which warned them that matter published was, in the opinion of the minister, a threat to public safety: *New Nation*; *Die Stem*; *South*; *Work in Progress*.

On March 22, 1988, following an unsuccessful court application, *New Nation* was suspended by the minister of home affairs until June 10.

During January 1987 the commissioner of police issued three orders which affected the media nationally or were directed at specific publications.

On March 10, 1987 the police attempted to seize all copies of an edition of *The Star* carrying a DPSC advertisement, but were restrained from doing so by a court order.

The End Censorship Campaign and South African Youth Congress had publications seized by the police on separate occasions.

In April 1987 policemen seized material from the offices of the *Eastern Province Herald* related to an advertisement on the detention of children.

STATE ACTION AGAINST JOURNALISTS

Eight foreign correspondents were either deported from South Africa or refused the renewal of their work permits during 1987. In January 1987 Michael Parks of the *Los Angeles Times* had his work permit renewed only after negotiations between his employers and the minister of law and order.

Seven journalists were detained under security legislation last year, and four are currently being held in detention under the Emergency regulations.

Minister of Home Affairs Stoffel Botha said in parliament that 186 applications by foreign journalists had been refused during 1987. He said there were currently 115 non-South Africans working as journalists or photographers in South Africa. Of these 103 held permanent residence permits and 12 had temporary work permits. He said that as part of the control of aliens, a survey was conducted in late 86. The survey included 21 South African newspapers.

PRISONER OF CONSCIENCE

MZWAKHE MBULI, 30, United Democratic Front Transvaal media officer, was detained under section 29 of the Internal Security Act on January 6, and is still being held.

Mbuli played an active role in the Soweto Youth Congress. For the past six years he has built a reputation as a "people's poet", and his work has been widely published. A commercial recording of his work entitled *Change is Pain* was banned last year. Mbuli gave a performance of his poetry at the UDF launch in Cape Town in 1983 and he has performed since then at numerous funerals and public meetings.

In 1985 he was elected UDF Transvaal media officer and the following year helped set up the UDF cultural desk. He was detained for six weeks under the Emergency Regulations last year, and in December he was refused a passport to attend the CASA cultural festival in Amsterdam.

He has been detained on several previous occasions, and his wife, Nomsa, was detained in December 1986. Until last year he worked for the Screen Training Project.

BANNED BOOKS, PUBLICATIONS AND OBJECTS

Banned for distribution and importation: Swapo Information Bulletin November 1987 and October 1987 (Swapo Department of Publicity, Luanda); *The History Book* (Pai Rydberg, Gittan Jonsson, Annika Elmquist, Ann Mari Langemar); Mao Tse-tung's Immortal Contributions (Bob Avakian — permit required); *Solidarity Meetings* — pamphlet (SALEP, London); *Free Azania 1917-1987* (not stated); *Sex and the Single Tourist* (Carl Azania Stanton); *Taxi Cab Sex* (Scotty Keene); *Too Young for Marriage* (Dellmore James); *Hot Chains, Cold Wife* (JT Watson); *The Happiest Hooker* (Terri Lincoln); *Hung Hustler* (Bob Michaels); *Anne's Damaged Alley* (Pat Collier); *The Corrupted Swappers* (Peter Ryan); *Billy's New Teacher* (Jan Hanson); *The Pillow Book* (Nik Douglas and Penny Slinger); *The Memoirs of Dolly Morton and Three Times a Woman* (Both produced by WH Allen and Co. PLC, London); *Salon Kitty* — film; *Messing Around* — film; 1990 *The Bronx Warriors* — film.

Banned for possession: *Wie der Nackte Wind Des Meeres* (Gustav Sandgren); *Tagebuch eines Casanovas* (Roman Macek); *Inferno der Leidenschaft* (Siegfried Klaassen); *Walter der Englische Casanova*, *Mein Geheimnis Leben* (Carl Stephenson Verlag Flensburg); *Kuss-praktiken* (G Legman); *Rosa Fielding: Victim of Lust*; *Maudie*; *Laura Middleton and the New Epitaph*; *Lascivious Scenes*; *Beatrice and Oh Wicked Country* (all by WH Allen and Co, London); *Under the Roofs of Paris* or *Opus Pistorum* (Henry Miller); *Lovers* (G M Corrie); *Joy and Joan* (Joy Laurey); *Locker Room Stud* (Matt Carter).

Unbanned: *New Nation* February 19-25 1987 (vol 2 no 7); *New Nation* February 12-18 1987 (vol 2 no 6); *New Nation* August 27-September 2 1987 (vol 2 no 34); *The Crisis of Britain* (R Palme Duff); *Social Insurance in the USSR* (Z Mokhov); *Guerillas* (V S Naipaul).

In the shadow of the Sharpeville Six, more 'political' go to the gallows

By JO-ANN BEKKER

LAST Friday while many sighed with relief at the temporary stay of execution granted the "Sharpeville Six", convicted necklance murderer Tsepo Letsoara was led to the gallows.

Today, seven more people are scheduled to hang — including Michael Lucas, a member of the Bongo-letu Youth Congress who was convicted of murdering a bus driver during unrest in April 1986.

And this week four members of the Addo Youth Congress were given notice that they would be executed next Tuesday. Similo Wonci, Mziwoxolo Makeleni, Nduiso Sephenuko and Machezuana Menze were sentenced to death for killing a farmer and his wife in the southern Cape.

There were indications last week that the unprecedented campaign to save the six Sharpeville residents — convicted of burning and setting alight Sharpeville deputy mayor Khuzwayo Dlamini at the start of the September 1984 unrest — would see the start of a concerted abolitionist campaign.

At a Johannesburg meeting last week a speaker from the Save the Patriots Campaign called for a broad alliance of "peace-loving people" to fight executions.

"There are tens of comrades on death row," he said. "Tomorrow it will be myself. The day after it will be yourself."

But Letsoara's hanging — for killing an alleged police informer in Port Elizabeth — and the scheduled executions for today and Tuesday have gone largely unnoticed.

Lucas's unsuccessful application for a stay of execution yesterday received none of the media attention devoted to a similar application by the Sharpeville Six last week. His 11th-hour bid hinged on the fact that Chief Justice Rabe had denied him leave to appeal against his sentence. His lawyers argued Rabe's appointment was unconstitutional.

According to records of the Save the Patriots Campaign, and Johannesburg lawyers, there are a total of

48 "politicals" on death row at the moment, including those scheduled to be hanged today and on Tuesday.

Apart from those named above, they include:

The Sharpeville Six — Theresa Ramashamola, 27; Mojalefa Sefatsa, 32; Malebo Mokoena, 24; Oupa Diniso, 32; Duma Khumalo, 28; Francis Mokhesi, 31 — whose lawyers have until April 18 to apply for the reopening of the case. Once the application is made, the execution orders will be suspended.

Dickson Madikane, Desmond Majola and Patrick Manginda from Oudtshoorn who were sentenced to death in September 1986 for killing a township councillor.

Daniel Maleka and Josiah Tsawane of Sebokeng, who were sentenced to death in September 1986 for killing a policeman.

Paul Setlaba of Colesburg, sentenced to death in December 1986 for killing an alleged police informer.

Robert McBride of Wentworth, Durban, sentenced to death in April 1987 for a Marine Parade bombing which killed three women.

Tjelubuyo Mgedezi, Mangaliso Nongwati, Tsietse Tshelane, sentenced to death in May 1987 for killing team leaders at the Vaal Reefs mine.

Mzwandile Gqeba, Wanto Silinga, Lunko Wana, Thembinkosi Feet, Mzwandile Mhinz, Monde Tingwe of Queenstown.

Bekisizwe Ngidi, 20, of Soweto, sentenced to death in June 1987 for killing a Soweto policeman. His case is currently on appeal.

Oupa Mbonane and Sibusiso Masuku of Soshanguve near Pretoria, sentenced to death in August 1987 for the murder of a policeman.

Joseph Chidi of Tembisa, sentenced to death in September 1987 for the murder of a community councillor.

Menzi Tafeni and Ledube Mnyamana, sentenced to death in Septem-

ber 1987 for the murder of a Burgersdorp businessman's son.

Mlondolozzi Gxotwe of Port Elizabeth, sentenced to death in September 1987 for the murder of a policeman.

Mxolisi Malgas, Michael Mambukwe and Lulamile Maneli of Grahamstown, sentenced to death in October 1987 for necklance murders in Stutterheim.

Johannes Maseki, 24, of Tembisa, sentenced to death in October 1987 for the murder of a policeman.

Gilindoda Gxexwa of Uitenhage, sentenced to death last year for the murder of a police informer.

Mtutuzeli Ngqanda of Uitenhage, sentenced to death in November last year for the murder of a policeman.

Mzazile Ntombela, 30, sentenced to death by the Rand Supreme Court for the murder of a replacement labourer during a dairy strike.

Thembisile Baneti, 35, of Alice. Sentenced to death by the Ciskei Supreme Court last November for the murder of a vigilante.

Abraham Mngomezulu, 23, sentenced to death in the Rand Supreme Court last year for the murder of a police informer.

Xolani Stuurman, Gilindoda Gxekwa and Vuyani Jacobs, sentenced to death in February this year by the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court for the murder of an alleged informer.

Rodney Moloi, 24, and Stanford Lebepe, 24, Tembisa, sentenced to death last week for killing and setting alight a municipal policeman. They have applied for leave to appeal.

According to the Save the Patriots Campaign, six "political" convicts on death row have already been executed. Apart from Letsoara, they were: Matshape Maisepane and Mankopane Malwasha of Tzaneen, who were executed in December 1986 for murdering an alleged informer; Welile Webushe of Jansenville, who was executed in August 1987 for a necklance murder, and Moses Jantjies and Mlamli Mielies of Uitenhage.

PW saves top soldiers from murder trial

By MARK VERBAAN, Windhoek

A MURDER trial involving four high-ranking officers of the South African Defence Force was struck from the Windhoek Supreme Court roll this week after President PW Botha issued a certificate banning the trial in terms of the Defence Act.

Due to appear in the supreme court were four white officers, a corporal and a private on charges arising from the death of Swapo member Immanuel Shifidi at a meeting in 1986.

Dramatic evidence of army involvement in the death of Shifidi emerged at the inquest last year into the fatal stabbing of the Swapo nationalist.

The inquest court received a signed affidavit revealing that more than 50 members of a South African army battalion had been ferried from northern Namibia to Windhoek with the intention of disrupting the Swapo meeting at which Shifidi was killed.

According to the affidavit, the soldiers, all members of 101 Battalion at Ondangua, were transported to the capital the day before Swapo was to hold its last meeting of 1986.

They were all black volunteers, dressed in civilian clothing and armed with knives, pangas, clubs and bows and arrows.

Two white soldiers at the 101 Battalion base had paid two bus drivers R1 080 each to take 54 101 Battalion members on a "round trip" to Windhoek and back, the court heard.

At the Swapo rally, the soldiers infiltrated the crowd and began stoning and beating supporters. Chaos erupted and it was at this stage that Shifidi was stabbed in the chest. He died minutes later.

The November 30, 1986 meeting, attended by more than 2 000 people, was eventually broken up by police in armoured Casspir vehicles who fired teargas and rubber bullets into the fleeing crowd.

Ten months later, the attorney general, Estienne Pretorius, announced six members of the SADF were being charged with the murder of Shifidi.

His decision to go ahead with a prosecution followed an intensive two-month police investigation, which alleged a conspiracy involving Colonel Willem Welgemoed, Colonel Johannes Vorster, Commandant Antonie Botes, Lieutenant Nicolaas

Prinsloo, Corporal Eusebius Kashimbi and Private Steven Festus. Welgemoed is the officer commanding 101 Battalion.

At their first appearance in the Windhoek Magistrate's Court, all six pleaded not guilty to charges of murder, public violence and alternative charges of contravening the Riotous Assemblies Act and were released on a total bail of R5 000.

Botha issued the certificate banning the trial this week while he was meeting the South African-appointed administrator general of Namibia, Louis Pienaar, in Cape Town.

Pienaar signed the certificate, known as a 103 ter of the 1957 Defence Act; that section exempts members of the security forces from criminal or civilian court action if they "act in good faith in the combat of terrorism in an operational area". Pienaar yesterday handed the certificate to the attorney general, who had no alternative but to halt the trial.

The Shifidi's lawyers have confirmed the matter would not rest: "We are definitely going to have a very close look at this certificate, which prevents the court from adjudicating on what are very serious charges."