

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

3/7/87

Not enough

WE should, we suppose, be grateful to the US Congress for having approved legislation to bar US aid to countries in Southern Africa which support necklacing.

After all, what is more outrageous than the killing of Blacks by Blacks by means of tyres filled with petrol that are set alight around a victim's neck.

It is a savage form of slaying of so-called collaborators or informers.

The fact that this kind of execution is perpetrated by "comrades" who give their allegiance to the African National Congress makes it a terrorist act that reflects not only on those who are responsible but on the ANC itself.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, associated herself with necklacing by saying that "together, hand in hand with our boxes of matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country".

The Americans are appalled by this terrible form of political murder.

Even the liberal anti-South African lobby cannot condone it.

In other words, necklacings have boomeranged on the ANC.

Which is why the US Congress has decided to cut aid to countries which back this barbarism.

The US is going to provide R100 million in assistance to the nine members of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) — Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

But no member of the SADCC will be eligible for aid unless the US President certifies that the country has not advocated necklacing, has provided assurances it is taking action against those who practise it, and is not knowingly allowing those who practise necklacing to operate in its territory.

Before we say hoorah, we should understand that this House of Representatives-Senate compromise is a watered-down version of the original Senate measure.

The Senate proposal was to bar economic aid to Southern African countries which harbour ANC terrorists and, according to the US President, are not making their "best effort" to stop ANC terrorists launching attacks on South Africa from their territories.

These countries also had to openly denounce necklacing to be eligible for American assistance.

The measure was chiefly targeted against Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia, the "chief suspects".

However, the US State Department feared that this measure would undermine the American position in the region and make it virtually impossible to provide assistance to any country in Southern Africa.

The amended version is nevertheless regarded as an important symbol of US aversion to necklacing.

Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, welcomes the measure, saying that all South Africans who oppose violence as a method of achieving political aims will welcome it.

It is an important signal to the ANC that its campaign of terror "is evoking more and more repugnance throughout the world".

We are not as complacent or forgiving.

After all, necklacing is not the only way in which the ANC and its associates are attempting to further their aims.

The burning down of homes, the damaging of buildings, the murder of Black councillors and other Blacks who support the so-called "system", the attempts at insurrection are just as reprehensible.

Each and every form of terrorism or insurrection should be condemned. Indeed, the ANC attacks on South Africa from neighbouring countries should disqualify these countries from receiving aid whether or not necklacing is condoned.

The US should not make symbolic gestures but should act against all who support the terrorism of the ANC.

By Alan Dunn
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Officials at United States embassies in southern Africa are compiling priority lists for R100 million which will become available as soon as President Ronald Reagan has approved it.

The package loosely links the aid to "necklacing". No funds can be disbursed until President Reagan certifies that each recipient state does not advocate necklacing, has assured the US that it has acted against those who have practised necklacing, or is not knowingly allowing perpetrators of the necklacing to operate from its area.

A quarter of the R100 million may go to "disadvantaged" South Africans, none will be given Angola or Mozambique and much of it will be spent on projects which will ease southern Africa's dependence on South Africa.

Recipients known in six weeks

An official at the US Agency for International Development said the recipient projects and groups would probably be known in about six weeks.

The money, contained in a supplementary appropriations Bill passed by both the Senate and House of Representatives this week, is expected to be signed into law by Mr Reagan shortly. It is in addition to funds already allocated to the Southern Africa Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) countries this year.

'Disadvantaged' South Africans *THE STAR* may get R25-m

3 July 87

The Bill stipulates that neither Mozambique nor Angola should receive any of the money — a clause introduced on the grounds of their human rights violations.

It says also that R75 million must be spent on the most urgent projects in the transport, communications, energy, agricultural research, training, industrial development and trade sectors.

On energy, the Bill notes that money should be devoted to "the improved use of electrical power sources which already exist in the member states and offer the potential to reduce swiftly the dependence of those states on South Africa for electricity".

At least 60 percent of the R75 million must be spent on transport projects and only the so-called Northern Corridor can benefit from this — effectively channelling more than R44 million to the Lusaka-Dar es Salaam link, known as the Tazara network.

About R25 million will be given to "disadvantaged" South Africans or go to humanitarian help for SADCC countries.

The Reagan administration opposed the original amendment on necklacing, believing it would make aid to SADCC countries almost impossible, but it gave the eventual legislative softening of this proviso a lukewarm welcome. Officials were still uneasy this week about how it would be viewed by SADCC countries.



Foreign Minister Pik Botha... welcomed US legislation.

'Necklace aid' ban is signal to ANC, says Pik

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday welcomed legislation approved last night by the US Congress barring aid to southern African countries supporting "necklacing".

In a statement released in Pretoria Mr Botha said all South Africans who were against violence as a means to achieve political ends would welcome the move.

'TERROR CAMPAIGN'

The legislation was also an important signal to the African National Congress that its "campaign of terror" was "evoking more and more repugnance throughout the world".

"It ought to serve as an encouragement to responsible leaders of South Africa not to be deterred by intimidation and threats of violence from entering into discussion with the South African Government concerning new constitutional structures for the country." — Sapa.

Blacks 'ready to help in quest for joint future'

THE STAR
3 Jul. 87.
White South Africans prepared to forsake apartheid would find blacks ready to meet them halfway to start the common quest for a post-apartheid future, Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives of South Africa, said yesterday.

He was addressing a conference organised by the Society for Social Workers in South Africa, "Society in crisis and the changing roles and needs for social workers".

DOCILITY

Dr Boraine said the present repressive situation and history had led to scepticism over whether one could speak of democracy in South Africa.

South Africa was undemocratic in almost every sphere.

He said the population's docility and shift to the right in the election showed up the State's successful control of the

media.

Some newspapers which should know better exercised self-censorship and most reflected a society completely at odds with South Africa and the composition of its people.

The situation had deteriorated to such an extent that paralysis had gripped many thinking and caring South Africans, tempting them to give up the struggle.

This, Dr Boraine said, should be resisted at all costs.

Apartheid was in its death throes although no one could guarantee that its legacy of hate, anger and suspicion could be overcome.

South Africans had a choice: opt out and emigrate, sit on the fence watching the slide to the abyss of civil war, or dare to accept that there still exists a possibility of a nonracial democracy.

Black struggle will go on, says Shell chief

Govt 'not ready for change or real democracy'

CAPE TOWN — The Government is clearly not yet ready to negotiate fundamental change or to sanction genuine democratic structures, says the head of the biggest multinational company operating in South Africa.

In his annual review, Shell executive chairman Mr John Wilson said it was a sad fact the Government and most white South Africans were out of touch with the mood of black people.

This was due to a total lack of communication and a vilification campaign against any organisation which opposed the Government.

Shell is under increasing pressure overseas to disinvest and has been the target of a sustained campaign — including

boycotts and sabotage — in 11 countries including the Netherlands, Britain and the United States.

But Mr Wilson scotched rumours that Shell was about to disinvest and said the company would resist any pressure to pull out.

He said the hopes of those who clung to the belief that peaceful reform through negotiation was possible in South Africa were being sorely tested.

FORCE

"Violence will not be extinguished by states of emergency and the use of force; resistance to the apartheid system will grow in intensity; blacks will continue the struggle until they have achieved full political rights in a democratic, unitary

South Africa."

The business community was striving to effect meaningful steps towards meaningful change, Mr Wilson said.

However, it was not easy and private enterprise — particularly big business — had become synonymous with Government and apartheid in the minds of most black South Africans.

This was understandable, if unwarranted, because investors had for many years taken advantage of the apartheid economy and exploited cheap labour.

While the company agreed with the basic aims of the anti-apartheid organisations — the eradication of apartheid and political rights for all — it realised disinvestment would not topple the Government. — Sapa.

Write to Box 61682 Marshalltown 2107

Partition: who would make the decisions?

THE STAR - 3 July 87

X

In reply to Mrs G Derby-Lewis on Conservative Party policy (The Star, June 30), I wish to point out that the policy of the white man since 1948 (the last election showed how widespread this policy is upheld) has been apartheid.

The word has had several meanings, but the central ingredient has not changed: that the white man is superior to the black man. He will be in charge and will determine

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

the destiny of everybody in South Africa.

Under this policy, the self-delusion of the white man (self-delusion in believing that there was a single black who liked apartheid) and *kragdadigheid* have led to the implementation of independent states, which have been no solution to his problem, except breeding rich bureaucrats who are completely unacceptable to blacks.

No blacks voluntarily identified themselves with these states, nor took up their passports voluntarily. It is strange that the one coun-

try that seeks independence, Namibia, is denied this.

Urban councils, another product of apartheid policy have not been successful. Urban councillors have been sent into office on low polls, and now the rent boycott is a manifestation of how the system is unacceptable.

In spite of all this and the reception it had from King Zwelithini in Natal, the CP is claiming and pretending to its naive and gullible voters that it has a solution called partition, which is not domination.

If partitioning is no domination, can Mrs Derby-Lewis answer the following questions?

- Who is going to decide the boundaries when the country is partitioned?
- Are the areas going to be imposed?
- To whom will Cape Town and its environs belong? What about the Durban, Pinetown area; Bloemfontein, Welkom, Virginia and the PWV area?
- How many dorps and towns will belong to other groups other than whites?
- How many white farms will be lost to other groups in the process?
- Who is going to foot the bill for all this?
- How many and who are the blacks, Asian and coloureds who are in favour of this scheme? Are they going to be forthcoming or brought into participating in the scheme?

Mhlanga Skosana

Soweto

RSCs will hoodwink the public, says UDF

THE STAR 3/7/87
The United Democratic Front (UDF) has branded the establishment of the Regional Services Councils as an attempt to entrench segregated local government structures by hoodwinking the public into believing the new system represented a "broadening of democracy".

"Beneath the sham of non-racialism and a complicated system of indirect representation lies a racist structure which aims to keep power in the hands of a white minority," said a statement by the acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe.

FOUNDATIONS REJECTED

The UDF points out that the foundations on which the RSCs are built — the black local authorities and the coloured and Indian management committees — have been rejected by communities throughout the country.

"The Government's refusal to recognise the people's legitimate opposition to these corrupt and shallow structures has resulted in nearly three years of violent conflict which has taken the lives of hundreds of men, women and children," Mr Morobe says.

The UDF claims the RSCs will hit the person in the street financially as commercial concerns find they have to pass on the costs of RSC levies to consumers. "The Government's claims that RSCs will streamline administration and that they are being set up for economies of scale are ridiculous.

"RSC administrators and officials are being paid vast salaries to oversee reluctant white municipalities and minifiefdoms in the black areas that have a long history of misrule and corruption."

It notes that councils underscore the group areas concept.

LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

BUSINESS-DAY 3/18/87

I would not for one moment deny that I do make critical use of Lenin's theoretical work on monopoly capitalism in my book, just as I also make use of the theoretical works of J K Galbraith, J A Hobson, Paul Baran, Andre Gunder Frank (none of whom are Leninists or even Marxists).

But the really interesting thing about Lenin's theory of monopoly capitalism is that it draws very heavily on the work of two great liberal thinkers, the Englishman J A Hobson and the German R Hilferding. In essence all Lenin did was to combine these two liberal theories together and support them with empirical data of his own.

But just in case your readers might have gained the mistaken impression from Owen's comments that my book was some kind of salutation to the herioc helmsman of the glorious revolution (I'm joking, of course), I would just mention the following: in 1985 the

very liberal — and prestigious — African Studies Association in the very liberal US voted my book one of the 10 best academic books of the year.

I would not wish to deny that I find certain of Marx's ideas, particularly on economics, stimulating. But I also find weaknesses in Marx's theory, particularly around the issue of individual freedoms.

In this terrain liberalism has, I believe, far more to offer.

Consequently, to call me a Marxist does not accurately reflect the range of intellectual views to which I subscribe — though it does, of course, draw me to the attention of the security police.

DUNCAN INNES (Dr)

**Department of Sociology
University of the Witwatersrand**

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Dear Sir,
IN Ken Owen's latest diatribe against Wits I am presented as "a forceful character on campus," a "Marxist" and the author of a book on Anglo American which "uses Lenin's theory on monopoly capitalism".

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3 July 1987

Refused

Mr Mavuso was born in Pongola, Natal. He attended school in Ermelo. In 1945 he settled in Alexandra Township, near Johannesburg.

He refused to speak about his family and his private life. He did say that he was married, had children and lived in Soweto.

He would not say how old he was, how many children he had and what businesses he owned.

He said when he arrived in Alexandra, he joined the now banned

African National Congress in the late '40s and was in its youth league. In the early '50s, he was elected secretary of the Alexandra branch of the youth league.

He says that between 1952 and 1979, he was detained and banned on several occasions for serving in political organisations. Mr Mavuso later served on the central committee of Inkatha.

He resigned from the central committee of Inkatha following his appointment to the TPA, but he is still an active member of the movement.

COMMENT

Telephone (011) 673-4160

Madness

REPORTERS from the Star newspaper were arrested in KwaNdebele and came back with allegations that the police were assaulting prisoners.

This week the KwaNdebele authorities, after dragging their feet for weeks, said the alleged assaults on the prisoners were "not serious".

There would thus be no suspensions from their police force while the matter is being investigated, they said.

The reporters, who claimed they saw the assaults on prisoners, wrote graphically about their "week of hell" while they were kept in those cells. The stories of the alleged assaults they revealed cannot be described as minor.

In fact, they gave a hair-raising picture of brutal physical attacks on prisoners.

They also alleged that the incidents took place over some time. They drew up sworn affidavits about their allegations.

For the officials to dismiss such allegations as inconsequential is the height of madness.

Rent boycott

THE rent boycott is a serious issue that should unite all blacks. We are particularly angry at the clumsy and often cruel fashion in which officials are carrying out evictions.

The whole thing is crazy. It actually seems as if the local authorities are inciting blacks to become restless and unstable.

These officials, including the men who head the Government, will be held accountable if trouble starts up once more in the townships.

Evictions, in which children and elderly people are virtually terrorised during the day while most adults are at work, are not only irresponsible but most infuriating.

30

H E vice-president of the constitutional committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, Mr John Mavuso, says his first priorities are uplifting the standard of living in black townships and providing more houses.

Giving his first interview since he was appointed to this position by the State President, Mr P W Botha, last July, Mr Mavuso said these could be achieved through the controversial Regional Services Councils.

The former member of the central committee of the Inkatha movement, led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said the introduction of the RSCs was the best thing that ever happened to black local authorities because "it will be the first time they will decide on how the money, from the RSCs, can be allocated to local authorities."

Mr Mavuso, a businessman, is the only black serving in the TPA.

Mr Mavuso, who takes his time before answering questions, said: "In the long run, the black community will benefit a lot from these bodies. The Act states that

the money should be used in under-developed areas and nearly all black townships are lacking in a lot of things, especially services."

He said for many years the standard of living in black townships was very low. He said the first task of the RSCs was to improve services like water, electricity and sewerage.

"Roads are also going to be improved and more houses, especially for the low-income group, will be provided. We can achieve this only by participating in the RSCs," Mr Mavuso said.

He said he agreed to serve in the TPA because it was the only way he could help improve the standard of living in the black townships.

The soft-spoken and reserved man said: "This is not an easy task but I hope that within the next few years, things will have improved. A lot of work is to be done but now that we have the funds, through the RSCs, we will achieve our goals," he said.

He said black councillors have been criticised in the past for doing nothing for the community. He said they could do little because of a lack of funds.

He appealed to the community to give them a chance.

"With the formation of the RSCs and the funds available, the councillors will be able to

● Improving the SOWETAN quality of 3 JULY 1987 life in black

townships

● More houses



MR JOHN Mavuso, vice-chairman of the constitutional committee of the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

MAVUSO'S MISSION

FOCUS

By MZIKAYISE
EDOM

attend to the people's grievances. This will not be done in a short time," he said.

He said it should be appreciated that councillors have been trying under difficult conditions to do their best. He

also said that since his appointment, the Government had stopped evicting squatters.

Squatting, he said, was illegal, but when no alternative accommodation was available, it could be allowed.

"I do not say people should go out and squat. The Government is doing its best to provide houses. It will take some years before we can overcome this problem. We are doing our best to alleviate the situation," Mr Mavuso said.

He said that it took the Government a long time to create a body in which black and white councillors could discuss the problems of the people, irrespective of colour.

"But we are getting somewhere. The money to finance these RSCs will come from the salaries and wage bill. Other funds will come from an establishment levy which is based mainly on the sales turnover," he said.

The constitutional committee of the TPA is

made of six sub-committees: hospital and health service; road and regional services; housing and community development; local government, library and museum services; physical planning and land use; and general provincial services.

Mr Mavuso serves on three of these committees: chairman of the Housing and Community Development Committee; vice-chairman of Local Government, Library and Museum Services and committee member of Roads and Regional Services Council.

THE STAR
3 July 87

Former Sash president gets top SACC post

Religion Reporter

Women were elected to two of the three most senior positions in the South African Council of Churches at its national conference last night.

The former Black Sash president, Mrs Sheena Duncan, was elected vice-president and Mrs Virginia Gcabashe of Durban senior vice-president. Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church was re-elected president for a second term.

Only one woman, Mrs Sally Motlana as vice-president, has previously served on the SACC governing body.

Initially, no women were nominated for the three positions, but dissatisfaction expressed by women at the national conference resulted in the nomination of Mrs Gcabashe, Mrs Duncan and Mrs Motlana, the latter for president.

The final vote for president was, however, between Dr Simon Gqubule and Bishop Buthelezi.

In the election for senior vice-president, human rights worker and Methodist Church member Mrs Gcabashe and Mrs Duncan of the Anglican Church proved clear favourites with Mrs Duncan going to the next round in which she was elected with a convincing majority.

SACC recognises 'use of force to end oppression'

By Carina le Grange,
Religion Reporter

The South African Council of Churches yesterday adopted a controversial report recognising the use of force by liberation movements "as a means to end oppression" and adopted a resolution questioning the moral legitimacy of the South African Government.

The national conference adopted the Lusaka Statement which "recognises that the nature of the South African regime ... compels the movements to the use of force along with other means of oppression" after a lengthy debate.

RELIGIOUS PACIFISTS

A motion arguing that nobody can be "compelled" to choose violence since it always involved choice, was rejected.

The Rev Peter Storey and Mr James Massey, self-acknowledged Christian and universal religious pacifists, proposed the rejected motion, but Mr Storey eventually said while he understood the importance of the Lusaka Statement, he "would not like to stand in the way of a crucial document for the future" and would have to abstain on the endorsement of it.

"I could not vote for the implication that taking up arms is something in which one had no choice," he said. Mr Storey had been pastor in the 1960s to both Nelson Mandela and the late Robert Sobukwe.

Also speaking against the statement, another delegate said he could not vote for the endorsement of the statement since it would mean the church endorsed violence and if it "endorsed violence I could never again preach about forgiveness and love".

Dr Simon Gqubule, senior SACC official, said in reply the "church have talked peace but never practised peace".

"You find war memorials at almost every church, prayers are said for the boys on the border and chaplains are supplied for the army. Passive resistance has not been followed.

"If there is a just war, there must also be a just revolution," he said.

Speaker after speaker supported the Lusaka Statement, despite the warning by Mr Massey that adopting the statement meant the SACC was making a policy statement it had never made before.

Liberation theologian Professor Charles Villa-Vicencio said the statement was a "moderate statement" as it said the church was still committed to peaceful change. He said the church had failed to "show another way" and pleaded for the adoption of the statement, which was evidence of the solidarity found with the Christians from the movements they met in Lusaka.

ABSTENTION

The statement was adopted with about seven votes against and one abstention.

The Lusaka Statement was drawn up by a World Council of Churches meeting in Lusaka in May this year. It was attended by about 40 delegates from southern Africa and the leaders of the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Johnson Mlambo. It was the first official meeting between the leaders of the liberation movements and the ANC and PAC leaders.

The conference also decided to plan further consultations with the ANC and PAC within the next 18 months.

The conference also, on the basis that apartheid was declared a heresy, recommended to member churches to "question their moral obligation to obey laws such as the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act. It further called "attention to the structures which are recognised by the people as their authentic legitimate authority in the eyes of God".

Civil disobedience was endorsed by the passing of a resolution which said the conference "regarded the rent boycott as a justified form of resistance, resolving that the SACC would not comply with any requirement in law that it deducts payment of rent arrears from employees salaries".

Washington Inquirer

July 3, 1987

Ex-Radical Testifies:

Tutu Urged Youths To Burn Schools

By NICK BIRNBAUM

South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, exhorted black youths in 1983 to burn down their schools, according to testimony from a former African National Congress (ANC) terrorist.

Salaminah Borephe, a former ANC youth wing organizer and participant in ANC violence, testified at a hearing on



Richard Johnson

Salaminah Borephe

Capitol Hill last week that she was present at a 1983 church meeting—attended by Tutu—at which AK-47 rifles were distributed. According to Borephe, “Bishop Tutu was the one who emphasized that we must burn our schools and to study abroad in communist countries.”

Borephe, who in 1975 joined the ANC-affiliated South African Students Organization (SASO), testified that the ANC forcibly recruits black youths between the ages of 12 and 18 to carry out its revolution against the white-led government, and is having these youths commit violence and murder against blacks who refuse to acquiesce to the ANC.

The hearing, sponsored by the Republican Study Committee and chaired by Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.), revealed a very different picture of the struggle in South Africa from that presented in another hearing on South Africa the very same day. The latter was sponsored by the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law to protest the detention of black youths by the South African government. It was co-sponsored by Sens. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.), and alleged the detention of 1,000 children by the South African government—a charge termed “absolutely ridiculous” by South African Embassy First Secretary Eli Bitzer.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu

At the Republican Study Committee hearing, Borephe recounted how youths were taught by Anglican ministers to make gasoline bombs and to use machine guns at the ANC youth wing meetings. She recalled how at one meeting, an Anglican minister “told us that the guns were to kill white people, but we never killed white people, only blacks.” Borephe said

See TUTU, page 2

Defence claim in PAC terrorism trial

'TIED TO ANT INFESTED TREE'

Door of priest's house blasted open

By MONK NKOMO

TWO of the seven accused in the Pan Africanist Congress terrorism trial were assaulted and tied to an ant-infested tree, it was alleged in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

It was also alleged that another accused was assaulted and forced to have his fingerprints taken while handcuffed.

Defence counsel, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, put it to Lieutenant Hendrik Prinsloo that he took part in assaulting Mr Mabatu Enoch Zulu (52), at the Hammanskraal police station on April 11 last year.

Refused

He also put it to the policeman that Mr Zulu, who refused to have his fingerprints taken, was forced to do so with both his hands handcuffed behind him.

Lt Prinsloo denied the allegation but admitted that the accused refused to have his fingerprints taken.

Lt Prinsloo also admitted during cross-examination that two of the accused — Mr Siyabulela Ndoda Gcanga (26), and Mr Vincent Alson Mathunjwa (29) — were tied with a rope to a tree by the police shortly after their arrest in Bophuthatswana.

Lt Prinsloo said he did not know if the accused were assaulted and if the

tree was ant-infested.

The State witness told the court that they used an explosive device to blast open the door and enter the house of another accused, the Reverend Daniel Nkopodi, in Bophuthatswana in April last year.

The device was used while Rev Nkopodi was inside a police vehicle nearby, the court heard.

Lt Prinsloo, who denied using a handgrenade to rip open the door, said the method was used to protect the police against trained terrorists who usually kill when they are cornered.

The police, he added, had received information that two armed "terrorists" were inside the house.

(Proceeding)