



28 March 1987

SECRET DEALS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND ITS ALLIES - INCLUDING PRETORIA

More and more the ugly details are oozing up. Major attention is focused on Irangate and Contra-gate (Gippergate) but the US government's support of Pretoria and its anointed 'freedom fighters' such as UNITA is getting more exposure. The Reagan doctrine is but scotched not dead.

Overpage are press reports on US activities in southern Africa. Shipments of arms to South Africa are clear violations of law, whether intended for UNITA or others. Arms shipments to or via Namibia transgress on the international status of that Territory which the Pretoria regime continues to occupy in defiance of the lawful authority, the United Nations. Participation by American troops in joint military exercises with Zairean forces and the intent to develop the strategically-located Camina airbase in Shaba province are startling jumps into the war-torn sub-continent of Africa and are ominous signs of deeper entanglements by this country. (The Defense Department is very vague in commenting of this issue). Arms sales to Pretoria by and from the USA and its allies, including Israel, and the effort - as reported in the story below - to keep secret these dealings are an affront to the American people and to the Congress.

We urge you to demand of your Senators and Representatives that these matters be thoroughly and publicly investigated and that these illegal and disastrous actions be stopped at once.

Israel, Others Selling Arms To S. Africa

NATO Allies Defy U.N. Embargo

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Reagan administration will report to Congress next week that South Africa has been receiving weapons in defiance of a United Nations embargo not only from Israel but from several of the United States' West European allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Administration sources said the report, which was mandated by Congress last fall as part of U.S. sanctions against South Africa, will name France, Britain, West Germany, Italy and Switzerland as providing arms to Pretoria. All except Switzerland are NATO members.

It has been an open secret for years that South Africa has purchased weapons and military-related equipment from a number of West European nations. However, unlike the situation involving Israel, where governmental ownership of the Israeli arms industry has meant a government-to-government relationship, South Africa's European dealings have been with private manufacturers or dealers.

In some cases, the deals have been acknowledged by West European governments. More often, though, they have been conducted through a network of dummy corporations and sales to third-party agents that have allowed these governments to deny knowledge of sales to South Africa or to contend that they were done in contravention of official efforts to enforce the 1977 U.N. embargo.

For these reasons, the sources said, the West European transactions will not have the same potential for causing tension with Washington as will the report's finding that successive Israeli governments actively condoned and sought an arms-supply relationship with South Africa to help defray the costs of maintaining a large and expensive defense industry.

Nonetheless, the sources added, the report will describe South Africa's West European connections with a level of detail that could prove embarrassing for internal NATO relationships. As a result, the sources said, the plan is to classify most of the report, due to be delivered to Congress early next week, as "secret" and to make public only a short, sanitized version.

See REPORT, A29, Col. 1

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SATURDAY, MARCH 28, 1987

REPORT, From A1

The sources did not say how much of the information about the West European countries will be contained in the unclassified version of the report being prepared by the State Department. The legislation, passed last fall over President Reagan's veto, specified that the report should be made jointly to the speaker of the House and the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The sources were unable to specify whether Congress will be able to declassify all or part of the report.

The report's findings about Israel, whose annual arms sales to South Africa are usually estimated at around \$125 million, have been widely anticipated. One unconfirmed report in Israel said the annual sales are \$600 million to \$800 million.

The report's findings are particularly important because the sanctions legislation calls for Congress to consider cutting off military aid to countries that maintain an arms-supply relationship with Pretoria in defiance of the embargo. Unlike Israel, the West European countries do not receive U.S. military aid.

The sources said that when Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir visited here last month, he was put on notice that the anticipated report could jeopardize Israel's status as the largest recipient of U.S. military assistance. American Jewish leaders also have warned Israel that a dispute over the South African sales could be especially damaging at a time when Washington has been angered by the promotion of two Israeli officials involved in the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal, an American convicted of espionage on Israel's behalf.

In an effort to prevent the situation from becoming a major new source of tension in U.S.-Israeli relations, Shamir's government announced on March 19 that it would begin reducing its arms supplies to South Africa by not entering into new military agreements with the white-minority government in Pretoria.

Israel's American supporters are expected to cite these steps as a

sign of the Jewish state's desire to bring its policies toward South Africa into line with those of the United States. However, foes of South Africa and its system of apartheid also are expected to complain that the extreme secrecy shrouding the relationships between South Africa and Israel will make it difficult to tell whether Israel really is cutting off its arms sales.

US said to resume arms flights to Angola rebels

SECRET arms shipments from the United States to South Africa are believed to have started up again after a gap of at least 10 weeks. The weapons are believed to be destined for South African-backed guerrillas fighting the left-wing government in Angola.

Arms shipments — which, according to reliable sources, originated in the United States and were packaged in crates marked as "machine parts" — are being flown from Panama to Johannesburg. Plans for such a flight have been prepared within the past month. According to the sources, the flight may either have operated within the past fortnight or is about to operate shortly. The operation would represent the first sign of a revival of the clandestine US-South Africa arms airlift which was first revealed in *The Independent* late last year.

By David Keyes

New evidence has recently surfaced about that airlift. It is understood that as early as mid-November arrangements were being made to fly arms, labelled as "agricultural machinery" in five freighter flights from Bradley Field air base near Hertford,

Connecticut, to Johannesburg via Honduras, Ascension Island or Cape Verde, and Windhoek in Namibia.

Until now only one flight via Honduras had been identified, but the new information reveals that the airlift was on a larger scale than previously thought.

An airport at Newhaven, 35 miles from Hertford, was also considered as an alternative outlet for the arms.

It is now known that the plans involved changes in aircraft and flight numbers to camouflage the eventual destination of the arms.

It seems certain that the first arms shipments, as well as the latest one, are destined for Jonas Savimbi's Unita organisation, the guerrilla group which has been fighting against the Luanda government for the past 12 years.

There has been speculation that in recent months the US has been encountering some difficulties in moving its arms to Unita via its more traditional supply routes through Zaire following a

series of top-level meetings late last year between Zairean leaders and top officials of Zambia, Angola and Mozambique.

The meetings formed part of the black southern African Frontline states' efforts to persuade Zaire not to allow its territory to be used as a springboard for Unita attacks on Angola.

Although the US is relatively open about its support for Unita, the fact that US arms for Unita appear to be being consigned to destinations in South Africa violates international agreements, and US law, banning the delivery of arms to South Africa.

This explains the convoluted flight paths and changed planes and flight numbers involved in the arms supply airlift. It also explains why the anonymous airlift organisers appear determined to use non-American aircraft for the flights.

Approaches have apparently been made within the past month to European and other non-American aircraft operators to find appropriate non-US-registered aircraft to carry the supplies.

THE INDEPENDENT Monday 23 March 1987

THE INDEPENDENT Tuesday 24 March 1987

10 FOREIGN NEWS

US exercise in Zaire points to Africa base

AMERICAN troops are to take part next month in joint military exercises with units of the Zairean army, and the US may subsequently establish a military base in Zaire.

Two battalions of US special-force troops will be involved; the number of Zairean troops being deployed is not known. The manoeuvres are to be held in Shaba province, near the borders of Angola and Zambia.

Zaire has been used as a staging-post for US arms supplies to the South African-backed Unita guerrilla movement in Angola. Yesterday *The Independent* disclosed that the US was resuming covert arms deliveries to Unita, via South Africa, following moves by black southern African states to persuade Zaire not to allow itself to be used as a springboard for Unita attacks against the Angolan government.

Until now, apart from occasional small exercises involving fewer than 200 troops, Washington's main military role in the area has been the normally covert supply of arms to the Unita insurgents.

The decision to carry out joint exercises in Zaire, viewed together with two other developments in the region involving Washington, points towards an upgrading of its military role in the area.

Earlier this month a top American military delegation visited

By David Keys

Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, to discuss giving it military advice.

In addition, the Americans have confirmed that they are having discussions with the Zairean government about a proposal to upgrade an airbase at Camina, in southern Zaire, which they say may ultimately be used as a US base if required.

Camina is the airstrip through which a large quantity of arms bound for Unita has flowed in the past. The Angolan government is predictably worried about its probable conversion into an American base.

However, any decision on official American military involvement in Camina will depend on the outcome of a difference of opinion between the State Department and the Defence Department. The State Department seems to be wary of too direct an involvement.

The latest US military involvement with Zaire can be seen against a background of differing attitudes to the front-line states which border or are near South Africa. Washington's growing friendliness with Mozambique and Botswana (and Zaire) contrasts sharply with relatively cool relations with Zambia and Zimbabwe and outright hostility towards Angola.

THE GUARDIAN

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25

JILL JOLLIFFE

on how the super-powers are raising the stakes in Angola

Not out of Africa

THE STAKES are rising in Angola as the Soviet Union prepares a last-ditch stand in Southern Africa, contrary to its policy of disengagement in Afghanistan.

The Reagan Administration's decision a year ago to give military aid to Jonas Savimbi's Unita movement, including the advanced Stinger anti-aircraft missile, has checked any tendency the Gorbachev leadership may have had to reconsider the USSR's Angolan commitment.

The man with his trigger-finger on the Soviet operation in Angola is 58-year-old Ambassador Arnold Kalinin, who told me that the policy decisions of the last Soviet Communist Party congress could not be interpreted as spelling out detente or disengagement in Angola.

He said that by furnishing military aid to Unita, the United States was "taking its final stand in Southern Africa."

The United States is said to be supplying the aid to Unita through bases in southern Angola and a new supply route passing from Kinshasa, the Zaire capital, across the border into north-east Angola. The Angolan government claims to have captured several Stinger missiles, but so far has been unable to produce concrete evidence.

Soviet heavy equipment has been pouring into Luanda recently. The London-based Institute for Strategic Studies estimates that there are only 950 Soviet military advisers in Angola, but truckloads of uniformed Russians can be seen in various parts of the country — apart from pilots and groups of officers, who were already visible — and Soviet commandos guard airports where sophisticated equipment is in use: mobile radar systems, the MiG-23 fighter and Mi-24 helicopter gunships.

Cuban troops have been fighting in Angola since 1975, with current estimates of their strength at around 30,000, but current policy is for them to play a back-up role, avoiding direct conflict with Unita.

A reliable source in Luanda said that Angolan and Soviet officials are meeting weekly to discuss the course of the war. "Afghanistan is a different case," a Western diplomat commented. "Angola is the Russian trump card at Geneva."

The main difference between the Soviet war in Angola and that in Afghanistan is that the USSR has a large troop presence in Afghanistan, with which it shares a common border. Moreover, Angola has an intrinsic strategic importance for the Soviet Union, because what happens there will determine the future political shape of all of Southern Africa.

A Unita offensive in mid-1985 was checked by the improved performance of FAPLA (the Marxist government's Popular Forces for the Liberation of Angola) as well as upgraded Soviet backing for the fledgling Angolan air force. Despite Unita's US backing since 1986, it has made no clear subsequent breakthrough, although South African attacks over the Namibian border — the latest of which began in late January — engage government troops in the south and free Unita guerrillas to pursue terrorist attacks against civilian and economic targets in the central highlands.

The raising of the stakes by the great powers has proportionally reduced Angolan options. US support for Unita forced the MPLA government to seek more Soviet aid at a time when the economy was already staggering under the blow of the drop in world oil prices, and aborted the tendency for political rapprochement with the West.

Not all Angolan leaders were happy with increased Soviet dependence, as the case of air force commander Iko Carreira demonstrated. General Carreira was dismissed last June after he argued that Angola should diversify its military equipment, buying from Western sources as well as the USSR. In particular, he complained that the Mi-24 helicopters came without panels to deflect the heat-guided Stingers, although they were available. Carreira reluctantly accepted the post of ambassador to Algeria.

Arnold Kalinin is a man well chosen by the Kremlin. After earlier service in Cuba, he gained his diplomatic laurels in Lisbon as the first Soviet ambassador in post-revolutionary Portugal. His career paralleled that of Frank Carlucci, now President Reagan's national security adviser. Carlucci was then US ambassador to Portugal, competing with Kalinin to influence the course of the Portuguese revolution. Their paths have parted, but now Kalinin and Carlucci face each other again across battle-lines drawn between East and West in southern Africa.



27 March 1987

PRETORIA ACTS TO STOP INFORMATION ABOUT ITS TORTURE OF DETAINEES

South African Police have served a subpoena on Ms Audrey Coleman of the Detainees Parents Support Committee in Johannesburg. She was alleged to have given information collected by her organization and other monitoring groups about the torture of children to the World Council of Churches.

DPSC said it wanted the SAPs to meet with its lawyers to establish safeguards against possible harassment of witnesses by the police. The DPSC statement said: 'The only delay in furnishing the information requested has been occasioned by the apparent reluctance of the officer concerned to meet with us and our legal advisers.....in order to discuss some simple safeguards for our clients.'

Reporter Jo-Anne Richards of THE JOHANNESBURG STAR was also served with a subpoena ordering her to identify doctors she had quoted in her story last September which stated that 40 released detainees had spoken of injuries received while in the hands of the police and had been referred for medical treatment. At least six doctors are involved and many more could face the dilemma of deciding whether to disclose information about patients or go to prison. 'The whole doctor-patient confidentiality could be put to the test,' THE STAR editorialized.

Under South African law Coleman and Richards can be summarily imprisoned by a magistrate's court for up to five years if they refuse to divulge the information, reports Reuter.

THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 1987 A41

THE WASHINGTON POST

Resolution Backs S. African Children

Mikulski, 8 Others Sponsor Measure Seeking Their Release

By Eric Pianin
 Washington Post Staff Writer

A resolution seeking the release of children being detained in South Africa under emergency government regulations was introduced yesterday by Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.) and eight other senators.

"The imprisonment and torture of children is an affront to civilized principles everywhere," Mikulski said in announcing the resolution. "Expressing U.S. concern over this matter through normal diplomatic channels is not sufficient."

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), a cosponsor of the resolution, said that, by their own admission, South African authorities have singled out black children as a target of their efforts to enforce apartheid. Kennedy said reports of torture and abuse of detained children under the age of 18 "are too grotesque to repeat."

"Short of the Holocaust itself, I can think of nothing in modern history that approaches the horror of the brutality in South Africa," he said.

A spokesman for the South African Embassy could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Last month, Adriaan Vlok, the South African minister of law and order, issued a list of 3,857 names of persons, including 281 under the age of 15, he said had been detained since the government declared a state of emergency in June 1986.

However, opposition groups contend that more than 25,000 blacks have been detained, including 10,000 children. More accurate figures are not available because the South African government has refused to release the names and locations of those being detained.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee in South Africa and other civil rights groups say that thousands of children being held have been tortured, and that some have died as a result of serious injuries inflicted.

"Young people have reported being beaten, whipped, raped, having their bodies burned by boiling water and burning plastic, given electric shock . . . tear-gassed, threatened and ill fed," said Damu Smith, executive director of the Washington Office on Africa.

Mikulski's resolution calls for the immediate release of all children detained under the emergency rules. Short of that, the resolution urges the Pretoria government to allow parents to see their children; provide the children with adequate food, clothing and protection, and permit an international organization to verify conditions.

Other cosponsors include Sens. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Christopher Dodd (D-Conn.), Nancy Landon Kassebaum (R-Kan.), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), Paul S. Sarbanes (D-Md.), Paul Simon (D-Ill.) and Lowell P. Weicker Jr. (R-Conn.).

Mikulski met last month in Washington with



Sen. Kennedy holds T-shirt at news conference.

the South African ambassador to protest the detention of the children. She also has sent letters concerning the children to Secretary of State George P. Shultz and South African President Pieter W. Botha.



Max Coleman, left, of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee (DPSC) and veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Helen Joseph sing the national anthem, Nkosi sikel' iAfrica after a meeting to mark Detainees' Day organised by black students at Wits University this week.

NATIONAL DETAINEES DAY THURSDAY, 12TH MARCH 1987 9 MONTHS OF THE EMERGENCY

- * Since June 12th 1986, over 25 000 people have been detained.
- * Of those approximately 10 000 have been children.
- * Approximately 3 500 women have been held.

WE DON'T KNOW THE FULL EXTENT OF THE NUMBERS DETAINED DURING THE PAST NINE MONTHS BECAUSE THE MINISTER REFUSES TO REVEAL THESE FIGURES.

The detainees have one thing in common: They are opponents of apartheid and the Nationalist Government. Most of the detainees are voteless South Africans who are operating in democratically elected bodies.

They are members and leaders of

CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS, TRADE UNIONS, YOUTH, STUDENTS AND WOMEN'S ORGANISATIONS

UNLIKE THE CURRENT NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT THESE DETAINEES REPRESENT THE DEMOCRATIC WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS.

The DPSC calls on people in all communities to act in solidarity with detainees by:

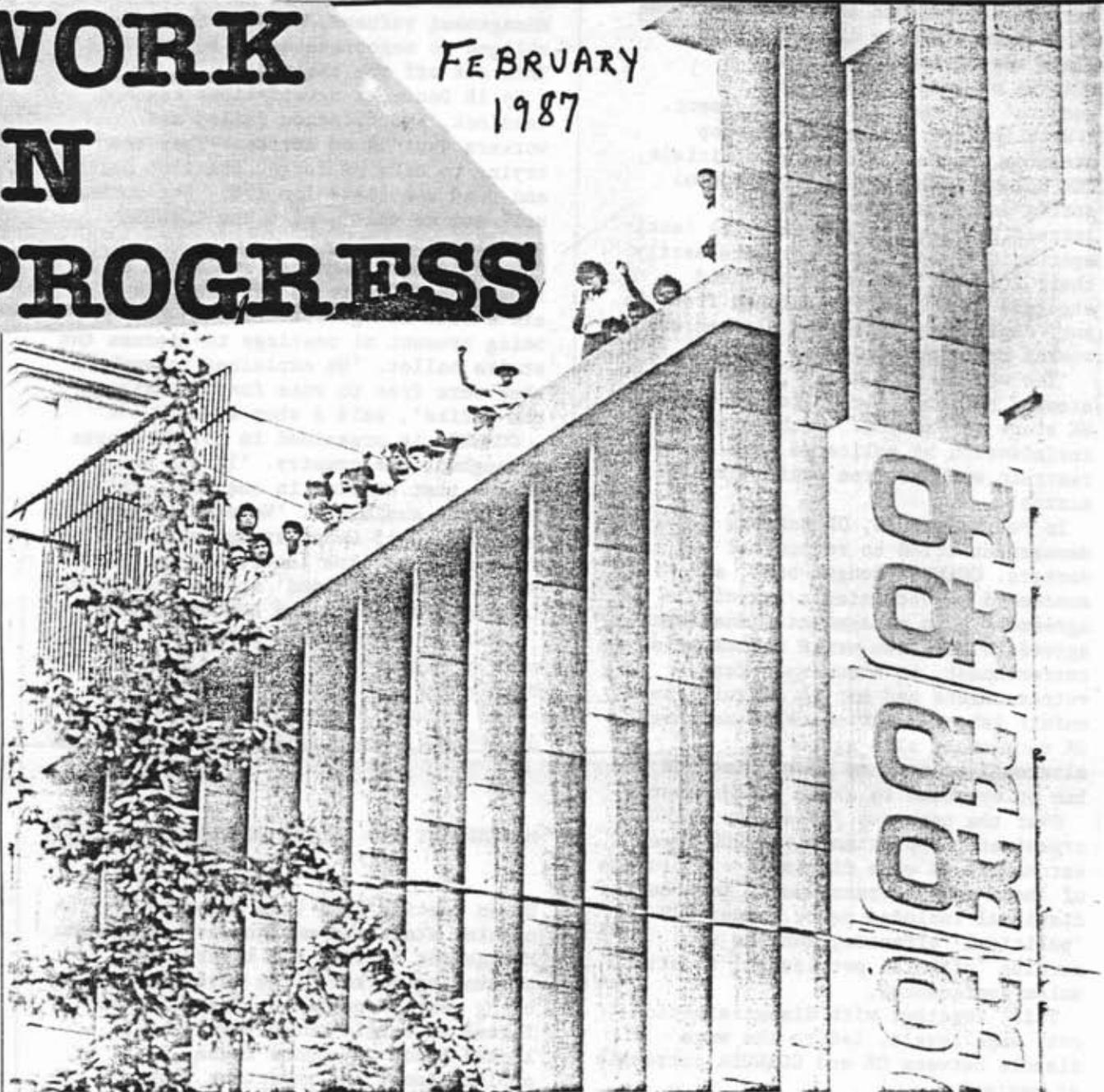
1. Observing a national fast from sunrise to sunset on March 12th.
2. Lighting candles on the night of March 12th.
3. Attending meetings called to commemorate national detainees day.
4. Observing Sunday, 15th March as a day of prayer for detainees.
5. Requesting church ministers on that day to dedicate their services to detainees, wherever possible.

END THE EMERGENCY

ISSUED BY DETAINEES' PARENTS SUPPORT COMMITTEE. SUPPORTED BY SA Catholic Bishops Conference (SACBC); SA Council of Churches (SACC); National Education Crisis Committee (NECC); Transvaal Student Congress (TRASCO); National Education Union of SA (NEUSA); National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA); Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU); Black Sash; United Democratic Front (UDF); Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC); Anti-Presidents Council Committee (ANTI PC); Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC); End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

WORK IN PROGRESS

FEBRUARY
1987



'Anti-Apartheid Bosses are not Our Friends'

Mediation has not ended the dispute between management and workers at the OK Bazaars. And management's strike-breaking tactics have enraged workers and officials of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa. The strike has developed into a test of strength, with police intervening on behalf of management, and a wide range of unions and community groups supporting workers.

INGRID OBERY talked to CCAWUSA organisers and shop stewards about the OK struggle.

'We have seen overt collaboration between capital and the state over the OK workers strike - it has become a class war of attrition', said a CCAWUSA organiser discussing workers' attitudes to OK management.

With intense harassment of shop stewards, workers and union officials, and police intervention in peaceful strike demonstrations, workers increasingly recognised that the 'anti-apartheid bosses' were not necessarily their friends. The anti-apartheid struggle must be distinguished from the anti-capitalist struggle, claimed one worker representative.

'The workers are angry', said a shop steward recently fired from an up-market OK store in Sandton. 'With constant intimidation by police we have to restrain workers from taking drastic action'.

In February 1985, OK Bazaars management tried to retrench 2 000 workers. CCAWUSA fought back, and succeeded in obtaining a lay-off agreement from management. Management agreed to give two weeks notice prior to retrenchment, to show cause for retrenchments and not to disguise an unfair labour practice as retrenchment. OK management also agreed to alternatives such as short-time and a ban on overtime to avoid retrenchments.

Over the next two years, say CCAWUSA organisers, approximately 2 000 wage earners at OK were dismissed - a process of 'back-door retrenchment'. Reasons for dismissal included petty, minor and 'political' offences, such as not seeking 'official permission' to attend union conferences.

This, together with dissatisfaction over wage levels, led to the wage dispute between OK and CCAWUSA currently at mediation.

The OK pays low wages, especially when compared to wage scales of workers doing similar work in other retail chain stores. At the OK a 'general assistant' - shelf packers, sweepers etc - receives R232 per month. Similar workers at Pick 'n Pay, for example, are paid almost double at R97 per week.

According to a CCAWUSA organiser, 'OK has won in the past, they have got away with murder'. The last wage agreement with the union was signed in September 1984. It detailed a R40 increase over 18 months, but bound management to review the increases in the light of improved profits.

CCAWUSA believed OK was obliged to review the increases in April 1986. Management refused, arguing it was only obliged to negotiate wages for 1987-88. This set off the dispute.

By 18 December negotiations reached deadlock, conciliation failed and workers decided to strike. 'They are trying to make us forget the 1986 period and just negotiate for 1987, but workers will not do that', said the CCAWUSA organiser.

Organising a national strike in a retail chain store is not easy. In all stores management insisted on being present at meetings to discuss the strike ballot. 'We explained to workers they were free to vote for or against the strike', said a shop steward.

CCAWUSA is organised in 137 OK stores throughout the country. 'It was not a strike that started in one day', the organiser explained. 'We started having meetings on 15 December and were only finished four days later. And we cannot organise at 'homeland' stores - CCAWUSA is banned in Venda and Bophuthatswana'.

Feelings about wages ran high, and most branches voted to go on strike. Middleburg and Randfontein branches voted against the strike, 'but they joined the strike after it started'.

MANAGEMENT AND POLICE COLLUDE ||||||||||||||||||

Union tactics have been hampered by ongoing state and management harassment. Management applied for interdicts preventing workers from entering or being near OK premises. The union was forced to settle out-of-court as it lacked funds to oppose these applications. 'We undertook that our members would not come near OK shops to commit unlawful acts until the resolution of the dispute. This was the only tactic available to the union'.

This followed incidents at the Eloff Street, Hillbrow and Faraday branches where workers demonstrated in the canteens, singing and dancing. Management claimed workers caused extensive damage but would not disclose the costs. In Vereeniging, management took matters into its own hands, and threw large amounts of pepper onto the floor where workers were singing. Workers there were also subjected to strip searches. Management gave no

reason for this.

And at Sandton Hyperama, the manager admitted contacting police to deal with strikers. He also tricked strikers into the hands of police on 5 January, telling workers in the canteen that 'friends' had come to visit. When the workers came out, police grabbed them.

OK stores have been picketed by striking workers. But picketers have been arrested, some under emergency regulations, others under the Internal Security Act. 'Management wants to drain union finances with huge legal bills', said one organiser.

The union suspended pickets in areas where it was most seriously attacked. 'But this is not hard and fast policy, it is flexible and we can reverse this decision when we feel things are better. Workers often refuse to be intimidated and continue. In Witbank, for example, workers were arrested for a day on 22 January. They were warned to appear in court on 5 February and were told not to picket. However they continued to picket. In this way police try to protect company legitimacy, doing their dirty work'.

Two weeks into the strike there was more evidence of management/police collusion. Police carrying management personnel files visited eight Sandton workers at home. In the Orange Free State, store supervisors visited workers at home and with threats tried to force them back to work.

'Anglo American, through South African Breweries, and Premier Milling own many shares in the OK. We are tired of their hypocrisy. They visit the ANC in Lusaka

and then come home to crush legal strikes', said one angry shop steward.

STRIKE TACTICS

Opposing the management onslaught is difficult. Shop stewards and union officials are denied access to stores. Scab workers in Sandton are allowed to carry weapons to work, although the company expressly forbids this in workers' 'induction' programmes.



OK workers at a strike meeting

But CCAWUSA receives moral and material support from other unions, community organisations and friends overseas. Support committees have been set up, consisting of representatives from a very wide range of unions, including COSATU, CUSA/AZACTU, and

independents like MWASA, as well as community organisations. 'The working class is under attack here', an organiser said, 'and all concerned organisations must have a chance to participate. At a time when there has been a lull in political organisation, the OK strike has provided a rallying point. And this has enabled those organisations and unions from different political tendencies to work together. Even the bourgeois press has recognised this is unprecedented'.

Those involved take what action they can. Food and Allied Workers Union, for instance, organises at South African Breweries, which holds OK shares, and has more leverage than other unions to demand action from management. FAWU has also refused to deliver goods to OK outlets.

CCAWUSA has not called a consumer boycott of OK stores, but an informal boycott by those supporting the strikers appears to have been successful. 'OK began using Jazz carrier bags at their check-out tills. Spar packets were also used in some areas and today we heard they have started using Pick 'n Pay packets. This is so that boycott-breakers cannot be identified by strike supporters'.

After reports from CCAWUSA, a Jazz Supermarket executive went to OK and was handed a Jazz packet at the till. Jazz immediately applied for a supreme court interdict against OK. On 27 January the court prohibited OK from using Jazz bags.

CCAWUSA lodged similar complaints with Spar management, which said the packet suppliers, Nampak, had mixed up deliveries between themselves and OK. This issue was settled between the managements of the two companies.

But the state of emergency has made organisation more difficult. CCAWUSA offices around the country have been subjected to numerous police raids. Organisers have to engage in 'guerilla tactics' - moving in to organise and talk to workers and getting out fast. And in Pretoria, an extensive police presence outside stores brought organisation to a virtual standstill.

Those who picket are arrested, with police often unable to state charges against arrested picketers.

But, said the organiser, 'Workers do

not hesitate to stand on picket lines, even with the threat of arrest. We must recognise and respect their courage and persistence'.

CCAWUSA believes OK management has miscalculated the strikers' determination. 'They thought workers would starve and go back to work. But black people have suffered harder times, and we are used to sharing with each other', said a shop steward.

A TEST OF STRENGTH |||

The union does not have vast resources, and most funds have gone to bail out picketers. On one day alone, 64 workers were arrested and given R1 000 bail each. Other money goes on transporting workers to meetings. 'It is very important that workers meet often to discuss the strike', said the organiser. Little is left to buy food for strikers but workers at other CCAWUSA-organised stores have pledged between R5 and R10 per month to help those on strike.

CCAWUSA blames OK management, its attitude and its willingness to call in police for the breakdown in negotiations. The union believes OK is determined to sit the strike out, and while management may want to settle the dispute, it will be unwilling to submit to worker demands and so lose face.

For the union, the issue seems equally clear cut. All strikers have rejected management's final offer, and there is 'no question of going back to work'. Organisers recognise mass dismissals are a possibility, but according to a shop steward, 'You would not get out of a meeting alive if you suggested workers go back to work'.

A number of important issues are on CCAWUSA's agenda for 1987. 'This year we will push strongly for job security, a living wage and the right to strike and picket. These are not ends in themselves, but these issues together with state responses to things like the OK strike and general repression, educate workers. Workers now see that the state and the bosses are one and the same'.

Ex-BOSS chiefs whip up the anti-black vote

ALLISTER SPARKS

IN a remarkable display of their true colours, the three most powerful men in South Africa's security apparatus in the 1960s and 70s are campaigning for the extreme right-wing Conservative party in the current general election campaign.

General H. J. van den Bergh, the security chief who masterminded the crushing of the African National Congress and headed the notorious BOSS secret service, is a Conservative candidate.

So is his feared chief interrogator, Brigadier Theunis Swanepoel, a burly ex-rugby player nicknamed 'Rooi Rus,' or the Red Russian.

The former Minister of Justice, Jimmy Kruger, who distinguished himself with a public statement saying that the death in detention of black consciousness leader Steve Biko 'leaves me cold,' is also a leading Conservative Party member, although not an election candidate.

Another police chief, General Kobus Visser, who was in charge of the CID at that time, is Conservative candidate in the new town of Verwoerdburg, near Pretoria. Pointedly, he has chosen to run against the current Minister of Law and Order, Adrian Vlok.

All four are making the point that they believe the Government has gone soft on the blacks and has been too timid in its handling of the latest wave of racial unrest.

'Take the kid gloves off the security forces and law and order will be restored in six months,' Swanepoel, who is credited with having crushed the 1976 Soweto uprising, told a campaign rally the other night.

Opposition sources are saying

ALLISTER SPARKS
reports from
Johannesburg on the
latest candidates for
South Africa's extreme
Right.

that the emergence of these men as far-rightists unmasks the true nature of South Africa's security apparatus.

Mrs Helen Suzman, the liberal MP who has been monitoring the Government's security actions for more than 25 years, said: 'What appals me is that tens of thousands of people have been put behind bars in South Africa on the evidence of extremists like this.'

The draconian security laws gave men like Van den Bergh and Swanepoel almost unlimited powers to recommend the detention, banning and banishment of people they regarded as politically dangerous. Their evidence was not tested in any court. It was sent confidentially to the Minister in charge of security—Kruger—who was empowered to act on it.

Swanepoel in particular has given point to Mrs Suzman's contention, with some election campaign statements revealing views which are extreme even by far-right standards.

He has said he believes there are Communists in President P. W. Botha's Cabinet; that he thinks the leader of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement, Eugene Terre-Blanche, will be the next President of South Africa; and that he believes 'in negotiation with the enemy down the barrel of a gun.'

In a sinister public warning to



Theunis Swanepoel: 'Shoot a hundred if necessary.'

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the black Nobel Peace Prize winner, he said: 'I got you once and I'll get you again . . . but next time they will carry you out feet first.'

As chief of the security police in the early 1960s, Van den Bergh directed the operation that captured the underground leaders of the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, then mopped up its grassroots membership. Thousands went to prison.

He later became head of the powerful Bureau of State Security, aptly dubbed BOSS, and was described by a judge heading a commission of inquiry as 'the power behind the throne' of former Prime Minister John Vorster.

Van den Bergh retired after falling out with President Botha. An aloof man who still prefers to work in the shadows, he refused to talk about his election campaign.

Swanepoel was less reticent. He is running against Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who is regarded as the Government's leading reformist, and he agreed readily to be interviewed in his Johannesburg campaign office.

Despite his fearsome reputation, the 59-year-old brigadier was relaxed and avuncular as he reminisced about his 12 years in the security police and talked of his admiration for Van den Bergh, whom he described as 'the greatest leader South Africa ever produced.'

He has firm ideas about riot control, especially when dealing with blacks whom he described as 'emotional people who easily go over to mob violence.'

'The only way to stop them is to use as much force as is necessary,' he said. 'If you have to shoot one person, or wound one person in the leg to stop him, you do so. But if it is necessary to shoot a hundred to get the situation under control, do it.'

'There are no half measures when you deal with riots. Law and order must be restored at all costs. Lose that and you might just as well chuck in the towel.'

Swanepoel said he believed 70 per cent of the police force were Conservative Party supporters. That seems to bear out a description of the police, heard in some quarters here, as 'The Conservative Party in uniform'—whose enthusiasm for violent methods has led to excessive bloodshed in the black townships.



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