



16 June 1990

Mandela

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Nelson Mandela is due to arrive in the USA on 20 June for what will be a triumphal 12-day cross-country progress. He and his wife, Ms Winnie Mandela, will be in New York 20-22 June, with a ticker-tape parade up Broadway to City Hall, an evening rally at Yankee Stadium and an address to the United Nations General Assembly. The Mandelas will visit Boston on 23 June. The 24-26 will be Washington, D.C. The Deputy President of the African National Congress will meet with President Bush at the White House on the 25th.

Mr Mandela will address a joint session of Congress at 11 a.m. eastern time on Tuesday, 26 June. On 27 June the Mandelas will be in Atlanta where he will lay a wreath at the tomb of the Rev Dr Martin Luther King. Miami and Detroit will share the Mandelas on 28 June. On the 29th they will fly to California for meetings and rallies in Los Angeles, and on the following day in Oakland. The entire Mandela tour is sure to be extensively covered by press, radio and t.v.



The Mandelas will depart the USA on 1 July, returning to South Africa via the United Kingdom, Ireland, Kenya, Ethiopia and Mozambique. That will be the final leg of a six-week grand trip that will have included stops in Botswana, France, Switzerland, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Vatican, the Netherlands and Canada.

A continuing spate of 'relaxations' have emanated from Pretoria. The laws against some of the accommodations for all races are being cancelled, though no legislation enforcing equal treatment for all races has been enacted. Some political prisoners have been released; many more remain behind bars. The State of Emergency has been dropped except for Natal province; Pretoria's enormous armory of apartheid laws and the police, military and judicial exercise of them remain intact. The superficial changes are widely promoted as meaningful movement toward democracy - and to get rid of economic sanctions.

'Until the irreversibility of the movement towards majority rule in South Africa is firmly established and fulfilled, there can be no let-up in the weight of sanctions against apartheid. The African National Congress, as indeed the black people, have long memories; they know how great has been the disparity between the spoken words and the deeds of the South African authorities.'

- Mendi Msimang, chief representative, ANC Mission, UK and Ireland

Nelson Mandela's tour follows a briefer one by South African President F. W. De Klerk who was urging European governments to lift economic sanctions against South Africa. Mandela is pressing for exactly the opposite - retain sanctions until the apartheid system is totally dismantled. The issue will come before a summit of European Community leaders in Dublin 25-26 June. The European Parliament in Strasbourg overwhelmingly resolved in favor of the Mandela call. The crucial decision will come in Ireland.

Mandela will bring the same strong message to the USA, the country with the toughest sanctions legislation by far, but with an administration - though it won't say so outright - which is itching to abolish restrictions on South Africa. The challenge to Americans is clear - stand fast, no voiding, no amelioration, no nibbling away of economic sanctions.

A brief truce - but now the dirty war has begun again

Seven activists died last month in attacks which were clearly politically motivated. Other forms of 'dirty tricks' have included malicious pamphlets, reports
GAVIN EVANS

WEEKLY MAIL, May 11 to May 17 1980 5

A NEW wave of assassinations and political intimidation may have marked the end to the brief respite in death squad-type activities.

Human rights groups note that the style of the attempted assassination of ANC priest Father Michael Lapsley is almost identical to that of four previous parcel or letter bombings of ANC members.

Last month three separate attacks were made on leading anti-apartheid activists in which seven people were killed.

ANC member and Anglican priest Father Michael Lapsley lost both hands and an eye two weeks ago when a parcel bomb, apparently addressed to him, exploded. The sight in his other eye and his hearing have been affected.

The parcel he received was accompanied by another containing a religious book and was preceded by a letter on an ANC letterhead which the ANC denies sending him.

The attack follows a similar pattern to the parcel and letter bomb murders of exiled ANC members Jeanette Curtis in Angola, Ruth First in Mozambique, John Dube in Lusaka and the attempted murder of leading ANC member Phyllis Naidoo in Lesotho, in which she and a priest were severely injured.

Former police captain Dirk Coetzee claimed in his account to the *Vrye Weekblad* that the Schoon and First murders were the work of the security police.

Lapsley was expelled from South Africa for his anti-apartheid activities in the 1970s and from Lesotho after the South Africa-backed coup there in 1986.

"This attack appears to have been carried out with considerable expertise and follows the pattern of previous murders which we now know were the work of the CCB or the security police," said Dr Max Coleman, of the Independent Board of Inquiry into Informal Repression.

"It therefore does not appear to me to be the work of the extreme right. More likely is that it was carried out by units set up by the state and working within cells originally set up with state sanction."

Jack Curtis, whose daughter Jeanette and granddaughter Katryn were murdered in a letter bomb attack in Angola in 1985, also notes similarities in the attacks.

"Two A4 envelopes addressed to her husband Marius Schoon arrived. She opened one or both and the explosion was so powerful it blew the room to pieces.

"There is only one possible source for these attacks and we know what it is. Obviously they were carried out by experts."

Exiled Pan Africanist Congress member Sam Chand, his wife Hajira, their sons Redwan, Amina and Imran and a night watchman were shot in Sikwane, Botswana, on April 20. Shortly afterwards their house was razed by a powerful bomb.

According to neighbours, Chand was active in PAC politics and they believe this is why he was murdered.

Both the ANC and PAC believe the attacks were the work of the State, and that elements within the security forces may be trying to use them to exacerbate tensions between the two organisations.

In the past four months the Human Rights Commission has listed several attacks on anti-apartheid activists in the country, one of which was the assassination of Alexandra Youth Con-

gress activist Aldo Mogano.

According to the HRC, Mogano was on his way home from watching a video at a friend's house on April 7 when he saw two men at the gate.

"According to an eye-witness he asked who they were but the two men didn't respond. He went inside the house to awaken his younger brother but immediately after Aldo went outside again his brother heard three shots," an HRC representative said.

Mogano was involved in the Congress of South African Students until its banning five years ago, and played a prominent role in the formation of the Transvaal Student Congress.

He was detained for several months under the Emergency regulations and was restricted upon his release.

As Coetzee speaks, new clues emerge to back him

EASTERN CAPE lawyers have uncovered clues which appear to lend support to Captain Dirk Coetzee's startling accounts of death squad activities.

For the past week policemen implicated by former hit squad leader Coetzee in his testimony before the Harms Commission of Inquiry have denied the allegations of their former colleague. Their legal team has dismissed Coetzee's account.

This week, however, the Legal Resources Centre in Port Elizabeth released to the *Weekly Mail* a dossier recording seven years of suspected hit squad activities. It provides strong backing for some of the most dramatic allegations made by Coetzee.

While the Harms and Hiemstra commissions have provided an insight into the workings of Civil Cooperation Bureau and the security police death squads in the Transvaal, Natal and Western Cape, little is known about their operations in the Eastern Cape.

For the first time the Coetzee testimony and research by the LRC and *Weekly Mail* has brought to light information on operations in this area. Many believe the Eastern Cape to be the area of the most systematic and brutal death squad activity.

Among the Coetzee allegations examined by the LRC are:

● Coetzee told the commission that while in the Eastern Cape in 1981 he stole the car of a Uitenhage unionist as part of a campaign of harassment.

One of the policemen wanted the tyres, so it was driven to Jeffrey's Bay police station for the exchange before being destroyed. Another former police employee, David Tshikalange, also referred to the incident in his evidence before the commission.

In an affidavit, Edward Apolose Maephe confirmed the theft of his Audi 80 GL from his home in 1981. At the time Maephe was an organiser of the National Automobile and Al-

As Dirk Coetzee gives evidence to the Harms commission in London, lawyers in the Eastern Cape are digging up clues which seem to support his claims, reports GAVIN EVANS

that year police told his family that he and his car had "disappeared".

His girlfriend in Port Elizabeth said she had been talking to him on the phone when the conversation "ended abruptly". She said she heard the sound of traffic, indicating that the receiver had not been replaced.

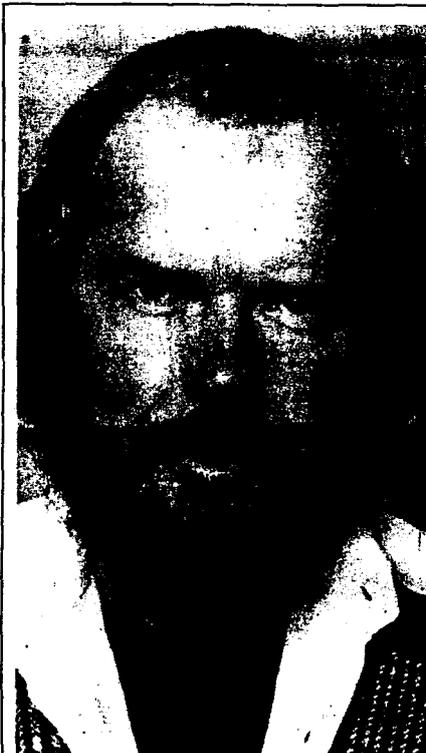
His father, Port Elizabeth attorney Dumile Kondile, said police informed him that Sizwe had been detained on June 26 1981 at the Lesotho border post at Van Rooyensnek. After being held in Bloemfontein he was moved to Port Elizabeth for "further investigations". He was allegedly released on August 10 and taken back to Bloemfontein by Captain du Plessis.

"He was there placed in possession of a motor vehicle and allowed to proceed to wherever he wanted to go. He has not been seen by any member of the SAP since his departure and his present whereabouts are unknown," the police told his family.

Another security police letter, dated June 26 1982, said he was "returning to Lesotho from South Africa in a yellow Datsun Stanza".

Responding to a question in parliament, the then Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, said Kondile had never been visited by a magistrate or district surgeon and had last seen an inspector of detainees a week before his disappearance.

● Coetzee said in a statement made in Mauritius, also referred to in the Harms Commission, that in 1981 a Colonel van Rensburg, of the Port Elizabeth security police, had told him police were attempting to stop Eastern Cape trade union leaders



Fr Lapsley lost an eye and all but two fingers when he opened a parcel bomb
Picture: AP

Letter bomb attack nearly takes life of Harare ANC priest

By ANDREW MELDRUM
Harare

FATHER Michael Lapsley, the Anglican priest and African National Congress member who was seriously injured by a parcel bomb in Harare last week, had earlier received a letter on ANC stationery telling him to expect books from South Africa.

When two parcels arrived he opened the first one and found a religious book from South Africa. "It was the second parcel which nearly killed him," said ANC chaplain Father John Osmer.

Lapsley, 41, is reported to be "improving" and has been moved from the intensive care unit. He lost his left hand and right eye and is missing all but two fingers of his right hand, according to Harare's Liberation Support Committee (LSC). Initially he had lost his hearing, but that is returning.

"We are happy with his progress," said Jonah Gokova, chairman of the LSC. Lapsley is under sedation but has been able to see visitors and has read letters that have come in, including a moving message from fellow bomb victim Albie Sachs.

The parcel bombing is the latest of many attacks on the ANC in Harare. Lapsley's colleagues say it is part of a South African government campaign.

"Mike was tragically the target of the centralised, co-ordinated network of sabotage emanating from the Pretoria regime," said Father John Larnola, also an Anglican priest who is the administrative secretary of the ANC's department of religious affairs. "This was not an act of the lunatic fringe of the far right. It was part of the government's ongoing campaign to hit strategic supporters of the liberation movement. In Mike's case, we think his bombing may have been intended to throw the ANC's team in Cape Town off balance as they entered into the meetings with President FW de Klerk."

Three Zimbabweans who were sentenced to death for past bombings of ANC members and houses have testified to a network of South African agents in Zimbabwe.

WEEKLY MAIL, May 11 to May 17 1980

'We have turned Mandela over to the South African security branch. We gave them every detail, what he would be wearing, the time of day, just where he would be. They have picked him up. It is one of our greatest coups.'

These are the words of a now deceased senior CIA operative in South Africa on 5 August 1962, as recalled by another US intelligence officer, now retired and speaking anonymously. The 10 June 1990 ATLANTA JOURNAL & CONSTITUTION, on the eve of the African National Congress leader's arrival in the USA to a hero's welcome, carried a long account of the sordid American betrayal of Nelson Mandela. Ironically - if that is the word - Mandela's security arrangements for his 11 day USA visit - is in the hands of the Secret Service.

The newspaper report says the CIA in 1962 was expending money and time in penetrating the ANC to a greater extent than Pretoria's 'fledgling intelligence service'. The CIA had a deep cover agent in the ANC branch in Durban. Mandela had left South Africa secretly early in 1962 to rally support in other African and in European countries. He returned underground in June. On the evening of 4 August there was a joyous dinner with a dozen or so friends in Durban. The next morning, Nelson Mandela, disguised as a chauffeur, was arrested by the SAP at a highway roadblock upcountry from Durban. His trial and sentence to a life term followed in 1964. He was released from prison this past 11 February.

A retired South African intelligence agent, Gerard Ludi, told the JOURNAL & CONSTITUTION that the spy in the ANC kept Millard Shirley - whom he called the CIA's chief underground operative in South Africa - abreast of ANC activities. Ludi said Shirley was a longtime friend, and regarding the Mandela arrest 'Millard was very proud of that operation; he told me that later.' The CIA man whose exultant remarks appear above was Paul Eckel, who died in 1986 in Atlanta. Ludi said that in the early 60's, after South Africa withdrew from the Commonwealth... 'we had lost our support from MI-5 and MI-6. At that time we never had the funds. So we didn't have a proper intelligence department. There were only about three of us in 1962. But the CIA at that time was flush with funds. They helped us a lot.' The South African told THE WASHINGTON POST 'the CIA helped us, but not on any grand scale.' However impoverished the Pretoria security people were, Ludi had penetrated the South African Communist Party and was in Moscow at the time of Mandela's arrest.

The Atlanta paper relates how in 1957, the US embassy in Pretoria 'cabled Washington that South Africa's educated black elite was "psychologically susceptible to the extremes of Black Nationalism or Communism" and had influence "extending beyond the borders of South Africa into and among the Native leadership of other African countries".' Arthur Schlesinger, an official in the Kennedy administration, is quoted: 'In June 1962, in connection with the establishment of a United States military tracking station in South Africa, we had agreed to sell South Africa arms for use against communist aggression; this limitation was meant to exclude arms which could be used to enforce apartheid, but the distinction was not always clear.'

On the issue of a US government agency shopping Nelson Mandela, a CIA spokesman gave the standard answer: 'Our policy is not to comment on such allegations.' Marlin Fitzwater, the White House spokesman, dodged the issue on 12 June by referring reporters to former members of the Kennedy administration. 'I don't like when people question our motives in regard to blacks or Mandela in relation to something the Kennedys did.' President George Bush, at an impromptu Rose Garden press conference the following day - after promoting a Constitutional amendment on flag burning - replied to a question that he'd read somewhere about the CIA-Mandela story, was glad to welcome Nelson Mandela to the White House, glad he is free. A reporter persisted, 'Do you think that's a proper role for the CIA?' The one-time head of the CIA retorted testily that he didn't want to get into that.

US intelligence relations and cooperation with their South African counterparts reach back at least to the early 50's. The deputy chief of Pretoria's Bureau for State Security revealed in 1977 that his operatives had been highly trained in America and West Germany. The full extent of Pretoria-Washington intelligence cooperation, back then and right now, has yet to be found out.

De Klerk loses touch with the resentful whites

Johannesburg
Allister Sparks

OBSERVER SUNDAY 10 JUNE 1990

SOUTH AFRICAN President F. W. de Klerk is staring at a Gorbachov-style crisis after last week's by-election result in which Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party more than doubled its vote.

Like the Soviet leader, he is acclaimed abroad for his reformist courage and has the solid backing of his party, but his popular support in the country is crumbling.

Under De Klerk the ruling National Party is more united than at any time in the past 20 years. Both his predecessors in that period, P. W. Botha and John Vorster, had to contend with serious Cabinet tensions and party splits.

De Klerk's Cabinet and parliamentary party are solidly behind him. There is no hint of any rumblings in the caucus or of any MPs threatening to cross the floor. Even the hawkish Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan, has fallen into line behind the reformist policy.

Moreover, the support of the Afrikaners press is unwavering. Not a single paper is critical of what De Klerk is doing, as some once were of Vorster and Botha.

Yet while the party establishment is solidly united, a huge gap has opened up between it and its traditional supporters. If the figures from the Umlazi by-election were to be translated into a general election result, De Klerk and his National Party would be swept from power.

One political scientist's calculations show that the Conservative Party would win between 90 and 100 seats to the National's 55 or 60 and the liberal Democratic Party's 10 or 15.

So the absurd position has arisen where a President who holds 103 seats in a house of 178, with the assured support of 34 opposition members (to say nothing of the two non-white houses with 130 members between them, making an overall seven-eighths majority in Parliament), may in fact be a lame duck.

How has it happened? Because De Klerk has bungled by failing to explain adequately to his followers why he is making such a remarkable U-turn and where he is taking them.

As recently as last September he was still fulminating against the ANC and was leading the National Party into an election campaign in which he accused the liberal opposition of treason for meeting the ANC for and

advocating negotiations with it. Six months later he did exactly that himself, and has still not told his followers why.

They feel resentful, bewildered and afraid. They have lost their trust in the party they have supported all their lives, so they turn to Treurnicht.

Not because Treurnicht has any realistic alternative to offer. No one in South Africa today seriously believes the country could revert to apartheid. To do that it would have to re-ban the ANC, put Nelson Mandela back in jail — and face mass black insurrection and international mandatory sanctions that would cripple it in months.

The Conservatives talk vaguely of carving out a *Boeres-taat*, or white 'homeland', but there is no square mile of the country with a white majority. The one attempt to do this by a group of zealots in a remote part of the south-eastern Transvaal has suffered a reversal over the past six years as its own black population has expanded.

This means the increase in the Conservative vote is no more than a barometer of white anxieties, as people brought up to believe that black rule is a fate worse than death face a scary transition towards it.

What can De Klerk do about it? He cannot turn back — releasing Mandela and unbanning the ANC was his Rubicon. He can only move ahead. But if he goes on losing votes at this rate he will indeed become a lame duck unable to carry a majority of whites with him into the new deal he is negotiating with the black nationalists.

South Africa will then be in trouble. It will again have a constitution that lacks the broad consent needed for stability.

De Klerk is blaming Mandela for scaring the whites with 'violent rhetoric' about the armed struggle and continued sanctions. But Mandela has his own constituency to worry about. If he loses his Left as De Klerk is losing his Right, South Africa will be in even deeper trouble.

Bringing along the white constituency is De Klerk's responsibility, and he has neglected it. While the Conservatives threw everything into the Umlazi by-election, neither De Klerk nor any of his key ministers — except the ineffectual Adriaan Vlok — campaigned there.

His only option is to get out into the countryside and detoxify the people he and his party have indoctrinated over the years to hate and fear the ANC and all other authentic black organisations.

Afrikaner vigilantes threaten racial pact

**** THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH MAY 20 1990

MR ADRIAAN VLOK, South Africa's Minister of Law and Order, a hardliner under President P.W. Botha but now a key member of President F.W. de Klerk's flock of doves, last week gave a glimpse here of government negotiating techniques with its black opposition.

Shaking hands before press cameras with mineworkers' leader Cyril Ramaphosa, who exercises more organised black power in South Africa than Nelson Mandela, after the unlikely duo had hammered out an agreement to end murderous black-white violence at a local gold mine, Vlok said to Ramaphosa: "Now there's something you can do for us. It would help us a lot if you can persuade people to end this boycott."

Ramaphosa nodded and said he would see what he could do. The Secretary-General of the black National Union of Mineworkers then left for a series of meetings over the weekend with local union and African National Congress leaders. ANC sources said this will probably lead tomorrow to the two-week-old black consumer boycott of shops in Welkom, which has badly damaged white businesses being called off.

It will be a tangible reward

by Fred Bridgland
WELKOM

for Vlok, who in the talks on the violence in Welkom, which last week left two whites dead and two whites and eight blacks wounded, committed himself to crack down on local heavily armed white vigilante groups.

Both sides termed the talks "historic." Not only had Vlok and Ramaphosa talked with each other for the first time, but they also brought together for the first time representatives of the NUM and the whites-only Council of Mining Unions.

The pact establishes NUM-CMU committees to ensure a peaceful resolution in future of differences which led to the two whites being hacked to death by angry black miners.

"We do not want an escalation into further violence," said Ramaphosa, a clever, articulate man who is one of the front runners to succeed Nelson Mandela as leader of the ANC. "I gave an assurance that our members will act with restraint."

In fact Vlok and Ramaphosa tacitly allowed the giant Anglo-American Corporation to bus known troublemakers among black miners at the

President Steyn mine back to their homelands with a month's wages as severance pay.

The achievement of uneasy peace in the heart of the Orange Free State's belt of conservative Afrikanerdom will come as great relief to President de Klerk, who knows that Welkom is a litmus test for the acceptability of his daring dash for irreversible political change.

An increase in violence here would have caused brush fires in other conservative parts of the country, where the extreme right is waiting for an issue around which it can rally its supporters to arms.

Translating the Vlok-Ramaphosa accord into reality will not be easy. Mr Hennie Muller, leader of the local right-wing Blanke Veiligheid (the White Protection Society), yesterday told the *Sunday Telegraph*: "If Vlok wants to call us vigilantes he must call every South African with a grievance against the ANC and the South African Communist Party a vigilante. He's going to find he's dealing with 600,000 vigilantes."

Muller, a 43-year-old panel beater and former policeman, said local right-wing groups decided on Friday night on a series of measures, most of them secret, to counter Vlok's commitment to disband them.

"We have more than 8,000 heads of households as BV members in Welkom," he said. "Vlok may like being a movie star for the cameras with Ramaphosa, but when it comes to taking action against us he has big problems."

Muller said the BV had formed a legal security company as a kind of supercharged Neighbourhood Watch to protect white homes. It was establishing its own radio control centre to be in permanent touch with its mobile armed patrols.

"But if Vlok wants to force us underground, as the ANC was underground, hell, we will like that," he said. "I promise you that if de Klerk comes back to the country and promises one man, one vote there will be war."

Muller revealed that he had joined the InKatha movement of Zulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. "That's the future," he said. "If whites don't side with conservative and moderate blacks now, they've no future. The Zulus will never agree to be ruled by other race groups."

Welkom boasts the municipal motto "Golden Future", but it was not entirely clear this weekend whether the prospects of peaceful co-existence between its blacks and its whites are gilt-edged.



Anthony Sampson

Beware of sentiment among Afrikaners



'THE best hope of successful negotiations in South Africa lies in the return of the Labour Party in Britain.' I was told that 10 days ago, not by a radical British anti-apartheid campaigner, but by an Afrikaner professor of economics who was visiting London.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche (no connection with the right-wing demagogue Eugene Terre'Blanche) comes from the University of Stellenbosch — the heartland of National Party intellectuals — and for many years was an influential adviser to the apartheid government. Now he has decided that the future lies in collaboration with the African National Congress, and he supports the Democratic Party.

His argument is significant because he knows a great deal about the mind of the Afrikaners and the government. He is very sceptical about how far it has changed. And he puts into perspective the meeting between President de Klerk and Mrs Thatcher.

Professor Terreblanche insists that De Klerk hasn't really accepted a fully democratic solution for South Africa; that any real settlement will involve a major transfer of power and resources from whites to blacks; that negotiations will only succeed if the two sides have a closer balance of power; and that only sanctions — and the support of the British Labour Party — can achieve that.

His view is far from unique: but it is important because it comes from the core of Afrikanerdom, and because it provides an antidote to the prevailing euphoria about negotiations.

Sentimentality is always an ominous sign of impending danger; and whenever Afrikaners start being sentimental, you need to watch out for the guns. Now British Conservatives too are talking about dear old De Klerk and Mandela in a way that fills me with foreboding.

Negotiations are about power; and about persuading a whole range of people to agree and trust each other on both sides. Anyone who looks back on the history of South Africa's past sentimental hopes must feel the need for deep scepticism, in the face of the long record of betrayal.

Most Afrikaners would argue that it was the blacks who started it all: when in 1838 the Zulu chief Dingane invited the Boer leader Piet Retief and his followers to make a treaty, leaving their guns outside, and then slaughtered them.

It was that slaughter which led to the Vow of the Covenant, by which Afrikaners swore their loyalty to God if he would deliver their enemies; which God duly did when the Boers massacred 3,000 Zulus soon afterwards,

at the Battle of Blood River.

The blacks on their side have seen their own setbacks in terms of betrayal: whether the betrayal of the Act of Union which created South Africa, when Britain delivered her colonies to the Afrikaners; or the betrayal of countless promises by past Pretoria governments.

Until very recently betrayal has undoubtedly been a key part of Afrikaner strategy; and their governments have claimed to obey the law while unleashing the police and secretly employing death squads to assassinate their enemies. And the betrayal has stretched out to neighbouring governments, with appalling results.

On Wednesday the BBC will show a film, *Gold and the*

Gun, about South Africa's relations with next-door Mozambique, presented by the South African writer Nadine Gordimer. It provides an important reminder of just how treacherous Pretoria's policies can be.

It shows how six years ago De Klerk's predecessor, P. W. Botha emotionally proclaimed the peace agreement with Mozambique, the 'Nkomati Accord': Mozambique would not harbour ANC guerrillas, while South Africa promised to stop any aid to Mozambique's rebel army, Renamo, which was devastating the country. Yet at that time Pretoria was secretly flying 10 planes a night, full of ammunition to Renamo.

The betrayal caused the destruction of a nation, the murder by Renamo of 100,000 people (according to the US State Department); and the building of a 'fence of death' along the frontier, charged with 11,000 volts, which kills 200 would-be refugees a year. Today Pretoria insists that it has finally stopped any military aid to Renamo: yet support is still coming from someone, somewhere in South Africa.

Of course that betrayal was in the past. Today the negotiations inside South Africa must depend on letting bygones be bygones. Mandela has continually stressed the spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness, and in the face of his own ordeal few black leaders can argue with him. The ANC too have had their own excesses which they would like to forget.

Mandela — and his colleague Oliver Tambo in London — still believe that the ANC and the National Party will find common ground, and that there can be a settlement within five years. The white Right will cause many problems; but they will also bring these two central partners close together.

The ANC need all the back-up they can get; for like Piet Retief they will soon have left their guns behind them. They know that, however sincerely De Klerk may have changed his own mind or heart, it is economic pressures that have pushed his government to the conference table.

Despite their crudity and high costs, sanctions with all the consequences — the drying-up of investment and trade — are the only force able to balance the fearful power of the Afrikaner State.

So is Professor Terreblanche right, that the Labour government can provide the best hope? That will depend on the outcome of Mandela's talk to Mrs Thatcher in a month's time. For it could be momentous — if Mrs Thatcher decides to listen.

So far she has not listened, and so has made tragic blunders. For years she refused not only to countenance sanctions, but to talk to the ANC: and stopped anyone in government from doing so. For years she branded them as terrorists, while going out of her way to talk to their most violent black opponent Chief Buthelezi.

And because she never talked to the ANC she expected, as did Pretoria, that Mandela could be detached from them: so that she was shocked when his first speech out of jail exactly followed ANC policy. But Mandela remains more benign towards Mrs Thatcher than most of his colleagues. He accepts that she helped to get him out of jail, and that she has had some influence with De Klerk. He has carefully avoided snubbing her, and genuinely wants to talk to her.

Mrs Thatcher, on her side, is preparing a red-carpet treatment for 2 July. She might even listen to him — which could have far-reaching results. For where Professor Terreblanche is certainly right is in believing that Britain can still play a critical role in making peace in South Africa.

Michael Ignatieff is on holiday.

Mandela remains more benign towards Mrs Thatcher than most of his colleagues. He genuinely wants to talk to her.

S. Africa's Inkatha Dealt Setback

Buthelezi Confidant Resigns High Post in Zulu Organization

By Allister Sparks
Special to The Washington Post

JOHANNESBURG, June 1—South Africa's Inkatha movement, a predominantly Zulu organization led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that has long been viewed as a rival to the African National Congress, was dealt a major blow today when its secretary general, Oscar Dhlomo, resigned.

Dhlomo, 47, considered Buthelezi's right-hand man and likely successor, gave no reason for his resignation beyond saying he wanted to devote more time to his family and other interests. But he is known to have been at odds with Buthelezi recently as a result of the Inkatha leader's bitter clashes with the ANC, South Africa's most prominent black nationalist group, and with ANC allies.

Dhlomo said he would leave the Inkatha organization and would also give up his government positions in the segregated black homeland of Kwazulu on June 30. He is minister of education and culture in Kwazulu and a member of its legislative assembly.

Political analysts said tonight that Dhlomo's resignation would be a severe, perhaps crippling, blow to Inkatha at a time when the organ-

ization is losing support within its main power base, the southeastern province of Natal, to the ANC and its allies, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Black opponents of the Inkatha movement have accused it of being soft in its opposition to South Africa's apartheid policy of racial separation and have criticized Buthelezi as authoritarian. Some white South Africans view Inkatha as a relatively moderate organization because of Buthelezi's rejection of socialism and support for nonviolence. In a meeting with President Bush in February, Buthelezi urged the United States to lift sanctions against South Africa.

A former university lecturer with a doctorate in education, Dhlomo was seen as an intellectual in Inkatha, a largely rural-based, tribal organization that has traditionally dominated South Africa's 7 million Zulus. He played a key role in Inkatha's dealings with white businessmen, foreign visitors and other political organizations.

Buthelezi issued a brief statement tonight expressing regret at Dhlomo's resignation and giving no hint of tension between them.

He paid tribute to Dhlomo's work in Inkatha and as head of the Natal-Kwazulu Indaba, a conference of

representatives of the black homeland of Kwazulu and the white provincial council of Natal that developed a plan for joint administration of the province. Despite wide support, the plan was rejected by the Pretoria government.

Dhlomo has been a member of a joint peace committee seeking to end bloody fighting in Natal between Inkatha members and supporters of the ANC and its allies. The fighting has claimed more than 3,500 lives in the last three years.

Committee members representing the United Democratic Front, a coalition of anti-apartheid groups, have said they developed a good relationship with Dhlomo and regarded Buthelezi as the chief stumbling block in the peace efforts.

There was no immediate indication whether Dhlomo would consider joining the ANC or an allied organization, although UDF leader Popo Molefe said tonight he did not believe a man of Dhlomo's abilities could remain inactive during a crucial period in South Africa.

"A man of his experience and standing will not be able to have a long rest before he is approached to take up an influential position in politics," said Peter Gastrow, a member of the white liberal Democratic Party from Natal Province.

SOUTHSCAN Vol.5 No.20 MAY 25 1990

US report describes an ecological nightmare in S.African homelands

WASHINGTON/ Apartheid has turned South Africa into an ecological nightmare of acid rain, water pollution, excessive mining and overdependence on polluting sources of energy, according to a new report by the Worldwatch Institute.

The report, released on May 12 by the prestigious environmental institute, blasts the white regime in South Africa for creating "ecological wastelands" in the name of "homelands", a correspondent here reports.

Reckless mining has been encouraged by the state to support the expensive and wasteful apartheid system and the military superstructure, says Alan Durning,

the report's author.

The homelands are unable to sustain the people and forests are being stripped bare because of the high per capita fuel consumption of between 200-800 kg annually.

Environmental degradation of the homelands stems from four interrelated factors - poor land, forced overpopulation, labour shortages and poverty.

South Africa is the principal producer of gold, chromite and platinum; second in manganese; third in uranium; fourth in antimony and fifth in diamonds. The mineral industry contributes two-thirds of South Africa's export earnings.

The country's 450 mine dumps cover about 10,000 hectares and hold about 20 billion tons of rocky waste, the report says. Most of the brunt of the damage from mining is borne by the black communities living in shantytowns nearby. The squatter towns are downstream and down-

wind from the mines.

Uranium extraction exposes people to cancer-causing radium and radon that commonly leak from uranium mine waste.

Apart from the hazardous waste, black miners face life-threatening conditions underground. Since the beginning of the century about 46,000 workers have died in the mines. "For every ton of gold South Africa extracts, a black miner dies in an accident," the report says.

Chemical industries are equally reckless in their disregard for safety measures. South Africa is the world's fourth largest producer of asbestos. It continues to use polyurethane foam as an insulating material in the mines after it was banned from mines in Europe because it is extremely hazardous when it burns.

South Africa's pattern of energy consumption makes the ruling whites the world's worst greenhouse offenders. A white South African generates nine tons of carbon dioxide annually compared to five tons in the US and a world average of one ton.

The high emission of carbon dioxide is related to the high dependence of South Africa on coal. Suppressed mine wages keep coal prices low and promotes waste leading to global warming.

Sulphur dioxide emissions are at the rate of 31 tons per square kilometre and are higher than East Germany.

"The state has created an ecologically disastrous coal-to-oil synthetic fuels programme. It has secured oil imports (banned by the United Nations) by linking them to cheap coal exports, augmenting energy waste overseas," says the report.

South Africa's destabilisation of its neighbours also has led to ecological damage. The wars in Angola and Mozambique have "laid waste vast areas and filled refugee camps with at least four million people who strip the land bare for food and shelter," the report says.

Worldwatch accepts reports claiming the South African military helped Angola's Unita rebels to kill elephants for their ivory to help finance the war.

The report concludes that the ending of apartheid would resolve some of the environmental problems automatically but that would still leave the "volatile issue of land redistribution".

May 1990

Cosatu Executive Resolution on the Natal Violence

After considering reports from all our structures in Natal it was resolved that:

Noting:

1. The war being waged by Inkatha warlords and the Kwa-Zulu police against our people in Natal has resulted in thousands being murdered and tens of thousands of internal refugees.
2. Our members have been greatly affected by this violence.
3. The security forces are actively sponsoring and supporting the vigilantes and warlords.
4. The Cosatu and UDF have consistently worked for peace through negotiations with Inkatha on means to end this violence.
5. That all our efforts at negotiations are being undermined and rejected by Buthelezi whose verbal abuse of Cosatu is creating a climate for violence against our people.

Believing that:

1. Our commitment to peace can only be secured by an environment of security and therefore does not exclude our right to self defence.
2. National solidarity action is urgently needed to defend our people in Natal.

Resolves:

1. To demand that all warlords be immediately arrested and jailed without option of bail and put on trial for murder, arson and violence.
2. To demand the appointment of an independent commission of inquiry into the role of the police in the continuing violence.
3. The Kwazulu Police be abolished.
4. The Bantustan system be dismantled.
5. Cosatu investigate laying charges against leaders of Inkatha.

Furthermore it was resolved:

1. Cosatu mobilise an immediate national programme of mass action and take the following steps:
 - (i) Convene a national conference in Natal with our allies to finalise our programme of mass action.
 - (ii) All Cosatu structures from factory to local, regional and national level discuss action to defend our comrades in Natal.
 - (iii) Cosatu set up defence committees at all levels of the organization.
 - (iv) Cosatu launch an international campaign to expose the role of Inkatha in the violence.
 - (v) Cosatu calls on international bodies such as the ILO, United Nations, Commonwealth EEC, Non Aligned Movement and the OAU to take decisive action against Inkatha on the issue violence in Natal. To this effect Cosatu must dispatch delegations overseas to brief the international community.
 - (vi) To declare the 1st week of July a week of National Mass Action in support of our peace loving people in Natal if the regime and Inkatha do not take decisive action to end the violence in Natal.

ANC and unions call on De Klerk:

'Strip Buthelezi of police powers!'

By CARMEL RICKARD

THE African National Congress and Cosatu yesterday called on the government to strip kwaZulu's chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his powers as kwaZulu's minister of police and to disband the kwaZulu Police.

The call has catapulted the Natal crisis into the forefront of government-ANC negotiations and is set to become the first serious test of the Grootte Schuur "accord".

Under the slogan "disarm Buthelezi", the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions launched the offensive yesterday, claiming the only way to peace was to abolish the KZP.

Cosatu added to the pressure with a resolution backing a week-long national stayaway unless strong action is taken to end Natal violence.

ANC southern Natal convenor Terror Lekota told the *Weekly Mail*: "It is our view that the government, which has provided Chief Buthelezi with a police force, must now take the responsibility to disarm him so that we may engage in open political activity."

He said both sides undertook to do what they could to end the violence.

For its part the ANC had agreed "to look hard at the question of the armed struggle". However, the government had to play its part. Not only should the South African Police be curbed, but they should also take steps to curb the "violence from kwaZulu".

"We can play our part in holding back our people. But the government must do the same."

Lekota said the KZP was "killing our people".

Yesterday the Joint Working Committee, consisting of United Democratic Front and Cosatu members delegated to deal with ways of ending the violence, issued an edition of *Umbumbano*, its official mouthpiece, saying the people of Natal had "had enough of murder, rape, assassinations and plunder at the hands of the KZP, the SAP, SADF, warlords and vigilantes".

Previous attempts at organising peace talks with Buthelezi were listed, with claims he "found one excuse after another to avoid peace talks".

"What is happening in Natal is the worst na-

WEEKLY MAIL, May 18 to May 24 1990

'Strip Buthelezi of power'

●From PAGE 1

tional crisis of our time. Only united mass action throughout South Africa can end it. We have struggled together nationally to achieve many victories. We are saying now 'let us struggle together now to end the war in Natal'."

The demands listed in *Umbumbano* are that the KZP be abolished, that an impartial peace-keeping reside in the affected areas, and for a judicial inquiry into the role of the police.

Cosatu's regional secretary Thami Mhlomi said the ANC and Cosatu were still open to peace talks with Buthelezi, but it was essential there be action "to curb the security forces". He said if there was no such action, Cosatu would organise a week-long national protest. This would be discussed by the ANC and its allies.

While the ANC complains that its members are the victims of a massive sustained onslaught by the KZP and other security forces, Inkatha is compiling a detailed dossier of their members, some senior, who have been killed by the other side.

Among these victims is prominent Inkatha member and Imbali councillor

Jerome Mncwabe, killed on Wednesday night.

Police said he was shot by two unknown men outside his house.

Last night Buthelezi described the ANC call as a concerted campaign to "further unsuccessfully attempt to destabilise the kwaZulu government and my leadership role".

"What they are doing is playing party political games with people's lives and I will have no part in it."

Buthelezi said he was alarmed by the threat of a stayaway which, he said, had in the past resulted in bloodshed.

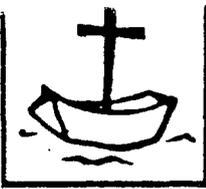
"This is not democratic political action at work.

"I plead with the ANC, UDF, Cosatu and others who share their agendas to stop whipping up tensions," he said.

"Negotiate problems. Contact me personally. Walk into my office and talk about them but don't create a situation where you have to walk over bodies before you do so."



Chief Buthelezi



ECUNEWS

The News Service of the South African Council of Churches

January / February 1990

Ecumenical Meeting Urges Continued Pressure On South Africa

At the invitation of the World Council of Churches, about 50 people from church and anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa and its neighbours, Europe, North America, and Asia met for two days in Harare (16 - 17 February).

Considering common responses to the "new dynamics in the struggle for justice, freedom and peace in South Africa created by recent events there", symbolised by the release earlier this month of black leader Nelson Mandela after more than a quarter century in prison, participants concluded, among other things, that now is not the time to relax pressure for change on the South African government.

According to the analysis of the group, "the apartheid regime is presently facing its most severe crisis as a result of persistent internal pressure in the form of opposition and defiance... and of external boycotts, sanctions, and other actions to isolate the regime. It is recognised, even by the regime itself, that apartheid has no future."

Though rejoicing at the release of Mandela and other government decisions which "go part of the way meeting the conditions required to create a climate conducive for negotiations to end apartheid", the consultation warned that "the present euphoria should not blind us to the unchanged realities which continue".

For example, the consultation noted, "the apartheid regime is still in place and power remains exclusively in the hand of the white minority, the main legislative pillars of apartheid such as the Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act remain untouched and the security apparatus of the state is still intact, and repressive legislation remains in force".

Reiterating nine "fundamental principles" for a "united, non-racial, and democratic South Africa" as summarised in a UN General Assembly declaration last December, the

Continued on Page 3



Archbishop Dennis Hurley prays for families during a Christmas service at war-torn Pietermaritzburg.

Picture by: Guy Tillim - Afrapix

Sacc church leaders vow to resist Foreign Funding Act

The Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre (WFC) is the first church organisation to be declared by the South African government as a Reporting Organisation in terms of Section 3 (1) of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act of 1989. The Act requires organisations or persons to disclose all the funds they receive from outside the country with the intention of monitoring these funds.

WFC was one of the organisations threatened with this Act in 1989. The others were the Kagiso Trust and The Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa) and the End Conscription Campaign (ECC).

The WFC was declared a reporting organisation on January 10 by the Registrar of Reporting Organisations and Persons. The foreign funding Act is one of the repression laws which President de Klerk's speech on February 2 did not address.

This has raised concern in church circles linked to the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre and the SACC, prompting both organisations to call for an urgent church leaders meeting to discuss the matter. - Continued on Page 3

Cont. from Page 1. -

Ecumenical pressure on SA.

consultation called them "universally accepted objectives which we as churches fully support"

It added that "only when appropriate and effective mechanisms for the achievement of these objectives are established, and the transition to a fully non-racial, democratic South Africa is ensured, can the isolation of the apartheid regime and sanctions against it cease".

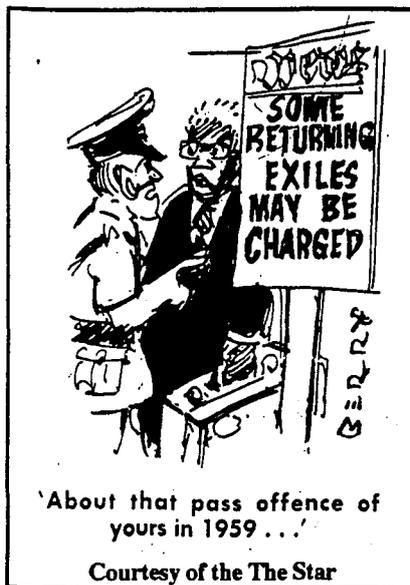
After outlining the role of the church in fostering the changes under way the consultation called on "the South African regime to create a climate conducive for negotiations, to make a commitment for the total dismantling of apartheid, and to enter into genuine negotiations".

It urged "the international community" to intensify sanctions and other pressures ... in order to hasten the transformation of South Africa into a just society", to support soon-to-be-independent Namibia, and to help countries around South Africa to rebuild their economies and societies.

Referring in particular to the United Kingdom, the consultation condemned governments which are "taking steps to relax existing pressures on South Africa in breach of internationally-accepted agreements".

It also supported the call by Mandela for "the unity of the oppressed", and urged WCC action in several areas, including providing "channels for the political support of the liberation movement" -

EPS



- Cont. from Page 1 -

Church leaders on Funding Act

This has raised concern in church circles linked to the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre and the SACC, prompting both organisations to call for an urgent church leaders meeting to discuss the matter

In rejecting the latest government move, the church leaders released a statement with a strong warning of resistance against the Act.

In the statement, released after a day-long meeting, the leaders declared among other things that:

The State has no right to interfere in the lifem witness and legitimate work of the Church because when it does it places itself on the side of the anti-Christ forces.

This action of the state is a regress to the methods of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd (once SA Prime Minister) and his attack on the church through the infamous "Church clause"

Like the church then, we now stand united in our total opposition to this iniquitous legislation.

The leaders called for all the members of the SACC and other organisations inside and outside South Africa to resist the act until the government repeals it.

Meanwhile, WFC has exchanged letters with the Registrar and the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, in an attempt to resolve the matter without creating an 'unpleasant Church and State confrontation'. WFC has also consulted its overseas ecumenical and donor partners and foreign Embassies. WFC has called on de Klerk to take immediate steps to suspend this declaration and subsequently, the ACT.

In a letter sent to De Klerk, the Centre said "As guardians of the Constitution and its preamble we believe that, in the light of your new rapprochement with the Churches, you will take seriously their past public pronouncements that they regard the giving and receiving of funds worldwide as an exercise of their faith and practice of religion which the State through this specific act should neither limit nor control."

A representative of the Centre also said that they have replied to two letters from the Registrar in which they refuted the need for action and, further, alerted him to the harm which would be forthcoming if he were to declare the WFC a Reporting Organisation in terms of the Act.

"As a Church-based organisation established and operating lawfully since 1948 our overseas donors have informed the Registrar that they have obtained complete financial reporting on the receipt and expenditure of their funds in fulfillment of mutual contracts and do not require the services of the Registrar to ensure this. In addition all our work and practices have been open to public scrutiny and reporting", the letter stated.

It also explained that WFC mission seeks to evolve a non-racial and democratic South Africa through appropriate models of change within the South African situation by ministering through its programmes to all oppressed groups, so as to promote ecumenism and co-operation amongst community and institutional groups by providing an environment conducive for action and reflection.

"We firmly believe that a meeting with leaders of Churches more directly involved with Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre may resolve what can become a difficult situation because, on the basis of Christian principle, the Churches have already indicated that they will have to counsel civil disobedience to their members as regards the application of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act" concluded the letter.

In the mid seventies the WFC was investigated by the Schelebusch Commission which investigated many anti-apartheid organisations and led to the declaration of some, such as NUSAS, as "affected organisation".

The declaration meant that "affected organisations" could not raise money outside South Africa. No action was taken against the WFC at that time even though Prime Minister Vorster referred to it as "a den of iniquities". The 'iniquities' referred to were the centre's persistent work on fostering non-racialism in church and society through workshops and other programmes, and the fact that it was a meeting centre for the then emerging black consciousness organisations.

MDM and Ama-Afrika in Uitenhage stop the war

By Thabo Daniels

While peace seems to be elusive in the strife-torn province of Natal, representatives of the rival political groups - UDF and Ama-Afrika - this month signed a peace accord ending the five-year old fracticidal battle in Uitenhage black townships in the Eastern Cape.

The signing of the peace accord and the full commitment by both parties that there will be no more fighting between the members of UDF and Ama-Afrika came through the involvement of official members of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress following fierce fighting in the area.

The fighting in the area has within a week this month (February) claimed 19 lives and left scores of people injured in a renewed territorial violence between members of Ama-Afrika and the United Democratic Front. Nine UDF supporters and 10 Ama-Afrika members died.

This was one of several peace initiatives - like in Natal - that have taken place in the last two years between the two groups in a bid to defuse the conflicts that has divided the small community of Uitenhage society almost over all political issues.

Representatives from the MDM and PAM signed the accord which was witnessed by the recently released ANC leader, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, PAC's Mr Jeff Masemola and Midland Chamber of Industries officials who mediated between the two groups.

The MCI's concern in this conflict was as a result of the effect it had on the production of industry in the area.

Recently, workers affiliated to trade unions and organisations attached to the MDM stayed away from work in industries such as Volkswagen, the major employer in Uitenhage to avoid attacks by Ama-Afrika. Ama-Afrika are alleged to have attacked UDF people celebrating on the eve of Mr Nelson Mandela's release.

Between November and December, the area had four weeks of unabated violence. The MDM urged the business community, the Consultative Business Movement in Grahamstown to intervene in an attempt to stop the fighting. These talks were aborted as each side continued to fight at schools and in other political activities organised within their communities.

Clergy was called in but the violence between the two groups could not stop. The South African government also set up a commission to resolve the alleged collusion of the security forces with Ama-Afrika. These attempts failed and prompted the MDM representative, Mr Mike Xhego, to repeat the national position of the anti-apartheid organisations that these ongoing feuds are "part of the state strategy of informal forms of repression" launched in the past years to destabilise extra-parliamentary organisations and alternative structures.

The Uitenhage peace process could well set a precedent to resolve political conflicts in other parts of the country, reports Justice Sigonyela. Early indications are that the peace pact signed in the weekend of February 17 and 18, 1990 is holding. On February 24, both sides buried their dead without an incident.

An estimated 30 000 UDF supporters held a mass funeral service at Jabavu Stadium in Uitenhage to bury nine of their supporters killed in the previous weekend's violence, while about 1 000 Ama-Afrika followers buried 10 of their people who died from the same violence. There were no reports of provocation or attacks after the funerals.

The part of the peace accord package included a campaign of political education to inculcate democratic principles and practices, "revolutionary discipline" and "constructive and analytical consciousness". It was also decided that a joint MDM and PAM peace commission will be set up and will meet twice a month. Local business organisation has agreed to assist by setting-up a secretariat for the peace commission.

Announcing the decision to support the peace commission, president of the MIC, Mr Brian Rayner, hailed the accord and said it was a crucial first step to ensure long-term harmony. - Pen

Military Coup follows Ciskei political upheaval

The Ciskei government became the second homeland state in South Africa to be deposed successfully by the military since the Transkei military coup early in 1989.

In the absence of his master, President Lennox Sebe, General OJ Gqozo staged a successful bloodless coup on March 4, 1990 ordering house arrest to certain cabinet ministers.

South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha had said in a statement released on Sunday March 4, 1990 that the SA government is not going to intervene in the coup. Following reports of violence, SA's National Security Council considered to intervene.

Organisations including the Border Council of Churches has asked for people to calm.

General Gqozo was reported by local radio station as having been the Ciskei military attache in Pretoria until early this year. It was also reported that rebel brother of President Sebe and former Ciskei's security chief, General Charles Sebe could be linked to the coup as he was seen the previous day in the area of Fort Hare University in Alice.

Since General Sebe left Transkei, rumour has it that he has been seen traveling between Durban and Pretoria frequently.

Ciskei has been one of SA's "Bantustans" who are currently under political turmoil as its citizens are calling for democracy and return to South Africa. Currently, Ciskei security forces have arrested hundreds of people from small villages who have refused to be part of any Ciskei government structure.

In 1988, Ciskei survived a coup following a power-struggle between General Charles Sebe and his brother, President Sebe. General Sebe fled to Transkei where he was granted political asylum.

SACC launches a campaign against death squads camps

'At this time of the year when we think of God's identification with the oppressed, we feel duty-bound to publicly express our solidarity with those that have suffered at the hands of the alleged death squads', said the SACC in a statement read by Bishop Bruce Evans, the Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth at a press conference called to announce church action on the death squad issue.

'The initial police reactions to the revelations of death squads, their attempts to make categorical denials without any proper investigations and their latest attempts to blame an extreme right-wing group for the attacks on anti-apartheid activists, have convinced us that we should not expect justice from those whose duty it is to defend injustice. What Bishop Peter Storey said after the bombing of Khotso House, that an immoral system cannot be defended by moral means, has been proven by events to have been deadlly accurate', said the statement.

Mrs Rose Moshoke, 45, related how her son died mysteriously after he was captured by South Africa's security forces. Mrs Moshoke was told that her son, Benedict who was 18 years-old then, had hanged himself in his cell.

It took her three frustrating weeks searching for her son's body that she eventually found at the white section of the Gliberdal mortuary many miles from where he had died.

It turned out that Benedict had a fractured skull and had broken both of his legs, said Mrs Moshoke. She had reasons to believe that her son could have been among those ex-guerillas that refused to serve in the governments death squads and had to be eliminated as a result.

The press conference was called to highlight the fact that if police are allowed to capture guerillas and not bring them to court but decide what to do with them, there would always be fertile recruiting ground for members of death squads. Factors that make the recruitment of people into death squads have to be removed, said the SACC in a statement.

'Primary amongst these factors, is the fact that the security forces can detain a returning cadre in the bush or in



Victim of apartheid ... Mrs Rose Moshoke, 45, (striped sweater) is seen here addressing a press conference called by the South African Council of Churches in a campaign to expose police death squads camps. Moshoke is one of the relatives or families of anti-apartheid activists who either vanished or died under mysterious conditions after reportedly being captured or ambushed by South Africa's security forces. Sitting next to her is the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Rev Dr Frank Chikane, Black Sash and SACC executive member, Mrs Sheena Duncan. Behind them is from the left: Ms Maggie Friedman, Rev Mcebisi Xundu and partly obscured is Mrs Ivy Gcina and Mrs Mbuyi Mhlawuli.

their hide-out and take him or her to a camp whose primary aim is not rehabilitation in any sense of the word, as the police would like us to believe', said the statement further.

A few days before the press conference was held, the head of the Police, General Johan van der Merwe told the media that the SACC was about to launch a propaganda campaign against the police in which it would be alleged that the police are turning captured guerillas into killing machines.

He quoted selectively from a document sent by the General Secretary of the SACC to member churches of the SACC informing them of the press conference.

Obviously the police intercepted the document that was sent by fax. General van der Merwe said that it was ridiculous to claim that captured guerillas were forced into the police training camps where they were turned into killing machines because many of these captured guerillas gave evidence in the courts where they were cross examined and invariably found to be loyal members of the security forces.

Captured cadres found themselves at the complete mercy of their captors with no recourse to law or any other source of relief, said the SACC in a statement. 'This situation alone con-

stitutes extreme coercion against those captured by the security forces. Given the fact that this situation has prevailed over a number of years without any hope of exposure, we believe, therefore, that many who are in training camps such as Vlakplaas are there because they had no recourse to any source of relief from their captivity or from whatever their captors may have done or threatened to do to them', said the SACC in its statement.

The press conference was also attended by Mrs Ivy Gcina of Port Elizabeth who lost two sons in security forces ambushes on different occasions. Ms Maggie Friedman, Dr David Webster's girlfriend who was with him when he was gunned down and Mrs Mbuyi Mhlawuli, wife of one of the Cradock leaders who were assassinated in Port Elizabeth.

Programmes such as the Dependents Conference, the departments of Refugees Ministries and Justice and Reconciliation, have put the churches in touch with the pain of individuals and families that have lost relatives through assassinations or mysterious disappearances, said the SACC statement.

To address the anxieties and pain of parents whose children have disappeared and those who have become vic-

Continued on Page 28

From Page 10

tims of death squads the SACC demanded that:

- * Those captured and subsequently joined the security forces be in contact with their families and not kept in secret camps to prove that whatever they are doing for the security forces is done voluntarily;
- * That names of all the captives in these camps be released immediately;
- * That a delegation of churches, concerned community organisations, and affected family members be allowed to inspect these camps in order to make sure that no one is held in them by some coercive measure or another. If these people are held voluntarily, the security forces have nothing to fear in this regard.

If these people are held voluntarily as the security forces claim, the security forces will accede to these demands for they will have nothing to or to hide, said the statement.

The SACC also appealed to the United Nations, Foreign Embassies in South Africa and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to intervene in the matter of ex-guerillas that are captured by the South African security forces and made to join the death squads.

In letters addressed to the Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation, Dr Javier Perez de Cuellar and to the Head of Delegation in the International Committee of the Red Cross, Mr Dominique Dufour, the SACC said the captives have been denied the rights to legal recourse.

'By interning people in these camps instead of charging them before a court of law, the South African police have placed themselves above the law', the letters said.

The letter said these people are effectively prisoners held for indefinite periods and undergo extreme coercion to the point where they have no choice except to become assassins.

'They are effectively trained as killing-machines under the guise of "counter terrorism". In the process, they have become dehumanised and completely alienated from their families and social support bases', the letter continued.

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