



EPISCOPAL CHURCHPEOPLE for a FREE SOUTHERN AFRICA

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CHOICES

Two widely differing representatives from South Africa visit the USA this summer. One, already here, consists of members and affiliates of the country's millions-strong opposition, the United Democratic Front. Many of the delegation suffer under draconian Pretorian restrictions and were given permission only for this trip. Most prominent is Ms Albertina Sisulu, one of UDF's three co-presidents and wife of long-imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu. They see President George Bush today, firm in their insistence on comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against South Africa to enforce the demolition of apartheid.

Next expected in Washington - late July it is said - is the heir apparent as ruler of the South African regime, Frederik W. de Klerk. He is the leader of the National Party which is almost assured of being able to hang onto power in whites-only elections on 6 September. De Klerk is due to meet with Secretary of State James Baker and the 'possibility' of a session with Bush is talked about. The South African comes bearing a 'Plan of Action' wildly adopted by a National Party congress in Pretoria yesterday. The manifesto is a mishmash of perennial utterances by the rulers of the apartheid state. Talk of 'democracy' and 'no domination', and much talk of two standbys of Pretoriaspeak: 'consensus' (all races in some sort of national 'dispensation' must be in agreement on issues and legislation, effectively giving the whites veto power) and 'group rights', the current euphemism for apartheid.

De Klerk has just returned from a journey to London, Bonn, Rome and Lisbon, saying he was 'heartened' by the 'realism' expressed by government leaders in those capitals. He gave no details. In Britain he had almost two hours with Prime Minister Thatcher but no respite from London's well-informed and vigorous anti-apartheid activists who knew his schedule and dogged his every move. He didn't show up for an evening at the theatre, cancelled a t.v. interview and his press conference at South Africa House consisted of his reading a statement then fleeing the press room. The Pretorians can't take it anymore. What can they say?

Now for the big one. De Klerk has strewn rose petals ahead of his path to America. He granted passports to the UDF delegation and his Plan of Action is supposed to disarm the anti-apartheid movement with its insistence on mandatory economic sanctions. Pretorians have uttered a steady flow of assurances that apartheid is being dismantled, is dying, is dead, going way back 15 years to Balthazar Vorster. At the end of May, Foreign Minister Pike Botha flew to Rome to see Secretary Baker who was on mission with the President. Botha came out, mugging the t.v. cameras and asserting 'The South African Government has accepted that apartheid must be dismantled and white domination must end. If that isn't enough I don't know what is enough.' (cf: Plan of Action).

The Bush administration is busy consulting with Congress on the matter of deepest concern for both Washington and Pretoria - sanctions. How to stave off total and strictly enforced laws? The choice is to follow de Klerk or the UDF. The decision depends on the effort we Americans put in pressing the Congress.

Thatcher to meet the ambassador of modern apartheid

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

WHEN Mrs Thatcher meets South Africa's new National Party leader, Mr F. W. de Klerk, today she might be well advised to remember that she will be facing something of a master in the didactics of apartheid.

Whatever doubts one might have about Mr De Klerk's qualifications for the presidency of South Africa, he is unquestionably well-suited to the ambassadorial role. And, unless Mrs Thatcher proves particularly perceptive and incisive, he is likely to leave the Prime



De Klerk... Leading spokesman for Pretoria

Minister much reassured about the future of the sub-continent under his rule.

Mr De Klerk's talents as a champion of National Party policy have been finely honed in recent years by his parliamentary experience — of dealing not only with attacks from the left, to which he is long accustomed, but from the new rightwing official opposition, which is well qualified to exploit inconsistencies in a government from the ranks out of which it was born.

There is no doubt about his own conservatism. As recently as March last year, for example, he committed the National Party to the maintenance of whites-only beaches. In 1987, he called on whites to report to police any people of colour breaking the country's residential segregation laws. He is reputed to have stalled on government attempts to repeal the laws against miscegenation and attempted to maintain a bar on multiracial political activities.

THE GUARDIAN
Friday June 23 1989

But Mr De Klerk is ever a pragmatist, usually backing off before a disagreement — particularly within his own party — can develop into too damaging a controversy. Described as "the man who leaves no footprints," he rarely runs the risk of stepping out of line.

An extremely capable debater, the hallmarks of his political style are meticulousness and caution — both of which he brings to bear in his defence of the concepts which lie at the heart of his government's modern racial policies.

He might well be nicknamed Mr Own Affairs, because this notion — the "rights" of groups to maintain responsibility for their "own affairs" — is the anchor of Mr De Klerk's political philosophy, as it is of his party's. Dressed up perversely in the rhetoric of civil liberties, it is a more sophisticated rationale for segregation than the old Verwoedian dogma.

"My party strives for a non-racialistic country, a country free of racism, of racial hatred, free of negative discrimination on the basis of race," Mr De Klerk said earlier this year. "White domination must end," he declared in 1987.

Behind such Lincoln-like statements lies a rationale: "If we do not succeed in bringing about the freedom of all the other people in this country... our freedom can never be secure," he said in 1987. "A balance has to be struck between political emancipation of non-independent blacks and the effective protection of existing rights and freedoms of our own people," he added.

The racial basis is inescapable. "The NP is committed to developing self-determination on a group and ethnic basis. We are not prepared to narrow down that self-determination," he said in 1987.

"All the lip-service being paid to a so-called non-racial society is pure nonsense. There is no such thing as a non-racial society in a multi-racial country," he said earlier this year. "Is the special accommodation of the Scottish people, within the British constitutional framework, apartheid?" he demanded last year.

Segregation is founded in practicalities. "... The question of separate facilities is not an end in itself... it is not a principle... it is in fact justified for the purpose of preventing friction, conflict and over-crowding," he declared last year.

And it is not only residential segregation which is assured. "As long as the majority of white voters vote for the National Party, we — because this is fundamental to group security — shall not throw the white government schools open," he pledged in 1987.

They are some of the political utterances of the man who said, in an interview last year: "I'm a fairly straight-forward chap." It might be a mistake for Mrs Thatcher to believe him.

THE GUARDIAN
Friday June 23 1989

ANC opens campaign of defiance

Victoria Brittain

AN ESCALATION of the armed struggle, and a mass defiance campaign breaking the state of emergency rules, are being planned in South Africa, according to senior ANC officials.

Mass defiance has already begun. Mr Aziz Pahad, an official from the ANC's national executive committee, said in London yesterday. He cited the recent funeral of the murdered academic, David Webster, where banned individuals broke their house arrest rules, leaders of banned organisations spoke out openly, and ANC flags were everywhere.

"The organisations have readjusted to the repression," he said.

Simultaneously, the ANC, in an effort to seize the initiative on negotiations with the regime, and pre-empt initiatives being put forward by the British Government and others, is circulating a discussion document on talks to organisations within South Africa.

"The question of the aims of such negotiations, the pre-conditions, who should be at the table, how hostilities will be ended and a transitional government set up, are among the issues put forward," Mr Pahad said.

The process of consultation on this document carries forward the consultation process begun in 1987 and aims to produce a joint position from a wide spectrum of opinion which has in common only a commitment to a non-racial, democratic, unified South Africa.

The ANC's Freedom Charter is not, the official underlined, the necessary basis for such a coalition to agree on the way forward for South Africa to move out of its present grave

crisis. Mr F. W. de Klerk, the new leader of the National Party, who is due to see Mrs Thatcher today, was not dealing with the fundamental issues, he said.

"Central to all the reforms being proposed is the concept of group rights. We reject the concept," Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC's president, said earlier this week. Mr Pahad, amplifying Mr Tambo's remarks, said: "The current situation is worse than ever and cannot be allowed to continue."

He cited the 27 per cent increase in the military budget, the bannings of 32 organisations, death squads within the country such as those who murdered David Webster, and the "Red Alert" in the ANC's offices across the Frontline states in response to a spate of poisonings and bombings in recent weeks.

He revealed that this week the Lusaka building housing the secretary and treasurer of the ANC had been bombed.

The case of Mr Webster, who carried British passport no C423432, issued in Johannesburg in November, 1985, was not expected to be raised during Mr De Klerk's visit, a Foreign Office spokesman said.

The Rev Frank Chikane, secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, said yesterday he was shocked by the British Government's decision to meet Mr De Klerk.

"In the last year or so the British Government has not met any leaders of the organisations opposed to the apartheid system at the level of the Prime Minister," he said.

"This bias brings into question Mrs Thatcher's purported position of wanting to play a mediating role."

Mr Pahad's briefing made it clear that no intermediaries would be acceptable in getting negotiations going with the regime.

**FOR YOUR INFORMATION, I PROVIDE A SECTION-BY-SECTION SUMMARY OF
THE ANTI-APARTHEID ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1989**
For further information, call Bob Brauer, (202) 225-2661

Robert V. Dellen
M.C.

**TITLE I - SANCTIONS AGAINST INVESTMENT IN, AND
EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA**

PART A - Amendments to the 1986 Act

Section 101. Prohibitions on investment in South Africa. Mandatory disinvestment of all U.S. companies and assets in South Africa except from companies which are 90% controlled by South Africans who are disadvantaged by apartheid. Emigrant non-resident assets controlled by the South African government are exempted.

Section 102. Prohibition on all exports to South Africa, with the exceptions of publications, goods to relieve human suffering, sales of agricultural commodities and economic assistance for disadvantaged South Africans.

Section 103. Amends Certain Provisions of the 1986 Act. Ban on all loans, extensions of credit, and short-term trade financing. Companies divesting from South Africa must negotiate with employee organizations regarding termination of investment.

Section 104. Prohibition on U.S. intelligence and military cooperation with South Africa.

Section 105. Prohibition on nuclear assistance to South Africa. Prohibits nuclear trade with South Africa.

Section 106. Independence of Namibia. One of the conditions for lifting sanctions will be the withdrawal of South African troops from illegally-occupied Namibia, and the implementation of UN Resolution 435 for the independence of Namibia.

Section 107. Penalties. Establishes penalties for violation of the Act.

Section 108. Coordinator of South Africa sanctions; Inter-agency Coordinating Committee on South Africa. Establishment of the position of Coordinator of South Africa Sanctions within the Department of State. This section addresses one of the weaknesses of the current sanctions law—that there is no one person or agency responsible for its implementation.

Section 109. Measures to Assist Victims of Apartheid. Amends 1986 Act to conform with measures in this bill.

Section 110. Assistance for Disadvantaged South Africans. Authorizes \$40 million for economic support for disadvantaged South Africans, including scholarships, participation in trade unions and private enterprise activities, alternative education, community development programs and assistance for journalists.

Section 111. Restrictions Regarding Involvement in the South African Energy Sector. Multinational companies that invest in South Africa or export petroleum products to South Africa will not be allowed U.S. federal oil, coal, and natural gas leases or permits. Furthermore, petroleum products may not be transported to South Africa on U.S. registered ships.

PART B - Policy Statements, Reports, Studies

Section 121. Sense of Congress Regarding Antitrust Investigations of South African Diamond Cartel and Study of Diamond Origins. A non-binding provision calls on the President to investigate whether the DeBeers diamond cartel violates U.S. anti-trust laws, and whether it would be feasible to identify diamonds by their country of origin when they enter the U.S.

Section 122. Sense of Congress Regarding South African Consulates and approval of Visas. Closes two of South Africa's consulates general and forbid South Africa from expanding the staff of its embassy. Approval of temporary U.S. visas to South Africans to be on a case-by-case basis after

scrutiny of South African government's policy of restricting the travel of its citizens who oppose apartheid.

Section 123. Study of Measures to Reduce South Africa's Foreign Exchange Earnings from Gold.

Section 124. Report On South Africa's Involvement in International Terrorism.

**TITLE II - SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN
IMPORTS INTO THE UNITED STATES**

Section 201. Prohibitions on Imports From South Africa. No article which is grown, produced, extracted, or manufactured in South Africa may be imported into the United States. Exempted from this are strategic minerals if the President certifies that "the quantities of such mineral which are essential for the economy, public health, or defense of the United States are not available from alternative reliable suppliers."

Publications, including books, newspapers, magazines, films, television programming phonograph records and other such materials are also exempt from the ban.

Section 202. Multilateral Measures, Including Import Restrictions, To Dismantle Apartheid. The President shall confer with other industrialized democracies to reach agreement to impose sanctions. The President shall instruct the U.S. representative to the U.N. to propose sanctions against South Africa similar to those imposed under U.S. Law. Requires that the President impose penalties against a foreign person who takes significant commercial advantage of U.S. sanctions.

Section 203. Referral in the House of Joint Resolutions Pertaining Import Restrictions. Requires that any joint resolution lifting the restrictions be sent to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Any joint resolution suspending or modifying, approving or enacting any import restriction must be sent to both the Committee on Ways and Means and the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Section 204. Reports on United States Imports from Member States of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Thirty days after passage of this Act, the Secretary of Commerce shall report to the Congress the average amounts of imports of coal or strategic and critical materials coming into the United States from each member and observer country of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

Section 205. Program to Reduce Dependence Upon Importation of Strategic Minerals From South Africa. The President shall determine whether adequate quantities of such materials could be reasonably be obtained from alternative reliable domestic and foreign sources and from improved and effective methods of manufacturing, substituting, conserving recovering, and recycling of strategic materials.

Section 206. Preventing circumvention of United States Import Restrictions. The President shall confer with the Frontline States regarding measures to prevent circumvention by South Africa of the import restrictions on South African products.

Ronald V. Dellums
Congress of the United States

Dear Friend:

I am writing to ask your assistance in a vital enterprise. We are poised again to seek passage in Congress of full, comprehensive sanctions against South Africa.

Last year, thanks to your help, the sanctions bill passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 244-132 and passed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. But, it failed to come to the Senate floor.

This year, we are starting first in the Senate. Senator Paul Simon, (D-Ill.), Chairman of the Africa Subcommittee, has introduced a comprehensive sanctions bill (S. 507) in the Senate. He is planning hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in July and hopes for prompt passage by the Committee.

The vote in the Committee, and the subsequent vote by the full Senate will be crucial.

It is imperative that we have a majority of Senate Foreign Relations Committee members committed to support S. 507 by mid-July, and a majority of the full Senate by the first of August. Senate Foreign Relations Committee members are a key to victory. Assured commitments preclude unnecessary compromise.

Once we are assured of a of a Senate floor vote, we will move the bill in the House. We expect to win there. The House process will begin in the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

We are asking every organization and each concerned person to get involved in the effort.

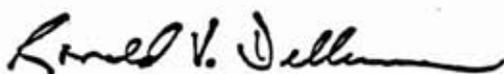
As a first priority, national and regional organizations should focus on those Senators not already committed to support of the bill. Local organizations and individuals should focus on the undecided Senators from their state. The undecided Senators should receive as much mail as possible asking their support. Whenever possible, the Senator or the local staff should also be visited. We would like to know any response that is received.

For those with the capacity, we also ask you to contact your local Congressperson, if he or she is not a cosponsor, and ask them to cosponsor and/or support H.R. 21 (the House version of comprehensive sanctions).

We are at a critical point. If we don't go forward, we could begin to lose ground. I hope we can count on you. Your support is very much appreciated.

If there are any questions, please contact Bob Brauer of my staff at (202) 225-2661.

Sincerely,



Ronald V. Dellums
Member of Congress

New apartheid leader weeps Crocodile tears



De Klerk: Expectations unlikely to be fulfilled

AS F. W. de Klerk, designated South Africa's next president, prepares to visit London and Washington this month, it is becoming clear that he is unlikely to fulfill the high expectations of reform being raised at home and in Western capitals.

Some political observers here believe that this could lead to an international backlash after he takes office.

Partly because he is more poised and relaxed than the forbidding President F. W. Botha — known here as The Big Crocodile — whom he will succeed in September, and partly because of some high-sounding reformist rhetoric after he was named leader of the ruling National Party in February, the impression has gained ground that de Klerk is the man to end apartheid.

In particular, a pledge he made to call a 'Great Indaba', or all-race national convention, to work out a new constitution caught the imagination of many who are anxious to see South Africa change.

It is a reflection of these hopes that de Klerk is the first leader of South Africa's

ALLISTER SPARKS in Johannesburg casts doubt on F. W. de Klerk's ability to deliver on reform

ruling party since Smuts to be invited to both London and Washington, where he will meet Mrs Thatcher and US Secretary of State James Baker.

But as de Klerk hits the campaign trail for the September general election it is becoming clear that his reformist intentions fall short of expectations.

How far short was revealed when the Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis resigned last month after making a reformist speech that displeased him. Heunis spoke of the Government replacing the three-chamber parliament with a single house in which all racial 'entities' would sit together and participate in the election of the president.

The speech met such a chilly reception that not a word appeared in the official party publication, *The Nation*.

Heunis's modest prognostication went beyond what de Klerk is prepared to contemplate, a

let-down is in store on the scale of President Botha's disastrous 'Rubicon' speech in August 1985 when he was expected to present fundamental reform but said nothing new.

"I think de Klerk has been loaded with a performance crisis second to none," says Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, a former opposition leader who now heads an institute that promotes inter-racial dialogue.

"The Western powers will expect him to deliver, and if he does not I think you will see a convergence of pressures that have been building up between the United States, the Soviet Union and the European Community come into play."

De Klerk's problem, as it was Botha's, is confusion caused by the ambiguous rhetoric of reform evolved by the Government as it has tried to convince the world that it is abandoning apartheid while reassuring white voters at home that it is not.

He talks of ending apartheid but is opposed to majority rule. He told a television interviewer last Tuesday that the idea of South Africa having a black President was something that 'lies far in the future'.

He still refers to blacks as separate 'nations' and to whites as 'the leading group'. He believes in continuing segregated education and living areas, although he is prepared to allow a small amount of controlled integration in private schools and a few designated 'grey' areas.

What, then, does de Klerk mean when he talks, as he did again last week, of 'reaching out towards a new future'?

His main focus is on getting negotiations going, which he realises is the key to improving South Africa's international image and easing economic pressure.

To achieve this he is prepared to go further than any of his predecessors — proba-

bly to the extent of releasing African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela. But, as he told a Western diplomat recently: 'Don't expect me to negotiate myself out of power.'

What he has in mind is essentially the same as Botha — what political scientist Hermann Gilioone has called 'a formula for sharing power without losing control'.

De Klerk talks of creating a system in which the race groups will function as constitutionally defined political blocs with equal voices regardless of size. Decisions will be reached by consensus, failing which an arbiter, which de Klerk says should be a 'maximally depoliticised' body, will have to break the deadlock.

Black nationalists are emphatically opposed to any such system, both because it would still be based on race, and because it would give the white minority a veto to retain inequalities.

The one thing even his sternest critics grant de Klerk is that he is more intelligent and pragmatic than Botha. This holds out the hope that his commit-

ment to negotiation may lead to shifts not yet apparent.

But his brother, Willem — a former theologian, now a journalist, who has played a role in forming the new opposition Democratic Party — warns that he is unlikely to take a sharp turn to the left. 'He is too strongly convinced that racial grouping is the only truth, way and life,' says Willem de Klerk.

The course his younger brother will follow, Willem de Klerk predicts, is a careful centrist one in which he will seek to 'hold the middle ground by means of clever footwork, small compromises, draw-out studies and planning processes, effective diplomacy and growing authority through balanced leadership and control.'

'This,' says Willem de Klerk, 'is his style, his nature, his talent and his conviction. There will be no leap of faith in a liberal direction.'

Startling claims about coloureds by Minister's wife

MRS Merike de Klerk, wife of the Minister of Internal Affairs, startled a group of women at a house meeting this month when she called coloured people "a negative group" and said Indians needed "supervision".

Her remarks, made at a house meeting in support of the referendum, were tape-recorded and handed to the Sunday Express this week.

The coloureds were a "non-people" ("nie mens") without a history of nationhood (volkskap), she told the women.

"They are a negative group. The definition of a coloured in the Population Register is someone who is not a black, not a white, not an Indian — in other words a non-person".

By ARLENE GETZ

"They are the remnants, they are the people that remained after the people were sorted out. They are the rest."

Mrs de Klerk — wife of Mr F. W. de Klerk, who is expected to become the next National Party Prime Minister — also told the meeting her heart had bled for the coloured people when she watched a recent performance by the orchestra of the Cape Corps.

"No two of them had the same features," she said.

"You know, all of us look European, but some of them looked Indian, some of them looked Chinese, some of them looked white. And that is their dilemma."

"They've got no cohesive power. Their cohesion is in

the fact that they speak Afrikaans and are members of the NG Kerk."

She described Indians as a small splinter group of an African nation.

"They must have some supervision (toesig) and this supervision — in fact the baaskap of the whites — is built into the (constitutional) system," she said.

Earlier Mrs de Klerk had spoken sympathetically about the plight of 2.5-million coloured and 800,000 Indian people who had been pushed into a political desert "because the colour of their skin is not right".

"Among them are highly civilised and educated people who can communicate with you on the same level that I can, but they cannot decide about their pavements or traffic lights."



SUNDAY EXPRESS October 30, 1983

● Mrs Merike de Klerk — coloured and Indian 'children' need white baaskap.

The current challenge was to develop a system which would give those people a political say without threatening the whites.

Using the analogy of children who were now old enough to want to make their own decisions, Mrs de Klerk said the coloureds and Indians no longer wanted whites to decide on their behalf.

"But together with the coloureds and the Indians we must devise a system where, although they decide for themselves, the whites must take the lead."

Mrs de Klerk assured the women a person of colour could never become State President.

However, this wasn't written into the constitution because it would be rejected overseas.

The NP recognised this and accepted that it would have to make certain adjustments, but its basic policy of black people exercising their political rights in the independent homelands would not change, she said.

Asked to comment, Mrs de Klerk said this week her re-

marks had to be seen in context.

She was explaining to a private Meyerton gathering that a homeland for coloureds could not work because, unlike black tribal groupings, the coloureds were not a cohesive group.

The Labour Party leader, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, and SA Indian Council chairman Mr Arichand Rajbansi — who both support the constitution — this week refused to comment on Mrs de Klerk's statements.

Mr Brian Goodall, a PFP spokesman, described them as "pure paternalistic arrogance".

(Report by Arlene Getz, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg)

Majority Rule 'Unjust,' Says Botha's Heir

*De Klerk Dampens Talk
Of Any Policy Change*

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, May 12—Frederik W. de Klerk, minister of white education and the ruling National Party's designated next president, today unequivocally rejected the possibility of majority rule for South Africa because, he said, it would be "unjust."

In a major policy address to the whites-only chamber of Parliament, de Klerk said that including South Africa's black majority on common voter rolls on a one-man, one-vote basis would inevitably lead to majority rule by blacks.

"That is unjust toward the electorate of this house (whites) and certain other groups and therefore totally unacceptable," said de Klerk, who is widely considered to be in the progressive wing of South African white politics.

Instead of giving blacks an equal electoral franchise, de Klerk said, the government would seek to create a new political system of governance by consensus of nonelected representatives of racial groups. Such a system, he said, "will not be conducive to majority rule or domination."

De Klerk's speech was clearly intended to lower growing public expectations that upon the retirement of President Pieter W. Botha on Sept. 6, the National Party plans to embark on reforms that would give South Africa's black majority of 23 million a decisive role in running the country.

Those expectations were heightened last week when Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis said the government wanted to create a single national legislature that would include blacks. Heunis, the government's architect of constitutional reform, also proposed including blacks in the cabinet and on the parliamentary electoral college that chooses the president.

Amid signs of growing tension between Heunis and de Klerk, Heunis unexpectedly announced his retirement last night.

De Klerk's speech today made it clear that under the reforms to be proposed, See SOUTH AFRICA, A12, Col. 4

THE WASHINGTON POST A12 SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1989

Botha's Heir Assails Rule By Majority

SOUTH AFRICA, From A9

blacks may vote in some as yet unspecified kind of legislative institution, as long as they do not outvote whites.

His remarks set the stage for an election campaign that is likely to be dominated by the issue of racial reform and not, as in previous elections, by such emotive issues as law and order and the security of the white minority.

De Klerk said he rejected both the majority rule policy of the Democratic Party, recently formed by white liberals, and the exclusive minority-rule policy of the white supremacist Conservative Party.

"The contrast is clear. The Conservative Party stands for a minority government in a South Africa that will, by their own admission, in perpetuity be populated by a majority of people of color. It is unfair and does not pass the test of justice," de Klerk said.

"The Democratic Party stands for a majority government. In a country with such a massive and wide diversity as ours, this is unfair toward the smaller peoples and population groups. Their policy, too, fails the test of justice."

De Klerk reiterated the National Party's longstanding proposal of a two-tier political system in which racial groups would separately exercise control over their "own affairs" while at another level of government their representatives, acting on the basis of consensus, would legislate matters of common or national interest. "Failure to reach consensus should be settled by a trustworthy referee," de Klerk said, without elaborating on how the referee would be selected.

While the "matters of common interest" have not been specified,



Party leader de Klerk arrives at Parliament in Cape Town for policy speech.

party strategists have said they would include such issues as fiscal affairs and foreign policy. The "own affairs" would include such matters as segregated education.

While neither Heunis nor de Klerk has been specific on the composition of the proposed multiracial legislature, National Party officials have said it is not envisaged as a directly elected body, but would consist of selected leaders of various racial communities.

These would probably include, party officials said, members of the white, mixed-race Colored and Indian houses of Parliament; leaders of the self-governing tribal "homelands"; elected leaders of black townships; leaders of legally authorized organizations with constituencies of all races and at-large members of the proposed advisory National Council which the govern-

ment is hoping to create as a forum to negotiate a new power-sharing constitution.

The governing principle, according to political analysts, would probably be consensus of concurrent majorities, meaning that minority racial groups such as the 4.5 million whites, 3.1 million Coloreds and 900,000 Indians would, in effect, have the same power as the black representative group.

Coloreds and Indians are represented in segregated and mostly powerless chambers of Parliament, while blacks have no vote and no representation in the central government.

The African National Congress, the main black nationalist movement battling white minority rule in South Africa, has flatly rejected all constitutional proposals based on the "group" concept.

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1989

S African leader may meet Bush and Thatcher

By Stephen Robinson in Johannesburg

THE NEW LEADER of South Africa's National party, Mr Frederik de Klerk, who will become head of state after the September general election, plans to meet Mrs Thatcher and President Bush during a foreign tour this summer. The meetings would be "sooner rather than later", probably late next month or in July, South African sources said yesterday.

To satisfy Washington's powerful anti-apartheid lobby, Mr Bush might have to meet Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, before he can see Mr de Klerk.

However, a meeting with Mrs Thatcher appears certain. The Prime Minister let it be known during a meeting last month with Mr Barend du Plessis, South Africa's Finance Minister, who ran Mr de Klerk a close second in the party leadership contest, that she wanted to meet the new generation of Afrikaner leaders.

That meeting was overshadowed by differences over the attempted arms exchange between a Paris-based South African diplomat and members of the Ulster Defence Association.

Mrs Thatcher is said to be determined to "get at" Mr de Klerk before he becomes involved in forming his new

administration after the general election.

Mr de Klerk, 53, is more than 20 years younger than President Botha, and it is hoped he will prove more flexible and realistic in his dealings with black political leaders.

However, it seems unlikely that he will be able to promise Mrs Thatcher much now that the election campaign has begun, and the National party is facing a fierce challenge from the extreme Right wing.

His recent pronouncements have been aimed more at nervous white conservative voters rather than satisfying the demands of Western leaders.

Mr Botha visited Mrs Thatcher in 1984. Their meeting apparently went well, although the South African president was soon to be diverted from his reformist path by the township uprising later that year.



When David Webster was shot to death in front of his Johannesburg home on 1 May 1989 by a masked gunman in a passing car he and colleague Maggie Friedman had just completed a study - 'Repression and the state of emergency June 1987 - March 1989'. One section of this document dealt with the South African regime's use of assassination to rid itself of peaceful opponents. Below are some excerpts from this study.

During 1987, South African government 'reform' policies involved the decentralisation of repressive power to regional and local levels, administered by joint management councils (JMCs). The enforcement arm of the JMCs, the municipal police, has risen in prominence to take its place beside the security police and the defence force as a major means of political control in the black townships of South Africa.

Another aspect of informal repression is illegal, yet appears to enjoy, if not official sanction, then at least less-than-enthusiastic investigation. The activities detailed below are seldom brought to court, let alone successfully prosecuted. They are secretive, and often more violent than other forms of repression. They include attacks on individuals and property, such as the massive blast which destroyed Khotso House in Johannesburg, a building housing anti-apartheid organisations. In the same vein, 'vigilante' groups (which we call the South African Contras) abound, attacking progressive groups and their members. There is a disturbing trend for these vigilantes to be recruited into the new municipal police units, and it is often difficult to recognise the difference between the two, save that the latter wear uniforms, and the arms they carry are officially sanctioned.

....The JMCs represent the major method of local-level control in South Africa. They are a decentralised form of repression, reaching into the townships, factories and rural communities. The JMCs implement the dual aspects of government policy: reform and repression. Reform takes the form of providing services and infrastructure which are genuinely needed, and which may improve some aspects of township life. Repression, which is exerted simultaneously, removes from circulation the leaders of the communities who articulate grievances and political aspirations. These leaders are either detained, forced into hiding (thus hampering their ability to organise politically), or subjected to campaigns of intimidation. The JMC strategy involves meeting some of the community's expressed demands without giving credit to those who raised public awareness of them.

The main vehicle for repressive control under the JMCs is a new police force created to serve the needs of the unpopular black local authorities. These municipal police are poorly trained (mainly by means of crash courses of between three and six months), and a good number of them have been identified as township thugs or former bodyguards of councillors. These 'kitskonstabels' (instant police), as they are known, have an appalling record of discipline, and are frequently accused of assault. A Black Sash survey in the Eastern Cape revealed three major trends in municipal police activity: firstly, they are used to strengthen the power of community councillors; secondly, they act as auxiliaries to the police, especially security police; and thirdly, they have close links with vigilantes, often siding with them in confrontations with progressive community organisations.....

A trend first noted two years ago...marks a serious police re-think about control of the townships. In 1985, 66 percent of deaths in township unrest were killed by the police. In 1987/88, the overwhelming majority of deaths are due to what the government commentators refer to as 'black-on-black violence'. By stressing this, the impression is created that the state and its security forces are playing a peace-keeping role, and that the black community is tearing itself apart....The change in police tactics took a number of forms: firstly, police became more pro-active, banning meetings, rallies and funerals rather than breaking them up while in progress; secondly, they began controlling numbers who could attend, and laying down restrictions on the conduct of the occasion; and thirdly, free rein was allowed to vigilantes and other 'third force' or 'contra' groups, who perform the same divisive and disruptive work which the police formerly undertook.

HAMBA KAHLE DAVID

Was the infamous "Z" squad responsible for the assassination of David Webster? Why did the shadowy assassins choose him as their target? In the last article written by Webster, together with Maggie Friedman, the murdered activist sheds light on the very tactic that killed him.

Two of Webster's friends also pay tribute to him as an activist and as a person.



Webster: National Detainees Day 1987.

"ASSASSINATIONS have the effect of controlling government opposition when all other methods, such as detention or intimidation, have failed.

"It is a very rare event indeed when such assassinations are ever solved."

These are the words of assassinated Wits lecturer and human rights activist David Webster in the last, and as yet unpublished, article he ever wrote, together with Maggie Friedman.

Titled "Repression and the state of emergency: June 1987 - March 1989" it is due to be published by the Southern African Research Service, both in the forthcoming SA Review and in a memorial booklet.

As a founder member of the now restricted Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), Webster dedicated much of his time to helping victims of repression such as

Webster's last words

ex-detainees and their families.

He also documented political trends in our country, and ironically in this latest article identified an increase in the use of death squads to assassinate anti-apartheid activists.

In noting a decline in detentions over the past 18 months, Webster and Friedman attribute this to the state "making greater use of varied methods of achieving the same results, thus relieving the stigma attached to detention without trial".

One of the "varied methods" mentioned was the use of death squads.

The year 1988 witnessed a steady tempo of kidnappings and assassinations of anti-apartheid ac-

tivists.

"These take place both within South Africa's borders and in foreign countries.

"When cross-border raids are made, the perpetrators are often identifiable, since they are clearly South African military commandos and the SA government does not deny responsibility.

"There are, however, numerous assassinations carried out by clandestine groups. This is presumably a death squad, referred to some years ago as the 'Z' squad."

Webster and Friedman also list eight activists - including DPSC volunteer worker Sicelo Dhlomo, UDF's Linda Brakvis and unionist Michael Banda - as recent victims

of unknown assassins.

Webster will now join the eight and it is feared that, before the article is published, others may be assassinated.

The two also point out that South Africa's human rights record is appalling.

"In a recently published survey of human rights around the world, South Africa features sixth from the bottom of a list of 89 countries, scoring only 22 percent on a scale of human rights.

"Countries with a tradition of repression do better, such as Chile with a rate of 35 percent, while the black sheep of the government media, Zimbabwe and Zambia, rate 45 and 51 percent respectively."

"The authorities have built up an

impressive repertoire of repressive institutions and weapons which finally are having their intended effect," they add.

"State power in the form of repression has perhaps never been as strong in the history of the country.

"Even the spectacularly successful hunger strike, which won major concessions from the government in the form of releases, was a desperate and last resort form of brinkmanship which could have backfired on its participants.

"If we accept that repression exists because South Africa is burdened with a government which is fundamentally undemocratic and unrepresentative, and the ruling group has to rule not with, but against, the will of the people, then we are no nearer the end of detention without trial."

"On the contrary, repression is bound to intensify in all its forms," concludes the article prophetically.

THE shock expressed by a wide range of people and organisations - ranging from youth congress members, UDF affiliates and Cosatu to foreign diplomats - to the assassination of David Webster bears testimony to his ability to relate to a wide range of people.

He was a founder member of the Detainees Parents Support Committee (DPSC), founder member of the UDF-affiliated Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac); honorary vice-president of the National Union of SA Students (Nusas); involved in setting up the UDF Cultural Desk; founder member of the SA Musicians Alliance (Sama); elected vice-president of the Five Freedoms Forum and a researcher and academic of note.

THE NEW NATION spoke to two of his close friends, fellow human rights activist Dr Max Coleman and Ravan Press manager and "Work in Progress" editor Glenn Moss about what made Webster so popular.

"He was a man who lived his politics and his beliefs. There was no contradiction between his theory and his practice," said Moss.

"The reason why he was so popular was because he had time for everyone. He was gentle and patient and listened to people and

took them seriously.

"He was also completely non-factional and did not get involved in sectarian squabbles," added Moss.

"He also had a great capacity for fun, and could make a chore into a social event. Every time I moved house, David would arrive with a truck and a carry-pack of beers and help me.

"He was a great lover of music, especially mbaqanga, and even judged music competitions. This led to his involvement in the UDF Cultural Desk and in the formation of the SA Musicians Alliance, along with his close friend, Johnny Clegg.

"He also played in the same Sunday soccer league. David played right back and was known to be a chunky and fairly aggressive player. Many a shin was bruised after tackling with David!"

Speaking about Webster's involvement in detainee support work, Coleman pointed out that the assassinated man had become involved through wanting to support detained friends during the 1981 swoop on activists such as

Barbara Hogan, Cedric de Beer and Gavin Anderson.

"It is typical of the man that he sprang to the support of a friend who was detained without trial at the time, and soon extended that support to all detainees within the framework of the embryonic Detainees Parents Support Committee," said Coleman.

"The energy, skills and commitment of David Webster played an extremely important role in the development of the DPSC, firstly in a local context, then on a national level.

"He helped to guide it from being a purely human rights organisation into one which aligned itself totally with the mass struggle for a non-racial democracy, and which indeed came to draw its support from the oppressed majority."

After the DPSC was banned on February 24 1988, Webster helped found the Detainees Education and Welfare (DEW), dedicated to the moral and material support of detainees and their families.

"David took a leading role in the activities of DEW, especially in the

organising and running of tea parties for the families and friends of detainees and ex-detainees," said Coleman.

At the last three tea parties - whose venues were all booked in Webster's name - security forces disrupted proceedings.

"More than once, David was told that he would be held responsible for anything that occurred," added Coleman.

Webster was also an academic of note, both in terms of analysing political trends in the country and as an anthropologist.

He did a lot of research in Mozambique, and over the last 10 years, much of his work has been in Ingwavuma in KwaZulu.

"He even built a little reed hut in the Kosi Bay area which he stayed in while doing research in the area," said Moss.

"His dedication to teaching should also not be forgotten. Former students of his have been phoning in non-stop since the news of his murder, saying how much he helped them: how patient he was and how much they learnt from him."

OTHER ASSASSINATIONS

A selective list of assassinations of SA political activists over the past five years.

1985: Alex Pilane - Cosas member • Matthew Goniwe, Sparrow Mkhonto, Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli - Eastern Cape activists • Victoria Mxenge - civil rights lawyer • Toto Dweba - Natal Freedom Charter Committee member • Ian Zamisa - Saawu organiser • Zalisa Maryholo - Saso member.

1986: Joyce Modimoeng • Fabi In and Florence Ribeiro - community activists • Cassius Make - ANC.

1987: Nkosinathi Solomon Shabangu - Soweto Students Congress • Mr Mtosana - Western Cape Civic Association • Amor Tshabalala - Tsakane CIVIL ASSOCIATION and Cwawusa member.

1988: Charles Mokoena, Jacob Molokwane, Sipho Ngema and Mazzi Maqekaza - ANC members • Linda Brakvis • Sicelo Godfrey Dhlomo - DPSC worker • Dulcie September - ANC representative in France • Amos Boshomane - Steel Engineering and Allied Workers Union shop steward • Mthuthuzeli Payi - member of Cape Youth Congress and Fawu.

1989: Dericck Mashobane, Thabo Mohale and Porta Shabangu - Sansco • Christy Ntuli - Natal Youth Congress • David Webster.

Town in shock over gallows fate of 14

by Peter Gwynn
Upington

AT THE modest home which Evelina and Gideon built themselves, their youngest daughter Nontuthuzelo snuggled into their double bed yesterday, just her braided hair showing above the quilt. As she slept fitfully, her elderly parents were being driven 500 miles to death row at Pretoria Central prison.

Along with 12 other defendants, Evelina de Bruin and Gideon Madlongolwane were sentenced on Friday to hang by a Supreme Court judge for being part of a crowd of 300 who killed a black policeman. It is the biggest group to be sentenced to hang for a politically-motivated crime in modern South Africa.

Evelina walked from the court still professing her innocence. She cuts an unlikely figure as a murderer. In her late 50s — she is not sure of her exact age — a lifetime of domestic service has left her with arthritis in both legs and a severe limp.

Her husband is an even less likely murderer. Now in his sixties, he worked for 36 years on the railways as a labourer. Before his conviction a year ago, he used to go to work early each morning, then attend court, and return to work as soon as court adjourned. But last week they took away his clothes and gave him a drab olive prison uniform.

Although his clean record and his age were accepted by the prosecution as good grounds for mitigation, the judge imposed the death sentence anyway.

Few of the others sentenced to hang had any history of violence, and all refused to testify in mitigation. The man they were accused of killing was chased, beaten to death and his body set alight during unrest three-and-a-half years

ago in this town in the northern Cape. The fact that he was one of four policemen who had shot dead a pregnant woman during the unrest, and that he shot and crippled a boy in the angry crowd that gathered outside his house were not seen as mitigating circumstances by the judge.

Of the 25 people convicted of his murder, only five were actually present at his death, and only one man, a nurse, delivered the fatal blows with the butt of the deceased's shotgun. The rest were part of a crowd, throwing stones.

Human rights lawyers have denounced the death sentences, saying that they "will inevitably result in the perception, primarily in the black community, that judicial execution in South Africa is nothing other than legalised genocide".

The sentences have electrified the small, normally quiet community of some 15,000 blacks in Upington, a town perched on the Orange River. Almost everyone is either related to one of the Upington defendants or friendly with them. Evelina and Gideon have left behind seven of their 10 children here.

Old-style apartheid still thrives here. The black community had braced itself for possible death sentences on four or five of the 25, but they were stunned by the news that 14 will go to the gallows. Sentence on the other 11, also convicted of murder, but with extenuating circumstances, begins tomorrow.

Perhaps the saddest aspect for the family is that Gideon and Evelina may not see their

children again if money cannot be found for the family to make the journey across the country to Pretoria. The couple's last message to their son James, now effectively the family head, was to look after the house and children and to stay strong together.

While Nontuthuzelo, 12, lay in bed yesterday, their second youngest child, Mention, 14, sat on the sofa. His elder brothers admit they do not know how to explain the situation to him.

"We've told him his parents have been sentenced to death — but that there is still hope, and he mustn't give up," said James. The enormity of it all still escapes the boy. "I think that my parents will come back home, probably in a couple of days," he said. "I miss them very much."

Local people do their best to keep up the children's spirits. One pillar of strength is Alfred Gabula, the township's unofficial mayor, whose son Zonga and nephew Tros were also both sentenced to death last week.

"I've tried to cool myself," he said, "so people mustn't see how I'm hurting in my heart. The whole place is still relying on me."

Yesterday he was painstakingly compiling a list of belongings lost by local residents involved in yet another clash with police on Friday. More than 30 were injured as they left a meeting to discuss the death sentences.

Aubrey Beukes, the coloured (mixed race) priest who has ministered to the families, hopes international pressure will win a reprieve. "There's only one thing I'd like to ask the world," he said. "Please don't wait too long to react. Step in now. Don't let them languish in death row."

14 blacks sentenced to hang for murder of SA policeman

From John Carlin
in Upington

She was found guilty on account of having incited the crowd to throw stones at Mr Sethwala's home and having thrown a few herself.

Less damning was the evidence against her husband, also in his 60s, Gideon Madlongolwane. The state prosecutors, who had sought the death sentence for only 13 of the accused, conceded that in his case there had been extenuating circumstances — among them 36 years of what the judge called "loyal service" with South African Railways. Nevertheless, the judge overruled the prosecution.

Mr Madlongolwane — a dignified paterfamilias with little education and, apparently, less politics — stared impassively, his weeping wife leaning against him, as the judge sentenced him to death. Few in the court expected mercy from Justice Basson. But the verdict on the old couple, two of whose 10 children are still at school, still came as a shock.

THE INDEPENDENT Friday 26 May 1989

What caused the uproar at the end was the judge's announcement that he would formally condemn the 14 today instead of next week, as had been agreed with the lawyers. The families of several of the accused live far from Upington, which is some 500 miles west of Johannesburg, and had been determined to be in court to catch a last glimpse of their kin as sentence was passed. Now there will not be time. The judge turned down a defence plea for him to stick "on compassionate grounds" to the initial timetable. "This is not a funeral, it is a court case," the judge replied, to gasps from the gallery.

One of the convicted stood up, trembling with anger, and screamed at the judge. Proceedings were hastily concluded and a dozen of the condemned burst into curiously joyous, desperately defiant song. Police jostled weeping mothers out of the courtroom.

Mrs de Bruin cowered, whimpering, in a corner and then limped down to the cells.

The convicted murderers are expected to be transported this afternoon to Pretoria Central prison, where all death-row prisoners are kept. Here they will share a roof with Barend Strydom, sentenced to hang yesterday for killing eight blacks.

TEARS of rage, outbursts in the courtroom from the condemned, scuffles with the police, wailing mothers, protest songs and clenched black fists: that was the scene yesterday after a judge effectively condemned to death 14 people, all black, for the murder three-and-a-half years ago of a municipal policeman. Never have so many been sentenced to hang for one murder in South African legal history.

Of a total of 25 found guilty of the murder last year — another record — Justice J.J. Basson found extenuating circumstances yesterday in 11 cases. The death sentence being mandatory for murder, the remaining 14, among them an elderly couple with 10 children, face the gallows. Justice Basson is expected to ratify the death sentences formally this morning. He will announce the jail sentences for the rest next week. The defence lawyers said they would appeal against both the sentences and the convictions in the Supreme Court.

Remarkably, the court found that only one of the accused, Justice Bekebeke, had actually delivered the fatal blows. The sequence of events that led to the murder on 13 November, 1985, was the following: several hundred people gathered on a football field in Paballelo, Upington's black township, to protest against rent increases and overcrowding.

The police dispersed the crowd with tear gas. One group ran past the home of a black local policeman, Lucas Sethwala. Mr Sethwala had shot dead a young pregnant woman the week before.

The group stopped outside his home and hurled stones at the windows. The policeman fired several shots, wounding and crippling a 10-year-old boy. Mr Sethwala ran out of his house. Some of the group gave chase, caught up with him, disarmed him and, with the butt of the gun, Mr Bekebeke beat him on the back of the head till he died. The crowd then poured petrol on the body and set it alight.

The 24 were convicted along with Mr Bekebeke on the grounds that they shared "common purpose" in the killing. Justice Basson found no extenuating circumstances in the case of Evelina de Bruin, a domestic servant in her 60s. There appears to have been no question that Mrs de Bruin, who walks with a limp, was on the spot when the killing took place.

Logic and 14 lives sacrificed on the altar of apartheid

HERE IN UPINGTON, a bone-dry town set in a vast expanse of scrub, sits the cold heart of apartheid. Here events defy any attempt to portray South Africa in anything but the most facile, caricature terms. Here an otherwise complex political situation is reduced to the most brutish essentials.

Here a judge yesterday pronounced a sentence which made a mockery of the *gravitas*, the red robes, the high argument, the reverend impartiality with which the South African legal system chooses to invest itself. Justice J.J. Basson condemned 14 people to hang for the murder of one black municipal policeman, an individual ill-educated and minimally-trained, a paid gun and vigilante of the state who had killed a pregnant woman days before, and shot and badly wounded a small boy moments before, his own death.

Which is not to justify his murder, but to help state the argument for extenuation in favour of the accused, an argument in which Justice Basson was unable to divine any logic.

Nor, indeed, was the fact that the court found only one of the 14 to have actually beaten the policeman to death sufficient grounds to persuade the judge that the elderly couple whom he has dispatched to death row might merit a little mercy — especially as the court did not even establish that they had been on the spot at the time of the killing, merely that they had thrown some stones at the home of the deceased.

No, the old couple — who have 10 children — and the 12 condemned with them were found to have shared "common purpose" in the murder and thus, pending appeal, they face the prospect of adding their number to the more than 1,000

John Carlin describes the case of the Upington 14, a group of blacks condemned to death this week in South Africa.

victims of capital punishment in South Africa in this decade.

Inside and outside the courtroom on Thursday — when the judge ruled against extenuation in the case of the 14 and the death sentences were thus foreshadowed — and yesterday morning, when the judge pronounced the formalities, the condemned and their family members wept and sang freedom songs. In whatever part of South Africa, in whatever circumstances — funerals, protest rallies or trials — these black freedom songs mix joy and grief, celebration and despair. Here the plaintive note rang through with more conviction.

As if sensing this, one teenage boy broke from the crowd and exploded into a *toi-toi*, a Zulu war-dance. Hissing "Zaa! Zaa-Zaa! Zaa! Zaa-Zaa! Zaa! Zaa-Zaa!", stamping so hard that his knees jerked up to his chin, he spun round and round as if in a trance, arms flailing, fists so clenched they turned white. But he was not carrying a spear and the policemen had guns and Alsatian dogs baring their fangs back at him and a video-camera pointed right at him. The boy's face was contorted, but fear was there as well as rage.

One trembles for him. On Thursday night, the 14 death sentences already a *fait accompli*, the police added injury to insult. For what reason, it was hard to

tell. Perhaps it was the fact that the mothers of the condemned had upset the prim, pristine equilibrium of white Upington town centre by gathering there to shed their tears and sing their songs. Perhaps it was because, in the one moment of light relief in a day of woe, the black women outside the court had burst into hoots and applause when a police car slammed into the side of a Toyota. For whatever reason, a nightfall on Thursday, a police riot squad went into Paballelo, assaulting all that came into view. At least 20 people were severely beaten. Some were clubbed unconscious. Some were stamped on. Some were kicked in the abdomen till they bled. Of the 20 who it could be established yesterday had been among the victims, five were 13 years old and four 15.

Last night, the people of Paballelo were steeling themselves for another expected onslaught. "Early to bed" was the advice being dispensed yesterday evening by the elders in this far from politicised, far from radical township. The ferocity of the attack on Thursday night was merely an escalation of the menace, the harassment, to which anyone in Paballelo with an idea — much less a political idea — in his or her head has been subjected continually for years.

In this sense Upington is a metaphor of much of rural, time-warped South Af-

rica. The social changes discernible in the big cities have passed the likes of Upington by. Such is the slanted nature of justice here that a policeman who shot dead a coloured 10-year-old boy in March has not been brought close to trial yet, let alone the gallows.

Perhaps most revealing of all, there is evidently not one white liberal, or white human rights activist, or white social worker to be found in Upington, which has a total population of more than 100,000. Not one local white, outside the police force, was ever seen in the courtroom during the trial of — what is sure to be a new term in the South African political lexicon — "the Upington 14".

The apartheid, the separateness, in Upington is complete, with only the police crossing the neatly-defined township boundaries and doing so, precisely, to ensure things remain that way. The Rev Beukes, a coloured church minister who has broken down and wept several times in the last two days, could only repeat, over and over, on Thursday night: "Then they wonder why we turn to violence." The wonder, if anything, is that they don't turn to it more. Why, how, the milk of human kindness has not curdled into hate. How the nobility still remains.

One of the condemned addressed a brief speech to the judge yesterday morning. It was Justice Bekebeke, the man who delivered the blows which killed the policeman. "In a country like South Africa," Mr Bekebeke said, "I wonder how justice can really be applied. I certainly haven't found it. But, my lord, I would like to ask: Let's forget our racial hatred. Let us see justice for all humanity. . . . I hope you will live long enough to see the day of a free South Africa. May the lord bless you, my Lord!"

THE GUARDIAN
Saturday May 27 1989

Victims display police injuries

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

TWENTY young people, most of them teenage girls, yesterday took turns to display appalling sjambok (whip) and other injuries after a police attack on a crowd in the township of Paballelo, near the South African town of Uitenhage.

The attack took place on Thursday night, the eve of sentencing for 14 Paballelo residents condemned to die for the mob murder of a black municipal policeman in 1985.

Women relatives of the condemned had been holding a prayer meeting at a house in the township on Thursday night. Afterwards they walked through the township, singing hymns and carrying candles lit for the total of 25 who had been convicted of the murder.

According to residents, township youths had joined the procession and were singing freedom songs when they were cornered by encircling police vans. They were allegedly attacked by black municipal police and white officers from the South African police, with sjamboks, batons and dogs.

Some of the injuries displayed yesterday included vicious whip wounds to the face, across a girl's breasts, to arms, legs, stomachs and backs.

There were also dog bite wounds and heavy bruising apparently caused by kicking while the victims were on the ground. The injured included children aged 13.

Police action, coupled with the Upington trial and the consequent death sentences, are creating growing bitterness in the township. Earlier this week police with dogs moved into the local high school to help enforce the suspension of more than 90 schoolchildren who had been boycotting classes.

An intriguing insight into township attitudes to law and order issues has been provided by an unprecedented survey conducted in Paballelo by the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cape Town.

The survey, which investigated community attitudes on the 1985 murder and the ensuing trial, shows that 57 per cent of residents in the township — with a population of about 10,000 — felt the policeman had been killed for his "improper and violent treatment of people".

Meanwhile, the judge who sentenced a white racist to hang for killing seven blacks and an Indian is under special police protection for fear of revenge attacks by extremists after Thursday's sentencing of Barend Strydom.

Strydom, aged 23, was convicted of killing seven people and wounding 15 blacks in a shooting spree in Pretoria on November 15. A week earlier, he shot dead one black woman and injured another at a squatter camp in what he described as a practice attack.



Inside the Wit Wolwe

- As told by
mass murderer
Barend Strydom

Weekly-Mail Reporters

MASS murderer Barend Strydom yesterday gave the first description of the Wit Wolwe (WW), the organisation he says mandated his shooting spree last year.

Giving evidence in mitigation of sentence, Strydom told the Pretoria Supreme Court he was not the leader of the organisation but only of a three-man cell. The WW was composed of cells of up to five members, and cell leaders (known as *stuurders*) met under the leadership of a *hoofbestuurder*.

He refused to identify his cell members or the *hoofbestuurder* or to say how many members there were in the WW.

It was at a *bestuurders* meeting that the WW supported his plan to commit the shooting that led to his conviction this week on eight counts of murder and 16 of mass murder.

His "mandate" was to do the shooting at Church Square because the Delmas Treason Trial was in progress and United Democratic Front leader Allan Boesak was expected to attend.

However, when he drove past the square that morning, there was a heavy police presence and few blacks. He said he started his killing spree at Strydom Square to draw the police away from the court.

"I expected there would be more blacks at Strydom Square. Hence I took to Prinsloo Street," he said.

Asked why he had shot a woman seated in a hospital bus, he said there were no other blacks in the area. He

had opened the bus window when the bus halted at a stop street and shot the women, a cancer patient.

Strydom said he had hidden a change of clothing near Church Square and hoped to get away with his "plan", either by giving police the slip or by being granted clemency if captured.

Asked why he had previously called himself "king" of the WW, he admitted he may have been boasting.

However, Colonel Karel Johannes Brits, head of the Pretoria Murder and Robbery Squad, told the court

that he had investigated the WW and had found no evidence that it existed.

Following leads given to him after the arrest of Strydom in November last year, Brits had travelled to Secunda and Hillbrow, where Strydom told him the WW had been involved in teargas incidents.

However, at both places he found

no evidence of the WW. "I'm absolutely convinced that there is nothing like the WW, following my investigations," he told the court.

Strydom had told him "many stories which could not have been true". The accused's father, Nic Strydom,

gave the court an extraordinary insight into his son's background.

He said his wife had committed suicide when the boy was only 18 months old. A policeman, he said he had arrived home to find his wife dying on the bed and his son lying next to her with "visible marks" on his neck.

The father told the court he had been a member of the Herstigte Nasionale Party and a regional leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging from 1973. He had stopped paying AWB fees last year because of "personal differences" with other members.

His son had attended rightwing public meetings with him since he was in Standard 8 and had adopted his father's views.

"My relationship with my son is very close," he said.

Asked about his wife's politics, the father said she would "strive for freedom, for *volkstaat* and *boerestad* in the land of our forefathers.

The accused told the court he did not regard his action as murder, although he conceded that in terms of law it was murder.

He said although he had carried a gun when he went to a public meeting last year which State President PW Botha also attended, he had not intended to assassinate the president. He had left his gun in his car boot.



The smiling gunman — Barend Strydom waves from the dock

Picture: ULLI MICHELL, Reuters



Supporting his hero — an AWB member unrepentant
in the midst of relatives of the victims

Picture: CEDRIC NURN, Afpix

BAREND STRYDOM UNVEILS HIS ROGUES GALLERY: COMMUNISTS, BLACKS, HELEN SUZMAN, DENIS WORRALL ...

Is Strydom crazy? And if not, why is he a hero to so many whites?

Weekly Mail Reporters

EXCEPT for the Aquila badge on his denim jacket and the broken swastika of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging on his tie, Gerhard van Wyk, 21, looked like any other white South African on the streets of Pretoria.

On Tuesday Van Wyk, an insurance salesman, was at Pretoria's Palace of Justice, showing his support for a friend. "He did what many people in the country would do. I have much respect for him. He had guts. I wouldn't do the same, but I approve of what he did."

Van Wyk's friend was Barend Hendrik Strydom, the mass murderer who last November shocked a nation when he went on the rampage in central Pretoria, shooting 22 black people and killing seven.

As the Strydom trial drew to a conclusion this week, it raised frightening questions for South Africa: How could he have done it? Was he crazy? Was he a loner? Or did he represent the insanity of a whole society?

At the beginning of this week's hearing before Mr Justice Louis Harms, one of these questions was answered. Three psychiatrists had ruled that Strydom was not insane. For answers to the other questions South Africa had little more to go on than Strydom's own account of his life and motives.

On Tuesday, Strydom was found guilty on eight counts of murder and 16 of attempted murder arising out of the Strydom Square massacre and an earlier killing at Weiler's Farm.

Pleading in mitigation of sentence, he portrayed himself as a product of Christian National Education, driven to extremes by what he saw as a lack of vision on the part of an older generation. "They seem to have given up the fight against communism. The country had nothing to offer a young man like myself," he said.

He developed an interest in politics at school, he recalled. "We were taught to be proud of our country and I began reading many books on politics in South Africa and also attended right-wing political meetings."

Some of the more disturbing sideshows to the Strydom trial were to be found in the public gallery, where a good many people openly supported the murders. 'He did what many people in the country would do. I have much respect for him,' said one admirer

His *volkskroes* (pride in one's people) had first been shaped at field schools. By the time he reached Sid 9, he was writing letters on Christianity, communism and apartheid to Ronald Reagan, Margaret Thatcher, PW Botha and homeland leaders. The British and American leaders "answered my letters positively," he claimed, and PW Botha was "friendly".

But "the heads of the black states were very funny towards me" and set the police on him, claimed Strydom. The security branch paid him a visit and he was told "to fix my attention on other activities".

If the security police did have a file on Strydom, who is a policeman's son, it did not prevent him from being accepted into the police force in 1984, on leaving school.

He took with him the attitudes instilled in him at school. The "enemy" he had to fight as a policeman was communism — "a satanically inspired movement which was established by Marx and Engels".

Strydom's anti-communism was an obsession. To him, the release of Govan Mbeki, "a self-confessed communist" was "shocking"; and the government's recognition of May Day, "a communist day", were indications of the growth of communism in South Africa.

"Communists" ranged from Desmond Tutu to Helen Suzman and Denis Worrall. They were a contradiction of all he had been taught.

Strydom was also obsessed with

the survival of the white race, and the threat blacks posed to such survival. "Each black person threatens the continued existence of whites, even an 88-year-old woman," he said, referring to one of his victims, an 88-year-old hawk. "They are known to breed very fast."

He added: "Scientists have shown that the oxygen is decreasing. This is the fault of blacks. They are threatening the life of the entire planet." The country was "returning to an age preceding that of the ox wagon, where we want to make blacks equal to

whites".

Strydom's career in the SAP was not without its problems. In 1987 he was photographed in police uniform, holding the head of a black man in one hand and a knife in the other. His intention, he explained to the court, was to have the photograph blown up into a poster carrying the slogan "ANC pasop!" If an ANC "terrorist" saw that, he said, they "would think twice." He also ran into trouble after he had hoisted a *vierkleur* (the flag of the Transvaal Republic) at Heidelberg.

He was arrested by his own colleagues and found himself in jail for a weekend. "It was humiliating, a shock and a disappointment to be treated this way."

Dismissed from the police force because of these incidents, Strydom claimed he was then reinstated without explanation. But "after this I had to change my attitude to the police. Although I went back I didn't carry out my duties with the same dedication". He resigned from the force in February 1988.

He then joined the Oranje Werkers in Morgenson, "because Afrikaners as a nation were standing with their backs to the wall". Their strategy, he explained, was "to use squatter principles, settling on land, taking it over peacefully and defending it in the world's courts". The aim of the settlers was to become self-sufficient, so that "there wouldn't be anything like a tea-boy".

But the strategy was too long-term for Strydom; the government's reformists were moving too fast in "handing over power". He left and after briefly working at Sasol in Secunda and with Santam, he moved in with a former police colleague in Pretoria and prepared for his final mission — "to show the world there were Boers on the southern tip of Africa who would fight for the maintenance of Christian Calvinism and fight communism".

He prepared with prayer and training. He also made a pilgrimage to the Voortrekker Monument, "to reconcile myself with the pledge laid down in 1838. I prayed and asked God to do his will and not mine and, if he was not pleased, to deflect me from my path with some visible sign".

When the sign failed to materialise, Strydom went to the squatters camp of Weiler's Farm, west of Johannesburg, where he shot two women, killing one of them. "I wanted to use this as an exercise to see if I was physically capable of killing people," he explained.

He was capable and he went on to prove it, a week later, at Strydom Square.

"I wanted to make a point," said Strydom, explaining the massacre. "I did not want it to be seen as an idle threat of the type made by so many right-wingers who never carry them out."

The place and the time were carefully chosen: the place, because JG Strydom was an apartheid ideologue of whom he approved; the timing, because it coincided with the Deimars Treason trial and he hoped he would be able to "get my hands" on people like Alan Boesak.

His dress was also chosen with deliberation: a police camouflage uniform, "to indicate aggression", and a belt with "Wit Wolwe" engraved on it, because he hoped it would win publicity for the organisation.

"I do not consider my actions as wrong, but as right," Strydom said. The shootings had not been murder, but an act of self-defence against blacks.

And the constant smile on his face as he murdered? "The victims did not realise the seriousness of the situation. They smiled at me and, since I am a friendly person, I would smile back at them and carry on," he explained.

This was the style of Barend Strydom, who, apart from his Aquila badge and the *vierkleur* on his tie, looks like any other white on the streets of Pretoria.

The surprise was that there were no confrontations in court

THE anger of black spectators at the trial was in stark contrast to the blatant support for Strydom shown by Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members.

Some 150 blacks looked on grimly while witnesses described the indiscriminate shootings of the "smiling gunman".

Yet despite the potentially explosive situation, there were no confrontations with the 20-odd white right-wingers attending the trial.

On the steps outside the courtroom Alfred Tlomekana, in obvious pain from the wounds he suffered during November 15 "Strydom Square massacre", said he was still receiving hospital treatment — six months after the shootings.

"They should kill this man (Strydom)," he said. "He is no good. He killed innocent people for nothing." His brother David, 38, was one of Strydom's first victims in the Pretoria bloodbath, and Tlomekana now supports his widow and three children.

"This man is not mad," Tlomekana told the *Weekly Mail*.

AWB supporters, occupying the gallery's two front rows, were unrepentant in the presence of such anger, however. Many wore black jackets, adorned with the eagle motif of

"Aquila", the paramilitary wing of the AWB. They were openly supportive of the convicted mass murderer.

AWB member Gerhard van Wyk said he respected the grinning gunman but "wouldn't do the same ...".

Van Wyk's reservations about Strydom's action appeared to have more to do with strategy than principle: "He should have planned it better, so he didn't get caught."

Strydom's conviction did not signal the end of the "white struggle", said Van Wyk. "It is going to end up as an armed struggle," he said, unless whites took decisive action.

Several black people in the courtroom expressed outrage at what Strydom had done. Jan Mokgotho, employed as a security guard at Edgars at the time of the shootings, said he had lost his job as a result of his injuries.

"I was fired because I was away for so long. I'm crippled now, so no-one will employ me," he said. "They can punish Strydom but it won't help me because I am crippled for life."

Cassim van Heerden, a relative of Strydom victim Abdool Satar Carrim, a shopowner on Prinsloo Street, said he was in the store when the shooting occurred. He could not understand how it was that in Pretoria — a city "so tight with security" — it took an



He had courage — AWB member, Hennie Bronckhorst

Picture: C/DERIC NUNN; Alrapix

unarmed civilian to disarm the killer. Several witnesses said since the carnage black shoppers were wary of returning to the area. Monica Lekalekale, who was shot in the stomach, said: "Afterwards I was frightened to

walk in the streets ... I was frightened of white people. I feel they must hang him."

The man who finally disarmed Strydom, Simon Khorombi Mukondeleli, said he did not know why police had not shot the gunman. "They followed him from Church Street," he said, "and I felt that I had to step in, because he could have killed more people."

Mukondeleli has been harassed since his intervention, and no longer comes to the city centre because he "does not know who the next attackers will be".

For some friends of the victims, the court's justice is not enough for Strydom — they would prefer revenge. "Peter", a friend of Geelboof Mabena who is paralysed from the waist down from bullet wounds, said: "They must release him, and we will take him to Mameodi and see what happens to him there."

"I was crying on the day when it happened."

Others, like Steve Ndala, who had been attending the proceedings each day, hope Strydom's fate will serve as a warning to violent right-wingers.

"I think they should execute him," he said, "so that everybody can see that to kill people in this manner is not right."

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JUNE/JULY 1989

W E L C O M E H O M E , B R O T H E R S A N D S I S T E R S !

THE RRR COMMITTEE OF THE CCN IS MOST HAPPY TO WELCOME YOU BACK HOME ON BEHALF OF OUR CHURCH LEADERS AND HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF FELLOW NAMIBIANS, WHO HAVE BEEN FIGHTING WITH YOU FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY.

YOUR ARRIVAL OPENS A NEW CHAPTER OF NAMIBIAN HISTORY AND BRINGS US A STEP FURTHER TOWARDS VICTORY OVER DECADES OF PERSECUTION AND DESTRUCTION. COLONIAL RULE AND APARTHEID WILL COME TO AN END.

WE, THE RRR COMMITTEE, TOGETHER WITH HUNDREDS OF CHURCH WORKERS, HAVE BEEN TRYING OUR BEST WITHIN THE SHORT TIME OF PREPARATION GIVEN, TO PREPARE FOR YOU THE PLACE, WHICH YOU RIGHTFULLY DESERVE IN THE COMMUNITY. WE DID THIS WITH THE FULL SUPPORT OF CHURCHES AND SOLIDARITY GROUPS FROM ALLOVER THE WORLD, AND WE WANT TO CONTINUE WITH YOUR FULL PARTICIPATION.

WE NEED YOU FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF RECEPTION CENTERS AND SECONDARY CENTERS, FOR THE FOOD DISTRIBUTION OF W F P, FOR THE EDUCATIONAL AND HOUSING PROGRAMS, FOR HEALTH SERVICES AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT.

WE ARE GRATEFUL THAT THE LIBERATING GOD GIVES US THE OPPORTUNITY TO WORK TOGETHER FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NAMIBIAN NATION.

AS YOU KNOW, THERE ARE STILL MANY OBSTACLES IN OUR WAY, AND NOT EVERYBODY IS HAPPY ABOUT YOUR RETURN.

BUT THE TEARS OF JOY WHICH YOU WILL FIND ON SO MANY FACES NOW, SHOW YOU THAT YOUR HARD WORK IN EXILE WAS NOT IN VAIN.

BE SURE, THAT THE LOCAL RRR COMMITTEES WANT TO ASSIST YOU IN WHATEVER WAY, AND THAT THEY ARE READY TO PROTECT YOU AND YOUR RIGHTS. YOU WILL FACE MANY CHALLENGES. SOME OF YOUR BELOVED ONES ARE NO MORE AMONG US, SOMETIMES YOU WILL ENCOUNTER DIVISION, HATRED AND FEAR. YET: " THOSE WHO SOW IN TEARS REAP WITH SHOUTS OF JOY! THE LORD HAS DONE GREAT THINGS FOR US; WE ARE GLAD!" MAY JUSTICE, PEACE AND RECONCILIATION BE THE FRUIT OF YOUR RETURN!

YOURS VERY CORDIALLY IN HIS SERVICE *Witold Stasz*

JON JONES



Albertina Sisulu, allowed out of South Africa for the first time, was reunited in London yesterday with her former parish priest, now Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, whom she last saw 33 years ago. Mrs Sisulu is Co-president of the United Democratic Front and married to the imprisoned ANC Secretary-General, Walter Sisulu. She has been detained and banned several times.

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