



NO PEACE  
UNDER  
APARTHEID

Vol. 241

**PROCLAMATION**

by the

State President of the Republic

No. R. 120, 1985

**DECLARATION OF A STATE OF EMERGENCY**

Whereas in my opinion it appears that serious and grave disturbances have arisen in the areas mentioned in the Schedule to this Proclamation, which disturbances seriously threaten the safety of the State and the maintenance of public order and the well-being of the people of the State;

Therefore, I, the State President, do hereby declare a state of emergency in the areas mentioned in the Schedule to this Proclamation, with effect from the date of the coming into operation of this Proclamation, and I hereby order that the provisions of the Public Security Act, 1953, shall apply in the areas mentioned in the Schedule to this Proclamation.



THABO  
**THOKOANE**  
DIED 13 4 85  
AGE 22 YRS  
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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1985

WRITE - TELEGRAPH - PHONE

President Ronald Reagan  
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Washington, DC 20515Your Senators  
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## Pretoria Reports 118 Arrests, Raising Total to 910

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, July 26 — The South African authorities said today that they had detained 118 people overnight, bringing to 910 the number held without charges under an emergency decree that took effect Sunday.

A prominent civil rights monitoring group, meanwhile, said it feared "the inevitability of deaths in detention" and demanded to know where detainees were being held.

"No citizen is safe from the arbitrary action of the security forces," the rights group, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, said in a statement. It called the decree "a vendetta against democratic organizations."

The Government said it proclaimed the emergency to end violence in black

townships that has claimed 500 lives since last September. The great majority of those deaths were caused by the police in suppressing anti-Government protests. There have been 15 deaths since the emergency decree went into effect, the police said.

The police reported further unrest overnight in some townships, but said there was little violence in volatile black settlements east of Johannesburg early today.

Political activists said most of the people seized so far appeared to be members of student and community groups affiliated with the United Democratic Front. It is the biggest nonparliamentary alliance of anti-apartheid organizations in the country, listing 600 affiliates and more than 1.5 million members.

### Keeping Track of Detainees

Before the state of emergency began, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, comprising white lawyers and black community workers, issued regular reports listing those held under South Africa's already pervasive security laws. The committee has become the principal organization trying to keep check of the detentions since the emergency was proclaimed.

The committee has charged that the daily police list of detained people is inaccurate and incomplete. A police spokesman tonight denied the charge.

The authorities' immediate intention seems to be to halt unrest by detaining those they consider to be organizers or instigators, and by patrolling black townships in force. Troops in some townships east of Johannesburg mounted foot patrols today to augment sweeps by armored vehicles.

Spokesmen for the committee have said they are concerned that in the climate of fear and uncertainty in the black townships patrolled by army and police units, the emergency powers might cloak brutal action.

### Wide-Ranging Powers

"We have great fear for the safety of those in detention," the committee's statement today said. "The authorities have even greater powers of arrest and detention and there are fewer safeguards to protect detainees."

Under the emergency powers, any

member of the security forces, made up of the military, the police, the railway police and prison guards, can detain people without charge and search buildings without warrants. They also are exempt from legal action for what they do.

"The secrecy clauses of the state of emergency are particularly dangerous, given the death squads we know to exist," the committee's statement said. It referred to reports, before the emergency was imposed, that officially sanctioned vigilantes had started a retribution drive against black activists. The police have denied the existence of such groups.

### Prisons Are Overcrowded

The committee said South Africa's prisons already had 38 percent more people than they were designed to hold. The capacity of the nation's prisons is estimated at 75,000 to 85,000 people.

In 1983, the Government said the average daily population of the prisons was 105,509, against a capacity of 74,378. New prisons capable of holding 10,800 inmates were supposed to have been built since then, according to the most recent figures compiled by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Under prison rules related to the emergency powers, detainees are supposed to be kept apart from one another and are subject to punishment, including reduced food rations, for violating a code of behavior. Among the broadly worded offenses listed in that code, a detainee cannot sing, whistle or make unnecessary noise, cause unnecessary trouble or be a nuisance.

Many middle-ranking black political activists, mainly from the United Democratic Front, are reported to have gone underground since the emergency was imposed. Civil rights activists said their absence has served to fuel concern among associates about their whereabouts and well-being.

Meanwhile today, President P. W. Botha offered an ambiguous response to a proposal for talks by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond M. Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize. He told an interviewer that he was ready to meet the South African leader to discuss ways to end the violence.

President Botha began his reply by saying he was always willing to negotiate with anyone not propagating violence.

"Unfortunately," he added, "I cannot negotiate with other people or make appointments for discussions by means of the public media." Bishop Tutu has consistently renounced violence, but official South African statements have sought to link him with unrest.

THE WASHINGTON POST

SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1985 A19

# Police Accused of Brutality

## S. African Group Says Detainees Beaten, Some Held Hostage

By Glenn Frankel  
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, July 26—An opposition human rights group today accused police of brutality during South Africa's six-day-old state of emergency, while the government announced the arrests of 118 more persons under its broad emergency regulations.

Also today, the South African Council of Churches called for the immediate release of the detainees and warned that South Africa faces "a disastrous aftermath" if it continues the large-scale crackdown on government opponents.

The official total of arrests following the declaration of the state of emergency, that took effect at midnight Saturday, now stands at 910. But a spokesman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee said the organization believes dozens more persons have been detained, based on accounts received at their Johannesburg office.

Meanwhile, President Pieter W. Botha, in response to a call for negotiations over ending the state of emergency by Bishop Desmond Tutu, a black leader, said, "I am always willing to negotiate with anyone who does not propagate violence."

The spokesman for the parents' committee, who requested anonymity, said the committee had compiled several accounts of police misconduct from witnesses since the proclamation took effect.

Police spokesmen denied the accusation that police generally have used emergency powers as a license to terrorize township residents.

"We're trying to normalize the situation, and that means police must be seen by people in the community to have the utmost patience," said Maj. Steve van Rooyen. "We realize we can't restore peace by shooting people."

Among the most serious cases cited by the Parents Committee:

- Two black youths alleged that they and a third person had been beaten in the Springs police station east of Johannesburg. According to the youths, they and a man named Joseph Hlwaele were arrested Sunday and taken to the station, where they were forced to strip naked and lie on a rug while police kicked and trampled them with their boots.

- Family members reported two incidents in which police allegedly took hostages in Tembisa.

In the first, police came early in the morning to the home of Gregory Thulare, a student activist. When they found he was not there, they arrested his father Difa, a trade union shop steward, allegedly telling his family they would release him when the son appeared. Gregory Thulare was detained later that morning, but the father was not released, the spokesman said.

In the second incident, police came to a house to arrest another student activist. When they could not find him, they took into custody his sister's 4-year-old son, saying they would trade the child for the

activist. They released the child the next day, according to family members, although they had not found the student.

The spokesman said the committee also has eyewitness accounts of random beatings with gun butts and whips called *gamboks* by police in the townships of Tsekane and Alexandra Monday and Tuesday.

Police spokesman van Rooyen confirmed that Difa and Gregory Thulare had both been detained under the emergency powers act, but said he could not comment on the specific allegations of police misconduct.

Under the emergency regulations, the police force and the Army have the power to arrest anyone deemed a threat to public safety in 36 designated cities and towns, including Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

The Council of Churches' statement today warned that by detaining clergymen, labor leaders and community workers, the government was taking from black townships "the restraining hand of mature leadership."

Few incidents of unrest were reported today.

Meanwhile, another 447 people were arrested yesterday by police in the Transkei, a nominally independent black "homeland" in eastern Cape Province, the homeland commissioner of police reported this morning. He said most were later released but 170 had been held and charged with various offenses.

HAVE THEM DEMAND THAT PRETORIA LIFT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AT ONCE AND RELEASE IMMEDIATELY ALL DETAINEES AND POLITICAL PRISONERS.

ON A sunny day last summer, Mr P. W. Botha sat down to lunch at Chequers with Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the first South African leader to pay an official visit to a British Prime Minister since the halcyon days of Smuts.

It was the high point of what looked like a comeback trail for the world's number one pariah state. Botha had just signed a 'good neighbours' treaty with radical Mozambique that seemed likely to put an end to the threat of internal guerrilla war by the African National Congress, which was operating out of there.

He had just won an overwhelming electoral victory to endorse a new national Constitution, which breached the political colour bar and looked as though it would put an end to the threat from the Afrikaner right wing.

With the United States committed to a policy of unprecedented warmth, Botha was touring Europe to present South Africa's case for re-acceptance into the community of respectable nations. He went on to be received by the Pope, before returning home to a hero's welcome.

Now, just one year later, South Africa has swung from that highest point in its recent history to the lowest. This weekend, it is facing its worst crisis ever, both internally and internationally. It is racked by racial unrest approaching the proportions of a revolution. Parts of the country are now regarded as ungovernable, causing the Government to declare a state of emergency despite the sweeping security powers it already has in statutory law.

Mass arrests are being made, as police with lists of names move through the African townships knocking on doors at dead of night. Many people have vanished, perhaps into secret detention, perhaps into exile. Scenes of terrible violence, white on black and black on black, have appeared on television screens around the world.

The US Congress is getting ready to enact sanctions legislation, and last week the snowballing American campaign crossed the Atlantic as France announced an investment freeze and the withdrawal of its ambassador. The shock caused gold and other South African share prices to plummet, taking the rand down with them.

What went wrong?

The short answer is that President Botha's vaunted reforms had within them the seeds of their own destruction. They are, in fact, not so much reforms as an attempt to reformulate apartheid, modernising a system that had become antiquated and largely unworkable.

It is a shift from the politics of pure racial domination to a more subtle one of co-opting allies into a new middle-class alliance which the whites, and specifically the Afrikaner National Party, will continue to dominate.

That at any rate is how blacks see it. Botha supporters explain it differently, arguing that it was intended as a process of gradual adaptation that would take South Africa step by step away

from apartheid. There could be no dramatic abandoning of the old system, because the party had to take its deeply conservative white supporters with it.

It was a problem of differing perceptions, says Willie Breytenbach, until three weeks ago the Government's Director of Constitutional Planning and now a professor of politics at Stellenbosch University.

'If I were black, I would probably also perceive the reforms as part of grand apartheid,' Breytenbach admits. 'As a civil servant, I saw them as



Botha: Worst crisis ever.

an important move away from that structure. We went as fast as was politically possible, and when I look back, I am proud of what we achieved.'

The unrest erupted, Breytenbach thinks, because the introduction of the reforms raised black expectations, but then the changes actually made, as blacks perceived them, fell short of their hopes. 'That is an explosive gap,' he says.

Others would say there was more to it than that. The new Constitution was devised by a Government-dominated council and was submitted for approval to a white referendum only. Black leaders were not consulted, nor were black communities given any opportunity to pass judgment on the new deal. In the only test of non-white opinion, at the coloured and Indian elections last August, it was rejected overwhelmingly.

The Government implemented the Constitution nonetheless. It was racial arrogance at its worst. Blacks saw it as an attempt to foist a new and more sinister system of oppression on them, deluding the world as it did so that apartheid was being abandoned. They determined to attack the new system and render it unworkable.

Those blacks who were seen to have been co-opted, the new Coloured and Indian MPs and the black town councillors, became targets of this attack. They were labelled collaborators and, as the unrest intensified, they suffered a terrible retribution.

From the outset, the Government over-reacted to the demonstrations. There is something in the Afrikaner mentality that makes it impossible to grant concessions in the face of pressure; for fear that this will be taken as a sign of weakness. Law and order must be restored first, then, perhaps, a concession or two can be considered.

The heavy-handed police action fuelled black anger, inflaming the resistance instead of crushing it. As the violence grew worse, the prospect of the Government trying to end it

with some concessionary gesture became more and more remote.

When residents of black townships in the Vaal Triangle, south of Johannesburg, demonstrated against a big rent increase, the Government put on a show of force by calling out the Army to surround the townships, while police went from door to door searching households and arresting hundreds of people.

The infuriated residents pressured their newly-formed trade unions into taking protest action. The unions, which until then had tried to avoid political involvement at this early stage of their development, joined a call for a three-day protest strike. The Government retaliated by detaining the leaders of the country's two biggest union federations. Though they were released soon afterwards, this irrevocably politicised the black union movement.

With each new twist, the Government stepped up its repression. In response, the township rebellion became more violent and more purposeful.

Last March in the eastern Cape Province, orders were given that riot police should stop carrying teargas or rubber-bullet guns. They were issued with lethal weapons only. This led to the killing of 20 people in Uitenhage's Langa township on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. In the outraged aftermath, there were further demonstrations, boycotts and protest strikes. Now the Army is being used routinely to patrol dozens of black ghettos, making them look like towns under military occupation.

For their part, the African nationalists are now waging open war against the black councillors and others seen as collaborators in what is called 'the system.'

Some 120 councillors have been attacked, and five have been killed, including a mayor and two deputy mayors. Seventy-five have had their homes burnt down and 147, including the entire councils of seven townships, have resigned. No one can be found to stand for re-election. Last week a Johannesburg newspaper reported that of the 38 councils given the highest level of autonomy under the new system, only two are still functioning.

The attacks have also been

# THE ROAD TO REVOLUTION

## SOUTH AFRICA'S CRISIS

The violence that has swept through the black townships since September, with the loss of hundreds of lives, has made South Africa look ungovernable. The state of emergency ordered by President Botha has served only to intensify international pressure against apartheid. ALLISTER SPARKS reports from Johannesburg on the escalation towards revolution.

aimed at black policemen living in the townships and, even more venomously, at the hated security police informers. More than 50 policemen have been killed, often by having hand-grenades lobbed into their homes.

There have been acts of appalling mob violence against those perceived to be collaborators, as television viewers in Britain saw, when a young girl suspected of being an informer was beaten and burned to death before the cameras at a funeral in Duduza township a week ago.

The Deputy Mayor of Sharpeville, Sam Dlamini, was hacked to death with machetes on his doorstep, and his body was flung in the family car and set on fire.

In Uitenhage's Kwanobuhle township, rioters attacked the home of Mayor Tamsanga Kinikini. As the family cowered in the house, they saw the eldest son, who ran for help, grabbed by the mob and dismembered in the street. As the mob burst into the house, Kinikini shot his younger son in the head to save him from a similar fate, before he was himself overwhelmed and killed. Their bodies were

burned and the mob danced on the ashes.

These attacks have wrecked 'the system' of administration in the townships, and gone a long way towards answering the ANC's call to make the townships ungovernable and 'no go' areas for police and officials. But they have appalled many supporters of the black cause, particularly Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner.

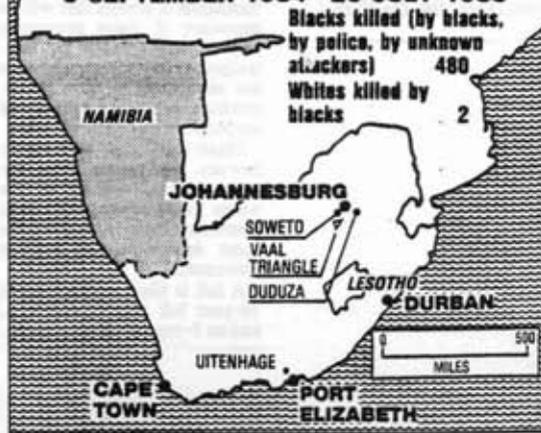
Tutu is a hero to the young blacks, who admire him for his courage and forthrightness. But there is a distinct coolness when he appeals, as he did again last weekend, for an end to the violent retribution. His words are lost on the wind. Revolutions are not won that way, mutter his angry young listeners.

While such violence has been a daily feature of life in the black townships for nearly a year, white South Africans are uninvolved in it. The townships are set apart, out of sight, and events there are scantily reported and do not impinge upon the tranquillity of white suburbia. To drive home to Johannesburg from the fevered atmosphere of a township funeral is like crossing an invisible frontier into another country.

Until two weeks ago, Soweto itself had been curiously untouched by the unrest. Though it is by far the biggest and most highly politicised of all the black townships, it had remained an island of relative calm, while smaller townships to the south and east of it burned.

But on 17 July, this suddenly changed. A hundred people charged with attending an illegal gathering were due to appear in a Soweto court that morning. With the strange unanimity that characterises these events, crowds began flocking to the court. Schools emptied as pupils poured out into the streets and began making their way to the trial. Some hijacked buses and drove themselves there. Within

### DEATH TOLL OF VIOLENCE 3 SEPTEMBER 1984 - 26 JULY 1985





Picture by KEVIN CARTER/SYGMA

**Defiance in Duduza:** Heavy-handed police action has fuelled black anger and inflamed resistance, not crushed it.

hours, the township was ablaze with unrest, and the police had to rescue a busload of foreign tourists on a guided tour.

For three days, the rioting continued, during which Soweto's mayor, Edward Kunene, had his house set on fire, and the trouble showed signs of spilling over into some of Johannesburg's white suburbs. It was this that decided the Government to declare an emergency.

As Botha sat down with his Cabinet that Friday to consider the crisis, two things were uppermost in his mind. One was a confidential opinion poll taken among party supporters, showing a sharp increase in dissatisfaction with the Government for allowing the unrest to continue. It was being accused of weakness, of hesitating for fear of offending foreign opinion. The other was precisely the fear that the new international image Botha has so assiduously fostered would be shattered, if he took more drastic action.

### Tougher action

The declaration of a state of emergency seemed to be the answer, an act dramatic enough to reassure the world that Botha was as tough as his predecessors, while at the same time presenting to the world a stamp of legitimacy for the tougher action he wanted to take. After all, even the best democracies sometimes declare states of emergency.

Will it, in fact, restore law and order? Perhaps, for a time.

The current wave of unrest will be more difficult to suppress than those of 1960 and 1976. Then it was relatively easy to ban a few highly visible organisations and slap their leaders in detention. Now the authorities face a more amorphous body of activists.

The United Democratic Front, formed to co-ordinate opposition to the new Constitution, is the standard bearer of the resistance. But the UDF

itself is only an umbrella, little more than an identifying idea. The real activists are in more than 700 affiliated organisations, trade unions, sports and student bodies, church, community and miscellaneous other organisations, all of which broadly subscribe to a declaration of non-racial ideals called the 'Freedom Charter,' drafted by a 'Congress of the People,' which the ANC convened in 1955.

The alliance's looseness is its strength. Over the past eight months, the security police have arrested 36 of the UDF's top leadership and charged them with treason, thus putting them out of action as they become involved in their long trials. This has had no effect. It is in the hundreds of grassroots bodies around the country that the action is being organised.

That is why the Government needed to declare a state of emergency: to legitimise the thousands of arrests that will be necessary if these grassroots organisations are to be neutralised. That is why the police are now moving through the townships with their long lists of suspects.

Often it is a case of arrest by hearsay, and often there are other leaders waiting in the wings to take over. Still, such operations do disrupt even the most determined of activist movements.

A lull is likely. There was a 16-year lull after Sharpeville, and an 8-year lull after Soweto.

But each new uprising has been bigger and more protracted than the last. That pattern is likely to continue, until there is continuous endemic trouble with periodic peaks of crisis—a stage which may be drawing close.

Could the Government break this ominous pattern by introducing effective reforms?

Theoretically, yes. But that would require releasing Nelson Mandela from prison, ending the ban on the ANC and beginning serious negotiations with it for a new Constitution, something which the Government shows no sign of being ready even to contemplate.

There is too much ideological baggage in the way, and there are too many obsessions about Communists in the background intent on destroying the Afrikaner and establishing a godless Socialist State.

Yet nothing less than the ANC will do. Anyone who has been in the black townships over the past 10 months and sensed the mood at those huge political funerals is left in no doubt that the ANC, though banned and out of sight for a whole generation, is the organisation that commands the hearts and minds of the people.

If the Government continues to deal only with its own black nominees, through its own institutional structures, it will simply put the mark of Cain upon them. Then the pattern of staggered escalation will continue to its ultimate climax some time in the Nineties.

FROM: Betsy Landis

DATE: 30 July 1985

Once again the Reagan administration, in the name of anti-terrorism, is seeking to make members of Liberation movements subject to extradition virtually on demand of the government they are rebelling against.

This is to be accomplished by effectively eliminating the provision in every American treaty that bars extradition of persons charged with offenses of a political character.

The administration tried to achieve this result several years ago by legislation affecting all extradition treaties; but Congress refused to go along. Now it is trying to get the same result by revising the terms of each extradition treaty, starting with the United States-United Kingdom treaty. The proposed revision specifically lists crimes that may not be found by a court to be offenses "of a political character," i.e., offenses for which persons may not be extradited: The list includes virtually every possible political offense more serious than trespass.

#### Background

The political crimes defense to extradition is found in the treaties of most Western countries; Congress insisted on the inclusion of such clauses about a century and a half ago before the Senate would consent to any American extradition treaties. Over the years it has enabled our government to avoid committing itself, by treaty, to help other nations suppress any and every rebellion, regardless of the circumstances; or to have to return defeated rebels to "victor's justice."

As the courts have interpreted the political crimes defense, it does NOT protect persons accused of "wanton crimes" against civilians, such as bombing a department store or hijacking an airplane.

But it does protect a person who has been accused of "murder" when the death occurred in fact in a shoot-out between government troops and revolutionary soldiers. These are the facts of the Doherty case, involving an IRA partisan, in which two American judges, in separate extradition proceedings, upheld the political crimes defense. (The Thatcher government and the Reagan administration hope to annul those two court decisions\* by making the proposed treaty revision apply retroactively.)

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\* Matter of Doherty by the Government of the United Kingdom, 599 F.Supp. 270 (S.D.N.Y. 1984); United States v. Doherty, 85 Civ. 935 (CSH) (S.D. N.Y. 25 June 1985).

#### Potential Application to Members of African Liberation Movements

The proposed revision of the US-UK extradition treaty has been signed and sent to the Senate for ratification (2/3 vote required). If this succeeds, the administration will attempt to revise other extradition treaties similarly, using approval of the UK treaty revision as a precedent.

(continued)

The United States has an extradition treaty with South Africa. If revised in the manner proposed for the UK treaty, African National Congress members involved in, for example, mortaring a military base in the northern Transvaal or an attack on a police station, could not prevent their extradition on the ground that such acts, although violent, were offenses of a political character: that is, that they were typical acts of an organized revolutionary force that did not cause wanton injury to civilians and therefore were not acts of "terrorism."

Indeed, if a revised extradition treaty with South Africa were to contain the same item found in Art. I (i) (2) of the proposed UK treaty revision, a South African resident in the USA might be extradited for conspiring with rebel bombers back home even though he never left the United States!

If the US-South African extradition treaty, which covers Namibia, were to be revised in the way proposed for the US-UK treaty, Pretoria would be able to extradite former Namibian freedom fighters now in the United States for their participation in the war against South Africa's illegal occupation of their country.

All that could prevent extradition--even though it would be a gross violation of international law-- would be a possible decision by the administration to refuse extradition for political reasons. However, given the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement" and its attribution of blame for violence in Namibia to both the occupied and the occupier, such a decision would be highly unlikely. If the administration is willing to hold up the independence of the entire Territory of Namibia in order to get Cuban soldiers out of Angola, it is probable that it would sacrifice any number of Namibian individuals to South Africa's extradition demands for other "reasons of state."

The way to protect members of national liberation movements in this country is to end, right now, the administration's scheme to revise all American extradition treaties. All friends of Africa should therefore try to persuade the Senate to reject the proposed prototype revision of the US-UK treaty, which is now before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for its recommendation to the full Senate.

Write to:

- (1) your Senators;
- (2) Senator Richard Lugar  
Chairperson, Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510; and
- (3) Senator Claiborne Pell  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510  
(He is the ranking Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee)

Urge them to reject the proposed revision of the US-UK extradition treaty: "Supplementary Extradition Treaty between the United States of America and the United Kingdom," signed 25 June 1985.

It will be helpful if you send a copy of your letters to the lawyers for Joseph Doherty:

Somerstein & Pike  
170 Broadway, Suite 808  
New York, N. Y. 10038.

## Pressure on the Shopkeepers

### Black Boycott in S. Africa's Cape Area Has Strong Impact on White Stores

By Glenn Frankel  
Washington Post Foreign Service

PORT ELIZABETH, South Africa—Customers fill the narrow, dirt-tracked aisles of the Cab supermarket in Zwide, one of this city's sprawling black townships. Shelves are jammed with goods, and 20-pound bags of potatoes and cornmeal are stacked outside the door. Asked how much business has increased recently, owner Alfred Makwela just smiled and said, "It's a secret."

About a mile away at the Springbok Butchery, a spotless, ultramodern grocery store in the white-owned shopping district known as Sidwell, the aisles are vacant. Employees loiter around unused electronic cash registers. "You can see for yourself—it's empty," said the manager, who refused to give his name.

The striking contrast illustrates the impact of the newest and possibly most effective weapon South

Africa's disenfranchised black majority is wielding against the country's white-minority government—its buying power. For the last few weeks, blacks in the eastern Cape region, led by local organizations affiliated with the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, have begun boycotting all nonblack stores in their communities.

The boycott has dealt a body blow to white businesses in more than a half dozen cities and towns, including Grahamstown, Queenstown, Cradock, Uitenhage, Port Alfred and—beginning 10 days ago—Port Elizabeth. Many analysts believe the protests are one of the reasons the government declared a state of emergency in most of this region last weekend.

The proclamation appears so far to have had no impact in bringing the boycotts to a halt. If anything,

See **BOYCOTT**, A18, Col. 3

■ *South African police accused of brutality.* Page A19

## Boycott Felt by S. African Whites

**BOYCOTT**, From A1

some people in Zwide say, the new crackdown has only made residents angrier and more determined to stay away from white commerce. There is also talk of spreading the boycotts to other parts of the country to protest the emergency.

The subsequent roundup by police of dozens of activists has also created a dilemma for white business leaders, who are seeking to negotiate an end to the boycott. Now that they are ready to talk, they find they have no one to talk to.

"We felt towards the end of last week we were really getting somewhere, although things were at a delicate stage," said Tony Gilson, director of the city's Chamber of Commerce, as he described talks his group is conducting with boycott leaders. "There's no question that the state of emergency has jeopardized those negotiations."

Boycotts in fact have a long tradition in South Africa and reached their peak during the 1950s when they were regularly used in an attempt to wrest concessions from the government. They fell out of favor because of their lack of success.

Their return here is partly a recognition of the growing buying power of the black community, which two years ago for the first time accounted for more than half this country's retail sales. It also is a byproduct of the rise of a new set of grassroots community organizations that appear to have the discipline and support to make these measures stick.

Sometimes the boycotts appear spontaneously, as when residents of the town of Cradock stopped frequenting white-owned stores late last month to protest the mysterious murders of four black activists there. At other times, the measures are planned well ahead.

In Port Elizabeth, community organizers laid the groundwork three weeks early, drawing up a list of demands, holding small meetings to discuss the plans and warning black businesses to increase their stocks. The businessmen were also warned to lower their prices and not gouge customers during the action.

The demands here include the withdrawal of the Army from the townships, an end to the mysterious "disappearances" of local black leaders—which many here blame on the police—and a lifting of the gov-

ernment's ban on political meetings. They also want the government to scrap the black local authorities act that set up nominally self-governing township councils that opponents contend are occupied by black "collaborators."

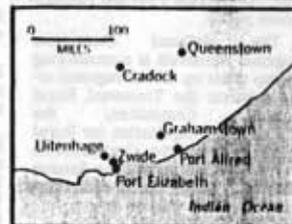
"Our intention is not revenge or to destroy the retailers in town, but to drive home to the state the importance of these issues," said Mkhusele Jack, spokesman for the boycott committee. "The boycott, as far as we are concerned, is the only way we can express our views."

White businessmen are quick to point out they cannot directly meet any of these demands, but Jack said he expected the business community to use "its powerful influence" on the government.

The boycott's impact so far has been devastating on this city, which has already been hard hit by South Africa's lingering economic recession. The head of the local traders association warned that half of the city's small shops may be forced to close if the action continues. A survey by the opposition Federal Progressive Party here last week showed business losses ranging from 30 to 100 percent.

One of the methods by which the boycott is enforced is intimidation, many here say. Boycott activists attempt to monitor white stores or observe buses returning to the townships from white areas, looking for people with packages. "If they catch you, they'll burn your house," said a black businessman. "It has happened here several times."

Ebenezer Makina, an activist in the Azanian People's Organization, the UDF's major rival here, said his group does not support the boycott because it believes such measures hurt the black community economically without compelling real change from the government. He pointed out that blacks will lose jobs if white businesses begin to fold. Nonetheless, he said his organization has kept "a low profile" on the



BY LARRY FOOTE—THE WASHINGTON POST

issue because the boycott is being widely adhered to in the townships.

Jack did not deny intimidation has taken place but said his committee set up a special group to monitor and prevent it. As of last week, he said, it had received no complaints.

"Every black who is suffering knows the boycott has a purpose, and its purpose is to help us," said a black high school teacher in Zwide, who asked not to be identified by name.

There has been a white backlash. Some white shop owners have suggested the government shut off food supplies or close township businesses—powers it can wield under the emergency declaration. Many businesses have begun laying off some of their black workers.

Business spokesmen generally have taken a conciliatory approach. "We're willing to talk with anybody," Gilson said. "We know many of the grievances are things we can't handle, but we're willing to play the role of honest broker."

The problem now is that the business community can't find anyone to talk to. Some of the boycott leaders are in jail, arrested since the emergency took effect Sunday.



Striking South African bakery workers march through streets of Durban

# Forced removals still a spectre

By Jo-Anne Collage

The spectre of forced removal still haunts the future of nearly 2,4 million South Africans, says the National Committee Against Removals.

And, it adds, they may still be carted from their homes despite the Government's revised resettlement policy.

The National Committee Against Removals is a monitoring group made up of four regional organisations: the Transvaal Rural Action Committee, the Natal-based Association for Rural Advancement, the Grahamstown Rural Committee and the Surplus People Project in the Western Cape.

Its updated tally of people under threat of removal and those uprooted since the Surplus People Project completed its count in 1980, was made public in Cape Town at the launch of a book entitled "The Surplus People".

The National Committee Against Removals estimates that from 1981 to 1983, the period after Dr Piet Koornhof's promise that as far as practicable there would be no more forced removals, at least 334 232 relocations took place.

More than 145 000 of these occurred in Transvaal; the Free State accounted for more than 100 000.

Speaking for the committee, the book's co-author Laurine Platsky viewed the Government's new deal on removals with pessimism.

She pointed out that Minister of Co-operation and Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen had only stated he was willing to reconsider the removal of certain black spots and formal townships which were to have been disestablished.

The most threatened households did not fall into these categories, she said.

For instance, farm workers, who by law may not live on a property unless engaged to work there for a cash wage, accounted for one million of those under threat.

Ms Platsky said Onverwacht/Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, was South Africa's largest closer settlement, the official term for a

government-approved self-built village.

Its official population was 240 000 and most of these people were displaced farm workers.

Farm workers and labour tenants were the least organised and most vulnerable to forced removal, Ms Platsky claimed.

Though their numbers were big, their problems passed largely unremarked.

For instance, it was not widely known that 67 families had been moved off Weenen farms in Natal in the last week of May alone.

Forty-seven of these families had ended up in the tin-town resettlement camp of Waaihoek near Ladysmith, where water had to be trucked in, mosquitoes infested the toilets and employment opportunities were scarce.

In addition to the farm workers, she said, hundreds of thousands of rural people were likely to be forced to move in the process of redrawing borders to consolidate the homelands.

Furthermore, the Minister had stated emphatically that squatting under unhygienic conditions would not be tolerated, she added.

The committee listed 265 000 people at risk in informal housing settlements.

Ms Platsky noted that the Surplus People Project, a forerunner to the present National Committee Against Removals, had been accused by the Government of inflating its figures.

But she insisted that both the Surplus People Project and the National Committee Against Removals had been conservative in their estimates.

For instance when Deputy Minister Mr Sam de Beer revealed that 638 000 in urban townships had been under threat, the committee had been aware of only 157 000 of these.

She commented on the growing sophistication of the State's removal strategy: "Today fewer people are trucked out of their areas and dumped en masse in the veld."

"More common now are motivational efforts, such as vague promises, ambiguous statements, announcements and retractions, rumours and harassment."

She said there were new official catch phrases such as "removal for development",

"urban renewal", "the leaders agreed to move" and "voluntary removal".

But these words did not reflect the reality experienced by the people, she insisted.

While the Government blurred the distinctions between consultation, negotiation and agreement on removals, the concepts remained worlds apart.

Said Ms Platsky: "People may have been consulted, but that does not mean they were allowed to negotiate and it certainly does not mean they agreed to move."

"Perhaps the most devastating and depressing part of forced removals is that they are implemented and justified in terms of the law."

"The desperate conditions to be found in South Africa's relocation areas are not a result of some tragic natural disaster but of carefully considered legislation intended to divide and control the people in an attempt to maintain economic and political power in the hands of the white minority."

Mr Cosmas Desmond, who wrote the pioneering work on removals, "The Discarded People", says much the same in his foreword to the new book.

He says the policy of forced removals is not a result of a sadistic aberration; it is not the expression of a pathological negrophobia; above all it is not a mistake.

He adds: "It is being done because it has to be done if apartheid is to survive."

"The foundations of apartheid would be shaken by the absence from white areas of blacks whose labour is needed there and by the presence in those areas of blacks who are superfluous."

The resettlement policy is the cornerstone of the whole edifice of apartheid."

# Don't be fooled — it's nothing but cosmetics

Star 5/6 p. 14



The way the government has fallen out with what was once its most important constituency, the Afrikaner farmers, reveals the one important change that has taken place in our politics — and helps explain why apartheid is now being reformulated.

From the days when Afrikaners called themselves Boers, the interests of the farming community were interwoven with those of Afrikaner Nationalism.

When the National Party attained power, the farmers became the most pampered community in the country, featherbedded with tax concessions, subsidies and artificially fixed producer prices. As Professor Jill Natrass of Rhodes has revealed, one-fifth of all farming income comes from government subsidies.

Constituencies were loaded in favour of the platteland, so that a farmer's vote was worth one-and-a-half times that of a townsman. It was that devaluation of the Opposition urban vote which enabled the National Party to entrench itself in power.

Now there has come a sudden rift in this symbolic relationship. The delegation from the maize producers' organisation, Nampo, which called on President Botha the other day not only failed to get the usual favourable consideration of its request for an increased producer price, but was apparently treated to one of the President's famous tirades.

Some angry farmers threatened to withhold maize supplies from the market. The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, countered with a threat to withdraw subsidies. Nampo's eight representatives on the Maize Marketing Board resigned in protest. The government promptly replaced them with nominees of its own, whom the farmers are now denouncing as "puppets".

It is like a British Labour Government declaring war on the TUC, with the difference that in this case Dr Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party is there to snap up the disaffected farmers. It is set to become the new party of the platteland.

This pinpoints the shift that has

class, which has different labour requirements.

Migrant labour is fine for farmers and gold mining companies, not for commerce and industry. The new Afrikaner capitalists need a skilled and settled labour force. To have that they must swallow hard and accept black trade unions. And permanent black settlement in the townships.

This new Afrikaner class has become a large and influential constituency, and it has put pressure on the government for the changes it needs.

President Botha has yielded to these pressures, and in the process is moving his base from the shrinking platteland constituency to the new urban one, abandoning the farmers to Dr Treurnicht.

Neo-apartheid, like old apartheid, is still designed to keep political control in white, and specifically in Afrikaner Nationalist, hands — permanently.

taken place in the Afrikaner community over the past two decades, leading to the political changes which the Botha Government is now making and trying to pass off as the dismantling of apartheid.

They are in fact the reformulation of apartheid to meet the changed requirements of a new breed of Afrikaner who has moved from the platteland to the cities.

In the days when the Afrikaners were the farmers and the English the entrepreneurs, government policy was designed to ensure a plentiful supply of cheap, unskilled labour to the farmers.

Those farmers who were forced by economic circumstance to leave the platteland and go to the cities ended up mostly as workers in factories and the mines. That meant the government's other major concern was to protect them from black competition and from having to live cheek by jowl with the blacks.

These considerations produced the original apartheid formula: the migrant labour system, which kept up the supply of unskilled labour but prevented it from becoming settled in the cities, job reservation, the prohibiting of black trade unionism, and strict physical segregation.

A generation of urbanisation, better education and the improved economic opportunities that come from having your own government in power, has now brought into existence a new Afrikaner capitalist

**FOREIGN NEWS**

Martin Bailey shows how South Africa could be crippled

# Pressure mounts on UN to extend sanctions

THE ARMS embargo is the only mandatory international sanction against South Africa. But there is growing pressure for the UN Security Council to extend it and for individual governments to take unilateral steps to isolate South Africa.

Attention is now focused on five main forms of economic pressure:

● Oil is South Africa's most vulnerable point of dependence on the outside world. Although all OPEC members officially embargo South Africa, imports of 200,000 barrels a day continue to flow through clandestine channels.

Britain's policy on selling North Sea crude oil effectively excludes South Africa. The embargo has no legal status and it is occasionally breached. There are no British restrictions on supplying North Sea crude through swap arrangements or selling refined oil products to South Africa.

● Bank loans are vital for the

South African economy. Foreign loans now provide about £2 billion a year, mainly for South African State corporations. British banks participate in most of these consortium loans, and they probably account for around a fifth of the total.

● Krugerrand sales bring South Africa nearly £1 billion a year. The United States is the largest market, followed by West Germany and Britain. A Krugerrand ban would hit South Africa's gold exports, its largest earner.

● An investment freeze would not have a major immediate effect on the South African economy, but it would reduce business confidence in the country's future. Last week France, South Africa's fourth largest investor, announced a freeze.

Britain is the largest investor, accounting for half the £10 billion of direct and indirect foreign investment. Net outward direct investment by British companies during 1982 was £228 million.

● A ban on supplying computers and nuclear technology would be a severe blow for South Africa's modern industrial sector and for its military capability.

The US is the major source of computers, followed by Britain with last year's exports running at £86 million. ICL is the main British company involved, with annual sales of more than £20 million.

France has helped build South Africa's nuclear power station at Koeberg, with its second reactor coming on stream last Thursday within hours of the investment freeze announcement. Britain has a policy of not helping the development of South Africa's nuclear weapons capability or its civil nuclear programme, although skilled scientists are recruited in London by the South African authorities.

These five forms of selective economic sanctions would have a severe impact on the South African economy while having little negative effect on the rest of the world. They would have

hardly any effect on unemployment in the West. Some sanctions would be easier to enforce than others, but even if the embargoes were only partially successful they would still increase costs for South Africa.

The next step in the sanctions battle is likely to depend on American moves. The Senate and House of Representatives are due to meet in September to co-ordinate their strategy, and President Reagan will probably be forced to accept some form of limited sanctions. Britain would then find itself isolated and would almost certainly have to follow suit.

STEVE VINES writes: The white collar union ASTMS claimed yesterday that a British company has been persuaded under union pressure to supply information on its South African operations to comply with the EEC code of conduct on the employment of black workers.

Roussel Laboratories of Uxbridge, a subsidiary of the German chemical combine Hoechst, has relented on its four-year long refusal to supply details. ASTMS claims that it has done so after pressure from fellow German unionists who are represented on Hoechst's supervisory board.

Roussel's managing director, Mr G. E. Powderham, said its black employees were being paid 'well above' UN and EEC recommended rates.



With threats of disinvestment looming, RONALD REAGAN makes sure his wallet is still in place.

Wednesday 3 July 1985

THE CITIZEN



THE CITIZEN Johannesburg 6 July 1985

## US supporters of divestment called 'callous'

**Citizen Reporter**  
AMERICAN disinvestment in South Africa was supported only by those elements committed to change through violence rather than economic growth, a leading American public policy activist said in Johannesburg yesterday.

The president of the Foundation for Economic Opportunity and former staff assistant to President Ronald Reagan, Mr William Keyes, said rapid progress in the political field would closely follow rapid economic growth.

Mr Keyes is one of the six guests of the South African Foundation — all of whom oppose disinvestment — on an eight-day tour of South Africa.

The others are Mr Jay Parker, president of the Lincoln Institute for Research and Education, Mr James Kendrick, executive vice-president of GenCorp Corporation, Los Angeles, Mr Henry Miller, publisher of Mainstream America and chairman and chief executive officer of the GenCorp Corporation, Mr Errol Alexander, managing director of Jet Engine Testing Corporation, Connecticut, and Mr Biancho Drummond, a police detective and retired naval officer.

### Divergent

Mr Keyes said it was unfortunate that so few Americans realised the vastly divergent opinions of Black people in this country, among them the feeling that American companies in South Africa provided improved opportunities.

However, Mr Keyes also said freedom for everyone to pursue their

goals was at the heart of the issue and a necessary requirement for change in South Africa.

He called American politicians who supported disinvestment "callous and unhelpful" and "accused them of using the issue as a smokescreen for their own failure in catering for the needs of their constituents."

### Dialogue

Mr Alexander said a commitment towards dialogue with responsible Black and White leaders "and also irresponsible ones" from the Government was needed to change the current situation where the wealth of natural resources was be-

ing filtered out by the racist issue.

Mr Alexander saw the key to present problems as "job creation" and the employment of more Blacks to fill gaps which would be created by economic growth.

### Pressure

Addressing the security problem in this country, Mr Drummond said White policemen were going to have to negotiate with their Black colleagues on a more equal footing.

Businesses came under pressure, from Mr Miller, who said they could take the lead independently of the Government to educate and train individuals.



President Botha and Zulu Chief Buthelezi battle divestment. Photo: Pretoria News.

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