



OLIVER TAMBO:
Call for police to reb...

THE EMERGENCY ORDER IS "TO ENSURE THAT A NORMAL COMMUNITY LIFE IS REESTABLISHED"
-Botha

THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY 21 JULY 1985

Blacks urged to sabotage factories

by Our Africa Correspondent

WORKERS in South African factories have been urged by the banned African National Congress to sabotage machinery as part of the 'people's war' against apartheid.

An ANC broadcast on the Addis Ababa 'freedom radio' last week ordered supporters to wreck machines by 'removing vital parts or introducing foreign and dangerous elements.' Office workers were told to destroy or 'confuse' documents.

'Wherever you are, in whatever department you work, make sure that production is disrupted regularly,' said the broadcast.

Before yesterday's declaration of a State of Emergency, there was already widespread trouble in South African industry. Many of the strikes have political overtones. There is a threat of a total stoppage next month by 500,000 goldminers on the Rand.

The ANC admits that the present anti-apartheid riots in Soweto and other black townships are 'out of its control.' White-owned shops have been singled out for arson and looting attacks.

Francis Meli, the ANC's spokesman in London, said yesterday: 'The present violence is spontaneous. But there is a war situation, and in a war, civilians suffer.'

The ANC denies that it is embarking on a wholesale terror campaign against the white population in South Africa. Meli said: 'The efforts of our military wing, Spear of the Nation, are directed at military targets.'

'But that includes the police, army, councillors and white farmers who support the South African Defence Force.' He said that it was difficult now to know who ranked as a civilian

'so many whites in South Africa have guns.'

In the growing tempo of violence, white 'hit squads' are making their appearance. Religious organisations in Britain have been disturbed by well-founded reports that a black Anglican churchman in Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkane, has been put on a 'murder list.'

ANC president Oliver Tambo said at a conference last month in Zambia that the black police should 'turn their guns against their masters.' This is being interpreted as telling them to prepare ultimately for a general uprising.

The ANC claims that it manages to keep contact with its guerrillas operating inside South Africa. But some bomb blasts—there have been more than 70 so far this year—are thought to have been caused by groups outside its control.

Tensions are certain to be further inflamed early next month, with the start of the trial of 16 leaders of the United Democratic Front. All are charged with supporting a 'revolutionary alliance,' formed by the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Among those in the dock will be Albertina Sisulu, whose husband Walter is serving life imprisonment alongside Nelson Mandela. Mrs Sisulu, 67, is a co-president of the United Democratic Front.



NORMAL COMMUNITY LIFE



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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

TUESDAY, JULY 23, 1985

S. Africa's economy beset by recession and ongoing black unrest

By Patrick Laurence
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

Two things dominate the South African horizon: growing unrest in black townships and an economy in a state of severe recession. But there are hopes among economists that by early next year the recession will begin to lift.

The extent of the present recession is manifest in the decline of retail sales by 2.5 percent in the first quarter of 1985 compared to last year. New car sales fell by a hefty 30 percent over the same period. Manufacturing was 5 percent lower. Cutbacks in building and construction also have occurred.

Inflation, as measured by the consumer price index, has risen 10 percent since the beginning of last year and is running at more than 16 percent.

According to economist Nico Cypionaka, "The broad-based contraction of activity in three major segments of employment — retail trade, manufacturing industry, and building construction — has led to a substantial buildup in the number of unemployed workers."

Unemployment is difficult to quantify in South Africa. Official figures reflect

only registered unemployment, but the main component is unregistered black unemployment and underemployment.

It has been conservatively estimated by some analysts that there are a minimum of 3 million unemployed blacks. In South Africa's black homelands, about 50 percent of blacks are unemployed, says Prof. Jeremy Keenan of the University of the Witwatersrand.

"Now it's just worse," says an economist with a major bank, commenting on the impact of the present recession on black unemployment.

But, economists aver, the outlook is not entirely gloomy. The fall in the value of the rand as measured against foreign currencies, particularly the US dollar, has led to a decline in imports of 20 percent, helping to stem the outflow of money.

The immediate cause of the present recession is largely the overspending in late 1983 and early 1984 funded by "domestic credit extension and borrowing abroad," as one economist put it.

That period saw a sharp depreciation in the rand which, in turn, prompted the Reserve Bank to attempt cooling down the economy by pushing up the prime borrowing rate from 22 to 25 percent. In-



Gold mines provide crucial export earnings

stead, as one economic analyst noted, the economy was temporarily "frozen" instead of merely cooled down.

A conjunction of economically hostile factors in 1983 exacerbated the situation: the falling price of gold, coal, and iron ore and the worst drought in decades. Last year South Africa had to import corn.

Net outflow of capital further documents South Africa's economic problems. In the first quarter of 1985 there was an outflow of 2.4 billion rand (about \$1.2 billion) against an inflow of 1.3 billion rand. The 1.1 billion rand shortfall will have to

be made good by drawing on South Africa's gold and foreign exchange reserves or by borrowing money abroad.

Explosive unrest in the black townships which began last year has only made things worse. It diverted resources and discouraged foreign investment. The growing disinvestment campaign in the United States is making recovery that much more difficult.

On the positive side economists point out that exports have increased with the result that the annualized surplus for 1985 is being projected at between 4 and 5 billion rand, helping reduce South Africa's balance-of-payments debt.

Other sectors in the economy, like gold — the price of which remains high in rand terms — are reasons for optimism.

The drought has largely broken and the projected grain harvest for 1985 is in excess of domestic demand, thus holding out the hope of exporting grain.

Most important is the government's determination to cut back on state expenditure. "The 1985 budget, introduced after three successive years of high inflation and little or no real growth, may prove to mark a turning point in our economic affairs," Mr. Relly said.



Rev. Allan Boesak.



The Rev. Beyers Naude

The South African Council of Churches at it's annual national conference of 27 June 1985 decided to send an urgent telex to the State President of South Africa as a response to the deaths and injured on the East Rand on 26 June 1985 as follows....

1 Stating that according to information received by the conference, we believe that the view of the people (of the East Rand) that violence was perpetrated from the side of the authorities, must be taken seriously.

2 Demanding an immediate withdrawal of the members of the South African Defence Force and Riot Police from the black townships, and that he (Mr Botha) gives a solid commitment to convene a national convention representative of all the authentic leaders of South Africa to discuss an end to *apartheid* in this country.

3 Demanding a reply to this telex by 10 AM tomorrow (South African time)

The telex is signed by the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude.



339 Lafayette Street
New York, N.Y. 10012

—For A Free Southern Africa—

Phone: (212) 477-0066

State President P W Botha sent the following letter to the South African Council of Churches on 1 July 1985 in reply to our demand as telexed . My reply to his letter also telexed herewith:

"Dr C F B Naude
General Secretary
South African Council of Churches
P O Box 31190
Braamfontein 2017

I am rather surprised at the way in which you and certain representatives of the churches which belong to the South African Council of Churches, take it upon yourselves to instruct the government and other organisations on how to act in the interest of South Africa.

You have no mandate to assume this arrogant attitude on the national affairs of South Africa. You should decide whether you are a church organisation or political activist group.

You demand the withdrawal of members of the South African Defence Force and South African police from black townships, where they operate to protect law-abiding citizens. At the same time you enjoy the security they guarantee for you to express whatever irresponsible opinions you may wish to express under the cloak of religion.

You are playing into the hands of South Africa's enemies and I wish to denounce this attitude, because you are not representative of the vast majority of law-abiding South Africans.

I must warn you against irresponsible actions because this country cannot afford to be subjected to such malicious propaganda on your part.

Yours faithfully

State President"

"The State President
Union Buildings
Pretoria

Your Excellency

I herewith acknowledge receipt of your letter of 1 July 1985 in reply to the telex of the South African Council of Churches of 27 June 1985 sent on behalf of its National Conference. In replying I have to state that I deeply regret your reaction both as regards the contents and the tone thereof. The contents of the telex verbally conveyed a resolution passed by the conference after a debate which reflected feelings not of arrogance but of intense anguish and a deep concern of christian leaders seeking to achieve peace with justice for the whole of South Africa, black and white.

The mandate we as a Council and as a Conference hold is to portray truthfully the demands of the gospel which pertain to every sphere of life and the need for both church and state to be obedient to the rule of God. Where the rule of man is in contradiction with the rule of God (as the case is regarding the policy of Apartheid) we are in duty bound to obey God rather than man, not for our own sake but for the sake of also protecting the highest interests of the State. This includes the protection of persons exercising power in the framework of the state against the danger of their eventual destruction.

Our action as a church organisation was motivated by this deep christian concern and as such it is not an action of political activism but a moral responsibility which we are obliged by God to fulfill.

The conference did not demand the withdrawal of the South African Police as such because we have never questioned its responsibility to execute its normal duties. Our concern referred to the role of the Riot Police in situations of conflict and unrest in the townships based on the evidence of the reactions of widespread anger of residents created by its presence and actions.

We reject in the strongest terms your accusation that we are playing into the hands of South Africa's enemies. We are convinced that it is the policy of Apartheid which contributes more than anything else to such enmity which does not originate from outside the country but which above all emanates from within. We believe that we as a Council reflect truthfully the feelings of the majority of Christians of South Africa through the leadership of the member churches of the Council and that we speak in great responsibility for, if we do not speak, the stones will cry out.

Further consideration will be given to the contents of your letter at the next meeting of our executive.

C F B Naude

General Secretary
S A Council of Churches

2 July 1985"

Daily blood-letting marks path to war

TWICE daily, at noon and 8pm, the "public relations division" at South African police headquarters in Pretoria, issues its "unrest situation report". Dry, sparse of detail, the reports sometimes fail to take their rightful places on newspaper front pages, displaced by the national mourning, among whites, over the cancellation of the All Black's tour, or reports on the state of President Reagan's colon.

But from behind these official tallies of daily violence in South Africa, a horrific story is gradually emerging — of terror and counter-terror, of a country which seems to be steadily slipping towards civil war.

Monday night's situation report was a model of its kind: ... in Tarkastad, in the Free State, police dispersed people who attacked a councillor's home with

stones and then stoned police cars.

"The crowd was dispersed with tear-smoke and rubber bullets. One black woman was killed and 21 men wounded, medically treated and arrested for public violence in Darlington, near Fort Beaufort, the charred body suspected to be that of a black person, was discovered by police under a heap of burning tyres ... in Graaff-Reinet a car and officers belonging to the development board were set alight by a group of people. Police who arrived were stoned.

"They dispersed the large crowd with tear-smoke and bird-shot. One man died, two were wounded and hospitalised under police guard on a charge of public violence

Yesterday a pregnant woman was shot dead when police fired on a crowd stoning cars, in Lynville, east of

BEHIND South African police tallies of deaths and arrests, a story of terror and counter-terror is gradually emerging, reports David Beresford from Johannesburg.

Johannesburg, the South African Press Association reported. The woman was reportedly hit in the head as the crowd stampeded away from police using teargas. Police could not confirm or deny the incident.

The violence spreads right across the huge country, but the worst of it has been concentrated over the past few weeks along the Witwatersrand, east of Johannesburg, where the names of previously obscure townships have become increasingly familiar to a national and international audience.

Four of them in particular, Duduza, KwaThema, Tsakane and Kallehong, have become a focal point following the strange deaths in grenade ex-

plosions of eight young students and the dramatic scenes which attended their funerals last week—including further killings of mourners and the sight of the Nobel peace prize-winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, saving an alleged police spy from being incinerated atop a blazing car.

Duduza is fairly typical of the east Rand townships, a sprawl of small brick houses along dusty, potholed roads, with no electricity, communal taps and a much-hated bucket toilet system.

It was in fact a demonstration over the sewage system which started the cycle of violence in Duduza: in February, irate residents staged a march on the local devel-

opment board offices, dumping their night soil buckets there as a protest.

During the march a youth was shot dead, allegedly by a black policeman. That night a mob burned down the houses of two black officers.

Since then, tit-for-tat exchanges have reduced the township to something of a battleground; a no-go area for whites, where black police homes and those of "collaborating" councillors have been flattened with hammers to low piles of rubble — monuments to civic fury.

Students roam the streets during the day, having boycotted the schools since March over the detention of one of their leaders.

In May, one student leader, four months pregnant, was burned to death in a petrol attack on her home and shortly afterwards, a 51-

year-old white nurse driving on a nearby road was dragged out of her car and beaten up, dying two days later in hospital.

Those, at least, are some of the stories which have been reported. Others related by township residents and a handful of courageous black reporters, able to mix with the community, paint a picture of a police force — seemingly ignorant of the concept of minimum force — out of control, and of a community which, in its frustration and hatred, has become addicted to almost mindless violence.

The precise responsibility of the police is difficult to pin down, and in some instances stories about their behaviour circulating in the townships are unfounded.

A case in point was the death of the hand grenade

Turn to back page, col. 4

Continued from page one victims. It is widely believed in the black community that the students were shot by police and then blown up by grenades planted next to their bodies.

But post mortem examination results, as yet unreported here, show no evidence of bullet wounds while bleeding before death, together with the injuries, indicate the students died in the act of throwing the gre-

nades. At the same time there are grounds for suspicion that the grenades were doctored and supplied by an agent provocateur.

Events in Kallehong at the weekend also give the favour of police operations in the township. The funeral was being held of a 25-year-old woman, Pearl Nyembe, allegedly run down by a police armoured vehicle last week.

Fourteen people were reported to have been shot and wounded, including the internationally known black photographer, Peter Magubane.

The end of the funeral was marked by a comparatively small but notable incident: by tradition after the burial, mourners washed their hands in water sprinkled with herbs and they were doing so after Mrs Nyembe's funeral when an

armoured vehicle was driven over the zinc baths.

It is dangerous for white reporters to enter the East Rand townships in daylight because they are liable to be identified as Special Branch policemen. But on a visit to Duduza after dark, the atmosphere of terror was palpable.

A group of students from Soweto accompanying this reporter were particularly nervous as we drove in,

pointing out the spot where they claimed police had opened fire on them.

Later, sitting around a flickering candle in a back room in the township, a police armoured vehicle roared past outside and a hush fell on the residents who had been telling their stories. In the distance a shot echoed. "We are living under the barrel of the gun," whispered one man. Dutch threaten ties, page 7

THE GUARDIAN Friday July 5 1985
SA police blamed for threats to activists

UDF leaders tell of terror campaign from death squads

By Victoria Britain
The United Democratic Front in South Africa has become the target of killings and abductions by death squads while UDF activists have been threatened by the police. Hitlists of activists to be eliminated from the UDF and its affiliated organisations have been exposed twice in the last month, according to UDF officials.

Two leading UDF officials, on a visit to London told a press conference yesterday that a new phase of terror had begun. "These disappearances are a new phenomenon in the South African conflict," said Mr Raymond Suttner a Transvaal region official and former political prisoner who served seven years for furthering the aims of the ANC.

"These people have not been selected at random — they are key leadership figures in their regions. We do not know who is responsible for these abductions and killings, but we do know whose interests they serve — the apartheid regime's," Mr Suttner said.

The United Democratic Front was formed in 1983 from 500 organisations across South Africa. The common

platform is the rejection of apartheid and bantustans, and the UDF has built up a mass political opposition organisation. UDF's grassroots influence came into the open last year when the Government's new constitution was overwhelmingly rejected by the people.

The South African Government's response to this multi-racial democratic opposition has been an escalating campaign against UDF's leaders, Mr Suttner said. Arrests, raids on homes and offices, banning of meetings has become common in an attempt by the Government to paralyse the UDF.

In recent months as the government administration has collapsed in a number of black communities, UDF officials have increasingly come to be seen as an alternative source of authority by people in the townships.

Last week's disappearance of four community leaders from the Eastern Cape is one of the clearest examples of the new trend of violence against these new authorities, the UDF says. The tortured, stabbed and burned bodies of Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow

Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli were found three days after they disappeared. The four left a UDF briefing in Port Elizabeth at 9pm last Thursday. All four were teachers and community organisers, prominent in the education boycotts which have been one of the key issues to mobilise resistance to the government.

The question of their security was discussed as the four left the meeting to drive home to the small town of Cradock, and Mr Goniwe gave an assurance that he "would not stop for anybody on the road," UDF sources said.

UDF has reported hitlists of activists from East Rand and Transvaal exposed in the last six weeks. At least one of the targets, Alexandra Pailane, was attacked and killed by a vigilante group two weeks ago.

Patrick Laurence adds from Johannesburg: At a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday the UDF charged that the "wave of repression" directed against members and leaders had now taken the form of "naked, extra-legal terror."

It was referring to the murder of the four UDF leaders last weekend.

Thursday 13 June 1985
THE CITIZEN

'Call off tours' plea SACC wants probe into township unrest

THE main findings of the Kannemeyer commission, released on Tuesday, revealed how quickly the present crisis in the townships could escalate into a major tragedy, but it failed to address "the heart of the matter," the South African Council of Churches said in a statement in Johannesburg yesterday.

"While time will be required for a considered study of the full report, the commission was regrettably limited to dealing with the ghastly consequence of this crisis. Yet it has brought to light a level of tension and frustration which we know to exist in many other townships in South Africa," it said.

The SACC was convinced that unless the true causes of "this crisis are dealt with, similar tragedies could occur in other places at any time.

"We, therefore, urgently plead for the appointment of a three-man judicial commission, with assessors from the Black community, to enquire into the causes and nature of the country-wide unrest which began in August 1984.

"We believe that the findings of such an inquiry would confirm our oft-stated conviction that the roots of the crisis lie in the system of apartheid and its implementation," the SACC said.

The Kannemeyer report confirmed and gave weight to the SACC's belief that "police conduct in the townships and the breakdown in their relationship with township dwellers is a major factor in the crisis which must be dealt with immediately."

The SACC also expressed "grave concern" about the violence occurring between Black political groups and have called for reconciliation.

The SACC said such inter-group violence hampered the cause of justice and peace.

The church leaders expressed concern at "the violence, political murders and destruction of private property going on between dissident Black political groups at this time," and at "the violence, murder and destruction of property

where schoolchildren have allegedly taken the law into their own hands," and called on leaders of the respective groups to "restrain their people."

The Council has urged that the projected All Blacks rugby tour and Australian cricket tour this year should be called off "in the light of the larger crisis in our land at this time."

The council's acting General Secretary, Mr Dan Vaughan, said: "We as church leaders believe that the projected tours by the New Zealand Rugby Football Union and that of a group of Australian cricketers should not take place.

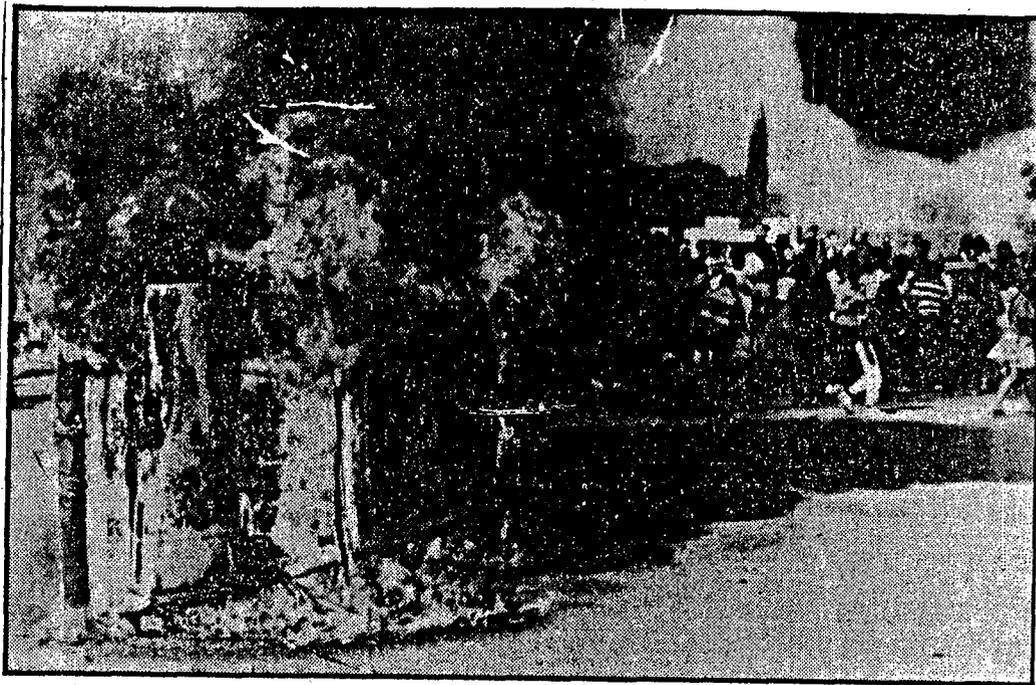
"Whilst sympathising with sports organisations who have made sincere efforts to integrate sport, we believe that in the light of the larger crisis in our land at this time, both these tours would be ill-advised and would be perceived by most of our people as acts of insensitivity to the crisis." — SACC.

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Crowds scatter after setting fire to a car outside the sports stadium in Kwa Thema township

20,000 mourn Kwa Thema dead

From David Beresford in Kwa Thema township, near Johannesburg

THE ANNOUNCER, clutching his microphone and cataloguing the latest shootings, was beginning to seem like an angel of death in mufti.

He plucked a tatty track shoe out of a plastic bag and brandished it. "They brought us this shoe," he bellowed over the giant loudspeakers. "If you've got a relative or son or whoever is missing, you can come up and try and identify the shoe."

A few yards away stood four coffins on the white lines of the 100-metres athletics track.

On each side stood the guard of honour: ranks of four girls and boys standing stiffly with clenched fists in the Black Power salute, many wearing yellow sweaters with the names of the dead emblazoned across the

front, and on the back the legend: "They served, they were sacrificed, they were selfless..."

Behind the packed stadium facing them a column of smoke climbed into the cloudless sky. Appeals had been made for the owner of the car to identify it; when he or she failed to do so, they

Police blamed, page 7

had set it ablaze, assuming it was a police vehicle.

It was the sports stadium of Kwa Thema township, about 25 miles east of Johannesburg along the gold reef and the centre of the latest bout of violence to affect South Africa. During the night police firing pistols and birdshot killed seven blacks who they said were rioting.

Yesterday it was the scene of further death as a crowd of some 20,000 packed the grounds for an emotional fu-

neral service for four youths killed in disputed circumstances a fortnight before.

Halfway through the service, shots rang out a few hundred yards from the stadium. A section of the crowd rushed outside to find two youths aged 10 and 17 lying in a patch of open ground with bullet wounds to the head. Both appeared to be dying, but a saloon car and a minibus raced off with them to hospital.

According to witnesses, the boys had been stoning the nearby home of the mayor of the township. Two black policemen had emerged and fired three shots at a range of about 50 yards.

As the victims were taken off, a heated debate started about whether to make a concerted rush on the house.

The Bishop-suffragan of Johannesburg East, the Rt Rev Simeone Nkoane, who was attending the funeral, intervened, telling them it would be suicidal.

The youths accused him of being a sellout, arguing that some of them might die but that the policemen had to run out of bullets. As the cleric arranged them, they gave in, vowing to return after the burials.

Inside the sports ground the funeral service continued uninterrupted, with an extraordinary display of mixed jubilation and anger. As the green, black and gold flag of the outlawed African National Congress was brandished, student leaders urged the mourners to make the country ungovernable.

Every few minutes the crowd burst spontaneously into rhythmic dancing and thunderous rebel songs.

After more than three hours the funeral procession, led by four black cars packed with wreaths and followed by 61 minibuses and trucks filled with mourners, finally started the journey to the cemetery.

THE WASHINGTON POST

THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1985 C3

DOROTHY GILLIAM

'Tribal Death Cells'

NAIROBI

About 100 black South African women have come to this world conference on women at great risk. With faces tired and sad but voices powerful, they have sparked deep emotion and support from other women around the world with their testimonies of life under apartheid.

At an international leaders seminar workshop sponsored by the National Council of Negro Women, five South African women told of their lives in vivid detail. "The homelands are tribal death cells," said one. "The lands are not fertile and there are only hungry women and children with no health facilities to speak of."

A South African nun was critical of her country's use of religion to control the population. "The Christianity of the colonial oppressors has dehumanized and destroyed our people," she said. "We need a structural change in South Africa."

Said another: "We are not citizens in our own country. We see our husbands only two weeks a year and the homelands are like concentration camps."

The audiences for the South African women, including women from Asia and Europe as well as continental Africa and the United States, have been responsive and lively.

At one forum, women from several different continents leaped to their feet to declare emotionally their solidarity with the liberation struggle when the South Africans finished their testimony. Some participants at the conference of nongovernment organizations supported economic sanctions and an arms embargo against South Africa.

In one audience, a South African woman told NCNW President Dorothy Height that a women's organization that Height had addressed in South Africa eight years before had been banned three weeks after she left the country. "And after they had splashed my visit on the front pages," Height replied indignantly.

So moved was civil rights leader Coretta Scott King by the vivid tales the women told of life under apartheid that she offered to host a conference in Atlanta next year on the subject of women and

apartheid. And some American feminists and political activists have suggested that ending apartheid be added to the conference themes of "peace, equality and development."

The South African women have come with the hope that the nonofficial forum will press their case before the official United Nations Women's Conference that is also under way here. The South Africans are optimistic that many official delegates will be sympathetic to their cause.

The official U.S. delegation led by Maureen Reagan has only reluctantly agreed to even talk about apartheid, and then provided that the discussions "reflect unique concerns of women." The U.S. government supports a policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa.

By contrast, the unofficial delegates, from feminists Betty Friedan and Bella Abzug to Coretta Scott King and Betty Shabazz (the widow of Malcolm X), have been strong advocates of an antiapartheid resolution coming out of this conference.

Solidarity with the women from South Africa was also pledged without hesitation at a forum entitled "Women Under Apartheid" and at an international leaders seminar sponsored by the National Council of Negro Women. "The time has come for women to speak out on what is happening to families under apartheid," said NCNW President Height. "But women's issues can't be separated from political issues."

Forum '85, the formal name of the unofficial conference, should press for an antiapartheid resolution, since any discussion of women's equality and development becomes empty words in a racist and sexist regime like South Africa's. Such a stand would also be in keeping with the free-wheeling, independent nature of the nonofficial forum. Meanwhile, a reminder of how volatile the South African situation remains was given by one member of the delegation when an American woman asked if the delegation had experienced difficulty in leaving the country to attend the conference.

"There is no problem about leaving," came the reply. "That's part of the window dressing. The problem always is what happens when you get home."

Michael Hornsby on the violence that is closing in on whites as well as blacks

Terror that grips South Africa

Johannesburg

At 9.10 pm on Thursday, June 27, four leading black anti-apartheid activists in the Eastern Cape left Port Elizabeth by car for Cradock, 120 miles to the north. They never arrived. Over the next five days their abandoned, burnt-out car and their charred bodies, which appeared to have been stabbed and mutilated before being set alight, were found in different parts of the roadside bush not far from Port Elizabeth.

The four men, Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlawuli, were all prominent local members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), a loose multi-racial alliance which in two years has become the most widely supported non-parliamentary movement of radical opposition to the government apart from the underground African National Congress (ANC). They had been in Port Elizabeth to attend a UDF meeting.

According to their colleagues, the meeting was arranged over the telephone and only those with access to telephone tapping facilities could have known of it. There had been some discussion of the wisdom of driving back to Cradock at night along lonely roads running through miles of scrub ideal for ambush. The four agreed that they would stop only if challenged by uniformed police.

The best known of the four was Goniwe, a bespectacled teacher of mathematics and science, and a former headmaster of a black school in Cradock, a small town in the heart of sheep-farming country. He, Calata, a grandson of a founder of the ANC, and Mkhonto were all prominent members of the Cradock Residents' Association, an affiliate of the UDF, which was formed by local blacks initially to campaign against rent increases.

In early 1984, Goniwe was sacked from his teaching post. This prompted a boycott of classes by Cradock's black pupils which eventually spread, paralysing almost every black school in the eastern Cape for 15 months and turning Cradock into an improbable symbol of black defiance of white rule. Shortly before Goniwe's death, the authorities had agreed to consider his reinstatement, and he had been due to meet a senior white government official to discuss the matter on July 1 or 2.

The UDF is in no doubt that Goniwe and his three colleagues were murdered by the state or its agents. It believes that right-wing "death squads" are being used to eliminate radical political opponents of the government. In May of this year, three leaders of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, another UDF affiliate, vanished



Andrew Davidson

Many townships are becoming no-go areas where government administration has broken down, to be replaced by popular committees who rule in what might be called a condition of controlled anarchy. The unrest is still localized and containable, but were it ever to become general the authorities would be in serious trouble.

In March of last year, Pretoria signed a non-aggression pact with Mozambique which was designed to close the main infiltration corridor into South Africa for ANC guerrillas. The ANC's policy of "armed struggle", supposedly almost wholly dependent on external sanctuaries, was said to have been dealt a fatal blow. Yet in the first six months of this year there were 55 limpet mine and bombs attacks attributed to, or claimed by, the ANC, nine more than in the whole of 1984. These were in addition to the almost daily round of arson and petrol bombing in the townships.

The government explains this by saying that the ANC has found a new infiltration route through Botswana - hence the recent South African attack on the capital, Gaborone. It is also suggested that the ANC is sending in ill-trained cadres, with little more than a weekend's crash course in grenade-throwing, on desperate suicide missions to give the impression that it is still alive and kicking.

A far more worrying possibility, from Pretoria's point of view, is that the chaos in the townships has made it easier for the ANC to recruit and train guerrillas inside South Africa; and that it is no longer as dependent as it once was on uninterrupted external lines of communication and reinforcement.

At its secret national conference in Kabwe, Zambia, from June 16 to June 23, the ANC did not give the impression of a demoralized organization. Far from rethinking the "armed struggle", the conference called for a stepping up of sabotage attacks and the ANC's re-elected president, Oliver Tambo, a man born to an earlier tradition of peaceful protest but now under mounting pressure from younger and more impatient men, warned afterwards that the distinction between "hard" and "soft" targets (i.e. those likely to involve civilian deaths) could no longer be maintained.

This may not mean, as one South African newspaper has claimed, that the ANC has decided "to spread terror into our (white) suburbs with the express objective of killing and maiming innocent people indiscriminately". It is, however, a prospect that is beginning to worry South Africa's whites, still largely untouched by the violence, for the first time.

without trace on their way to the local airport. They told colleagues they had received a telephone call from the British embassy arranging a meeting with British officials there. The embassy made no such call.

Altogether, the UDF claims, 27 of its members have disappeared in mysterious circumstances and 11 others have been assassinated. The government and the police vigorously deny that they are responsible, and instead blame savage feuding between the UDF and rival black organizations, chiefly the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), which champions the black consciousness policy of spurning co-operation with white liberals.

It is certainly true that animosity between the UDF and Azapo often takes a brutal form. The homes of scores of members of the two rival groups have been stoned or set alight with home-made petrol bombs. It is far from clear, however, how much of this activity is spontaneous and how much stirred up by agents provocateurs. Leaders of the UDF

and Azapo have repeatedly called for an end to such internecine warfare, and both blame "the system" for the latest killings.

It is in truth increasingly difficult to detect any clear pattern in the murky currents and cross-currents of terrorism and counter-terrorism in the escalating unrest in black townships. Those who favour the death squad theory believe the authorities are responding to the relentless attacks on black policemen (who account for half the total force of 47,000 men) and township councillors, widely regarded as government collaborators and "stooges", which have been one of the chief features of the 10 months of violence. Most of the 400 blacks who have died so far were killed by the police, but a fair proportion perished, either by accident or design, at the hands of fellow blacks.

Brutal as it is, the campaign against township councillors and black policemen is the most effective form of resistance to the government which blacks have found in a quarter century of sporadic revolt.

Plot was extensive, profitable and well organised, says judge

Four gaoled for smuggling arms to South Africa

By David Pallister

Four men were gaoled yesterday for conspiracy to smuggle military components to South Africa. One of the ringleaders, Michael Gardiner, 50, was sentenced to 15 months and fined £100,000. The judge, Mr Justice Mars said Gardiner had been engaged in protracted defiance of the law. The conspiracy to export high technology parts for guided missiles and artillery aircraft spares and anti-air gun sight gears as a well-organised, profitable and well-organised operation.

Gardiner's partner, Derek Salt, aged 61, a prominent Coventry businessman received 10 months and was fined £25,000. Malcolm Bird, aged 49, a works manager involved in the manufacture of parts for detonators was sentenced to three months with two suspended. The same sentence was given to Michael Swann, aged 34, who acquired parts for Buccaneer bombers, some of them from the big aerospace and defence contractors, the Dorey Group.

A fifth man, Henry Coles, aged 72, who acted as South Africa's agent in shipping the aircraft parts, was fined £2,500. The Anti-Apartheid Movement said yesterday that the result of the trial was "an important setback for the South Africans in their efforts to break the arms embargo." It

pointed out that four South Africans involved, who were arrested last year, and then granted bail, had evaded justice. "We trust that the British Government will now act in the light of this court's decision that there was conclusive evidence of a major South African conspiracy involving the systematic breaking of British law."

The trial heard that the Buccaneer parts were easily acquired by Swann as a recognised parts stockist, ordered them with their Nato code numbers from Dorey's subsidiaries, Rotol and Boulton Paul. However, the Buccaneers are known only to be in service in two British squadrons and with the South African Air Force.

Derek Salt, said yesterday: "We were not to know if the customs are honest or not. The customs advised us last year that we should take particular care to watch this sort of thing in future and that we are doing."

The American customs are investigating the US and Canadian conspiracy which provided infra red detectors, coolers and radar jammers for South Africa. The parts were valued at £2,500. The Anti-Apartheid Movement said yesterday that the result of the trial was "an important setback for the South Africans in their efforts to break the arms embargo." It

By David Pallister

The Government's revised export control list, which did not require authorisation for export of the arms embargo against South Africa, has been amended to include aircraft and helicopter parts specifically designed for military use, but easily adapted to a combat role, can now be exported with a licence.

The potential effect of allowing aircraft from the list to be exported last month when the South African minister of law said that the police had seized four helicopters after the World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa discovered that these had been supplied by Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Sukona, of West Germany.

Exports loophole allows firms to bypass S. Africa arms ban

THE GUARDIAN Friday July 12 1985

The company said that the MBB BO 105s were the "not-power" version which did not require authorisation for export. However, Jane's reference volume on aircraft shows that the helicopter can be adapted to late anti-tank and other missiles.

In theory, the order leaves the door open for British Aerospace to sell the BA 749 Coastguarders in which the South African coastguard service showed interest last year. A statement by Mr Neil Kinnoch last month, released at an AA press conference yesterday after the conviction in Birmingham of four British arms dealers to South Africa, said that his party would make the embargo on military materials complete.

Five men will be sentenced today at Birmingham Crown Court for plotting the illegal export of arms parts. David Pallister reports

Rise and fall of arms link with S. Africa

FOR five years, Colonel Hendrick Botha and his team of undercover agents operated in Britain one of South Africa's most valuable networks for breaking the arms embargo. They obtained, via America, high technology parts for the South African Air Force's air-to-air guided missiles. From engineering firms in the Midlands and West Germany, they bought gears for artillery gunights and machine tools to set up a detonator plant in South Africa. With parts bought in Britain, they helped to keep flying South Africa's six ageing Buccaneer S.MK50 light bombers, part of the Main Threat Area Command which has been deployed in Angola. Using two South African front companies — one a legitimate mining firm — they worked for Kentron, a subsidiary of Armscor, Pretoria's arms procurement agency.

Despite the risks and the huge sums of money involved, they did business in Britain with men who were known to Customs and Excise as former arms smugglers. The principal among them, Derek Salt, was a pillar of the Coventry business community, and a vice-chairman of Coventry Football club. Salt, aged 60, began clandestine dealing with South Africa in the mid 1970s when he was managing director of Salt Engineering, a subsidiary of the big engineering group, Redman Heenan. His works manager was Malcolm Bird, a co-defendant in the Birmingham trial. Up to 1978, Salt and his associates in four other separate companies sold £2 million worth of material, mainly ammunition dies concealed as sewing machine parts, to South Africa. Redman Heenan directors stumbled on the trade when

they investigated reports that Salt had been using the company for unauthorised outside work. Salt Engineering and the South African business were wound up and Salt and Bird were sacked. Undeterred, Salt, Bird and another business partner, Michael Gardiner, aged 59, continued and expanded their supplies to Armscor. They hired an American agent to buy in the American high-tech market. Gardiner and Salt ran their own engineering factories on the same Coventry industrial estate. In 1980, their operation appeared to fall apart. Customs officials were tipped off by a disgruntled employee and an investigation was started which took in Salt's earlier dealings as a Redman Heenan manager. According to restricted Customs documents in the possession of the Guardian, officials collected sufficient

evidence to prosecute five companies and five individuals. These included Salt and the then chairman of Redman Heenan, Mr Angus Murray, who died in 1981. The case was never brought to trial. Instead, the companies and individuals, including Mr Murray, paid a penalty totalling £193,000, £80,000 of which came from Redman Heenan. Mr Tony Glossop, the present chief executive of Redman Heenan, told the Guardian last week that the Customs had suggested the payment — known as compounding. Internal Customs documents describe the agreement differently: "The public company (Redman Heenan) were so concerned about the bad publicity which would accompany a court case that they made an offer to compound which the board accepted on condition that all the companies involved made similar offers."

In 1983, penalties of £234,000 were imposed for the illegal export of strategic goods. The investigation — and the warning given to Salt by customs officials — had no effect on the business. Within a year, he and Gardiner had set up Quad Engineering in South Africa — each holding 12 per cent of the equity — as a factory to make detonators. They opened an agency in West Germany, GTT, through which they established contact with TBT Tiefbohr-Technik in Stuttgart, a subsidiary of the huge Swiss multinational, SIG, Schweizerische Industrie-Gesellschaft. TBT, according to evidence at the trial, was used to machine gears for gunights and as a forwarding agent of the parts to South Africa. Colonel Botha and his team, who had first made contact with Salt and Gardiner in 1978, simply switched the

name of their South African front company. Salt had also provided another valuable service. In 1978, he introduced Henry Coles, aged 76, to two of the South Africans, William Metelerkamp and Stephanus de Jager. Using a business colleague, Michael Swann, who regularly traded with South Africa, Coles obtained parts for the Buccaneers. It was not until reporters from the Coventry Evening Telegraph informed Customs of a particular consignment of parts that the current investigation began in March last year. A box of 22 bronze gears from Salt's firm was seized at Birmingham airport. When the four South Africans were arrested — two of them lured to London by a Customs ruse — it was clear that an important smuggling ring had been smashed. But despite Customs objections, they eventually were



Colonel Botha — team of agents

granted bail and allowed to leave the country by Mr Justice Leonard, sitting in chambers. Once they had returned home, the South African Government used the occupation of the British consulate in Durban by anti-apartheid leaders as an excuse for not allowing them to attend the trial. Pretoria forfeited £400,000 in bail and sureties.

Europe weighs costs of imposing sanctions on South Africa

Europe's large investments make nations lukewarm to anti-apartheid action

By David Winder
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

With the United States Congress pushing for sanctions against South Africa, can Europe be far behind?

That's a critical question for South Africa since Europe also has considerable investments in that country. Britain's investments alone are about equal to those of the US.

So far, Europe has done little economically to censure South Africa. Of the major European countries which trade with South Africa, only France has indicated it may consider imposing sanctions against South Africa if the white-ruled republic doesn't end apartheid within two years.

The Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish governments have decided to halt flights to South Africa by the jointly-owned Scandinavian Airlines System (SAS) to express their disapproval of apartheid. For the most part though, South Africa's European trading partners have been surprised at the speed with which the divestiture movement is sweeping the US.

Recent South African raids into Angola and Botswana, as well as the spectacle of white security forces lashing out at rioting black demonstrators, have marred South Africa's image in the US and undermined the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement."

Yet despite US outrage at scenes of South African violence fueling demands for sanctions, there hasn't been a comparable groundswell in Europe for

divestiture. At least not yet.

Black African nations favor universal sanctions against South Africa, but even many of them still do clandestine business with the nation. African countries imported \$1.2 billion worth of South African goods in the first 10 months of 1980.

There is also a feeling among many that sanctions against South Africa might backfire, forcing the country to become more resilient and self-reliant. For instance, as a result of a UN arms embargo, South Africa not only now makes its own arms, but has enough surplus capacity to be a substantial exporter.

The economics of imposing sanctions will probably be the strongest disincentive for most Europeans.

While the US may take the largest chunk of South Africa's trade (15.7 percent of its imports and 8.3 percent of its exports) the economic costs of sanctions would not be nearly so great as for the major European countries.

Their economies are less robust and more dependent on South Africa, which forms a larger percentage of their markets. While South Africa accounts for only 1 percent of all US investment abroad, it represents as much as 6 to 7 percent of all British foreign investment.

The Institute for European Economic Studies in London says the effect of sanctions on West Germany would be the loss of 130,000 jobs.

The impact would be even greater for Britain, where unemployment is already



at 13.5 percent. There, 250,000 jobs would be lost, according to the institute. Other observers put the number of South African-related jobs more conservatively at around 150,000.

One Foreign Office official says that, given Britain's high unemployment, any move to cut trade with South Africa makes no sense.

In certain respects, European trade with South Africa has recently assumed greater not lesser importance.

Partly because of Nigeria's economic problems, South Africa has regained its preeminence as Britain's largest trading partner in Africa.

West German direct investment doubled from over \$229 million 1978 to \$585 million in 1981.

Directly or indirectly Britain has more than \$11 billion (over \$14 billion) invested in South Africa, according to its Department of Trade and Industry. This compares to US investments of \$13.78 billion.

When total foreign investment in South Africa is broken down, it looks like this: 50 percent comes from the countries of the European Community; 12.8 percent

comes from other European countries. North and South America combine to produce an investment percentage of 24.1, with all other countries, including Japan, claiming 13.1 percent.

Admittedly the US is still South Africa's largest trading partner. Last year, US imports amounted to \$1.5 billion, and its exports to more than \$900 million.

This compares with West Germany (which imported \$1.5 billion and exported \$441 million), Japan (which imported \$1.3 billion and exported \$8.6 million), and Britain (which imported \$1.1 billion and exported \$498 million).

Up until now, foreign investment in South Africa has been generally dictated less by foreign governments' policies toward apartheid than by the political climate prevailing at the time.

The turbulence caused by a crisis in South Africa in 1960 caused a massive outflow of capital. When order was restored it began to flow back.

The big question for political leaders, as much as for banks and large corporations, is whether the recent spate of violence is merely something of the moment or a portent of worse things to come.

While the television screen is filled with pictures of clashes between police and demonstrators as it has been these past few months, the sanctions lobby gains ground.

Thatcher warned on SA sanctions

By Patrick Keatley,
Diplomatic Correspondent

Two keynote speakers at a conference in London yesterday warned Mrs Thatcher that, unless she joins other Commonwealth leaders at their summit meeting in October in Nassau in taking a decision on economic sanctions against South Africa, Britain will end up in the humiliating position of being dragged into line when the issue comes before the UN Security Council a week or two later.

The SDP leader, Dr David Owen, said that she could well end up as South Africa's last protector in the Security Council. Then, not daring to protect Pretoria with the British veto, when even the Americans are moving towards sanctions, Britain would end up with maximum discredit all round.

Mr Shridath Ramphal, was more diplomatic.

"What will the Commonwealth do? Must we wait for the Americans either to take the lead or to abort it? Must we not, instead, give a lead and not merely join a movement?" he said.

"We must point the way forward. Why should not the Commonwealth now, with the strength of its collective voice, call upon South Africa to release Nelson Mandela unconditionally and, after his 22 years of imprisonment, begin a genuine political dialogue of change?"

Mr Ramphal was joined by his predecessor, Mr Arnold Smith, of Canada, and the two men, followed by Dr Owen, concurred in naming the South Africa sanctions issue as the one that would top the summit agenda.

THE GUARDIAN

Wednesday July 10 1985

Britain spurns South Africa sanctions

By Patrick Keatley,
Diplomatic Correspondent

Britain deferred to the Reagan administration last night by refusing to join the other Commonwealth governments' call for economic sanctions against South Africa if it continues to ignore United Nations resolution 435 on Namibian independence.

High commissioners met at Marlborough House, Commonwealth headquarters, to discuss South Africa's recent flouting of UN decisions that Namibia should have immediate elections under international supervision.

The four dozen governments' representatives agreed that "appropriate measures under the UN Charter" will be needed if South Africa persists in ignoring the directions of the Security Council in New York.

The London meeting can be seen as an initiative spearheaded by Australia, with Canada's backing, to build up momentum on sanctions before the summit meeting of Commonwealth prime ministers and presidents in Nassau in October.

It runs parallel to joint resolutions framed in Washington by the Senate and House of Representatives aimed at overriding President Reagan's objections to sanctions.

It was clear that Mrs Thatcher had decided before yesterday's meeting that the British delegate, Mr John Johnson, a senior Foreign Office official, should not put his name to anything that amounted to confrontation with Mr Reagan.

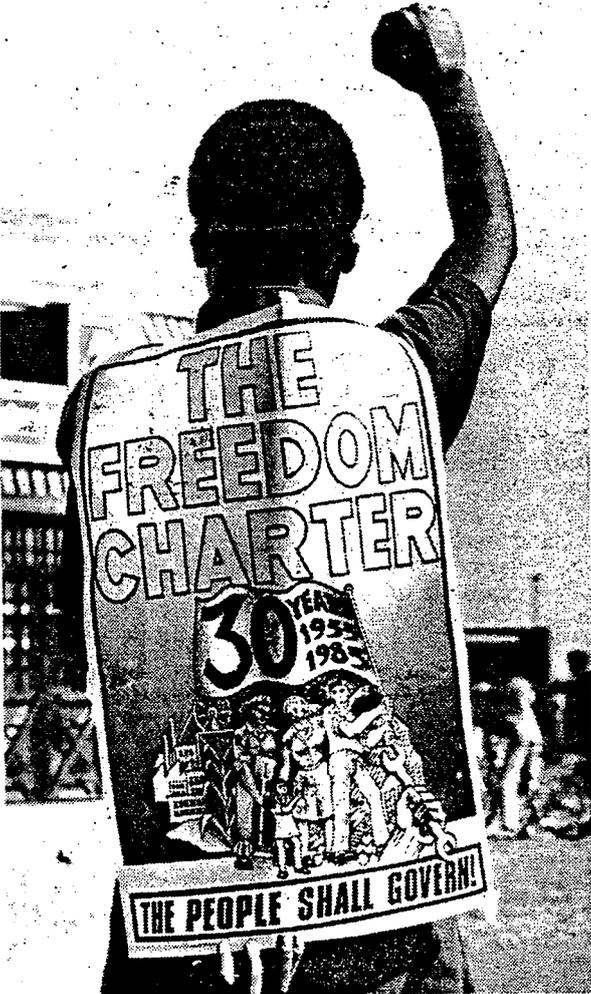
After the high commissioners had spent more than three hours in the conference room producing two paragraphs, totalling 21 lines warning South Africa that it was acting illegally, Mr Johnson said that his government could not endorse the words.

Australia and Canada, with the strong support of Nigeria, New Zealand, Zambia, Tanzania, India and other large member states, were firing a warning shot across the bows of both Washington and Pretoria and Britain is seen to be out of step with her partners.

Photographs: THE STAR, Johannesburg 24 June 1985



People rush to their vehicles (above) as members of the South African Police anti-riot squad fire teargas during disturbances after the commemoration service for the 1976 upheaval ended at Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto. Pictured below is part of the massive crowd of thousands at the service, organised jointly by the National Forum and the United Democratic Front.



A young activist wearing a Freedom Charter placard at the commemoration service at kwaThema, Springs.



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