

RIOTS & DISTURBANCES -

GENERAL

1982, 1983, 1984

274 Poqo uprisings Hansford
16/3/82 Q 595
290 Mr W V RAW asked the Minister
of Law and Order

- (1) Whether the commission of inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr. Justice J H Snyman which investigated the Poqo uprisings at Paarl and elsewhere in 1962 made any recommendations on structural protection of police stations against attack; if so, what recommendations;
- (2) whether steps were taken to implement such recommendations, if so, (a) when and (b) at how many police stations,
- (3) (a) how many police stations were attacked during the latest specified period of two years for which figures are available and (b) how many such police stations were so protected against attack?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER.

- (1) No
- (2) Falls away
- (3) (a) Five from 4 January 1980 to date
(b) Although none of the stations was structurally protected, three of them were guarded by armed guards.

I should, however, like to add that the protection of police stations throughout the country is enjoying high priority. A number has already been provided with structural protection, but for obvious security reasons further details cannot be divulged.

Black pupils

ARGUS

26/4/82

274

'less enthusiastic'

SINCE the 1976 unrest, pupils and teachers at black schools have been less enthusiastic and have not tried to achieve the best results, it was claimed at the Guguletu South Teachers' Union conference yesterday.

The allegations were made by several teachers during discussions on a topic entitled Teaching of History in Black Schools.

About 50 teachers, mainly women, attended the meeting which was held at the Vuyani Higher Primary School.

Some teachers said pupils today were content with the aggregate marks. Others blamed the behaviour of the teachers who failed to make the school life of pupils interesting.

It was said the pupils did not make an effort to

do extra work at home. At school they destroyed teaching aids left for their use in classrooms, making the work of dedicated teachers difficult.

Dr Alex Boraine, MP for Pinelands, will open a regional conference of the Peninsula Teachers' Association at the Uluntu Community Centre in Guguletu next Saturday at 9 am.

Registration: No

Founded: 1978

Area of Operation:

Officials:

Telephone:

7925

Salt River

P.O. Box 234

Address:

NATIONAL UNION OF SECURITY OFFICERS

Govt warned: Riots will recur

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Urban Foundation has warned the government that unless it accepts that black people are permanently resident in urban areas outside the homelands, incidents like the 1976 Soweto riots are likely to be repeated

In a memorandum to a parliamentary select committee tabled yesterday, the foundation said no system of black local government was likely to succeed if black people were not accepted as permanent inhabitants of the urban areas

The Urban Foundation submitted the memorandum and gave evidence to the select committee investigating the Black Local Authorities Bill

It urged that black local authorities have the same powers and authority as white, coloured and Indian authorities

"Historically the idea that blacks would not be permanently in urban areas has shaped the laws dealing with black administration, including local government laws, and has led to the concentration of powers in a

single government department which is today the Department of Co-operation and Development"

No system of decentralized local government for black people had been allowed to develop

The community councils which had been introduced in 1977 were required to operate within this framework. But the foundation said, for effective decentralized government to exist there had to be a large measure of independence, representativeness and collective responsibility as well as the economic and financial means to act independently

"The fact that government for blacks was inadequately financed and was made subject to the control and supervision of administration boards, was one of the main rea-

sons for the lack of support given to community councils by the black community.

"The acceptance of the permanence of the urban black population is crucial to the trilogy of which the Black Local Authorities Bill forms part

"If the laws remain directed to the proposition that blacks will not live permanently in urban areas, they will continue to have a destabilizing effect on urban black communities and the patterns of the past which gave rise to incidents such as the Soweto riots of 1976 are likely to be repeated"

The foundation urged the committee to accept the permanence of black people in the urban areas as a fact and then to adopt an approach to the three bills on that basis

Blacks urged to pray tomorrow

ARGUS

15/6/82

274

BLACKS have been urged to attend memorial services tomorrow, the sixth anniversary of the outbreak in Soweto of the 1976 disturbances.

However, it is apparent that the anniversary — known as Heroes' Day — will not be observed to the same extent as in previous years.

No large-scale stayaways have been planned for the Western Cape.

The expectation is that people will stay away from work but on an individual basis.

TO CLOSE

The Western Cape Traders' Association has called on its 2 000 members to close between noon and 2 pm.

The Mitchell's Plain Town Centre Merchants' Association and the Athlone Professional and Business Association have decided that members will close for the day.

No religious services are known to be planned in Cape Town tomorrow.

SCHOOLS

In previous years June 16 and 17 were marked by almost complete stayaways at black schools throughout the country.

This year, however, schools closed about a week before the anniversary.

The Argus correspondent in Johannesburg reports that, in the past, organisers of commemoration services called on workers to stay away.

Last night, however, it was said the decision would be left to individuals.

The main service will be at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville, Soweto.

COMMITTEE

A steering committee formed last week from black organisations last night called on blacks to attend services.

"We must join hands in a spirit of unity to salute our gallant heroes who have been martyred in our struggle for liberation," a statement said.

"All other activities should be put aside on this day."

"People should refrain from pleasure-making and self-indulgence, because this is a day of remembering and re-dedication for our people."

A police spokesman said today that police would not interfere in bona fide church services around the country and particularly in Soweto, if they remained within the framework of the law.

SPORT

The South African Council of Sport has called on affiliates to play no sport this week. However, the South African Soccer Federation, has called on its members, all Sacos affiliates, to observe a minute's silence before games on Saturday and Sunday.

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(2) Informant - figures

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Services to mark riots of June 16

PLANS are going ahead for memorial services commemorating the deaths in the riots of June 16, 1976, as police around the country indicated they would be on stand-by and prepared for "any eventuality".

In Cape Town, a Muslim group called the Qibla Movement will hold a mass meeting in the Bridgetown Mosque in Cornflower Street tonight at 7.30.

The meeting will also focus on detainees and banned persons.

Another meeting will be held at the Catholic Church Hall in Hanover Park Avenue, Hanover Park, at 11am. Students from local high schools will attend this.

The Western Cape region of the Media Workers' Association of South Africa (Mwasa) will hold a commemoration programme at the union's offices in Corporation Street, Cape Town, from 12 noon to 2pm today.

Work stoppage

The Western Cape Traders' Association has called for a closure between 12 noon and 2pm "in observing silence for all those who were sacrificed in the cause of freedom on this historical day" and is reported to be expecting about 2 000 traders to respond to the call.

In Johannesburg, plans for memorial services are going ahead amid heightened tension caused by Sunday's arrest of 250 mourners at an illegal memorial service in Soweto.

Various organizations will be closed tomorrow and a call has been made for all shops to be closed for two hours in memory of those who died in the riots.

Various services are scheduled to take place at churches throughout the Republic. The main service in Soweto will be held at the Regina Mundi Church, Rockville, at 11am.

The Divisional Commissioner for Soweto, Brigadier "Japie" Jacobs, said

yesterday that police would not interfere with services or meetings held today unless they contravened the law.

"Legal meetings in buildings and bona fide church services will not be interrupted by police," he said.

"We don't expect any incidents of unrest on June 16 but we will have early morning police patrols to ensure that people are not intimidated into staying away from work." — Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent

Cape Times 16/6/82 (274)

Black Sash to mark June 16 Soweto riots

Staff Reporter

THE Black Sash will commemorate the anniversary of the Soweto riots today with about 20 one-woman stands throughout the Peninsula's southern suburbs.

Members will make one-hour stands between 7,45am and 9am and 4,45pm and 6pm, holding posters reading "Yes to One Education System".

In a statement yesterday, Mrs Molly Crawford,

chairman of the Black Sash, Cape Western Region, said:

"Many of the positive recommendations from the De Lange Committee report appear to have been rejected by the government, with possible disastrous results in an area which will continue to demand reform, such as a single ministry of education and equal expenditure on education throughout South Africa.

Soweto riots day - conference adjourns

NR645 16/6/82

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1714

428

Education Reporter

EAST LONDON. — All activities at the Cape Teachers' Professional Association conference here were suspended today as a mark of respect on the anniversary of the June 16 1976 riots in Soweto.

When the programme was drawn up the day was left open. The East London branch organised an outing for delegates, but after discussion at lunch-time yesterday this was cancelled.

The president, Mr Franklin Sonn, said delegates would meet for dinner in the evening.

In a statement read out to delegates and given to the Press, he said: "June 16 is of singular significance to all disfranchised people, as well as to those striving towards a just South Africa."

Thousands gather at Soweto

memorial

JOHANNESBURG.

— Thousands of people converged on the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto today to commemorate the sixth anniversary of the June 16 riots.

Before the start of the service, police parked near the church in several private cars and told journalists to report to Protea police headquarters before attending the service.

The secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, who organised the service, said apartheid was as evil as communism, Sapa reports.

A white man and two coloured people who tried to enter the church were ordered to leave by police and escorted away.

Among them were a mathematics lecturer at Wits University, Professor I. Mohamed, and his daughter, Jennifer.

PENINSULA

In the Peninsula the anniversary was not commemorated to the same extent today as in previous years.

The townships were quiet with no visible police presence.

Buses were running normal services in the townships.

But all shops in the African townships were reported closed today, as well as shops in Athlone and Mitchell's Plain, except for a large super-

(Contd on Page 3, col 3)

ARCUS 14/182
June 16
#A 274 ETS
(Continued from Page 1)

market chain which remained open.

Last year there was an almost complete stayaway at black schools. This year, however, African and coloured schools closed for the July holidays last week.

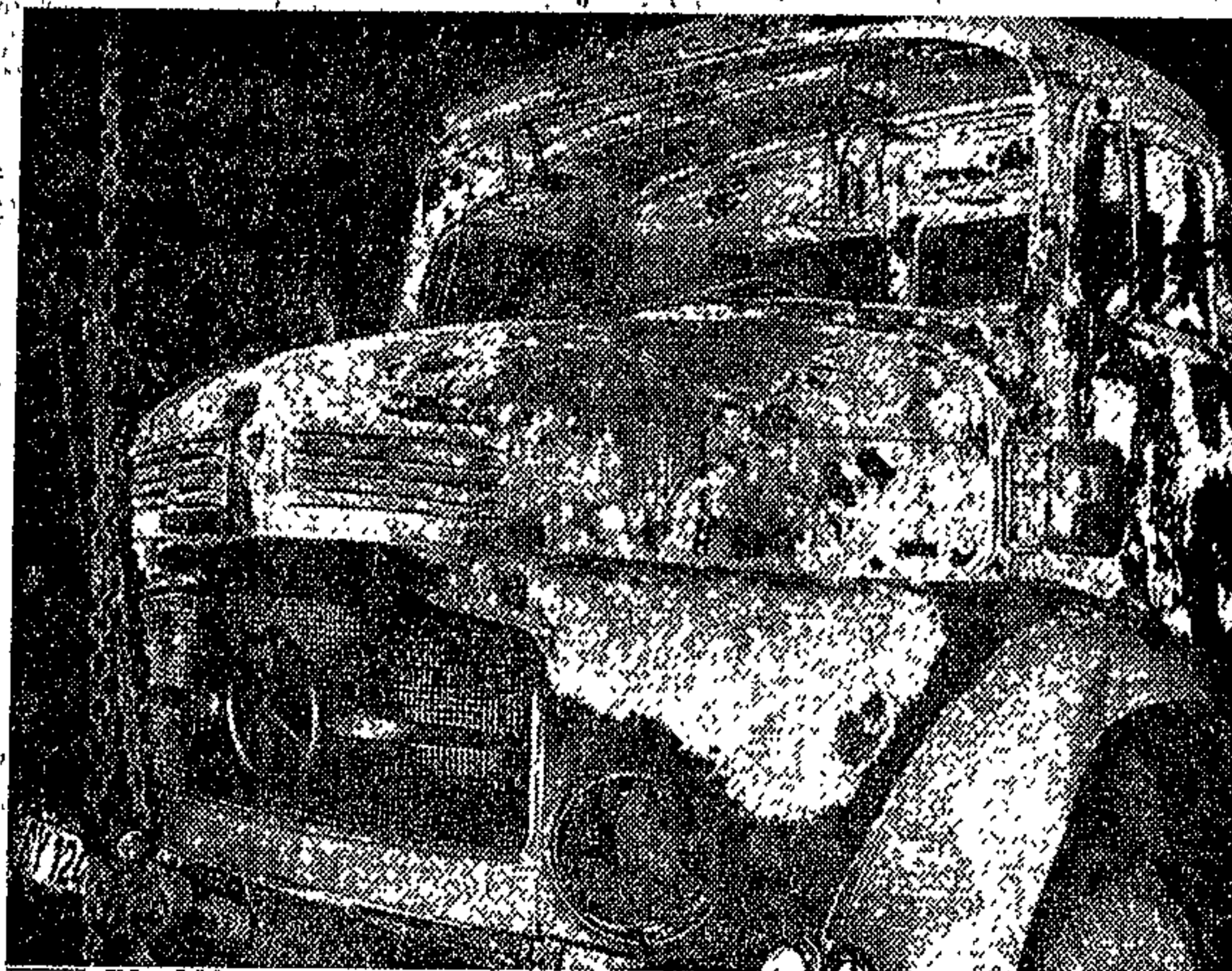
Mr Jack Roos, director of the Cape Chamber of Industries, said he had had no reports of absenteeism from factories.

More than 200 people today attended a service in Guguletu commemorating the 1976 unrest.

Speakers included members of student bodies, trade unions, clergymen, Nusas, the Detainees Parents' Action Committee and various youth groups.

Posters stating "June 16, we are on our guard" and depicting a white education official being booted, were displayed on the walls of the St Gabriel Hall. Speakers called for the scrapping of Bantu Education.

The service was punctuated by cries of "Amandla" and raised fist salutes. Freedom songs were sung.



THIS 20-ton lorry was burnt after the driver was stoned in Guguletu last night. The driver, Mr Eric Michaels, of Mitchell's Plain, was injured.

Staff Reporters

ALL was quiet in Cape Town's black townships early today, but police maintained extra patrols following sporadic violence last night — the sixth anniversary of the student education revolt in Soweto.

Police described the incidents as isolated. No arrests were made or shots fired, although a 55-year-old man was injured and a 20-ton waste-compacting truck was burnt in Guguletu.

Mr Eric Michaels of Mitchell's Plain was driving his crew home about 6 pm when they were met by a crowd of youths in Guguletu's main road. Mr Michaels was injured by stones and his truck was set alight.

Later Mr C Rumatsomi, 42, of NY6 Guguletu, was admitted to hospital after his bakkie was stoned. Police said he was badly bruised by stones.

A third man received head injuries and another

ARGUS 17/6/82

Townships quiet after black violence

774
111
340

was taken to hospital with an axe wound in his back. Police were not able to release their names.

An Argus team which drove through Guguletu, Nyanga and Crossroads about 9 pm saw no sign of other violence, apart from large rocks, some the size of a man's head, in the roads.

Heavy rains had left huge and sometimes deep pools of water throughout the townships.

Reports that other vehicles and a building had been burned could not be confirmed.

Police said they had received no other reports of violence and added that the situation was under control.

A roadblock at the entrance to Guguletu, opposite the Manenberg police station, had been dismantled.

No incidents were reported in Port Elizabeth last night.

Teargas can be used by more employers now

E. Post 27/9/82 274

Post Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Anti-insurgency measures have been strengthened by a new regulation, gazetted last week, which allows more employers to use teargas

A spokesman for the Department of Justice said the regulation which revises an earlier one issued two years ago, is intended to give authority to those in charge of certain key points to possess and use teargas if they wish

The new law extends permission to use teargas to people who undertake the supply of water and who house more than 100 workers in compounds

Since 1981 local authorities, mines, electricity suppliers and companies which house more than 100 migrant workers in compounds have been authorised to use teargas

Mr A A Lood, assistant legal manager of Escom, said the organisation had applied for permission to use teargas

"We've never had to use it, but you never know when we may have to," he said

The Chamber of Mines refused to comment, saying it was up to individual mining companies to decide on their own security measures

A spokesman for Gold Fields security division refused to comment

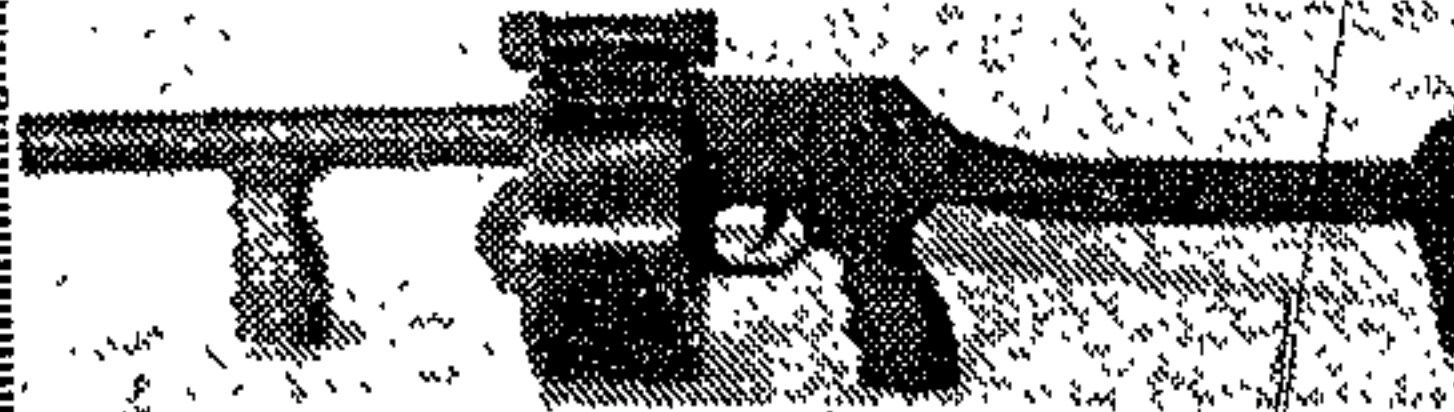
A spokesman for LTA public relations division said "Teargas doesn't fall under public relations — it falls under industrial relations"

The LTA industrial relations officer was not available for comment

A spokesman for the Food and Canning Workers' Union said "We're absolutely appalled at the use of teargas in compounds"

"It has never been used in our industry, but the mere fact that such a method of controlling workers has official approval shows that managements would rather use force than negotiate"

GENERAL NEWS



The Striker . . . origin in SA.

**New SA weapon
for riot control**

Crime Reporter

A new police riot control and anti-terrorist weapon — designed, patented and manufactured in South Africa — will be unveiled at the police shooting championships in Roodepoort on October 1.

The weapon, known as "The Striker," is a 12-shot revolving chamber shotgun intended for self-protection, riot control and anti-terrorist work.

The shooting championship is a sponsored event and spectators will watch men and women from 30 police teams nationwide competing. Prizes will be presented by senior police officers.

The competition will be held at the Roodepoort international shooting range.

16/1/83 (274) S. Times

Equal rates for riot risk

Sunday Times Reporter

ALL races will pay the same rates for insurance against political riots from April 1.

The South African Special Risks Insurance Association decided to scrap the discriminatory rates after being approached by the Umzinto North Town Board in December.

The town board made representations to the association, saying that "the application of discriminatory rates based on colour was highly objectionable".

The board refused to take out special cover because of the discrimination.

The rates for political-riot insurance

against material damages are: all risks of a private, residential nature within a black township 0,125 percent, in an Indian or coloured township, 0,075 percent and in other areas 0,025 percent.

All risks other than of a purely private residential nature within a black township are 0,5 percent, in an Indian or coloured township 0,3 percent and in other areas 0,1 percent.

From April 1 the standard rates for all races will be 0,025 percent for private and residential risks and one percent for commercial and industrial risks.

Political riot cover difficult in Ciskei

D. Disputa 25/8/83

274

EAST LONDON — Few insurance companies were willing to offer political riot cover for property insured in Ciskei, a broker with experience in the Ciskei insurance market said.

The tight market had the inevitable effect of pushing up premiums, said Mr Sean Price, branch manager of an insurance broking firm in King William's Town.

Referring to a client with property in Ciskei, Mr Price said "the odds are ten to one that I could have got him a better deal in a more open market."

"But I had to beg. The insurers had the screws on me."

There were occasions

when a broker had as few as three insurance companies to choose from.

"Underwriters were reluctant to 'stick their necks out' on insuring major assets in Ciskei for damage caused by a political riot."

Re-insurance arrangements made with overseas insurance companies were part of the problem. Foreign insurers knew little about Ciskei, and tended to believe that risks to property from political riot damage were far greater than they are in fact.

Mr Price said he thought international opposition to South African "homelands" policy was also a factor.

"Foreign insurers

want to keep out of Ciskei because it's not political good manners to help Ciskei, or to treat it like an ordinary independent country."

These political considerations, along with an overblown assessment of risks in Ciskei, and with the tight insurance market there, all made for "exceptional trouble in getting political riot cover," Mr Price said.

The same factors also combined to make premiums for political riot insurance higher than they should be.

The going rate for non-residential risks in Ciskei is 0.15 per cent.

This is 50 per cent higher than the 0.1 per cent charged within South Africa by the South African Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria).

There is nothing similar to Sasria in Ciskei, where the political riot insurance market is given over to commercial insurers — DDR

D. Dimpak 25/2/83 (274)

New riot cover rules in state-backed plan

EAST LONDON — As the government-backed South African Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria) nears its fourth birthday, it sees "quite a few satisfied policy-holders who have had their claims settled in full.

"Without Sasria, there would have been a lot of uninsured losses in South Africa. And I believe that we have provided good service," said Mr Rodney Schneeberger, the general manager of Sasria in Johannesburg.

Sasria went into operation on April 1, 1979, created by the government as a facility for providing political riot insurance cover within South Africa.

On April 1 this year a new set of rules governing Sasria will go into effect. The new rules will include provisions for substantially higher premiums for motor vehicle cover, an end to discounts on premiums of R50 000 and more, and an end to differential rates according to race-group area.

Under the present rules, private residential risks in white areas are rated at 0,025 per cent, in Indian and coloured townships at 0,075 per cent, and in black townships at 0,125 per cent.

The new rules provide for a single rate of 0,025 per cent for all areas.

Similarly, other risks (for example, commercial risks) will be rated at 0,1 per cent in all areas. This is the present rate for white areas, whereas Indian and coloured townships are rated at 0,3 per cent, and black townships at 0,5 per cent. Mr Schneeberger said the new unitary rate structure did not mean it was now believed that all areas carried equal risks.

He said the differential rates would be abolished because they were "administratively complex, and impracticable".

Using one rate for all areas followed the basic insurance principle of "having the burden of

the few carried lightly by the many," he said.

Mr Bill Cozens, an East London insurance broking executive, said South African insurance brokers had lobbied for an end to race-based political riot premiums.

But he indicated that there remained much room for improvement at Sasria, from the broker's point of view.

He agreed with a description by the Financial Mail of Sasria premiums under the new rules as "prohibitively high".

This was especially so where commercial firms requiring large amounts of cover were concerned.

"Sasria is making money for jam. They can afford to cut their rates in half. As it is they only attract people who think they are especially vulnerable to political riot damage. With lower rates, they would get a far better spread of customers."

Mr Schneeberger said present Sasria rates were "just about right".

As for the new rates, he said he was "looking into the rate schedule as it stands after April 1, on the basis of conversations I have had with other Sasria officials."

Mr Cozens said another problem for brokers and their clients alike was that Sasria's political riot cover applied only to direct damage to property, and not to consequential losses, such as loss of profit.

This meant that a commercial client needed two sets of political riot cover: one from Sasria, and one from a commercial insurer for consequential loss.

quential loss.

"I am sorry," said Mr Schneeberger, "that consequential loss cover is not provided by Sasria. I have done everything I can to see that it will be provided, and I am still trying."

He said the government was not prepared to re-insure Sasria for consequential loss cover, nor had it yet been possible for Sasria to make an appropriate arrangement with South African commercial insurers.

He said a recent study indicated that the domestic insurance market lacked a capital base large enough to make any such arrangement feasible.

Asked what other changes might be expected at Sasria, Mr Schneeberger said he wanted to work at streamlining administrative procedures.

From Mr Cozens' point of view, any such streamlining would undoubtedly be welcome.

"Sasria is a completely inflexible bureaucratic body, resistant to change. You can stand on your head, and they won't do anything," he said.

Mr Schneeberger said he wants especially to reform administrative procedures having to do with "holding cover" — the standard practice among commercial insurers of providing cover on the basis of an oral agreement before a formal policy has been issued.

Sasria does not provide holding cover, and this created problems for brokers," Mr Schneeberger said. — DDR

Political-risk cover pitfalls

By Julian Kraft

THE system of covering political risk set up by the Government after the 1976 riots is not working effectively, causing policyholders to seek insurance cover elsewhere.

Many companies and individuals are bypassing the machinery provided by the Government — held to be rigid, unwieldy and inadequate — and are turning to insurers abroad, notably Lloyds of London.

Several brokers interviewed by Business Times this week argued that policyholders were not being properly catered for by the present local system.

One broker, David Hersch of Cape Town, cited an example involving a client company which was a victim of the recent Pretoria bomb disaster.

The company's claim is in dispute because it was not covered under the Government's SA Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria) scheme, apparently because the company's written request for renewal of the poli-

cy was mislaid by the insurance company.

"If the political risk element had been part of the company's general risks policy it would have been renewed automatically.

"All the necessary machinery is available within the insurance industry itself to cater for this without leaving insurance companies themselves exposed to an undue amount of risk," said Mr Hersch.

Another example involves the Bloemfontein bomb blast, where the main victim, Walter Volker, owner of the car under which the bomb was placed, has been told by his insurers that he is unlikely to collect a cent in terms of his comprehensive car insurance. The car is valued at R5 500.

"If consumers were not obliged to take out separate political risk policies but could have this cover as part of a package, more people would find it worth their while to get such cover and more money would flow into the Sasria fund," said Mr Hersch.

Further objections to the Sasria scheme in its present form are.

- Having political and general risks under separate policies tends to lead to disputes between the respective insurers over payouts.

- Sasria's cover is confined to material damage but does not cover consequential damage, which is usually greater.

- Sasria is inflexible as it covers 100% of material assets but does not permit "first loss" or "excess" clauses for policyholders unable to afford full insurance or wanting better rates.

A Johannesburg firm of brokers, Political and Credit Risk Managers, specialising in political-related policies, is one of the first companies to come into the market to offer Lloyd packages which overcome the pitfalls of the local system.

The company's managing director, Ian McIntyre, said all the above objections were major deterrents to using Sasria.

"It means that the policyholder, who is the most important element of the whole business, is not getting the cover he needs and is in danger of not getting his money when he makes a claim," he said.

JUNE 16 RECALLED

TOMORROW, thousands of blacks in Soweto and elsewhere around the country will be mourning. They will be recalling the tragic events of June 16, 1976, a day that has since become a significant item on the agenda of the liberation struggle and on the calendar of black education in South Africa.

In the beginning the day was no different from any other day, except that it started with a protest march by Soweto students whose intention was to demonstrate their abhorrence for the system of Bantu Education.

But their contact with armed police who were allegedly trying to halt the march and disperse them succeeded only in setting the whole country alight.

POLICE

The events of the day, the weeks and months that followed and the police detentions and harassment of those suspected of involvement saw hundreds of youths fleeing the country to join the military wing of South African National Congress (ANC), Umkhonto we Sizwe, to receive training in subversion.

Earlier, many youths had been impatient with the process of change, but had still accepted the idea of peaceful change.

But after the uprisings during which hundreds of pupils were killed, the youth started seeing the answer to the country's problems in terms of a Russian AK-47 rifle

which has become a symbol of hope in the eyes of proponents of violent change.

Determined to get things moving fast, the dust had hardly settled when some of these former pupils started filtering back into the country to commit acts of subversion like the Carlton bomb blast by the now imprisoned Isaac Seko and the Gogh Street shooting by Solomon Mahlangu, who has since been hanged.

This heralded a new era in the ANC's strategy of violence. Since then, the banned movement has claimed responsibility for a number of bomb attacks in many parts of the country.

Some of the major acts of subversion during the last four years are as follows:

- 1979: • Attack at Moroka Police Station in Soweto where one policeman was killed.
- Hand-grenade attack at Orlando Police Station — two policemen killed.
- 1980: • Bomb blast at the Sasol petrol plant.
- Silverton siege — two people including a policeman killed.
- 1981: • Attack at Voortrekkerhoogte Military Base in Pretoria
- Attack at Sibasa Police Station in Venda — two policemen killed.
- 1982: • President's Council offices in Cape Town bombed — one person killed.

By SAM MABE

• Koeberg nuclear Power Station in the Cape bombed.

1983 • Military headquarters in Pretoria blasted — 19 people killed

Between 1979 and 1982 there were 118 acts of sabotage altogether including assassinations of so-called sell-outs and collaborators

After the Pretoria attack, Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, said more similar attacks should be expected in future.

Professor Willem Kleynhans, lecturer in Political Science at the University of South Africa, says there is going to be an escalation of violence in South Africa unless there is more meaningful change than there has been so far.

CHANGE

He says the 1976 uprisings generated some change whereby a few blacks could now own houses. Whites were rubbing shoulders with blacks in theatres, on sports fields and were sharing a few public facilities with them.

"But this is too minimal, too peripheral to secure a future in terms of peaceful co-existence between race groups in this country. If the pace of change does not improve, we may be heading for a serious situation in this country. We are sitting on a volcano whose explosion could result in many deaths, he said.



FLASHBACK: The congregation at Regina Mundi Cathedral gives the black power salute while singing the national anthem, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

Call for peace on 1976 riot anniversary

Cape Times 16/6/83 274

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — On the eve of today's commemoration of the Soweto disturbances seven years ago, black leaders last night called for "a peaceful day of rededication to our ideals"

Mr Saths Cooper, convener of the newly-established National Forum, said he hoped "employers and others in authority" would recognize the solemnity of the occasion "and not provide provocation..."

Dr Nthatho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, appealed to people "to bear themselves with the necessary decorum, and rededicate themselves to the struggle to weed out racism and apartheid in our society".

Both men are among speakers at today's major commemorative service which starts at noon at Regina Mundi Church in Soweto

Among the speakers are Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches; Mr Lybon Mabasa, president of the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo), and Mr Tiego Moseneke, representing the Cosas and Azaso student organizations

Trade unionists who will speak are Mr Letsatsi Mosala, president of the Black Mining Construction Workers' Union, and Mr Sidney Msumadi, secretary-general of the General Allied Workers' Union

In a statement yesterday, the Cosas and Azaso student organizations condemned "the senseless killing of our people".

"The challenge June 16 throws on our shoulders is to carry on the fight of those who died in 1976," the statement added.

The United Democratic Front has called for church bells to be rung

Vehicles stoned in City, Soweto

CAL - THIS 17/6/85

274 255 226

Own Correspondent and Staff Reporter

At least 30 buses were damaged and four trucks destroyed by fire in Soweto yesterday when violence broke out after a June 16 commemoration service at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church.

And in the Peninsula, the sports spokesman of the Azanian People's Organization, who had attended the service during the emotion-charged service, the crowd heard speakers from a wide range of black organizations call for unity against apartheid.

Captain Gerhard van Rooyen, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said last night's incidents occurred in the Nyanga area near Lansdowne Road and near Settler's Way.

Sporadic violence was reported at several points around the Regina Mundi Church in Soweto. Several people were arrested, includ-

ing the president and his spokesman, Mr George Wauchope, were apprehended outside. Police, who took the press into the township in an armoured carrier, reported that Warrant Officer S Twala had been cut on the face by a stone thrown through the windscreen of a police vehicle.

As the 5 000-strong crowd left the church after a three-hour service, plainclothes policemen took pictures from across the road. A small part of the crowd began to chant "We are not afraid of them. We want them" and surged towards them.

The police continued to take pictures and stone-throwing began. The police drove off and returned with reinforcements and a sneeze machine. The crowd pelted the police vehicles with stones.

More reinforcements, including another sneeze machine, arrived. As the crowd moved away from the church, teargas canisters were fired at them, some from the helicopter overhead.

Locked door

Police entered the churchyard and apprehended about six people. They were driven away.

About 100 people who had re-entered the church when the teargassing started, locked the door and ignored police demands to open it. Teargas drove them out and they were lined up while police took their particulars and pictures.

The president of Azapo, Mr Lybon Ma-

baso, and its spokesman, Mr George Wauchope, were apprehended outside. Police, who took the press into the township in an armoured carrier, reported that Warrant Officer S Twala had been cut on the face by a stone thrown through the windscreen of a police vehicle.

Youths set up drum roadblocks to slow traffic into the township. Some streets were littered with stones thrown by small groups at passing cars.

At sunset, police patrols were still sweeping up the narrow sideroads and main feeder inlets to Soweto.

Pretoria quiet

Putco's public relations officer, Mr Pat Rogers, said about 30 buses were damaged by groups of youths.

In Pretoria, black townships observed June 16 peacefully as people attended services. Shops and cinemas were closed.

In Durban, police set up two roadblocks at the entrance to Lamontville, Sapa reports. Earlier, people had gathered in the road outside singing and chanting.

Police said there was stone-throwing last night in the township. One of their vehicles was set on fire and they had used teargas. Durban's other black areas were generally quiet.

In Cape Town, early-morning commuters to the City were met by lone Black Sash protesters holding posters saying "One People, One Land".

Le Grange hits out at 'thuggery'

PETROL bombs were being used by "certain elements" in some residential areas to prevent police from maintaining law and order, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday.

He told a passing-out parade of police recruits at the SA Police College in Pretoria "this type of thuggery" would not be tolerated.

"I wish to repeat my earlier warnings to anyone who prepares or throws a petrol bomb at police, that he will receive no mercy.

"I am not prepared to tolerate any murderous attacks on the police."

Mr Le Grange said critics of the police, often conveniently overlooked the fact that, although the task of the police was to protect and serve, it was also sometimes a dangerous task.

"Numerous questions are asked about police activities and behaviour, but very few about our casualties and the dangerous circumstances under which we must perform our duties."

Last year no fewer than 183 143 crimes involving violence were reported to the police. Over the same period, 13 policemen were killed and 128 injured in the execution

of their duties, he added.

As far as crime was concerned generally, there had been a slight increase in the number of cases reported to police.

"Statistics, however, reveal that during January 1983, 5 438 less serious crimes were reported than during the immediate preceding month of December 1982.

"On the other hand, there was a marked increase in certain specific crimes during 1981/82, compared with the 1980/81 figures. For instance, acts of sabotage increased from 26 to 60, house-breaking by 13%, car thefts

by 17% and murder by seven per cent."

Mr Le Grange said to make the public more crime conscious, police had addressed 3 702 meetings countrywide last year, attended by a total of about a quarter million people.

With the exception of "riotous elements" in certain residential areas, the internal situation on the whole was "reasonably calm", he added.

However, there was a practice among people who were "hostile-minded" towards the State to "elevate bottle-necks to issues of dispute."

"For propaganda and solidarity purposes, issues such as black education, resettlement, the constitutional reform programme and increased service tariffs are attacked frequently in order to create situations of unrest.

"The revival of black consciousness organisations on the one side and the supporters of the Freedom Charter on the other side, play an important role in the creation of the present climate and the open propagation of the objectives of banned organisations are receiving the necessary urgent attention." Mr Le Grange warned.

It is valued at about £30 000
(R50 400) — Sapa-AP

abroad at great expense
Sapa

vided country' — Sapa

Jail for two policemen who robbed Cape bank

CAPE TOWN — Two policemen who robbed a Paarl bank of R6 500 on June 15 were sentenced to six years imprisonment each by Mr Justice Munnik in the Supreme Court yesterday.

Both Andre Avellina Christopher da Rocha, 25, and Coenraad Jacobus Kearney, 21, had pleaded guilty to a charge of robbery with aggravating circumstances.

The judge said both men were wolves in sheep's clothing and had discredited the police in the public mind.

"The public, and in particular smaller banks and building societies who per-

form a vital service to the public, have to be protected from armed robbers. The robbery was badly planned and one would have expected a more sophisticated approach from men who have had experience on the other side of the fence.

"The men did not need any money urgently and there was no reason to commit the crime apart from sensing an opportunity to make some easy money quickly," Mr Justice Munnik said.

Earlier evidence in the case was that Da Rocha and Kearney drove past a few banks on the morning of the robbery and chose

the Paarl branch of Volkskas in Paarl as the most likely target. The bank was small and they saw only one customer at the counter.

Kearney pulled a stocking over his head and Da Rocha followed him wearing a red crash helmet. Kearney pointed a gun at a teller, Mr Christoffel Coetzee, and ordered him to fill a plastic bag with money.

The robbers left the bank followed by Mr Coetzee who chased them in another car. They were arrested by policemen who had a description of their get-away car — Sapa.

Baakens Valley inspected

Municipal Reporter

AN informal inspection of the Baakens Valley was undertaken yesterday by the chairman of the Port Elizabeth City Council's Community Services Committee, Mr Ben Olivier, a Ward 7 councillor, Mr Ed Millard, and the Director of Parks and Recreation, Mr Peter Gibbs.

According to Mr Olivier, the party visited the valley in a four-wheel drive vehicle and took several photographs.

The aim of the visit was to gather information on the valley with a view to formulating projects to be included in the council's capital programme.

Mr Olivier said he would like to generate public interest in the valley and open up the area for recreation.

US technicians, missiles arrive in war-torn Chad

WASHINGTON — Military technicians and US-supplied anti-aircraft missiles have arrived in Chad to assist in the battle against Libyan-backed rebels.

Pentagon sources also report that two US airborne surveillance planes have arrived in Egypt, apparently to observe Libyan warplane activity.

In N'djamena, Chadian officials said Libyan fighter-bombers pounded the northern town of Faya-Largeau for the fifth consecutive day yesterday.

The official Libyan news agency, Jana, reported last night for the second day running that President Hissene Habre of Chad had been killed during fighting for control of Faya-Largeau. A similar report was dismissed yesterday in Chad as "an absolute lie".

In Kinshasa, informed sources said Zaire was about to reinforce its 2 000-strong contingent supporting Chadian forces in the capital with a further 1 000 men.

At the United Nations the Security Council has heard contradictory claims about the civil war. The representative of Chad, Mr Ramadane Barma, yesterday accused Libya of conducting a "systematic, massive bombardment" of Faya-Largeau.

Libya's Mr Awad Burwin denied the allegations.

US warships, including the aircraft carrier Eisenhower, have been sent to the central Mediterranean in the wake of the Chad crisis — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

Plastic bullets more accurate — study

Post Reporter

PLASTIC bullets seem to be more accurate and hit vulnerable areas of the body less often than rubber bullets, according to the latest issue of the South African Medical Journal.

After a recent study conducted in Belfast, Northern Ireland, it was found fewer patients had serious chest or facial injuries when plastic bullets were used.

Only one had lost the sight of his eye through plastic bullets, compared with nine patients having been blinded by rubber bullets.

However, skull fractures were more common with plastic bullets and led to three deaths out of eight cases.

The study found more men than women had to be admitted to hospital when plastic bullets were used.

According to the article, plastic bullets were introduced with the intention of achieving greater accuracy than was the case with rubber bullets.

Between 1975 and 1980 in Northern Ireland about 55 000 rubber bullets had been used for riot control. A 1975 analysis of injuries had shown two people had been killed and many had been struck in the head, face and chest because of the inaccuracy of these missiles.

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Warnings given of schools unrest

By MARTINE BARKER
Education Reporter

A CURRENT spate of boycotts at black schools, colleges and universities across the country seems to be bearing out the warnings educationists have made that unless steps are taken to improve the quality of black education, there will be dissatisfaction.

There has been no unifying aspect of the boycotts—reasons given for them, while sometimes very specific, have at other times seemed obscure and random—but what is clear is that once again the schools affected are only black and coloured schools.

Press reports of the boycotts which have resulted in demonstrations have all contained the fact that police dispersed crowds with teargas. Violence by pupils has been directed at school staff and school property.

In two instances at Soweto schools in the past month, members of staff have been stabbed during heated moments.

● In Cape Town, about 400 pupils are still boycotting classes at the Mountview High School over the expulsion of four colleagues, and have demanded that the pupils be reinstated and that the school principal be transferred.

● Earlier this week, police using teargas stopped 1 000 Bophaganang High School pupils marching on the Vryburg police station to demand the release of 31 people arrested after a demonstration last week.

● At the Turfloop University, students have begun a lecture boycott after more than 400 students were notified by telegram last week that they had been expelled for boycotting exams over alleged irregularities. This week, university authorities demanded that all who do not qualify for registration leave the campus immediately. The students decided they would ignore the demand and boycott classes until the examination results are nullified or that those who refused to write them in July be given the chance to write them again.

● The fate of the Mon-gosuthu Technikon in Umlazi which closed down on Tuesday following a boycott over the expulsion of three students, will be decided at a meeting of the Technikon Council on Monday. The 200 students have been ordered to vacate the campus after they ignored an ultimatum to end their week-long boycott and return to lectures. The three were expelled following an investigation into the Sharpeville commemoration service held on campus on March 21.

● Police fired shots into the ground at the Jiyane Secondary School in Soweto 10 days ago after some of the 700 pupils had thrown stones at a patrol van. During the violence, one teacher was stabbed twice by pupils. After police had left the school, pupils smashed windows and attempted to set buildings on fire.

● Another Soweto school—the Progress Secondary School—has faced boycotts by about 900 pupils protesting at the dismissal of two black teachers and their replacement by whites.

● Two weeks ago, 1 250 pupils of the Ibongo Secondary School in Soweto boycotted classes over the appointment of a white principal. They disliked. Demonstrations were broken up by police using teargas.

● In June, Soweto schoolchildren from Swelible secondary school were dispersed with tear gas during a violent demonstration. According to the police, four expelled pupils returned to the school and confronted the principal. In the ensuing violence, the principal was stabbed in the back, school buildings were stoned and windows broken. Eight policemen were slightly injured.

● Also in June, the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) saw several weeks of boycotts over the suspension of two SRC office-bearers.

● In March 900 protesting schoolchildren from the Georgetown High School in Edendale, Maritzburg, were dispersed by police with sjamboks and teargas during a march through Edendale after boycotting classes. The reason given by pupils for their action was dissatisfaction over the process of registering for 1983 matriculation exams.

Political violence said to kill more

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — More people were killed and injured in political violence during the first five months of this year than in the previous six years, the University of Cape Town's Centre for Inter-group Studies said.

In a paper presented today at the centre's workshop on conflict, the director, Professor HW van der Merwe, and a staff member, Dr John Hendricks, drew a picture of "dramatic escalation" in what had been a low-level insurgent campaign.

During 1977, 1978 and 1979 a total of 79 people were killed or injured in political violence.

In 1980, 1981 and 1982 the figure increased to 175 and in the first five months of this year it was 374.

The index of political violence kept by the centre does not include casualties of civil unrest.

It includes acts causing damage, injury or death committed by leftwing and rightwing insurgent groups in South Africa and by the SA Defence Force and police against insurgent groups here and in neighbouring countries, excluding Namibia.

The study found that South African Government forces caused more deaths since 1977 than all insurgent forces combined. The African National Congress caused more injuries and damage to property than all others combined.

Since 1977 Government forces had killed 98 people, injured 48 and caused damage to property four times.

In the same period the ANC had killed 52 people, injured 286 and caused damage to property 80 times.

Rightwing groups had killed one person and caused two injuries, damaging property 18 times, while other groups had killed 15 people, injured 125 and damaged property 19 times.

Of those killed or injured 151 were classed as guerillas, military or police staff, 29 were from "paramilitary" institutions like court staff, administration boards and electricity and railway workers, and 148 were civilians.

Most civilians — 392 — were victims of attacks aimed at or associated with military and paramilitary targets. Another 56 civilians were deliberately killed or injured.

Township violence 'was orchestrated'

25/10/83

Mercury Reporter

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says he believes recent disturbances at Lamontville had been 'well orchestrated' and had not been spontaneous.

He told the South African Black Alliance conference at Richards Bay at the weekend that he had information that 'well-known figures' were behind the disturbances. However, he was not prepared to divulge their names.

'We are satisfied the disturbances have been well orchestrated,' he said.

In a resolution, the alliance condemned what it called the upsurge of vio-

lence in black townships around Durban, especially in Lamontville, and urged local black leaders to stop it.

It described violence in black townships as 'politically divisive'.

Calls for black unity dominated the three-day meetings at the Hotel Richards and at Esikhawini, just outside Richards Bay.

The Alliance decided it would not be party to forming any new political grouping until all 'so-called independent homeland' leaders were also prepared to join such a grouping.

It would continue, however, to participate in informal unity talks with other black leaders.

School boycotts under microscope

AKGAS 17/4/84

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JOHANNESBURG. — A symposium on corporal punishment organised by the Health Workers Association (HWA) here was a resounding success because it offered solutions to some of the problems at present causing friction in black schools.

It was a serious effort by community organisations, parents, teachers, doctors, nurses, social workers and others involved in black education to look not at the system as such, but the things which usually led to friction between the teacher and his charge.

The meeting was given an outline of probable causes of friction in the classroom which led to hostility between the teacher and the student and vice versa, then broke into groups to look for solutions.

At the helm of HWA is Dr Solly Rataemane, a medical practitioner who also chaired the symposium, held at the Soweto College of Education.

Love affairs

Among the issues raised were:

- Many teachers entered the profession young and found themselves teaching pupils only a few years younger than themselves.

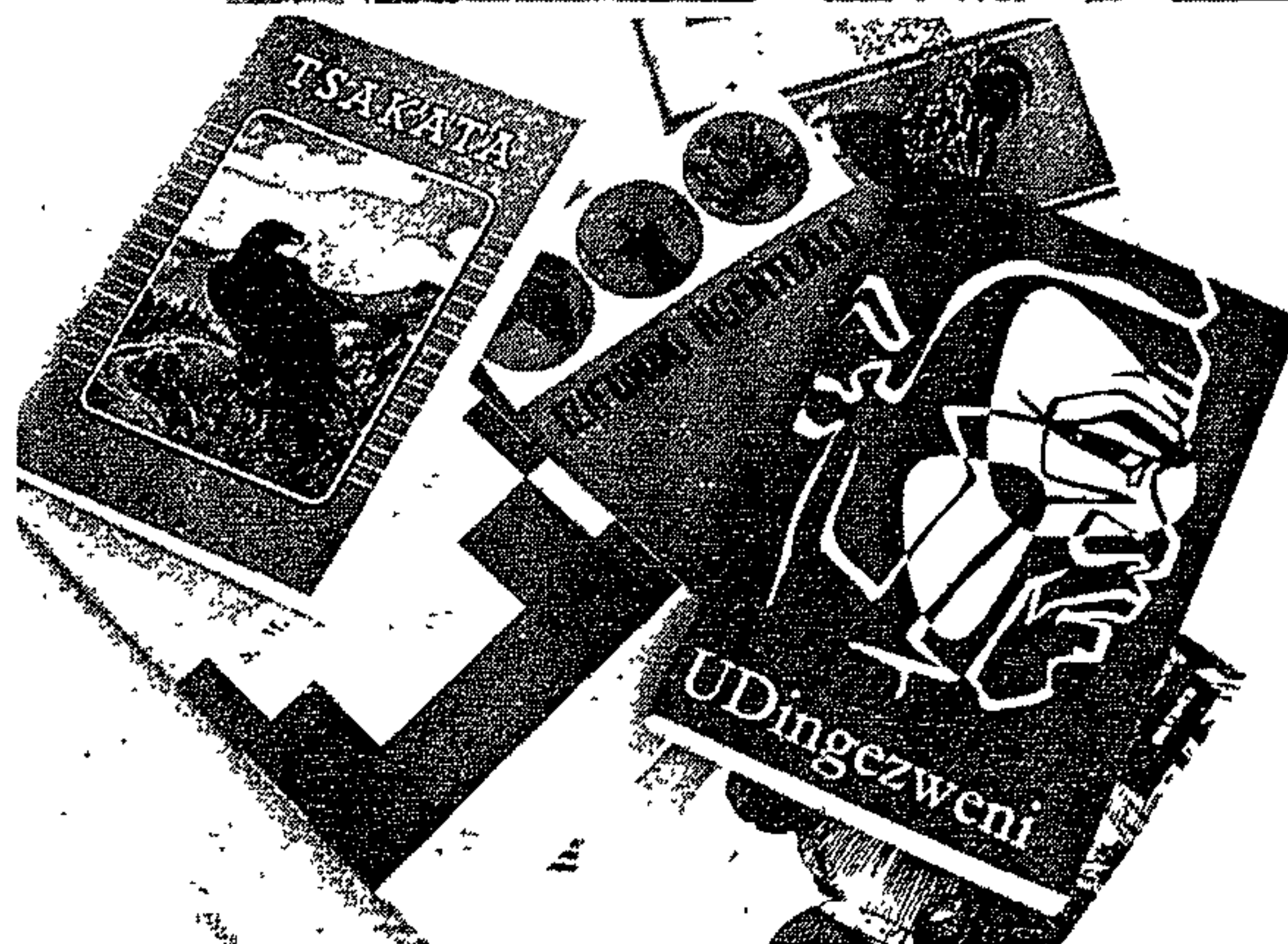
- Teachers had to play the role of parents and teacher at the same time.

- Teachers should never have love affairs with their students, as has been alleged at Pretoria schools experiencing boycotts. Such affairs meant that teachers lost the respect of their pupils.

- Drunkenness during school hours was a serious matter, and some teachers often stood drunk in front of their pupils. Such practices made the children lose respect for their

It was a symposium intended to probe corporal punishment, one of the main causes of the class boycotts at present bedevilling black schools. It ended as a microscopic probe into many other problems at black schools, and some far-reaching recommendations were made.

JOHN QWELANE, Argus Correspondent, reports.



tutors. Some teachers even allegedly drank with their students.

- At times of crisis, a number of organisations often sprang up to make condemnations while suggesting no solutions, only to fade with time and surface again when more crises arose.

Co-ordinated

An example, said the participants at the symposium, was at the end

of each year, when results were invariably poor. After condemning the schools, the organisations ceased functioning until the end of the next year. Such protest organisations were necessary but had to be co-ordinated.

- Teachers and pupils met only in the classroom, meaning that as far as their personal contact went. More contact outside the classroom was necessary.

The symposium felt that, as a change from the norm, punishment should not always be resorted to when a child was at fault.

Children who did badly at school were always punished. A new method should be explored to reward children who did well. Such rewards could serve to encourage poor performers.

If a child lived with ridicule, he learnt to be aggressive. If he lived

with praise he would become appreciative, the symposium agreed.

Parents and teachers had to be exemplary at all times and should live the way they wanted their children to live. It should not be a matter of "do as I say" but rather "do as I do".

The symposium recommended that:

- Teachers be subjected to a code of ethics like many other professional people. The code should be strictly enforced, and teachers seen to adhere to it.

- Teachers should regularly visit the homes of children experiencing problems with their studies to discuss things with them in their home environment. Such meetings, while improving student-teacher relationships, would also improve parent-teacher relationships.

- Parents should be conversant with the school syllabi to be in a better position to help their children with their studies at home.

- Pressure should be exerted on the Department of Education and Training to open school halls to the community for seminars to look into school problems.

- Teachers and students were members of their communities and should therefore become active in community organisations. To dismiss such organisations as political was a failure to face reality.

Some parents were berated for having time only for themselves and rarely giving attention to their children and their studies.

It was pointed out that many parents never responded when called to school meetings. The only time they went to the schools was to complain when their children failed.

It was decided that more symposiums would be held on a regular basis.

School boycott: Minister warns

Cape Times 3/5/82 52 1176 276

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday warned boycotting black school children that the government would not allow the situation to develop any further.

"Those who are involved in the unrest situation must know that if they continue their disruptive activities when the schools which are presently closed are reopened, they will be acted against relentlessly," he said.

He also warned that the government would not hesitate to act against agitators in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Speaking during the debate on the Law and Order budget vote in Parliament yesterday, Mr Le Grange said certain organizations and individuals were exploiting the school unrest situation in a calculated manner to promote their own political ends.

Scholars were being manipulated outside the

education system by means of intimidation and acts of violence.

Mr Le Grange said his standpoint and that of the police was that the solution of school problems was primarily the responsibility of the Department of Education and Training.

In cases where illegal gatherings were held in connection with school boycotts, the police had leaned over backwards to accommodate the scholars and situations had been handled in a most delicate manner.

However, there had been no co-operation from the scholars, organizations or individuals.

There had been serious cases of violence in which innocent people had been hurt and property damaged in places such as Atteridgeville, Graaff-Reinet, Humansdorp and Cradock. Teachers had been assaulted and intimidated.

There had also been cases of petrol bomb attacks against the police, teachers, school inspectors and property — which made the whole situation even more serious.

Mr Le Grange said that after talks with the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Bar-end du Plessis, he was satisfied that all possible steps had been taken to investigate and try to solve all reasonable complaints by the scholars.

"I now want to state unambiguously to all those involved that there will be no further concessions or exceptions in respect of any contravention of the law," Mr Le Grange said.

With regard to the use of petrol bombs, he warned that no mercy would be shown to anyone who used such a bomb against a policeman.

Cape Times 12/17/78

Defuse schools unrest, says Andrew

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— South Africa could soon face a crisis of major proportions unless the government took speedy corrective action to defuse the growing unrest in black schools, the PFP's chief spokesman on black education, Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday.

"We must find a way out of the familiar pattern of grievance, boycott, threats, incidents, police involvement, more incidents and then endemic unrest," he said during debate on the Education and Training Vote.

"Until the government recognizes that the black people of this country reject apartheid education and does something about it, our black schools and universities will be plagued with problems and unrest," the MP for Gardens said.

Causes for the worsening situation included poor matric results, inequalities in expenditure, departmental inefficiencies and communication breakdowns.

"It is the fourth successive year in which about 50 percent of pupils failed their matric exams — the official response is far too casual.

"I fail to understand how only half of the students capable of passing Standard 9 are able to get through Standard 10. Whites would not put up with this and blacks should not either."

Departmental inefficiencies such as late arrival of books, problems with matric results and late payment of teachers occurred frequently and caused a lack of confidence, he said.

Communications breakdowns between pupils, teachers, communities and the authorities also caused "endless problems".

Mr Andrew called on the minister to take immediate steps to defuse the causes of unrest that have plagued schools over the last 18 months.

These included removing inequalities by allowing all pupils to write a common National Senior Certificate exam, providing free stationery and books to all schools and closing the gaping per capita gap spent on black and white education.

He also urged better communication and flexibility in dealing with pupils' problems. "Principals must be assisted in developing conflict-regulating skills and authorities must act quickly and sensibly to eliminate legitimate grievances," he said.

'SA bid' for UK patrol aircraft

CAPL: Times
21/5/84

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By ROBIN PARKER

SOUTH AFRICAN arms procurers are trying to replace the retiring Shackleton maritime surveillance aircraft with the sophisticated British Coast-guarder.

Indirect public acknowledgement of this came in a report yesterday in the London Sunday Times which said the South African Government had approached British Aerospace for aircraft and air and sea surveillance equipment worth £56-million (about R100m).

8 aircraft

The newspaper quoted the company as confirming an approach from South Africa for eight BA-748 aircraft with Coastguarder electronic monitoring systems at a cost of £7-million (R10-million) each.

The Sunday Times said that in an attempt to evade the 1977 United Nations embargo on arms sales to South Africa, Pretoria had decided to form a coast-guard service, which it would argue to be exempt from sanctions.

The report said South Africa had emphasized that the British Aerospace equipment was

needed for the protection of the fishing fleet and to monitor civilian shipping.

However, the paper quotes the firm's publicity for the BA-748 as saying it has the "space, range and endurance to operate in a full anti-submarine role if required", and adds that prospects for the order are likely to be discussed when the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, visits London next month.

The Sunday Times story is the first public indication that South Africa is trying to replace the Shackletons, which are to be retired from service in November after more than 25 years of patrolling an area of 600 000sq km, and instrumental in numerous rescues.

In defence circles it has been common knowledge that the South African priority for a replacement was the Lockheed Orion but that the French-built Breu-

get Atlantique and the British Aerospace Coastguarder were suitable alternatives.

During last week's Defence debate, military correspondents were told that the detection ability in air-sea rescue operations would suffer considerably with the phasing out of the Shackletons, as the aircraft envisaged as a stop-gap measure were not sufficiently equipped for the task.

However, statements made during the debate seem to rule out the formation of a coastguard in this country.

The possibility that the air-sea rescue arm could operate under civil aviation has not been ruled out. But it is doubtful whether the SADF would be prepared to sacrifice aircraft of this nature to civilian authority.

● An Armscor spokesman said last night that he could not comment on the report.

Aircraft sale: Row brews in Britain

Cape Times
22/5/84
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From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The British Government came under renewed pressure yesterday to state whether it was prepared to grant an export licence for the sale of eight aircraft equipped with the latest air and sea surveillance equipment to South Africa.

But a spokesman for the British Foreign Office, which would have to make recommendations on the granting of a licence by the Department of Trade and Industries, insisted yesterday that the matter was "hypothetical" and that no application for an export licence had been made.

And the Defence Ministry, which would also make recommendations, referred inquiries to the Department of Trade and Industries.

News of the possible deal, which was leaked to the media at the weekend, has precipitated another political row over British relations with South Africa on the eve of Prime Minister P W Botha's visit.

Press reports here have suggested that Mr Botha would try to use

his influence with the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, at the June 2 meeting to clinch the deal.

But anti-apartheid groups and the opposition Labour Party claim that such a deal would be a flagrant breach of the United Nations embargo on arms sales to South Africa.

'Hostility'

They argue that such a deal between British Aerospace and South Africa — for the sale of eight BA 748 Coastguarder aircraft with electronic monitoring systems at a total cost of R88-million — would seriously jeopardize British Aerospace's substantial business interests with states implacably opposed to military deals with South Africa.

Yesterday the Labour Party leader, Mr Neil Kinnock, said at the launching at the Africa Centre here of a book on South African women that he was "disappointed that there is even a prospect of such a deal".

He said that reading Beata Lipman's book — entitled "We make freedom" — made him more convinced that the South African system "deserves only our unrelenting hostility".

Yesterday the chairman of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), Labour MP Bob Hughes, wrote to the British Foreign Minister, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, to ask whether the British Government would authorize the deal.

Safair

When Mr Hughes wrote to Mr Rifkind on May 1 to ask whether the Coastguarder system was covered by the Export Control of Goods Order, and for assurances that an export licence would not be granted, Mr Rifkind dismissed it as a "hypothetical" question.

If the proposed deal was between British Aerospace and a private company such as Safair, the matter could be authorized by the department of Trade without reference to the Ministry of Defence.

of Namaqualand and the OFS

It is understood, however, that in his reply to the AAM letter, Mr Rifkind made it clear that any decision reached on an application by British Aerospace "would comply fully with our obligations under the arms embargo".

of Namaqualand

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Policemen stand by in Soweto yesterday.

Fire bombs, stones in June 16 unrest

D. M. SPATZ
17/6/83

PRETORIA — Mobs hurled petrol bombs at policemen, stoned vehicles and buildings and set fire to a bus and other vehicles yesterday in incidents on the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto riots.

Colonel Leon Melett, the chief press officer of the Minister of Police, said a bus driver was reportedly killed in an

incident in a remote part of Inanda, near Durban. The bus was set alight.

About 30 buses had been damaged in Soweto, Colonel Melett said.

In all, 23 SAP vehicles were damaged and six private vehicles were burnt. One member of the police was slightly injured and 41 people were arrested in Soweto

for various offences, including stone-throwing, Colonel Melett said.

Six blacks were injured in Soweto and police used tear smoke to disperse stone-throwing crowds in the township.

Among those arrested in Soweto were four senior members of Azapo, a spokesman for their lawyers said last night.

They are the president of Azapo, Mr Lybon Mabasa, the organisation's vice-president, Mr Saths Cooper, Dr Abu Bakar Asvat and Mr George Wauchop.

Mr Cooper and Dr Asvat were released later.

Police headquarters had up to 10 pm last night received no reports of shots being fired by the SAP.

Soweto was "quiet and under control" at 10 pm, Colonel Melett said.

In Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, sporadic incidents of stone-throwing occurred after a meeting late last night. A shop was plundered and windows broken in the local post office.

Police used tear smoke to disperse mobs in Durban after petrol bombs were thrown at members of the force on two occasions. No-one was injured by the bombs.

Shops in Lamontville, Umlazi and Chesterville were closed yesterday after mobs threatened to destroy businesses that opened.

In the Cape Peninsula, sporadic stone-throwing occurred in Nyanga and Settlers Way. A few cars were damaged but no-one was injured.

In Queenstown, hundreds of students attended a memorial service at the Shanty Hall in the Mlungisi Township.

There were no incidents and the students dispersed peacefully at about 4 pm.

No incidents or stay-aways from work were reported in East London or Mdantsane.

Port Elizabeth was also reported to be quiet. — SAPA-DDR.

BLACK UNREST

Violence is spreading

SA is shocked at the intensity and underlying resentment of this week's bloody violence in the Vaal Triangle. The emotive word "Sharpeville" once again reverberated around the world. Pressure is mounting on government to act quickly to prevent a repetition of the nationwide black unrest that shook SA for months in 1976.

After initially promising to comment on the situation as violence spread to the East Rand and northern Natal, the Commissioner of Police, General Johann Coetsee, eventually declined to issue a statement.

This week's riots in the black satellite towns around Vereeniging left at least 29 people dead and caused millions of rands worth of damage to shops, schools, libraries, houses, and churches. The deputy mayor of Sharpeville, Sam Dlamini, was brutally hacked to death and his body set alight on his doorstep.

At least three other local councillors were killed by angry mobs and the burning and looting was still going on as the FM went to press. The unrest could destroy the structure of black local government in the area. Several local councillors have already resigned.

The violence was triggered by rent increases announced by black local authorities recently, but follows many weeks of unrest on the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, the Free State, and Eastern Cape. The unrest in these areas mainly centred on school boy-

cotts.

This week, several children were killed by police bullets on the East Rand, and two bomb explosions rocked the centre of Johannesburg.

Chairman of Soweto's influential Committee of Ten Ntatho Motlana expressed the feeling of urban blacks like this. "The black anger, frustration and sometimes self-destruction spring from government action of discrimination and of totally ignoring our right of citizenship. The complete disenfranchisement and exclusion from all decision-making bodies compels the black man to vote with a petrol bomb."

Urgent meeting

General secretary of the SA Council of Churches Bishop Desmond Tutu sent an urgent telegram to Acting State President P W Botha, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange and National Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen asking for an urgent meeting with senior church leaders this week to discuss "the countrywide situation that is deteriorating desperately." Government sources say a positive reply will probably be sent.

Both the black and white press reacted to the situation with concern. The black daily *The Sowetan* editorialised that few people "had the faintest inkling that things could explode into such violence in the Vaal. No doubt it is true that a stay-at-home had

been called for. No doubt this call was made by a community or communities that are in desperate financial straits. But in the final analysis we believe this is the symptom of deeper ills in black communities all over the country ..."

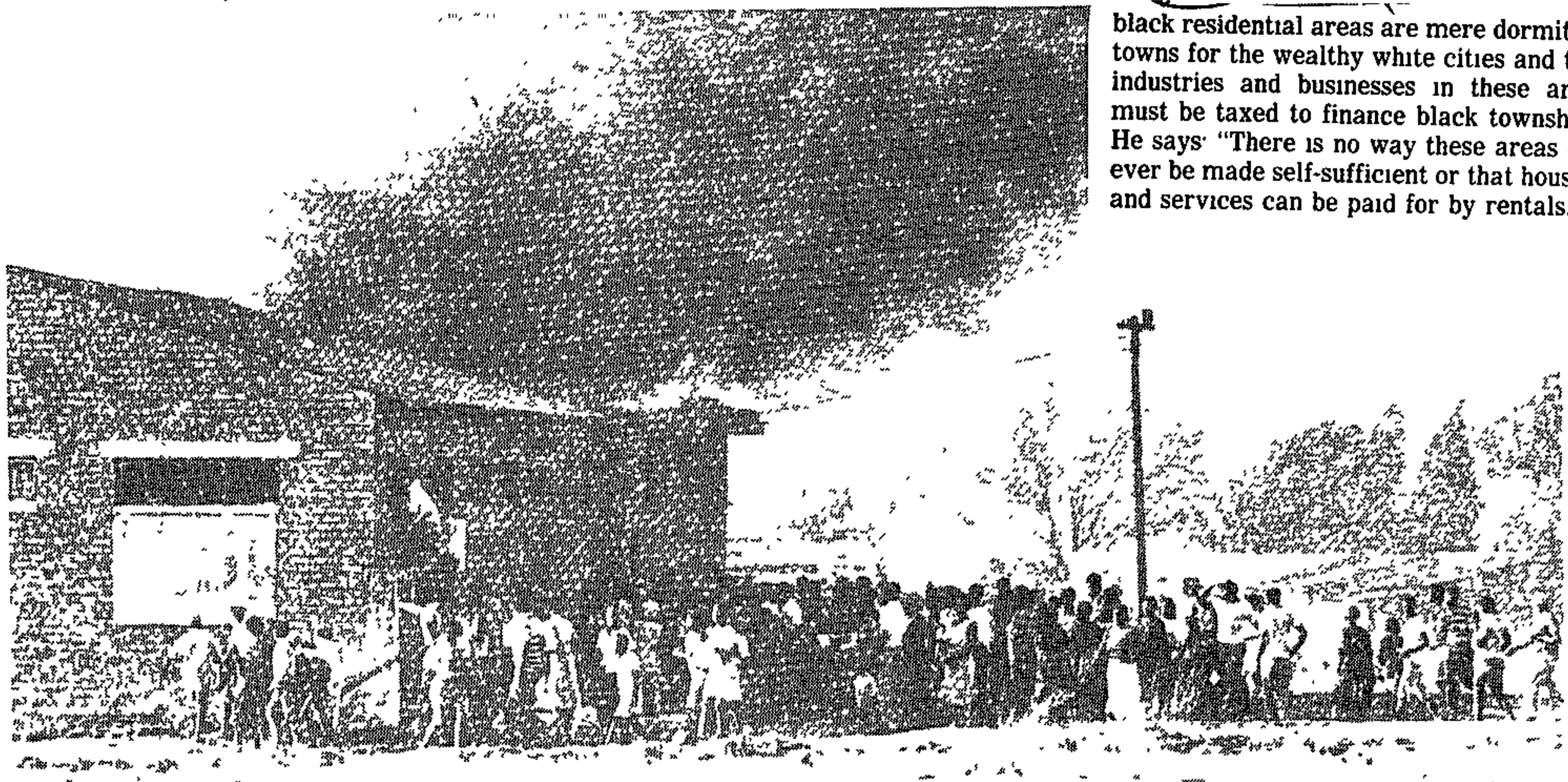
The Afrikaans daily *Beeld* wrote: "Whatever the causes, what happened this week is a sign that the black proletariat on the doorstep of white cities are in many cases breeding nests of unrest. And it ought to be clear that SA can hardly afford to allow its black urban complexes to remain flash-points that can explode at any moment."

"The present unrest has been building up over several months. Grievances over the black education system and poor economic and social conditions must undoubtedly have played a role. Under such circumstances, it sounds credible enough that a single question like the increase of rent could have exploded the black townships in the Vaal Triangle."

Despite claims that the Vaal riots were orchestrated and that the African National Congress is behind it, community leaders agree nothing like this week's violence could have happened without the socio-economic conditions prevailing in these townships and the prospect of higher rents. One pointer is that, unlike previous outbreaks of unrest, older people are also involved in the rioting.

Motlana says his organisation believes

black residential areas are mere dormitory towns for the wealthy white cities and that industries and businesses in these areas must be taxed to finance black townships. He says: "There is no way these areas can ever be made self-sufficient or that housing and services can be paid for by rentals."



Violence spreads ... a symptom of deprivation?

27A

THE RIOTS

Petrol on the flames

There seems to have been no over-riding political motive in the bloody riots that swept the black Vaal Triangle townships this week. Undoubtedly specific political issues were contributory factors — among them the implementation of the new constitution at midnight on Sunday, rent hikes in Lekoa and Evaton, and simmering discontent and boycotts in black schools.

What really appears to have occurred is that these — and many other — factors played upon a simmering, largely diffuse sense of long-standing grievance. Well-timed bomb explosions, presumably the work of the ANC, were clearly designed to capitalise on the unrest. But there is no real evidence that the ANC, or any other comparable grouping, was in a position to either control or gain short-term advantages from the situation.

If there is a major difference between the events of 1976 and those of this week, it lies in the current almost incoherent expressions of rage — of which the immediate target appears to have been black councillors and their offices and property. In 1976 the crystallising issue was the proposed use of Afrikaans in secondary schools in certain subjects, a far more precise flashpoint.

The murders of community officials (conducted with extreme brutality) and widespread looting, however appalling, suggest a climate of volatility rather than anything approaching co-ordinated revolutionary action. It should be noted in passing that at least 17 people were murdered in Soweto last weekend in "ordinary" crimes — suggesting the high degree of endemic violence with which law-abiding black citizens have to contend at the best of times.

It is perhaps significant that, at the time the *FM* went to press, Soweto — which bore the brunt of the upheavals in the Seventies — remained relatively calm. Soweto remains the heartland of sophisticated black politics; and even in the view of militants in that township, random killings which invite aggressive police retaliation (leading in turn to further deaths) serve no particular long-term purpose.

The debate within the Cillie Commission of Inquiry into the 1976-1977 upheavals — and the subject of legal argument on compensation for the destruction of administration board property — was precisely over the degree of political motivation in the affected black communities. That is, whether the unrest was revolutionary in the strict sense — aimed at the overthrow of the State — or represented spontaneous outbursts with their roots in the grim conditions under which SA's blacks live.

Perhaps the clearest view which emerged (subsequently confirmed by evidence in terrorism trials) was that such disturbances are in themselves radicalising. Some of the youths who fled SA after "Soweto" have subsequently returned as combatants in the "liberation struggle." Doubtless one of the effects of the turmoil in the Vaal will be further black-white polarisation — though this will be by

way of exploiting the situation for political ends, pouring petrol on the flames, much as others exploit it for criminal ones.

What is certain is that while SA may be in a state of "violent equilibrium," there is absolutely no evidence that the stability of the State has been endangered. Doubtless foreign investors may use circumstances to squeeze a few extra points on their loans to SA. Worldwide, Sharpeville is an emotive name. But, essentially, overseas financial institutions which do business with SA also lend to far less stable countries — and their short- and medium-term view on SA's stability remains largely intact.

This in no way excuses government from asking itself some hard questions. Are its methods of riot control — admittedly greatly improved since 1976, when the scale of killings was horrifying in any terms — appropriate? Was it really necessary for the police to use "sharp" ammunition in circumstances when rubber bullets and tear-smoke would have been sufficient? And surely mechanisms should be evolved for the consideration of grievances well in advance of situations which become inflammatory?

Another extremely disquieting factor has been the burning and looting of Indian shops and homes — by one count no less than 45 in Evaton by midweek. The danger of the tricameral system is, of course, that coloureds and Indians could be perceived as having drawn themselves into the *laager* against blacks. SA has enough racial tensions without this extra, and little considered, component.

It is therefore necessary for members of the Houses of Representatives and Delegates to be seen to be tackling the issue of national reform in a constructive and non-sectional fashion. Legislation which is specifically harmful to blacks, and favours other groups, must be scrapped or be seen to be opposed by the new parliamentarians. Labouring as they already do under the burden of the low polls, they must act swiftly, for credibility and justice alike.

One immediate area which cries out for reform is the white and coloured labour preference policy in the western Cape. For years surveys have indicated that coloureds do not want such "protection." If government is sensible, it will scrap the policy — and do so at the urging of the sister Houses. That coloured leaders intend moving on this particular issue is known.

It won't be enough. Indeed, for some, nothing short of black rule will be enough. But it will be a start — and in the current climate the logical one. Thereafter, as P W Botha himself has indicated, provision must be made for the accommodation of black aspirations.

How that is to be effected remains to be seen. No one should be under any illusions but that it will be a difficult, scarring process with potential riots a constant threat. Difficult, but essential; and, we must all hope, evolutionary rather than revolutionary.

Plastic bullets most effective, says Britain

LONDON — Plastic bullets are still the most effective riot control weapon for Northern Ireland, according to the British Government

A Government spokesman in Strasbourg, where Euro MPs are demanding that the bullets should be banned, said alternative methods of riot control had been considered, and would continue to be

But in the circumstances of Northern Ireland plastic baton rounds were the most effective

The spokesman added "The Government regrets the deaths resulting from the use of plastic baton rounds"

The use of the bullets was governed by strict guidelines, and death or serious injury caused by them was subject to a full inquiry.

The spokesman also said that matters concerning Britain's internal law and order policies were nothing to do with the European Parliament.

Euro MPs are due to debate

three motions condemning the British Government's continuing authorisation of plastic bullets, after the death last month of the eighth person to be killed by the bullets in Northern Ireland

● The British Defence Ministry has denied that it has any interest in acquiring machine-guns to fire plastic bullets

The denial followed a claim by Mr John Hume, leader of Ulster's Social Democratic and Labour Party, that the Ministry was working on two rapid-fire versions of the plastic bullet gun

Drug pubs foreseen in nasty new world

an African country where they are dispensed at "drug pubs".

The results are analysed and submitted to the American government to decide whether they should be introduced.

Science writer Nigel Calder, who chaired the meeting at which Mr Huxley spoke, said: "These ideas are challenging. It is a credible situation and a credible response by a government."

"This may be the kind of society we are moving towards where a government has the power to turn its population into walking shadows."

Churches discuss apartheid

By Eugene Saldanha, Religion Reporter

Talks aimed at ending a two-year deadlock between the coloured Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (NGSK) and the white NGK began in Belhar, near Cape Town, this morning.

The top-level talks follow the NGSK's call on the white church to "repent" its role in creating the apartheid ideology

The talks are one of the most important events on the Afrikaans churches' calendar this year and follow increasing condemnation of the white church by international reformed church organisations.

In July, the Reformed Ecumenical Synod (RES) in Chicago found the NGK guilty of supporting apartheid, which it declared a heresy. In 1982 the NGK was suspended by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC) in Ottawa after the organisation declared apartheid a heresy and an idolatry



Pet is fierce fighter

'Army to give more aid to police'

Le Grange blames UDF for unrest

By CHRIS FREIMOND
Political Correspondent

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday accused the United Democratic Front and some of its affiliates of being directly or indirectly responsible for the wave of unrest sweeping black townships.

Speaking at the National Party's Transvaal Congress in Alberton, he also announced that in future the Defence Force would play a greater role in supporting the police in various areas, including unrest situations.

Bonus Bonds to be axed

Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT has decided to scrap Bonus Bonds, the State President, Mr P W Botha, announced last night.

Speaking at the National Party's Transvaal Congress in Alberton, Mr Botha indicated that one of the main reasons for the decision was representations from church groups. Congress-goers will recall that the question of Defence Bonus Bonds was discussed in depth at last year's congress and that I undertook on that occasion to go into all aspects of the matter. Very strong representations have also frequently been made to me by church organisations."

Mr Botha added he had carefully weighed the "potential implications and unavoidable financial risks" that would accompany any change in the scheme.

"The public, presently has more than R500-million invested in Bonus Bonds which, particularly in the present tight economic conditions, constitutes a relatively cheap source of finance.

"We have nevertheless decided that as from November 1 marketing of Bonus Bonds shall cease," Mr Botha said.

Certain obligations by the State towards bondholders would still be met and the final prize-draw under the scheme would be in February next year, he said.

In a statement last night the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said the redemption date for Bonus Bonds would be set at January 31 next year.

The fixing of this date was necessary solely to comply with statutory requirements and it would not be compulsory for bondholders to cash their bonds on that date.

"They will be able to draw the money or leave it in an alternative facility," he said.

Bondholders who did not want to withdraw their in-

A wide-ranging attack on the UDF by Mr Le Grange was interpreted in some quarters as a clear indication that the Government planned to take action to further neutralise the organisation.

This could affect some of the UDF's affiliates, including the South African Allied Workers' Union, the Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses, the Release Mandela Committee and the Congress of South African Students.

Mr Le Grange linked the UDF directly to the African National Congress and said: "When the UDF's activities in South Africa are judged, there can be no conclusion other than that the UDF has the same revolutionary aims as the banned ANC and South African Communist Party and is actively preparing a revolutionary climate."

In an interview later Mr Le Grange quoted extensively from banned ANC and SACP publications which, he said, showed the close ties the two organisations had with the UDF.

He said in his speech that more than 90% of the UDF's office bearers had previously been linked to organisations such as the ANC, the SACP, the banned Congress of Democrats, the "revolutionary" SA Council of Trade Unions, the "communist" Congress Alliance, and the old Natal and Transvaal Indian congresses.

Mr Le Grange gave a number of examples of unrest situations which he said had occurred because of the "climate" created by the UDF.

These included:

- School unrest in Cradock and Pretoria initiated by three UDF affiliates, including Cosas;
- Unrest in the Vaal Triangle initiated by the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association.

Mr Le Grange also listed damage to buildings and vehicles, and deaths and injuries caused in unrest between August 1 and September 20, and blamed them on direct or indirect action by the UDF and some of its affiliates.

The details he gave included 65 people killed and 126 wounded or injured by the police, 15 killed and 59 injured by "other people", and 40 policemen injured. There were 793 arrests during the period.

Mr Le Grange said the forces threatening South Africa aimed not only to overthrow the white Government, but also to destroy "democratic systems in the RSA" and replace them with a Marxist-socialist system.

"The great majority of our total population is opposed to this and supports the Government in its struggle against the militant threat," Mr Le Grange said.

He said the SAP, the SADF and "other members of the security family" would fight every threat against the country with all the means at their disposal.

The decision to extend the SADF's support role in police activity would enable more policemen to be available for law enforcement and "other specialised police functions" which would lead to a better service to the public, he said.

Mr Le Grange also announced that the SADF would be increased from the present 47 000 to about 68 000 men as part of the new security plan.

Mr Le Grange yesterday also accused the ANC and the SACP of being involved in organised crime in Southern Africa, including motor car theft and Mandrax drug smug-

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Bondholders who did not want to withdraw their investments would be offered an alternative facility by the Government.

Mr Du Plessis said it had been decided to market a new issue as from February 1 next year which would automatically give a tax-free return of 10% a year compounded.

"A compounded tax-free return of 5% per annum in respect of the period between the original date of purchase of the bond and January 31, 1985, will also be paid to the holder upon eventual encashment," he added.

Bonus Bond holders who made use of the new facility would therefore not have to exchange their old bonds for new ones, he said.

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ARE THE ONLY INFORMATION RELEVANT RAISED BELOW.

to the above company. Your audit assistant wing matters to your attention:

- (a) (i) R55 000 (being investment allowance of the initial allowance of R25 000) has been by the Secretary for Inland Revenue on the the asset purchased was not used in a manufacture. The matter is on appeal to the pecial Court. The allowances were included t in its computations of taxes payable in nancial statements.
- (ii) inadequately disclosed.

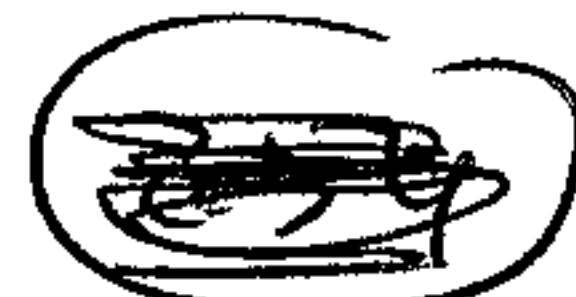
- (b) The premium on redemption of debentures (referred to in Note 2 of the draft financial statements) was written off stated capital as the directors desire to show the largest possible profit and they contend that, after all, the issue was made to raise capital sufficient to redeem the debentures.

- (c) In April 1978, the company changed its method of computing the cost of stock from one which includes no overheads to one which includes all production overheads. Disclosure has been made in the financial statements of his change in accounting policy. (See Note 5)

- (d) Included in 'accounts receivable' is an amount of R75 000, being a debt due by a company. The debtor is experiencing financial difficulties and to alleviate matters is being merged into another company in terms of Section 311 of the Companies Act. The proposed scheme of arrangement asks for creditors to settle for 50 cents in the Rand. Management refuse to write the debt down on the grounds that the creditors meeting to be called by the Court has not yet been convened and it is not certain that the scheme will be approved.

YOU ARE REQUIRED TO/...

History of army helping police



Nothing new in use of military to quell unrest

9/10/84 Skw (274)

Joint operations by the police and the Defence Force to control internal unrest are not new to South Africa, although they have been rare.

Military pundits and historians in Pretoria say that in the earlier decades of this century the calling out of troops was a signal that the police had lost control of a situation.

When the army had to be called in it usually meant that the country was close to a state of emergency.

Today the use of troops to patrol South Africa's troubled townships and man roadblocks may not be a sign of a deepening crisis so much as an indication of the stretched manpower reserves of the police, experts say.

Professor Deon Fourie, an expert in strategic studies at the University of South Africa, says that since the 1940s it has become customary throughout the world to send for the military whenever there are signs of unrest.

An early incident this cen-

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

tury which required military assistance in South Africa was the mine strike of 1913.

The dispute started as a trivial argument over hours of work by mechanics at a Benoni mine.

But through government ineptitude and failure to become involved the matter spread over the whole of the Witwatersrand and there was violence and arson.

In the unrest the offices of *The Star*, among others, were burned down.

BLOODSHED

The police and Imperial troops stationed in South Africa were called in to restore order and in the ensuing resistance there was some bloodshed.

In 1914 a strike by railway workers again developed into a general dispute and there was much talk of a red revolution.

Having learned from its inaction the year before, the government acted promptly and immediately called in burger commandos under General JH de la Rey.

The Trades Hall in Johannesburg was surrounded by troops and artillery guns pointed at the doors and windows before strike leaders surrendered.

The worst internal disturbances requiring military action were of course related to the Rand Revolt of 1921 and 1922.

This was an armed uprising by workers which developed from a miner's strike on the Witwatersrand.

Strikers formed commandos and there were general attacks on police stations, mines and the railways.

The government mobilised volunteers and the burger commandos were again called out.

The revolt was crushed in four days in which aircraft strafed and the artillery pounded the rebels.

More than 200 people were

killed and 1 000 injured.

The Imperial Light Horse and Transvaal Scottish Regiments took heavy injuries.

Troops were called in or at least alerted to be on stand-by on several occasions in the years between 1922 and the sixties.

In the 1949 Zulu riots in Natal troops were alerted and the Air Force laid on aircraft to ferry extra police to the troubled areas.

In March 1960 thousands of blacks marched on several big cities and army units were alerted to be ready to move in case matters got out of hand.

In Cape Town 30 000 blacks joined a Pan Africanist Congress march from Langa to Caledon Square, police headquarters of the city.

They were led by a youthful student, Phillip Kgosi, who had demanded an interview with the Minister of Justice on the subject of political prisoners.

PRECAUTION

Parliament was in session and two Saracen tanks were moved into Parliament Street as a precaution.

Troops were called in to be on hand near expected trouble spots, but there was no violence.

Although the Defence Force was not officially involved in the suppression of unrest in the 1976 disturbances, there were reports of assistance given to the police at certain areas.

Last week's announcement that troops will be used to support the police, freeing police to do more routine duties where possible, has been interpreted by observers as merely formalising a situation which has in fact been in effect for some years.

US paper fears SA confrontation

The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The deployment of troops in support of police in South Africa is certain to anger blacks as it is likely to be seen as a signal that the Government is seeking confrontation not conciliation, says the *New York Times*.

In a front page report on the continuing unrest in South Africa, the newspaper added that the move appeared to raise questions about the relationship between the police and military.

While police statements sug-

gest the army will act under police orders, the deployment of military units seems to imply either an acknowledgement that greater muscle is required in coping with township unrest or a signal that the authorities have decided on a greater show of force to impress both black activists and their own white constituents.

The newspaper quoted the Mayor of Soweto, Mr Ephraim Tshabalala, as saying: "There won't be any mercy if the army moves into Soweto."

"There will be more deaths than now — and this is some-

thing we cannot afford."

The newspaper quoted other commentators who said the decision to use the army, and publicise the move, reflected a determination to stifle unrest while the Government pursued political changes.

It pointed out that, under South Africa's pervasive security legislation, troop movements may not ordinarily be reported so that, if troops are involved in quelling civil violence, newspaper editors will court prosecution in publishing stories describing military deployments.

based industry, bringing in much-needed foreign exchange.

The SATB-Fedhasa talks could also possibly lead to major changes in hotel regulations, and the Liquor Act could come under reconsideration — should government decide to change existing regulations.

Changes in the offing include "liberalising" the star-grading system; more tax breaks for lower-star hotels; and changes in the automatic linkage of a liquor licence to a hotel licence. This practice has led to many one-star hotels becoming little more than "glorified liquor outlets," according to tourism sources.

With a softening of star-grading standards, hoteliers would be able to save on building and running costs, as a number of unnecessarily strict requirements and regulations could fall away without damaging basic hotel standards.

"We are taking complete stock of the whole industry, looking at consumer needs and whether existing regulations match the practical requirements of the industry. This should help the industry become more cost-effective," says SATB executive director Spencer Thomas.

At least one hotel group has already moved strongly into the "budget" gap. Cape-based Protea Hotels & Inns (PHI) MD Otto Stehlik says he is being "inundated" with enquiries from hoteliers interested in its franchise and management contract scheme, aimed at forming a chain of "economy" and budget hotels (*Business* August 17).

The beauty of Protea's scheme is that it needs very little capital outlay. Individual hoteliers wishing to join the chain have to qualify in terms of the provisions of PHI's 40-page "quality assurance programme." The aim is to ensure that all participating hotels comply with the new group's standards. Any refurbishing and upgrading costs must be carried by the participating hotelier, who will be funded by the Bankorp group (the major shareholder in PHI).

Stehlik expects PHI to comprise 20 hotels by the beginning of next year, increasing to 35 by June-July, and reaching 50 by the end of 1985. He says PHI has already

identified about 100 areas in southern Africa where it would like to make its presence felt.

Protea's high-powered entry into the budget market is underlined by its appointment of Theo Behrens (former Secretary for Tourism and ex-chairman of both Satour and the now-defunct Hotel Board) as marketing director from October 1. Stehlik claims the group now has "a couple of million rand" available to market the group's hotels locally and overseas from early next year.

Protea Hotels already has a well-established international marketing division. A bigger advertising pool will enable it to launch a major marketing campaign, as soon as the group is "on stream," says Stehlik.

A wide range

He adds: "Travel patterns are changing. People are becoming more adventurous and interested in visiting outlying country areas. With many of our hotels in up-country areas — and a fair mix of rural, resort and central city locations — we will be able to offer visitors a wide range of accommodation."

Stehlik is "amazed" at the number of largely unknown hotels, with great tourist potential, that are available in various scenic areas round the country. He sees the PHI venture as an opportunity to put these hotels "on the map." PHI is also negotiating with three homeland governments on possible hotel and resort developments, and Stehlik hopes to announce one major deal soon.

The hallmark of the new group will be the individuality of its hotels. "We do not plan to operate an over-standardised, over-commercialised group of hotels," says Stehlik.

Another major group has also indicated that it is "going budget." The new Safren group is strongly involved in tourism development through its two components — Safmarine, with its Astor cruise liner, and Rennies, which controls Holiday Inns (HI).

Rennies chairman Charles Fiddian-Green tells the *FM* his group has investi-

gated the issue for some time in the US and "definitely" wants to press ahead with development in the budget hotels sector.

"Safmarine are 100% with us in this venture and we are actively looking for new hotel sites. We are, in fact, already negotiating to buy acceptable sites for building purposes and would prefer this avenue of development to taking over existing hotels," says Fiddian-Green.

HI presently has 22 hotels in SA, and one in the Transkei. The rest of its stable has been amalgamated with Sun International and includes the highly successful Wild Coast Sun, and its Swaziland resort.

Marketing and sales director Tim Rands says HI's 350-room highrise, second-generation hotel on Durban's Marine Parade will be completed at a cost of R45m by April 1985, while its new 250-room Pretoria Hotel was recently opened at a cost of R28m. Rands also expects a strong overseas tourism upturn as soon as the positive effects of the rand/dollar exchange rate begin to filter through to the local hotel and tourism industries on a larger scale.

SI's exclusion contract from the SA market terminates next March — and the group is already studying further local and overseas developments. However, SI is definitely not in the "budget" market, and chairman Sol Kerzner recently said it is looking for good multi-million-rand foreign hotel investments.

Presently under construction are its 120-room, R25m Thaba'Nchu casino resort hotel, due for completion by the end of 1985, and "the finest hotel in Africa" — its new 250-room, R40m Cascades Hotel at Sun City. Marketing director Stewart Banner says the group has "a few more plans in the pipeline."

The overall pattern suggests that hoteliers are increasingly becoming aware of the advantages to be reaped from a weak rand, and that a greater "targeting" on tourists — upmarket or budget, local or foreign — has to form an essential component of planning. Perhaps not all SA's hotels will survive. But those that do, should be in a strong position to provide carefully catered services.

THE UNREST

Currents of violence

There are two powerful political currents flowing parallel in SA. One, with all its hesitations, imperfections, and injustices, is the current of reform. This, it is hoped, will eventually lead to a peaceful and more just society.

The second current is that of confrontation and revolution. The motives of its proponents — though not their methods — are understandable to any who recall the history of injustice of the last 30 years. Since

The continued violence in the townships is a serious matter. Opposing views on its causes and possible outcome are emerging. While events seem far from adding up to a climate of revolution, reformist intentions need to be swiftly translated into action if the unrest is not to become endemic.

the army is now being used to deal with turbulent situations, it is worth looking at what the army itself thinks of the issues.

Conventional military wisdom is that revolutionaries can cause a great deal of turmoil, bloodshed and suffering. But they cannot launch a successful revolution against security forces whose loyalties are not subject to subversion.

Conventional military wisdom is almost certainly right. If, over a large number of

IS THE VIOLENCE RANDOM?

The violence in SA's townships and mines differs from that of 1976 in that it seems to lack a common focus. In 1976 the flashpoint was government's attempt to enforce Afrikaans-medium education in secondary schools. This time there is no single grievance — in fact there appear to be too many for any simple solution.

The fighting and killings on the mines were related to the strike called by the National Union of Mineworkers, and do not appear to have had any wider political connotation.

In the Vaal Triangle, where the community violence began, the spark was provided by resentment at rent increases. This quickly translated into hostility towards the new town council — several councillors were attacked and one killed.

Lenasia election

Lenasia's violence was directly against the Indian election under the new constitution. It was obviously designed to signify Indian rejection of the new deal — and to scare off voters.

On the East Rand, scene of some of the worst incidents, the school boycotts played a major part — with 93 000 students staying away. How far the violence was politically motivated, and

how far it was due to thousands of boycotting students simply going on the rampage, is another question.

As far as can be judged the Grahams-town and Port Elizabeth incidents were largely motiveless — unless they are regarded as the sudden release of frustration due to falling economic expectations and poor housing.

Soweto backlash

In Soweto, where Mayor Ephraim Tshabalala blames the United Democratic Front for the unrest, trouble seems to have been precipitated by a combination of rent and housing grievances, and school boycotts. It is interesting that Soweto is the one area to show any sort of significant counter-movement — with Tshabalala mustering 4 000 people to protest against the violence.

The Pretoria townships seem to have mainly been hit by student violence following a boycott of most local schools.

The situation is confusing enough to justify government suspicions that trouble is being deliberately orchestrated using whatever grievances lie to hand. The SA Catholic Bishops Conference, no friend of government's, has called for an investigation into the causes of "this outbreak of social rage."

years, the revolutionaries succeeded in doing enough physical and economic damage (killing or maiming a sufficiently large number of people) they might succeed in bringing government to the conference table. This is a remote contingency. Government's most likely response would be to fight to the end — with the worst scenario a war that would almost certainly engulf the whole sub-continent if there was foreign intervention.

We are still very far from that. But it is pertinent to ask how relevant the current unrest — including as it does school boycotts and sporadic waves of violence — is to the plans of both the reformers and the revolutionaries.

There are two theories about the unrest. One, naturally held strongly by government, is that it is being orchestrated. Either the ANC is directly involved, it is argued; or front organisations are doing the running. It is often strongly hinted that bodies like the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), and the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) are active in this field.

The other theory is that the unrest is almost entirely spontaneous. It therefore springs from grievances about inadequate schooling, poor and insufficient housing, increasing rents, corrupt and inefficient local government, poor and overcrowded transport facilities, the enforcement of influx control, and from falling living standards as a result of the recession.

We are inclined to believe that both theories contain truth and that unrest springing from genuine grievances is seized upon



Students' gathering ... not yet a fullscale revolt

by those with ideological axes to grind and in whose interest it is to keep the witch's cauldron bubbling.

It is always difficult for white South Africans, safely encapsulated from the realities of township life, to know precisely what is happening at any one time. They judge the state of play from the announced body counts, from ministerial and police statements and by whatever is said by blacks they happen to know.

Thus when Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange told the Transvaal National Party Congress last week that the army would be "utilised to a greater extent in a support role for the SAP" he raised a predictable row — particularly as army units were promptly deployed in Soweto and Grahamstown, only to be as promptly withdrawn due to the "situation easing."

After all, a state only uses troops against its own citizens in a declared emergency, rebellion or civil war — right? In the South African context, as it happens, wrong. Although government avoided using troops during the 1976 riots — when the police were stretched in dealing with the situation — the attitude has changed since then.

It has become policy to use the SADF wherever necessary — and it is the legally prescribed duty of the troops to render such assistance.

Among its other duties the Defence Act lays down the following tasks for the SADF: "The prevention or suppression of terrorism; the prevention or suppression of internal disorder" and "such police duties as may be prescribed."

In fact the SADF has become more and more valuable to the police. Government's 1982 White Paper on Defence says aid to the police included "22 cordon operations, 10 sweep and search operations and 633 road blocks." The 1984 White Paper avoids giving figures while making it plain that aid to the police continues.

But if military aid to the police is not a new departure, the new high-profile role of the troops carries its own dangers. It indicates to the country, and to the world as a whole, that the situation in the black townships is more serious than government has cared to admit. That cannot be good for either political or investor confidence.

That trouble should break out in the black townships just as the new constitution

was coming into force is hardly surprising. From a revolutionary viewpoint outbreaks of mass unrest, violence and school boycotts signal to the world that the new constitution is not acceptable to the bulk of the people.

Grievances that could be exploited lay ready to hand; and to be fair to government most of them are not matters that can be easily remedied. Many are the result of 36 years of apartheid and they will take many years to put right.

How long the unrest will last is a moot point. The 1976 disturbances went on for many months and lasted longer in some areas than in others — particularly in the eastern Cape.

Revolt distant

In most people's judgment, however, the country is not ripe for any full-scale revolt. In due course the urban areas will probably subside into the same sullen calm that followed 1976 — until next time.

The FM fully appreciates the genuine grievances of black South Africans. It also believes government is following a disastrous policy in attempting to press ahead with "separate development" — however

much that policy might be brought up to date and explained away as something different.

Indeed it is of interest that some of government's proclaimed intentions are the antithesis of separate development — like Co-operation and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen's statement last week that government aimed at the orderly "urbanisation" of blacks.

Whatever its flaws, this is a far cry from the old "blacks are temporary sojourners" attitude. It implies not only recognition that blacks are in the cities permanently, but that their numbers will grow both by natural means and by migration from the homelands and rural areas.

Even a government as given to belief in policy as a *deus ex machina* as Pretoria can hardly hope to keep such black masses politically powerless. Municipal votes and a theoretical say in distant and poverty-stricken homelands are not enough.

No doubt Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis's Cabinet committee on urban blacks will agonise over the problem and will come up with many weird and wonderful ideas like city states or federal and confederal systems.

Some of these ideas may actually be tried before the realisation penetrates that all South Africans are entitled to equal rights — given some mechanism to protect minority interests.

No one, except the ANC, is demanding equal rights tomorrow. Obviously it will take time and will involve many traumatic political events before some satisfactory system emerges.

But it is unlikely to emerge in circumstances of growing violence where situations harden and hatreds become more intense. That is why we place our trust in reform, believing that, whatever the difficulties and pressures, each reform measure must lead logically and inevitably to the next.

Thus government, under the new constitution, must show itself capable of reformist action such as the repeal of the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts; the amendment, for the better, of the Group Areas Act; and the softening of the worst aspects of influx control and population removal.

If it does start to move in the right directions it might find that it does not, after all, need the army to hold down restless townships.

COSAS  **SUPPORT**

EACH ONE TEACH ONE

STUDENTS DEMANDS

SOLIDARITY

'AFTER MORE THAN TWENTY YEARS OF APARTHEID EDUCATION THEY EXPECTED TO SEE TOTALLY BRAINWASHED, PERFECT LITTLE HOTNOTJIES' AND 'KAFFIRTJIES' WHO KNEW THEIR PLACE IN THE

WORLD INSTEAD THEY FIND THE MOST POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE DETERMINED TO STRUGGLE FOR A BETTER FUTURE' — REV ALLAN BOESAK



Ever since the beginning of this year there have been a number of incidents of unrest in schools, which symbolises dissatisfaction amongst the students of SOUTH AFRICA. Those affected are in Cradock, Attardville, Suluville, Thembisa, Wembeth Port Elizabeth, Goshengwe, Queenstown, Walikom and many other areas.

Therefore the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) calls upon all students, parents and all members of the community to support the demands which are:

DEMANDS

- Formation of and recognition of democratic SRC's
- The application of corporal punishment as laid down by the DET regulations
- Free supply of textbooks to all students/pupils
- Age limit regulation to be scrapped in all schools
- End to sexual abuse of female students/pupils by a teachers or another student/pupil
- The DET should work to end the continual presence of unqualified teachers in our schools
- Release all detained students and teachers

DET and the unrest was caused by agitators. This has been proved to be a lie by students in Pretoria and Cradock, who have been out of classes since the beginning of the year and firmly standing by their demands. The agitating issues have been problems inside the classrooms.

REASONS

- Representation in the interest of improving relationship between student/pupils and teachers
- Punishment for correcting and not as swilling students/pupils. A democratic SRC would help to build and maintain discipline among students/pupils
- All students/pupils should be able to study
- Education for all regardless of age
- Female pupils (girls) must be treated as human beings and not as sexual objects. A democratic SRC would promote and improve understanding and a better relationship between staff and students
- For the improvement of matric results and the standard of black education 75% of black teachers are underqualified as compared to 3% in white schools

Cosass's education demand

C. Times 17/10/84

members in the Cape that I have spoken to are very unhappy about the possibility of being used as riot-breakers in the black townships.

They do not see this as their role. They feel they are trained and equipped to defend the country against its real enemies, not disperse boycotting schoolchildren or itinerant stone-throwers.

This is a serious matter; the Citizen and Commando Forces comprise more than two-thirds of the Defence Force and are its backbone; and they in turn are sustained by a backbone of extended-service volunteers who constitute a priceless reservoir of training and experience.

It is a truism in military circles that without the volunteers the part-time forces would virtually collapse; this is why the SADF is now awarding volunteer badges as a mark of appreciation.

service.

SADF in townships

I FEEL it my duty to warn the powers-that-be that Citizen Force

The moral of all this is that if you demotivate the volunteers you will effectively demotivate the part-time forces. It's something to think about.

131 killed in unrest this year

AT LEAST 131 South Africans have died violently in the present township unrest, according to figures compiled by the Institute of Race Relations in Johannesburg.

Most have died within kilometres of Johannesburg in townships that are, to most whites, little more than vague names in Press reports and on news bulletins.

The lack of more specific knowledge of Sebokeng, Katlehong, Daveyton and their bleak sister cities is hardly surprising.

Though the "dormitory" townships house

millions of black people who work in Johannesburg, most of their names do not even appear on most local maps.

And years of racial separation have created the situation where violence can rage literally just down the road from South Africa's largest city without affecting the lives of most of its residents.

Though the number killed has not yet reached the proportions of 1976 when 575 people died between June 16 and the following February 22, the toll continues to climb steadily and the bloodshed shows no sign of ending.

Even the late-night house-to-house search of Sebokeng by 7 000 troops and police which sparked outrage around the world was not

enough to stop the violence there.

Within hours of the troops pulling out groups of stone-throwing schoolchildren were roaming the township streets again.

Difficulty

The grim record, compiled largely from Press reports because of the difficulty of obtaining accurate official statistics, begins with the death of Emma Sathekge, (15), under the wheels of a police vehicle in an Atteridgeville school grounds on February 13. It continued to

grow over the past week with the slaying of Kwa-Thema businessman Mr Jerry Khumbuzi, (25), and does not include hundreds of injured.

Residents say that many of those wounded by birdshot or injured



RIOTS: This delivery van was attacked by youths in Soweto last Thursday and then set alight. Epitomises the current unrest in black townships throughout the country that has left about 131 people dead.

by rubber bullets have refused treatment at hospitals or clinics for fears that their names would become known to the authorities.

The bullets and stones and teargas and knives are no respectors of age.

The youngest to die so far were three-week old Gordon Blair, killed when youths stoned his mother's car in Sebokeng, Nonhlantla Mzungu (seven months), killed in his home by tearsmoke and Thabo Sibeko (6) shot dead in Watville.

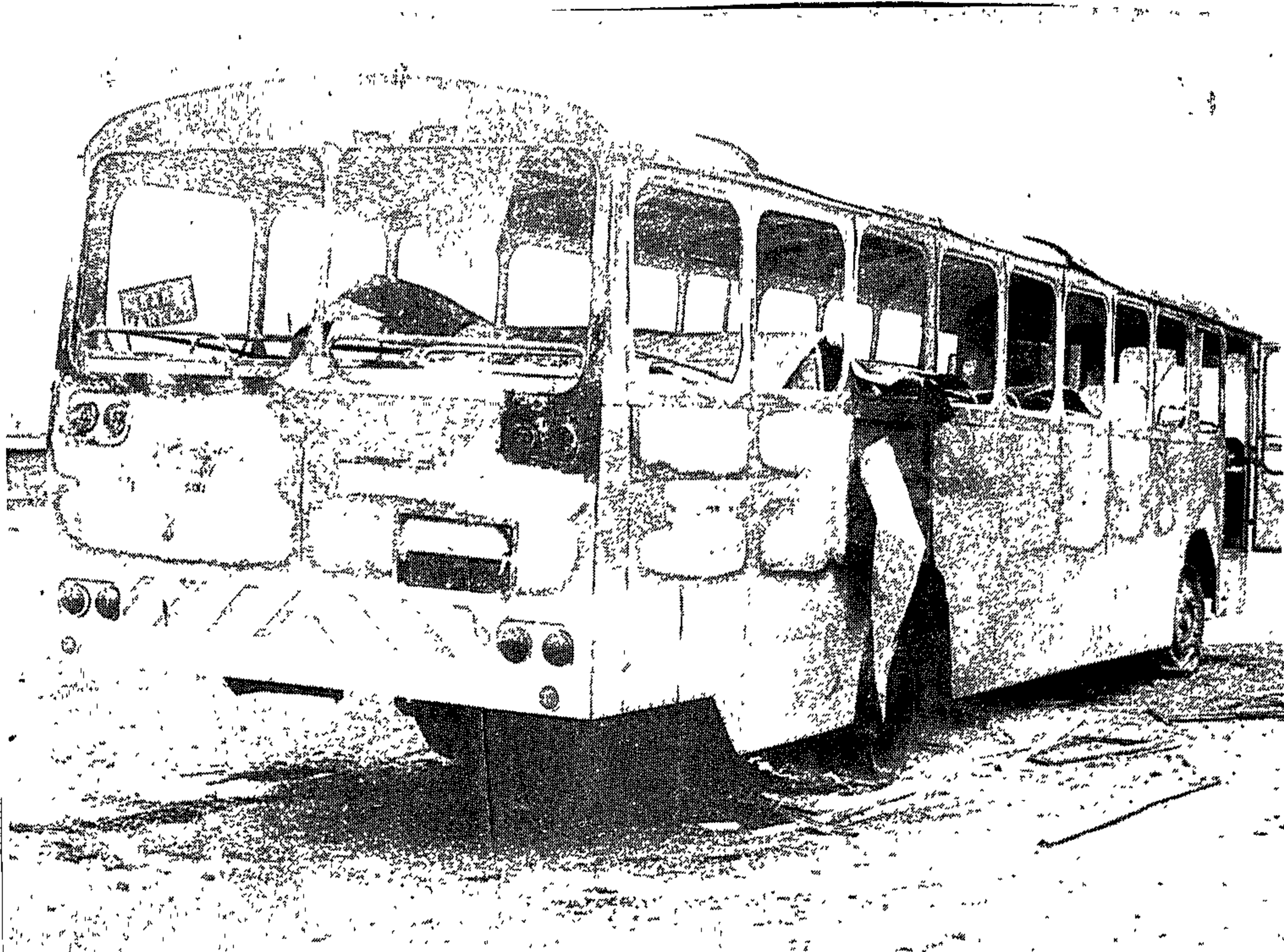
The oldest killed was Mrs Martha Ndamabhi, (59), who died three weeks after being overcome by tearsmoke in Sharpeville.

Combined with a lack of knowledge on the part of most whites

about the township's geographical location is a distressingly vague knowledge of the appalling socio-economic conditions that have sparked the boycotts, riots and killings there.

Few whites have even seen the inside of a township by day, never mind by night when the tsotisis roam the ill-lit streets.

Fewer still can contemplate the horrors facing men and women who travel home in darkness aboard crowded trains and buses with the constant fear of losing all they carry to the gangs of thugs, of the panga blow on the head or of the sharpened bicycle spoke thrust up the spine from the small of the back.



The remains of a bus which was set alight at Katlehong near Germiston yesterday morning.

Picture: RICH MKHONDO

Mall Reporters and Sapa
NINE people were arrested and several vehicles stoned as unrest flared in several parts of the country yesterday.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate in Pretoria confirmed the incidents.

In Katlehong, near Germiston, a bus was set alight and destroyed yesterday morning. Later in the day all buses, delivery vans and taxis were withdrawn from the township.

Commuters had to walk or pay extra money to board taxis and buses which were parked 7km outside the township.

Later in the afternoon a man was arrested after allegedly stoning a vehicle.

In Tsakane, also on the East Rand, police used tearsmoke, birdshot and

9 held as new wave of unrest sweeps country

rubber bullets as about 20 youths stoned delivery vehicles yesterday.

A youth who was slightly wounded was arrested.

In Duduza, near Nigel, police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse a crowd of 40 youths who had stoned police vehicles earlier. One of the attackers was arrested.

In Daveyton, near Benoni, police dispersed a group of youths who were stoning police vans.

Unrest also continued in other parts of the country.

About 200 youths were dispersed by police using

sjamboks, rubber bullets and tearsmoke in Nkewangawa, near Queens-town, yesterday morning when the youths tried to set up roadblocks in the area.

A bus driver is in a serious condition in hospital after being stabbed in the back in Kwazakele, near Port Elizabeth. A group of rioters had stoned the bus and forced it to stop. Three youths were arrested.

Also in Kwazakhele, three people were arrested after about 300 gathered at the Itembridge School and stoned vehicles.

In Grahamstown be-

tween 200 and 300 youths gathered at the Nombulelo and Inzunikuzo schools yesterday morning. Police used birdshot, tearsmoke, and rubber bullets as the group tried to stone vehicles. Three youths were arrested.

The Public Relations Department of the SAP also confirmed that at least three people had been arrested in connection with recent unrest in the Vaal Triangle.

A spokesman said more arrests were expected as a result of information gathered by the police during

Operation Palmiet.

Another police spokesman in Pretoria confirmed that a middle-aged man was shot dead in Katlehong on Friday.

The spokesman said the man died when development board police were stoned. They answered with gunshots.

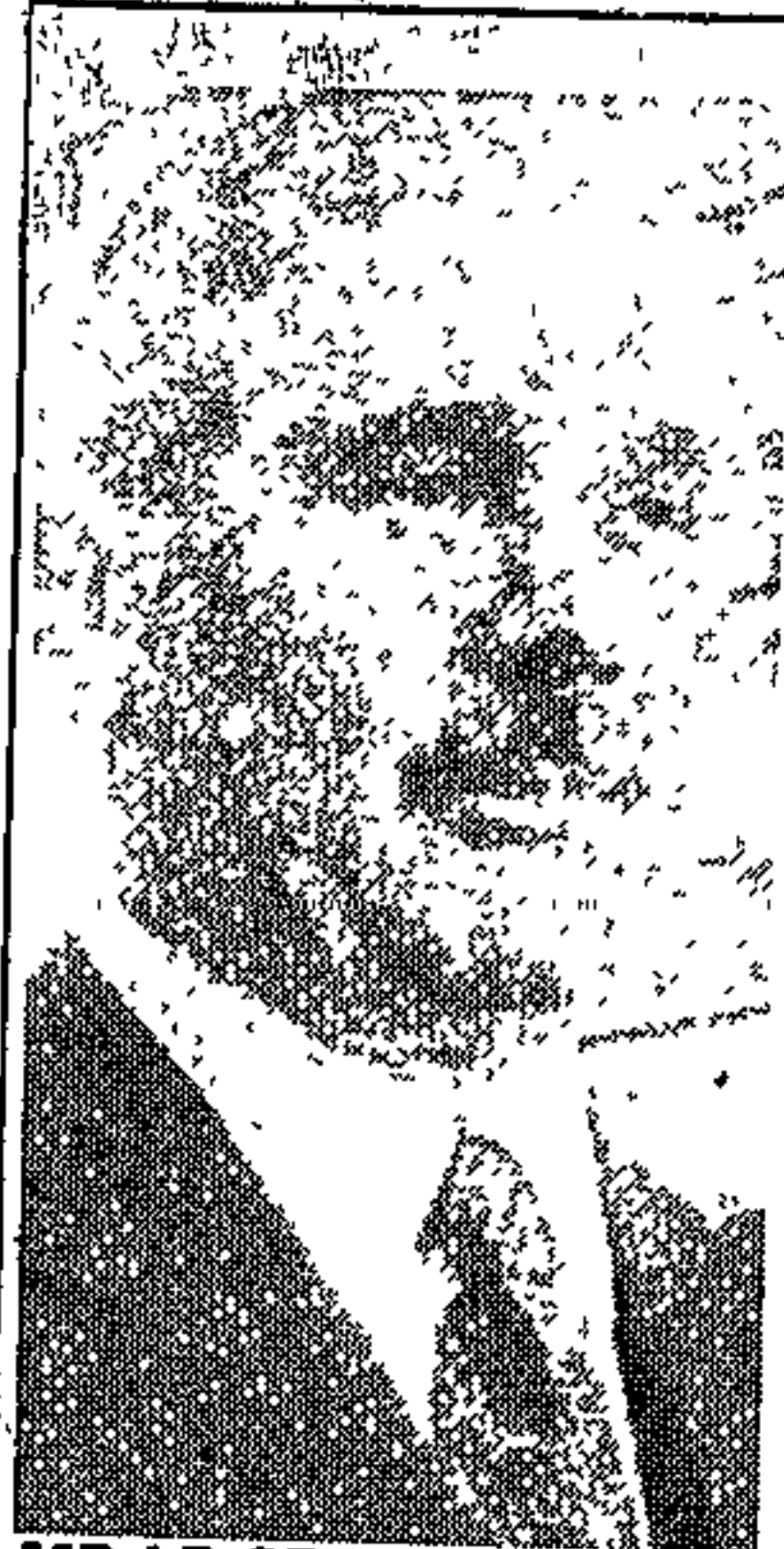
● The police yesterday strongly denied newspaper reports saying police were responsible for the death of a baby girl during an operation in Sharpeville on September 3 in which tearsmoke was used.

It was alleged the baby, Maude Zungu, died as a result of tearsmoke entering the room in which she was sleeping.

A police spokesman said it had been ascertained the baby died of natural causes.

2/11/84 (27)

Unrest is dying out — Minister



MR LE GRANGE
"I think we succeeded."

Political Editor

UNREST in the townships is "calming down progressively" and may even abate completely once end-of-year school examinations are completed and schools closed, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, said yesterday.

"My impression from the latest reports is that except for certain areas in the Eastern Cape, the Witwatersrand and the Vaal Triangle, the rest of the country is absolutely calm and going about its normal business," Mr Le Grange told the Rand Daily Mail in an interview.

Even within the troubled townships only a "very small" proportion of the adult population was involved. "It is concentrated among the youth and the school children."

Mr Le Grange did not have the exact total to hand of the number of people killed in the unrest so far.

On October 5 he told the Transvaal National Party congress that 80 people, of whom 65 were shot by police, were killed between August 1 and September 20.

"I haven't got the latest figures," Mr Le Grange said yesterday, "but there has not been a very large increase (since then)."

"The increase in the number of deaths is very small... We haven't had a major riot on our hands since then. Incidents here and there, yes."

Since Mr Le Grange's October 5 address to the NP, the biggest single event on the unrest front was Operation Palmiet, the combined police and Army crack-down on Sebokeng and

neighbouring townships in the Vaal Triangle.

Operation Palmiet resulted in the arrest of more than 350 people, none of whom was charged with a security offence.

"No, it didn't surprise me at all," Mr Le Grange said when asked about the non-arrest of suspected security law offenders.

"Operation Palmiet was not intended as an operation in terms of the security laws against people involved mainly in security matters. Not at all."

"You must remember that we have been operating in the Vaal Triangle since the riots started at the beginning of September."

Even before Operation Palmiet, last week, the police had already arrested or detained "a number of the people in the area in terms of security laws", Mr Le Grange said.

Operation Palmiet was not planned specifically as an operation against suspected security law offenders.

"Operation Palmiet was intended as an operation against people involved in any contravention of any law in the first instance."

"In the second instance, it was intended to support the large majority of people in the black townships who are peace-loving people and who want to enjoy a normal life, but who are prevented by a very small number of people from doing just that."

"The purpose of Operation Palmiet was to get rid of the criminal elements taking advantage of the situation. I think we succeeded in that."

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There have also been several incidents where rioting has spilled over into white areas, and conversely, where visitors to townships have been caught up in the troubles. It is perhaps a timely reminder to the individual to consider arranging to buy political riot cover, both for his house and his motor vehicle.

"For the man in the street," says Schneeberger, "it's an absolute bargain. A car costs just R10/year, while private housing costs R2,50/R10 000 of declared value."

This means that for a house valued at R100 000 plus the family car costs just R35/year. Indeed, as Schneeberger says, the premium, particularly for the motor vehicle, barely covers the cost of the paperwork. He added that rates may be reviewed, especially where the more expensive cars are involved.

Next renewal date for this insurance is April 1 1984, when new rates may be implemented. In the meantime, though a coupon bought now for the annual premium will only be valid up to that date, it might be a wise purchase for those still without riot cover.

SASRIA

Facing the rioters

Sasria (SA Special Risks Insurance Association) has been experiencing a mad scramble for political riot insurance following the recent unrest in townships. New business for the association has been brisk since the middle of July when a decision to raise rents in Timahole near Parys precipitated the latest run of troubles.

Sasria was set up in 1979 to provide insurance against material damage and loss of rent arising from political riot and related disturbances. It is registered under the Companies and Insurance Acts as a non-profit consortium of local short-term insurers — including Lloyd's of London — and backed by government. Recently standing charges were extended from the bare cover of rents only to include salaries, wages, interest and fixed costs.

Traders in the townships, in particular, have been running for cover. According to Sasria manager Rodney Schneeberger, some people have even been buying riot insurance for their premises while crowds were thronging the street.

In one case a shopowner had been advised to close for the day so he spent the morning buying cover at his nearest insurance office. By the afternoon, he was back at his insurers filling out a claim form running into thousands of rands.

The consortium has received some 100 claims totalling about R35m since the beginning of August. This period has seen countless township incidents and several bomb blasts, including those at the Durban electrical sub-station, the Police District Commandant's offices in Roodepoort, the Railway Police offices in Johannesburg and government offices in Krugersdorp.

The disturbances have ebbed and flowed across the country embracing many townships with incidents variously described as civic upheavals, general looting and political unrest.

Schneeberger explains that provided requests for cover conform to the members' agreement and the Sasria regulations they cannot be refused. "So we have to accept all business. Also, there is no 'apprehensive' or waiting period. Insurance cover has immediate effect."

But executive director of Priceforbes Federale Volkskas and chairman of the SA Brokers' Association/Sasria liaison committee Don Gallimore believes this is unfair to those people who have been funding Sasria for some time through their premium payments. "Other people, by waiting until the riots are at the end of the street before buying cover, are taking advantage of the Sasria regulations that say a request for cover cannot be refused."

Gallimore adds that this is not the sort of principle that insurers would necessarily adopt when dealing on their own underwriting account.

Even so, as Schneeberger points out, most of the claims he has received come from established customers of Sasria. "True, we always get an increasing number of requests for cover during times such as these — in 1980 the same thing happened — but these do not necessarily turn into claims."

Various discussions

He adds that there have been various discussions about protecting Sasria against selective purchasing of cover. There could be an embargo whereby new clients buy cover today which does not become effective for three months. This would not apply to renewal policies. Another idea is to load the initial premium so that the newcomer pays double, three times, or even 10 times the premium rate for the first year before reverting to the normal rates on renewal.

"We are not considering this at the moment," says Schneeberger. He adds that the main emphasis is on providing a service for the public.

Gallimore says that Sasria has powers under the members' agreement to defer cover or prescribe higher premiums for new business. People who have been with the fund for five years, for example, could be protected this way.

He also mentions that when claims arise

they are not always dealt with timeously. He had a recent case where a mechanical horse was destroyed by fire during the riots at a loss of R38 000. But the owner had to take out a bank loan to buy a replacement to keep in business while the insurer and Sasria decided who should foot the bill.

However, Schneeberger says that Sasria does have an "arrangement with insurance companies" whereby the claim is paid pending a final decision on which side should meet the amount. "Provided we are happy that the claimant is insured both under his own insurance company policy and the Sasria coupon, and that his claim is a valid one, then we have an arrangement to pay the claim as soon as possible."

"If it is likely to become a Sasria loss, then we pay out and recover from the insurance company should it turn out otherwise, and vice versa. If, on the other hand, we cannot decide whose claim it is then we fund it on a 50-50 basis, again pending the final decision."

He says only in cases of deficiency in documentation, or suspected fraud would there perhaps be a further delay. For instance, he cites a number of suspected arson cases where people may have deliberately set fire to their houses or cars under the guise of the recent riots. "There was also one case where rioters were motivated to attack the vehicles belonging to a rival taxi firm. Now this was facilitated by the township troubles, but was not caused by them."



Bomb blasts and riots ... claims business for Sasria

2/11/84 27A

SA needs long-term solutions, says Le Grange

By BARRY STREEK

CONTROL of violence in the black townships depended on finding the correct political solutions, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has said in an interview.

"Future political solutions will be of the utmost importance insofar as the situation regarding violence in South Africa is concerned. But that is in the long term," Mr Le Grange said.

"For the short term it can be contained because we have a powerful security system.

"But that is short term, and one wouldn't like to emphasize this.

"I would rather like to stress long-term prospects. Long-term solutions must be found, especially at a political level," he said in an interview in the latest issue of the quarterly magazine Leadership SA.

He believed the recent outbreaks of violence in the townships were sporadic.

However, some of the causes of

the violence "are serious, with very deep-lying reasons — reasons that must be very seriously considered."

"But although this may be the situation, it does not mean we must admit we are involved in long-term violence.

"I would rather see it as sporadic, happening from time to time, depending on particular circumstances."

Mr Le Grange also said the recent violence arose basically because of the new constitutional system being applied.

"Certain people wanted to cause a situation of unrest, they wanted to show the world the constitution is very unpopular with sections of the population.

"They wanted to get across a message of uncertainty within South Africa.

"That was the main purpose, I would say, behind the recent unrest that we had."

Schoolchildren had been used, but at most less than one percent

of all black schoolchildren had been involved.

"So it was not a country-wide success. In that sense I think their efforts were a complete failure.

"I firmly believe there will be a decrease in violence as the new constitution develops," he said.

Mr Le Grange also said the United Democratic Front (UDF) and some of its affiliated organizations, such as the Release Mandela Committee, were being watched "very, very closely".

"I am of the opinion that some elements in the UDF, some of the leader core in the UDF, and some of its affiliates, definitely propagate or encourage a revolutionary climate within South Africa.

"There is no doubt in my mind about that. How far they are prepared to go, the future will have to show us.

"But we, the government, are taking a very serious look at these matters," Mr Le Grange said.

(Report by B Streek, 77 Burg St, Cape Town)

President Botha 'stands by' Le Grange

VREDENDAL. — The State President, Mr P W Botha, said here that he stood by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in every single step he took, Sapa reports

Mr Botha spoke at a public meeting on Saturday in support of the National Party candidate for the Piketberg provincial by-election, and said he did not believe that the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut or organized chambers of industry could have levelled the implied criticism and concern over government action in dealing with unrest.

He wanted to know whether the government should sit still if it had proof that.

- The South African Communist Party was involved in violence in South Africa

- That violence was promoted to attain political goals

- That revolutionary circumstances were being formed in order to destabilize South Africa

Involvement

"I support the Minister of Law and Order in each and every step he takes. He does not act on his own but in co-operation with his colleagues."

As far as the involvement of the Defence Force was concerned in maintaining law and order — this was not a new thing.

Mr Botha wanted to know why the newspapers in their reporting did not mention that the Defence Act, approved by Parliament, made specific room for this.

"It has been done in 1914, in March 1922 for the Johannesburg min-



Mr Louis le Grange

ers' strike and in 1960 for the Sharpeville and Langa unrest.

"There are thousands of blacks serving in local authorities, thousands of children who want to go to school and thousands of others who wish to work and feed their children."

"But they are being intimidated and obstructed — must the government sit still?" he asked.

"If there are those who have such ideas then they are knocking at the wrong door."

"This government has committed itself to upholding orderly government in South Africa," Mr Botha said.

President Botha said his belated decision to become involved in the Primrose by-election battle had been prompted by the lies and dishonest propaganda Conservative Party

"gossipmongers" were spreading about him.

Since becoming State President he was conscious of the stature of his new position and had consequently avoided attacking his political opponents by name or making derogatory statements about them.

"I tried to make a unifying force out of the presidency, but how

were my attempts answered?"

"In the past week or two our public life has been disfigured by irresponsible and lying CP propaganda in the Primrose constituency."

"People who know me realize that I am no coward when it comes to politics — therefore I will go to Primrose to give those gossip mongers the opportunity to meet me."

Mr Botha said the claims that the R303 000 gratuity he recently received was a misappropriation of the taxpayers' money were not only false but beneath all criticism.

He said only one opposition politician had been prepared to stand by the truth during the row over his gratuity — Mr Harry Schwarz, the PFP spokesman on finance.

"I want to express my deep appreciation to him for his honesty."

Proud

Mr Botha accused the CP and the PFP of indulging in gossip and boycott politics without presenting constructive alternatives.

Unlike in the United States, opposition politicians in South Africa failed to talk about the beautiful things of which a country should be proud.

"Hate does not build a country and bring about progress."

"I feel sorry for the opposition because they must be terribly unhappy."

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town, and Pierre Claassen, 801 Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

Defence Act allows police to call in army

By WILLEM STEENKAMP
Defence Reporter

THERE doesn't have to be a riot in a township for the military to be called in — troops have been used for routine crime-prevention operations for years, and they will be used in this role in the future as well.

This is an almost unknown aspect of the combined police-military "operations" on the Rand which have caused so much controversy in the past few weeks.

In terms of a 1963 amendment to the Defence Act, the authorities can deploy troops "in aid of the civil power", as represented by the South African Police, whenever they feel like it... and they have done so.

In late October a combined raid on Sebokeng township yielded arrests for alleged possession of unlicensed firearms and ammunition, possession of banned literature, possession of stolen goods and drug offences.

At the time a police spokesman said those arrested would be tried by special courts because "the people were arrested for minor crimes and it was felt they should not be kept in jail unnecessarily".

A combined swoop on Tembisa township in the middle of this month was openly described on November 15 as an "anti-crime" operation by a police spokesman, who said that of the 78 people ar-

rested at that stage some would be charged with crimes related to looting.

Next day a combined force combed the township again. All roads leading into Tembisa were blocked by barriers manned by policemen and soldiers, where cars were searched and a number of residents arrested, while inside the town policemen closed down a number of shebeens and arrested both patrons and proprietors.

A police spokesman said later that those arrested would face charges of arson, possession of dagga, theft of vehicles and related crimes.

'Normal procedure'

Because of the police decision to clamp down on news of combined operations it has not been possible to find out how many of the township swoops in the past few weeks have been combined military-police operations — on Sunday night, for example, policemen and Administration Board officials arrested some 2 300 residents of the hostel at Sebokeng for defaulting on rent, but a police spokesman could not confirm whether SADF members were deployed in Sebokeng or any of the other townships.

However, a police spokesman in Pretoria said this week that it was "normal procedure" for the SADF

to play a "supportive role" during SAP routine crime-prevention operations in the Transvaal. He added:

"They have done so in the past and will do so in the future"

He said the SAP did not have any statistics to release and had no further comment to make on the matter.

It is also a fact that for years members of local commando forces have helped policemen and traffic policemen to man purely anti-crime roadblocks in Cape Town and elsewhere, the purpose being to catch such malefactors as drunken drivers, car thieves and people carrying illegal goods in their vehicles.

In the Defence Act (Act 44 of 1957) the position of SADF members vis-a-vis the civil power is clearly stated.

In Section 3 it is stated that an SADF member may be employed:

- "On service in defence of the Republic";
- "On service for the prevention or suppression of terrorism";
- "On service in the prevention or suppression of internal disorder in the Republic";
- "On service in the preservation of life, health or property or the maintenance of essential services"; or
- "On such police duties as may be prescribed".

21/11/84

'Private sector must become honest broker'

Exclusion from the new constitutional dispensation, political frustration, isolation and despair caused by decades of political and economic inequality are the foundations upon which the current civil unrest in black townships has been built.

But more than this, the forum found, the intensity of the unrest can be attributed to a number of compounding factors.

Primary among these is economic hardship.

Retrenchment, unemployment and inflation have exacerbated the economic deprivation already felt by black families who have no option but to vent their despair in political action.

The significance of the economic pressures on black households in recent months has been manifested in the high level of looting and the prolonged disruption of the education system.

Rather than motivated by any criminal intent, looters were more intent on relieving the family plight and chose to steal essential foodstuffs — leaving non-essentials such as clothing and other items behind, it was observed.

The malfunctioning education system was cited as the second most crucial compounding factor in the unrest.

Education is a priority concern in the black community and dominates black values — inasmuch as it is the key to prosperity, and the only route whereby black youth can achieve material aspirations in the South African system.

Currently the black education system is plagued by deficiencies — an inadequate and under-qualified teaching force, a burgeoning number of black pupils and a growing antagonism between pupils and teachers.

In spite of increased spending, the State's resolute stance on the apartheid base of education has only served to heighten the tensions and stresses. It was also stated that the grievances expressed by boycotting pupils in recent years could not be separated

Concerned about the escalating violence and sustained conflict in South Africa's black townships, the United States/SA Leader Exchange Programme (Ussalep) Council recently convened an urgent meeting of leading black figures and private sector representatives. The aim was to determine the root causes of the unrest and examine the role of the private sector and black organisations in addressing the problem. CAROLYN DEMPSTER reviews the findings of the forum.

from broader social and political injustices.

High unemployment, an abnormally high school drop-out rate and the crowded living conditions prevalent in black townships all contribute to the degree of social deviance — rape, murder, drunkenness — which has become part of the unacceptable fabric of township society.

Influx control, the migrant labour system and the humiliation entailed in the administration of the pass law system have contributed to a collapse in family structures, and a high level of "deferred aggression".

Resistance to rent increases, when reflected, against this background is understandable.

The introduction of the community councils has done nothing to alleviate these conditions, the finance required by the local municipalities is not forthcoming and nep-

otism runs rampant. In the face of this residents are asked to pay more when they can least afford it.

Transport, because of the location of the townships, is also a major concern and expense. Putco buses have frequently been attacked because they are perceived as symbols of State oppression.

Against this backdrop, the black community has little truck with private enterprise and the benefits of the free enterprise system — which they see from the other side of the fence, but have little access to.

It was suggested that the private sector has a role to play as "honest broker" between factions such as black workers and the government.

It was also mooted that in the long-term interests of the survival of private enterprise in South Africa, the business sector

should be seen to play this role.

Suggestions put forward to achieve this end included:

- Co-operative schemes to democratise the workplace and involve black and white, labour and management in all facets of business operation

- Consultation and community involvement in the development of social responsibility programmes.

- Urgent representations to be made to Government for the recognition of social responsibility as a tax deductible investment in the development of the country.

- The private sector should act as a strong lobbyist for reform.

- A renewed effort aimed at job creation, development of skills and a programme addressed to the rural crisis.

- Investment of pension

funds in black areas

- Improved communication and greater understanding between races is imperative to social harmony. As attitudes can only be influenced by an understanding of fears and aspirations, going forums for meaningful dialogue should be established.

Finally it was decided that the "notion of enterprise" cannot be sold to blacks as the enterprise system is currently interpreted as synonymous with the status quo.

If attitudes are to be changed, the private sector would have to become the catalyst and force for the redistribution of economic and political power. If it does not take this route, then business will continue to be perceived as a partner in racial oppression.

Apartheid blame for plight of b



Mr Relly



Bishop Buthelezi

Slump
hits film

From Cargo Germiston

private sector must become honest broker'

STAR 21/11/84

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funds in black urban areas.

- Improved communication and greater understanding between the races is imperative to racial harmony. As white attitudes can only be influenced by an intimate understanding of black fears and aspirations, ongoing forums for meaningful dialogue should be established.

Finally it was decided that the "notion of free enterprise" cannot be sold to blacks as the free enterprise system is currently interpreted as synonymous with the status quo.

If attitudes are to be changed, the private sector would have to become the catalyst and conduit for the redistribution of economic and political power. If it does not take this route, then business will continue to be perceived as a partner in racial oppression.

The meeting

More than 85 prominent figures from the union movement, business, commerce, the church and academia were invited to attend the meeting.

Among those present were Mr Gavin Relly of the Anglo American Corporation, Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the South African Council of Churches, Mr Piroshaw Camay of the Council of Unions of South Africa, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the University of Natal, Mr John Kane-Berman of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Dr Robin Lee of the Urban Foundation, Advocate Arthur Chaskalson of the Legal Resources Centre, Dr Nthato Motlana of the Soweto Committee of 10, Mr Percy Qoboza of City Press, Mr C Kuun of the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, Mr Raymond Parsons of the Associated Chamber of Commerce and Dr Sam Motsuenyane of Ussalep.

From Cargo Germiston . . .

Foolish move politicises the black trade unions

STAR 21/11/84 (274) (date) (file)

Mr Louis le Grange has described the current wave of unrest in the black townships as more serious than the 1976 Soweto disturbances. For once I agree with him.

The unrest is not yet as widespread as it was in 1976 and the casualty figure is still lower: Mr le Grange said last Thursday that 130 people had been killed (another three have died since then), while the official death toll for eight months of unrest in 1976 was 575.

But the conflict this time is more the result of pointed political action, less the spontaneous outburst of rage which erupted in the Soweto schools eight years ago.

Many of the protests have been planned and there is a basis of political organisation in the form of co-ordinating committees which have brought together a wide range of organisations in the black community, the most important being the United Democratic Front.

As Mr le Grange has noted, there are many more adults involved this time. It is not just a youth rebellion.

There are several other important differences as well.

One is that the black trade union movement has become involved for the first time, which could lead to the political mobilisation of our racially defined working class.

Until now the most important unions have resisted repeated attempts by black political organisations to draw them into the political struggle. They seemed determined to concentrate on improving the wages and working conditions of their members instead.

Now, by its heavy-handed actions against the unions, the Government has gratuitously done what the black politicians could not. By detaining leaders like Mr Chris Dlamini, the president of Fosat, and Mr Piroshaw Camay, the general-secretary of Cusa, the Government has politicised the black union movement at a stroke. It is something it will live to regret. Future historians may well record it as the single most foolish action in 36 years of nationalist rule.

The protest strike of November 5 and 6, which prompted these detentions, was itself enormously significant. Prompted itself by the heavy-handed Sebokeng raid of October 23,

MY VIEW



Allister Sparks

it was by far the most successful action of its kind that has been staged in this country.

This shows that, with unionisation, blacks now have the ability, and the willingness, to inflict serious damage on the economy to further their struggle for political rights.

The unrest also has the makings of a constitutional crisis. With the new constitution barely in place, it has been stripped of legitimacy by the massive boycott of the coloured and Indian elections in August and now by the evidence that it has accelerated the alienation of the Africans.

It has virtually wiped out the system of black local authorities which the Government has established in the townships, and which were to have formed the basis of the next phase of its constitutional development.

The Government has been working towards the idea of creating a national council for urban blacks, based on these township councils, which could be given authority over urban black "own affairs" and also be slotted in beside the "homeland" governments in the confederal framework of the envisaged "constellation of Southern African states."

This would complete the "neo-apartheid" constitutional structure.

But the township councillors, who are despised as "collaborators" in their communities and often live in conspicuous luxury, have been pri-

mary targets during the unrest. Seven have been killed. Their houses and businesses have been put to the torch. Many have resigned and others have fled. According to one authoritative source, only four of the 22 councils in the affected township are still functioning.

I do not know how the Government can restore that structure. There will be no takers for these jobs. Only a few days ago elections to replace Heidelberg's Ratanda Council, which resigned en masse, had to be postponed because there were no candidates.

The only alternative would seem to be to go back to direct rule by the white administration boards, but if the Government does that it will block its own constitutional plans.

Has the unrest reached the level of a revolution? No. It is still too directionless to be called that, but it has more direction to it than the 1976 upheavals, and if the Government continues to refuse to give blacks a role in the central government, so that their grievances and aspirations can be democratically expressed, then the next outbreak will doubtless have more direction still.

● Allister Sparks, a former editor of the Rand Daily Mail, writes this regular column and reports for several overseas newspapers.

Call Time 28/11/86

Francis Wilson

Are we at war?

Staff Reporter

SENDING the army into black townships was "to some extent a declaration or acknowledgement of war", Professor Francis Wilson told a well-attended meeting in St George's Cathedral Hall called yesterday by the "End Conscription Campaign".

"What is the SADF doing in our townships?" asked Professor Wilson, of the Economics Department at the University of Cape Town.

"If there is not a war, why is the army there?"

"If it is a war, what we are doing about it?"

"We must ask to whom the army is subject, ask about its accountability to the broad will of the people, about its democratic acceptance."

"If we are good enough to be participants of the army, we are good enough to be part of the decision-making of that army," he said.

"We have in the Sixties and Seventies witnessed an erosion of the rule of law. People can vanish into detention for a week, a month or for life ... or death."

Free flow

"That's outrageous, barbarous, a breakdown of the rule of law ... until we are now so punch-drunk and hardly even notice it," he said.

Calling for a free flow of information on the activities of the South African Defence Force, he said. "Things are far too serious to be left to politicians and generals. As fathers of sons who are going into military service we cannot allow that these matters will be decided for us without our knowing what is happening."

Speaking on structures of democratic negotiation, he said the business community had "at last" realized the horror of what it meant to detain trade union leaders.

"There must be structures of negotiation. We have to nurture and not destroy these ... and we are destroying them yet again," Professor Wilson said.

Unrest:

9 from

Cape Times 24/11/84

press for quizzings

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — At least nine journalists have been subpoenaed in the past two weeks to answer questions relating to recent incidents of unrest around the country.

The subpoenas were issued in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedure Act and require the person subpoenaed to answer questions before a magistrate relating to a particular incident.

The subpoenas are seen as part of a wave of police action against journalists in an apparent attempt to force them to assist the authorities in the prosecution of anti-apartheid activists.

Prison

Refusal by the journalists to answer the questions or comply with the terms of the subpoenas could result in their being sent to prison.

The Progressive Federal Party's Law and Order spokesman, Mrs Helen Suzman, last night said she could not recall Section 205 of the act having ever before been used in this manner.

"I am convinced that these measures were never intended to be used this way. To my mind the police are abusing their powers. The net is closing in on one of the few remaining forms of democracy that still exist in this country," she said.

The Editor of the Cape Times, Mr A H Heard, confirmed last night that he had been subpoenaed under Section 205 to hand over photographs taken by photographers of his newspaper of student unrest at the University of the Western Cape in September.

Two Rand Daily Mail journalists and three employees of The Star have been subpoenaed by the police to answer ques-

tions related to possible charges against one of the churchmen who watched a swoop on squatters in Kaitshong near Germiston more than a year ago.

It was reported at the time that officials of what was then the East Rand Administration Board (ERAB) assaulted journalists and churchmen during the swoop.

It was learnt last night that another three journalists might have been subpoenaed to answer questions related to the incident, but it could not be confirmed.

The Editor of the Mail, Mr Rex Gibson, last night expressed dismay at the concerted nature of the police action.

"It seems unbelievable that the first official action arising from the Kaitshong incident should be against journalists who observed what happened and not against the people who assaulted them," said Mr Gibson.

In the Kaitshong case, a Mail reporter, Mr Montshiwa Moroke, and a photographer, Mr Thladi Khuele, have been subpoenaed to answer questions in the Germiston Magistrate's Court on Wednesday relating to possible charges against the Rev Cecil Begbie, vice-chairman of the Witwatersrand Council of Churches.

The two Mail journalists, together with a number of other pressmen, as well as Mr Begbie and other churchmen were in Kaitshong on October 4 last year and witnessed ERAB officials attack

and assault a group of squatters with batons and knobkerries — and were then in turn attacked by the officials.

Mr Moroke was seriously injured and spent nearly two weeks in hospital. Mr Khuele was admitted to hospital with a suspected fractured rib. They laid charges against their assailants.

Two journalists and a driver from The Star were allegedly assaulted by ERAB officials and arrested.

After months of apparent inactivity on the matter, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobbie Coetsee, said in reply to a question in Parliament in June that a decision by the Attorney-General on what action to take was expected shortly.

Stayaway

The subpoenas in connection with the Kaitshong incident coincided with similar subpoenas served on four other journalists — two from The Mail, one from The Star and one from the Sunday Express — regarding them to answer questions relating either to interviews with a now detained organizer of the recent two-day work stayaway, Mr Thami Makiwane, or to unrest in the Vaal Triangle townships.

Mr Anton Harber and Ms Jeanette Minnie, both from the Mail, appeared in court earlier this week and their case was postponed until next Friday.

The Star's Political Reporter, Mr Gary van Staaden, appeared yesterday and the subpoena was withdrawn after his legal team had advised the court that it intended challenging the subpoena — but another one was served on him a few hours later.

The Sunday Express Political Reporter, Mr Graham Watts, has also been subpoenaed.

In a statement last night the president of the South African Society of Journalists, Ms Pat Sidley, called on the government to withdraw the subpoenas on editors and managements.

"The SASJ believes the orders compelling journalists to appear in court to answer questions are further repressive measures in a litany of such measures lately which ensure the death of press freedom in this country," she said.

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Boesak: I'll tell of atrocities as long as I can

CAPE TOWN — If the Minister of Law and Order called people who told of alleged police and Defence Force atrocities liars, instead of opening an inquiry to discover the truth, he should not be in government, said Dr Allan Boesak last night.

Dr Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front, told a packed meeting in Claremont, Cape Town, that if the Minister, Mr Louis le Grange, did not know that such atrocities had happened and did not want to know he should be "kicked out".

He cited instances of children who had been shot and killed during the recent Sebokeng riots and quoted from affidavits drawn up by members of the South African Council of Churches.

Dr Boesak said the Minister had ordered that he be charged under section 27 of the Police Act, which deals with publishing untruths about the police force

without proof.

"In what sort of climate can a six-year-old be shot in the back while running into his home and a policeman get away with it?" he asked. "I lay the responsibility for this at the door of the South African Government."

The response of the Minister had been "to protect the Government and the police force".

"But if I hear about it I will make sure the world hears about it for as long as I can speak," he said.

He cited a case in which a youth had allegedly been shot in the face and blinded by a tear-smoke grenade while working on a roof; and another of a 10-year-old reported to have been shot outside his house with a rubber bullet when his father sent him to fetch firewood during a lull in the township conflict.

The meeting was attended by 800 people. — Sapa.

TV team refuse to leave UDF meeting

CAPE TOWN — An SABC-TV camera team refused to leave a UDF meeting in Cape Town last night after being asked to go by the chairman of the meeting, Mr Andrew Boraine.

The meeting, attended by about 800 people, was later addressed by Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF.

Mr Boraine told the audience the UDF had no confidence the SABC would represent its views adequately.

"All we can ask is that when you get home you will judge how they present the material they have obtained here, what they report of Dr Boesak's speech, and ask yourselves why they were asked to leave."

Dr Boesak said SABC-TV "very much want me to speak so they can get me on film and show me to the nation".

The last time he spoke to them was after visiting the Durban Six at the British Consulate.

"When I got home my little girl said: 'Daddy, they didn't let you say anything.' I said: 'That is the problem with SABC-TV'."

— Sapa.

By MICHAEL ACOTT

A DEFIANT Dr Allan Boesak last night said that threats of prosecution would not stop him publicizing police atrocities in black townships.

Dr Boesak told the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that some of the atrocities were "unbelievable" and he would draw attention to these deeds for "as long as I can speak".

He was replying to Mr Le Grange, who told a meeting earlier this month that allegations made by Dr Boesak in an Australian newspaper on police atrocities during the recent Transvaal unrest were "lies and slander".

Charges

The minister is pressing for charges to be laid against Dr Boesak under a section of the Police Act which prohibits the spreading of false information about police activities.

Dr Boesak has stood by some of the remarks published in the Sydney Her-

ald, but has denied saying some of the things attributed to him.

Dr Boesak, a patron of the United Democratic Front, was loudly applauded when he gave his reply to Mr Le Grange at a UDF meeting in Claremont last night.

He said Mr Le Grange was unfit for his post if he neither knew nor wanted to know what the police were doing in black townships.

He was repeatedly cheered by an enthusiastic multiracial audience of more than 900 people who jammed the Claremont Civic Centre, overflowing into the foyer and crowding around windows outside the hall.

Dr Boesak read from a number of affidavits gathered in Transvaal townships by the South African Council of Churches to support his

claim of police "atrocities".

The affidavits gave accounts of the deaths of innocent children, including a three-year-old boy shot dead while playing in his yard, a six-year-old child shot on his front stoep and a youth allegedly shot in cold blood by a policeman in a van.

Dr Boesak said Mr Le Grange should follow up the allegations in the affidavits, not accuse others of lies and slander.

"I want to ask who is the liar, who is the slanderer, who is trying to cover up deaths like these?"

Saying he "refused to be intimidated", Dr Boesak said he had a duty to publicize information given to him about events in the townships because there were restrictions on what the press was told or could report on incidents there.

Responsibility

Dr Boesak said Mr Le Grange, whose duty was to protect the government and the police force, had to take responsibility for his statement that allegations against the police were lies and slander.

"My responsibility is to protect my people... if I hear then the world will hear about it as long as I can speak," he stated to loud applause.

"People have a right to know what is happening in the townships.

"They cannot say that, just because SABC-TV has not shown it, it doesn't happen."

Dr Boesak appealed for information from people who knew what was happening in the townships so that South Africa and the world could be informed.

An SABC television crew was prevented from filming the proceedings by UDF supporters, who held a newspaper over the camera lens.

(Report by M P Acott, 77 Burg Street, Cape Town.)

Boesak: Threats will not stop me

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28/11/84

Children's message must be heeded

PERHAPS the most disturbing aspect of the widespread unrest in the black townships is that it is once again the youth, and in particular the schoolchildren, who are in the forefront.

As in 1976 it is again in the black schools, from Atteridgeville to Cradock, where grievances simmered and finally boiled over into the wider communities; in Sebokeng, in Sharpsville and elsewhere it is again the black youth who took the lead in protest marches against rent increases and participated in violent clashes; student organisations such as Cosas, now linking up with trade unions, once more played a key rôle in launching the massive stayaway in the Vaal Triangle and on the East Rand as well as in Soweto.

In the line of fire

Above all, once more it is black schoolchildren who are literally in the line of fire when the police and the army move in claiming to restore law and order.

What is especially disturbing about all this is that we have been down this road before. In itself the social and human costs are already appalling. The bare statistics of the numbers of schools and pupils involved in the boycotts (on a similar and even larger scale than in 1976-7 and 1979-80), the numbers killed (at last count 163) and detained (more than a 1 000 already) under the security laws as well as the damage to property and community facilities indicate the outlines of a social tragedy.

Given the already desperate plight of a black education system trapped in a vicious circle of poor facilities, overcrowded classrooms and a shortage of qualified teachers, and added to the tremendous constraints on and disadvantages of the black communities generally in their struggle for survival, the blow is even more serious.

Message from the heart

proposal that the various racially differentiated education systems be brought together under a single ministry at national level. In itself this proposal reflected the impact, the urgent sense that basic reform was needed, which the schools crises from 1976 on had brought home to the workings of the De Lange Committee and to the responses of society at large.

But by the time the De Lange Committee presented its report late in 1981 the crisis had passed. At long last South Africa was beginning to emerge from the shadow

cast by Soweto in 1976, and in this much less urgent context the Government made it clear that though it subscribed to the principle of equal opportunities in education for all it was not prepared to accept the politically crucial proposal of a single educational ministry.

When the White Paper finally appeared in November 1983 it was made clear that education was to be placed firmly in the context of the new constitution as 'own affairs' of racially defined communities. The old political order of separate education would be maintained.

And so we come to the second half of 1984 with local grievances in the black school once again providing the political spark for widespread unrest and protest. It is tempting to ask: *would it have made any differences to the current crisis in the black townships in the Vaal Triangle, on the East Rand and in the Eastern Cape had the Government accepted and implemented the crucial political recommendations of the De*

been prepared to accept and begin implementing the De Lange Committee's proposal of equal opportunities for education, including equal standards for all, within the context of a single administrative framework it would, of course, have created a different and more hopeful general climate for black education. But the more concrete problems and grievances would have remained much the same.

The very real shortages in facilities and qualified teachers cannot be removed in short order. The current protests of black high-school children have focused on such specific grievances as the imposition of an age limit, the need for representative student councils, better control on the meting out of corporal punishment, and an end to sexual relations between teachers and scholars. It is difficult to see how administrative reorganisation of the educational system at national level would have made much difference on these kinds of issues.

Lack of responsiveness

Perhaps a nationally unified ministry of education would have been more responsive to the concrete grievances in the black schools. The lack of such responsiveness has been a marked feature in the build-up of the current situation: in the end the authorities came round and were prepared to make some concessions on issues such as the age limit or the call for student councils, but by that time it was too late to defuse the conflict.

On the other hand, in the context of a new educational deal expectations would also have been much greater and that much more difficult to satisfy. And the bite of the economic recession in the townships would have been as sharp, while the constraints on State funds would have been as

black schools and communities. In a very direct way the present situation is the outcome of a specific change in public educational policy. During the past decade the State has embarked on a dramatic expansion of secondary education for blacks in response to the need of the South African economy for more skilled and technical manpower. From a small trickle of only 2 300 black matriculants a year around 1970 the numbers escalated to 15 000 by 1979 and more than 80 000 matriculation candidates this year.

Among other things this meant a dramatic increase in the age level at the black schools. In 1980 more than 200 000 pupils registered in secondary schools were older than 18 years. And even in primary schools there are many thousands of pupils of 16 years and older.

It is easy to see how in a school population with this kind of age structure issues such as corporal punishment, student councils and so on can grow into explosive po-

litical conflicts. But if the situation is directly of the State's own making, it is also obvious that there is no possibility of turning the clock back. The expansion of black secondary education is a necessity, and cannot be undone.

And so we will have to continue to learn our lessons, the first one being that there are no easy solutions. Structural reforms of the kind proposed by the De Lange Committee, and rejected by the Government, may be more necessary than ever but they also would not have provided a simple and peaceful way out.

The struggle to bring an end to apartheid, in education and elsewhere, will be long and hard and full of conflict. But it cannot be avoided or circum-

message from the heart of the black community that must make us pause. Once again the flower of a whole generation is prepared to sacrifice itself in a desperate revulsion against what they regard as the intolerable realities of the black condition in South African schools and townships. The trouble is, we have heard that desperate message before

Have we not learnt any lessons, then, from the Soweto rising in June 1976, and its traumatic spread through the country in the months that followed? Or from the prolonged school boycotts of 1979 and 1980? At the time these events led to the appointment of a major government commission of inquiry, the De Lange Committee. In fairly short order this comprehensive investigation of the entire educational system resulted in a wide range of findings and recommendations.

Politically the most radical of these was the

answer is not easy and must, of course, be speculative. But on the whole it seems to be negative: a single ministry of education would have made some difference, but probably not so much.

Had the Government

overtones, though these might, perhaps, have been articulated in different terms.

This does not mean that nothing the State does or does not do can change the basic situation in the

haps the desperate message once again reaching us from the black schoolchildren can restore some of the urgency needed in our social response if we are to begin the healing process.

pect the confidence level used when testing with an internal control system to be the same as in active testing? Give briefly your view, with

fly what is meant by stratification and its application to testing debtors' balances.

sampling is based on random choice. Discuss the methods available to implement this principle.

(UCT - Hons - 1976)
(20 marks - 24 minutes)

Riot insurers have R30-m to pay out

STAR 28/11/84

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A whopping R30 million in claims under special riot insurance cover have been made in the past six weeks in South Africa.

And the figure does not include property looted or production losses

Nor does it reflect the entire losses associated with the rioting. This could amount to many more millions of rands. Many people perhaps had no cover.

Big organisations such as Putco and the development boards were covered, and their claims form part of the R30 million, *The Star* was told today.

The South African Special Risks Association (Sasra), formed in 1979, is carrying all the township riot claims and is concluding its assessments.

Managing director Mr R Schneeburger said the R30 million is made up of 100 fire claims in which shops, factories and houses were damaged or destroyed, and 140 motor vehicles, many of which were set on fire during the disturbances.

The claims represent the biggest run on Sasra since it opened for business.

He said Sasra offered the only comprehensive riot cover, and people who were especially sensitive, such as Putco and the boards, were making use of it.

"But a lot of individuals in the troubled areas who are after protection for their homes and

By Russell Gault

cars are also looking for cover from us.

Mr Schneeburger said the association was formed to "provide material damage insurance arising from acts of political terrorism".

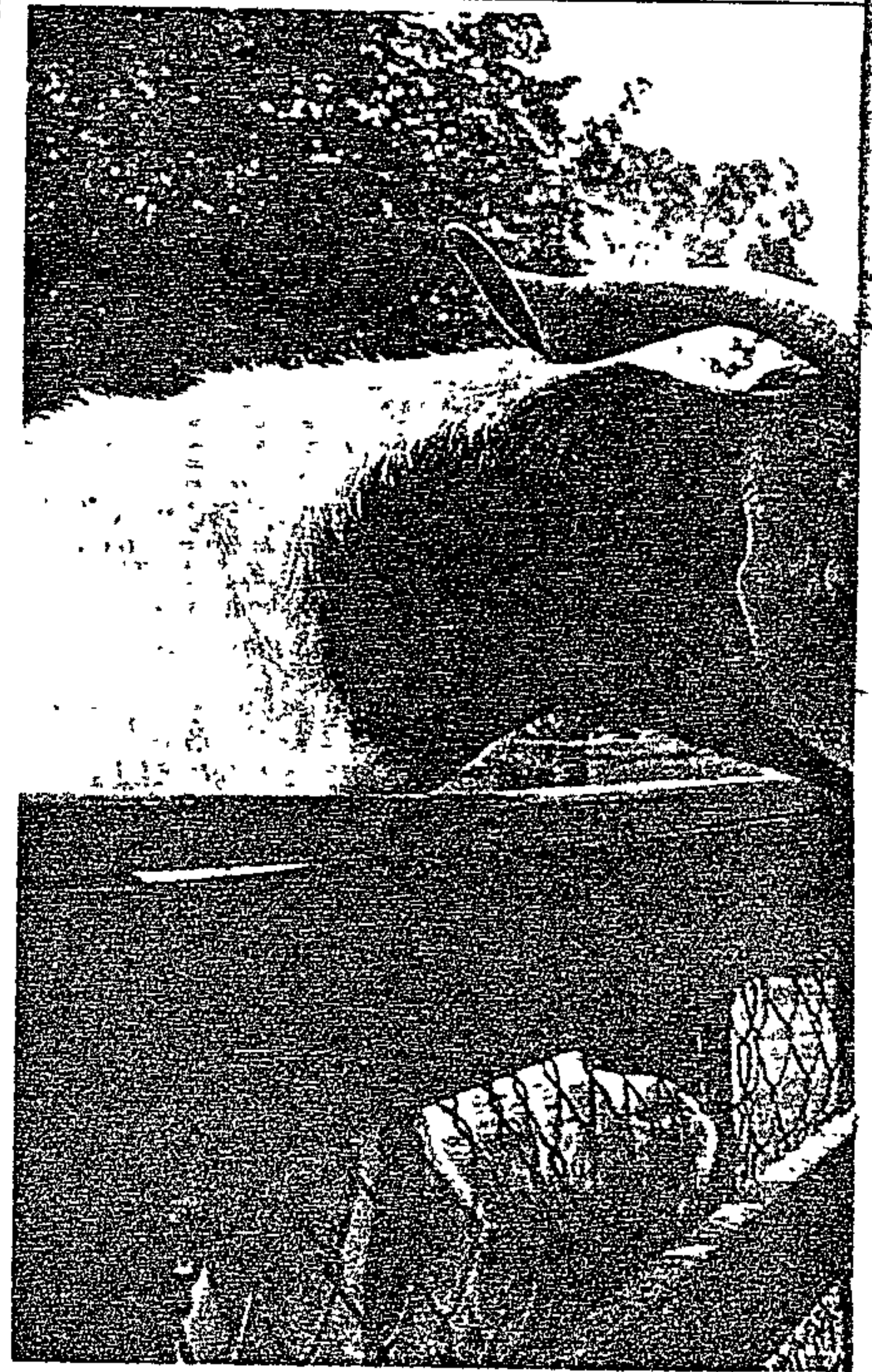
Insurance companies perform the general administrative functions, but the association is run for the benefit of policyholders.

In the background is the Government which, if all Sasra's funds were called on for claims, would step in and guarantee payment. It is, in effect, the "reinsurer of the last resort".

In March, Sasra will extend its cover to provide consequential loss insurance, which will cover lost wages, profits, and other expenses needed to re-establish a business after a riot.

Mr Schneeburger said South Africa was one of the few countries which had such insurance cover for political rioting and acts of terrorism.

He added that the special insurance cost only R10 a year, for example, for riot cover for a car.



Row grows over press subpoenas

Cape Times 29/11/84
274 228

Staff Reporter

THE National Council of the South African Society of Journalists has called for the immediate withdrawal of subpoenas issued to a number of journalists in Cape Town and Johannesburg requiring them to provide the police with information relating to their coverage of recent unrest in the country.

In another development in the growing controversy over the subpoenas, the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists has said it has written to the South African Government in protest.

Condemning the fact that subpoenas had been issued, the SASJ council expressed understanding for the ethical dilemma in which it placed journalists and expressed its solidarity with them.

Systematic attack

Ms Pat Sidley, president of the SASJ, said yesterday that the society expressed its understanding for whatever action the journalists felt obliged to take.

Earlier she said the society regarded the subpoenas as part of a systematic attack by the State on the media.

The press and media are being required to furnish the evidence for political trials and it would inevitably be made to look as though press and State interests could be identified in the prosecution of those political trials.

Press freedom

"The logical extension of this use of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act — as well as the Internal Security Act — is that journalists may no longer act as recorders of events and may no

longer provide information to the public freely," she said. "This is pure intimidation and the end of press freedom."

Yesterday the United Democratic Front (UDF) said it noted with alarm "the growing attempts by the South African Government to use newspapers as an arm of the law".

Requiring the press to hand over information to the police threatened its credibility.

'Intimidation'

The UDF was confident that all democratically-minded South Africans would support the efforts of the press to resist attempts to intimidate and silence it.

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) — together representing 105 000 journalists in 33 countries and 83 million workers in 95 countries — said in a joint protest to the South African Government: "We urgently ask you to cease immediately attacks on the media and the intimidation against free and objective information to the public."

Among those subpoenaed in terms of Section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act are the editors of the three Cape Town daily newspapers, Mr A H Heard, editor of the Cape Times, Mr A P Drysdale, editor of the Argus, and Mr W D Beukes, editor of the Burger. They are due to appear in the Bellville Magistrate's court this morning in terms of subpoenas which require that they hand over photographic prints and negatives of unrest at the University of the Western Cape in September.

FULL

**Festive
season:
Cops
ready**

ALERT

SOUTH AFRICA'S police, traffic departments and emergency services are on full alert as the country enters the festive season.

Senior spokespersons of various departments yesterday made it clear that although their staff are always ready for emergencies, in some cases extra measures have or are to be put in action to deal with any situation that may arise.

Since the beginning of November massive anti-drinking and driving campaigns have gathered momentum on the Witwatersrand. The co-ordinated effort by the traffic departments and the Transvaal provincial authorities has resulted in scores of people being arrested and prosecuted in the

**By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE**

drunken driving blitzes

The police and traffic authorities have sounded a strong warning that they will show no mercy to those violating the law or found driving with a high alcohol content. According to them, an all-out effort is to be made to minimise the road death toll on all national roads.

Project SOS

In the Transvaal, the National Road Safety Council and the traffic departments will join forces for "Project SOS" and a helicopter and 18 patrol cars with radio links will be used to monitor traffic density.

An NRSC spokesperson said driving techniques still played an important role in the prevention of accidents. She appealed

to drivers to pay attention to the correct following distance, maintain the right speed under the road circumstances, wear seat belts and obey the traffic rules at all times.

Lieutenant-Colonel H V Haynes of the Police Public Directorate in Pretoria said the police were ready and prepared for any eventuality.

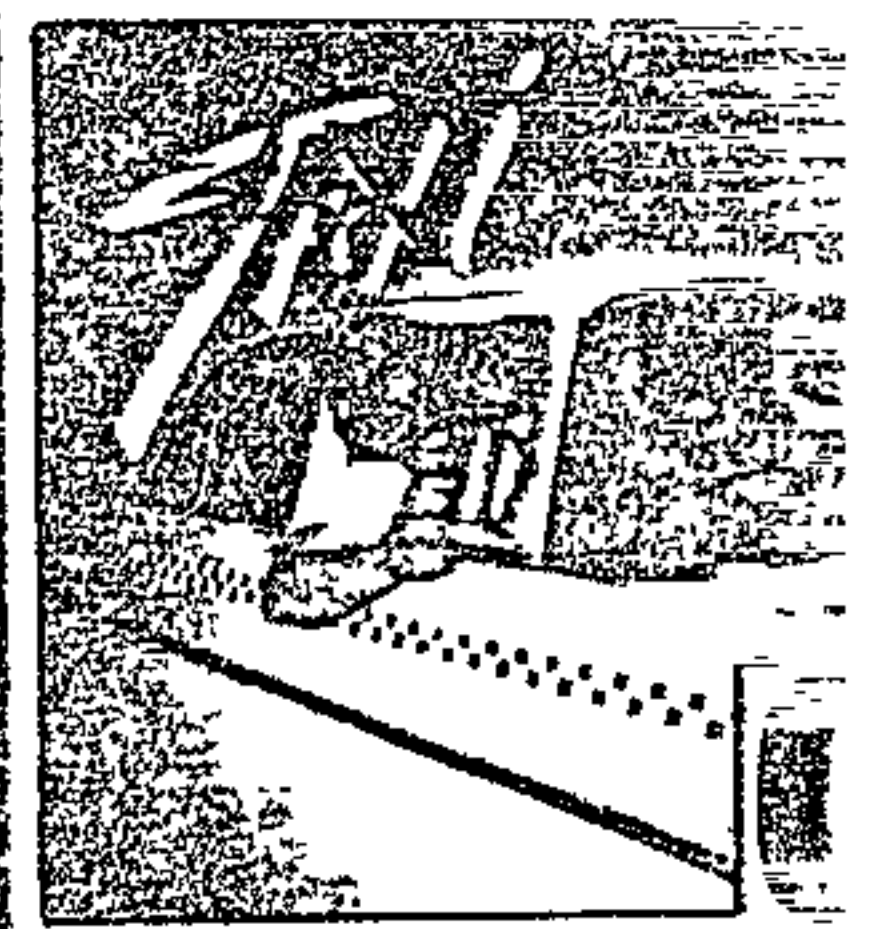
Soweto's Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier J C Coetzee, said they would continue with their anti-crime operation. He added that the crime prevention unit would be increased to deal swiftly with festive season violence.

He appealed to residents not to drink excessively or walk alone at night as this leads to various crimes. He also appealed to those involved in faction fights not to bring them into Soweto. He said these fights were responsible for the high murder rate in the township.



THIS COULD BE you — so going to be harsh on people the

**THIS
WEEKEND
SPECIAL**



TAXI

BURN OUT

JIVE

SIPHO 'HOT SIX' MABUSE

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MABUSE
WINNER
1984

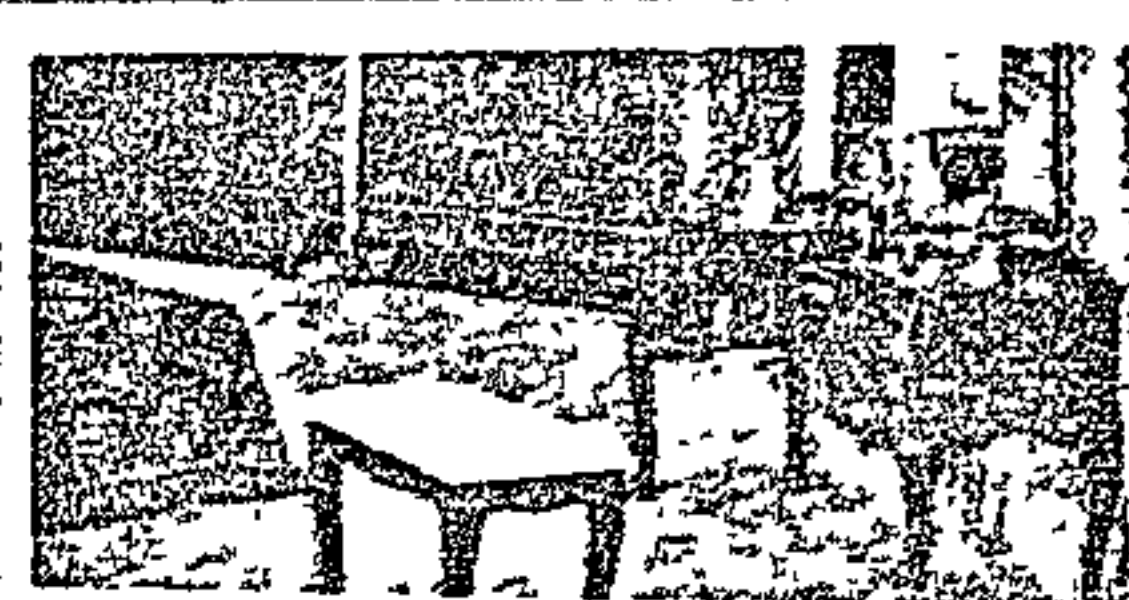
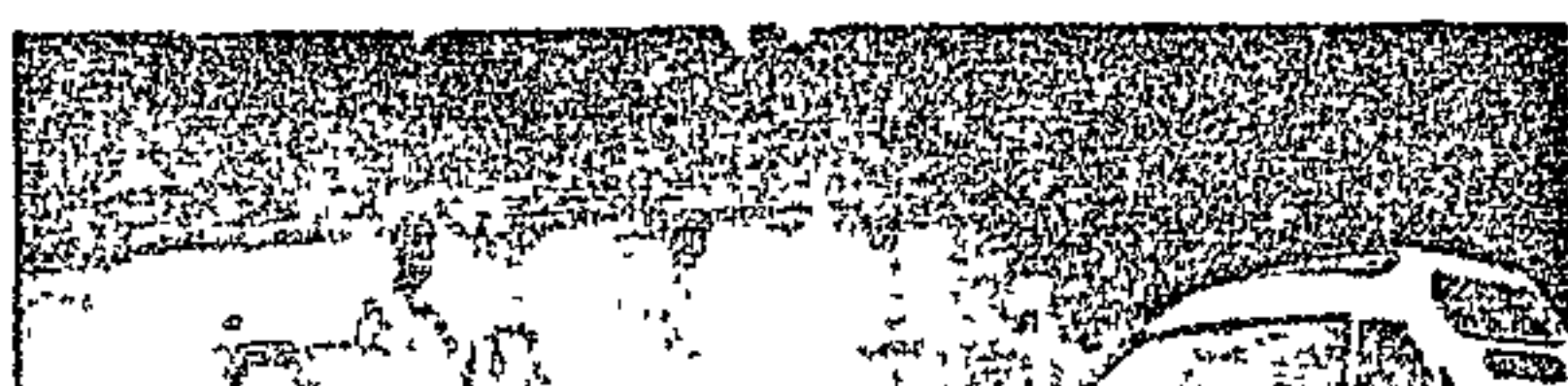
SIPHO 'HOT SIX'
MABUSE - BURN OUT
JIVE

465

SEE PAGES 33, 34, 35, 36

SWOP-A-STAMP
R57,000 IN PRIZES

LUCKY
DIP
DRAW



special broadcast of the Sun 11
Cape Times 8/12/86

Police action: Methodist call

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Methodist Church of Southern Africa has called for a judicial commission of inquiry into police conduct during the recent unrest, following a report by the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) in which the police have been accused of "irregular" conduct.

The Rev Peter Storey, president of the Methodist Church, said in a statement released in Johannesburg late last night that the SACBC report on police conduct during the township protest must be taken "with utmost seriousness, and nothing less than a judicial commission of inquiry into police action is called for".

Servicemen

"The report also reinforces the call by the Methodist Church not to use national servicemen in police operations. A statement like this by bishops known for their responsibility and integrity cannot be fobbed off by the SAP public relations office."

Meanwhile the SACBC said yesterday that it did not approach police before publishing its report for fear that publication could have been halted.

The SACBC was responding to criticisms of their report by the police directorate of public relations who said they found it strange that the SACBC should publish information on alleged police misconduct without first consulting the police.

The directorate also said they found "untruths in the chronology and events", and questioned the motives of the bishops in publishing the report.

Reacting to the police directorate's criticisms, the SACBC said "Not a single incident referring to 'untruths' has been quoted by the police."

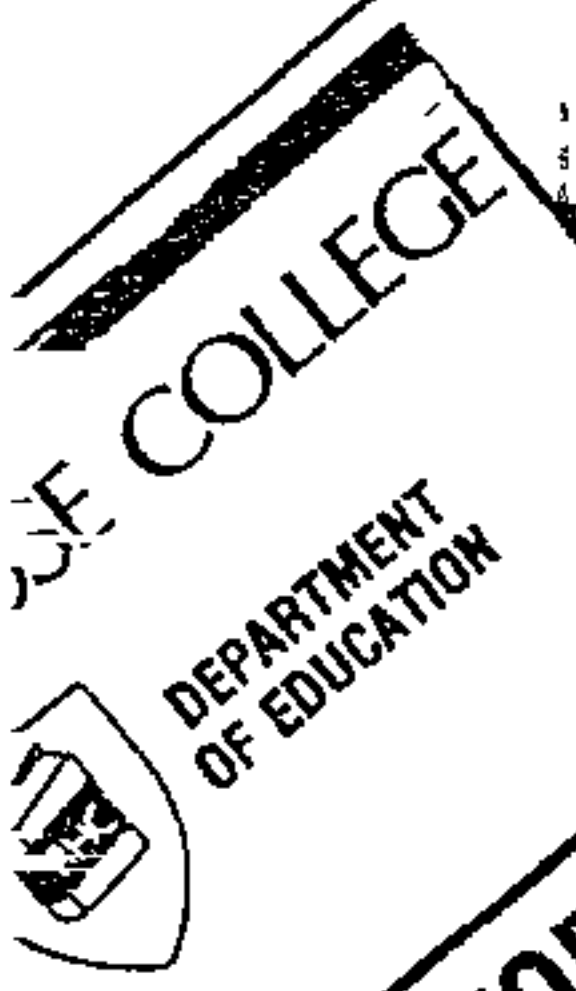
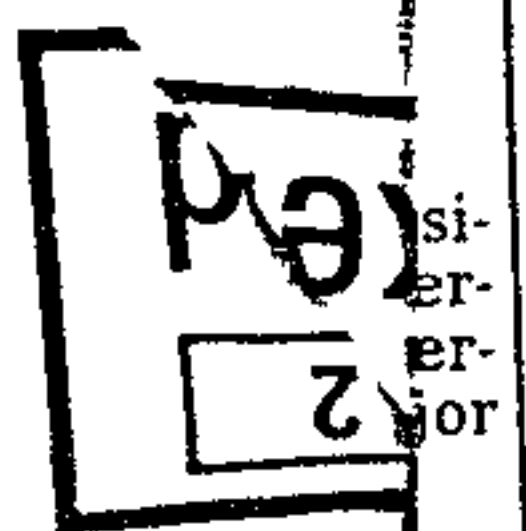
"The chronology, which includes details of a number of deaths, was drawn up from press reports and research done by the South African Institute of Race Relations and the Detainees Parents' Support Committee (DPSC)."

Affidavits

"All other details were obtained from affidavits taken before a commissioner of oaths and verified independently by a lawyer, who was convinced of their accuracy."

The SACBC report, which gives detailed accounts of alleged reckless violence by police, was released in Pretoria on Thursday.

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**REGISTRATION FOR 1985
TDS 8, 9 & MATRIC**

**INTERVIEWS BY APPOINTMENT
WITH THE PRINCIPAL**

**CNR MAIN &
UPPER LIESBEEK
ROADS, ROSEBANK
SISTER COLLEGE OF BOSTON HOUSE CO**

PHONE
65 2881
65 301021

**BOS
N**

Swedish 'Untruths' in SACBC report . . .

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THE report by the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC) on "irregular police action" during the recent disturbances in black townships, contained "untruths", police have claimed.

The South African Police (SAP), said in a statement released at the weekend they were not able to investigate the allegations made in the report "because they were made anonymously."

The police claimed the reports contained "untruths regarding detail, chronology and events."

"We find it strange that a responsible body like the SACBC should resort to collecting, and publishing information on alleged misconduct during the recent unrest in black townships, without first consulting the SAP so that, thorough investigations could be conducted and a "truthful, objective report published," the statement said.

It added: "judging from the corpulent publication which was compiled and released to the media by the SACBC, considerable time and effort was spent in the collection of information and compilation of the report.

"Nevertheless, the police were only confronted with the publication by the media for meaningful comment, on the same day that the report was released for publication."

The police said they found it regrettable that the report, does not condemn or, for that matter, even mention that extent of damage "which runs into millions of rands," the victimisation, intimidation and brutal murder of innocent people by callous and lawless rioters.

"We cannot escape concluding that this course of action was followed for ulterior purposes," the statement further said.

According to weekend reports, the SAP said they will only investigate any charge formally made by way of affidavits.

"The allegations made in the report were made anonymously and only so-called initials of the complainants were furnished. We cannot investigate such allegations," the reports said.

The police comment follows a Press conference in Pretoria last week at which representatives of all the main local and foreign news services heard Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley say that the police appeared to have been "promoters of further unrest" and "creators of resentment and antagonism" in the black community.

Archbishop Hurley's remarks were based on the report compiled by the SACBC. The church's fieldworkers and priests, assisted by an attorney, conducted a four-week investigation in Transvaal townships during which about 45 affidavits were drawn up.

They alleged irregular police activity during the three months, beginning with the outbreak of violence in the Vaal Triangle on September 3.

The report — in the form of a booklet — alleges "reckless wanton violence," including:

- Indiscriminate use of firearms.
- Assaults and beatings.
- Assaults on mine-workers.
- Damage to property.
- Provocative, callous or insensitive conduct, and;
- Indiscriminate or reckless use of teargas.

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Probe into deaths after police action

PRETORIA—Police investigations would be launched into all the deaths that resulted from police action in township unrest during the past three months, according to a police spokesman here yesterday.

He was reacting to reports in weekend papers referring to two specific police investigations, concerning the shooting of a Sebokeng youth in September and the alleged rape of two teenage girls in November.

Both incidents were dealt with in a booklet outlining township violence which was published last week by the South African Catholic Bishops Conference.

The SAP spokesman said the police investigations had not resulted from the SACBC survey.

Every fatality is followed up by a postmortem police inquiry, he said.

He would not comment

on how many investigations were being carried out at present.

The official death roll in townships following police action this year had reached 96 by the middle of November. Injuries totalled 195.

According to figures released by Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, another 34 deaths and 215 injuries were not related to police action. Two police members were killed and a further 84 injured during the same period.

The spokesman said investigations would not be launched into cases of injury 'unless people charged that they had been injured illegally'.

He confirmed that a member of the SAP had been temporarily suspended after the police investigation into the murder of Mr Jacob Moleleki, who was arrested at an Evaton funeral in September.

More unrest next year?

EMERGING trade unions are set to become "a major vehicle for political aspirations" resulting in an upsurge in labour unrest next year.

Trade unions are to become more politicised and will begin to rely less on the courts and agreements with employers and more on their numerical powers, according to an annual report released by Industrial Relations Consultants, Andrew Levy and Associates.

In the 21-page report, Mr Levy says political grievances in the new year will be increasingly articulate through industrial action at the workplace, and employers will be faced with losses caused by issues outside their control.

However, the report entitled "Industrial Relations 1984 and the Year Ahead," says there will be white resentment that will result in race relations deteriorating, especially in the workplace.

"At the same time a distinct politicisation has and is occurring at an accelerating pace, and the movement is becoming far more of a political vehicle than has been the case in the past," he says.

Leadership

He adds: "This is in part the response to the emergence of a black leadership cadre, tensions between them and the white organisers, as well as the heightened level of political awareness and activity that has typified the year of the introduction of the new constitution."

"There is reason to believe that this pattern will continue into the future, with major distinctions being the ANC supporting unions, and those that see themselves as being more inclined to the UDF in their orientation."

Mr Levy also says the political strike, or at least the stayaway, will be expected to be a

account

He argues that Government response to the growing union politicisation will be a "crucial factor" in the make up of the quality of labour relations in the period ahead.

"In the past Government has not been slow to stifle union political affiliations and involvement in a draconian manner, using detentions and bannings as an effective method of decimating the leadership."

"This pattern has to some extent already manifested itself as a result of the November stayaways, although there is no doubt that the Government will justify the position by arguing that the detentions were primarily because of activities in organising stayaways, rather than activity of trade unionists."

Academic

This point seems to be academic and is unlikely to satisfy trade union members. It is likely that such disturbance and unrest is likely to culminate around any Government dispensation for urban blacks," the report says.

Mr Levy contends that if the recent wave of unrest results in sustained attack on the black union movement, then far greater pressure from overseas interests is to be expected.

He adds, any major and sustained anti-union drive will inevitably accelerate and add to South Africa's alienation internationally.

Referring to the courts and the law, he says there are indications of union dissatisfaction with the Industrial Court. It appears that the channel for the settlement of labour disputes will become less prominent.

He predicts that this trend will be speeded up as leadership positions in the emerging unions

"The ability, training and patience which are a prerequisite for the successful deployment of such tactics will be lessened, says the reports."

Companies which take a tough stand against unions are not likely to find a long term solution to the problems of racial polarisation and political unionisation.

Escaping

The report says possibly the only companies which have a chance of escaping these developments, are those which recognised unions at an early stage and have since formed

"good relations" with unions and their employees.

In these situations, the parties have experienced the advantages of orderly collective bargaining. Employers would therefore be unwise to rely too heavily on the existence of procedures or agreements to bring predictability and stability to their labour relations.

Referring to individual trade unions, he says Fosatu/Cusa rivalry continued in industries such as chemical and food, and it still remains possible that the unity moves may prompt splits within Cusa and amalgama-

tions with Fosatu.

He says the year has not been distinctive in any sense for Cusa, growth largely been attained through the National Union of Mineworkers. The confederation lacks the tight organising discipline and shop floor strength so typical of Fosatu, but has during the period under review taken a higher public profile than has been noted in the past.

Fosatu has depth, density and concentration of organisation.

(The report is available from Andrew Levy and Associates (Pty) Ltd at 17 Baker Street, Rosebank. 7700.)

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He adds: "This is in part the response to the emergence of a black leadership cadre, tensions between them and the white organisers, as well as the heightened level of political awareness and activity that has typified the year of the introduction of the new constitution."

"There is reason to believe that this pattern will continue into the future, with major distinctions being the ANC supporting unions, and those that see themselves as being more inclined to the UDF in their orientation."

Mr Levy also says the political strike, or at least the stayaway, will be expected to continue to be used on strategic occasions and issues, and active intimidation will be a factor that needs to be taken into

account.

He argues that Government response to the growing union politicisation will be a "crucial factor" in the make up of the quality of labour relations in the period ahead.

"In the past Government has not been slow to stifle union political affiliations and involvement in a draconian manner, using detentions and bannings as an effective method of decimating the leadership."

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He predicts that this trend will be speeded up as leadership positions in the emerging unions are transferred from white intellectuals to union members who have come up through the ranks.

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Fosatu has depth density and concentration of organisational

(The report is available from: Andrew Levy Associates (Pty) Ltd 17 Baker Street, Ro bank. 7700.)

S TAK 12/12/84

Azapo ~~##~~ head slams quelling²⁷⁴ of unrest

By Michael Tisong .

CAPE TOWN — The president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Lybon Maba-sa, criticised police and army action during township unrest in his opening address at Azapo's fifth national congress in Retreat, Cape Town, yesterday.

He accused the Government of "starting a war" against blacks when it took action to put down township unrest.

"We can no longer afford to stand and watch as the years go by. Sharpeville 1960 and 1984, Soweto 1976, Langa and many other massacres cannot be allowed to continue"

He added "For far too long the white minority government has called the tune and expected black people to dance to its every whim. We should change that."

The Chief Minister of the Nation of Islam in America and a critic of the South African and Israel governments, Mr Louis Farrakhan, sent a recorded speech on the global solidarity of oppressed people, which was played at the meeting.

Mr Farrakhan had been invited as guest speaker but did not apply for a visa to come to this country because of his activities in organising demonstrations at South African consulates in the United States.

Black local councils: opportunity or dilemma?

By Langa Skosana

When the Government introduced black local authorities about a year ago, political analysts called it a new opportunity and a dilemma.

The positive aspect of the new deal was that at last a start was being made towards fulfilling the political aspirations of urban blacks.

The dilemma lay in the widespread impression that instead of a share in national decision-making, urban blacks would be getting no more than the crumbs of local self-rule. This week the

Government announced that autonomous black councils will have a say in the new regional councils soon to be established.

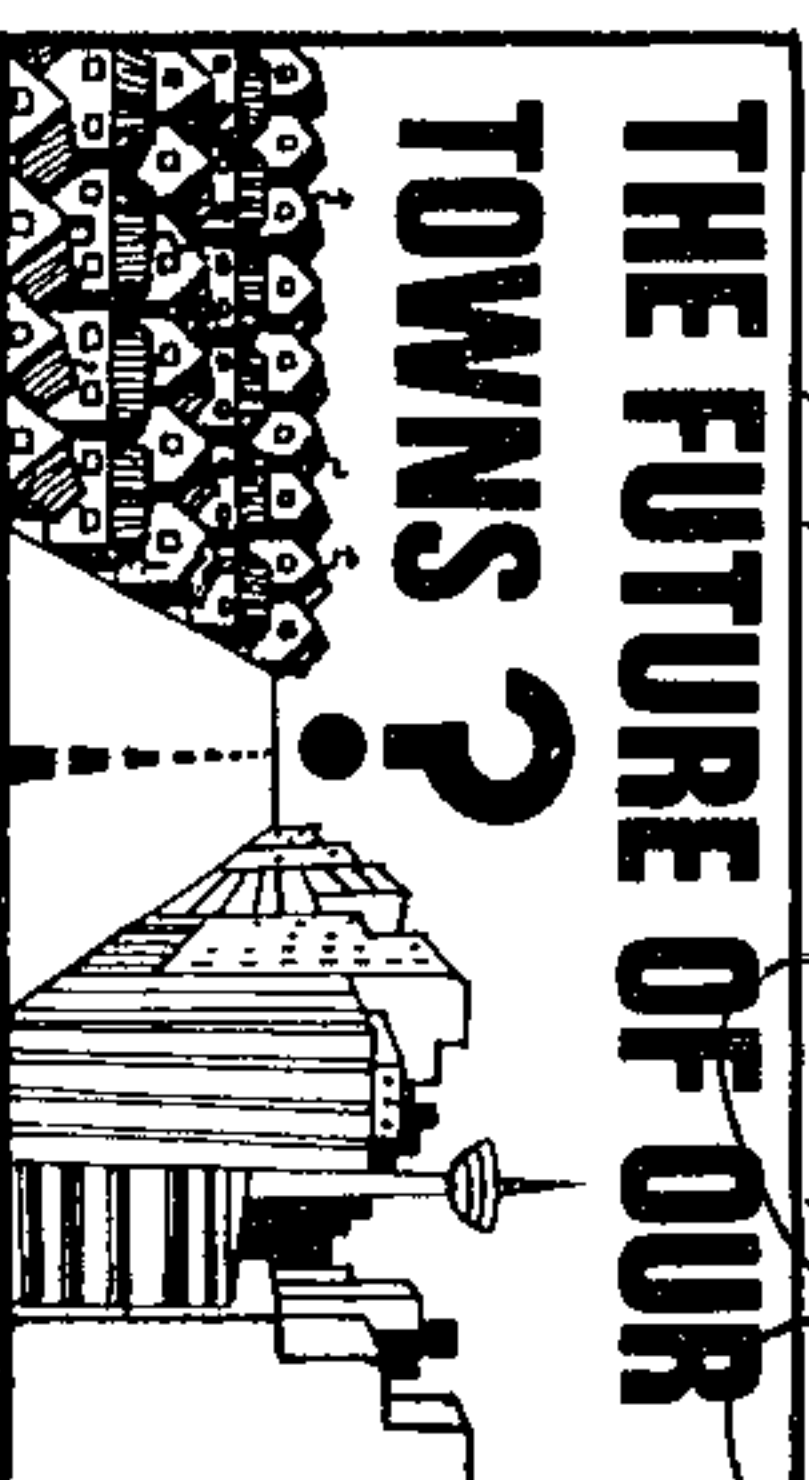
The functions of these regional councils will be overall planning, road building, traffic matters and the supply of water and electricity.

This new step has been welcomed by members of the black local authorities which have gone through a painful and traumatic period in the past few months.

These councils have been hit by resignations by councillors who fear for their lives because of intimidation from opposition groups. Some councillors have been murdered by angry residents.

Others have had their houses petrol-bombed by anti-Government elements.

Organisations opposed to the new deal have made repeated calls for



councillors to abandon the system.

These organisations aim to make ultimately unworkable the Government's formula of limited, township-restricted political rights for urban blacks.

Among organisations that want replacement of the councils with direct representation for blacks in a one-man one-vote Parliament are the United Democratic Front and the National Forum Committee.

The Inkatha Liberation Movement under the leadership of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has not taken an active role in demanding the resignation of councillors.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, announced on Tuesday that black local authorities would share in the revenue from levies on businesses soon to be introduced.

He said a recommendation would be made to the Government to have black local authorities in regional service councils. The announcement was met with guarded elation by members of these

councils.

The chairman of the Soweto council, Mr Edward Kunene, said his council would welcome the move if it had no strings attached.

"We don't want to get into a trap where we welcome Government moves only to find there is a sting in the tail," he added.

"If this step is going to benefit our people it is going to get the whole-hearted support of the council.

"But the regional councils still fall short of what the majority of urban blacks want... freehold rights in urban areas.

"I believe the Government could ease a lot of this tension in our troubled townships if it made councils economically viable and also established stable communities by giving freehold rights to blacks."

The chairman of the Diepsmeadow council, Mr Joseph Mahuhushi, said the Government had jumped the gun by announcing sharing of regional services before handing over assets to the councils. "If we know what our assets and liabilities

are," he added, "we will be able to negotiate more meaningfully in these regional councils."

"At the moment we can't plan our development because the money is with the Government."

Other councillors agreed that the councils were not the answer to

political rights for urban blacks, but some felt that without a say in the running of their affairs urban blacks would be hamstrung.

They look upon themselves as civic politicians whose role extends only as far as the day-to-day running of the townships.

They regard matters to do with national politics as outside their ambit.

Just before he was murdered about two weeks ago, the chairman of the Soweto council's management committee, Mr Edward Manyosi, said: "We know we are an oppressed people. We have our leaders like Nelson Mandela who will talk to the Government on our behalf."

"We agree with the students when they say that Bantu education should be abolished."

"But we have to run our townships and get our rubbish bins collected and our streets cleaned."

"That is why we are in the council."

His colleague on the East Rand, Mr Tom Boya, said: "The reason we are in the council is simply that we want to improve the quality of life of our people."

"No country can survive without local government."

In the Vaal Triangle, Lekoa Town Council chairman Mr Essau Mahlati, who narrowly

escaped death when his house was burnt down, said: "People fail to understand what our role is."

"A lot of people are being misled by agitators who want political gain."

"We are not Government stooges but residents' representatives."

Councillors who quit have a different story.

Mr Kebane Moloi, mayor of Duda Community Council on the East Rand who resigned last month, said: "I entered the councils because I thought I would

represent my people. "I have failed to do so."

"The people have asked me to resign and I think they are right."

"We were being used by the Government to promote apartheid."

"We found to our dismay that we have to work with officials who would not listen to our representations."

"They only wanted us to carry out what they have decided."

Ratanda Community Council chairman Mr L. Mohlomi, who quit with his entire eight-member council, said: "People asked us to resign."

"We have listened to their call. We could not go on when everyone wanted us out."

Dobsonville mayor Mr I B Mashao, who resigned last month, said pressure from his family forced him to resign.

He felt also that he had to abide by residents' demands.

But those whose aim is to destroy urban local authorities say they would not take revenge on councillors who quit.

Mr Jabu Ngunwenya, a spokesman for the Release Mandela Committee, which is among United Democratic Front affiliates demanding the resignation of the

councillors, said the only requirement for a councillor who resigned to be accepted back into the community would be for him to give an undertaking that he would wash his hands of the system.

"They must actively work with those opposed to the system," he said.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, a president of the United Democratic Front, said that people who have quit the councils should be welcomed back by the community.

Resigning showed that they had now seen the light, she said. Other councillors are in a dilemma.

On the one side, resignation would mean withdrawal of police protection. This would leave them open to possible attack from those who harboured grudges against the former councillors

involved in establishment politics. One councillor said: "People are saying I am a sell-out and a Government stooge."

"If I quit I will lose police protection. If I remain I face petrol bombs."

"What should I do?"

PRETORIA — The unrest since September in South Africa has thus far cost the SA Police about R7 million, the acting Commissioner of Police, Lieutenant-General Hennie de Witt, said in Pretoria yesterday.

Referring to the drop in the number of cases of terrorism this year, the general said this

STAR 22/12/84 274
Unrest cost R7 million

could be ascribed to successes by the police force.

He said the tracking down and apprehension of terrorists, and the seizure of terrorist weapons had directly contributed to the drop in incidents of

terrorism.

The country's crime rate had only increased by 1,64 percent during the 1983/84 financial year, despite factors such as the poor economy which had led to an increase in crime. — Sapa.

Police behaviour: 'Whites reaction a sign of ignorance'

by
**Eugene Saldanha,
Religion Reporter**

Two leaders of the country's largest Christian churches yesterday said white opinions on the police role in the recent unrest in the townships were based on ignorance and wishful thinking.

The Rev Peter Storey,

president of the Methodist Church, and Archbishop Denis Hurley, president of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC), were reacting to the findings of a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey which shows that only 5,2 percent of white adults polled evaluated the actions of the police during the recent unrest as "too hard".

However, Mr Storey, who earlier this year made a dramatic call on the liberation movements to lay down their arms, said the finding that 43 percent of whites polled were in favour of negotiations with the ANC, was encouraging.

"It is an indication that the call I initiated in October is gaining momentum and should be pressed upon by both parties," he added.

Of the respondents who were questioned on the role of police in riot control, 43,3 percent said their actions were "too soft", while 41,5 percent said it was "just strong enough".

Early this month the SACBC issued a report accusing the police of irregular and illegal activity in the townships during the unrest.

Both clerics said it was a "tragedy" that the poll was conducted only among the white section of the population.

"The white population is almost completely ignorant of what took place in the townships. I consider the results a confession of ignorance rather than a reflection of objective fact.

"It would be interesting to see the results of a survey among people in the townships that suffered most in times of unrest," said Archbishop Hurley.

"Only black people can answer any question about police action from personal experience.

The reasons white people gave for the low poll in the coloured and Indian elections demonstrates how successfully the Government and the SABC have covered up a disastrous area," he said.

The survey revealed that 14,4 percent of whites polled attributed the low poll to the voters' rejection of the new constitution, 35 percent attributed it to "apathy and ignorance" and 30,7 percent regarded "intimidation and propaganda by radical groups" as the cause.

CAP TWA 22/12/84

Blackburn ban raises protests

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The ministerial order banning the Progressive Federal Party MPC for Walmer, Mrs Molly Blackburn, access to Craddock's Ilingelihle township, has raised a storm of protest from church and opposition leaders.

And in a new development yesterday, the former Deputy Minister of Co-Operation, Dr G de V Morrison, disclosed that he had issued the directive in July because Mrs Blackburn was "instigating the trouble in Craddock".

The order first came to

light in a court case this week when Mrs Blackburn and Mrs Di Bishop, PFP MPC for Gardens, stood trial for entering Ilingelihle without permits instead of opting for a R20 admission of guilt fine.

The two Black Sash members were found guilty of negligence and released with a warning.

After the trial, a spokesman for the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, confirmed that the directive, applying only to Mrs Blackburn, was still in existence.

But Dr Morrison, who is now the Deputy Minister of Health, said he had issued the orders.

"I did this because we thought they were instigating the people and causing the trouble".

The PFP MP for Walmer, Mr Andrew Savage, said the trial contrasted Mrs Blackburn's personal contact with the Ilingelihle community and the gulf between the people and the authorities trying to administer them.

RIOTS AND DISTURBANCES—GENERAL

1985

JANUARY — JUNE

CAPE Times 12/1/85

E Cape boycott continues

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — Thousands of black primary and secondary pupils in the Eastern Cape continued to stay away from school yesterday in protest against the detention of 11 Congress of South African Student (Cosas) leaders.

All those detained are from the Port Elizabeth branch of Cosas.

Pupils continued to stay away from secondary schools in Port Elizabeth, Port Beaufort, Queenstown, Grahamstown, Port Alfred, Uitenhage and Cradock.

However, in the Transvaal and Free State, most pupils in townships hit by prolonged stayaways last year have ended their schools boycott.

Attendance in the Vaal Triangle townships of Sebokeng and Sharpeville was reported to be "fair to good".

A liaison officer for the Department of Education and Training, Mr Edgar Posselt, said yesterday that there were arson attacks at two schools in the Vaal Triangle on Thursday night.

A petrol-bomb was thrown into the library of the Lekoa-Shandu Secondary School in Sharpeville and a room used for storing books at Mqiniswa Primary in Bophelong was set alight.

● Eleven secondary schools in Port Elizabeth were empty yesterday, while attendance at primary schools ranged up to 70 percent, according to a spokesman for the Department of Education in the Eastern Cape.

● Attendance at three secondary schools in Grahamstown varied from 15 to 45 percent.

● No pupils arrived at one secondary and two primary schools in Port Alfred.

● The year-long stayaway from seven Cra-

dock schools continued. Pupils are still protesting against the dismissal of two teachers, Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calate, to Graaff-Reinet. Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, is apparently reviewing their dismissal.

● Two secondary schools in Uitenhage were yesterday deserted.

● In Cape Town, secondary-school principals have been instructed to admit all new pupils in Standard 7 — but only if the pupils have attended primary schools of the Department of Education and Training in the area.

The circuit inspector for the Western Cape, Mr P J Scheepers, said yesterday that the only new intake of pupils would be in Standard 7, and pupils who came from outside the feeder area for each school would not be accepted.

Hospital tests

● A correspondent reports that Boy Jijana, one of the 11 detained Cosas leaders, is back in detention after undergoing tests in the Port Elizabeth Provincial Hospital.

Dr Leon Cilliers, medical superintendent, said the youth's bladder had been examined under anaesthetic on Thursday and he had been discharged. "All the tests we conducted were negative."

His mother, Mrs Nombulelo Jijana, said yesterday that she had been fetched from her house by security police at 6.30am on Thursday.

They took her to the Provincial Hospital where she complied with a request to sign a form giving permission for her son to undergo an operation as he was passing blood.

yesterday when he completed his last scheduled patrol flight.

Guiding his Albatross reconnaissance aircraft to a pinpoint landing at DFMalan after a routine patrol flight to

Based initially at Kroonstad after joining the air force at the age of 18, Major Chinery subsequently saw postings to Vereeniging and Bloemfontein. Sustained attempts at entering combat during the

there," he said. During his 6 the air Major flown a variety which would m age pilot's mout list includes T

Clashes, arrests as schools open

JOHANNESBURG — Eight people were arrested after police and pupils clashed when black schools opened yesterday in an atmosphere of uncertainty about continuing four months of class boycotts.

The police spokesman for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, said violence flared at Beaufort West's Lawson Higher Primary School where police arrested eight people between the ages of 11 and 23 after a crowd of 300 had stoned police vehicles. Tearsmoke and rubber bullets were used to disperse the crowd.

Pupils outside the school also stoned a car driven by a community councillor, Mr S Mbevu

Earlier, police at Tinus Lower Primary School used rubber bullets and tearsmoke to disperse crowds "after a group of 400 to 500 intimidated scholars not to enter the school grounds".

Schools in the Eastern Cape continued the boycott call in protest against the continued detention of 11 members of the Congress of South African Students Cosas had earlier decided to return to school if the detained 11 were released. The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, did not respond.

The regional director of the Department of Education and Training, Mr G Merbold, said there were total boycotts in Port Elizabeth, Cradock,

Port Alfred and Fort Beaufort.

Stoning incidents by hundreds of youths also occurred yesterday at a Uitenhage school and one in Sebokeng. There were no arrests.

Vaal parents and community leaders reported a poor turnout of students in Evaton, Sebokeng, Boipatong, Bophelong and Sharpeville.

Mr Job Schoeman, spokesman for the DET, said attendance was "normal", but that intimidation was reported in Bophelong.

In Soweto, thousands of students returned to school, apparently responding to weekend calls by parents and student organizations to end boycotts.

Most Tembisa pupils also returned.

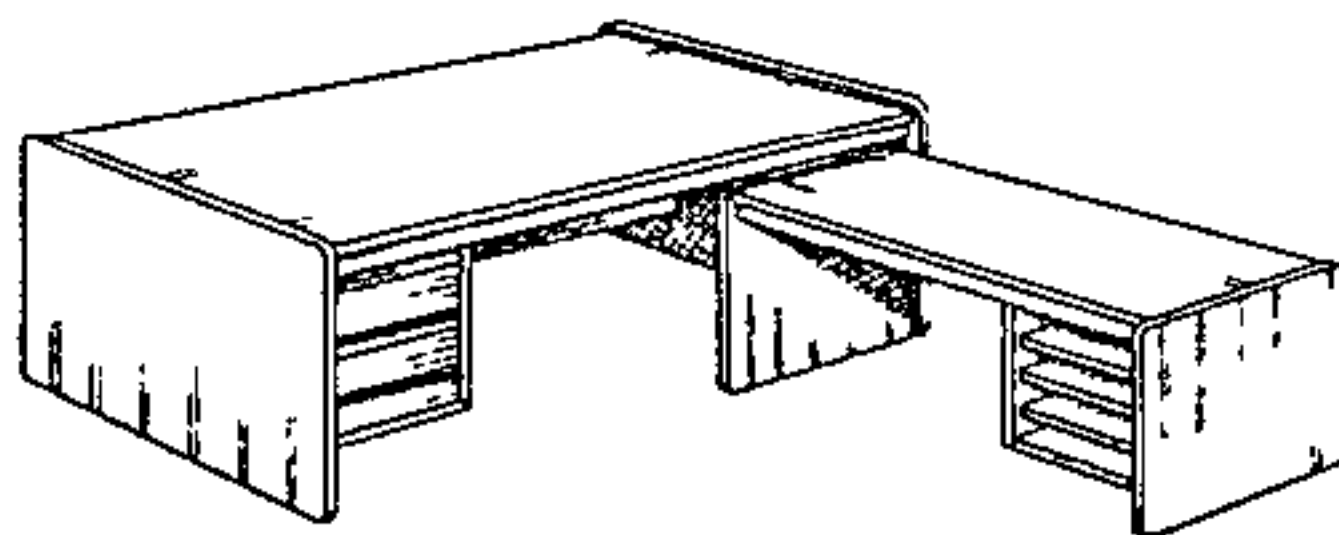
Accommodation at schools in the Cape Peninsula was expected to be in short supply because of the government freeze on development in existing townships to encourage people to move to Khayelitsha.

'Accept all'

However, the area's Circuit Inspector for the Department of Education and Training, Mr PJ Scheepers, said enrolment was on a first-come-first-served basis, but he had told principals to accept all applicants.

"While I have the facilities in Khayelitsha, I cannot just tell people to go there. I have told principals that if necessary they must accept 50 children to a classroom, but God knows how we are going to accommodate them all" — Sapa

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Coetzee defends police role in riots

274
E. Post
12/1/85

PRETORIA — In a wide-ranging interview on unrest in the country's black townships, South Africa's Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, has told a Pretoria newspaper that about 1% of all crimes during the 1984 rioting were alleged to have been committed by police.

General Coetzee also told the Pretoria News that certain video films taken during the unrest would be used in court cases or commissions of inquiry into the post-September rioting.

A number of "impartial" videos filmed during the riots, General Coetzee said, would be used in court cases and inquiries, and for "other reasons."

The Pretoria News interviewer, Sejamothopo Motau, said the Commissioner did not elaborate.

Mr Motau added.

"It can be reasonably assumed they include the identification of people suspected as ring-leaders or instigators of riots."

General Coetzee confirmed the SAP was at present investigating allegations of police misconduct in the black townships.

The complaints, he added, had been "very limited in number... about 1% of the crimes reported during the period of unrest."

Mr Motau asked the

Commissioner whether township residents were not scared to report the actions of one policeman to his colleagues.

"We find that members of the public are not reluctant to complain about police misconduct," General Coetzee said.

According to the newspaper, General Coetzee said it was a myth that police were generally intimidating towards blacks, which caused a negative attitude towards police in the townships.

"I think there's a lot of politics in that," the general was quoted as saying. "The ordinary man in the street who is not politically motivated feels quite happy to take his complaints to the police."

Referring to police action during the unrest, General Coetzee explained the circumstances in which police would use live ammunition on rioters.

"There's a very strict procedure followed, which we inherited, incidentally, from the British police."

"You start with a little force — warnings — and as the force by your opposition escalates, so does your use of force."

Asked about alleged cases where tear smoke had been used to disperse mourners after funerals — what Mr Motau called "a violation of the sacred

tradition of the washing of hands" — General Coetzee said police were bound by law to act against all outdoor gatherings.

"The onus is really on the people to apply for the necessary permits, and then they will be safe within the ambit of the law," General Coetzee was quoted as saying.

Denying claims that the police presence in the townships was a major cause of the rioting, General Coetzee told the interviewer:

"We can prove by statistics that a lot of the riots — where there were no policemen at all — were a direct result of the speeches made at some of these funerals."

He added: "One must distinguish between prejudices, or myths, and fact."

According to the report, General Coetzee referred to the belief among many workers that police always took the side of management during strike actions.

"It is not for the police to take up the cudgels on the part of the employer and drive the workers into the factory," he said.

"The police are quite impartial in these matters. Their job is to see that both parties negotiate a compromise."

"All we say is 'Don't fight about it.'" Sapa

PFP want police conduct probed

CAPL Times

14/2/85



Political Staff

THE MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, yesterday called for a judicial commission to be appointed as a matter of urgency to investigate allegations of police misconduct in the Eastern Cape.

CAPL Times 14/2/85
From page 1

much higher as many of the wounded were treated privately as they feared arrest if they went to hospital.

Mr Malcomess said he had read the affidavits to the House to demonstrate that such incidents were widespread in the Eastern Cape.

In addition, he said, there was the Catholic Bishops' report on police action in the Vaal Triangle and the R88 000 which had been paid in compensation in SWA/Namibia for the activities of Koevoet to consider.

Mr Malcomess pointed out that it was known that violence was perpetrated against peaceful people by inciters and terrorists and that "we need and welcome police protection from that violence".

But, he added, "nothing can justify the actions attributed to the police by these affidavits."

"The type of episodes described don't prevent violence — they spawn it. The hatred and bitterness grows and that anger is the best recruiting agent that those who advocate the violent overthrow of our society can have," he said.

Reacting to Mr Malcomess's allegations about police action, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said that Mr Malcomess had not had the "decency" to contact him about the allegations so that he could reply.

He questioned why Mr Malcomess, who it appeared had never had any real interest in Law and Order matters, was now so interested in what was happening at Cradock.

Affidavits

Citing affidavits taken by members of the Progressive Federal Party in Uitenhage, Port Alfred and Cradock regarding police misconduct, Mr Malcomess said there had been far too many allegations "of this nature" and that the allegations besmirched the name of South Africa "and diminish every one of us".

He said that in the Eastern Cape there had been incidents which had caused "tremendous damage" one of which involved Steve Biko.

He said a full and open judicial inquiry would settle the issue one way or the other.

"If the result vindicates the police then we would be relieved and would most certainly happily accept the verdict."

"If it does not then this minister must resign so that we can have action to stamp out this kind of violence, so that the police can be looked up to and respected by all sections of the South African community," he said.

Commenting on his visit to Cradock where he took affidavits about police action, Mr Malcomess said that the previous day a black policeman had been murdered.

"Now obviously nothing angers a policeman more than the death of another policeman. This is the case in every country in the world."

"It does not, however, justify the breaking of the law by those whose profession and duty it is to uphold the law," he said.

Blood

Reading an affidavit taken at Cradock describing how a 15-year-old youth was allegedly shot by the police, Mr Malcomess said he had "seen blood on the wall of the house where he supported himself as he struggled to the front door."

"Yet he was shot dead when patently he was incapable of escaping or harming anyone, let alone a group of police who were armed."

Mr Malcomess said that 211 people had been shot dead during 1983 and a further 368 people wounded according to official figures.

He said he was convinced however, from the number of affidavits he had read, that the number of wounded was

♦♦♦♦♦
To Page 4



February 17 1985

Schoolchildren light fuse of explosive

black unrest

S. Times 17/2/85

MASSIVE unrest racked South Africa's townships this week, with almost every outbreak emanating from school pupils.

Thousands of black children are boycotting classes throughout the country and particularly in the Eastern Cape, culminating in stone-throwing, bus-burning and other violence.

In Kroonstad, 3 000 youths overturned cars and set fire to a headmaster's house, dozens of homes and businesses. The wave of destruction was sparked off by pupils rejecting the appointment of prefects.

A similar number clashed with police in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, after the memorial service for 15-year-old Emma Sathekge, victim of last year's schools unrest.

There have also been incidents at Tembisa, Kagang near Potchefstroom, Kat-

By CAS S. LEGER

lehong and Thokozela townships near Germiston, and in the Eastern Cape.

The public relations division of the South African Police, while confirming that most of the incidents this week emanated from school pupils, said the SAP and other government departments were investigating the causes in depth and did not wish to comment any further at this stage.

Constitution

Mr John Kane-Berman, director of the Institute of Race Relations, said that concessions regarded by whites and the Government as major, were often not seen as such by blacks.

The new constitution, from the view of traditional National Party politics, was seen as a major step forward. But from the perspective of blacks, excluded from Parliament and in one out of three cases deprived of citizenship, the new deal seemed insignificant.

He said there was increasing, spontaneous anger behind the current unrest, but did not rule out the possibility of political bodies capitalising on local grievances.

In South Africa there is a range of competing organisations that wish to mobilise that anger.

During the latter half of 1976, large numbers of black schoolchildren left South Africa; some eventually found their way into African National Congress training camps, he said.

This time round, that option apparently

has been closed through the Nkomati Accord. Possibly the more militant people who may in the past have gone outside the country to join the ANC are now in South Africa and promoting boycotts, demonstrations and disruptions of the school system as a deliberate political strategy," Mr Kane-Berman said.

Since 1983, relationships between the races had deteriorated rapidly, he said — despite the fact that the Government's attitude was more conciliatory on education than in 1976.

"If the black education authorities had handled the grievances on the Afrikaners language teaching in schools with the same conciliatory attitude that Dr Gerrit Viljoen shows in handling grievances, there might not have been riots in 1976.

"Certainly the Department of Education and Training is willing to consult and talk to

a much greater extent than in the past, although the question of segregation in schools is apparently still non-negotiable."

The most powerful mouthpiece for non-white students, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) claims an anti-violence brief and a membership of 10 000 out of South Africa and the homelands' total black student body of one million.

Discontent

Cosas president Mr Lulu Johnson said his organisation had advised students to hold discussions with teachers.

"I am not countenancing violence but there are times when the students have no other means of communication," said Mr Johnson.

Cosas had played no role in the current unrest, he said.

A root cause of discontent was that students were denied their own representation, according to United Democratic Front spokesman Mr Popo Molefe.

"Pupils boycotted schools which were introducing the undemocratic structure called the prefect system," said Mr Molefe.

Correctly or not, students saw prefects as Government appointees, he said. Another annual bone of contention was the marking of matriculation papers.

"There have been inquiries into exam results since 1977; it is now 1985 and it does not seem as if the inquiries are yielding any results," said Mr Molefe. "It appears the problem is inherent in the system of education itself."

Unrest is now countrywide

MORE

RIOTS:

3 DIE

Sowetan
19/2/85
274

Sowetan Reporters

AT LEAST three people were killed, several injured and two houses belonging to policemen gutted in countrywide rioting yesterday.

At the old Crossroads in Cape Town, three people were killed in separate sporadic incidents of rioting.

According to a spokesman for the Police Directorate in Pretoria, police fired birdshot and used tear smoke at about 10 am in Crossroads, when a group of

about 3 000 people stoned police vehicles and private cars. A 35-year-old man was fatally wounded and six people injured and detained.

At 11 am another large stone-throwing mob was dispersed when police fired rubber bullets, and a man was injured, dying in hospital a few minutes after arrival.

Another man died when police used birdshot to disperse a few hundred youths who were looting a bottle store near the Nyanga township. This incident occurred at 12.45 pm, according to a spokesman for the Police Directorate.

In Seisoville, Kroonstad, an unidentified youth was allegedly shot dead after the burial of one of the two riot victims who were shot during last week's disturbances in the township.

Joseph Matches (17) was buried at the local cemetery at 11 am. The other riot victim, Andrew Makoko, will be buried this week.

In Duduza near Nigel, two houses belonging to policemen were gutted after an attack by a mob of about 200 youths.

Another policeman's house was stoned and two vehicles set alight. A bus was also stoned and a delivery truck robbed of two crates of milk. **To Page 2**

P.T.O.



Police in riot gear in 1980 — none of it has been used at Crossroads.

Riot control in SA: Police reply

CAPE TIMES 23/2/85

By STEPHEN WROTTESELEY
Crime Reporter

POLICE commenting yesterday after the death of 18 people during unrest at Crossroads this week, said no "hard and fast rules" could be applied to riot control in South Africa.

Many of those killed died as a result of police shotgun fire and there have been suggestions that an inadequately protected police force over-reacted during the unrest.

Reporters covering the unrest saw policemen with little protection against the stones thrown at them. Six policemen were injured.

Questions were first asked in the Cape about police defences against mobs in 1980. At that time, reporters were shown reaction force policemen practising riot control while wearing helmets and shields.

No shields

However, this week the police countering violence at Crossroads did not appear to be issued with either shields or helmets.

Security sources said that while they accepted that the shields available to the police might be too large to use in fluid situations, they could not understand why the men had not worn lightweight armour and helmets to protect them

from injury during stonethrowing.

Had the policemen felt more secure as far as their personal security was concerned, they might not have resorted to the use of bird and buckshot, the sources felt.

The suggestion has been made that police should have been issued with helmets (with visors and neck protection) and body armour (as used in Northern Ireland). The sources also asked why water-cannon were not used instead of pellets.

Assessment

In reply to questions regarding the police's apparent lack of protection against mobs, the police liaison division in Pretoria said: "Well-trained officers who are in command at the scenes of riots assess the different situations and act accordingly.

"Circumstances vary from incident to incident and from place to place. Hard and fast rules are therefore just not possible. This also applies to the use of equipment and water-cannons.

"The SAP have in the past made use of water-cannons where circumstances permitted and warranted the use thereof."

A comparison between local riot control methods and overseas methods was given yesterday by a man who witnessed

a demonstration in Switzerland late last year in which paint was thrown at a government building by a crowd of several thousand.

The witness said: "In Berne in October there was an anti-American demonstration involving about 7 000 people. About 80 policemen combatted this demonstration. All of them were well-equipped and for every 10, there were three men armed with teargas guns. The triggers were clipped to make them accountable if they opened fire.

'Pistols'

"Of the 10, about three or four had short shields, covering them from face to groin, and they had full helmets with visors with neck protection.

"The remainder were men obviously prepared as snatch squads.

"All were armed with pistols in closed holsters and were equipped with truncheons, shoulder pads and groin pads under overalls.

"Two or three lines stood there while the officers negotiated with the demonstrators' leaders. Even though the mob insulted the police at close quarters, the policemen were very well trained and did nothing.

"They advanced slowly and eventually the crowd dispersed with one arrest and no injuries."

7 000 pupils boycott classes

23/2/85
RDM

By THELMA TUCH
Education Reporter

WIDESPREAD schools unrest flared again yesterday as up to 70 000 black pupils countrywide stayed away from classes.

In Katlehong, near Germiston, about 30 000 primary and secondary pupils did not turn up at 36 schools.

According to the liaison officer for the Department of Education and Training, Mr Edgar Posselt, pupils were "intimidated" into not attending.

In Duduza, near Nigel, about 11 000 pupils have been staying away from school following unrest in the township.

At the Rethabile Secondary School in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, the circuit inspector called in the po-

lice to disperse pupils who were holding a meeting on the school premises.

● The DET has suspended classes at one school each in Potchefstroom, Bothaville and Kimberley. The DET also suspended classes at the Fort Beaufort College of Education, in the Eastern Cape.

● About 10 000 pupils stayed away in Kroonstad in the Free State.

● Pupils yesterday continued to stay away from nine schools in Cradock, Fort Beaufort and Somerset East.

● There was no attendance yesterday at a primary school in Crossroads.

● The Uitenhage Secondary School and the John Walton Secondary School will be closed from Monday.

SHOWBIZ

Sejeso is flashy but 'dom'

It's like a night for the generals as the cream of the Soulshetto assemble for sundowners at this phuza cabin in Dube. The chatter is vibrant but at times downright idiotic. Okay folks, we are at the popular Mabashanyana's joint because we too try to impress that we know the best spots, ya see.

The setting is gorgeous and the mood just right with soft music working on our sensibilities, uyaqava Joe? In our phuza congregation there's Boy Sejeso, a tall, handsome guy maar net so 'n bietjie dom, you know. The dolled-up molls are making

eyes at him. Boy Sejeso doesn't notice that. We hitting our staff, old boy. And we purchase an assortment seeing as the ship has docked.

I decide to go to the "ladies boardroom" and find it occupied. But there's a conversation right in there and you can grab a word or two — unintentionally cos our loos are not the best "resting places", ya see.

There's Masabata and Mamerapelo. One says to the other: "O mone abuti ole o motle, hey? Ke eng a re shaya ka disregard I am sure mosadi wa gagwe o mojisitse." An obvious reference to Boy Sejeso.

They shuttle out of

the "ladies boardroom" and I wobble inside

When I rejoin the congregation, I find the two giggling and making suggestive gestures. Boy Sejeso is unmoved. What baffles me is each time Boy Sejeso orders undresh Mabashanyana gives him a double undresh.

And each time she brings grog, she flashes a girlish smile. She's moved by Boy Sejeso too, who is young enough to be her son, ya know. But the tall, handsome and dom Boy Sejeso hardly notices

And Mabashanyana — woza wena sugar mummy — realises that this fella doesn't take

notice of her.

Mabashanyana has been around awhile, old boy. He tells his skoshanashas to deflate Boy Sejeso's car tyres. They do that. And when the lanky lad moves out for home, he discovers his tyres have been deflated. It's late at night and Jozi being Jozi, he decides the best is to sleep in his car so that he can still have it tomorrow. We circling him and sympathising.

Mabashanyana rolls out of her house. "Shame... ag siestog. Batho ba mone ba sele, you know. And they'll spoil my besemese," she says. "The best o ka robala ga ka kantlong."

Boy Sejeso is hooked. He has no alternative but to sleep in Mabashanyana's joint. He was fished professionally.

What ever happened from here... I don't know, Strues' bob.

Ever met a fella Brian Mashazi in Bossie? Haa boy, this fella can blow his lips. From the minute we stepped into this colony of drinkers, he was bowling out everybody with his wit. And at some remote corner, there was Boy Disepekeke, an accountant who was snoring like a goods train was passing in the backyard.

When he came to, he adjusted his spectacles and outrightly chal-

monday blues

By Elliot Makhaya



lenged Brian: "Oh no brother, that's imperialism. You can't say that. It's colonialism." I wonder if this fella has the genius to remember his dreams... or was he asleep? All the same some people ba ya fahla, ya see.

Here is something to straighten up your groggy heads: An important thing to remember about wines is that a

fine wine should be handled with respect — just like a lady: Neil Schnoor, a wine consultant.

Woza Monday, imali iphehle sweetheart, all you are left with is that nagging hangover. And this morning you couldn't even raise train fare. But it's awright, man. Just take it easy. Sekunjalo madoda. See ya next Monday. Ta.



GEORGE DARKO: A Ghanaian guitar wizard.

Guitar wizard George plays sweet melodies

GEORGE Darko is an extraordinary guitar player from Ghana who is based in West Berlin. He is equally interested in the elegant style of American guitarist George Benson and the "modern traditional" style of Ghanaian master-guitarist, Ko Nimo.

George evolved this marriage of the two as a member of various groups in Ghana through the 70s. But recording facilities in Ghana do not match what is available in Europe, and in 1979 George moved to West Germany with the inten-

By VICTOR METSOAMERE

tion of putting together a blend of funk, jazz and Ghanaian highlife which would cross all the frontiers.

By 1982 he had gathered together the five fellow spirits who recorded the album *Friends* under the collective name of Bus Stop, comprising of a vocalist, Lee Dodou, Sometimer (bass guitar), Jagger Amoo (drums), Bob Fiscian (keyboards) — all Ghanaians — and the German saxophonist Stephen Mills.

Although there were some English-language tracks on *Friends*, it was an Ashanti song called

Akoo Te Brofo which attracted attention. A fable with a message which affected Ghanaians throughout the world, the song was a year-long hit in Ghana, and made George an instant star back home.

The insinuating groove of the track also appealed to people who could not understand the lyrics, and everyone involved believed that if they were to do the track in English, they would be onto something special.

In 1983 the group went back to the studio, and at the end of the year released the four

track album, *Hi Life Time*, featuring a re-working of Akoo called *Highlife Time*.

The catchy melodies were still there, but this time with a simple English singalong vocal from Lee Dodou which was in direct line with all those disarmingly simple American dance anthems. This trick worked. The record was accepted by disco DJs who found that it slipped in easily beside their soul and jazz funk records, while being so distinctive that people asked to hear it again.

RPM Records have released the album *Hi Life Time* (OVL 509), combining the best tracks from the two albums.

Top actor to hold classes

DYNAMIC German-born theatre man, Alexander von Reumont, is to run a series of acting courses in the Lee Strasberg acting method in Johannesburg at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Von Reumont, 34, is on his second visit to South Africa. Late last year he directed the PACT production of Chekhov's "The Bear" and is currently negotiating with a number of local managements for some plays he wishes to direct. He studied the Lee Strasberg acting method in America.

Strasberg is one of the giants of modern American theatre and his "The Method" acting theories have produced such actors as James Dean, Marlon

Brando, and Paul Newman, among many others.

Von Reumont's classes at Wits will be open to both professional and amateur actors. The three weekend groups will run from 10.00 am to 6.00 pm on both Saturdays and Sundays. The dates are 9 and 10, 16 and 17 and 23 and 24. The cost is R80.00 per weekend (R70 for students).

The midweek evening course will run from 5.00 pm to 10.00 pm, Mondays to Thursdays from March 4 — 28. Further enquiries can be made to the Wits Performing Arts Administration, phone: (011) 716-4051/3909.

TELLY VIEW

TV1

- Programme Schedule — 3.57
- News — 4.00
- One Day At A Time — 4.08

The Monday Magazine

- 4.35
- The Wombles — 4.56
- Hand In Hand — 5.01
- Runaway Island — 5.07
- Tom and Jerry — 5.34
- What Now — 5.40
- News — 6.00
- Video 2 — 6.14
- Sha-Na-Na — 6.45
- Tales Of The Gold Monkey — 7.11
- Die Nuus — 8.00
- Die Weerberg — 8.29
- Sportfokus — 8.44
- Verslag — 9.14
- Quincy — 9.43
- Produktiwiteit: 'n Sleutel tot Welvaart — 10.32
- Die Nuus — 10.53
- Epilogue — 11.10
- Saal En Perd — 11.14

TV2

- Prologue — 5.45
- Masidlale — 5.50
- Ikhaya Labantwana — 6.02
- Ezabasha/Ulutsha — 6.14
- Khanyisa Mama/Khanyisa Mame — 6.32

TV3

- Ditumedis — 5.50
- Ha Re Bapaleng — 5.54
- Legae La Bana — 6.07
- Mphatlalatsane — 6.17
- News — 7.00
- Documentary — 7.12

Things to do and hear

- She Fears The Night, Eyethu: 8 pm
- Miss Julie, Market Theatre: 8 pm
- The War At Home, Upstairs Market Theatre: 8.15 pm
- Dirty Work/Gangsters, Laager: 8.30 pm
- Her Daughter's Illness, Rehearsal Room: 8.30 pm
- Easy By Night, Kattelohong: 6.30 pm
- Club Status, Fun Valley: 7 pm
- Leratong Inn Club, Klipgat: 6 pm
- Club 2 000, Tladi: 6 pm
- Club Five 2 Seven, Eden Park: 7 pm
- Midnight Star, Doornfontein: 7 pm
- Disco-Africa, Johannesburg: 7 pm
- Pirates Club, Ga-Rankuwa: 6.30 pm
- Jess-Disco Club, Varkfontein: 7 pm
- Matlou Club, Mothotlung: 7.30 pm
- Jazz Tavern, Pretoria: 10 am to 9 pm
- Pelican, Orlando: 7.30 pm
- Zniko, Tembisa: 7.30 pm
- Sergeant Peppers, Laudium: 7.30 pm
- Oasis Avenue, Tembisa: 7.30 pm
- Dakota Drive-In, Industria: 7.30 pm
- Sheena and Young Masters



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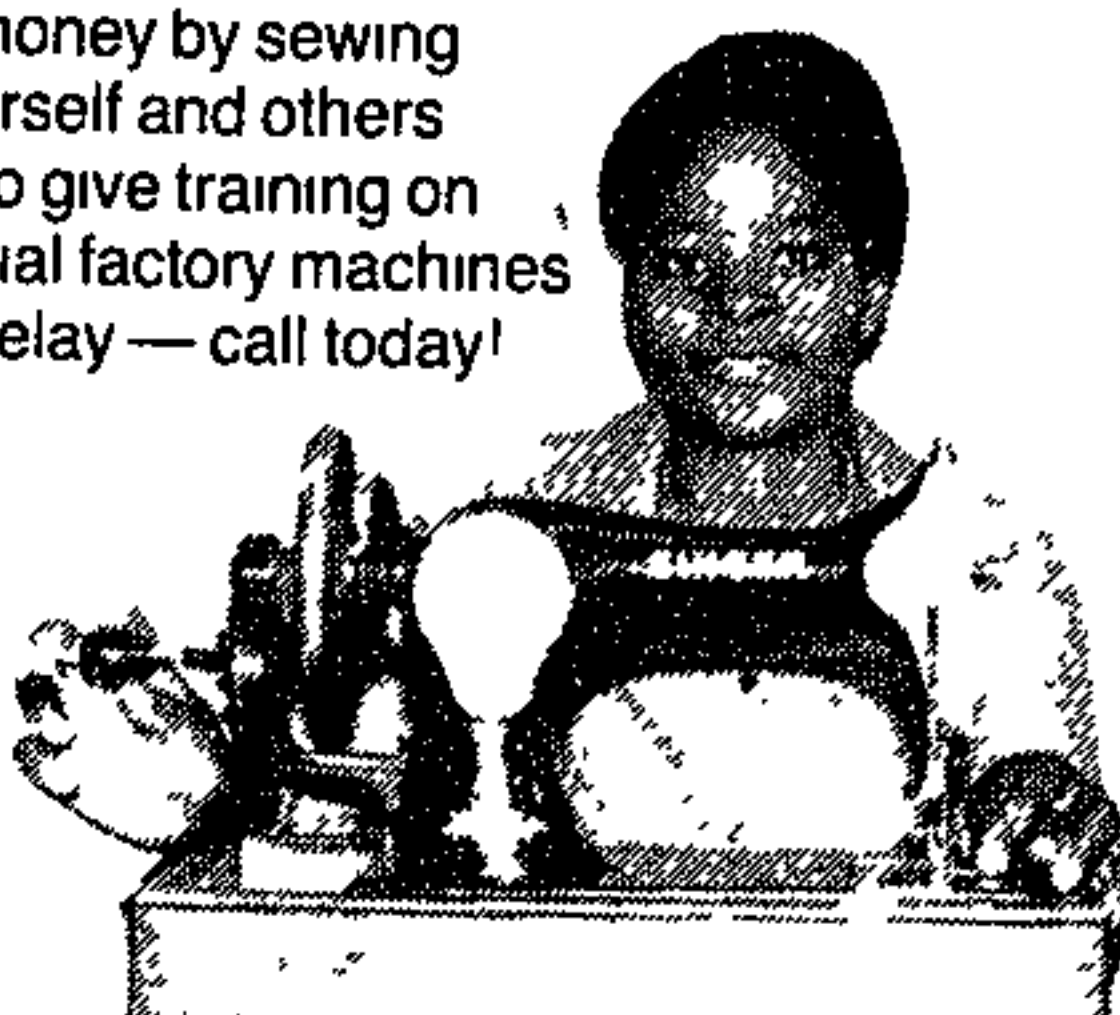
Reginald Shomang (H) (016) 35-1165; Jonas Sesmane (H) (016) 35-1085; Joyce Barrington (H) (011) 24-3646

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Unrest: Cold-blooded killings

TWO PFP Members of Parliament have spotlighted the police role in township violence with untested affidavits which make shocking reading.

Normally, The SOWETAN would not be able to publish this material because of legislation which makes it incumbent on the newspaper to be able to prove the truth of the allegations.

But John Malcomess (PFP Port Elizabeth Central) insisted on reading three of many affidavits collected by himself and Mr Errol Moorcroft (PFP Albany) into the record of Parliament, and they can now be published because they are privileged documents.

They provide an indictment of police tactics allegedly employed during unrest experienced in the Eastern Cape. Both MPs maintain that these documents provide a "horifying insight" into police actions wherever the authorities confront unrest situations in the country — be it Crossroads, Kroonstad or Uitenhage.

The affidavits tell of young children being shot; innocent people being killed in cold blood; police stoning bystanders and then shooting them down as they run away.

The three affidavits quoted in Parliament make up only a small part of the allegations contained in two dossiers presented to the authorities by the PFP.

In the words of Mr Moorcroft: "Certain elements in the police conduct themselves in a manner which is both brutal and sadistic."

"These elements should never have been accepted as recruits in the first place because their actions bring discredit to their colleagues and the country."

**By
JOHN
MACLENNAN**

"I believe the dedicated members of the force greatly resent having their names and reputation sullied by these actions of irresponsible colleagues."

"The evidence suggests the actions are more in the nature of punitive measures rather than keeping the peace."

Mr Malcomess said: "There is something wrong with the training and the methods and the whole attitude of the police."

Both members are also concerned at the reaction to information they provided in a recent debate by Minister of Police Mr Louis le Grange and other members of the Government.

Said Mr Malcomess: "The reaction of members of the House when I read out the affidavits was quite unbelievable."

"They sat laughing and joking as if there were nothing wrong. In any democratic country there would have been a shocked silence."



"The Minister, instead of showing any concern for the killed and the injured all he could do was attack me for not having given him the information beforehand."

"Under this Minister, more than 200 people are killed by the police in a year. This has been established by questions in the House."

Integrity

Mr Moorcroft noted. "The Minister's attitude when cases are brought to his attention is one of resentment, rather than appreciation. It is as though he doesn't want to be told about these acts of violence, and seeks to read ulterior motives into the situation."

"He specifically ac-

cused me in his acknowledgement to my memorandum of not condemning violence. This is not only a reflection on my integrity as an MP, but blatantly untrue."

Nor can Mr Moorcroft understand the apparent tardiness of police inquiries into the allegations that policemen were actually guilty of murder.

Within two days of one alleged killing which features in the affidavits, he gave all the details to the District Commandant in Grahamstown.

Three months later an answer to a question in parliament indicated that the inquiry had not yet been completed.

The two MPs also said they could not understand why police acted the way they did at

Cape Town Crossroads and in townships of the Eastern Cape.

Mr Moorcroft said: "What was there for them (the residents) to destroy in Crossroads other than their own homes and dwellings?"

They were not threatening the people of

Cape Town

"To move in and gun down children with buckshot is an action which is calculated to inflame and aggravate the situation more than calm it down."

Mr Malcomess wanted to know why police had not worn pro-

TECTIVE gear) which might have made it unnecessary for them to shoot for self-protection against stonethrowers.

Both MPs want an independent investigation, and said they would not be satisfied with an internal South African Police probe.

Frightening shooting incidents

AFFIDAVIT made at Port Alfred on November 10:
I AM A black female residing at Port Alfred black township.

After 5 pm on November 6th 1984, the deceased had come home from work. I told him not to go into the street, as there was trouble with the police. While I was in my house he then went to the house next door.

The police arrived at this time. They kicked in the door and searched the house. They found a smaller boy hiding under a pillow. This was a lodger's child. They accused him of being a rioter and pulled him outside where they beat him. After he had told them he was 10 years old they let him go.

They then re-entered the house and pulled the deceased out from under the bed. They questioned him outside the house where I could hear and then dragged him behind the house after having beaten him. There was a white policeman and a black policeman whose name is Mcanda. I heard the white policeman say: "Skiet hom." I could see them all. The black policeman then shot him with a gun. He fell. The policeman then shot him again on the ground.

They loaded him in the van and took him away. I was told by the police on the morning of the seventh that he had died.

AFFIDAVIT made at Uitenhage on January 24:

I HAVE lived in Kwanobuhle for about five years. I am not employed. I live with my husband who works at Goodyear, where he has worked for 13 years. I have four children.

It was on Friday January 11th. I was at my home cleaning my room. It was during the afternoon before two o'clock. I was called by the noise outside the house — it was the noise of guns.

My children and two visitors were playing in our yard in front of my house. It is separated from the road by a hedge. I came out of the front door and saw the children had been shot.

My youngest daughter, Nomfundo, aged five years, was wounded in her back, and on her left leg. My other daughter, Andiswa, aged seven, was wounded in her back.

At the exact time the children were shot they were playing in the yard of my neighbour. My two daughters, on reaching my house had both fallen down in our yard. I quickly took them inside.

The Hippo had already passed by this time. There was no-one else in our street. The buses do not come down our street and I do not know of any reason which may have prompted the Hippos to come down our street.

AFFIDAVIT made at Cradock:

ON SUNDAY February 3 in the afternoon I was sitting on the lawn of my house and a police truck repeatedly went past my house. It passed, made a U-turn and returned. There were about five boys sitting outside a fence next door.

The truck stopped and police threw stones at the boys from the back. The boys ran into the yard and the police then shot at them.

One of the boys appeared to be wounded and struggled to my house. When he was at the door of my house a shot was fired and the boy fell into the house.

Three policemen, two coloured and one white, then came from the truck. I asked them what they were doing at my house. Without answering me the white policeman hit my face and then struck my chest with the butt of his gun. The coloured police were known to me and their names are Dennis Taai and George Vrolik.

I fell down after being struck and was told I must shut up or they would lock me up. The police then dragged the wounded boy to the truck. He was then put into a Land Rover and driven away.

I do not know the name of the wounded boy, but his blood is still on the wall of my house and his hat is in my possession. There are two small holes on one side of the hat and a big hole on the other.

Policies could jeopardise R 700m in tourism earnings

Deal with unrest, Govt warned

27A SEP 91 3 185

by
Richard Paris,
Travel Editor

BERLIN — Executives of the South African travel industry have been warned that R700 million worth of incoming tourism could be jeopardised if the Government does not improve its methods of dealing with black unrest.

The warning was issued by Europe's leading tour operators — the com-

panies that provide 70 percent of all visitors to South Africa — to members of Satour and delegates from 28 private companies at the South African pavilion at ITB, the world's largest tourism fair, which ended this week.

A senior tourism leader from Pretoria, who did not wish to be named, said: "I have been told at least 100 times by travel agents and tour operators who do business with or who are interested in sending clients to South Africa that nothing could justify what they regard as the uncivilised behaviour of our Government in dealing with unrest at

Crossroads and other removal areas."

He added: "Europeans do not believe that casualties should occur when police have to be called in to cope with riots and that, if we cannot avoid this, we will get the reputation for being a barbaric country and it will dissuade people from going there."

The director of tourism promotion for Satour, Mr Gunther Dettweiler, said that South Africa could expect to earn R1 000 million in foreign exchange from tourism this year, as opposed to R800 million in 1984.

"We received more than 60 000 Germans

last year and expect a 12 percent increase this year, with more and more younger and less affluent tourists among them," he said.

An indication of the growing importance of the German market was the fact that Lufthansa German airlines, which shares the Johannesburg-Frankfurt route with SAA, planned to fly non-stop between the two cities four times a week, leaving out Nairobi, from the middle of this year, he explained.

"In January, the South African Embassy and its missions processed more visa applications from Germans than in any previous

month," he added.

In addition to having a major pavilion at travel fairs such as ITB, Satour, in conjunction with SAA, Southern Sun hotels and Sun International hotels, are to launch a R1.5 million advertising campaign in the German Press to promote the country this year, he said.

Apart from South Africa's political problems, Mr Dettweiler pointed out, its high inflation rate was well known in Europe and a matter of concern among tour operators, even though the weakness of the rand did offset rising tariffs.

the Sandton Clinic is in the constituency of the hon member for Sandton, I wonder if the hon the Minister will try answering my question again.

Old-age pensioners: courses on health/nutrition

*12. Mr H E J VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Health Services and Welfare:

- (1) Whether his Department intends presenting any courses on health and nutrition for old-age pensioners; if so, (a) when, (b) what will be the nature of the courses and (c) when will they be presented; if not, why not,
- (2) whether he will give consideration to organizing such courses; if not, why not, if so, when will they be presented?

†The MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE

- (1) No; (a) and (b) fall away. Nutritional care forms an integral part of primary health care for the elderly. On request regional dietitians give talks to the elderly at service centres, clinics and at meetings of organizations such as church groups. The main task of the regional dietitian is to provide the nursing and food service personnel with applicable nutrition information and courses are given to them. Nursing staff involved in care for the aged give health-care education in the following way:

- (i) Individually to the aged when home visits are made;
- (ii) During screening sessions and when physical evaluations are done;
- (iii) During visits to service centres and clinics and;
- (iv) Nurses and paramedical staff at regional offices deliver health care lectures to the aged in old-

age homes, meetings, functions, etc.

- (2) No. No structured courses for the aged are given as the elderly benefit more by individual attention with the focus on their own personal health problems.

School children: courses on nutritional health

*13. Mr H E J VAN RENSBURG asked the Minister of Health Services and Welfare:

- Whether his Department intends presenting any special courses to educate school children in regard to nutritional health; if not, why not; if so, (a) what will be the nature of these courses and (b) (i) when and (ii) where will they be presented?

†The MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE:

No. As a result of very full school programmes, it is not practical to give special nutrition education courses at school. Nutrition is included in existing school syllabi like health education in the primary school.

Handwritten: Howard Q. 601.540 12/3/85

*14. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Health Services and Welfare:

- (1) Whether old-age homes for White persons fall under the control of his Department; if not, who controls these institutions; if so,
- (2) whether any White old-age homes in the Republic do not fall under the control of his Department; if so, (a) how many and (b) by whom are they controlled in each case?
- (3) whether his Department pays subsidies to old-age homes; if not, why not; if so, what is the nature of the subsidies;
- (4) whether there is a shortage of (a) old-age homes and (b) facilities for the

care of the aged; if so, what is the nature of the shortage;

- (5) whether his Department intends taking steps to eliminate this shortage; if so, (a) what steps and (b) when?

†The MINISTER OF HEALTH SERVICES AND WELFARE.

- (1) Yes. Inasmuch as they are registered, inspected and where applicable subsidized.
- (2) All old age homes for Whites fall under the control of the Department of Health Services and Welfare. (a) and (b) fall away.
- (3) Yes. *Per capita* subsidies are paid in respect of subeconomic residents in subsidized homes for running costs and furniture and equipment
- (4) (a) and (b) Yes.

Insufficient beds for frail aged and a shortage of service centres.

- (5) Yes. (a) The subsidization of additional aged persons in homes and service centres to be established.

(b) When funds are made available.

Handwritten: Howard Q. 601.541 12/3/85

*15. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Works:

- (1) What is the estimated number of (a) squatter shacks and (b) squatters in the Hout Bay area;

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1)

	(i) Killed	(ii) Wounded	(i) Killed	(ii) Wounded
Whites	3	30	—	2
Coloureds	19	102	3	13
Asians	2	6	—	—
Blacks	244	712	16	72

The number of persons killed and wounded during the 1984 riots are included in these figures.

- (2) whether any steps are being taken to provide these squatters with (a) housing and/or (b) site-and-service facilities; if so, (i) what housing or site-and-service facilities and (ii) (aa) where and (bb) when are these facilities to be provided?

†The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT, HOUSING AND WORKS:

- (1) (a) 70
- (b) 271.

- (2) The provision of housing for the persons concerned is the responsibility of the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture of the Minister's Council of the House of Representatives, who is attending to the matter

For written reply

General Affairs
Handwritten: Howard Q. 601.542 12/3/85
 47. Mr P H P GASTROW asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) How many (a) adults and (b) juveniles in each group were shot and (i) killed and (ii) wounded by the South African Police in the execution of their duties in 1984;

- (2) how many in each category were (a) killed and (b) wounded while attempting to escape arrest?

(2)	Whites	1	3	—	—
	Coloureds	10	56	—	8
	Asians	2	—	—	—
	Blacks	83	264	2	14

Hendrick D. Wol. 12/3/85
Development Boards: housing: 5243

64. Mr R A F SWART asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development:

(1) (a) How many houses were built by each specified Development Board in 1984 and (b) what was the amount spent on (i) housing and (ii) infrastructural development for such housing by each Development Board in the 1983-84 financial year;

(b) (i) R 210 345.

(ii) R 780 379.

(2) Yes. 6 530.

Orange-Vaal Development Board

(1) (a) 1 244

(b) (i) R 8 474 332.

(ii) R12 695 032.

(2) Yes. 10 833.

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT:

Eastern Transvaal Development Board

Development Board area

(1) (a) 460.

(b) (i) R2 265 000.

(ii) R 910 000.

(2) Yes. 1 704.

Northern Transvaal Development Board

Development Board area

(1) (a) Nil.

(b) (i) Nil.

(ii) Nil.

(2) Yes. 95.

Western Cape Development Board

(1) (a) 2 639.

Central Transvaal Development Board

(1) (a) Nil.

(b) (i) R 100 000.

(ii) R1 400 000

(2) Yes. 7 093.

Highveld Development Board

(1) (a) 570.

(b) (i) R3 913 415.

(ii) R5 050 206.

(2) Yes. 6 455.

West Transvaal Development Board

(1) (a) 49.

(b) (i) R 729 166.

(ii) R10 998 889.

(2) Yes. 7 825.

East Cape Development Board

(1) (a) 3 841.

(b) (i) R18 061 777.

(ii) R23 382 754.

(2) Yes. 42 649.

Northern Cape Development Board

Development Board area

(1) (a) 21

(b) (i) R 266 893.

(ii) R1 819 620.

(2) Yes 6 195.

SA Development Trust areas

(1) (a) 835.

(b) (i) R1 864 000.

(ii) Nil.

(2) Not applicable.

SA Development Trust areas

(1) (a) 286.

(b) (i) R1 544 125.

(ii) Nil.

(2) Not applicable.

In Bophuthatswana

(1) (a) 132 units and 1 hostel.

(b) (i) R2 219 602.

(ii) Nil.

(2) Not applicable.

Natalia Development Board

Development Board area

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(b) (i) Nil.

(ii) Nil.

(2) Yes. 12 111.

West Rand Development Board

(1) (a) 1 239

(b) (i) R 9 612 674

(ii) R58 731 734

(2) Yes 43 152.

East Rand Development Board

(1) (a) 1 392.

(b) (i) R9 017 000.

(ii) R3 183 000.

(2) Yes. 40 617.

Southern Orange Free State Development Board

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(b) (i) R1 876 238.

(ii) R 419 623

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Q-601.540 12/3/85

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- (4) (a) and (b) Yes.
- (5) Insufficient beds for frail aged and a shortage of service centres.

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DER: The MINISTER OF LAW AND OR-

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Whites.....	30	—	2	—	—
Coloureds...	19	102	3	13	—
Asians.....	2	6	—	—	—
Blacks.....	244	712	16	72	—

The number of persons killed and wounded during the 1984 riots are included in these figures.

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Hemo and Q. 601. 12/3/85
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(b) (i) R 8 474 332.

(ii) R12 695 032.

(2) whether there is a shortage of housing in townships in any Development Board area; if so, how many units are required in each specified Development Board area?

(2) Yes. 10 833.

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(ii) R6 484 030.

(2) Not applicable.

HQA

Deaths, injuries as violence continues

ARGUS 14/3/85 (SP) 274

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Schools were set alight, homes and vehicles stoned and gutted by fire, and rioters injured and killed in continuing violence in several parts of the country yesterday and today.

Three schools in New Brighton near Port Elizabeth were set alight today.

Yesterday the home of a woman councillor was destroyed by fire after a petrol bomb was thrown at the house.

The home of a relative of the mayor was stoned and a bakkie was destroyed by fire.

Fired birdshot

A police patrol in the area was stoned by about 30 people. They fled after police fired birdshot.

At Kwazakelé, also near Port Elizabeth, a police vehicle was petrol-

bombed and stoned.

One of the rioters was injured. He was arrested together with another attacker.

The home of the mayor of Veeplaas was stoned by about 300 youths.

In every case the youths were dispersed with birdshot. No injuries were reported.

Buses stoned

In northern Natal, a group stopped a bus about 24km from Pongola and ordered the passengers out. The bus and policemen, who arrived at the scene, were stoned.

A group of rioters stopped and stoned another bus on the same road. Two were injured. One died later in hospital. Police are investigating.

Police dispersed mineworkers of three mines near Stilfontein in the Western Transvaal with tearsmoke and rubber bullets when they tried to prevent fellow employees from entering the mines.

Cape Times 15/3/85

One death in Natal unrest

JOHANNESBURG. — One person died and two were injured in continuing unrest in parts of the country on Wednesday and yesterday.

A person died in hospital on Wednesday, and another was injured when a group of people stoned and stopped a bus near Pongola in northern Natal.

In another incident in the same area, a policeman searching a vehicle was assaulted by the driver. People gathered round and police fired warning shots. The driver, who received a foot injury, is in hospital under police guard.

Three schools in New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth, were set alight simultaneously about 2am yesterday.

At Kwazakele, also near Port Elizabeth, a police vehicle was petrol-bombed and stoned. One of the rioters was in-

jured. He was arrested, together with another person.

A spokesman for the Anglovaal Group confirmed yesterday that there had been unrest among mineworkers at Hartebeestfontein Mine.

He said the unrest arose from action taken on Wednesday about 6pm by mine management against illegal liquor traders outside the hostels at No 5, 6 and 7 shafts on the mine. Three workers were injured in the unrest.

The Gencor group has denied that any unrest occurred at its Stilfontein and Buffelsfontein mines as claimed by the police. Mr Carl Netscher, director of the group's precious-metals division, said he had checked the reports and found them to be unfounded. "There has been no unrest on either of these two mines," he said. — Sapa

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A break with tradition...

THE decision by six emerging union groups not to back the call to observe a "black weekend" in Port Elizabeth starting Saturday marks a very different standpoint from that adopted over last November's stayaway.

The call came from the United Democratic Front (UDF)-affiliated PE Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), and was supported by at least two unions — the Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union (Macwusa) and the General Workers' Union of SA (Gwusa).

Included in the call was a three-day stayaway, from Saturday to today, and a boycott of shops and buses.

But the bulk of union groups in the city — Fosatu, Cusa, the General Workers' Union, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Domestic Workers' Association and the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union (Ccawusa) — rejected it.

Their grounds were that before any such decision could be taken they would have to have a mandate from workers and they had not had enough time to consult their members.

This position indicates a sharp divide between the factory-based organisations which regard themselves as "worker-controlled" and

LABOUR WEEK by PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

those which are led by political activists.

This relationship is an issue which has been widely debated within Fosatu and other union groupings since November when they parted from previous policy and joined forces with community groups to back the stayaway.

The only givens are that emerging unions are unlikely to adopt a non-political line, but that they will not embark on actions which their members are not in control of.

The more political unions have gained impetus of late from activities surrounding the 30th anniversary of the formation of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu).

Sactu has never been officially banned, but as an ally of the African National Congress, has been viewed with hostility by the Government.

A well-attended meeting in Tembisa, called by a number of local unions, last week was effectively Sactu's first internal rally for decades, and shows an attempt by the organisation to move from its exile-based position.

Sactu's re-emergence on the local scene could be of major significance, as it could inject a much

more political flavour into trade unionism in South Africa.

Youths 21/3/68 stone man filling car at garage

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of youths in Tembisa, near Kempton Park, yesterday stoned a man filling his car at a garage, as further unrest swept through areas of the Transvaal, Free State and Eastern Cape.

Mr C van Zyl, of Boksburg, received serious head injuries and was taken to Kempton Park Hospital. He was later transferred to the Princess Nursing Home in Hillbrow.

At the Stilfontein mine on the West Rand, police used tearsmoke and sjamboks to disperse about 1 000 miners who stoned policemen and mine security men, a police spokesman said.

Meanwhile, police and pupils clashed in the Free State township of Bethlehem after pupils obstructed roads and stoned traffic. Police fired tearsmoke to disperse them but pupils later returned to the site to place further obstructions.

Birdshot

This time police used birdshot and tearsmoke, the spokesman said.

More than 150 youths stoned vehicles and houses in Alexandra.

The Sandton ambulance service was called for someone who was hit on the head with a brick.

● In Somerset East youths set alight a post office truck and trailer, destroying them.

● In Kwazakhele, near Port Elizabeth, arsonists set fire to a house. In New Brighton the seats of a bus were set alight and windows smashed.

In a separate incident, a petrol bomb was hurled through a bus window, setting the seats on fire. The driver fled before the police arrived.

Failure at local level 'could lead to violence'

Parliamentary Staff

WARNINGS have been given in the House of Representatives that failure of the new constitutional system at local government level could lead to unrest and violence.

Speakers of the majority Labour Party complained about continuing resistance by many white local authorities to coloured participation in local government affairs.

The House unanimously adopted a private member's motion from Mr Jac Rabie (LP Reigerpark) calling for full implementation of existing regulations to counter the "negative attitude" of certain local authorities.

Attitudes

The motion referred specifically to attitudes under which certain local authorities were not allowing members of local affairs committees and management committees to become members of standing committees of local authorities.

Mr Rabie's motion also called on the Government to improve communication between local authorities on the one hand and local affairs committees and management committees on the other.

Mr David Curry, the Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, said there were indications that the new constitutional system was failing at local government level.

"Disturbing"

Replying to issues raised during the debate, he said the Government had created legislation providing for negotiation at local government level.

It was "disturbing" however, that certain local authorities were rejecting attempts by people of colour to negotiate or to participate in local government affairs.

The attitude of white local government officials was that people could take their complaints to their Ministers or their MPs — "we govern here," the officials were saying.

Arrears

Attempts to liaise with local authorities on such issues as arrear rentals at a time of unemployment were being spurned.

The attitude of the officials was that "the law must take its course" and people would be evicted for failing to pay rent.

Mr Curry said such attitudes were turning "middle-of-the-road people" into radicals.

While some whites were going out of their way to create good relationships, others were doing their best, through their attitudes, to wreck the country.

Because of negative attitudes, leftists were saying the only language the whites understood was violence.

"What we fear is that guns, stones and petrol bombs will become the method of solving problems," Mr Curry said.

"At Cabinet and parliamentary level we can talk to the Government, but at local government level the system is failing."

Higher rentals

Trouble often began with increased rentals, as in the Vaal Triangle. Subversive political groups exploited such situations.

"We don't want to see our country become a violent place.

"Who wants to live in Beirut? There they solve problems through the barrel of a gun," Mr Curry said.

Introducing his motion, Mr Jac Rabie said it was "astonishing and unhealthy" that local authorities should be indifferent to the interests of people of colour in their towns and cities.

"If this continues it can lead to confrontation."

'Not a peaceful crowd of mourners'

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha yesterday appointed a judicial commission to investigate events in Uitenhage where 18 people were killed and about three dozen injured on Thursday when police opened fire on a large crowd.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in a statement yesterday that an Eastern Cape judge, Mr Justice D D V Kannemeyer, had

been appointed the chairman and sole member of the commission.

A statement will be released by Mr Justice Kannemeyer on Monday.

People wishing to give evidence have been asked to contact the secretary of the commission through the Registrar of the Supreme Court in Grahamstown.

Meanwhile, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange has said in a statement that everything possible had been done by the authorities

to inform residents of the black residential areas of Uitenhage that three funerals originally planned for Thursday and Friday this week should, according to a magistrate's ruling, take place only tomorrow.

"The fact that many people were armed with stones, sticks, bricks and even petrol bombs makes it clear that they were not a peaceful crowd of mourners on their way to a funeral."

Mr Le Grange said the police had broadcast

loudspeaker messages for two hours on Wednesday evening in the townships of Langa and Kwanobuhle telling residents that the funeral could not take place as planned.

The next-of-kin of those who were to be buried were also to be informed of the magistrate's ruling and no funeral had in fact taken place on Thursday.

● Following a visit to Uitenhage by the Conservative Party's chief whip, Mr Jan Hoon, the party yesterday issued a statement expressing its sympathy, thanks and support to members of the SAP "in their efforts to maintain law and order" in the area.

Peace lovers

"He (Mr Hoon) noted with concern the reckless deeds of terror against the SAP and the peace-loving inhabitants of Uitenhage," the statement read.

● A PFP spokesman on law and order, Mr Peter Gastrow, said the party welcomed the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry but urged that the terms of reference of the commission "be extended beyond the incident itself to include the underlying reasons for the unrest in the Eastern Cape as a whole".

"Establishing precisely what took place on Thursday morning does not bring us any closer to a long-term resolution of township unrest.

"The commission of inquiry we requested before the incident (earlier this week three Eastern Cape MPs, Mr Errol Moorcroft, Mr Andrew Savage, and Mr John Malcomess, called for a Supreme Court judge to investigate the unrest) is essential in order to defuse the situation in the region."

The NRP spokesman, Mr Vause Raw, said the inquiry "was welcome and would help to reassure the public that the situation is being taken seriously and that there will be a full and impartial investigation".

MPs' visit uncovers 'many discrepancies'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Progressive Federal Party MPs who visited Uitenhage yesterday had "found many discrepancies between the report given to Parliament by the Minister of Law and Order regarding police action at the Langa Township and what the residents who had witnessed the incident told us", Mrs Helen Suzman said last night.

Approached for comment on these and other claims last night, the SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, said he had no comment to make, and referred to statements made earlier this week by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Investigation

Mrs Suzman, who is the Opposition spokesman on law and order, was commenting after she and five other PFP MPs had visited the area yesterday to conduct an "on-the-spot investigation into the tragic shootings on Thursday".

She added that she and the MP for Berea, Mr Ray Swart, had spoken to residents in Langa.

Mrs Suzman said the six MPs had met senior police officials at the start of their visit to give the police "the opportunity of giving us their side of the story".

However, she added, they had been issued with instructions not to give the press any information.

Mrs Suzman said some of the MPs went to Langa after securing permits to go under police escort, after they had been turned back by police when they tried to enter the area earlier.

Mrs Suzman said she and Mr Swart had visited Uitenhage Hospital — a "courtesy visit" permitted by the Commissioner of Police, General Johan

Coetsee — where they had seen eight wounded people in a ward under police guard.

The other wounded, she added, had been taken to Livingstone Hospital.

She said two other MPs, Mr Andrew Savage and Dr Alex Boraine, had spoken to industrialists and black trade unionists in Port Elizabeth, while a number of affidavits had been taken from witnesses by Mr John Malcomess and Mr Errol Moorcroft.

The MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, said last night that the MPs had hoped to get both sides of the story but that this had not been possible as the police were not prepared to speak to them.

The PFP tour began at 9am yesterday at St Anthony's Catholic Church in the centre of Uitenhage where the delegation decided to visit the scene of Thursday's shooting.

Stopped

At the entrance to Langa the party was stopped by a Lieutenant Nick Nieman who requested that they first visit the police station.

The party went to the police station where they were told by a senior police officer to wait for the arrival of Major-General Dirk Genis, a special envoy of Mr Louis le Grange.

After a wait of more than half-an-hour, a clearly angry Mrs Suzman told reporters she would give General Genis 10 minutes to arrive before "starting my own investigations. I don't appreciate what seem to be stalling tactics by the police".

When General Genis arrived he told the delegation and press representatives that he had nothing to say and "specifically not to the press". He said he was acting on Mr Le Grange's instructions.

Le Grange gazettes ban on meetings

PRETORIA. — A year-long banning on all indoor meetings dealing with boycotts of schools and universities was gazetted here yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Mr Le Grange at the same time withdrew a similar 1984 notice that forbade all gatherings, even those "within the walls of a building". Both notices were issued in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The notice confirmed that all open-air gatherings except sports meetings remained prohibited.

Though the notice specifically banned, until March 31, 1986, all indoor assemblies that "advise, encour-

age, propagate, advocate or promote the non-attendance or opposition to the attendance of any school, college, university or other educational institution", the wording was unclear for other gatherings inside buildings.

A Johannesburg attorney, who did not want to be named, said the new banning "puts a further clamp on any kind of legal expression of opposition".

When the prohibition on outdoor assemblies was introduced, political activists said government's intention was to halt massive protest rallies. However, suitable indoor venues were found to take audiences of up to 3 000. — Sapa

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Parliament and Politics

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — South Africa faces a barrage of international criticism — ranging from guarded rebukes to outraged condemnation and calls for sanctions — over the Uitenhage killings.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) demanded United Nations action against Pretoria, and Commonwealth Secretary-General Mr Shridath Ramphal called for economic sanctions.

US Secretary of State Mr George Shultz called the shootings a "deplorable tactic".

The apartheid system was repugnant, and the pattern of violence "is only underlining how evil and unacceptable that system is", Mr Shultz told a Congressional committee.

President Reagan was milder in his criticism. He deplored apartheid and said clashes between police and demonstrators which produced the killings were tragic. But he said: "There is an element in South Africa that don't want a peaceful settlement ... who want violence in the streets."

Mr Ramphal said the 49-nation Commonwealth, which South Africa quit in 1961, should take a lead in campaigning for selective economic sanctions on the basis of international consensus.

A former British Foreign Secretary and current leader of the SDP, Dr David Owen, called on the British Government for the first time to play a leading role in introducing mandatory economic sanctions at the United Nations.

The shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr Denis Healey, said the "Uitenhage massacre" showed that the time for economic sanctions had arrived.

In a television inter-

Criticism worldwide

view Dr Owen dropped a bombshell with his call for economic sanctions.

The SDP leader said he had always regarded economic sanctions as "a last resort".

"The time has come for the West to get tough with South Africa."

"There is now a strong case for Britain introducing a resolution at

Dr Owen said Britain should proceed with a UN resolution and draft domestic legislation to implement it.

"Then it would be wise to give South Africa one last opportunity to lead Namibia to independence and negotiate with credible black leaders — including Nelson Mandela — about the aboli-

The shootings and reaction were splashed across the front pages of every serious Fleet Street newspaper and topped all television and radio bulletins.

British impatience at the pace of reform in South Africa was reflected in the response of Foreign Office Minister, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, to a question about fundamental reform.

"Changes have been so modest and the time-scale so slow that one has to be extremely concerned as to whether it could meet even the minimum aspirations of those who demand fundamental change and the dismantling of apartheid," he said.

France condemned the "increase in brutal repression" in South Africa, and an External Relations Ministry spokesman recalled its condemnation of apartheid.

West Germany voiced its "grave concern" and the Foreign Ministry in Bonn said tension in South Africa could only be eliminated by ending apartheid.

UN Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, leading a commemoration of Sharpeville, said there could be no peace in South Africa as long as the black majority was deprived of human rights.

Swedish Prime Minister Mr Olof Palme said the shooting was "the logical consequence of a fundamentally evil system". South Africa's white minority "knows it is doomed in the long run", he said.

Irish Foreign Minister Mr Peter Barry condemned the killing as an outrage. "The apartheid system, as long as it exists, will continue to breed violence, repression and injustice in South Africa."



the UN stopping all new investment in South Africa and blocking further international loans" he said.

Dr Owen said it was crucial that the move should be backed simultaneously by Britain, France, West Germany, the United States and Switzerland.

He said he believed that "carefully-judged diplomacy" could secure the support of the Reagan Administration for a resolution withholding new investment and stopping the raising of international loans.

tion of apartheid," Dr Owen said.

He said he did not believe full disinvestment or trade sanctions would work.

"What is needed is steady, persistent economic pressure and a mandatory resolution at the UN."

"I would like to see Britain take a leading role in this," Dr Owen said.

British outrage at the police action at Uitenhage was reflected in the second day of almost unprecedented media attention to the aftermath.

Dugard wants Le Grange fired

THERE was widespread condemnation yesterday of the shooting of 18 people in Uitenhage on Thursday with a call for the Minister of Law and Order to be fired.

● The director for the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand and Professor of Law, Professor John Dugard called for the sacking of Mr Louis le Grange.

He said "those in authority must accept full responsibility for the shooting and only the sacking of Mr Le Grange will satisfy the local and international community which have condemned the police action".

Mr Le Grange had no right to remain in the cabinet if he was unwilling and could not control his police force, he said.

● The Lawyers for Human Rights said that authoritarian interference with a right as basic as burying one's dead was unacceptable in virtually any circumstances, and "when this interference is perpetrated in an atmosphere of on-going racial tension it can only, as has now been seen, lead to disaster".

● The South African Jewish Board of Deputies called on all concerned to exercise restraint and tolerance, and to "use their utmost endeavours" to find a so-

lution for the problems which had lead to the shooting

● The South African Council of Churches could not accept the official version of Thursday's shooting in the Uitenhage township of Langa and called for a full, impartial inquiry, Dr Beyers Naude, the SACC general secretary, said yesterday.

● At special prayers in Durban yesterday conducted by Archbishop Denis Hurley, the Kwa-zulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, deplored the violence and warned that more incidents of this kind could be expected with the increasing poverty of the people and the downswing in the economy.

● The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cape Town, Bishop Stephen Naidoo, said the human rights to life and freedom had to be upheld.

● The convener of the National Forum, Mr Saths Cooper, asked when the international community would "wake up to this government's real intentions concerning the black people".

Other organizations which condemned the shootings included the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, Nusas and the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference. — Sapa, Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent

Govt clamp: ban on indoor meetings

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— by —
Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government moved quickly yesterday in an attempt to defuse the controversy over the killing of 18 people by the police at Uitenhage, but it also introduced further harsher clamps on public protest.

In the Government Gazette today, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, announced that not only would outdoor meetings continue to be banned but also all indoor meetings dealing with school or university boycotts.

In an unusually quick move the President appointed a one-man commission of inquiry under East Cape judge, Mr Justice D D V Kanne-meyer.

Justice Minister, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said last night that the judge would start work almost immediately and would issue a statement on Monday on the venue and dates of the commission sittings.

The new banning has met with immediate condemnation from the Progressive Federal Party which has warned that it could make the already delicate situation in many parts of the country even worse.

Mrs Helen Suzman MP, who spent the day in the Uitenhage area investigating the shootings, described the latest move as "a gross inroad, and a very stupid one, into the right of assembly".

Mrs Suzman said her investigations in Port Elizabeth had confirmed her

suspensions about the announcement made by Mr le Grange in Parliament yesterday on the killings.

She was convinced that the residents of the Lange township had been on a peaceful march and the police themselves had made matters worse by ordering most of the people from vehicles before the march.

She said that when PFP members were eventually permitted into the township by the police, the stories they had received from the residents differed totally from the police version.

She said the major question still to be answered was why the police had resorted immediately to shooting, which was supposed to be a last resort.

She welcomed the appointment of the commission but she said a separate commission should also be appointed to go fully into the continuing unrest.

Mr Peter Gastrow, PFP justice spokesman, said the ban on indoor meetings was yet another attempt to deal with the symptoms rather than the cause of unrest in South Africa.

He said many of the provisions of the Internal Security Act, such as the one used to ban meetings and even funerals, were counter-productive.

The chairman of the House of Representatives' Council of Ministers, the Reverend Allan Hendrikse, who is also the MP for Uitenhage, said he could not condone violence on either side.

Organisers of the protests "should also think of the consequences and the fact that the innocent are always the ones to suffer".

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Police use live ammunition, gas

JOHANNESBURG. — Violence continued in numerous townships around the country yesterday and police opened fire with live ammunition, rubber bullets and teargas canisters to quell unrest.

A white man was seriously injured when his car ploughed into a telephone pole after it was stoned in a township near Parys. Police attending to the injured man were also stoned and fired on the crowd with rubber bullets. No injuries were reported.

Two hand grenades were hurled at the offices of the West Rand Administration offices in Jabavu, Soweto, early yesterday. It blasted out windows and buckled burglar guards, but no one was injured.

In Dorrington township, the home of a black pastor was gutted by a petrol bomb yesterday.

A youth was injured and arrested when police opened fire on a

crowd in the township near Kimberley.

Black youths set fire to a headmaster's home, causing extensive damage. The home of a circuit inspector was also set alight and burnt to the ground.

Police fired rubber bullets and birdshot at about 400 pupils who stoned a police vehicle, extensively damaging it.

Another group of pupils from the school later stoned the school building, and then moved on to a shopping complex where they shattered windows and bent the burglar bars.

Four administration board vehicles were stoned and damaged. Two of the drivers fired shots at the youths but no injuries were reported.

In a further incident a petrol bomb was hurled at a police vehicle. Police fired birdshot, slightly injuring one man who was arrested. Rubber bullets were also

fired at a group marching through the township.

A policeman guarding a township shop fired at a group approaching the area, slightly injuring one man.

The Department of Education and Training has suspended classes at all four secondary schools until April 10.

In Wesselsbron, Free State, police sjambokked pupils who refused to enter their classes.

In Sasolburg township, police used teargas and rubber bullets when two police vehicles were damaged and police reinforcements stoned after roads were barricaded by youths.

The crowd, which fled to a schoolyard, was then dispersed by police using sjamboks and quirts. No serious injuries were reported.

The three Vaal Triangle townships of Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Evaton returned to normal yesterday, after Thursday's unrest on the 25th anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville shootings.

Soweto was also quiet.

In the Vaal Triangle townships, there were no police patrols in the morning.

The Sharpeville Civic Association denied rumours that a number of houses were burnt down on Thursday because the owners had paid rent.

Sapa and Own Correspondent

Uitenhage: shots by police ring round the world

CAPE TIMES 274
23/3/85

THE Uitenhage shooting was an act of folly, telling the world, so it seemed, that a defiant white South Africa is beyond reform or redemption.

The message to an angry and resentful black population at home was just as clear, it appeared: To the line or you will be shot.

If this apparent defiance of the world and iron-fisted warning to blacks were not so intended by the Botha administration, as I believe, President Botha should act swiftly to dispel a regrettable impression.

The matter is urgent. Black anger after Uitenhage could boil over. The following steps would be helpful.

- The appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry, not only to investigate the Uitenhage shooting, but with a much broader brief to investigate manning, training, equipment, pay rates and discipline in the police force, the commission to have special authority to retire forthwith any senior officers who prove unwilling or unable to direct police operations in conformity with the reform aims of the government.

- The burdens of legislative restriction on Africans to be scrapped so that they will enjoy the same rights of employment, freedom from arbitrary arrest, free enterprise, free movement, undisturbed family life and property ownership as are taken for granted by white South Africans.

- Open-ended negotiation between acknowledged black leaders and the government to restore rights of South African citizenship to blacks and adopt an agreed system of political representation in the central government.

Undermanned

What actually happened at Uitenhage and whether there was an error of judgment by a junior officer or simply indiscipline is not yet clear. This is not the point. For such an incident to take place on the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville, however, was rather more than unfortunate.

It suggests that the police in the Uitenhage area are badly undermanned, poorly directed and wrongly equipped for the task of dealing with unruly crowds.

It does little good to blame the small task force of policemen on the spot. The responsibility lies higher up. Either the current top brass in the police force are unable or unwilling to run the force in a manner appropriate in an age of reform and racial reconciliation or else, as some people suspect, another ominous possibility arises.

Are there, perhaps, senior police officers who are out of sympathy, politically, with the Botha reform? Who do not care if the actions of the force are persistently and gravely embarrassing to the administration and undermine the national interest?

This is a chilling line of thought, recalling General Smuts's arrests of politically suspect policemen during World War II. The mere fact that such a suspicion exists is enough to warrant a judicial commission.

There is public understanding of the policeman's difficult and dangerous lot. The public wants to see a modernized, well-educated, well-paid, well-housed, well-trained and well-motivated police force. But public confidence in the force is severely shaken.

The reaction in the press to the Uitenhage shooting should be pondered by the Botha administration, noting that the reaction in the black townships is not very well reflected and that the white community, therefore, may tend to underestimate the white-hot intensity of anger and frustration in the black community.

A member of the (Indian) House of Delegates, Mr Ranji Nowbath, perhaps came the closest to reflecting something of this intensity when he said:



Mr Ranji Nowbath... "It appears that the police have taken over and that they believe they can terrorize the blacks into submission."

"It appears that the police have taken over and that they believe they can terrorize the blacks into submission."

"But those who are in charge of law and order must realize that the black giant is stirring and woe betide the country if the white governors fail to contain the situation."

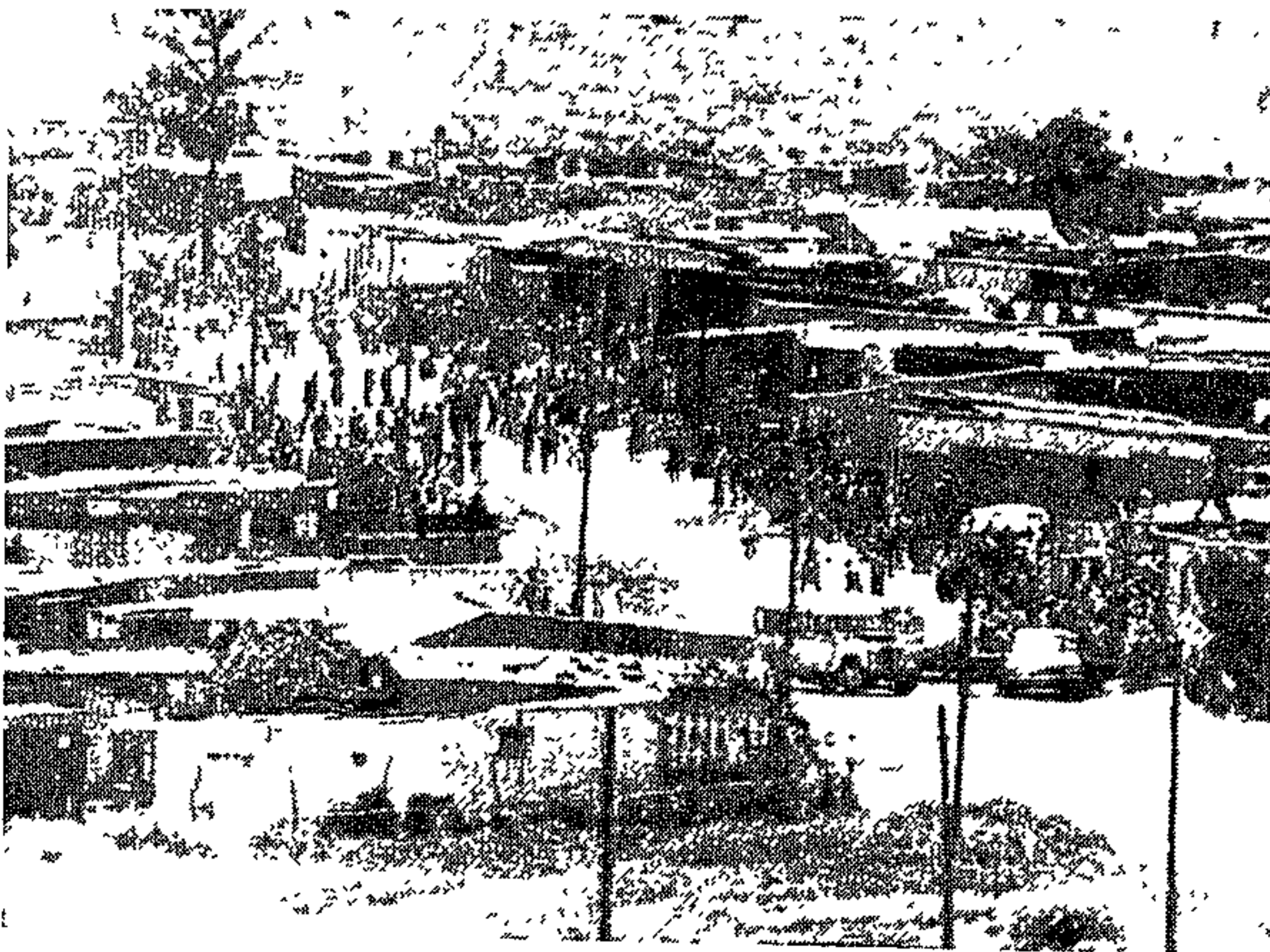
Unfortunately SABC-TV remains hopeless as a reflection of black public opinion. Most whites do not have the foggiest idea what is going on in the minds and hearts of the black population.

Opinion

There were a few tantalizing glimpses on SABC-TV this week of what an Open Society might be like — in broadcasting at least — when extracts from the American series "Nightline" were screened. There was also "Eyeline" when the seldom-featured "English press" in the shape of John Scott and Ormande Pollok gave an object lesson in the conduct of a TV interview of a politician in a probing, challenging yet friendly style without fawning.

Imagine if it was always like this and we had a real TV service all the time, with Dr Motlana and the Black Sash exposing the white community to the black experience and giving us some taste of black opinion!

Political Survey By GERALD SHAW



Langa township — scene of Thursday's shootings

nary, to put it mildly. Assuming that the futile war in Namibia is fading, the prospective national serviceman soon grasps that the enemy he will be asked to face is not an alien invader — but his fellow countryman, whether he be the stone-throwing, fire-bombing youth of the townships or the trained ANC saboteur who plants a terrorist bomb in a busy street.

Untenable

In spite of President Botha's brave reform initiatives, the country seems to be sliding inexorably into a civil war of low intensity. In these circumstances the SADF is seen by many young blacks as the coercive instrument of the white oppressor. In these circumstances, likewise, reliance on whites-only conscription is potentially catastrophic, polarizing white and black attitudes and dragging the country to ruin.

The government does not feel able to undertake conscription of blacks. From all points of view, conscription in present circumstances is becoming untenable, politically.

Reform of the police is plainly indicated and, as urgently, so is a restructuring of the SADF.

It is essential to improve the atmosphere, politically, so that more full-time regulars and part-time volunteers can be recruited in all communities.

Paradoxically, the economic slump could be helpful. The army provides an economic haven to the young unemployed of all races. Black unemployment is chronic and white children are now seen begging on the streets of Port Elizabeth for the first time since the Thirties.

The army offers an honourable career, with opportunities for higher education and advancement to South Africans of all races. If the SADF could be transformed on these lines into a top-class regular and volunteer army, with advancement on merit, it would be in the vanguard of reform.

We need, urgently, a reformed society which all sections of the community will be proud to defend.

Conscription

What are the implications for white South Africa?

There are the related questions of conscription and the use of the army against blacks. The problems of calling out white military conscripts to curb black protest are obvious enough.

Yet the police, with their present resources, techniques and manpower, and punitive methods more appropriate in the colonial era, seem merely to make things worse.

The situation would be less alarming if the South African army was drawn in more balanced proportions from all sections of the population — and if there was not the complication of whites-only conscription.

Sir Richard Luyt put up an impressive case last week against conscription. One alternative suggested is an expanded regular army or permanent force of career officers and men, drawn from all population groups, backed up by a volunteer reserve, also drawn from all groups.

Army service in present circumstances is rather out of the ordi-

Sweden 28/3/85 (274)

Teargas can 'lead to slow death'

Own Correspondent

TEARGAS is a highly toxic drug which can be converted to cyanide in the human body and can kill, according to a Johannesburg doctor who has studied the effects of the gas.

The doctor, who cannot be named for professional reasons said lower concentrations of inhaled teargas can lead to fluid on the lungs and a slower death by respiratory failure.

"Lesser concentrations, which can cause lung infections in children, can also lead to death," he said.

His comments follow a growing storm among politicians and community leaders over the use of teargas by the police in the townships.

"The police do not use teargas under ideal conditions. Their use of it is dangerous and can be likened to chemical warfare."

Now, in a startling sign of the times, a national literacy magazine has published detailed tips on what to do in a teargas attack as a service to its readers.

Co-editor of the *Learn and Teach* magazine, Marc Suttner, said: "We feel that people should know more about teargas and how to deal with it."

"The use of the gas by police on people in South Africa and the death of the seven-month-old Sharpeville child, Maude Nzunga, prompted the article," said Mr Suttner.

The article acknowledges, however, that according to the police, Maude Nzunga, died from "haemolytic anaemia" and not as a result of teargas. The incident occurred in September last year.

Learn and Teach is aimed specifically at black adults and covers such topics as health, labour, sport, social history and politics.

The tips in *Learn and Teach* are:

- Do not panic. If you panic, more people may get hurt.
- Breathe slowly and not too deeply. But do not hold your breath. A deep breath will cause pain and burning.
- If you get gassed, you should see a doctor afterwards.
- Take off all your clothes. This will lessen the damage of gas.
- Do not swallow your spit. If you do, you will vomit. Rather spit it out.

- Try to get out of the teargas cloud. Check the direction of the wind and try to get to the other side of the cloud.

- If you no longer smell the gas, it does not mean that the gas has gone away. Teargas often makes you lose your sense of smell.

- If you think you might get teargassed, you may want to get ready for it. You can wear special clothes like overalls, gloves tucked into sleeves, a shirt with a high collar and a hat.

The article says: "Imagine many hundreds of people going to a meeting or a funeral all wearing goggles!"

A Baragwanath Hospital doctor and member of the Health Workers Association, Dr Errol Holland, is quoted in the article as saying that the police are using teargas in a "very dangerous manner."

A South African Police public relations spokesman in Pretoria refused to comment on the article.



Boesak, marchers held near Parliament

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March 1985

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Mr Louis le Grange ...
"not a crisis".

Police face more township violence

JOHANNESBURG. — Police used tearsmoke early today in four incidents in Kwanobuhle and Langa to disperse mobs of between 150 and 400 people.

Mobs in Kwanobuhle, armed with pangas and sticks, were reportedly hunting for Mr Jimmy Claassen who handed over to police people who attacked his house.

Staff Reporters

SCORES of people, including United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak, were taken away by police during a march to the Houses of Parliament this afternoon.

They were marching three abreast from the Buitenkant Methodist Church after a service commemorating the 19 people who died in the Uitenhage shootings last Thursday, when police told them they were breaking the law and had to disperse.

The decision to march was announced during the service.

The Rev Syd Luckett read out four demands which were to be carried to Parliament.

The group then marched silently, three abreast, their arms linked.

At the intersection of Parade Street and Darling Street, a police lieutenant informed Dr Boesak, at the head of the march, that it was illegal and pleaded with him to disperse the crowd.

Dr Boesak informed him that the marchers were committed to march to Parliament.

When it became clear the police would not allow the march to proceed, Dr Boesak, UDF vice-president Mr Christmas Tinto, the Rev Abel Hendricks, SA Council of Churches acting secretary-general Dr Beyers Naude and other clergymen knelt in a circle and began to pray.

The column of marchers behind them followed suit.

As police reinforcements arrived in vans, cars and on foot, the marchers, kneeling on the pavement, softly began to sing Onward Christian Soldiers.

Police then took action.

Meanwhile, after a rushed visit to Uitenhage today the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said he was confident he had told Parliament the correct version of events surrounding the shootings.

"I would not have issued the statement at the time if I was not totally happy with it," he said, the Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports.



Mr Justice Kannemeyer



March 1985

270

In Langa, 19 people died last week after police fired on a crowd of thousands, a policeman's house was set alight and gutted.

In New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, three schools were damaged by fire late last night. Police reported three buses, four private vehicles and five houses set alight in New Brighton yesterday.

BEERHALL

Police said they used tearsmoke to disperse more than 500 rioters marching through the streets stoning vehicles, while birdshot was fired at pupils in New Brighton who tried to set fire to school classrooms.

In the Free State town of Bothaville, police used tearsmoke on a crowd which set fire to a beerhall.

Four people in a crowd stoning vehicles in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle were arrested, the spokesman said.

Fort Beaufort police today put out a fire started by youths at a house.

MOTORISTS

Police in Pretoria today called on non-residents to avoid random visits to black townships.

"The call follows various recent incidents in black residential areas, particularly involving motorists," a spokesman said.

He urged non-resident visitors to go to the nearest police station for advice before entering a township. Police escorts could be arranged in certain cases, he added.

"Where the police believe that the safety of a visitor could be in doubt, and that the visit is essential, then a police escort will be organised." — Sapa.

Mr le Grange said he had made this morning's brief visit to the Uitenhage black townships to acquaint himself with the situation.

Referring to the cause of unrest in the Eastern Cape over the past six months, which has claimed more than 60 lives, Mr le Grange said a combination of political, social and economic factors were at play.

"It is not just a security matter", he said.

He was satisfied that the Government was being kept fully informed of what was happening.

"It is not a crisis situation, but it is very serious and it is getting the full attention of the Government."

"Will be sorry"

Reacting to calls for his resignation because of his handling of the unrest, Mr le Grange said: "People will be sorry in a week or two that they have made these calls for me to resign."

The Minister met black Eastern Cape mayors as well as local top police officers, MPs and officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development after his tour in a meeting requested by the mayor of the Kayamandi town council, Mr T Linda.

Mr le Grange refused to discuss what had taken place at the meeting, but Mr Linda said afterwards he had asked the Minister to order the police to take steps to end the unrest.

"The police must go into the townships on a permanent basis to end the situation now," Mr Linda said.

The Progressive Federal Party was to use the second reading debate on the Assembly's "own affairs" budget this afternoon to discuss the shootings.

Six PFP MPs who investigated the shootings on the spot a day after the events have indicated that they will raise evidence which differs substantially from the police version of what took place.

Inquiry begins tomorrow

PORT ELIZABETH. — The commission of inquiry into the Langa shootings last week will start in Uitenhage tomorrow.

The commission will sit at the Uitenhage Magistrate's Court.

Anyone wishing to give evidence must contact the Registrar of the Supreme Court, Private Bag 1011, Grahamstown, or telephone 0461-3936. Names and addresses should be submitted by 3.30pm on Friday, March 29. Late applications can be made until next Wednesday.

The chairman of the inquiry, Mr Justice D D D Kannemeyer, said the notice was short because of extreme urgency.

"It is essential that my report be placed in the hands of the State President at the earliest possible opportunity."

He said it was also essential that "proper decorum be maintained during proceedings".

If the public did not comply he would "have no hesitation in sitting in camera or moving the venue, or both".

"I appreciate the events I am to investigate have caused passions to rise and I ask members of the public to behave in a calm and orderly manner."

He referred to regulations promulgated in the Government Gazette which state: "No person may insult, disparage or belittle the chairman of the commission or prejudice, influence or anticipate the proceedings or findings of the commission".

"I would request and urge the media in particular, and people in general to exercise restraint in this regard and not to pre-empt my task of making a factual finding to my terms of reference," Mr Justice Kannemeyer said. — Sapa.

What the State President said

CAPE TIMES 25/3/85 (3774)

QUOTATIONS from the interview of the State President, Mr P W Botha, with ABC's Mr Ted Koppel, which was screened to South African audiences on Saturday.

On the pass laws: "I am also carrying an identity card, and I think all South Africans should carry one. I have one with me... I have to... I am forced to carry it. All South Africans are."

"You have too many elections. That is my complaint against your country. You can't lead the Western world with all the elections you have, you are weakening yourselves."

"Many white people in South Africa supported by non-Europeans fought in the Anglo-Boer War. Not only Afrikaners. I can mention prominent Jewish names who fought right through the Anglo-Boer War against British Imperialism."

"There are no super-powers as far as South Africa is concerned. We are equal to the rest of the world."

"I have the co-operation of the vast majority of black South Africans."

"Your Senator Kennedy came here to show his sympathy with the poor blacks, but what happened to him? The blacks in South Africa united with us to tell him to go back."

"I say many of the actions of the UDF are communist-inspired to overthrow the State, to overthrow the good order in this country."

"I am going to keep order in South Africa and nobody in the world is going to stop me from keeping order... I'm not going to allow people to burn down schools. I'm not going to allow people to burn down the houses of responsible black leaders who serve in the local community councils."

On whether white farmers would be prepared to exchange their land for that of the homelands: "Oh yes, certainly."

"Violence happens in every country I know, more or less. I don't know what is happening behind the Iron Curtain. I suppose there they have some violence too. But there they shoot people the moment they start with a protest meeting."

"South Africa is a tough country — we nearly brought the British Empire to its knees and I would advise some super-powers not to try and destroy us."

It is "totally wrong to create in the United States the idea that we are a bad lot of nazis denying other people their rights in South Africa. We are the hope of the sub-continent of Southern Africa."

Leaders 'won't be silenced'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE wave of unrest sweeping the country was a sign of determination on the part of blacks that they will no longer suffer the system of apartheid, PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert warned yesterday.

"The current wave of unrest is not just mindless violence perpetrated by unruly mobs," Dr Slabbert said in a prepared speech at the University of Natal in Maritzburg.

"It is a sign of depth of leadership that will not be silenced by bannings, nor bluffed by vague statements of good intentions."

The ever-increasing frequency of unrest was also an indication that the "strong arm" response of Sharpville of 1960 and Soweto of 1976 could no longer secure even temporary peace.

The unrest, he said, was a symptom of:

- A government that has lost the initiative for reform.
- A total breakdown in communication between government and a disenfranchised majority.
- A government that can only rule through the coercion of its political opponents outside Parliament.

Dr Slabbert said the worst response for the white electorate at this stage would be to rally into a laager behind President P W Botha and a National Party that had lost control of the economic, political and security situation.

'Pursuit of power'

"It is absurd to offer the release of Mandela in the hope of talking to the ANC while the accepted leaders of the UDF are detained and charged with treason, while they have repeatedly and before audiences of thousands, begged for peaceful change through negotiation," he said.

Speaking at another meeting in Howick yesterday, Dr Slabbert said the Nationalist Government had been overtaken by the timetable for reform and could not "fix" the country, even if it wanted to so.

"The PFP must therefore brace itself for a change from its historic opposition stance to a new position in pursuit of power," he said.

Dr Slabbert said that President P W Botha's speech at the opening of the tricameral Parliament was a significant shift away from National Party orthodoxy.

However, this shift lay at the level of rhetoric rather than action, of words rather than deeds.

"But despite the votes that the Nationalist Government got in the election nearly four years ago, this government neither has the talent, nor the policies, nor the will, nor the credibility, nor the all-round capability to govern modern multiracial South Africa with safety and success."

CP stands for 'firm action against rioters'

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— The Conservative Party stood for the maintenance of discipline and for firm action against rioters and protection of the peaceful community against intimidation, the deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said

yesterday. "The government totally lost control the day it abandoned the policy of separate development and adopted a policy of integration," he said during debate on the own-affairs budget for whites in the House.

The government itself

was for making the country ungovernable, he said, referring to a statement by the State President, Mr P W Botha, that certain elements in the country were trying to make it ungovernable.

Dr Hartzenberg said the Progressive Federal Party continually criticised the police but a PFP delegation to the riot-torn Eastern Cape last week had required police protection to make their investigation of the incident in Uitenhage's Langa township in which 19 people were killed.

He was ordered by the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, to withdraw a remark that Mrs Helen Suzman, who led the PFP delegation, never made patriotic statements and actually sought the kind of unrest that was occurring.

"She's extremely happy with the situation," the CP member said after withdrawing the earlier remark.

"She has never done anything positive to try to prevent events such as this. She is not even disturbed. It's part of her campaign against South Africa."

Dr Hartzenberg said Mrs Suzman had always campaigned against the government and the police.

"The only thing that's changed is that she now has to do with a government that can't take strong action to maintain law and order."

He said that when schools had been burned down last year the then Minister of Education and Training, Mr Barend du Plessis, had "invited the ringleaders to tea and sandwiches at his home".

Dr Hartzenberg said he wanted to warn the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, that he would probably soon lose his Cabinet job.

"He tried his best to maintain law and order but the poor man's time seems to have come."

● Action should be taken by the government to stop intimidation of policemen, Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said during the debate.

He said black policemen in particular had been intimidated during the violence at Uitenhage.

It was a pity that Mr Le Grange had not visited the scene of the violence earlier so that he could hear at first hand what had happened in acts of reprisal against black policemen.

The names of black policemen were on "a list" and the minister should realize that they were loyal supporters of law and order.

It was time he did something to protect them from intimidation.

Mr Hoon said that neither Mrs Molly Blackburn, a PFP provincial councillor, nor Mrs Helen Suzman, who had both visited Uitenhage, had decried the acts of violence against the police. — Sapa

In an unprecedented live radio and TV statement, Mr Botha simultaneously briefed both Parliament and the nation on the country's deepening security crisis in the wake of the Uitenhage shootings.

In a day of high drama in Parliament, President Botha:

● Lashed out at "people of ill-intent" who he claimed were responsible for "fomenting disobedience, violence and destruction".

'Diabolical'

● Vowed that groups wanting to "see the country go up in flames" would not be allowed to achieve their "diabolical aims".

● In a thinly-veiled threat, noted that he had already given instructions for "appropriate steps to be taken to restore and maintain law and order".

● Appealed to parliamentarians to refrain from discussing the Uitenhage shootings in spite of a ruling on Tuesday by the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, that the issue could not be regarded as *sub judice* even though it was currently being investigated by a judicial commission.

However, the PFP dismissed Mr Botha's appeal and MPs Mrs Helen

Suzman, Mr Ray Swart and Mr Andrew Savage continued to drive home discrepancies between official accounts of the shooting and those given by witnesses.

Amid loud cries of "skande" from Nationalist benches, Mrs Suzman said the PFP believed Parliament could not abdicate its responsibility by ignoring the grave situation in Langa, Uitenhage.

She blamed the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, of being "responsible for the breakdown of law and order" and added that all Mr Botha's new initiatives had been "nullified by recent tragic events like that at Uitenhage".

Both the leader of the House of Assembly, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, appealed to the Speaker to rule Mrs Suzman out of order, but Mr Greeff allowed the veteran MP to continue.

Yesterday's events helped to forge an uncharacteristic unity between the the Conservative Party and its arch foe, the National Party. During the debate both parties joined forces with the New Republic Party in attacking the PFP.

Earlier, Mr Botha told

the joint sitting of Parliament that it was "ironic" that at exactly the time the government had taken new initiatives aimed at improving co-operation, "people of ill-intent instigate demonstrations and marches which result in arson, violence and death".

In what some saw as a reference to Tuesday's protest march in the City, he said:

'Saddened'

"It saddens me also that certain people under the guise of moral and religious conviction should take the lead on fomenting disobedience, violence and destruction."

Mr Botha said these people clearly did not want peace and stability but rather wished to see the country go up in flames.

"They want to bring South Africa to its knees. They want to advance South Africa's isolation. They solicit outside support for South Africa's destruction. They want chaos to reign in order that the international community and the United Nations can condemn South Africa as a threat to world peace."

● Mr Botha's speech, page 4

● Leading article, page 16

Botha warns of tougher security

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENTARIANS were expecting a heavy security crackdown amid growing countrywide unrest after President P W Botha appeared before a special joint sitting of Parliament yesterday.

ONE TIME
28/3/85
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ANC behind countrywide unrest — Nel

PRETORIA — The Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel, today told a group of foreign diplomats that the African National Congress was behind the recent months of township rioting, which he said had been aimed primarily against moderate blacks.

Mr Nel said in Pretoria that although the Government was committed to the expansion of democracy among blacks, any potentially successful democratic structures were being thwarted by the rioters and their inciters.

Mr Nel said: "There is incontrovert-

ible evidence of an orchestrated attempt by forces from beyond our borders, joined by radical elements inside the country, to politicise certain target groups for their own purposes. The ANC is behind this."

Mr Nel told the more than 50 diplomats and overseas journalists gathered at the Union Buildings that the aim of the rioters was to make the country ungovernable and to bring about a revolutionary situation.

Last night Mr Nel, said on US television that township unrest was not a

black-white conflict, but "a confrontation between radical black people and moderate black people".

Appearing on the same programme, the ABC network's *Nightline*, Dr Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, said violence in South Africa stemmed from "genuine grievances... in the black townships".

But he reiterated the Administration's policy of supporting the South African Government as it embarked on a series of gradual political reforms.

"It is very much our view that the

Government is committed to a process of reform," Dr Crocker said.

He added: "There's a wide array of black leadership in South Africa if only the Government would open up channels and get into a serious dialogue and negotiation about some of the reform measures that it is now publicly committed to."

Mr Nel, on camera from Johannesburg, said: "Some blacks in this country do not want peaceful reform — many other millions do." — Sapa-Reuter

Shot fired at Sacos man's home

Post Reporter

LAST night a bullet was fired through the lounge window of the Gelvandale home of Mr Alan Zinn, national publicity secretary of the South African Council of Sport (Sacos).

Mr Zinn said he received an anonymous phone call at about 8.30pm asking if he was in.

He then went out with his family.

When they returned at around midnight, they discovered that a bullet, fired through the lounge window, had gone through a couch and penetrated a wall.

Mr Zinn said he reported the matter to the South African Police, who were investigating.

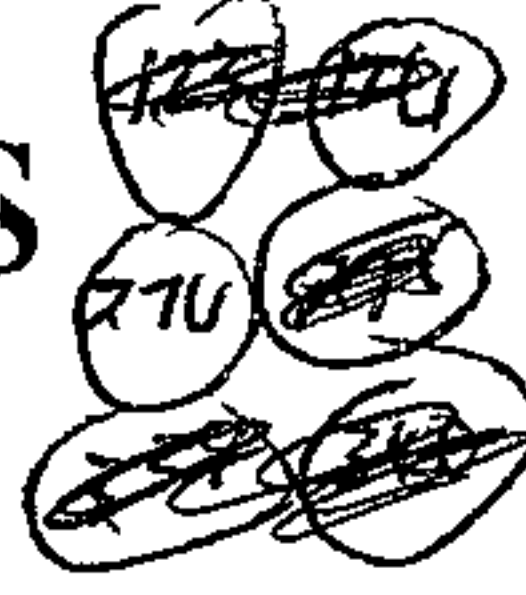
He added that last night the home of Mr Tennyson Mackay, president of the South African Primary Schools Sports Association, was hit by stones.

Mr Zinn said the homes of Mr Raymond Uren, president of the Eastern Province Council of Sport (Epcos), and that of Mrs June Udemans, secretary of the Gelvandale Civic Association, had also been hit by stones.

Mr Zinn said the attacks were part of an "organised attack on Sacos people and people who are serving on a newly-formed teachers association".

Sprawling, squalid townships help give rise to unrest

Cape Times
28/3/85



Architectural Correspondent

THE social unrest which South Africa is experiencing obviously has its roots in the historical, political and social structures of the country.

As an architect, one cannot help believing that a sizeable contributory factor towards the unhappiness and frustrations of the deprived masses are the often abysmal township environments in which they have to live and rear their children.

These vast, dreary, sprawling places with hardly a grace note to be seen anywhere — just squalor, dullness, monotony — are the products of high-powered, bureaucratic departments and planners.

Security control

Experienced professional people take these vast tracts of land chosen by some powerful group or minister — Khayelitsha was located where it is as a result of a helicopter flight by Mr P W Botha — and proceed to design, if that is a word that can be used in this context without debasing it, a "city" for hundreds of thousands of people.

Roads are planned, sewer and water lines laid out, sites allocated for schools, churches and public buildings, bearing in mind only such functional criteria as directions of the prevailing wind and rain, costs, security control, etc.

And when all the planning and the building has been done, the numberless thousands are driven like sheep into their kraals.

There is invariably the barest minimum of everything, maybe a street light every few hundred metres, a few pavements, very often no tarred roads.

Khayelitsha

If one had to set about inventing a really bad environment for people to live in, could one conceive of anything worse than these townships.

On the page facing my February 1 column on Groot Constantia in the Cape Times was a panoramic view of Khayelitsha in full colour.

It gave me quite a shock to realize that, disgraceful though it is that Groot Constantia is being turned into a commercial hurdy-gurdy, this issue would be of no concern whatsoever to the millions whose lives of grey drudgery in places like Khayelitsha, Atlantis, Soweto, Langa and Guguletu don't even start to relate to such matters which are of concern only to the comfortable whites and their architectural correspondents.

This picture said almost everything there is to say about the social evils that can be created by environments that seem to be nothing more than an endless assemblage of uniform boxes spreading as far as the eye can see.

Endless sameness

The backdrop of Table Mountain, blue in the distance, merely served to emphasize the tremendous physical distance of the housing from the work places of the inhabitants.

The basic housing units lacked all sense of individuality and any idea that each man and his family is a unique thing was totally and utterly absent. There was just the endless sameness, the materialization of the bureaucratic view of the people merely as ciphers and countable units.

This is not an attitude peculiar to South Africa.

Providing housing is an onerous business for any state and many mass housing schemes throughout the world, with a few notable exceptions, reflect something of the same awful dullness that seems now to be a universally accepted quality of state policy in this field.

Obligation

I remember that great lady, Golda Meir, saying to the group of architects I was working with in Ashkelon, Israel, in 1952 that while she appreciated our efforts to adorn the new town, what she was *really* interested in as Minister of Labour was the quantity of housing units, their cost and the time it took to build them.

Politicians have a heavy and pressing obligation to provide shelter of whatever quality and that seems, for them, to explain or justify forgetting about the social, aesthetic or human needs of the people who will be living in those towns.

Khayelitsha is a copy-book example of a town devised by government and laid out by bureaucrats without consultation with the people concerned.

Almost the only concern is that of providing physical shelter. Engineers and planners, but as far as one knows no architects, were involved in its creation which goes some way towards explaining the practical but totally unimaginative results.

More attractive

It is in the architects' special skill to understand and apply aesthetics in design.

The few housing schemes which have benefited from architectural inputs can without much doubt be said to be far more interesting and attractive than those where they were absent.

This column is really a plea for there to be a far greater architectural contribution to the mass housing field.

No effort should be spared to make the environments in which people have to live attractive and functional so that they can become the pride of their communities.

In this way some little contribution will have been made to easing the ugly face of life for the poorest and most frustrated section of the community.

No architect, of course, can correct the horrible error of siting Khayelitsha miles away from where people need to be, but she or he could certainly make the houses and the areas around them more attractive and livable — if allowed to do so.

Black Sash dossier on police 'irregularities'

By Andrew Beattie,
Pretoria Bureau

For how much longer can the Minister of Law and Order pass the buck? When will white opinion finally move into open condemnation of irregular conduct by the police — if that is the least the present allegations point to?

Are these actions, which have led to the police being condemned by their ever-ready array of critics overseas, to be dismissed by whites in this country as common-or-garden occurrences?

These are the questions raised by the memorandum on police conduct in the Eastern Cape compiled by the Black Sash.

The memorandum is based on sworn statements by people who say they have been eye-witnesses of police provoking township residents, shooting indiscriminately at children in the streets, and beating young "suspects" in custody, to name but a few of the alleged "irregularities" listed.

The 34-page document was of-



Mrs Di Bishop
... saw youth being whipped.

ferred to the one-man commission of inquiry of Mr Justice DD Kameemeyer.

Some extracts from the 36 affidavits handed to the judge:

● Affidavit No. 1: A "rare eye-witness account by white, middle-class South African women of an assault in a police station on a young black boy".

(Mrs Molly Blackburn, Mrs Diana Bishop and Mrs Audrey Coleman of the Black Sash went to the Uitenhage police station on Sunday March 17 to find out

Pretoria Bureau

Numerous affidavits offered to the Kameemeyer Commission of Inquiry indicated the police were not blameless in helping to create conditions in the Eastern Cape which led to 19 people being shot dead in Langa last week, the Black Sash civil rights group said yesterday.

The conclusion drawn by the Black Sash was that South Africa was on a disastrous treadmill of escalating, mindless violence.

In a memorandum submitted to the commission of inquiry into the Uitenhage shootings,

what had happened to children being held by police).

On entering a cell there, this is what Mrs Blackburn recalled seeing: "I was deeply shocked to see a young man lying on the floor handcuffed to a table.

Bending over him was a black man in civilian clothes with a long orange plastic whip. I saw him assault this young man as I walked in.

"I called out, 'Dear God, what do you think you are doing?' I moved over to the young man

'Treadmill of escalating, mindless violence'

currently sitting in the Eastern Cape town, the Black Sash said abuse of police power appeared to be part of a strategy to crush any opposition to the Government's policies.

The memorandum consisted chiefly of sworn affidavits and eyewitness accounts of recent alleged police actions in the Eastern Cape.

The Black Sash was told this week that its evidence was un-

who was bleeding from lacerations on the left side of his face and had traces of blood on his mouth...."

● Affidavit No. 8, from PPW, kwaNobuhle:

"I was born on 1/1/1971. On Friday 11/1/1985 I was hanging up clothing in the yard of our home. I turned around and found a Hippo with four white policemen standing and shooting from the top of the vehicle. They shot me. I got dizzy and fell. It was later found that I had 31 pellet

likely to be accepted because the Kameemeyer Commission's brief was to inquire only into the immediate circumstances of the Uitenhage shootings.

The "overwhelming impression gained from interviews with police and alleged victims of police violence is that the police are unaccountable" (for their actions), said the memorandum.

The Black Sash claims there

wounds."

The Sash concludes that the suspicion cannot be avoided that action on the part of police is designed more to intimidate the community than to prevent an unruly mob from rioting or stoning or acts of arson.

● Affidavits 18, 19 and 20 allege that during January police in kwaNobuhle repeatedly came to the house of a family holding a vigil for their son, who died after being shot.

"Many policemen" wielding

concludes.

It included affidavits from residents of black townships alleging that:

● Police patrolling the streets of kwaNobuhle and Langa in armoured and unmarked civilian vehicles opened fire indiscriminately on bystanders

● Residents of the townships around Uitenhage were seen to be arrested by police, who later denied they were in custody.

● Injured victims of police shootings were removed from the care of doctors and hospital authorities and interrogated.

pick handles, batons and sticks allegedly beat residents, broke cups and saucers in the house and kicked the dead boy's coffin, breaking its glass cover.

● Affidavit 32 is from two nurses, VTH and MN, kwaNobuhle:

"On Tuesday January 20 1985 after 1 pm the doctor was away and three policemen came into the surgery. They were white policemen in uniforms without jackets. One wore a beret and had epaulettes.

the hospital because we are not supposed to treat them."

In South Africa, said the report, there were special sets of circumstances which interacted to make the temptation to abuse power very much more difficult to resist. The majority of the people have no vote and such limited rights that they are particularly vulnerable and without redress because no one is accountable to them

The police, in the course of their duties, must administer and enforce laws "that are seen to be palpably unjust, so that they are not seen as protectors of the people but as enemies".

Mrs Joyce Harris, national vice-president of the Black Sash, has this to say at the end of the report:

"The authorities need to ponder long and hard about the nature of their peace and order-keeping arm, and do something drastic to reform and humanise it before it is too late."

A fundamental aspect of such reform was obviously the need to repeal all unjust and discriminatory laws.

Ban 'will heighten violence'

THE government's sweeping three-month ban on indoor meetings by 29 organizations in 18 districts was widely condemned yesterday as a short-sighted panic measure likely to heighten tension and violence.

Some fears were expressed that the crack-down might be the prelude to a formal banning of the United Democratic Front and other extra-parliamentary opponents of the government.

The ban, issued yesterday by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis Le Grange, outlaws meetings that call for work stayaways and meetings of the UDF and 28 other anti-government organizations in 16 Eastern Cape and two Transvaal magisterial districts.

'Emergency'

Mr Le Grange's proclamation of the ban in terms of the Internal Security Act in yesterday's Government Gazette follows a year-long prohibition which the Minister slapped last week on all indoor meetings dealing with boycotts of schools and universities.

All open-air meetings, except bona fide religious and sports meetings, continue to be banned.

The crackdown on the government's extra-parliamentary opponents was slammed yesterday by political parties and bodies both inside and outside Parliament.

The national spokesman of the UDF, Mr Terror Lekota, equated the ban with a "declaration of a regional state of emergency" aimed at preventing open and legal opposition to apartheid.

The leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, slammed the bannings as a strong-arm response that would not succeed in silencing debate.

"It can, however, turn the verbal debate into a debate with sticks and stones. It will also take the debate off political platforms and on to the township streets and factory floors."

The leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Vause Raw, said that when parliament resumed on April 9 his party would demand full justification for both the necessity and the merit of the ban, demanding that it be lifted as soon as possible.

The Reagan administration yesterday sharply criticized the ban.

A State Department spokesman said "We continue to believe that measures aimed at silencing legitimate and peaceful opposition to apartheid are not conducive to finding a solution to the country's major problem."

'Desperation'

Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the UDF and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said, "I fear these bannings will exacerbate an already volatile situation."

In a press release to Sapa, Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said, "It is clear that this is an act of desperation on the part of the government."

He said he believed it would lead to further tension.

The ban of all indoor meetings to discuss educational matters would serve only to deepen the educational crisis, the president of the Congress of South African Students, Mr Lulu Johnson, said yesterday. — Political Staff and Sapa

BUSINESS BRIEF

Gold (close)	\$330,25
Rand	\$0,5290/5300
FT index (close)	993,80
RDM 100	895,10
Dow Jones	1266,78

SACC disturbed by black vs black anger

JOHANNESBURG — The South African Council of Churches said yesterday it was deeply disturbed by "news of black turning against black."

The statement by Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SACC, said:

"The SACC has noted with growing concern the mounting violence of the past weeks. Following the shock of the killing of innocent people in Langa, Uitenhage, now comes the deeply disturbing news of black turning against black when people vent their long pent-up frustrations and bitterness in acts of seeming revenge against those in their community who are seen to collaborate with the system."

"The SACC has con-

stantly warned that such a day may come and has pleaded with the authorities to reject the evil of apartheid before it is too late.

"However much we understand the unrestrained expression of anger and possible hatred we yet have to remind all those who are tempted to act in this way that God's word challenges us by Him saying: I will take revenge, I will pay back says the Lord (Romans 12 v 19) and then calls upon us to overcome evil through God's way when He says: Do not let evil defeat you: Instead conquer evil with good (Romans 12 v 21)

"We want to assure all who struggle for justice in our land that the church of Jesus Christ in South Africa will con-

tinue to strive with every means consistent with its Christian calling for a society where the righteousness of God holds sway.

"No fear of bodily hurt, or economic safety or popularity or compromise will ever deter the Church in this struggle for justice

"We also wish to assure all clergy who have to minister to the people of God who currently experience acts of ongoing violence that our constant prayer will be that they may find the wisdom, the patience and forbearance for deal in a Christian spirit of concern and understanding with growing feelings of frustration, anger and bitterness in their community." — SAPA.

1985 political violence deaths now over 100

JOHANNESBURG — The death toll in political violence in South Africa this year has now exceeded 100, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

This is nearly half as many deaths in three months as occurred during the whole of 1984, when 175 people were killed, according to institute records.

The biggest single contribution to the higher

death-rate this year in a single day was the shooting of 19 black people by the police in Uitenhage's Langa township on March 21, the institute said, while 18 people had been killed over a slightly longer period in the Crossroads settlement in Cape Town about a month before.

According to institute records, 71 of the 104 people killed this year appear to have died at the hands of the police,

26 as a result of black on black violence, and three accidentally while the causes of four deaths are as yet unknown.

The centre of gravity of political violence has shifted from the Vaal Triangle, which accounted for nearly 45 per cent of the deaths last year, to the Eastern Cape, which accounts for 60 per cent of those this year.

Sunrise news

South Africa's 6 days of riots, road tragedies and bizarre accidents.

— by —
Andrew Walker

In one of the most violent and tragic weeks in recent South African history, a total of 84 people have died — in riots, three terrible road crashes and bizarre accidents.

The Westdene schoolbus crash, the Uitenhage riots, the Porsche crash that killed five people including three children; the deaths of seven members of the same family in a Northern Transvaal road smash; and, almost lost in the statistics, the Natal bus crash that claimed five lives.

In between, a "pass offender" impaled himself on an Emmentaria, Johannesburg, stake while fleeing from police; an elderly Eastern Transvaal farmer, fed up with having his store robbed, died in his own booby

84 dead in week of blood and fears

trap, and a suicide man took not only his own life but that of an innocent Johannesburg pedestrian when he fell on her.

The week of death began on Sunday with news that mob "witch-hunts" in the strife-torn townships of Uitenhage had claimed at least five lives.

Throughout the week the Uitenhage death toll rose as gangs took their revenge in the wake of the 25th anniversary of the police shootings at Sharpeville.

The Eastern Cape toll for this

week now stands at 20. This includes 10 people who were burnt to death.

One of the youngest victims was 12-year-old Kwala Kinkinki whose father, councillor T B Kinkinki, shot him dead to save him from a mob of thousands. Mr Kinkinki himself was hacked to death moments later.

The violence of the last week is shown in the fact that there was "relief" when it was learnt that dogs were eating the flesh of dead people in the Uitenhage area. In an interview on US tele-

vision South Africa's Ambassador to America, Mr Brand Fourie, had raised fears that cannibals were responsible.

One news photograph in particular showed the terror of Uitenhage. It was of a burnt and mangled body lying in a road as rioters danced in the background.

The week's toll for the Eastern Cape includes three people shot dead during unrest in Port Elizabeth.

Amid all the horror, Westdene stood out as the site of the most

tragic and wasteful of all tragedies. For 42 schoolchildren to die trapped in a sunken bus was almost beyond belief.

There were unprecedented sights as about 3 000 people gathered, mostly silently, to watch as divers struggled to bring sodden corpses up from the mud of Westdene Dam.

With Westdene and Uitenhage taking up the horrified fascination of a nation, almost lost amid the carnage was the road crash that killed seven members of a family of 10.

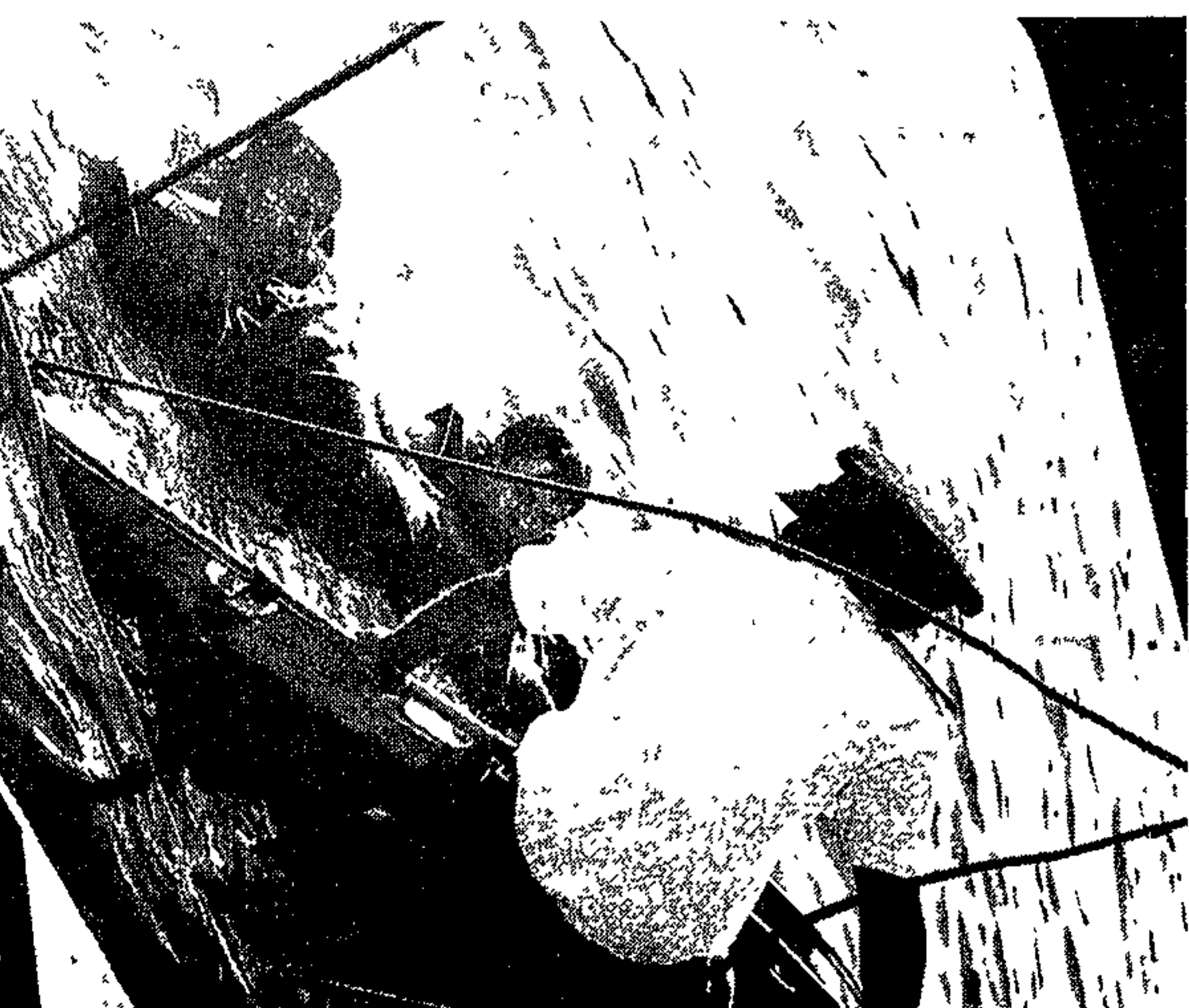
Mr Jan Beytell, his wife and five of their children died when their car was in a head-on crash with a truck about 20 km from Potgietersrus. The two men in the truck were injured.

Misadventure also played a part in the week of death.

Natal University student Mr Peter Fourie (21) apparently accepted a dare to jump from the third floor of his university residence into a fig tree. He fell to the ground and died.

And farmer Mr Christiaan Breytenbach (63) got sick of burglars breaking into his Spitskop shop. He set up a home made booby trap. He later accidentally set it off and was shot dead.

In the Natal bus crash rescue workers battled for more than five hours to release 36 injured people after their bus fell over a cliff while travelling between Edendale and Elandskop. Four men and a woman died in the crash.



FLASHBACK... the Westdene Dam bus disaster.

not included

SA political violence death toll over 100

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30/3/85 Stan

The death toll in political violence in South Africa this year has now exceeded 100, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

This means that nearly half as many people died in the first three months of this year compared to 1984 when 175 people were killed, according to institute records.

The biggest single contribution to the higher death-rate this year in a single day was the shooting of 19 black people by the police in Uitenhage's Langa township on March 21, the institute said, while 18 people were killed in the Crossroads settlement in Cape Town about a month before that.

Institute records indicated that 71 of the 104 people killed this year appear to have died at the hands of the police, 26 as a result of black-on-black violence, and three accidental-

ly, while the causes of four deaths are as yet unknown.

The centre of gravity of political violence has shifted away from the Vaal Triangle — which accounted for nearly 45 percent of the deaths last year — to the Eastern Cape, which accounts for 60 percent of deaths this year.

The director of the institute, Mr John Kane-Berman, said that the Langa shootings were not only a human tragedy but also a major political disaster for South Africa.

The institute condemned the shootings. They were the culmination of a number of events that suggested that the present Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had not succeeded in exercising proper control in the most difficult and sensitive job in the Government. — Sapa.

CAP 5 Times
Saturday, March 30, 1985

Arsonists set six schools on fire

PORT ELIZABETH — Arsonists caused damage totalling some R530 000 when six schools in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, were set on fire on Thursday night.

Unrest also flared in Graaff-Reinet where a 43-year-old man, Mr Graham Makanda, was stabbed to death. Police said a 24-year-old African woman is being held on a charge of murder in connection with the incident.

The schools hardest hit in arson attacks were Masangwana Higher Primary School, Jarvis Gqamlanga Lower Primary School and Arthur Nyobo Lower Primary School. Other schools where fire damage was reported are Ernest Skosana Higher Primary, Samuel Nongo Higher Primary and Charles Duna Lower Primary.

Also in Graaff-Reinet, three houses were gutted. One belonged to Mr John Suki, chairman of the township's community council, who was admitted to hospital with serious injuries, another to Mrs Agnes Jeyi, the deputy chairman, and the third to Mr Jan Tal, a resident of the township.

Restaurant burnt down

In Graaff-Reinet's Asherville township, a restaurant belonging to Mr Chris Koeberg, son of Graaff-Reinet community councillor Mr Carolus Koeberg, was burnt down. One of Mr Koeberg's vehicles was gutted as well.

Meanwhile, unrest continued in Langa, Uitenhage. Early yesterday police used tearsmoke at least three times to disperse mobs of up to 200. Three men were arrested in Kwano-buhle early yesterday after a truck belonging to a construction firm was set alight. Damage was estimated at R15 000.

Local police said several incidents in which houses and vehicles were stoned had occurred in the townships of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage late on Thursday. And in Bontrug, the Kirkwood township, police used tearsmoke

five times on Thursday evening to disperse groups of up to 200 people after warnings to disperse were ignored.

Funerals for two of the men killed in last Thursday's shooting at Langa, Uitenhage, are to be held in Kwano-buhle on Sunday.

In other reports of unrest yesterday, ● In Alexandra, a driver of a private vehicle was slightly injured after youths stoned and damaged his vehicle. A police vehicle was also stoned.

● Police used teargas to disperse a crowd of 200 in Lamontville township near Durban on Thursday night where a brick struck an officer on the head. Warrant Officer Daantjie Haupt had to have four stitches after the incident.

● A crowd of over 400 people gathered at the Natalia Development Board's unemployment bureau in Durban yesterday and refused to leave until they received unemployment benefits.

Riot police and Natalia security officials stood by. The crowd left after several hours when they were given part-payment of the money with a promise of the rest on April 12.

Factories stopped work

● More than 8 000 Uitenhage factory workers in Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) factories stopped work for about 15 minutes on Thursday in memory of people killed in Langa last week.

● Black schools throughout the country closed yesterday for the end of term holiday. They are scheduled to re-open on April 10.

Their closure comes in the wake of continuous school stayaways in the Eastern Cape, schools unrest in the Free State, and a low attendance this week at schools in Sharpeville, Sebokeng, near Vereeniging, Zamdela, near Sasolburg, Stilfontein on the West Rand and Parys. — Own Correspondent and Sapa

Cape Times 30/3/85

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SACC concern over mounting black violence

JOHANNESBURG. — The South African Council of Churches said yesterday it was deeply disturbed by "news of black turning against black"

The statement in Johannesburg by Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the SACC, says: "The SACC has noted with growing concern the mounting violence of the past weeks. Following the shock of the killing of innocent people in Langa, Uitenhage, now comes the deeply disturbing news of black turning against black when people vent their long pent-up frustrations and bitterness in acts of seeming revenge against those in their community who are seen to collaborate with the system."

"The SACC has constantly warned that such a day may come and has pleaded with the authorities to reject the evil of apartheid before it is too late."

"However much we understand the unrestrained expression of anger and possible hatred, we yet have to remind all those who are tempted to act in this way that God's word challenges us by saying: 'I will take revenge, I will pay back' (Romans 12 V19)."

"We want to assure all who struggle for justice in our land that the Church of Jesus Christ in South Africa will contin-



Dr Beyers Naude

ue to strive with every means consistent with its Christian calling for a society where the righteousness of God holds sway.

"No fear of bodily hurt, or economic safety, or popularity, or compromise will ever deter the church in this struggle for justice."

"We also wish to assure all clergy who have to minister to the people of God who currently experience acts of ongoing violence that our constant prayer will be that they may find the wisdom, the patience and forbearance to deal in a Christian spirit of concern and understanding with growing feelings of frustration, anger and bitterness in their community." — Sapa

Cape Times 274
30/3/85

Over 100 dead, says SAIRR

JOHANNESBURG. —
The death toll in political violence in South Africa this year has now exceeded 100, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

During the whole of 1984 175 people were killed.

According to the institute records, 104 people have been killed this year. Nineteen black people were shot by the police in a single day in Uitenhage's Langa township on March 21, the institute said, while 18 people had been killed over a slightly longer period in Crossroads about a month before that.

The centre of gravity of political violence has shifted from the Vaal Triangle, which accounted for nearly 45 percent of the deaths last year, to the Eastern Cape, which accounts for 60 percent of those this year.

The director of the institute, Mr John Kane-Berman, said that the Langa shootings had been not only a human tragedy, but also a major political disaster for South Africa.

They were the culmination, he added, of events that suggested that the present Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, had not succeeded in exercising proper control in the most difficult and sensitive job in the government. — Sapa

In three months of 1985, the toll of deaths in political violence has already topped 100

The death toll in political violence in South Africa this year has now exceeded 100, says the South African Institute for Race Relations.

Institute records show that 175 people were killed in the whole of 1984.

The biggest single contribution in one day to the higher death-rate this

year was the shooting of 19 blacks by police in Uitenhage's Langa township on March 21, says the Institute.

Eighteen people were killed over a slightly longer period in the Crossroads settlement in Cape Town about a month before that.

Institute records show that 71 of the 104 people

killed this year appear to have died at the hands of police, 26 as a result of black-on-black violence and three accidentally.

The causes of four deaths are as yet unknown.

The centre of political violence has shifted from the Vaal Triangle, which accounted for nearly 45 percent of last year's

deaths, to the Eastern Cape, which accounts for 60 percent of deaths this year.

Institute director Mr John Kane-Berman said the Langa shootings were not only a human tragedy, but also a major political disaster for South Africa.

The Institute condemned them without

reservation, he added.

The shootings, said Mr Kane-Berman, were the culmination of events which suggested that Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange had not succeeded in exercising proper control in the most difficult and sensitive job in the Government. — Sapa.

(274)
KDM 1/4/85

Naude and Tutu slam violence

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

TWO leading clergymen, Bishop Desmond Tutu and the Dr C F Beyers Naude, have spoken out against the violence being "perpetrated by black against black".

In a statement yesterday Dr Naude, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said the SACC was deeply disturbed by news of "black turning against black".

And in an interview Bishop Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, said most people were filled with revulsion at the scenes of violence perpetrated by blacks on fellow blacks.

Dr Naude said: "The SACC has noted with growing concern the mounting violence of the past weeks.

"Following the shock of the killing of innocent people in Langa, Uitenhage, now comes the deeply disturbing news of black turning against black when people vent their long pent-up frustrations and bitterness in acts of seeming revenge against those in their community who are seen to collaborate with the system.

"We want to assure all who struggle for justice in our land that the Church of Jesus Christ in South Africa will continue to strive with every means consistent with its Christian calling for a society where the righteousness of God holds sway."

Bishop Tutu said the fundamental cause of the unrest in Uitenhage was the vicious and unjust policy of apartheid and that until that went everything the Government did was "just talking".

He said, however, he could not condone, and in fact condemned, the violence of blacks against those people they regarded as collaborators.

"Our cause is a just cause. It is undermined by methods which fill people with revulsion. We have to be even-handed about opposing violence."

URGENT appeal to SA by EEC leaders

By JOHN BATTERSBY
London Bureau

LONDON. — The 10 heads of government of the European Economic Community have made an urgent appeal to the South African Government to initiate a dialogue leading to the "full and equal participation of all in the political process".

The appeal was made during a meeting of the European Council — the highest decision-making body of the EEC — attended by the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in Brussels at the weekend.

The text of the appeal was not released in Brussels but was handed to the London Bureau by diplomatic sources yesterday.

The sources said the European Council's statement would be conveyed to the South African Government through "diplomatic channels".

A spokesman for the South African Mission to the European Community in Brussels said that a copy of the communique had been sent to Cape Town.

He said the Italian mission — currently president of the EEC — had not made the text of the communique available in the usual way.

The Brussels communique expressed "grave concern" at the "increased tension which is presently developing in South Africa as a result of the continued enforcement of the policy of apartheid".

"The council recently launched a fresh appeal for the ending of the apartheid system.

"The latest tragedies which led them to condemn the recent violent actions of the South African police at Uitenhage re-inforces the importance of that message," the communique said.

• While agreeing that the United States must remain "engaged" in South Africa, President Ronald Reagan and the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz continue to differ publicly in their perspectives on the current bloodshed, reports SIMON BARBER from Washington.

In an interview with the Washington Post published yesterday, Mr Reagan

Police load UCT "art reaction" dummies, representing unrest victims shot at Langa, into a p...

Dummy demo dispersed

Mail Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — A large lunchtime crowd watched in amusement yesterday afternoon as police stuffed about 40 dummies — scattered on Greenmarket Square by students of the Michaelis School of Art at the University of Cape Town — into three police vehicles.

The dummies had been scattered on the cobbled stones of the square before 1pm as an "art reaction" to the shootings at Langa, Uitenhage, on March 21.

Two police constables ar-

Maputo plans war ec

By JOSE CAETANO

THE Mozambican Government yesterday issued a major policy communique announcing the "building of a war economy" that will allocate a larger slice of the national resources towards the fight against the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) rebels.

The government also intends to increase revenue-generating exports, as well as to improve economic management.

The communique, containing a planned series of wide-ranging measures, was issued after meetings — under the chairmanship of President Samora Machel — of the Mozambican Cabinet, the Permanent Commission of the National Assem-

mental year for the building of a war economy" and added that a number of as yet unspecified measures were to be taken to ensure a significant increase in the production of agricultural goods.

The steps to intensify the fight against MNR rebels operating in Mozambique — and the fact that no reference was made to the Nkomati Accord — are seen as clear indication that the Mozambican Government has hardened its stance towards the rebels and that it no longer sees the accord as the main factor in its fight against the rebels.

Well-informed sources in Maputo pointed out yesterday that all Mozambique expected from South Africa with regard to se-

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EEC leaders head appeal for restraint

□ From Page 1

not refer to the State Department's frequently and strongly stated call for negotiations.

The closest he came was: "We think apartheid is the main problem that must be resolved and we're going to continue doing all we can to encourage the Government in its course."

The president's statement closely mirrored his controversial remarks at a Press conference two weeks ago. Afterwards, the leader of the Free South Africa Movement, Mr Randall Robinson, denounced him as "a racist".

In the latest interview, Mr Reagan denied he was condoning apartheid. His accusers, he said, "maybe have a political bias".

● The World Council of Churches yesterday criticised new measures taken by the South African Government to enforce law and order, and said that it would spark new despair and violence, reports Sapa-Reuter.

In a news release, WCC General-Secretary, Mr Emilio Castro, told South

African State President, P W Botha a new three-month ban, on meetings in the Eastern Cape of the United Democratic Front and other organisations "means driving people to despair and tragic violence".

The WCC has in the past raised controversy through its contributions to Swapo.

● Disinvestment by foreign companies operating in South Africa would not make the black majority's situation any worse than it is now, a black opposition spokesman said in Stockholm, Sweden, yesterday.

UDF spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, told a news conference a pullout by foreign companies would not cause mass unemployment as so few worked in such firms, and would be an effective protest against the apartheid system.

"Blacks would not suffer more from disinvestment than they suffer now," Mr Morobe said.

A Swedish bill toughening the country's already stringent laws on investments in South Africa came into force on Monday.

Cape Times 3/4/85

UDF warns on civil war

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA would be engulfed in a civil war by the end of 1986, the United Democratic Front's Western Cape secretary, Mr Trevor Manuel, said last night.

Speaking to about 300 people at the End Conscription Committee's civil-war protest meeting at Claremont Civic Hall, Mr Manuel expressed the opinion that the violence in the Eastern Cape, of which the events at Langa on March 21 had been only the "tip of the iceberg", would soon spread to other parts of the country.

Welkom and Kroonstad would be the next areas of unrest, Mr Manuel predicted.

He blamed the establishment of black community councils — "essentially shifting the terrain of conflict from a black/white confrontation to a black/black confrontation" — as a cause of much of the unrest.

"And so the situation of unrest in the Eastern Cape will shift to other parts of the country. By the end of next year all of our country will be engulfed in civil war."

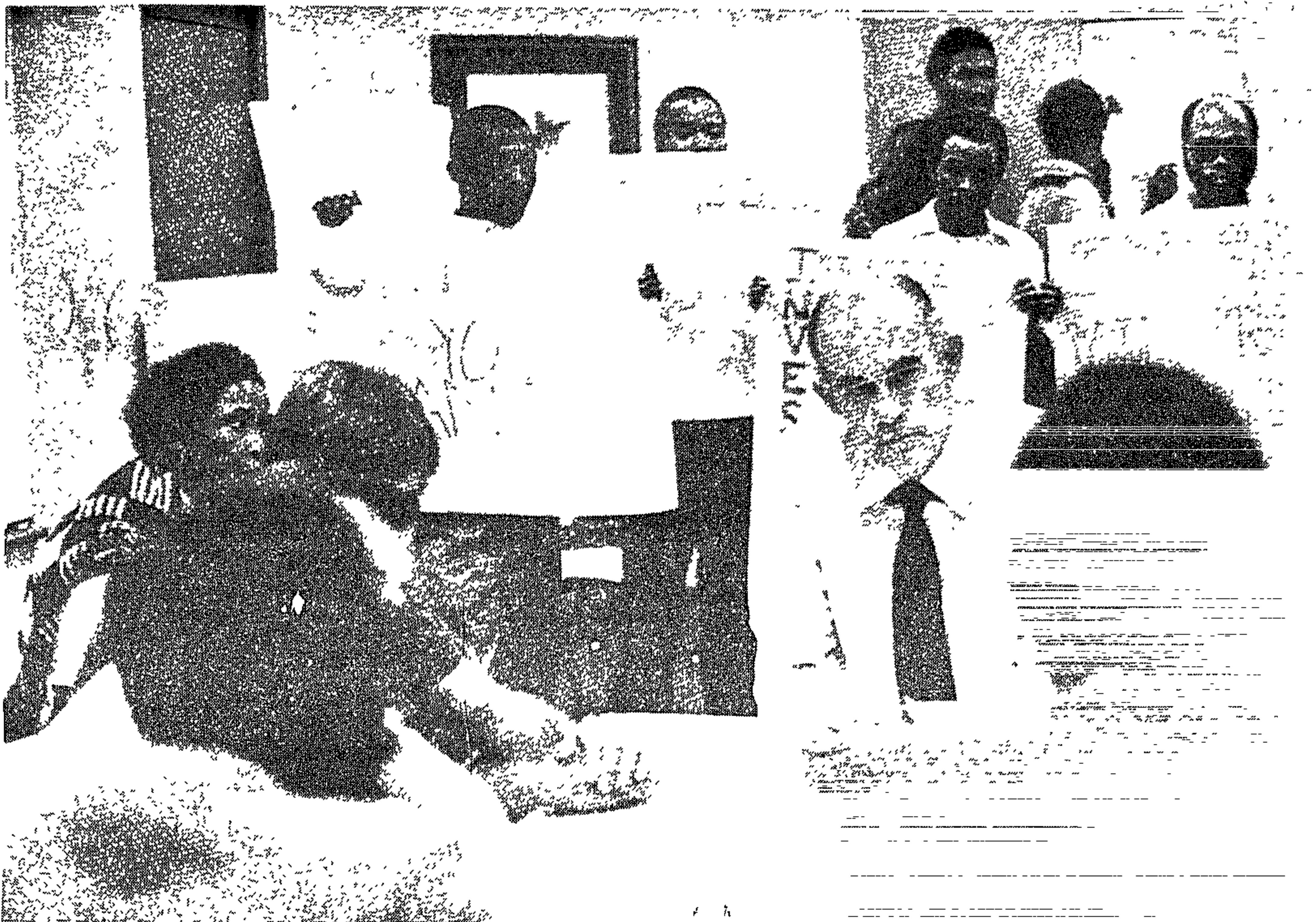
Reacting to President P W Botha's "state of the nation" security address in Parliament, Mr Manuel said the "unrest situations — often with heavy political overtones" had been created by State "over-reaction" to the voicing of grievances — "usually small economic grievances".

"Conflict and confrontation is inherent in apartheid and, given the economic situation, the conflict will escalate."

Commenting on the presence of troops in Uitenhage and, in particular, addressing white youths faced with national service, he said: "There is no middle road. You either stand for justice or stand against it."

● Earlier, both The Argus and Cape Times newspapers were attacked by the chairman of the End Conscription Committee, Mr Michael Evans.

He said that, like Cape Town City Council, which had refused permission for posters with the "Civil War Protest" legend to be put up, The Argus had entirely rejected advertising for the meeting, while the Cape Times insisted that the advertisement be watered down.



Citibank security officer, Mr Ron Payne, talks to United Democratic Front officials against a background of placards and protesters demonstration at Citibank's local headquarters yesterday. They were protesting against foreign investment.

UDF protests at bank over apartheid support

By ANTON HARBER
Political Reporter

A PROTEST against foreign business "support" for apartheid yesterday brought the Johannesburg offices of Citibank to a standstill for about an hour.

About 40 supporters of the United Democratic Front and its affiliates marched into the offices of Citibank on the 22nd floor of the Anglo American Life Building in Commissioner Street early yesterday.

Startled Citibank officials met the leaders of the protest and the two groups held a polite, hour-long discussion about the role of Citibank in South Africa.

The protestors foiled both the extensive security system at the entrance to the building and the bank's own sophisticated security system.

They slipped into the building, small groups and gathered on another floor.

Two of their demonstrators then waited for a Citibank staffer to open the bank doors with a security card and they held the doors open for the group to enter.

They unfurled banners saying "Collaboration with apartheid is treason" and "Uitenhage shootings: Your silence is deafening" and began to sing and chant.

Citibank officials agreed to discuss the protest with Mr Samson Ndou, UDF Transvaal vice-president, Mr Sydney Mufamadi, UDF Transvaal publicity secretary, Mr Amos Masondo, of the Soweto Civic Association, Mrs Leah Tutu, of the SA Council of Churches and Mrs Emma Mashinini, of the

Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union.

Mr Mufamadi told the Citibank representatives people associated with "the apartheid regime" were accomplices in its "crimes".

"You have invested in this country and we maintain that your investment is tacit and even open support of apartheid.

"We have come to protest against your indifference to the people of this country. Because you have kept quiet about what is happening, you are not neutral.

"As long as you are indifferent to the problems of our people, then you will be identified with the enemies of the people.

Mrs Mashinini asked the Citibank officials to distance themselves from the "scandalous" reaction of US President Ronald Reagan to the Uitenhage shootings.

Citibank personnel director Mr Neil Munro declined to do this.

Mr Munro did most of the talking for the bank, reports Sapa-AP.

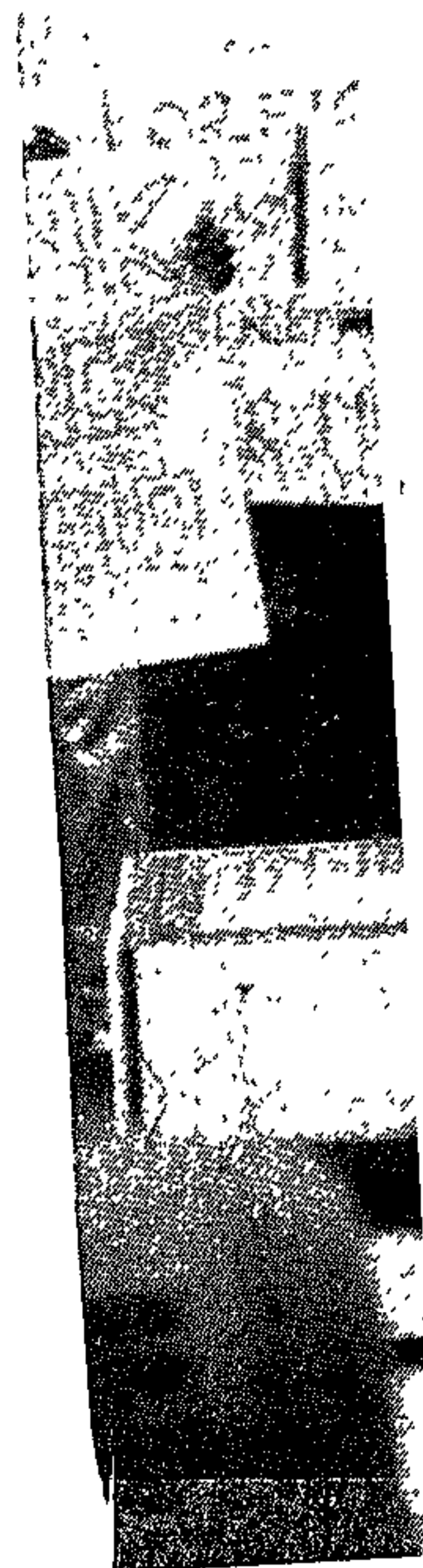
He said he could not make policy statements.

But he said Citibank was committed to improving the way of life for all South Africans, including blacks.

Mr Munro asked Mr Mufamadi repeatedly what concrete measures the protesters wanted the bank to take, and whether withdrawing all investments from South Africa would help or hurt blacks.

"We believe there has been injustice. We've been making representations."

He refused to elaborate.



during the UDF

CAPC Times
day, April 4, 1985 1:1

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Naude: Civil war looms

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa was entering a state of civil war, the general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, told a meeting last night here protesting against the March 21 Uitenhage shootings.

Dr Naude told the meeting, attended by about 500 people, that South Africa was showing clear signs of entering a state of civil war that could "only end in chaos and anarchy".

"It is only when the police arrive that the violence begins."

The meeting was called by the SACC, the Black Sash, the End Conscription Campaign and the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee.

The constant presence of the SADF in the townships and the government's clampdown on the dissemination of information was an indication of a country in a state of civil war, he said.

The president of the Black Sash, Mrs Sheena Duncan, spoke of "the total disorderliness in black communities".

She said: "Most whites don't know what is going on in the townships, of the abuse of power and the corruption of the local authorities."

Mrs Duncan referred to affidavits from Black Sash workers and Eastern Cape township residents signed before the March 21 shootings.

"A picture of random action by the police began to emerge," she said. She accused the press of following police accounts of the unrest, rather than doing investigative reporting. — Sapa

Cape Times
4/4/85

'Horrific' levels of violence

By BARRY STREEK

THE grim scale of violence, and counter-violence, in South Africa has assumed horrific levels — and there doesn't seem to be any end in sight

The death toll in political violence this year had now exceeded 100, the South African Institute of Race Relations reported last week

In the troubled Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage area, the death toll since the police opened fire two weeks ago on a procession at Langa, near Uitenhage, rose to 40 yesterday after the police reported the death of a woman in Motherwell in Port Elizabeth. She was apparently shot by a police bullet in her kitchen.

Early yesterday morning, a car was set alight in Cape Town outside the home of the banned community leader Mr Johnny Issel, soon after he appeared in court for allegedly breaking his banning order.

Police and protesters have clashed every day of this week in various townships of the Eastern Cape

'Precarious'

"A person cannot get away from the fact that protest and conflict have at present become an integral part of the South African co-existence," Ms Anne-Marie Mischke wrote in the government-supporting Rapport recently.

Dr Alex Boraine, the Progressive Federal Party MP for Pinelands, said last week during a debate on the Langa killings "The government has brought South Africa to a precipice and the question is, has it the will, the humility, the courage and ability to bring us back from that precarious position."

He estimated that close to 300 people had died during disturbances in South Africa since September 1984. The Institute of Race Relations said 175 died last year and, by the end of last week, a further 104 this year.

Now the police — the only official source of information on the situation — have announced they would only summarize certain unrest incidents. Full details only of incidents of "major importance" would be given. Other incidents would be summarized.

Intimidation

The violence has involved different forms: Police taking action to maintain "law and order" — a cliché'd euphemism, in the circumstances, people in the townships taking violent action against so-called "collaborators", particularly members of town councils and the police and acts of terrorism against opponents.

Rapport estimated that altogether 243 incidents of assault, intimidation, arson and looting had taken place against black town councillors, their families and possessions since September last year. At least four councillors had been killed and 27 injured.

Councillors had been assaulted 109 times, 66 petrol bombs had been thrown at their houses and 32 homes had been burnt.

Altogether, 64 councillor had resigned in 16 black residential areas.

Rapport said 148 policemen had been injured, 96 homes of black policemen had been damaged and 300 police vehicles damaged.

Suffered

In the last three months of last year and in January this year, damage had been done to more than 1 000 buses, 225 houses, almost 150 schools, six churches, nine clinics, three libraries, a technical college, about 120 shops (including seven which belonged to black councillors), 66 beer halls and more than 30 other liquor stores, ten post offices, six banks, six hostels and two trains, the newspaper said.

Opponents of apartheid have also suffered. Homes of United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders have been petrol-bombed as well as those in the black consciousness-orientated Azanian People's Organization (Azapo). The house of an executive member of the Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco) was also bombed.

In January, Azapo supporters prevented Senator Edward Kennedy from speaking at a meeting in Soweto. Soon afterwards, UDF and Azapo supporters clashed physically at a meeting in the Johannesburg area.

In the Northern Transvaal, the government's re-drawing of boundaries between the Lebowa and Gazankulu homelands led to clashes when a border fence was allegedly cut down. Police intervened with teargas and rubber bullets but by then two people had been killed and more than 40 injured.

Innocents

There have also been allegations made by the Progressive Federal Party in Parliament about police behaviour in the Eastern Cape. One of the MPs, Mr John Malcomess, read out three of the affidavits collected by the party. They made chilling reading.

They told of children being shot, of innocents being killed in cold blood, of police stoning bystanders and then shooting them down as they ran away.

Another PFP MP, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said: "Certain elements of the police conduct themselves in a manner which is both brutal and sadistic. These elements should never have been accepted as recruits in the first place because their actions bring discredit to their colleagues and their country."

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has emphasized that "neither I nor the Commissioner of Police will tolerate or condone any wrongful action by any member of police and that standing orders are strictly adhered to".

Baby died

Almost of all this violence has been confined to the black residential areas with minimal spillover into city centres and white residential areas.

Only one white person has been killed: A baby who died after a rock was thrown at her mother's car near Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle last year.

But despite the appearances in the city centres, South Africa has become a very violent society. The death toll has provided gruesome evidence of just how violent the South Africa of 1985 has become.

CHE TINTS 5/4/85 (274)

PRETORIA. — South Africa was experiencing a unique type of rioting not encountered anywhere else in the world, the Commissioner of the South African Police, General P J Coetzee, said here yesterday.

Speaking at a graduation ceremony at the University of Pretoria, General Coetzee said: "What we have in South Africa is a type of hit-and-run operation insofar as relatively small groups of rioters spread their acts of violence over a wide geographical area, then disperse quickly to regroup elsewhere."

For various reasons, South Africa was a country still facing a violent revolutionary onslaught led by the ANC.

The onslaught was being felt strongly in the political, social, economic and military fields. In the process, large sectors of the inhabitants, especially the black community, were incited to violence.

SA rioting 'unique'

General Coetzee said the situation was also unique "in that the main groups of rioters consist mostly of black persons, which has the detrimental effect that black policemen have to act against members of their own race, thus making them victims of reprisals."

"The instigators of these riots also hide behind women and children and are seldom to be found in the front lines."

General Coetzee said the SAP adhered to the principle of the use of "minimum, but effective force".

Rioters in turn were beginning to resort to live ammunition to a far

greater extent in their attempt to take advantage of the principle employed by the police.

"The use of live ammunition is complemented by the throwing of so-called Molotov and acid bombs. Rioters also make increasing use of effective protection against relatively innocuous rubber bullets and birdshot used by the police."

"Another real problem experienced by the police is the presence at scenes of riots of local and foreign media representatives."

"We fully appreciate that the public has a right to be kept informed of an

unrest situation, but it is also true that the presence especially of television cameras tends to stimulate rioters to greater feats of daring and thus to increased violence."

From 1976 to March 19 this year, 275 acts of terrorism had been committed by the banned ANC in the country, he said.

Of that number, 61 were aimed at the police; 125 at the economy (the destruction or damaging of power installations, railways, fuel depots, business properties); 56 at State and public buildings, members of the Defence Force and telecommunications; and 33 against citizens in the form of murder, armed robbery and damaging of private property.

During the period of September 1, 1984 to February 18 this year, unrest in the black townships caused damage estimated at R25,5 million to buildings and R9,6 million to vehicles. — Sapa

Cape Times 8/4/85 274

LONDON. — Probably the most vilified photograph in Africa today is that of policeman Lieutenant John Fouche who, according to evidence given at the Kannemeyer commission of inquiry, gave the order that ended in the shooting of 19 blacks a fortnight ago.

Another face, though not as well known now, is that of the Rev Sam Buti, the mayor of Alexandria. He recently had his house bombed and his collection of theological works destroyed by a group of young blacks.

Lt Fouche, seeing a crowd, a stone and some excitement believed a massacre of whites to be imminent. The black youths more than 1 000 km away in Alexandria, urged on by yells of accusation, were persuaded that Mr Buti was aiding and abetting the whites.

These are two simple examples of the sort of evidence which is being generally invoked to undertake drastic action and form violent judgments in the Republic over the last month or so.

Nobody on one side or another has been in any mood but anger and fear to judge what is going on in the beloved country.

Paper with largest black readership

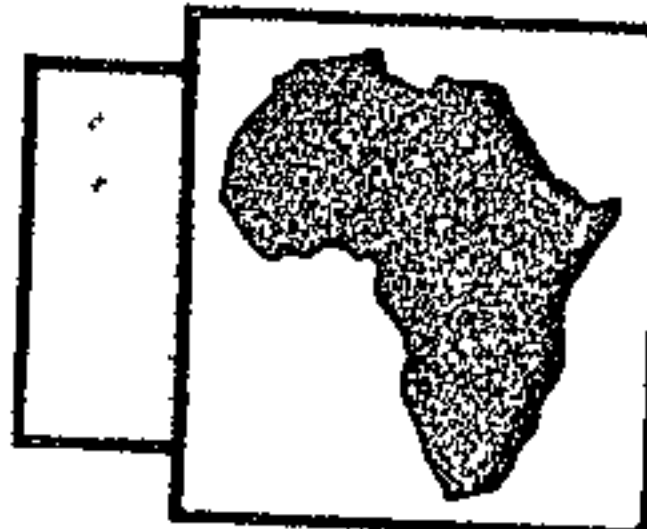
A South African spokesman in London, required to evaluate a sort of popularity poll undertaken by the City Press in Johannesburg, commented: "The City Press is a rather minor paper."

It is the paper with the largest black readership in the country. Its importance depends whether you live in a white suburb in the middle of Johannesburg or in a shantytown on its outer fringes.

Of course those making up their minds about what is going on in most parts of the world will have had to depend on long strips of film rather than a series of black-and-white photographs.

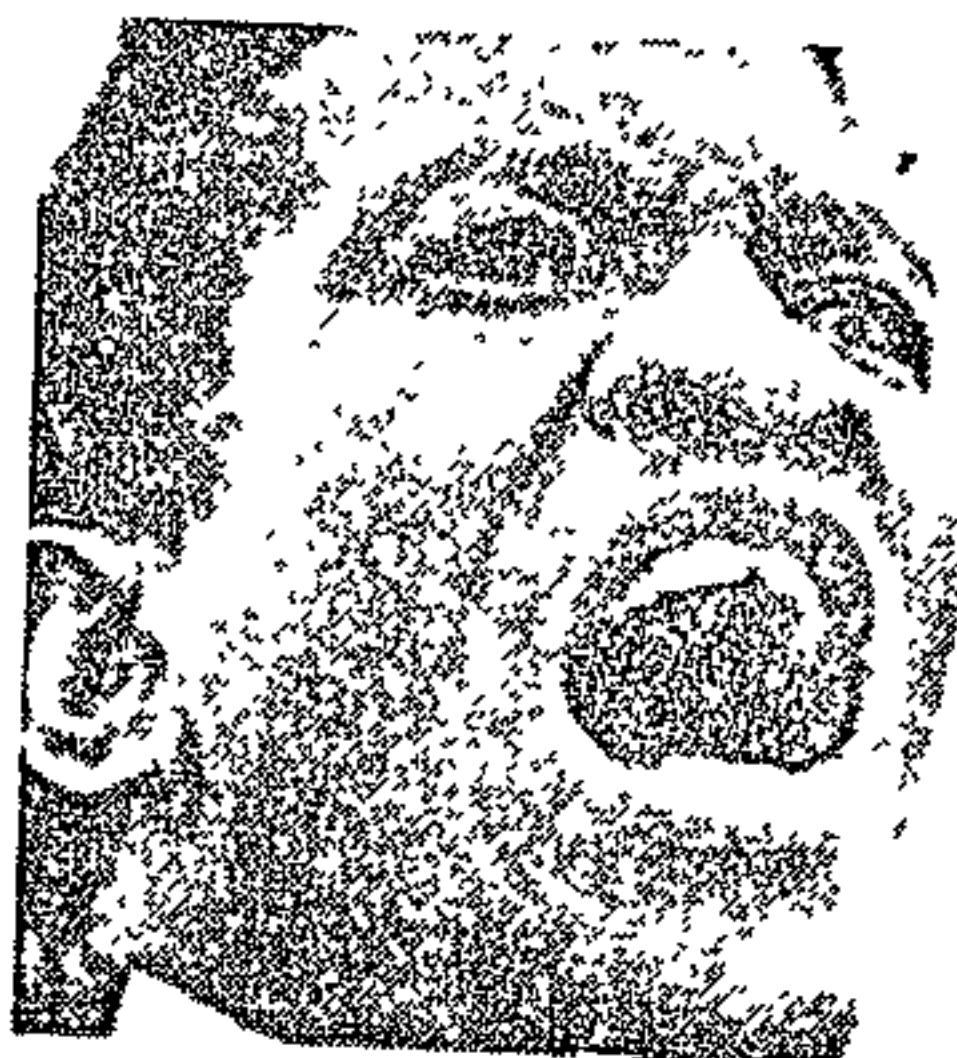
South Africans will have had to go by a sequence of excited pictures of angry youths kick-

Rioting in SA now tragically 'commonplace'



Africa Report

By ANTHONY DELIUS



Rev Sam Buti



Lt John Fouche

ing at smoking bombs and waving fists at knots of policemen bristling with guns.

Such scenes seem to have been going for the last six weeks and coming continuously from places as far apart as Uitenhage and the Cape Flats.

The Guardian Weekly summed it all up resignedly with the headline comment: "The shock is that it is commonplace." The hopelessness of the scene seems to be that it goes on and on.

The South African scene has become "commonplace" and never-ending, with streets filled with enraged mobs, burning buildings, policemen taking aim, and concerned citizens praying over lit candles.

Even among the wisest and best-willed observers in the

West there is a tendency to let the dreary fight between black and white continue until moral exhaustion sets in on both sides.

The Economist at the end of last month had an almost world-weary leader on apartheid, drawing attention to an 18-page article discussing how to fight apartheid by the easiest method, i.e. by not seeming to fight it at all.

There is a great deal of common sense in the article, advocating drawing of South African industry into steadily applying the Sullivan and the EEC codes of good employment.

The Economist claims that "all the posturings at the United Nations, on Massachusetts

Avenue or in Trafalgar Square have not done half as much for black advancement as the steady industrialization of South Africa, much of it through foreign capital and foreign managerial contact."

The man who led the American effort to slide South Africa almost invisibly out of the thralls of apartheid into the economic common sense of the modern industrial practice of the EEC and Mr Sullivan was Dr Chester Crocker, a professor from Georgetown University who has a Rhodesian wife.

In his capacity of Assistant Secretary of State for Africa he formed around him a dedicated group of officials, and they laboured night and day to engage South Africa "constructively".

Get their sides so close together

But the necessity to force the pace to satisfy the contingencies of American domestic policies and calm South African suspicions left behind in Mr P W Botha's bosom by dealings with Dr Henry Kissinger, did create too many snares for "constructive engagers" on both sides.

The fact that the South African and American negotiating parties managed to get their sides so close together before landing one another so deeply in the mud still leaves some room for hope.

Their intentions were good, even if their rating of themselves were over-inflated, and there is no reason why they shouldn't try again.

Perhaps they might do so in better company. Or maybe it was the company they did it in that got them so wrong-footed in the end.

However, as the admirable writer of the article in the Economist says with a certain moral reservation, South Africa's present rulers have survived a quarter of a century since Sharpeville, and it will probably survive a quarter of a century from Uitenhage.

They may even learn some restraint in that time.

Police combating unrest with 'minimum of force'

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Deputy-Minister of Defence and of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, today gave the assurance that the police were trying to combat sporadic unrest in black areas with the minimum of force in order to prevent loss of life "at all costs".

In the past few days Mr Vlok has visited areas in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage which have been hit by unrest. He has also been to the East and West Rand and yesterday he flew by helicopter over black areas in the Peninsula.

Mr Vlok was accompanied by the Deputy-Minister of Co-operation and Education, Mr San de Beer, and senior police officers.

Speaking from Pretoria, he said the situation in some areas he visited remained tense.

The police were trying to defuse this by preventive measures. The intention was not to withdraw but to establish a vi-



Mr Adriaan Vlok

sible presence there.

From conversations he had had with black people he was convinced most wanted to go to work and their children to go to school. One of the disturbing phenomena which had to be fought was black violence against other blacks.

The hostility between radical and moderate elements was so great they would murder each other if security forces were to move out of some areas.

There had been strict instructions for the handling of unrest by the security forces. It remained the rule that aids such as loudhailers, teargas, rubber bullets and bird-shot were the first resort in trouble.

Continued use would be made of army units where necessary, but this would be only in a supporting role.

Mr Vlok said the position was under control but he called for further calm and expressed the hope that black pupils would return to schools when they reopened this week.

Asked how the root causes of unrest in the black townships would be addressed, Mr Vlok said the Government had indicated its willingness to consider and deal with blacks' problems and to talk to them, but it was first necessary to restore order.

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UDF: 'Protest Spontaneous'

The Argus Johannesburg correspondent analyses the effect of the conference of the United Democratic Front held on the West Rand at the weekend.

THOSE who believe the "instigator" explanation for the unremitting township unrest would have been astonished had they eavesdropped on the United Democratic Front national conference at the weekend.

They would have heard more than 300 delegates to the West Rand gathering tangling with the problem that "in many areas organisations trail behind the masses thus making it difficult for disciplined mass action to take place".

They would have heard protest in the townships described as "spontaneous" rather than orchestrated in many cases.

And they would also have learnt that the UDF — that broad grouping of organisations conceived just two years ago — is determined to deepen its roots in the townships, to play a leadership role in direct mass action and that it has trimmed its organisational structure to make it more re-

sponsive to urgent local demands.

At the end of the conference, publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota said: "We remain entirely committed to the non-violent approach" but added that the organisation would engage increasingly in mass action and would not content itself with issuing press statements on issues.

"The struggle must be placed in the hands of the people. We are not here to struggle on behalf of the people but with them."

Mr Lekota indicated that much of the mass action would be protest directed at local and foreign targets. "The UDF will go into the streets time and time again," said Mr Lekota.

Direct moves were also likely to take the form of supportive action around groups under threat — for instance, in the case of forced removals.

And, although there was no direct threat of further work stayaways the recent stay-at-

home organised in the Eastern Cape as a protest against rises in controlled prices was held up as an example of successful mass action.

Mr Lekota said civil disobedience was not quite the right label for what the front had in mind because the term implied a general recognition for the law. "There is no law in South Africa which deserves our respect because we have not participated in making the laws," he said.

General secretary Mr Popo Molefe drew a distinction between the UDF's present view of mass action and the defiance campaign of the 1950s. The present aims were more far-reaching than the old goal of clogging the machinery of justice, he admitted.

He described the UDF's goals as threefold: to isolate the State increasingly from the people, to isolate the South African Government from the international community and

to deepen the schism between the junior and senior partners in Parliament so that the trilateral system might collapse.

While committing itself to this course of popular action, the UDF general council still addressed itself to Pretoria, listing its immediate demands for a "process of transition from the prevailing oppressive and exploitative order to a democratic state".

These included the immediate repeal of all apartheid legislation, the abolition of the present instruments of state control and the release of political prisoners.

It insisted that, if apartheid were abandoned, "not one more drop of blood need be shed". But only paragraphs later it reflected a different reality in pledging itself "to organise our people to effectively challenge the apartheid state by frustrating its efforts, preventing its advance, forcing its retreat and — if possible — cutting off all its lines of retreat".

Warning of street protests against All Black tour

THE United Democratic Front said at the weekend that it would mobilise people in street protests against the All Black rugby players if the tour of South Africa went ahead.

"This is one tour which would take our activists to the airports and the sports fields of this country," said UDF publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota.

Mr Lekota's statements were made at the end of the national conference of the UDF, held in Azadville on the West Rand. More than 300 delegates adopted a resolution that there could be no normal sport in an abnormal society and warning

that any New Zealand rugby tour of South Africa would be regarded as "complicity in the crime of apartheid".

The UDF has aligned itself with the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) and all other local and foreign groups opposing "rebel tours".

It has also appealed directly to New Zealand Prime Minister Mr David Lange. "We hope he and other progressive New Zealanders will be able to persuade the rugby union to abandon the tour," said Mr Lekota, adding that relations between the people of the two countries could be "bedevilled beyond the order of apartheid".

BLACK UNREST

Councils in crisis

Nationwide unrest of the past few months has gravely undermined the notion of "autonomous black local authorities" — the cornerstone of government's efforts to "democratise" black urban life in SA.

According to the Department of Co-operation and Development, since violence erupted in the Vaal Triangle in September last year, 12 black councillors have been murdered and 45 resigned before the Uitenhage upheavals of March 21. Subsequently, at least three more councillors in the eastern Cape have been killed and more than 20 have resigned.

As a result, few councils in the PWV and the eastern Cape function properly, while some, like Ratanda and Duduza, have been crippled altogether. More than 30 council chairmen have resigned. Altogether 34 of the councils were established countrywide under the Black Local Authorities Act 1983.

The FM understands that the Cabinet is seriously concerned about developments which could mean the end of their plans for "local democracy." The breakdown of local order was high on the agenda at the Cabinet's first meeting this week after Parliament's Easter adjournment.

If it was not like that before, the finances of many local authorities are in a state of collapse. Either out of conviction or out of fear of paying tribute to a hated system, tens of thousands of households are withholding payment of rent and services levies. The loss of revenue in affected townships is incalculable. In addition, the cost of damage to council property, businesses and homes runs to many millions.

The most disconcerting thing about the current "cycle of violence" is that no one seems to know where it had its genesis, but part of the answer at least seems to lie with perceptions that the new councils are extensions of the arm of apartheid and, being black, are therefore fair, and easily accessible targets of reprisal. Their real answer is doubtless less simplistic. In the eastern Cape, for instance, there have been suggestions by self-confessed "avengers" that their "reprisals" are directed at corrupt black elites suspected of "murderous exploitation" of their parents. While the ANC, underground and illegal, and therefore beyond prosecution, is pleased to claim much of the responsibility of what is going on, there is much evidence to suggest that the war of townships is being fought on grounds of poverty, deprivation and frustration. Children of 12-14, hell-bent on immolation of local figures of exploitation, have barely had time to master the ABC, let alone the dialectics of liberation politics.

Although unrest in the eastern Cape and the east Rand has calmed somewhat in the last few days, black townships nationwide are simmering. The biggest funeral in the eastern Cape since that of Steve Biko takes place this weekend when the victims of the Langa shootings are buried. However, a large military force has been deployed.

Meanwhile, the United Democratic Front (UDF) decided at its first annual conference last weekend to open a new phase in mass protest action involving a disobedience campaign.

UDF Publicity Secretary Patrick Lekota told a press conference that the time had come for a "new level of assault on the current dispensation. We will take up issues and challenge them time and time again. We will not be satisfied with making press statements.

"Each time we take up an issue, we will not hesitate to take our activists and march in the streets," Lekota did add, however, that the UDF is still committed to non-violence ■

RELIGION

Wooing the masses

State President P W Botha's Easter reception at Moria, headquarters of the Zionist Christian Church (ZCC), was a major coup for government in dark times. Not only did he have the chance to deliver a conciliatory message to more than 2m black Zionists —

and more on TV1, 2 and 3 — he also received praise from the United States and Europe. It was a welcome change for him after weeks of a very bad overseas press.

Bishop Barnabus Lekganyane, third hereditary "prophet" and head of the ZCC, is arguably the most revered, if not influential, black figure in SA. This is to judge purely by the millions of his deeply committed followers who every Easter make a pilgrimage to Zion City, Moria, outside Pietersburg.

More significant, however, is that the ZCC, easily the largest of some 3 000 "African independent churches" in SA, preaches a distinctly conservative philosophy. At its 70th anniversary over Easter 1980, for example, when then Co-operation and Development Minister Piet Koornhof attended the function, Lekganyane urged his massive flock to be law-abiding and to support their homeland chiefs and the "mother state" of SA.

Political opportunity

It is therefore not surprising that President P W Botha attended this year's 75th ZCC anniversary, where he received the Freedom of Moria, and expressed his "appreciation... for the positive spirit shown by you and your followers." Addressing this particular religious sect was a political opportunity not to be missed. Botha in turn was praised by Lekganyane, a man in his thirties, for "his untiring efforts to fight for the maintenance of peace in SA."

From government's point of view, the ZCC presents a wonderful antidote to radi-



Botha and Lekganyane... politics and religion do mix

day, April 12, 1985

and Politics

Influx: Changes to be introduced

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

LEGISLATION aimed at changing South Africa's controversial influx control laws will be introduced in the second half of this year, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, announced yesterday.

The government was giving high priority to reviewing influx control laws and draft legislation to assist the orderly urbanization of black communities would go to a standing committee later this year, he said.

Dissatisfaction

Speaking during the Budget debate, Dr Viljoen acknowledged that influx control was one of the major reasons for dissatisfaction and frustration in black communities.

He said the government had come to accept that the influx of black people into the cities was unavoidable but emphasized that this should take place in an orderly fashion.

Dr Viljoen said the government's urbanization strategy did not support migration to the cities at the expense of development in the rural areas.

Typical

A diversified strategy was necessary whereby growth in the existing metropolises should be complemented by incentives for living in the homelands and at growth points.

He said rapid migra-



Dr Gerrit Viljoen

tion to industrial areas was a typical feature of developing countries.

"When we are being charged with injustices such as forced removals, we must realize this is a problem in the whole Third World.

"In many countries far more drastic measures are being taken than in South Africa."

Dr Viljoen said he was impressed with the progress being made by Cape Town squatters who had decided to move to Khayelitsha.

Informal sector activity had already been established and building of schools was proceeding apace.

Appealed

The government's policy of negotiation had led to practical new alternatives for squatters. The acceptance of orderly squatting had become an

important new housing strategy "to bring housing in the Third World context".

He appealed to the private sector to play a greater role in helping upgrade squatter communities like Crossroads.

Dr Viljoen said the situation of those who had decided to move would be reviewed in 18 months but emphasized that squatters would not be "repatriated".

Black teachers who were not working as a result of school boycotts may have to be put on unpaid leave or transferred, Dr Viljoen warned yesterday.

The government would have no option but to transfer teachers who were unable to work as a result of boycotts, Dr Viljoen said.

But those unwilling to move because of intimidation would have to take unpaid leave.

Gratified

He said education was vitally important and all available manpower had to be used.

Dr Viljoen said he was gratified that the situation in a number of boycott-plagued areas was improving. At Cradock, where classes had been stopped for over a year, the pupils had decided to go back to school next week.

He emphasized that his department did not close schools when boycotts took place — the facilities remained open but the communities simply did not use them.

Division

Black unrest will not leave whites unscathed

Feb. C. Times

(274)

THE new constitution is having both good and bad effects in South African politics.

Taking the bad news first, there is a danger that the exclusion of blacks from the constitution, unless speedily redressed, will shipwreck the whole exercise.

The alienation and resentment in the black community are frightening, as anyone who is in contact with blacks will tell you. Each succeeding clash with the police generates the steam for yet another confrontation.

This vicious cycle of violence and counter-violence feeds on hurt and frustration and, if it carries on much longer, will not leave the whites unscathed.

Against this background, it is a relief to note that some good effects of the new deal are already evident.

Electric

The mere presence of people of colour in the hallowed lobbies and corridors of Parliament has had an electric effect. There is a change in the tone of political discourse between the Botha government and the PFP Opposition.

The old arguments about race and colour seem to have become irrelevant. The traditional rhetoric of Nat-Sap politics has almost disappeared, I am told, and it is now left to the Conservative Party to pursue the hoary old themes.

In the debate between the Nationalist government and the official Opposition there now seem to be fewer matters of fundamental principle in dispute, particularly since President Botha's remarkable speech reopening the questions of black political rights, influx control and citizenship.

There are still important differences of principle, of course. The Botha administration cannot yet face the prospect of scrapping the Group Areas Act, for instance. In the area of civil rights, detention without trial, police methods and the use of the military in curbing civil disturbances, great differences likewise remain, as also in defence and regional policy.

Nevertheless, there is a subtle shift taking place in relations between government and



A vicious cycle of violence and counter-violence in the townships.

Opposition which, we may hope, bodes well for the future. The argument, more and more, is about ways and means and the tardy pace of reform rather than about the principles involved.

Wave of unrest

So much for the beneficial effects of the new dispensation in parliamentary politics.

The bad news is that the introduction of the new constitution, excluding blacks, has triggered off a wave of unrest in black townships which seems likely to continue indefinitely, on present form, or until the inclusion of blacks has been successfully negotiated.

It was this inevitable consequence of black exclusion, more than anything, perhaps, which prompted Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert and others to urge a "No" vote in the constitutional referendum.

Urgent

The new constitution is an accomplished fact. The urgent thing, now, is to repair the omission before its violent effects drag the whole country to the brink.

There is a need for people to grasp the alarming extent and intensity of the unrest in the black townships. The

malaise seems to be every bit as widespread as in 1976, the year of the great Soweto upheaval, but people are largely unaware of what is going on this time because the coverage of black unrest on television has been misleadingly bland and low-key. Some newspapers have also tended to play it down, it seems, as the news reports tend to follow the same repetitive pattern.

Low toll

The relatively low casualty toll is another reason why the continuing unrest has not made much impact in the country. The main reason for the drop is that police now use rubber bullets rather than sharp ammunition and the lethal semi-automatic rifles which killed so many in 1976. In that year about 800 people died. The figures for the second half of last year were about 163 while so far this year the toll seems to be about four or five or so, including at least one murdered policeman.

A disquieting pattern of violence is emerging, making the black areas almost ungovernable. Apart from the associated school boycotts and protests, there is a repetitive pattern of murderous attacks directed at black policemen, officials and local councillors who co-operate with the authorities.

The weapons used — stones and petrol bombs — are readily available so there is no way of disarming disaffected elements. Nothing which the South African Police or other governmental authorities can do — including the use of the defence force — seems to have much effect. The unrest crops up anew somewhere almost every week.

A summary of some of the incidents which have been reported in the black areas since Christmas may help to bring home what is afoot. The date of publication of the report is given.

December 27: Police firing birdshot dispersed

800 black people who set fire to local government offices in the black township of Boipatong, Transvaal, and a mob petrol-bombed a police officer's house, which was for the most part destroyed.

December 27: At Mamelodi, near Pretoria, police shot and wounded two black youths after a local councillor's house had been stoned and his car destroyed by fire.

December 27: A policeman was stoned and seriously injured by a mob at Katlehong, Transvaal.

January 3: Three hundred rioters stoned a development board liquor outlet at Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle and a man was killed when an official opened fire with a shotgun.

January 3: Police fired tear-smoke to disperse rioters who set alight a development board liquor store and a post office at Singo, near Port Elizabeth. The post office was destroyed. Police fired rubber bullets at a crowd stoning the houses of two councillors at Kamabuhle nearby.

January 3: Stone-throwing and the setting up of road blockades were reported on the East Rand. Police used tear-smoke and rubber bullets to disperse crowds.

January 7: A crowd of 300 stormed police vehicles at Beaufort West, stoned a school and a car driven by a community councillor and were dispersed by police firing rubber bullets.

January 12: Eastern Cape black school boycotts continued.

January 14: Police fired rubber bullets and used sjamboks to disperse pupils chanting freedom songs after a meeting in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth.

January 16: Bands of youths stoned police, administration board and private vehicles and prevented pupils from going to school at Sebokeng.

January 16: A circuit inspector's car was stoned at Mamelodi and stone-throwing incidents were reported at a secondary school.

Political Survey



Gerald Shaw

January 17: Youths looted a delivery truck and stoned private vehicles at Bophelong in the Vaal Triangle. Police were stoned by a mob of youths at Evaton and dispersed them with tear-smoke. At Boipatong a bus was stoned and the driver injured.

January 18: Three houses of policemen were set alight by youths in Uitenhage black townships and one was destroyed by fire. Police vehicles were stoned and a delivery vehicle was burnt out.

January 21: Local councillors were barricaded in their offices and had to be rescued by police who used birdshot and tear-smoke to disperse a crowd of 6 000 who had stoned the councillors and called for their resignation.

January 21: Police were stoned at Denver in Johannesburg and two buildings were set alight.

January 22: Police arrested 169 New Crossroads women and fired rubber bullets and tear-smoke to disperse an angry stone-throwing crowd.

January 31: Youths set up road barricades and stoned police vehicles at Bothaville, OFS. Pupils stoned a school building at Virginia, OFS, and were dispersed with tear-smoke.

February 6: A school inspector's house and car were set alight at Cradock in the Eastern Cape.

February 12: In unrest in the Seaisoville township near Kroonstad, OFS, 3 000 rioting youths set fire to homes, overturned cars and destroyed 27 business premises by arson.

It is a fearsome tally. Let us hope the tentative moves towards negotiation between the Botha administration and the ANC are vigorously pursued by all concerned — before the country bleeds to death.

Indoor gatherings of 29 groups outlawed for three months in 18 districts

Ban on meetings

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

INDOOR meetings in 16 Eastern Cape and two Transvaal districts were banned for three months today in a proclamation by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange.

Meetings to call for work stay-aways and the meetings of 29 organisations are banned.

● The districts affected are:

Albany, Alberton, Alexandria, Adelaide, Bathurst, Bedford, Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Graaff-Reinet, Hankey.

Humansdorp, Kempton Park, Kirkwood, Middelburg (Cape), Pearston, Port Elizabeth, Somerset East and Uitenhage.

Organisations

● The organisations are:

Azanian Students Organisation, Black Students Movement, Cookhouse Youth Association, Congress of South African Students, Cradock Residents Association, Cradock Women's Organisation, Cradock Youth Association.

Fort Beaufort Organ of Peace, Fort Beaufort Youth Congress, Graaff-Reinet Community Organisation, Graaff-Reinet Youth Congress, Grahams-town Civic Association, Grahamstown Youth Congress, Grahamstown Youth Movement.

Katlehong Action Committee, Middelburg Residents Association, Middelburg Youth Congress, Port Alfred Black Civic Organisation, Port Alfred Youth Congress, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress.

Proclamation

Somerset East Youth Association, Tembisa Civic Association, United Democratic Front, Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation, Uitenhage Health, Safety and Cultural Association, Uitenhage Women's Organisation, Uitenhage Youth Congress.

The Minister issued the ban in a proclamation in terms of the Internal Security Act.

It was published in the Government Gazette today and the reason given is to maintain public order.

Last week Mr le Grange placed a year-long ban on all indoor meetings dealing with boycotts of schools and universities.

All open-air meetings, except sports meetings, continue to be banned.

● Mrs Helen Suzman MP, the Opposition spokesman on law and order, said the Government's attempt to prevent people from gathering and discussing their grievances would be counter-productive.

She said it was more likely to lead to civil disobedience than to a resolution of the problems.

"The Government is creating a situation where protest and law-breaking are indistinguishable."

Ms 29/3/85

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10/4/85 * Ca

SAP silent about 'targets'

By STEPHEN
WROTTESELEY
Crime Reporter

BLACK policemen and their families have become one of the prime targets of unrest in Eastern Cape townships.

However police spokesmen are not prepared to say what is going to be done to protect them. In reply to a series of questions telexed by the Cape Times to the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria, a spokesman said:

"As far as we are concerned, the aims of certain individuals and organizations are to make South Africa ungovernable. To publicize the success these people may have enjoyed, however minimal, can only serve to encourage them to increase their lawless activities. For this reason the SA police does not consider it expedient to reply to your questions in depth."

Councillors

Attacks on black policemen, as well as on black councillors and development board employees, have resulted in millions of rands worth of damage. The houses of more than 96 policemen have been set alight or damaged since September last year and at least 60 policemen injured.

It is believed that policemen have moved their families out of "the front line" but this could not be confirmed.

There could be as many as 14 000 black policemen in the force of 45 561 people. These figures could not be confirmed.

Figures

The police spokesman said, when asked for the number of black policemen, that figures were available in the annual report of the Commissioner of Police, General P J Coetzee.

However the report only says how many whites and non-whites there are in the force and does not break down the non-white figure.

Among the questions asked were how many black policemen had been attacked recently and how many had died. It was also asked whether it was true that they had become prime targets of activists.

Asked whether policemen and their families would be moved out of townships and whether black policemen would no longer be used in reaction units, the spokesman said: "Under the prevailing conditions, we are, for obvious reasons, not prepared to discuss strategies."

'Don't distort facts'

SIR — Please allow me to respond to the article under the heading "UDF lashes at DET's tactics" (The SOWETAN, March 6, 1985).

I note that the UDF, in the person of Mr Moss Chikane, is continuing to turn a blind eye to any progress and any positive development in education, but instead indulges in vague generalisations and criticism which is often totally unfounded.

On the issue of expelled pupils, Mr Chikane argues that "no official has the authority to determine the fate and future of the African child". Does this imply that the Department should allow children to take over the running of schools and prescribe to parents and the authorities? Education can only take place in an atmosphere of orderliness and discipline and in this regard, the Department will not shun its responsibility towards the overwhelming majority of parents and pupils. The Department of Education and Training cannot be held to ransom by pupils and it will also not allow agitators and political organisations who abuse children for ulterior motives to determine and destroy the educational fate and future of children.

All right-minded persons will agree that it is wrong for children to attempt to solve grievances through violence and school boycotts. Care should also be taken to distinguish between genuine grievances to which the De-

partment gives immediate attention and those spurious grievances that are introduced purely to cause trouble. By reverting to violence and boycotts, pupils are playing into the hands of agitators who want to disrupt and destroy the education of children and who would love to see children in confrontation with the police and school authorities. There are proper channels and procedures for pupils to air their grievances and for negotiation and discussion. To do anything else, would be to court disaster. Even more important, it should be remembered that well-educated, highly-skilled black youths will achieve more for any community than disgruntled dropouts.

Demands

In accusing the Department of 'delaying tactics' in implementing the communication structures and of refusing to heed the demands made by parents' committees, the UDF is guilty of deliberately misconstruing the true facts.

It is common knowledge that the communication structures would have been introduced in January 1985. However, after meetings held with parents' committees, it was decided to invite further comments and suggestions from any interested person or organisation. The final date for the submission of such comments was January 9, 1985, but the National Parents' Com-

mittee submitted theirs only on February 13, 1985.

Mr Chikane's insistence that the Department should 'heed the demands made by parents committees', should also be placed in perspective.

There are more than 7 000 school committees, consisting of democratically elected parents. In addition, there are parent-teacher associations, teachers' and inspectors' associations and the Council for Education and Training with its regional committees. All these organisations are fully representative of parents from all over the country. They play a vital role in education and have the right to submit recommendations on issues concerning the education of their children.

All recommendations received from these bodies and individuals, are being studied. The final document will then be submitted to the Minis-



J A SCHOEMAN: DET's Chief public relations Officer.

ter for his decision.

J A SCHOEMAN
Chief: Public Relations

Department of
Education and
Training

WORD of GOD

The Way - Step #5

Unrest not too serious, says PW

London Bureau

LONDON. — The present wave of unrest in South Africa need not be taken "all that seriously", the State President, Mr P W Botha, is reported to have told a Sunday Telegraph journalist Peregrine Worsthorne on his recent visit to South Africa.

In the second and final instalment of his account of the visit, published in the Sunday Telegraph yesterday, Worsthorne wrote about his meeting with Mr Botha "whose office, like the man himself, is large and imposing".

Regarding the present troubles in the country, Mr Botha said he had successfully weathered the critical period around the time of the constitutional referendum.

According to Mr Worsthorne, Mr Botha said the time of the referendum was "the time for successful revolution or reaction".

He added "Black anger at being excluded from the franchise given to coloureds and Indians had been at its fiercest, as had white anger at the

inclusion of Indians and coloureds."

Mr Botha said black revolutionaries in South Africa feared the growth of black moderation, which was why so many moderates were being killed.

Mr Botha was quoted as having said he hoped the Western world had drawn the "right" lesson from the visit to South Africa by Senator Edward Kennedy — "that the country's black politics were much more complicated than anything dreamt of in Bishop Tutu's philosophy".

Mr Botha found the charge that he had broken up the unity of Afrikanerdom wounding and also much exaggerated.

"He had been greatly encouraged by the result of a recent vote for the new rector of Pretoria University — an overwhelming defeat for the Conservative Party-sponsored candidate — which indicated that the up-and-coming generation of Afrikaners was on his side," Mr Worsthorne wrote.

When they parted, Mr Worsthorne

asked the State President how he had found the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, during his visit to Britain last June.

Mr Botha replied. "Rather than embarrass the Prime Minister herself with my admiration, it would be more diplomatic to say I got on famously with Denis (Mrs Thatcher's husband)."

Mr Worsthorne met the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, and said during their meeting he said "nothing remotely memorable". He added. "I had rather hoped to meet a South African version of Enoch Powell. In the event, however, Dr Treurnicht turns out to have more in common with the Rev Ian Paisley (the firebrand Northern Ireland Unionist politician)."

Mr Worsthorne met the Cabinet Minister, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who told him the fact that white Ministers had to submit themselves regularly to questioning by the coloured and Indian MPs did "genuinely con-

stitute a new factor in the power balance".

Mr Rajbansi described the questioning sessions as a "chastening political experience" for white politicians.

His visit to Soweto had induced intense sympathy for the plight of South African blacks "But it also induces, in my heart at least, an equally intense sympathy for the dimensions of the dilemma faced by South African whites".

He visited a number of shebeens, as well as a dance hall in Soweto. At the dance hall, Mr Worsthorne wrote, a few drunks were being expelled with a degree of violence which, if used by the London police in Brixton, "would be described by Lord Scarman as fascist".

He concluded "Perhaps every visitor to South Africa should end his stay in a Soweto dance hall, where the heart of darkness is still reality enough to snuff out all but the hardest of enlightened illusions".

274 22/12/85

Unrest 'differs' from 1976 riots

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — There were a number of significant differences between the present black township unrest and the unrest which spread from Soweto to 160 communities around the country in 1976, according to the director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, Mr John Kane-Berman.

Grievances and demands were now much more broadly political and not simply education-related as in 1976, he said.

"There is a much more developed political strategy at work, especially directed against the black local authority system."

Other key differences now were the much greater involvement of factory workers through black trade unions and a higher incidence of violence directed against fellow blacks such as community councillors and policemen.

Divisions

There were now also much greater political divisions between black organizations.

"It is one of the main problems facing the

country at the moment," Mr Kane-Berman said.

The methods used to suppress the disturbances had, until the Langa shootings showed much more disciplined action by the South African Police.

The SADF had not been involved in 1976 but was now regularly active in the townships.

Conciliatory

Mr Kane-Berman said the government, especially the Department of Education and Training, had tried to be far more conciliatory this time, to an extent which would have been inconceivable in 1976.

"Attempts have been made to meet many of the demands made in last year's school boycotts, although not in full or in the form demanded."

Natal had escaped widespread unrest of the kind experienced in other provinces largely because of the influence of Inkatha and the discipline the organization exerted over its members, he said.

Conflicts in Natal also involved other issues, such as the incorporation of some townships into KwaZulu.

AS THE long weeks of unrest in the black townships draw into months we can begin to see that they mark a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group in South Africa.

If and when the police and security forces at long last succeed in restoring "order" and some semblance of "normality" to the strife-torn and smouldering townships in the Eastern Cape, Vaal and East Rand areas it will not be possible simply to revert to the old administrative structures

Even less will it be feasible to revive the political options which may have had some evolutionary potential prior to September 1984, in particular that of black community councils.

If the Government is somewhat belatedly waking up to the mistakes which were made in 1982 by introducing these councils without adequate sources of revenue or autonomous powers, then it is wishful thinking at this late date to assume that this might still be rectified in the circumstances brought about in the black townships by the current wave of political strife.

As the most astute observers have already pointed out, the political unrest of the last few months has been far from a mindless and arbitrary rage.

Instead, it shows a clear pattern ... one which is also significantly different from that of 1976-7. In particular, the immediate objects of black anger and militant action tend to be different. It is not primarily aimed against the (white) authorities and the State, or even against whites generally

Instead, the targets tend to be those within the black communities who have been prepared to co-operate with the ruling group, black community councillors, black policemen, black officials and businessmen.

By all accounts this strategy has been most effective, and in the country as a whole there appear to be a mere handful of community councils which are still operative to any extent.

Public attention and comment has concentrated mainly on the political violence and intimidation involved.

But this can make us miss the more general significance of what is happening in black politics

From a moral and humane point of view, it is of course utterly deplorable when black councillors are killed and maimed, their houses and shops burnt down, their families intimidated and so

Consequences of RDM 24/4/85 274 strife weigh heavy

ANDRE DU TOIT

on ... just as it is a national tragedy that so many civilian blacks, including many women and children, are shot and killed or maimed as a result of police action

But our shock at these scenes of violence — such as the burnt bodies of the Uitenhage councillor and his sons shown repeatedly by SABC-TV in prime time newscasts — should not obscure the new political reality which such scenes represent: this is the fate of those prepared to participate in Government-imposed political structures for blacks

What we are witnessing, at least as far as these black townships are concerned, is the final foundering of the policy of sectional co-optation

For two decades and more the Government's strategy in dealing with the aspirations of the majority of the South African population has basically been that of divide-and-rule, coupled with the selective and progressive co-optation of various sectional elites.

As the experience of the "Homelands" and national states has shown, a strategy of this kind can be quite effective even if it clearly lacks popular support

As long as some kind of authority structure can be established — even if only tenuously linked to traditional tribal authorities or based on low and disputed electoral polls — and as long as it can be tied to the interests of certain key groupings, such as black politicians, bureaucrats and traders, "separate development" can and have been sustained in the face of widespread unpopularity and resistance

More recently the co-optation has been extended with some vigour to certain elite groupings of the Indian and coloured communities.

Though it is still too soon to assess the political workings of this new constitutional dispensation for these groups, the fact of the matter is that neither low electoral polls nor more militant protest and boycott campaigns have prevented the recruitment

and installation of representatives in Parliament and even in the Cabinet

This leaves the urban black leadership. As the internal and external pressures for political reform mounted in recent years, it also became clear that the urban black elites provided the logical candidates for the next round of co-optation.

In many ways these "urban insiders" are already set apart: they share urban residential rights, employment opportunities, standards of living and schooling far in advance of that of the vast majority of rural blacks

Though the formula for the eventual political co-optation of these "urban insiders" at a national level remained unclear and problematic, it was obvious that at the local level the community councils should provide the necessary institutional infrastructure.

At the same time there are obvious advantages in removing white administrators and officials from the direct line of fire when it comes to unpopular measures, such as raising rents and rates in the townships.

In principle the prospects for such a co-optation of sections of the urban black elites, even in the face of a similar lack of popular support, are as viable as they have been in the other cases.

In practice — and this is the significance of the current unrest — such prospects have been shattered.

Whatever the source and inspiration of the political forces at work in the black townships may be, they have effectively countered the Government's co-optation strategy

They have gone beyond the more traditional methods of non-cooperation and boycott, and they have resorted to direct and drastic actions against the "collaborators"

The results have the makings of something analogous to the "Occupation" syndrome during the Second World War: in themselves the resistance movements in France or the Nether-

lands never posed a major threat to the military might of the German occupation, but they greatly increased the personal costs and risks for those prepared to work with the occupying power

The final aim was to make any form of civil government unfeasible

Obviously, everything possible must be done to prevent things coming to such a pass in our own country. But this requires a hard-headed and realistic assessment of the nature of present political realities

It avails little for the Government merely to stress how "moderates" in black communities have come under attack, or to call on other "moderates" to come forward. In present circumstances that would be suicidal — politically and even literally

As far as these black townships are concerned, the Government's co-optation strategy has foundered

Political realism requires that alternative strategies now be explored. In theory there is a growing realisation in Government circles of the need for negotiated political leaderships with coherent constituencies and viable political organisations.

In the present circumstances this must include the community, student and trade union organisations which Government spokesmen are increasingly branding as "the enemy"

The renewed speculation that the Government might be preparing the ground for security action against the UDF or its key leadership indicates a possible compounding of its present policy disaster

The failure of its co-optation strategy means precisely that the Government will not longer be able to "negotiate" with leaders of its own making and choice.

Whether or not security action might help in achieving the short-term ends of restoring law and order in the black townships, it will only serve to cut the ground from the political settlement needed in the longer term

Unrest spreads

STONE throwing and arson continued in the Eastern Cape, Kimberley, East Rand and Bloemfontein on Tuesday night and early yesterday, police in Pretoria said. 25/4/85

A police "situation report" issued to Sapa said that in Rocklands, Bloemfontein, a passenger bus was set alight by youths who "sprayed flammable liquid over it." Sowetan

The report, commenting on unrest around the country, said: "Agitators continued their senseless attacks against all and sundry."

"In most of these attacks of arson and stone throwing, those institutions which are there for the benefit of the black inhabitants of the townships, such as shops, removal vehicles, delivery vehicles, buses and also the SAP, who are there to maintain law and order, are the targets for these radicals, who, strangely enough, claim that they are doing these things for the benefit of all."

The Rocklands blaze was extinguished by the driver "prior to serious

damage being done", the report said. There was no police intervention and no reported injuries or arrests.

In Cradock, the driver of a vehicle fired on a mob of stone throwing youths with a pistol after his vehicle was stoned and damaged. There was no police intervention, reported injuries or arrests. 274

Burned

At Tinus, For Beaufort, police took a 14-year-old girl to hospital after she was seriously burned when her home was "petrol bombed and set alight by a mob of arsonists," the report said. The house was badly damaged by the fire.

In Grahamstown, Port Alfred and Alice-dale, "mobs of stone throwers were dispersed by police with tear-smoke and, in one incident, with shotgun fire." There were no reported injuries or arrests.

Arson also occurred in Zakhele, where a private car was set alight, and in New Brighton where classroom furniture was set alight.

The fires were extinguished by patrols of the SAP and SADF. There were no injuries or arrests — Sapa.

Don't miss

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UNREST

The contagion spreads

There are strong indications that eastern Cape unrest will grow worse before it stabilises and simmers down. The evidence at the Kannemeyer Commission of Inquiry into the March 21 shootings at Inmaduna Road, Langa, daily raises almost as many questions as answers. The most serious to date is the claim that 43 and not 20 people, as the official record indicates, were killed.

Another symptom of the continuing crisis is the resignation of five town and community councils in the region, including the mass resignation of the joint Somerset East/Cookhouse community council. Others are the Lingelible town council and those of Cradock, KwaNobuhle and Uitenhage plus the community councils of Humansdorp and Alexandria.

On Monday the school boycott, which paralysed education in Port Elizabeth for four months before being resolved in January, flared again with boycotts starting at 22 schools in the city.

The school stayaway spread to East London and a number of schools in the smaller towns of Bedford, Paterson, Graaff-Reinet, Port Alfred, Fort Beaufort, Kirkwood, Cookhouse, Pearston, Jansenville and Adelaide.

Meanwhile the Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage and Grahamstown chambers of commerce hope government will heed their call for a commission of inquiry into the unrest. The situation has been called "pre-revolutionary" by the Department of Law and Order.

Says PE chamber director Tony Gilson: "While we believe there is agitation, the climate for it is ripe. The success of the three-day stayaway over 'black weekend' is an indication that all is not right. There is a lot of discontent over living conditions, education and local government. There is also no doubt that the unrest is affecting business. We need further action."

One of the companies most seriously affected is PE Tramways which, according to MD Carl Coetzer, has lost 17 buses, valued at about R2m, and suffered an estimated R2.5m loss of revenue over the last nine months. The company has not operated in KwaNobuhle for the last six weeks.

The call for an inquiry will be

put to Minister of Co-operation and Development Gerrit Viljoen. The idea is not new. The Progressive Federal Party asked for the appointment of a commission earlier this year and repeated the call shortly before the Uitenhage shootings. Meanwhile, the Methodist Church of SA has taken the unprecedented step of calling one-day special synods in its various districts to discuss the unrest.

In Uitenhage at the weekend the Grahamstown district synod took a number of decisions which district chairman George Irvine hopes will increase contact between the black and white communities. The synod also appealed "to the government to declare its intention to renounce the use of institutional violence to enforce its political policy

Brigade, armed with sjamboks and kuries, were escorted by police to the local community hall where they intended holding their meeting. The meeting was abandoned as a result of the violence.

In Orlando East, Soweto, a shop was damaged extensively when pupils from a Chiawelo high school set it alight on Friday while many cars, including company vehicles, were stoned in Jabavu, Dube and Orlando East. Vehicles and buses were also attacked at Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle complex.

One victim of the unrest was the former Soweto mayor Ephraim Tshabalala, whose businesses, including a cinema and bottle store, were attacked and looted. Others were

Alexandra Council chairman Sam Buti, whose backyard cottage was stoned, and Alexandra town clerk Arthur Magerman.

The attack on Buti was the third in recent weeks. First was his house, then his shop and now the backyard cottage into which he moved after parts of the main house, including his library, were burnt.

Tshabalala has also been attacked on several occasions with petrol bombs, but damage has never been as extensive as Thursday's when his bottlestore in Jabavu was smashed and looted. Damage has been estimated at hundreds of thousands of rands.

Minister Viljoen told Parliament in answer to questions last week that 12 black councillors have died and 147 others resigned because of the mounting violence in black communities which is often directed against the fledgling local authorities.

He said 45 vacancies in black local authorities had occurred since they were set up.

At least five councils have been totally crippled as a result of members resigning, according to statistics compiled by the UDF. The five are KwaNobuhle and Lingelible, in the eastern Cape, Ratanda on the East Rand, Mankweng in Pietersburg and Tuma-hole at Parys in the Free State.

The UDF also points out that proposed rent increases in at least four townships — Sebokeng, Evaton, Atteridgeville and Mamelodi — have been suspended because of opposition from residents.

But in Kayamandi, Rini, KwaNobuhle, Lingelible (in the eastern Cape), Katlehong, Daveyton (on the East Rand); Galeshewe (Kimberley), and Mangaung (Bloemfontein) rent increases have come into force. ■



Unrest ... worse to come?

and to lift the ban on prescribed political organisations thus enabling them to participate in a process of legitimate negotiation. Synod believes that action of this sort would lead to the explicit renunciation of violence on the part of the organisations concerned."

In a significant development, violence and unrest have now broken out in the PWV complex where mobs last week attacked homes, shops, beerhalls, delivery vehicles in Soweto, Alexandra, Sebokeng and Duduza.

At Duduza on the East Rand on Sunday, the mobs barricaded streets with burning tyres and crates. They stoned and looted the local beerhall and a store. Police, assisted by troops, dispersed them with teargas.

The Duduza disturbance erupted as residents protested against an Inkatha meeting in the township. Hundreds of members of the Inkatha Youth



Kannemeyer ... more questions

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RAND DAILY MAIL, Friday, April 26, 1985

'Emotive' report on unrest condemned

By CLARE HARPER

A HIGHLY EMOTIVE police report issued yesterday on the countrywide unrest has been strongly criticised by spokesmen on black affairs.

The PFP spokesman on Law and Order, Mrs Helen Suzman, and the Black Sash last night strongly condemned the police interpretation of the situation.

Police yesterday ascribed the incidents of unrest countrywide to the work of "agitators" and "radicals" and described their actions as "purely and simply crimes being committed by criminals".

In a detailed "situation report" telexed to the Press, the police public relations division in Pretoria commented on various incidents saying:

"A few agitators, who through intimidation are trying to impose their will on others, continued (yesterday) with their deeds of arson."

"It is regrettable that these agitators seldom come to the fore personally, but mostly use the youth to try and achieve their dark and sinister purposes."

Mrs Suzman said the police report "showed complete ignorance of the

very real sense of grievance of black people, more particularly in these times of recession and unemployment where economic hardship is particularly prevalent."

The national vice-president of the Black Sash, Mrs Ethel Walt, said yesterday "it was ridiculous to talk of a crowd of 800 people or more as being criminals."

Police claimed in the report that "agitators" often used the youth to carry out acts of violence.

"It is sickening that children, often still infants, must witness people being set on fire."

"They also show scant regard for the property of others as mobs have been very indiscriminate in choosing their targets," police said.

Mrs Suzman said "Nobody condones some of the barbaric acts of retribution which have been committed, and they obviously must be severely censured."

"The children referred to in the report also, unfortunately, have to observe police violence."

In the report, police described incidents as having "very little, if any connection with unrest, but are pure and simple crimes being committed by criminals."

In response to the police report, Mrs Suzman asked whether "the Minister of Law and Order is aware of the stupid statement issued by his department, for which he will be held responsible".

"I foresee nothing but an ongoing situation of unrest if this is the official line of the Government," she said.

Mrs Ethel Walt said yesterday that labelling people as "agitators", and using highly emotive language was "not helping to diffuse the situation and served no useful purpose."

"If there are criminal elements, then they must be arrested and charged with the crimes," Mrs Walt said.

"There is plenty of evidence that police have very little regard for human lives, using birdshot and buckshot and live ammunition indiscriminately," she added.

She said that there were no channels for the people to express their legitimate grievances, when leaders of the people were banned and detained.

"I have no doubt that the presence of the police and army in the townships is in itself inflammatory, and not contributing to a peaceful resolution," she said.

Case 71075
27/4/85 (274)

4 people die as E Cape simmers

JOHANNESBURG. — A 24-year-old man was fatally wounded yesterday when police used bird-shot to disperse about 40 people in Alicedale, in the Eastern Cape, according to a report issued by the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria last night.

The man, part of a group of stonethrowers pelting police vehicles in the township, was killed by police firing in "self-defence", according to the police report. A firearm was found in the possession of the victim.

This was the fourth death in the Eastern Cape reported yesterday.

Earlier, police said a

body "charred beyond recognition" was found at Redhouse, near Port Elizabeth. Police found it beneath a pile of smouldering tyres. The body, believed to be male, had apparently been hacked to pieces before being set alight.

Two people also died in Kwazakele, near Port Elizabeth, yesterday.

Eleven people were injured and 12 arrested in rioting in the Johannesburg area, the East Rand and the Eastern Cape yesterday.

Other incidents of unrest in the Cape were reported from New Brighton, Kirkwood, Kwanobuhle, Kwazakele, Graaff-Reinet, Kim-

berley, Noupoort, at Tinus near Beaufort West, and Joza and Tanje near Grahamstown.

All schools in the Port Elizabeth area were totally boycotted by pupils yesterday — with the exception of six primary schools where there was some attendance, according to the regional director of Education and Training, Mr Gunther Merbold.

It was learned yesterday that the total stayaway was in sympathy with the families of unrest victims to be buried in mass funerals today.

And Lieutenant-Colonel Vic Haynes, acting SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday police would keep away from two mass funeral services today for 26 unrest victims in Zwide, Port Elizabeth, and KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage.

In two Eastern Cape centres, Somerset East and Cookhouse, pupils were back in class yesterday after boycotts lasting several weeks.

Transvaal

In incidents of unrest in the Transvaal yesterday, police reported:

● On the West Rand, at Sebokeng, police doused a meat delivery vehicle which had been set alight.

There were also numerous incidents of stonethrowing and in one incident a woman was slightly injured.

At Evaton, police used a sneeze machine to disperse about 700 people yesterday afternoon. There were no injuries.

● On the East Rand, at Tembisa, about 12 people threw stones and a petrol bomb at a delivery vehicle. Arsonists also set fire to and destroyed a Post Office vehicle, the report said. No police action was taken in these incidents, it said.

● In Soweto, Johannesburg, delivery vehicles were stoned in Moroka and Meadowlands, while a store was looted. — Sapa and Own Correspondents

Cape Town
Members of the South African Defence Force could be used shortly in the prevention and suppression of terrorism in South Africa, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said yesterday.

General Malan also said it might be necessary for the Government to introduce a second Budget this year if the present climate of unrest in the country continued.

Speaking in the House of Delegates in the debate on the Defence Vote, he referred to a statement made recently by President Botha stating the Government's intention to control unrest.

5 more die as unrest continues

Five people died yesterday in continued violence and police action in black townships.

The charred body of an unidentified man was found under a pile of smouldering tyres yesterday afternoon by police in Kwazakele, near Port Elizabeth.

A police spokesman said the body had been hacked to pieces before being set alight.

Also in Kwazakele, a man was shot dead by police who opened fire on a group of youths which had been stoning police vehicles.

In Redhouse, near Port Elizabeth, police yesterday morning discovered the charred body of a person whose body had been burnt so badly that the sex could not be determined.

In Alicedale in the Eastern Cape, a 24-year-old man died when police fired birdshot at a group who had been stoning vehicles in the area.

On the Hartbeesfontein Gold Mine near Stilfontein the body of an unidentified man was discovered after police fired bird shot to disperse a crowd.

In Seeisoville near Kroonstad yesterday afternoon, the home of a councillor and a private vehicle were damaged by a group of stone-throwing youths.

At Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle the driver of a meat delivery vehicle was slightly injured and the vehicle was set alight when a group of youths stoned the vehicle.

At present the SADF was being used in the prevention of internal disorder, he said.

However, if unrest continued, the Government would shortly have to employ the SADF in the prevention and suppression of terrorism.

General Malan's statement comes in the wake of considerable controversy over the role the SADF has been playing in the control of unrest.

The Minister said that should outside pressure and revolutionary forces maintain their present level of growth, the SADF would not be able to sustain any further Budget cuts.

If unrest continued, there was a possibility that another Budget would have to be introduced later this year.

General Malan said the ANC, Communist Party and United Democratic Front were trying to make South Africa ungovernable. For this reason they were promoting the anti-conscription campaign.

Mr Mamoo Rajab (S, Springfield) and Mr Salaam Abram-Mayet (NPP, Electoral College) said their parties opposed conscription of Indians.

But Mr Mayet said his party would not campaign against people joining the SADF voluntarily.

General Malan replied that any decision on Indian conscription would have to be taken by the House of Delegates.

He advised members to think carefully about the issue and not make any commitment either way at present.

"Maybe I will be able to convince you in time that national service should be considered by the Indian community."

27/4/85
by
Mike Robertson,
Political Staff

Threat to use army units to quell unrest

Magnus Malan warns that military might need more money

AS THE long weeks of unrest in the black townships draw into months we can begin to see they mark a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group in South Africa.

If and when the police and security forces succeed in restoring "order" and some semblance of "normality" to the strife-torn and smouldering townships in the Eastern Cape, Vaal and East Rand areas, it will not be possible simply to revert to the old administrative structures.

Even less will it be feasible to revive the political options which may have had some evolutionary potential before September, 1984 — in particular, that of black community councils.

If the government is somewhat belatedly waking up to the mistakes made in 1982 by introducing these councils without adequate sources of revenue or autonomous powers, then it is wishful thinking at this late date to assume that this might still be rectified in the circumstances brought about in black townships by the current strife.

Significantly different

As the most astute observers have already pointed out, the political unrest of the last few months has been far from a mindless and arbitrary rage. Instead, it shows a clear pattern, one which is significantly different from that of 1976-77.

In particular, the immediate objects of black anger and militant action tend to be different. It is not primarily aimed against the (white) authorities and the state — or even against whites generally.

Instead, the targets tend to be those within the black communities who have been prepared to co-operate with the ruling group: black community councillors, black policemen, black officials, black businessmen.

By all accounts this strategy has been most effective and in the country as a whole there appear to be a mere handful of community councils which are still operative to any extent.

Violence and intimidation

Public attention and comment has concentrated mainly on the political violence and intimidation involved but this can make us miss the more general significance of what is happening in black politics.

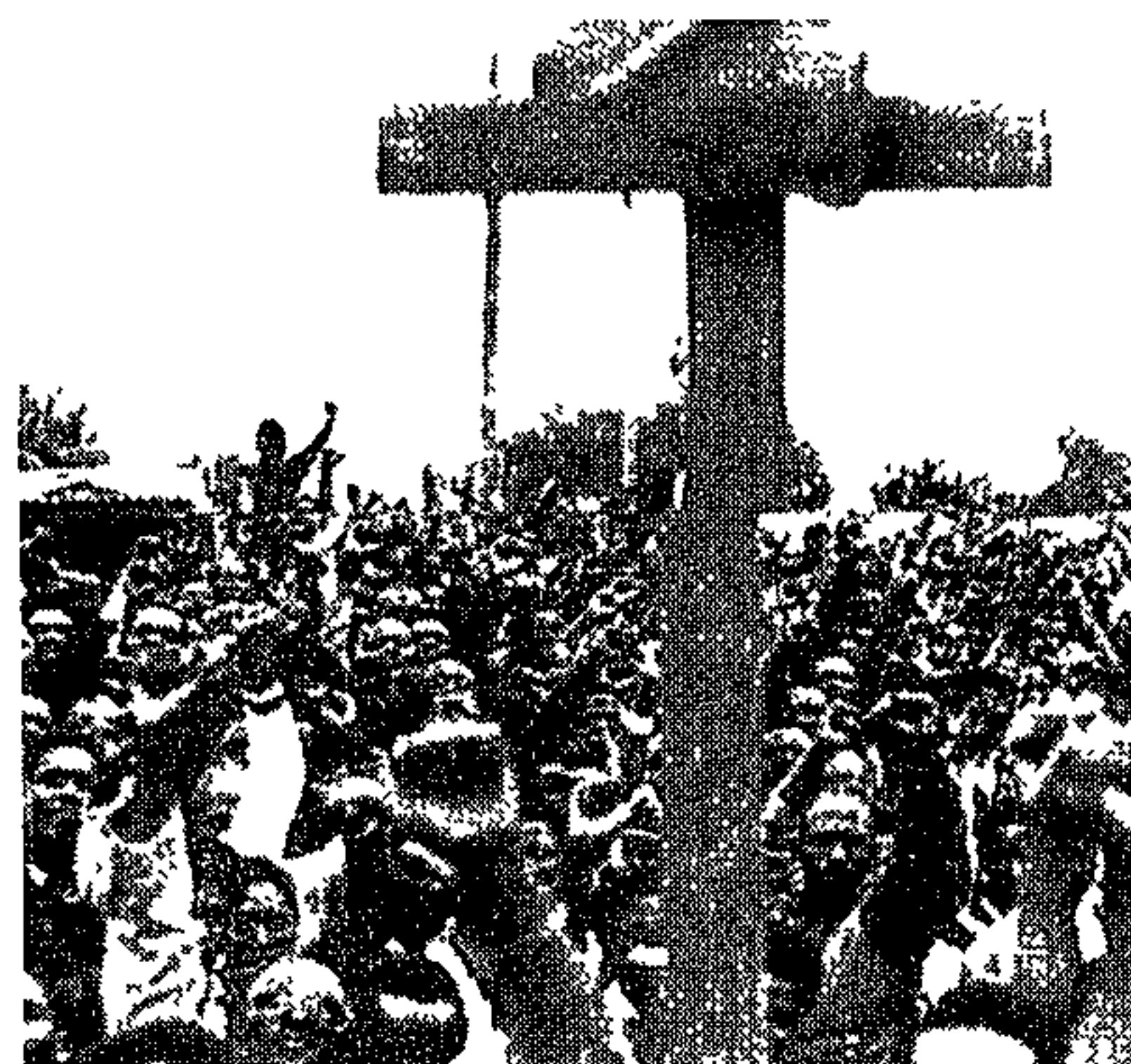
From a moral and humane point of view it is, of course, utterly deplorable when black councillors are killed and maimed, their houses and shops burnt down, their families intimidated and so

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

By ANDRÉ DU TOIT



Unrest proves failure of co-optation policy



Unrest in the black townships . . . marking a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group.

on — just as it is a national tragedy that so many civilian blacks, including many women and children, are shot dead or maimed by police action.

But our shock at these scenes of violence, such as the burnt bodies of the Uitenhage councillor and his sons shown repeatedly by TV in newscasts, should not obscure the new political reality which such scenes represent: this is the fate of those prepared to participate in government-imposed political structures for blacks.

What we are witnessing, at least as far as these black townships are concerned, is the final foundering of the policy of sectional co-optation.

For two decades and more the government's strategy in dealing with the aspirations of the majority of the South African population has basically been that of divide and rule coupled with the selective and progressive co-optation of various sectional elites.

As the experience of the homelands and national states has shown, a strategy of this kind can be quite effective even if it clearly lacks popular support.

As long as some kind of authority structure can be established, even if only tenuously linked to traditional tribal authorities or based on low and disputed electoral polls, and as long as it can be tied to the interests of certain key groupings such as black politicians, bureaucrats and traders, "separate development" can and has been sustained in the face of widespread unpopularity and resistance.

More recently the co-optation has been extended with some vigour to certain elite groups of the Indian and coloured communities. Though it is still too soon to assess the political workings of this new constitutional dispensation for these groups, the fact of the matter is that neither low electoral polls nor more militant protest and boycott campaigns have prevented the recruitment and installation of representatives in Parliament and even in the cabinet.

This leaves the urban black leadership

As internal and external pressure for political reform grew in recent years, it also became clear that the urban black elites pro-

vided the logical candidates for the next round of co-optation.

In many ways these "urban insiders" are already set apart: they share urban residential rights, employment opportunities and standards of living and schooling far in advance of that of the great majority of rural blacks.

Though the formula for the eventual political co-optation of these "urban insiders" at a national level remained unclear and problematic, it was obvious that at local level community councils should provide the necessary institutional infrastructure.

At the same time there are obvious advantages in removing white administrators and officials from the direct line of fire when it comes to unpopular measures such as raising township rents and rates.

In principle the prospects for such a co-optation of sections of the urban black elites, even in the face of a similar lack of popular support, are as viable as they have been in the other cases. In practice — and this is the significance of the current unrest — such prospects have been shattered.

Whatever the source and inspiration of political forces at work in the black townships may be, they have effectively countered the government's co-optation strategy. They have gone beyond the more traditional methods of non-cooperation and boycott and have resorted to direct and drastic action against the "collaborators".

The results have the makings of something analogous to the occupation syndrome of World War II. In themselves the resistance movements in France or the Netherlands never posed a major threat to the military might of the German occupation, but they greatly increased the personal cost and risk of those prepared to work with the occupying power.

Hard-headed assessment

The final aim was to make any form of civil government unfeasible.

Obviously, everything possible must be done to prevent things coming to such a pass in our own country but this requires a hard-headed and realistic assessment of the nature of present political realities.

It avails little for the government merely to stress how "moderates" in black communities have come under attack or to call on other "moderates" to come forward. In present circumstances that would be suicidal, politically and even literally.

As far as these black townships are concerned, the government's co-optation strategy has foundered. Political realism requires that alternative strategies now be explored.

Strategy foundered

In theory there is a growing realization in government circles of the need for negotiated political leadership with coherent constituencies and viable political organizations.

In the circumstances this must include community, student and trade union organizations which government spokesmen are increasingly branding as "the enemy".

The renewed speculation that the government might be preparing the ground for security action against the UDF or its leadership indicates a possible compounding of its present policy disaster.

The failure of its co-optation strategy means precisely that the government will no longer be able to "negotiate" with leaders of its own making and choice.

Whether or not security action might help in achieving the short-term ends of restoring law and order in black townships, it will only serve to cut the ground from under the political settlement needed in the longer term.

Two more die as unrest continues

Cape Times 29/4/85 (274)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Unrest spread to Natal at the weekend when police used rubber bullets and tearsmoke to disperse about 200 people who stoned the home of a Lamontville town councillor on Saturday night.

Meanwhile, in the Eastern Cape two people died yesterday in continuing unrest that has claimed the lives of more than 140 people this year.

A crowd marched to the home of Lamontville councillor Mrs Ella Mxasana after a commemorative meeting in honour of murdered community leader Mr Msizi Dube, and Mr Joseph Mdluli, who died while in police detention in 1976.

A police patrol arrived as the crowd was stoning the house. There were no serious injuries and no arrests.

In a second incident in Lamontville, a bus driver was injured when a group stoned a bus.

Kwazakele

Police in Pretoria reported incidents of unrest in the Eastern Cape, Free State and Transvaal at the weekend.

● In Kwazakele yesterday morning, police protecting a fire brigade shot a man they thought had a firearm in his hand.

"When they ap-

proached the man, he ran away," a police spokesman said. "Police gave chase, the man turned around and took aim at a policeman, who, fearing for his life, fired a shotgun, fatally wounding the man."

It was later found that the man had a toy pistol, the spokesman said.

In another incident, police shot a 16-year-old boy dead. According to police, four youths stoned a private home and the occupier chased them as they were running away. One of the stone-throwers shot at the occupier, hitting him in the hand.

"Police arrived and gave chase. They were stoned and fired one shot at the stoner-throwers. A 16-year-old boy was fatally wounded," the spokesman said.

Also in Kwazakele, about 500 people gathered outside the mayor's home on Saturday. The crowd dispersed after a police guard fired a shotgun, but re-grouped. Police arrived and were stoned by the mob. The police used tearsmoke and fired shotgun rounds to disperse them. No injuries were reported.

● A man was shot by a security guard in Dorington, Fort Beaufort, yesterday, after he and three others entered a shop and threw a burn-

ing torch on the floor, police reported. The man is now under guard in hospital.

● A 12-year-old girl was seriously burnt in a petrol bomb attack on a councillor's house at Joza, near Grahamstown, on Saturday.

● In Adelaide, 43 people were arrested on Saturday when 300 mourners gathered outside a garage and refused to disperse.

Petrol bombs

In another incident, stones were thrown at a policeman's house. Petrol bombs were hurled at the home of two other policemen.

● In Graaff-Reinet, a vehicle was destroyed in a fire after a petrol bomb was thrown at it.

● In Kattlehong, near Johannesburg, police used tearsmoke to disperse stone-throwers.

● Meanwhile, lectures at the University of the North (Turfloop) will resume today. The university was closed on Wednesday after a series of student clashes and an incident in which students threw acid at a white staff member.

The decision to resume lectures was taken after consultations between the university Senate and the Rector, Professor Ponthius Mogkokong — Sapa

(5) The Department of Transport must consult the Lake Areas Development Board in connection with the design and construction of those sections of the freeway that pass through the proclaimed lake areas."

Krumsna: national road bypass system

*28. Mr R R HULLEY asked the Minister of Environment Affairs and Tourism:

Whether his Department has commissioned an environmental impact assessment in regard to the proposed (a) internal bypass system and (b) external bypass system at Krumsna to connect the Uniondale turnoff with the Rheenend turnoff; if so, (i) who are the members of the body undertaking the assessment, (ii) what are the terms of reference and (iii) when is it anticipated that this body will present a report, if not, why not?

THE MINISTER OF ENVIRONMENT AFFAIRS AND TOURISM:

No

(a) and (b), (i), (ii) and (iii) Fall away.

The National Transport Commission arranges for environmental impact studies in respect of national roads, where necessary.

*29. The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether members of the South African Police involved in riot control have been given any instructions regarding (a) medical treatment for, and (b) the arrest of, persons injured in riot situations or in clashes with the Police; if so, (i) what instructions have they been given, (ii) who issued these instructions, (iii) in what manner are members of the Police Force informed of these instructions and

(iv) when were these instructions issued;

(2) whether any member or branch of the South African Police has (a) issued instructions and/or (b) made any requests to any (i) doctors, (ii) clinics and (iii) hospitals regarding persons who are injured in unrest situations and seek medical treatment; if so, (aa) what instructions or requests, (bb) why, (cc) when, (dd) which specified doctors, clinics and hospitals are involved, (ee) who issued the instructions or made the requests and (ff) what was the response in each case;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Police action in this regard are prescribed by statutory provisions and by Police Standing Orders, and no specific instructions were issued.

(2) I have already furnished particulars in respect of Kwanobuhle Township, Uitenhage, on 12 March 1985 and 9 April 1985, respectively in replies to questions numbers 6 and 9 of the hon member for Houghton.

In view of the extent of riots in the Republic it is impracticable to endeavour to ascertain at which doctors, clinics and hospitals in each riot stricken area policemen in the investigation of crime, had instituted inquiries regarding persons who were injured during riot situations.

(3) No, except to state that in the execution of their functions in terms of section 5 of the Police Act, 1958, the police are entitled to seek the co-operation of all law-abiding citizens in the investigation of any offence of alleged offence

Mrs H SUZMAN: Mr Speaker, arising from the hon the Minister's reply, can I ask him whether he is aware of the fact that, be-

cause of the instructions, people do not in fact report to doctors or even to hospitals because they know they are going to be placed under arrest as soon as they get to the hospitals. This means that more people die or suffer from prolonged injury than would be necessary if they were allowed to report to doctors who then would not have to call the police.

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I am not sure whether the hon member has now put a question or made a speech. In any case, I am not aware of the facts to which she refers.

†Mr S S VAN DER MERWE: You are usually aware of very little!

†The SPEAKER: Order!

†Mr P C CRONJÉ: He is unconscious.

†The SPEAKER: Order! Did the hon member for Greytown say the hon the Minister is "unconscious"?

†Mr P C CRONJÉ: Yes, Sir.

†The SPEAKER: The hon member must withdraw that and also apologize.

†Mr P C CRONJÉ: I withdraw that, Sir

†The SPEAKER: Order! The hon member has withdrawn it, but he must now also apologize

†Mr P C CRONJÉ: I am still considering it, Mr Speaker. Who must I apologize to?

†The SPEAKER: To the hon the Minister. Through me, if you want to do it like that

†Mr P C CRONJÉ: Through you I apologize to the Minister

*30. The LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 5 on 16 April 1985, the South African Defence Force or

any body attached to the Defence Force intends (a) extending the wall and electrified fence and/or (b) building a similar wall and fence on any of the other borders of the Republic; if so,

(2) (a) where will such extensions and/or further walls and electrified fences (i) begin and (ii) end, (b) for what reasons will they be built, (c) who will take or took the decision in this regard, (d) who will construct the (i) wall and (ii) fence in each case, (e) when (i) will construction begin and (ii) is it due to be completed and (f) what is the latest estimate of the cost involved?

THE DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(1) (a) and (b) A decision on the extension of the present experimental fence or the erection of similar fences on other borders will be taken after the fence has been thoroughly evaluated

(2) Falls away.

Implementation of recommendations of commission

*31. Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Justice:

Whether any of Recommendations (a) to (e) on pages 14 and 15 of the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Desirability of Converting the Witwatersrand Local Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa into an Additional Provincial Division of the Supreme Court (RP 111-1980) have not been implemented as yet; if so, (a) which recommendations and (b) what are the reasons for the delay in implementing them?

†The MINISTER OF MINERAL AND ENERGY AFFAIRS (for the Minister of Justice):

(a) Yes Recommendations (a) and (d)

(b) Recommendation (a) will be pursued in due course.

Recommendation (d) is presently being dealt with by the Judge-President by regulating court sittings and by arranging for judges of the Division to go on circuit on a rotation basis.

274 *Heur and*
Eastern Cape: reports on incidents
G.C. 1.1347 30/4/85
*32. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he received any reports concerning incidents in the Black townships in the Eastern Cape prior to 21 March 1985; if so, (a) on what dates and (b) what was the purport of these reports,

(2) whether he took any action as a result of these reports; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action, (b) on what dates and (c) with what results?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) and (2) The matter has already been raised by the hon member for Houghton during the discussion of the Police Vote on 29 April 1985, and I therefore do not consider it necessary to furnish further information in terms of this procedure

Telex from Senior Chief Deputy Commissioner

*33. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether he received a copy of a telex from the Senior Chief Deputy Commissioner of Police to all divisional commissioners on or about 19 March 1985; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether this telex dealt with the issue of R1 rifles to riot police; if so,

(3) whether any instructions were contained in the telex relating to the use of R1 rifles against any persons in riot

situations; if so, what were the instructions contained therein;

(4) whether he took any action as a result of this telex; if not, why not; if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

†The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Normally it is neither the practice, nor the policy to divulge the contents of departmental correspondence between my office and that of the Commissioner of Police. Since this document has already been handed in as an exhibit at the Kannyemeyer Commission at Uitenhage, and is therefore public knowledge, my reply is as follows:

(1) Yes

(2) Yes.

(3) The instructions read as follows:

"Wanneer suurbomme en/of petrol-bomme na polisievoertuie, privaatovertuie en geboue gegooi word moet daar onder alle omstandighede gepoog word om die skuldiges te elimineer.

Indien lede van die Mag in 'n on-lusituasie vasgekeer en hulle lewens bedreig word moet daar nie gehuier word om van die R1-gewere gebruik te maak nie."

(4) No.

Mr A B WIDMAN: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's answer, does he approve of the elimination portion of that instruction? Does he approve of that as policy?

†The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have stated my views on this on more than one occasion in public, and I will also comment on this specific matter when I reply to the debate later this afternoon. That will answer the hon member's question.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, I should like to ask the hon the Minister if he would

answer portion (4) of the question—"if not, why not?" He did not answer that section.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the question I have, reads as follows:

Whether he took any action as a result of this telex; if not, why not, if so, (a) what action and (b) when?

Mr D J DALLING: The hon the Minister told us what action had been taken but he did not answer the last part of the question.

†The MINISTER: That will also be covered by the reply I will give in more detail in the debate later this afternoon.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Chairman, arising further from the hon the Ministers' reply can I then take it that the hon the Minister is not prepared to answer the question?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, my reply to the hon member is that I shall reply to this in more detail in this same debate later this afternoon, and the reply I shall give will also answer in more detail the question the hon member has asked now.

Own Affairs:

Circulars/notices to schools: official languages

*1. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Education and Culture:†

Whether his Department issues all (a) circulars and/or (b) notices to schools in both official languages; if not, why not?

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

It is the policy of the Department of Education and Culture to issue (a) circulars and (b) notices to schools in both official languages. I am informed, however, that recently a limited number of circulars have been issued to schools in Afrikaans

only. Steps have been taken to ensure that in future the policy be strictly adhered to.

For written reply:

General Affairs

Heur and
Housing G.C. 1.1350
30/4/85

94. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Co-operation and Development

(1) What was the estimated shortage of housing for Blacks in each (a) province and (b) national state at the end of 1984,

(2) how many houses were provided in 1984 for Blacks in each (a) province and (b) national state by (i) the State, (ii) local authorities and (iii) the private sector;

(3) when is it expected that the shortages will be eliminated in each (a) province and (b) national state?

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

(1) (a) It is not possible to give an accurate figure as the shortage of housing also depends on the actual demand. Accordingly it is not possible to estimate the figure for each province. The total shortage in terms of units for members of the Black communities outside the national states is estimated to be in the region of 196 000 units

(b)	Lebowa.	18 180
	Owagwa.	24 240
	KwaZulu	80 000-100 000
	KaNgwane	6 000
	KwaNdebele	3 850
	Gazankulu	2 000
	Other South African	
	Development Trust land	14 948

Le Grange: 10 000 arrested for unrest

Cape Times 30/4/85 (274) 273 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000

By BARRY STREEK

MORE than 10 000 people had been arrested between September last year and March 22 this year in connection with the unrest in the country, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said yesterday.

He also said experienced and seasoned advisers were behind the disturbing internal security onslaught which was aimed at creating a revolutionary climate.

This revolutionary climate was not previously as discernible and also not so "sophisticatedly organized", Mr Le Grange said at the start of the debate on his vote in the House of Assembly.

217 killed

He said that 217 people, including one white person, had died in the unrest between September 1, 1984, and March 22 this year, and that 751 people had been injured.

This included four policemen, who had been killed, and 181 policemen, who had been injured.

Since January 1 this year, 72 buildings belonging to policemen in the Eastern Cape had been damaged by radicals and had caused damage of almost R279 000.



Mr Louis le Grange

Damage of more than R28-million had been caused to buildings and damage to vehicles, including trains, totalled almost R12-million.

He also appealed to black people to fight the United Democratic Front (UDF) and other organizations which tried to make the country ungovernable through violence or illegal methods "because it is in no one's interest that their children do not go to school, that buildings which have been put there for their benefit are burnt down and that their residential areas are turned into ash-heaps".

Mr Le Grange appealed to all responsible

community leaders, white and black, to promote effective contact and to talk about the problems which were troubling the black community.

Since September last year the unrest had spread to the Eastern Cape, the Free State and the West Transvaal.

He said, "A worrying aspect is the fact that the unrest has not been restricted to the larger centres, but already spread to platteland towns, particularly in the Eastern Cape, the Karoo, the North Free State and to a lesser degree the Northern Cape."

"The Eastern Cape is particularly sensitive area as a result of contributory factors of widespread unemployment and socio-economic points of friction."

Local training

Mr Le Grange said the African National Congress (ANC) was now concentrating on local training of terrorists in the rural areas which put the ANC in a position with the help of local trained terrorists and UDF activists to promote the condition of "ungovernability".

At the same time, the local population was being encouraged with classical revolutionary theory and to establish alternative government structures.

WASHINGTON — The South African Police must use the minimum amount of force to restore order, Mr Louis le Grange has told the Washington Post.

In an interview with Post correspondent Allister Sparks, the South African Minister of Law and Order said: "My approach is that the police should try to calm a situation as effectively and quickly as possible without the use of force."

"They should talk to the people first of all. If that doesn't work and force must be used, then I am adamant that it must be the minimum force necessary for the occasion."

"Everything possible must be done to ensure the absolute minimum loss of life and minimum injuries."

Mr Sparks quoted Mr le Grange as saying that this approach had resulted in his being accused of being too soft — resulting in criticism from "quite a few members of the public"

"But I would rather be criticised for that than be blamed for using unnecessary force," Mr le Grange said.

Asked by Mr Sparks whether the killing of nearly 300 people did not indicate an excessive use of force, Mr le Grange replied: "No. I don't think so."

Violent

"It is unfortunate, very unfortunate, that we have had that number of lives lost, but you must keep in mind that we have had to do with large crowds and sometimes very violent crowds — people attack the police with stones, bricks, petrol bombs, even guns. We have been shot at."

"In the light of that, I don't think our use of force has been excessive."

SA Police

must use

little force

- Le Grange

Mr Sparks referred to an order from police headquarters on March 19 — two days before the Uitenhage shootings — instructing riot squads to "eliminate" anyone seen throwing a petrol or acid bomb, and asked whether that was not excessive.

"I think the use of the word eliminate was un-

fortunate," Mr le Grange was quoted as replying.

"I am on record as saying that no one must be allowed to throw a petrol bomb at a policeman. Stern action must be taken against anyone who does, but 'eliminated' was an unfortunate choice of words."

Unrest

In his profile of Mr le Grange, prominently published at the weekend in Washington Post, Mr Sparks said the Minister was an enigmatic figure who, at 56, looked like "a middle-aged Clark Gable with his sleeked-down greying hair and trim moustache".

"Blacks regard him as an ogre, and five of the eight political parties represented in Parliament have called for his resignation."

"Yet, in conversation in his office, Le Grange came across as a man who is concerned, if not exactly distraught, about the growing casualty list in the unrest, and he took pains to em-

phasise that the police should use minimum force in all riots," Mr Sparks wrote.

In the interview, Mr le Grange said: "I understand a policeman. I know how his mind works. The average policeman is the most loyal servant a government could wish to have . . . I have known some of the best characters that one could find in any nation among the police."

"But they are also very sensitive. They are entitled to be respected for what they are — loyal, reliable people who are serving the public."

Asked about his role in the South African Cabinet, as a loyal supporter of President P W Botha while leading a conservative police force, most of whose members allegedly disliked President Botha's policy of cautious reforms, Mr le Grange said: "I wouldn't say I was indispensable."

"What I would say, though, is that the President knows he enjoys my absolute loyalty and that of the police."

Political perspective

Consequences of township strife: no more co-optation?

AS THE long weeks of unrest in the black townships draw into months we can begin to see that they mark a major change in the dynamics of political interaction between urban blacks and the ruling group in South Africa.

If and when the police and security forces at long last succeed in restoring 'order' and some semblance of 'normality' to the strife-torn and smouldering townships in the Eastern Cape, Vaal and East Rand areas, it will not be possible simply to revert to the old administrative structures.

Even less will it be feasible to revive the political options which may have had some evolutionary potential before September 1984, in particular that of black Community Councils.

If the Government is somewhat belatedly waking up to the mistakes which were made in 1982 by introducing these Councils without adequate sources of revenue or autonomous powers, then it is wishful thinking at this late date to assume that this might still be rectified in the circumstances brought about in the black townships by the current wave of political strife.

As the most astute observers have already pointed out, the political unrest of the past few months has been far from a mindless and arbitrary rage. Instead, it shows a clear pattern, one which is also significantly different from that of 1976-7. In particular, the immediate objects of black anger and militant action tend to be different.

It is not primarily aimed against the (white) authorities and the state, or even against whites generally. Instead, the targets tend to be those within the black communities who have been prepared to co-operate with the ruling group: black community councillors, black policemen, black officials and businessmen.

Effective

By all accounts this strategy has been most effective, and in the country as a whole there appear to be a mere handful of Community Councils which are still operative.



By
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Urban blacks

This leaves the urban black leadership. As the internal and external pressures for political reform mounted in recent years, it also became clear that the urban black elites provided the logical candidates for the next round of co-operation.

In many ways these 'urban insiders' are already set apart: they share urban residential rights, employment opportunities, standards of living and schooling far in advance of that of the vast majority of rural blacks.

Though the formula for the eventual political co-operation of these 'urban insiders' at a national level remained unclear and problematic, it was obvious that at the local level the Community Councils should provide the necessary institutional infrastructure. At the same time there are obvious advantages in removing white administrators and officials from the direct line of fire when it comes to unpopular measures such as raising rents and rates in the townships.

In principle the prospects for such a co-optation of sections of the urban black elites, even in the face of a similar lack of popular support, are as viable as they have been in the other cases. In practice — and this is the significance of the current unrest — such prospects have been shattered.

Counter steps

to any extent.

Public attention and comment has concentrated mainly on the political violence and intimidation involved. But this can make us miss the more general significance of what is happening in black politics. From a moral and humane point of view it is of course utterly deplorable when black councillors are killed and maimed, their houses and shops burned down, their families intimidated, and so on — just as it is a national tragedy that so many civilian blacks, including many women and children, are shot and killed or maimed as a result of police action.

But our shock at these scenes of violence, such as the burnt bodies of the Uitenhage councillor and his sons shown repeatedly by SABC TV in prime time newscasts, should not obscure the new political reality which such scenes represent: this is the fate of those prepared to participate in government-imposed political structures for blacks. What we are witnessing, at least as far as these black townships are concerned, is the final foundering of the policy of sectional co-operation.

Strategy

For two decades and more the Government's strategy in dealing with the aspirations of the majority of the South African population has basically been that of divide and rule, coupled with the selective and progressive co-operation of various sectional elites.

As the experience of the homelands and national states has shown, a strategy of this kind can be quite effective even if it clearly lacks popular support.

As long as some kind of authority structure can be established, even if only tenuously linked to traditional tribal authorities or based on low and disputed electoral polls, and as long as it can be tied to the interests of certain key groupings such as black politicians, bureaucrats and traders, 'separate development' can and has been sustained in the face of widespread unpopularity and resistance.

More recently the co-operation has been extended with some vigour to certain elite groupings of the Indian and coloured communities. Though it is still too soon to assess the political workings of this new constitutional dispensation for these groups, the fact of the matter is that neither low electoral polls nor more militant protest and boycott campaigns have prevented the recruitment and installation of representatives in Parliament and even in the Cabinet.

Whatever the source and inspiration of the political forces at work in the black townships may be, they have effectively countered the Government's co-optation strategy. They have gone beyond the more traditional methods of non-collaboration and boycott, and they have resorted to direct and drastic actions against the 'collaborators'. The results have the makings of something analogous to the Occupation syndrome during World War II: in themselves the resistance movements in France or the Netherlands never posed a major threat to the military might of the German occupation, but they greatly increased the personal costs and risks for those prepared to work with the occupying power. The final aim was to make any form of civil government unfeasible.

Obviously everything possible must be done to prevent things coming to such a pass in our own country. But this requires a hard-headed and realistic assessment of the nature of present political realities. It avails little for the Government merely to stress how 'moderates' in black communities have come under attack, or to call on other 'moderates' to come forward. In present circumstances that would be suicidal, politically and even literally.

Foundered

As far as these black townships are concerned, the Government's co-optation strategy has foundered.

Political realism requires that alternative strategies now be explored. In theory there is a growing realisation in Government circles of the need for negotiated political leaderships with coherent constituencies and viable political organisations. In the present circumstances this must include the community, student and trade union organisations which Government spokesmen are increasingly branding as 'the enemy'.

The renewed speculation that the Government might be preparing the ground for security action against the U D F or its key leadership indicates a possible compounding of its present policy disaster. The failure of its co-optation strategy means precisely that the Government will no longer be able to 'negotiate' with leaders of its own making and choice.

Whether or not security action might help in achieving the short-term ends of restoring law and order in the black townships, it will only serve to cut the ground from the political settlement needed in the longer term.

Blaming UDF for unrest 'unrealistic' — Suzman

Parliamentary Staff

THERE was a fierce clash between members of the official Opposition on the one hand, and Conservative Party and Government members on the other, over police conduct in townships during the unrest.

Speaking during the Law and Order vote in the House of Assembly, Mrs Helen Suzman, chief Opposition spokesman on law and order, said it was "totally unrealistic" to believe that organisations such as the UDF were the major cause of the unrest.

Replying to the lengthy attack on the UDF by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mrs Suzman said: "We warned the Government that a constitution excluding 70 percent of the people would polarise the situation and make blacks feel totally excluded."

"There is also apparently no understanding by the Govern-



Mrs Helen Suzman

ment of the increasing economic hardships faced by black people."

Mr le Grange should investigate his police force to see whether members were not deliberately trying to undermine the Government's reform programme for political reasons.

Amid sharp interjections from Mr le Grange, who said the police force was not "politicised", Mrs Suzman asked whether he did not think that the Conservative Party was

"working away like beavers among the Civil Service to undermine the political reform programme".

Referring to police conduct in the townships, Mrs Suzman said affidavits collected by members of the PFP from victims of township unrest, as well as the Catholic Bishops' report on police conduct in Transvaal townships, made "horrific reading".

Funerals

Mrs Suzman said that when police kept away from the funerals of unrest victims there were no incidents.

She said she had also received reports that police were being "thoroughly obstructive" to attorneys acting for relatives of young people charged with public violence in Uitenhage.

Mrs Suzman moved an amendment to the vote that Mr le Grange's salary be reduced by R69 500 to equal the salary of a constable.

Several NP members attacked Mrs Suzman, saying she "lived in a different atmosphere" and was constantly "vilifying" the police.

Mr L Wessels (NP Krugersdorp) appealed to the Leader of the Opposition, Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, to relieve Mrs Suzman of the law and order portfolio.

"She's more radical than Bishop Tutu, the UDF and the international media," he said.

The Conservative Party came out in strong support for Mr le Grange in his "efforts to maintain law and order".

Mr Frank le Roux (CP Brakpan) said these efforts were under strong attack from the left wing.

Mr le Roux added that it was a pity that the Kannemeyer Commission, appointed to inquire into the events at Uitenhage, was held in public as it did harm to the image of the police who had a difficult enough task maintaining law and order.

Le Grange says full-scale revolution is priority objective

UDF is at the head of unrest

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Government attacks on the United Democratic Front reached a new peak yesterday when Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange launched a scathing condemnation of the organisation in the House of Assembly.

In a statement at the start of the debate on the Law and Order Vote, Mr le Grange said the UDF was at the head of the unrest in South Africa.

This is the third major public attack on the UDF by Mr le Grange in the past two weeks. Recently he told a meeting of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer that UDF attempts to protest against the All Blacks rugby tour would be prevented. He also slammed the UDF in the House of Delegates last week.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, attacked the UDF in all three Houses of Parliament recently, claiming it was an internal wing of the banned African National Congress and the South African Communist Party.

Mr le Grange listed the chief "resistance organisations" in

Political Staff

PARLIAMENT — Progressive Federal Party members clashed fiercely yesterday with Conservative and National Party members over police conduct in townships during the unrest.

Speaking during the Law and Order Vote in the House of Assembly, Mrs Helen Suzman said it was "totally unrealistic" to believe that groups such as the United Democratic Front were the major cause of the unrest. Replying to a lengthy attack

PFP takes strong stand on police conduct during unrest

on the UDF by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, Mrs Suzman said: "We warned the Government that a constitution excluding 70 per cent of the people would polarise the situation and make blacks feel totally excluded."

"There is also apparently no understanding by Government of the increasing economic hardships faced by black people."

The "distinct impression" that the police were using "undue

force" in the townships was undoubtedly an exacerbating factor in the unrest which had become endemic.

Mrs Suzman said affidavits collected by the PFP from victims of township unrest, as well as the Catholic Bishops' Conference report on police conduct in Transvaal townships made "horrible reading".

Police methods of dealing with unrest often provoked further violence.

in opposition to the constitutional reform. In practice, this meant that its affiliate organisations grasped on to particular social problems in order to create a climate of civil disobedience, knowing well that unrest would be the eventual outcome of their agitation, Mr le Grange said.

The ANC's declared policy was the intensification of armed struggle in South Africa and making the country ungovern-

A reported instruction to police from headquarters in Pretoria that police in Casspirs be issued with R-1 rifles so that "when petrol bombs or acid bombs are thrown at police vehicles every attempt be made to eliminate the guilty party", was tantamount to a "licence to kill".

Mrs Suzman moved an amendment to the Vote that Mr le Grange's salary be reduced by R69 500 to equal the salary of a constable.

had also been direct attacks on the police, army and community councillors in line with ANC strategy.

Black people had been encouraged by the ANC, through its magazine *Sechaba* and Radio Freedom to:

- Use traditional weapons to "disarm the oppressors so that those weapons will be available to the masses".
- To buy and steal weapons.
- To eliminate "enemy agents".

Mr le Grange said country-wide unrest had spread to certain rural areas in 1985. There

such as the police, informants and community councillors.

- Make themselves ungovernable as a population.

In the past few months of these aims had been implemented:

- Since January 1, 72 houses police members in the Eastern Cape had been attacked
- Unidentified persons shot police during the Crossroads rest.
- Homemade acid bombs had been thrown at police.

Between September 1984 and March 1985 R28 million damage was caused to buildings, R12 million damage to vehicles, 10 000 people had been arrested in connection with the unrest, 216 blacks and one white had been killed in unrest and 15 whites and 15 blacks and 15 whites injured.

Mr le Grange called on right-thinking people to realise that there would not be immediate funds to rectify the damage done in black areas. They should fight the UDF and other organisations "which are trying to make the country ungovernable".

Teargas used for 'fun' — claim

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

— Allegations of serious police abuses during operations in Katlehong last year were made yesterday by the Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Soal.

Speaking in the House of Assembly in the debate on the Law and Order budget vote, Mr Soal said the allegations were related to him by a national serviceman who served with policemen in the township during unrest last year. Mr Soal said the national serviceman made two allegations in particular:

- Police had tear-gassed children aged about eight in a playground in Katlehong because the police thought it would be fun.

- A policeman had severely assaulted a black motorist who had surrendered after a car chase through the streets of the township.

Mr Soal asked if these were the actions for which people sent their sons to do national service.

He said in an interview later that the national serviceman had authorized him to use his name, but he had decided not to do so in order to protect him from possible victimization.

Mr Soal also alleged in his speech yesterday that the police were trying to recruit university students to spy on their colleagues.

"I am aware of five first-year students at the University of Cape Town who have been approached with an offer of R400 a month to spy on the activities of the Special Projects Committee of the Students' Representative Council," he said.

He called on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to explain to Parliament why tax-payers' money was being wasted in that way.

House told of 10 000 unrest arrests, 217 deaths

Parliamentary
Correspondent

MORE than 10 000 people had been arrested in connection with the unrest situation between September last year and March 22 this year, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said.

He also said experienced and seasoned advisers were behind the disturbing internal security onslaught, which was

aimed at creating a revolutionary climate.

This revolutionary climate was not previously as discernible and also 'not so sophisticatedly organised', Mr le Grange said at the start of the debate on his vote in the House of Assembly.

He said 217 people, including one white person, had died in the unrest between September 1, 1984, and March 22, 1985, and 751 had been injured.

This included four policemen killed and 181 injured.

Since January 1 this year, 72 buildings belonging to members of the police in the Eastern Cape had been attacked, with damage amounting to almost R279 000.

Damage of more than R28 million had been caused to buildings and damage to vehicles, including even trains, had totalled almost R12 million.

'The greatest percentage of the damage caused has been to buildings and vehicles in black areas provided for the benefit of the black communities,' Mr le Grange said.

A large number of the deaths and injuries among black people had been caused to blacks.

He appealed to all right-thinking people in the black residential areas 'to realise that blacks are busy seriously damaging blacks and it will take them years to recover their losses'.

'Funds will not be made available overnight to repair buildings so arbitrarily destroyed.'

He also appealed to black people to fight the

United Democratic Front (UDF) and other organisations which tried to make the country ungovernable through violence or illegal methods.

Mr le Grange appealed to all responsible community leaders, white and black, to promote effective contact and to talk about the problems troubling the black community.

'A large number of problems could be eliminated through effective communication.'

Since September last year the unrest had spread to the Eastern Cape, the Free State and the West Transvaal.

'A worrying aspect is that the unrest has not been restricted to the larger centres, but has already spread to platterland towns, particularly in the Eastern Cape, the Karoo, the Northern Free State and to a lesser degree the Northern Cape.'

'The Eastern Cape is a particularly sensitive area as a result of widespread unemployment.'

Mr le Grange said the ANC was now concentrating on training of terrorists in rural areas.

40 clerics hold talks

ABOUT 40 church ministers met at the St Paul's Anglican Church in Jabavu, Soweto, yesterday to discuss the unrest in the country's black townships.

The meeting was attended by Bishop Desmond Tutu including Bishop Suffragan Simon Nkoane.

The meeting, according to Bishop Nkoane, noted that youths were getting out of hand going on the rampage at any time in the townships and communication was necessary between ministers and the youth.

He said ministers also expressed their concern about the presence of the SADF and police in the townships.

The meeting also noted that black local councillors were targets for the violence in the township and the ministers decided that the councillors should resign.

After the meeting, Bishop Tutu and Bishop Nkoane remained behind and prayed for about 30 minutes for peace in the country.

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Sowetan 30/4/85

Le Grange urges minimum force

30/4/85
Neil Lurssen reports

from Washington

The South African Police must use the minimum amount of force to restore order, Mr Louis le Grange has told the *Washington Post*.

In an interview with *Post* correspondent Allister Sparks, the Minister of Law and Order said: "My approach is that the police should try to calm a situation as effectively and quickly as possible without the use of force."

"They should talk to the people first of all. If that doesn't work and force must be used, then I am adamant that it must be the minimum force necessary for the occasion."

"Everything possible must be done to ensure the absolute minimum loss of life and minimum injuries."

Mr Sparks quoted Mr le Grange as saying that this approach had resulted in his being accused of being too soft. "But I would rather be criticised for that than be blamed for using unnecessary force."

Asked by Mr Sparks whether the killing of nearly 300 people did not

indicate an excessive use of force, Mr le Grange replied:

"No, I don't think so. It is unfortunate, very unfortunate, that we have had that number of lives lost, but you must keep in mind that we have had to do with large crowds and sometimes very violent crowds; people who attack the police with stones, bricks, petrol bombs, even guns. We have been shot at."

"In the light of that, I don't think our use of force has been excessive."

Mr Sparks referred to an order from police headquarters on March 19 — two days before the Uitenhage shootings — instructing riot squads to "eliminate" anyone seen throwing a petrol or acid bomb, and asked whether that was not excessive.

Mr le Grange was quoted as replying: "I am on record as saying that no one must be allowed to throw a petrol bomb at a policeman. Stern action must be taken against anyone who does, but 'eliminated' was an unfortunate choice of words."

In his profile of Mr le Grange, prominently displayed in the *Post*, Mr Sparks said the Minister was an enigmatic figure who, at 56, looked like "a middle-aged Clark Gable with his sleeked-down greying hair and trim moustache".

"Blacks regard him as an ogre, and five of the eight political parties represented in Parliament have called for his resignation."

"Yet, in conversation in his office, Le Grange came across as a man who is concerned, if not exactly distraught, about the growing casualty list in the unrest, and he took pains to emphasise that the police should use minimum force in all riots," Mr Sparks wrote.

In the interview, Mr le Grange said: "I understand a policeman. I know how his mind works. The average policeman is the most loyal servant a government could wish to have... I have known some of the best characters that one could find in any nation among the police."

"But they are also very sensitive. They are entitled to be respected for what they are — loyal, reliable people who are serving the public."

Asked about his role in the Cabinet, as a loyal supporter of President Botha while leading a conservative police force, most of whose members allegedly disliked the President's policy of cautious reforms, Mr le Grange replied: "I wouldn't say I was indispensable. What I would say, though, is that the President knows he enjoys my absolute loyalty and that of the police." — *The Star's Washington Bureau*.

Minister on hospital arrests

Cape Times 1/5/85
27p

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, yesterday said he was not aware of any instructions that police should go to hospitals to arrest people who had been injured during incidents of unrest.

Mr Le Grange was replying to the chief Opposition speaker on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman (PFP, Houghton), who had asked whether there was any instruction to this effect.

Mrs Suzman questioned him after he had replied to a question tabled by the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert wanted to know if the police involved in riot control had been given any instructions regarding the medical treatment and arrest of people injured in riot situations or in clashes with the police.

Mr Le Grange said police action in this regard was prescribed by statutory provisions and by police standing orders "and no specific instructions were issued in this regard".

Dr Slabbert also wanted to know whether there were any requests or instructions to doctors, clinics and hospitals regarding people who had been injured in unrest situations and had sought medical treatment.

Mr Le Grange said he would not make a state-

ment about the matter "except to state that in the execution of their functions in terms of Section 5 of the Police Act, 1958, the police are entitled to seek the co-operation of all law-abiding citizens in the investigation of any offence or alleged offence".

Questioned about the deaths in the Eastern Cape unrest by Mr Ken Andrew (PFP, Gardens) who asked him for the



Mr Le Grange

names and ages of the people killed in the Eastern Cape unrest — as well as the dates on which they were killed and the names of the places in which the killings occurred, Mr Le Grange replied: "I consider it not to be in the public interest to furnish the required information."

Mrs Suzman also challenged the government to charge the people behind the current unrest in the country if it knew who they were.

"If he does know who

they are, why doesn't he charge them in court? There is enough legislation available for him to do so," she said.

Mr Le Grange said he believed the police intelligence services were doing a good job. However, they had problems because of the unrest situation in that it prevented them getting all the information they needed.

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order and of Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said that Mr P Soal (PFP Johannesburg North) had suggested that the SAP examine riot-control tactics, such as the use of horses and shields, employed by the British police.

The SAP, however, had to deal with people armed with pangas, axes, knives and petrol bombs, and who shot with sharp-nosed ammunition.

Mr Tian van der Merwe (PFP Green Point) had said the UDF stood for peaceful co-existence, and portrayed them as "angels of peace".

"Why then do we on the spot find that when the UDF holds a meeting, unrest often breaks out afterwards?" asked Mr Vlok.

Mr Van der Merwe said the government would not be able to deal effectively with the unrest in the country as long as it continued to identify the SA Communist Party, the ANC and the UDF as organizations with exactly the same objectives and aims. — Political Staff and Sapa

CAPE TIMES
1/5/85

1 000 in AWB march

PRETORIA. — At least 1 000 supporters of the right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) yesterday joined a "march of gratitude" on Police Headquarters here after attending a mass meeting to protest against the government.

The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, led the chanting procession from Pretoria City Hall to the Police Central, three blocks away.

Young AWB members at the head of the marchers held Vierkleur and Transvaal Republic flags and banners reading "SA Police Thank You for Law and Order".

Mr TerreBlanche earlier told an audience of more than 2 000 people that at the end of the march he would hand a letter of thanks to the police for the work they were doing in riot-torn black townships.

"This will be a statement against (Bishop) Tutu," he said, referring to the Nobel Prize-winner's protest march with other bishops on police headquarters in Johannesburg last month.

Colonel J Loots, a police spokesman who met Mr TerreBlanche at the entrance to the headquarters, said the brief would be passed on today to the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee. — Sapa



ARGUS 2/5/85
**Tutu's Soweto
peace talks
fizzle out** *274*

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.— The proposed peace talks arranged by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, in Soweto last night fizzled out when executive members of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) did not turn up.

Members of Kwazulu's Inkatha movement and the UDF-affiliated Soweto Youth Congress (Soyco), attended the meeting.

The UDF sent a letter to Bishop Tutu saying that it could not attend the meeting because it was called at short notice and affiliates could not be contacted to give the mandate to attend the meeting.

Azapo said it received no formal invitation to attend the meeting and was already committed to May Day meetings which it had organised.

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B. Day 2/5/85

By COLIN HOWELL

BOTH the Defence Force and SA Police are satisfied that SADF soldiers called in to townships to help police combat unrest have received "more than sufficient training to cope with the situation".

This emerged when the SADF and the SAP responded to 15 questions — put in writing to their respective public relations divisions — about the training, conduct and make-up of these troops.

But it was the only question answered. For the rest, the Defence Force said it had "nothing to add" to a statement by

15 questions on SADF's role in the townships

the Deputy Minister of Defence (and Law and Order), Mr Adriaan Vlok, which "clearly defined the duties which the Defence Force is to perform in their support role to the police ... in the present unrest situation".

"We would like to suggest that there is nothing sinister in using the De-

fence Force in support of the police in combatting the present violence."

Some of the questions put were:

● Are SADF soldiers who are sent into townships given any anti-riot training by the SAP beforehand?

● If they are, how does this training compare

with that given to the SAP's anti-riot units, and what does this training entail?

● Are any SADF soldiers sent into townships without having received any such training from the SAP, with only their basic military training to fall back on?

● If this is the case, is the SAP satisfied that the soldiers are familiar enough with what unrest control is all about to prevent and combat it successfully?

● Is the SAP issuing SADF soldiers in townships with live ammunition, teargas and rubber bullets?

114 000 pupils affected by unrest

Parliamentary Staff

NATION-wide schools boycotts and unrest dominated the debate on the black education vote in the House of Assembly.

Mr Ken Andrew (PFP Gardens) said the education programmes of at least 130 schools and nearly 114 000 pupils had been "seriously disrupted" by the unrest.

The outstanding feature of black education in the past year had been the "acute crisis" that had developed, but the boycotts were only mentioned in passing in the annual report of the Department of Education and Training, he said.

Among the causes of dissatisfaction with education were excessive corporal punishment, lack of democratic representation, sexual harassment, textbook shortages and poor matric results.

But there were also deeper and more wide-spread causes for the unrest in black education, he added.

Quoting the president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Lulu Johnson,



Dr Gerrit Viljoen

Mr Andrew said students were affected by issues such as rent increases "The schools and the community are inseparable".

In spite of efforts by the Government, black education was on a "downward spiral". Blacks should be given the type of education they wanted, not a system the Government decided they would be given, he said.

Replying in the debate, the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, said many boycotts were "politically inspired".

The Government had committed itself to a policy of

equal education opportunities for all, although it had a long way to go to reach that goal.

Referring to specific pupil demands, such as the demand for SRCs, he said the aims of the demands had been "recklessly twisted and exploited".

The constitutions of the SRCs, which the department had suggested, had been labelled as "bogus constitutions" by the UDF and Cosas before they had studied them, he said.

In spite of this, the department had gone ahead with discussions with various organisations in an attempt to improve the proposed structures.

The Government could not allow the structures of SRCs to be misused so that pupils took over control of the schools.

Referring to black pupils' grievances over the age limit on school attendance, Mr de Beer said it was still advanced as an important grievance even in areas where those limits were no longer applied.

Mr de Beer said there were strict regulations regarding both corporal punishment and alleged sexual harassment of girl pupils.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Ineffective local power

work to unrest — Curry



Political misuse of pupils

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

— Education could not be allowed to become an instrument for the achievement of specific political goals, the Deputy Minister of Education and of Co-operation, Mr Sam de Beer, said yesterday.

Speaking in the Committee Stage of his department's vote, he said all evidence indicated the "full-scale misuse of pupils for destabilizing political aims".

The time, money and manpower taken up by the combating of boycotts

could hardly be calculated. These resources could have been more profitably applied to the development of education.

Mr De Beer also said the government was going ahead with its plan to establish student representative councils at black schools despite opposition from groups including the Congress of South African Students and the UDF.

His department had held urgent talks with various organizations and had issued an open

invitation to all interested parties for suggestions on how the structures could be improved.

Mr De Beer also said an expanded version of the recent report by Professor Tjaart van der Walt into education grievances in the Vaal triangle had been received and was being studied.

The most common grievance put forward in student unrest was "the so-called inferior education".

"Those making this accusation conveniently ignore the fact that we are dealing here with cir-

cumstances occurring all over the world where education is offered to developing nations."

Other grievances had been brought to the department's attention, but as soon as one was removed, new and often laughable grievances were put forward.

"This tendency has escalated to the point that grievances which apparently led to boycotts have shown no connection with education — rents, bus fares, and the arrest of students who committed criminal acts outside school." — Sapa

Capl. Tink 3/5/85

Countrywide unrest: 3 killed

PRETORIA — Three men died and at least five people, including three policeman, were injured in isolated incidents of unrest around the country yesterday.

Two men died when police fired at two stone-throwing mobs in KwaNobuhle, near Uitenhage, according to a "situation report" from the public relations directorate of the police here. An earlier police report said a youth died in Thabong near Welkom.

The situation report said that the two men were fatally wounded when police fired birdshot and revolver rounds at a group of stone-throwers who stormed and stoned a police truck.

Groups of arsonists and stone-throwers caused extensive damage to vehicles in the township, the report said. A bottlestore was gutted when a group of arsonists threw a petrol bomb into the building.

Meanwhile in other reports of Cape unrest:

- Three policemen were injured when about 70 people stoned and shot at police with catapults in the De Draai township, near Jansenville in the Eastern Cape, yesterday morning. The police fired tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse the mob.

- Three men were arrested after about 150 people stoned a police patrol in Zakela, near Oudtshoorn.

- In Port Elizabeth, three arsonists yesterday morning petrol-bombed and extensively damaged a house in New Brighton.

At Kwazakele the

home of an Azapo member was stoned and petrol-bombed by a group of youths. Some hours before, Cosas members attacked the home of an Azapo supporter.

- At Hofmeyer, police with the assistance of inhabitants of the township arrested two youths. Both were carrying petrol bombs.

- At Fort Beaufort a councillor arrested a youth after his car had been stoned by two people.

- At the Bontrug township near Kirkwood, a bus was petrol-bombed by about 30 people. The vehicle was destroyed.

- Three incidents of stone-throwing occurred in Galeshewe near Kimberley. A policeman was stoned by about 40 people. The policeman fired in self-defence at his attackers, who fled.

- At Middelburg, 300 people illegally gathered late on Wednesday afternoon were dispersed with tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot. Twenty-one people were arrested.

Reports of unrest in the Free State came from

- Thabong near Welkom, where a councillor's vehicle was stoned. After dispersing the groups by firing several shots, the councillor found a wounded youth in a house who died before police arrived.

- Heldemoed township, near Allenridge in the northern Free State, where the homes of policemen were the targets of a stone-throwing. In two instances, police-

men fired birdshot at the attackers.

- Odendaalsrus in the Kutloanong township, where 600 people blockaded the road and stoned a police patrol when they attempted to remove the barricades. Police fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse them. Police yesterday afternoon "came across 50 blacks busy making petrol bombs". Tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse them and police took possession of seven petrol bombs.

In another incident in the township, offices of the Development Board were damaged when arsonists threw petrol bombs through a window. Police dispersed them by firing rubber bullets.

In the Transvaal there were various incidents of unrest in Thembisa and Kwatema townships on the East Rand, in Kathlehong near Germiston, in Mamelodi near Pretoria and at Jabulani in Soweto.

At Warmbaths arsonists set fire to a secondary school in the township, causing extensive damage.

- Isolated incidents of stone-throwing occurred on the main Pietersburg-Tzaneen road near the University of the North yesterday, and a passing motorist was allegedly injured. The entire white staff at the University of the North boycotted classes yesterday in protest against security arrangements at the campus, following the smashing of some car windows during student protests — Sapa

As Bishop Tutu's second peace campaign fails, the violent confrontations go on . . .

By Jon Qwelane

It was inevitable that the deep ideological differences between the two main black groups opposing the Government outside the system would end in violent confrontation.

At the weekend Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu got a group of priests together and tried to heal the widening rift between the United Democratic Front and its affiliates on the one hand and the Azanian People's Organisation and its sister groups on the other.

Meanwhile serious clashes took place in the Eastern Cape, ending in death for at least three people.

A brief background to the ideological war between the groups shows that divisions in the black struggle have always centred on one point: participation by whites in black politics.

★ ★ ★
The differences between the United Democratic Front and Azapo are exactly the same as those which split the African National Congress in 1959 and resulted in the birth of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

rious business.

But they make no bones about their ideal being a people's socialist republic of Azania.

Bishop Tutu's attempt to meet the warring factions and reconcile them on Saturday was the second in a week.

It ended like last Wednesday's... in failure.

Azapo president Mr Ishmael Mkhabela said: "We were due to meet the Bishop and other clergymen on Saturday afternoon."

"In the evening the group would have met United Democratic Front groups.

"But shortly before our meeting we received many calls from the Eastern Cape that things down there were very bad for our members.

"We decided not to meet the Bishop and asked one of the clergymen, Mr Lebamang Sebedi, to tell him why we could not attend the talks at St Paul's Church in Central White City Jabavu."

The calls which Mr Mkhabela received from the Eastern Cape read like a communique from a war zone.

★ A petrol bomb hurled by people said to be United Demo-

cratic Front supporters set alight the home of Azapo member Mr Gerald Mayeki-so.

★ ★ ★
His two children were burnt to death and his wife Noluntu was seriously injured.

★ Senior Azapo member Mr Tshisa Mareki was badly beaten up and stabbed to death by a mob claiming membership of the United Democratic Front and chanting Freedom Charter slogans.

★ The Eastern Cape's regional Azapo secretary, Ms Nosiphiwe Tyatyaza, was dragged screaming from the surgery where she works as a nurse, beaten and stabbed.

★ She is in a serious condition in hospital. Her employer said he was scared out of his wits when the mob raided the surgery and mauled his employee because she was a member of Azapo.

★ A senior member of Port Elizabeth's Azapo branch, Mr Phindile January, was attacked by a mob chanting Freedom Charter slogans and "Death to Azapo and its members."

★ He was beaten up; his injuries include a

suspected fractured jaw.

★ The home of Port Elizabeth Azanian Students Movement branch chairman Mr Nceba Salimtu was burnt down by rampaging mobs.

★ So was the home of Azanian Students Movement member Mr Welle Mcingi.

★ The home of an ex-treasurer of the Port Elizabeth branch of Azapo, Mr Vuyisile Gqobo, was raided while he was out.

★ The raiders took all his personal belongings and made a bonfire in the street.

★ An unknown number of Azapo and Azasim members were under siege in the New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, home of the Rev Mzwandile Maghina.

★ ★ ★
Mr Maghina said that outside the house United Democratic Front supporters chanted slogans from the Freedom Charter, sang Nelson Mandela's praises and said they were out to eliminate all Azapo members.

★ Mr Maghina added that members of Azapo managed to grab attackers who, under questioning, said the man behind the violence was Eastern

Cape journalist Mr Mono Badela, a member of the United Democratic Front.

★ But there have been counter accusations from the Front.

★ It claims its Eastern Cape president, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, was badly beaten up by Azapo members.

★ ★ ★
Mr Dennis Meer, secretary of the Front-affiliated Motor Assembly and Component Workers' Union of South Africa, said Mr Ngoyi single-handedly warded off an attack on him by 100 Azapo supporters said to have tried to force their way into his home.

★ Mr Ngoyi said petrol was thrown into his house and set alight.

★ Mr Badela was said to have been beaten and stabbed by Azapo supporters.

★ Yesterday he claimed his house and car were badly damaged; he also claimed to have been seriously injured.

★ Azapo's Port Elizabeth executive, while conceding serious ideological differences with the UDF, adopted a conciliatory tone during the weekend fracas.

★ "Our door is still open for negotiations," they said.

Resistance to law can lead to revolution

The rule of law needs to be upheld in South Africa to prevent the snowballing effects of resistance to unjust laws and counter-resistance by the State which could lead to revolution, Professor Johan van der Vyver of the University of the Witwatersrand said yesterday.

He was speaking at Temple Emanuel in Parktown, Johannesburg, during a panel discussion.

He said laws not seen to be upholding a particular moral standard were resisted and there was counter-resistance from those forces charged with the duty of maintaining law and order.

Professor John Dugard, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said the rule of law consisted of basic principles to which a decent legal system had to conform.

These included:

- That no Government official may deprive someone of his freedom or property by arbitrary means.
- That all people, including Government officials and the police, must be equally accountable.
- Courts must be independent, effective and apply fair trial procedures.

CAPL TIMES
esday, May 7, 1985

Soweto unrest flares as army leaves Uitenhage

JOHANNESBURG — Unrest flared in Soweto early yesterday, with police using tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse 200 stone-throwers who attacked delivery vehicles in the sprawling township.

Later, about 500 people "again used the unrest situation to commit a crime" when they stoned and robbed a van of 108 crates of milk, a Police Directorate of Public Relations report said.

Tearsmoke was again used when 50 people stoned a private home and another delivery van was stoned by youths in the afternoon, the report said.

The "charred and decomposing body" of a man was found yesterday in Tsakane, near Brakpan, while the homes of two policemen in the township were petrol-bombed.

Meanwhile, Defence Force units withdrew from the Uitenhage

township of KwaNobuhle where 26 people were arrested during a nine-hour search.

Hundreds of servicemen and police cordoned off the township about 5am on Sunday in an operation aimed at bringing about "a return to normal conditions in the area" that went off "quietly and without incident".

A Directorate report of countrywide unrest incidents from 8pm on Sunday to 8am yesterday said two men were injured and arrested after a stoning incident at Bethlehem in the OFS.

It said an injured man was arrested after police fired birdshot at crowds stoning police vehicles in Duduza, near Nigel, while several policemen's homes were stoned and petrol-bombed.

At De Aar, in the Cape, youths stoned the house of a policeman who fired at the crowd with his pistol, the report said.

At Bongeletu, in

Oudtshoorn, police fired birdshot at people who tried to burn a policeman's property it added.

Two boys aged 13 and 14 were injured when police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and shotguns to disperse rioters, the report said. A sneeze-machine was used to disperse crowds stoning police.

Barricaded

The report said tearsmoke was used when groups stoned police and petrol-bombed homes in KwaNobuhle, New Brighton, Duduza, Tsakane and Bethlehem.

Police in Cradock's Michausdal coloured township used tearsmoke to disperse rioting youths who stoned passing vehicles, while at Bridgeton, near Oudtshoorn, birdshot and rubber bullets were fired at stone-throwers who barricaded the road, it said.

Five houses belonging to United Democratic Front members were damaged by fire in Ham-

banathi, near Tongaat, on the Natal North Coast.

Other reports of stone-throwing and petrol-bombing came from Galeshewe, near Kimberley.

At Hobsenville, Aberdeen, tearsmoke and rubber bullets were used to disperse a crowd at a burning school.

In Adendorp, Graaff-Reinet, youths who held an "illegal gathering" and who "tried to intimidate" shoppers were dispersed with tearsmoke, rubber bullets, birdshot and quirts.

At the weekend, damage amounting to R490 000 was caused when arsonists allegedly attacked two farms in the Kirkwood area of Port Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, the Department of Education and Training has called a meeting this week of all black school committees in Grahamstown and Port Alfred to discuss solutions to the school boycotts in the two centres — Sapa

Inkatha, UDF act to end violent clashes

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Staff Reporter

MAJOR moves have been launched by black organisations to end violence between black political factions. The moves also involve Nobel Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu and other clerics who have assumed the role of peace brokers.

Inkatha passed a resolution at a weekend meeting calling on the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front (UDF) to condemn the use of violence as a political weapon among blacks.

The organisation's central committee expressed "grave concern" at growing violence between blacks and called on patriots to condemn actions which attempted to "fan the flames of black strife".

"We express the shock of black South Africa that there are some black political activists who encourage blacks to kill blacks," the resolution read.

Apartheid

The UDF has appealed to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) for unity in the fight against apartheid.

In an open letter to Azapo, the UDF said that in recent weeks conflict had intensified between the two groups, with "violent clashes" in the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape.

The UDF accused "agents of apartheid", acting in the names of the two organisations, of distributing pamphlets, attacking members and petrol-bombing homes in an effort to stir up the situation.

Appealing for unity, the letter said differences between the organisations did not have to be destructive.

The UDF was prepared to meet Azapo to resolve the conflict.

Its statement followed a meeting in Soweto last night with Bishop Tutu and other ministers to discuss peace strategies.

Bishop Tutu told Sapa today he was "very thrilled" about the meeting.

● See Page 3.

UDF asks Azapo

for united effort

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) has appealed to the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo) to reconcile their differences and unite against apartheid.

The appeal, made in an open letter to Azapo, was issued after a national executive committee meeting of the UDF in East London at the weekend.

It said the past few weeks had shown an escalation of conflict between members and supporters of both organizations.

Violent clashes had been reported in the Transvaal and Eastern Cape and the situation in the Eastern Cape was particularly serious as simmering tensions had resulted in "bloody confrontation".

SABC

"It is patently clear that the agents of apartheid have been trying their utmost to fuel the conflict. Pamphlets have been distributed, purportedly in the name of our organizations, attacking each other; homes of our members have been attacked and petrol-bombed by these very forces; certain sections of the mass media have played up this conflict in their own interests and thereby exacerbated the tension."

The letter blamed the SABC in particular for exaggerating and distorting the real situation.

It was imperative that decisive action be taken to resolve the conflict.

The letter said the UDF was prepared to meet Azapo. They would also address the question of discipline within their ranks and asked that Azapo do likewise.

They had also instructed their legal advisors to explore the possibility of instituting legal action against the SABC.

Question mark over army's role in suppressing unrest

By Stovin Hayter

MUCH of the concern and outrage expressed when the Defence Force first supported police operations to suppress unrest in the Vaal Triangle townships last October has subsided.

But since then the army has come to be used almost daily in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal.

The implications of the action remain as serious as before, particularly in the light of statements by cabinet ministers and police officers.

Above politics?

The combined use of the police and army in the townships has raised questions about the Defence Force's claims that it is above politics and does not serve the interests of any particular political party.

Soldiers, including young white conscripts, are being used to suppress unrest which arose as a result of dissatisfaction with laws which are the direct application of one party's ideological programme.

The army's 'enemy' in the townships is other South Africans.

The widespread concern about the action has strengthened the anti-conscription lobby and been condemned by the Official Opposition, in addition to the condemnations from more radical quarters.

The chief of the South African Army, Lieutenant-General Jannie Geldenhuys, said in an interview with the SABC recently that South African history was full of examples of military involvement in civil disorder and he could think of hardly any country whose mili-

tary forces were not used during civil unrest.

However, the issue is not so clear-cut as that, and is very different in many of the countries in the Western community which the South African Government claims to be part of.

Mr WH Friedel, the German consul in Durban, said that under no circumstances whatsoever could troops be used internally in the Federal Republic of West Germany.

The Italian consul, Mr Luciano Sembrante, said that in Italy the internal use of the army was limited to helping out in the event of natural disaster.

The police and the Carabinieri, a para-military police force, dealt with any internal unrest or terrorist threat, he said.

A Greek Embassy spokesman in Pretoria, Mr E Carokis, said that since the removal of a military dictatorship in Greece in 1974 the army could not be used to deal with any internal unrest.

The United States consul-general in Durban, Mr Harry Geisel, said 'In the USA the National Guard may be called in to quell civil disturbances, but only once a specific state of emergency has been declared by a state governor or the President'.

'It would be very unusual for troops to be put under the control of the local police force,' he said.

The Ohio National Guard was involved in a tragedy in which demonstrating students at the Kent State University were shot in the late 1960s.

The National Guard is made up not of conscripts but of volunteers from the areas they serve in.

In Norway the question does not seem to have arisen. The last time troops were called out there was during a labour disturbance in the 1930s. No one was hurt or



Mr Harry Geisel... the National Guard may be called in only once a specific state of emergency has been declared

killed, but the incident provoked a political outcry.

Legislation exists for troops to be called out to put down civil disturbances in the United Kingdom if the Government deems it necessary, without a state of emergency being declared, according to Mr John Hedley, the British Embassy's press secretary.

This had been done in Northern Ireland, but had not taken place in mainland Britain for many decades, he said.

The British Army was a small professional force and had no conscripts.

The Ministers of Defence and Law and Order have said in statements that South Africa's use of troops in the townships is in accordance with Sections 3 and 4 of the Defence Act.

Section 3 (2) says: 'The South African Defence Force or any portion or member thereof may (a) at

- any time be employed —
- (i) on service in defence of the Republic;
- (ii) on service in the prevention or suppression of terrorism;
- (iii) on service in the prevention or suppression of internal disorder in the Republic;
- (iv) on service in the preservation of life, health or property or the maintenance of internal services; and

(b) while employed as contemplated in paragraph (a), be used on those police functions mentioned in section 5 of the Police Act, 1958, as may be prescribed.

Section 5 of the Police Act defines the functions of the SAP as, *inter alia*, the preservation of the internal security of the Republic; the maintenance of law and order, the investigation of any offence or alleged offence, and the prevention of any crime.

Other duties

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in a statement that the SADF 'would be used to support the police in actions like road blocks, cordons, protection duties, escort duties and any other services as circumstances may dictate'.

He added that the defence force would not be used for the execution of normal police services.

Last month Lt T F Jefferson of the SAP public relation division in Pretoria was reported as saying that soldiers were being used in support of the police in whatever role the police commanding officer for the area required them to fulfil.

The case against use of army to control rioters

THE SADF's 'enemy' in the black townships is not an external, Moscow-backed force of terrorists and agitators but the South African people themselves, according to the End Conscription Committee's national organiser, Mr Laurie Nathan.

Since an announcement by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, of a new plan to formalise links between the SAP and the SADF the issue of conscription has been more hotly debated than ever before in South Africa.

According to figures given in Parliament by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the number of national servicemen failing to report for duty rose from 1 596 last year to 7 589 in this year's January intake alone.

In January this year the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Adriaan Vlok, was also made Deputy Minister of Law and Order, making him one of the most powerful figures in South Africa's security establishment.

Mr le Grange said the closer co-operation between the two forces was part of a programme aimed at the optimal use of

manpower in the security field.

The Government argued at the time that the announcement merely formalised what had in fact been in effect for many years.

The arrangement is a far cry from the situation in most other Western countries where, if troops can be

The second and final article by
STOVIN HAYTER
on the controversial handling of unrest in the townships

used internally at all, they are called on to deal with specific tasks in a state of emergency and are withdrawn once these tasks are completed.

Emergencies

The ongoing use of soldiers to do or support policing duties is in most Western countries associated with martial law, declared only in emergencies which threaten the survival of the country itself.

Reports immediately began coming in of troops patrolling townships in the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape

In a widely publicised operation shortly afterwards about 7 000 troops and police sealed off and conducted house-to-house searches in strife-torn Vaal Triangle townships.

Hundreds of people subsequently appeared in court on charges ranging from failure to produce passes to the possession of dangerous weapons, but nearly a quarter of a million people had to be subjected to humiliating searches and the invasion of their homes, and marked with red dye to show they had been 'checked', to net these 'culprits'.

News clamp

More than likely similar offences would be discovered should such an operation move through some of Durban's white suburbs one weekday night.

A clampdown on news of SADF action in support of the police early

in November fuelled the controversy. Opposition leaders said the public had a right to know how and where their National Servicemen sons were being used.

Since the end of last year the use of soldiers in the townships has become commonplace, and the SADF's declared role of 'support' of the police has also been blurred.

Deputy Defence Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said earlier this year that troops would not be used in actual unrest control or be put into situations where they might have to open fire.

But soldiers have on at least one occasion opened fire on a rioting

crowd, fatally wounding a 22-year-old man.

The actions have increasingly politicised the role of the SADF (or increasingly exposed the political role of the SADF).

The End Conscription Committee, which was set up in 1983 to lobby for a change in legislation to do away with compulsory military service, believes

National Servicemen are being used in what amounts to an undeclared civil war.

In an interview with the Mercury, ECC national organiser Laurie Nathan said: 'Within South Africa the defence force acts in defence of apartheid.'

'The Government is calling on whites to fight black South Africans who have no way of expressing legitimate grievances or having them redressed.'

'The solution to the escalating violence cannot lie in the use of force by the police or the army, but in the dismantling of apartheid, since this is the root cause.'

Civil war

In an interview with the SABC last week the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Jannie Geldenhuys, described criticism that military intervention gave the impression of a civil war as the interpretation that would be given by the organisers of the unrest in a bid to discredit the defence force.

He said the defence force was there to protect people who wanted to go about their legitimate business, while the police dealt with the trouble-makers.

However, similar criticisms have also come from less radical spokesmen.

Mr John Kane-Berman, director of SA Institute of Race Relations, said in a statement: 'The crux of the issue is the use of young white conscripts to help maintain civil order in black areas.'

'This leads to greater racial polarisation, willy-nilly casts the army in a political role, creates the impression that the state is at war in the townships, and implies that the police are out of their depth.'

Conscription

At the end of last year the PFP's Transvaal congress, spurred on by growing concern at the implications of using national servicemen against young black South Africans in the townships, overwhelmingly approved a resolution calling for an end to conscription.

PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who is also the party's defence spokesman, objected to the SADF force becoming 'the centre of con-



General Geldenhuys
.... army is for protection

trovery in riot control, particularly against the background of Government policy'.

'Because we have compulsory racial conscription the impression created is of a white army controlling blacks who are not compelled to do military service, and it could polarise the situation because of that,' he told the Mercury.

'And once you use them in a supportive capacity the temptation will always be there to move more deeply into the whole problem of unrest.'

He said that the army should only be used in such situations in a state of emergency.

Police: 'Unrest stabilizing'

JOHANNESBURG — A man was allegedly forced to drink a "vast amount" of soapy water and then stabbed to death when he refused to take part in an "act of intimidation" in Graaff-Reinet yesterday, according to a report by the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria.

"As it now appears that the unrest situation is stabilizing, malicious crime is showing its head," said the report, naming the victim as Mr James Smit.

Two men were yesterday stoned, doused with petrol, and burned to death by about 250 people in Tsakane, near Brakpan, the report said.

The men, aged about 35 and 39, were stoned until they were unconscious and then set alight.

Police dispersed the mob with tearsmoke and rubber bullets.

Police also fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse groups in Soweto yesterday, and police, post office and private vehicles were stoned on three occasions, the report said. It said there were no injuries or arrests.

Robbed

Later, about 50 youths stopped a milk delivery vehicle in Meadowlands, Soweto, robbed the driver of his load and R500, and set the van alight, the report said.

In Kwathema, near Springs, an illegal gathering of about 300 people was dispersed by police, and a beerhall and administration board vehicle were set alight.

At Kwazakele, near Port Elizabeth, a private home was gutted in a petrol bomb attack by about 20 people.

An earlier "situation report", of unrest between 8pm on Monday and 8am yesterday, said the home of a former United Democratic Front member was extensively damaged in a petrol bomb attack in Soweto, while tearsmoke was used to disperse youths in Meadowlands.

Newspapers yesterday reported petrol bomb attacks on the Soweto homes of the Rev Frank Chikane, a former UDF Transvaal vice-president, and Mr Aubrey Mokoena, chairman of the UDF-affiliated Release Mandela Committee.

A beerhall was set alight in Tsakane, near Brakpan, and a woman was injured when one of 10 buses stoned in Kwathema slammed into a private house, the report said.

UDF home

In the Port Elizabeth township of New Brighton "extensive damage was caused to the home of a member of the UDF" by petrol bombs, and a police guard opened fire with a shotgun when a group stoned a councillor's house. There were no arrests or injuries, the report said.

Also in New Brighton, four men were arrested on a charge of public violence after an incident of stone-throwing, while police vehicles were stoned on a number of occasions, it said.

In other townships near Port Elizabeth, a house in Kwazakele and a home in Soweto (PE) were gutted after petrol bomb attacks, and a car in Zwide was burned out, the report said.

At Bridgeton, Oudtshoorn, a councillor's home was "damaged by arsonists", the report said.

At New Crossroads, the home of a community councillor suffered minimal damage in a petrol bomb attack. — Sapa

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Bill

Student: 'SA in state of civil war in townships'

Staff Reporter

IF the past few months had shown nothing else it was that South Africa was in a state of civil war, Mr Chrispian Olvers, a medical student of the University of Cape Town and spokesman for the End Conscription Campaign, told a VE Day meeting held in the City yesterday.

Speaking at the lunch-hour meeting organized by the Civil Rights League in St George's Cathedral Hall, Mr Olvers said the "operational area" in which South African soldiers inevitably did service included the country's townships in which a war was being waged against black people.

"This is why we say that this war is indefensible, immoral and unjust; indeed this war is unwinnable for one cannot stop a people's quest for freedom indefinitely. I and many of my friends with me, can categorically state that we shall never enter into or serve in the SADF."

Destruction

"We are not afraid to fight for what we believe, and we truly desire to serve our country. But we shall not be party to its destruction nor to the propagation of offensive government policies."

Mr Gerald Gordon, QC, who served as a volunteer in World War II, said he believed fascism could overtake any country where the safeguards of democracy were allowed to be broken down or withdrawn.

In South Africa the seeds for fascism were laid long before the Nationalist government took over in 1948 — all the discriminatory legislation introduced after that time could be traced to discriminatory legislation under Union.

"But the exception is detention without trial. To that extent the Nationalist government bears the shame of having destroyed the rule of



ECC member Mr Chrispian Olvers addressing yesterday's lunch-hour VE Day meeting.



Sir Richard Luyt was chairman of a VE Day meeting organized by the Civil Rights League.

law," said Mr Gordon.

He called on South Africans to remember five principles: Democracy's best defence is a well-informed public; he who cannot remember the past is doomed to repeat it; uphold and seek true justice for all, do all you can to resist the fear of tyranny and the tyranny of fear; and pursue a way of life that does not need a conscripted army to enforce it.

Mr Eric Oettle, a civil-rights campaigner and World War II serviceman, said the essence of the argument in favour of

a voluntary army was that its members would know what they were fighting for.

"I can see that this might not be favourable for some governments because the cause people are being asked to fight for then has to be just."

Calling for an end to conscription in South Africa, Mr Oettle said it was open to debate "whether our present rulers can claim this is a just war".

● A meeting to be held at the University of Cape Town today, called "Con-

scription for Civil War", will be addressed by Mr Nic Borain, secretary-general of Nusas, and Miss Janet Cherry, chairman of the Port Elizabeth End Conscription Committee.

Miss Cherry will speak on the situation in the Eastern Cape, while Mr Borain will address some of the issues confronting students, such as the fact that conscripts are being deployed in townships.

The meeting will be held in the Yellow Level of the Students' Union at 12.45pm.

ANC call for unity

LUSAKA. — The African National Congress this week urged anti-apartheid organizations in South Africa to bury their differences which have resulted in violent clashes in recent weeks.

The ANC said unity was essential in carrying out the struggle against minority rule, and that the Pretoria government was exploiting differences between rival groups.

The UDF and more radical black consciousness groups are deeply divided over whether whites should take part in the fight against discrimination.

The ANC, which is also multi-racial, said the careful preservation of unity had become one of its main priorities.

The ANC said that as a result of riots in which more than 150 people have died this year, the wisdom of perpetuating the most pernicious aspects of apartheid was being questioned by South African businessmen.

"Even within the National Party, voices are heard declaring that apartheid has failed and that the regime has no coherent solution to the problems facing the country," the statement said. — Sapa-Reuter

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Azapo to discuss PE feud, deaths

PORT ELIZABETH — Azapo and community representatives will meet here today to discuss ways to resolve the bitter feud which has resulted in the deaths of two Azapo members and a member of the UDF-affiliated Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco)

Peyco president Mr Mkhuseh Jack said the meeting was organized after four youths who were being held hostage at the home of the Rev Mzwandile Maqina, an Azapo member, were released early yesterday

The four were admitted to hospital after their release. One youth was still receiving treatment last night

Mr Jack claimed that the UDF was not linked to the fighting, but said the community was tired of Azapo's "criminal band" which terrorized the townships day and night

Mr Maqina was reported to have claimed that

the youths were apprehended on their way to attack a house in New Brighton and also claimed that two Azapo youths were still held as hostages by UDF supporters

Mr Jack denied this
Set alight

Meanwhile, the Pietersburg home of the secretary of Azapo's northern Transvaal region, Miss Monhla Hlahla, was set alight on Thursday night

She was woken by smoke and woke her mother and younger sisters. They extinguished the fire, apparently started by using petrol

Police reported that the home of a member of the UDF in Seisoville near Kroonstad was set alight and extensive damage caused

Police said unrest flared in eight Eastern Cape townships overnight, but that in almost all the incidents, the groups involved were

"considerably smaller" than in recent weeks

No more unrest deaths were reported, but the death toll in Thursday's collision between a police vehicle and a heavy truck near Port Elizabeth has risen to four

There were also isolated incidents in the Free State and Transvaal

Police reported incidents of unrest in

- The Cape Njandi (Somerset East), Kwazakhele, New Brighton and Zwide (Port Elizabeth), Humansdorp, Paterson (Grahamstown), Duncan Village (East London) and Kroonvale (Graaff-Reinet)

Stoning

In stoning incidents in New Brighton a policeman was "slightly injured", while 63 arrests were made. Those arrested, aged between 13 and 30, "will face charges of public violence"

- Free State Thabong (Welkom), Brent Park and Seisoville (Kroonstad).

- Transvaal Tembisa, Soweto, Kwa-Thema and Alexandra.

- In Natal, the police have launched a drive against illegal taxi operators in Empangeni, in an effort to put an end to bus boycotting — Own Correspondent and Sapa

190 dead from political violence, says institute

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—In less than five months of 1985 the death roll of political violence and counter-violence in South Africa had already soared to 190 — exceeding by far last year's total of 175.

Until yesterday, political violence claimed 190 lives, the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) disclosed.

According to Prof H W van der Merwe, director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, 'the escalation of violence has become an important factor in the political equation of South Africa'.

Over a period of 12 months last year a total of 175 people died from causes arising out of po-

litical unrest whereas for the first five months of 1985 it was 190.

During the past week unrest occurred in all four provinces simultaneously. It was also marked by two deaths in detention — that of a trade union leader and a student organiser.

The highest toll was recorded in the Eastern Cape — the main unrest area — where 76 lives were lost this year. In the Uitenhage area there were 48 deaths and 30 in the Port Elizabeth area, according to the SAIRR.

Unrest was also the most widespread in the Cape Province, ranging from the coastal towns of Port Elizabeth and East London to Cradock and Graaff-Reinet in the interior and stretching to the south-western districts of Oudtshoorn.

Isolated

In the Transvaal, the main unrest areas are identified as the Pretoria Witwatersrand (PWV) area and the Vaal Triangle, which included townships such as Katlehong, Soweto, Atteridgeville to towns such as Klerksdorp.

Some parts of central Free State and northern Natal had isolated incidents of unrest which claimed some lives.

Besides the death of 18 people at Crossroads earlier this year, the Western Cape has by far been the most subdued in terms of the scale of violence and

unrest.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party law and order spokesman, yesterday said that violence had 'become endemic on an unprecedented scale'.

What was distressing was that the public had become used to the violence and 'their threshold of tolerance seems to have risen towards events which would have caused shock and horror a few years ago', she said.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, recently said that over the past seven months 10 000 people had been arrested in connection with unrest in the country.

This figure dated from the period September 1, 1984 to March 22, 1985. During this period four policemen had been killed and 181 of them injured. Damages to buildings were estimated to be in excess of R28 million and damages to trains and vehicles was close to R12 million.

School stayaway figures following disclosures made in Parliament on May 2, by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education, showed that 33 155 black pupils were boycotting classes at 31 schools on March 6 this year.

Mrs Suzman appealed to the Government to defuse the nationwide unrest situation by reducing police presence in the townships.

New report calls for urgent reforms in education

Apartheid seen as key to unrest and boycotts in black schools

Unrest and boycotts in black schools will continue, says a report by Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

And, it adds, they will probably escalate so long as the Government continues to enforce general apartheid.

The report recommends urgent reforms to black education to alleviate black grievances, but says:

"Ultimately education, like all other South African institutions, will only gain full legitimacy once the issue of African rights in the central system of decision-making is resolved."

Reforms most urgently needed, the report says, include:

- Unification of educational systems.
- Improving communication between pupils and teachers.
- Developing greater local responsibility for education in schools and communities.
- Improving educational facilities and diversifying extra-curricular activities.

● Introducing management courses for principals.

● Introducing political education for teachers as well as pupils.

The report says the Government has begun to introduce reforms in black education, for example a plan to form a new Department of National Education responsible for a general education policy.

But these reforms still fall short of a major demand by black pupils' formation of a single education department for all races.

"Even changes such as these may not be sufficient," the report says.

"The educational system cannot be viewed in isolation from the wider society."

"A partially desegregated educational system within the wider segregated society may still generate dissent in an increasingly politicised African school population."

The report, entitled "School

Boycotts 1984: the crisis in African education," was written by Monica Bot, an education researcher.

It is based primarily on field research she conducted in Pretoria's Ateridgeville/Saulsville townships.

Her sources include representatives of the Congress of South African Students, a school principal and two officials of the Department of Education and Training.

She rejects as inadequate claims by Government spokesmen that outsiders were responsible for intimidating pupils to boycott schools for their own political ends.

She says: "These simplistic allegations cannot explain the involvement of extremely large numbers of pupils, especially during the second half of 1984."

"Would pupils be willing to risk their education and thereby their future prospects when they could collectively resist

attempts at intimidation by a minority?"

The announcement of intended rent increases in the Vaal Triangle and East Rand last September provoked a boycott by some 140 000 pupils, growing to 220 000 in October.

Six pupils were among 77 people who died in unrest reported from the Vaal Triangle in September alone.

Miss Bot says there is general consensus among researchers, educationalists, pupils' representatives and the Press that the boycotts were an expression of discontent on a much wider level than simply perception of inferior black education.

Pupils said one of the principal causes of the boycotts was the Government's initial refusal to allow formation of democratically elected student representative councils, a consistent demand by the boycotters.

The report identifies other

crucial grievances by pupils as excessive corporal punishment by teachers, poor marking of scripts, sex harassment, textbook shortages and age restrictions on school enrolment.

Added to this, spending on white education continued to be disproportionately higher than that for blacks.

In 1982 the Government spent R1 385 on each white child, compared to R192 for blacks.

The report said that apart from deaths, injuries and damage to property in last year's unrest, the loss of education for thousands of blacks would have serious consequences for an already overloaded school system as those denied teaching for five months tried to catch up in the new year.

It could also worsen unemployment leading to conditions for renewed social unrest, the report added.

Miss Bot traces the history of dissatisfaction in black edu-

cation from formation of the National Union of African Youth in 1939 to the declaration last November of the Education Charter Campaign.

At the same time she notes a growing solidarity between pupils, parents and workers in spite of the widening gap between proponents of black consciousness and Freedom Charter adherents.

Miss Bot says the student movement has accepted school boycotts as one strategy within a wider struggle for democracy.

The Congress of South African Students president, Lulu Johnson, is quoted as saying: "Through these demands we are laying the basis for the long term demands."

"The demand for democratic student representative councils is part of the process of preparing ourselves and building a future South Africa where representation will be genuine and democratic."

CMT Tm's 14/5/85 (276)

LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been issued by SAP Public Relations Division for the period 8pm on Sunday to noon yesterday

(A) At the Emanadwalene school in Orlando East, a group of about 125 stone-throwing youths were dispersed by police with birdshot.

(B) At the TEC in Soweto, police dispersed a group of about 400 youths with tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot.

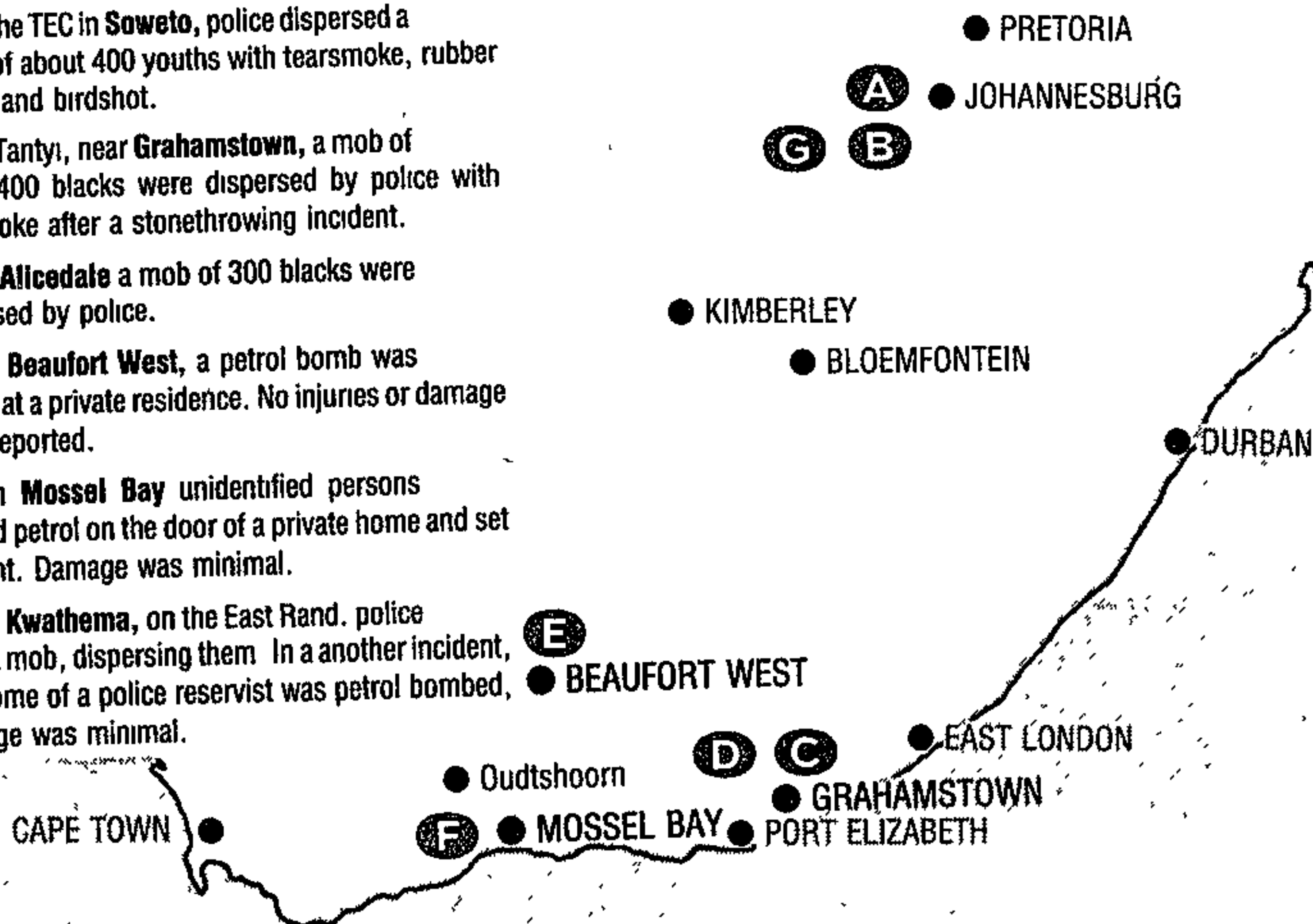
(C) In Tanti, near Grahamstown, a mob of about 400 blacks were dispersed by police with tearsmoke after a stonethrowing incident.

(D) In Alicedale a mob of 300 blacks were dispersed by police.

(E) In Beaufort West, a petrol bomb was hurled at a private residence. No injuries or damage were reported.

(F) In Mossel Bay unidentified persons poured petrol on the door of a private home and set it alight. Damage was minimal.

(G) In Kwathema, on the East Rand, police fired a mob, dispersing them. In another incident, the home of a police reservist was petrol bombed, damage was minimal.



ARGUS 14/5/85 (274.)

Only 'minor incidents' of unrest in East Cape

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Unrest in the Eastern Cape continues to decline and a police spokesman in Pretoria today reported only "minor incidents of stone-throwing" in the past 24 hours.

The spokesman said the only major incident occurred in Grahamstown, where an off-duty policeman opened fire on youths stoning his house.

No injuries or arrests were reported.

Meanwhile all members of the Graaff-Reinet Community Council have resigned.

Last week the homes and possessions of two councillors were reported to have been burnt in violence directed against the councils.

HEART ATTACK

The family of one councillor who died recently of a heart attack submitted his resignation posthumously on his behalf for fear of their lives if it was learnt he had not officially resigned, said a council member.

● Pupils were beaten and fired on by police using rubber

bullets and tearsmoke on the grounds of the Nkgopoleng High School in Zamdela township in the Vaal Triangle last Friday, irate parents alleged today.

However, a police spokesman in Pretoria said the action was taken because pupils were holding an illegal gathering on the school premises.

In another incident yesterday pupils at Matshidiso Primary School in Orlando West were fired at with birdshot. Police said the pupils stoned policemen who were nearby.

A parent in Orlando West, Mrs Mary Maseko, said: "We are having a difficult time convincing our children not to heed calls to boycott classes. Here in Soweto the situation has been relatively quiet and under control."

Mr Kabelo Lengane of the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) said the police action at the primary school was inexplicable because primary school pupils have not been involved in school unrest.

Unrest claims at least 214 lives so far this year

274 NM 15/5/85

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—At least 214 people have died in five months of unrest in South Africa this year — exceeding the unrest toll of 175 for the whole of last year, according to the South African Institute of Race Relations.

During recent weeks unrest has occurred in all four provinces simultaneously. Two deaths — that of a trade union leader and a student organiser — had been preceded by periods of

police detention

The highest death roll had been recorded in the Eastern Cape where 76 died this year — 48 in the Uitenhage area and 30 in the Port Elizabeth area, according to the institute.

Unrest was most prevalent in the Cape Province, ranging from Port Elizabeth to East London, to Cradock and Graaff-Reinet in the interior stretching to Oudtshoorn.

In the Transvaal, the main unrest areas, according to Press reports,

had been the Pretoria-Witwatersrand (PWV) area, and the Vaal Triangle — which included townships such as Kattlehong, Soweto and Attteridgeville.

Some parts of central Free State and northern Natal experienced isolated incidents of unrest. The worst incident was the death of 19 miners in faction fighting at the President Brand gold mine in Welkom recently.

The only report of deaths in the Western Cape was that of the 18

people who had died in violence at Crossroads.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, recently told Parliament that 10 000 people had been arrested in connection with unrest over the past seven months.

This figure was for the period September 1, 1984 to March 22, 1985. Statistics revealed that four policemen had been killed and that 181 had been injured. Damage to buildings had been estimated at more than R28 million while damage to trains and vehicles ran close to R12 million.

School stay-away figures showed that 33 155 black pupils had boycotted classes at 31 schools on March 6 this year.

Of these, 12 141 pupils boycotted classes in the Cape, 12 984 on the Highveld, 5 592 in the Free State, 1 200 in the Orange-Vaal area and 1 238 in Northern Transvaal.

UDF 'too concerned with its politics'

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front was more concerned with using communities for their own political ends than with solving community problems, Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, said yesterday.

Addressing a seminar on unrest and urban terrorism and its effects on industry and commerce at a Woodstock hotel, Mr Curry said the UDF's housing action committees were "very clever".

"People flock to their meetings but as soon as they get there the UDF turns to politics, telling them the reason they haven't got houses is the 'system'", Mr Curry said.

'Structures'

The government had to proclaim the right for everybody to own property and industry had to play a major role in alleviating the housing backlog.

"We have to create structures that will deliver the goods and have status among the people," Mr Curry said.

In some areas of the coloured community, despair on a par with many blacks, was creeping in.

Criticizing the rental system for making communities susceptible to exploitation, Mr Curry said nothing changed a man's status as much as home-ownership.

A coalition government in South Africa was inevitable but steps had to be taken to create an atmosphere in which debate could take place.

"It's been said that this country is one of economic miracles and political disasters — but those days are over with the economy in a slump", Mr Curry said.

CALL Times 15/5/85 (274)

Unrest: 4 men die 'of bullet wounds'

JOHANNESBURG — Four men died in hospital on Monday "from what appeared to be bullet wounds" they might have received on Saturday when police and administration board guards fired birdshot in KwaThema, near Springs, police said yesterday.

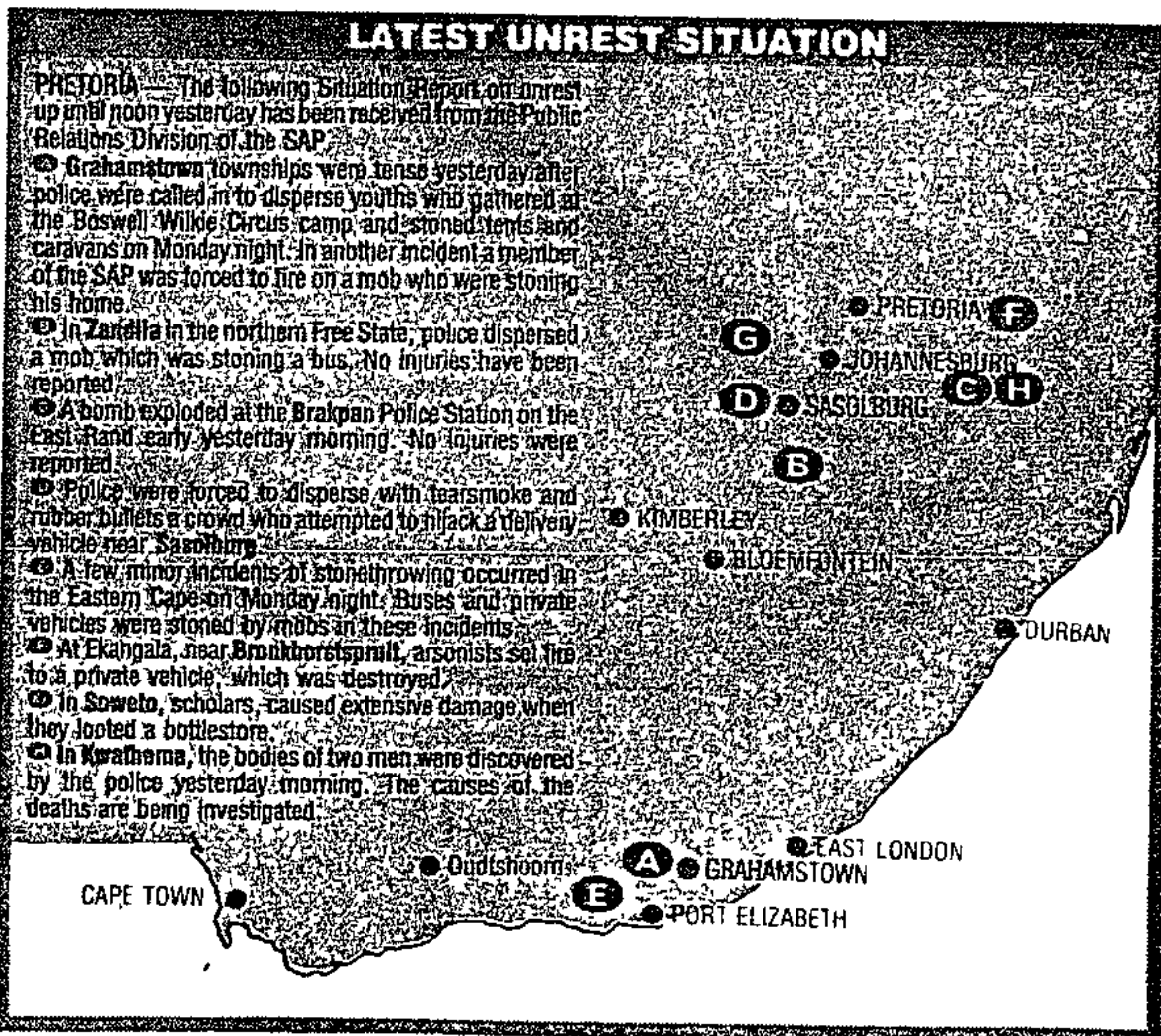
Police also discovered the bodies of two men in the township yesterday morning, according to a police public relations "situation report" of unrest.

In Saturday's shooting, in which police and administration board guards were "forced to fire birdshot at looters and arsonists", shops were plundered and a bottle store was set alight and extensively damaged, the report from 8am to noon said.

In Soweto yesterday, pupils looted a bottle store and caused extensive damage "in an incident which can only be labelled criminal", the report said.

A 15-year-old boy was seriously injured in Pimville, Soweto, yesterday when development board employees fired birdshot at a "large group of blacks" stoning their vehicle, the police in Pretoria said.

Police also used tear-smoke, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse groups when sporadic incidents of stone-throwing occurred in Soweto's Zondi, Klipspruit and Dobsonville areas, a "situation report" of unrest



incidents from noon to 4pm said.

Isolated incidents of stone-throwing and arson were also reported in New Brighton and KwaZakele, near Port Elizabeth.

In New Brighton a bus was petrol-bombed and a "radio set" in the vehicle was stolen, and in a second incident a construction vehicle was destroyed by fire.

In KwaZakele a house

was "completely destroyed" in a petrol-bomb attack by five people, the report said.

The homes of two senior Azanian People's Organization members and two members of the Azanian Students' Movement at Langa, near Uitenhage, were searched by security police on Monday.

Documents were confiscated from the home of Mr Xolisile Mnyaka, the

Azasm regional organizer in the Eastern Cape, an Azapo spokesman said yesterday.

He said security police also searched the homes of Azasm executive member Mr Buyile Sali, Azapo's regional publicity director, Mr Tyelinzima Depebeka, and that of Mr Xolile "Byna" Festile, a former vice-chairman of Azapo's Uitenhage branch Sapa.

SHIRTS

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LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following Situation Report on unrest for the period, 4pm on Tuesday to 4pm yesterday, has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP

A Minor incidents of stone-throwing occurred yesterday and on Tuesday night in townships on the East Rand, and in Galeshewe (Kimberley), Bhongolethu (Outdshoorn) and Sebokeng (West Rand).

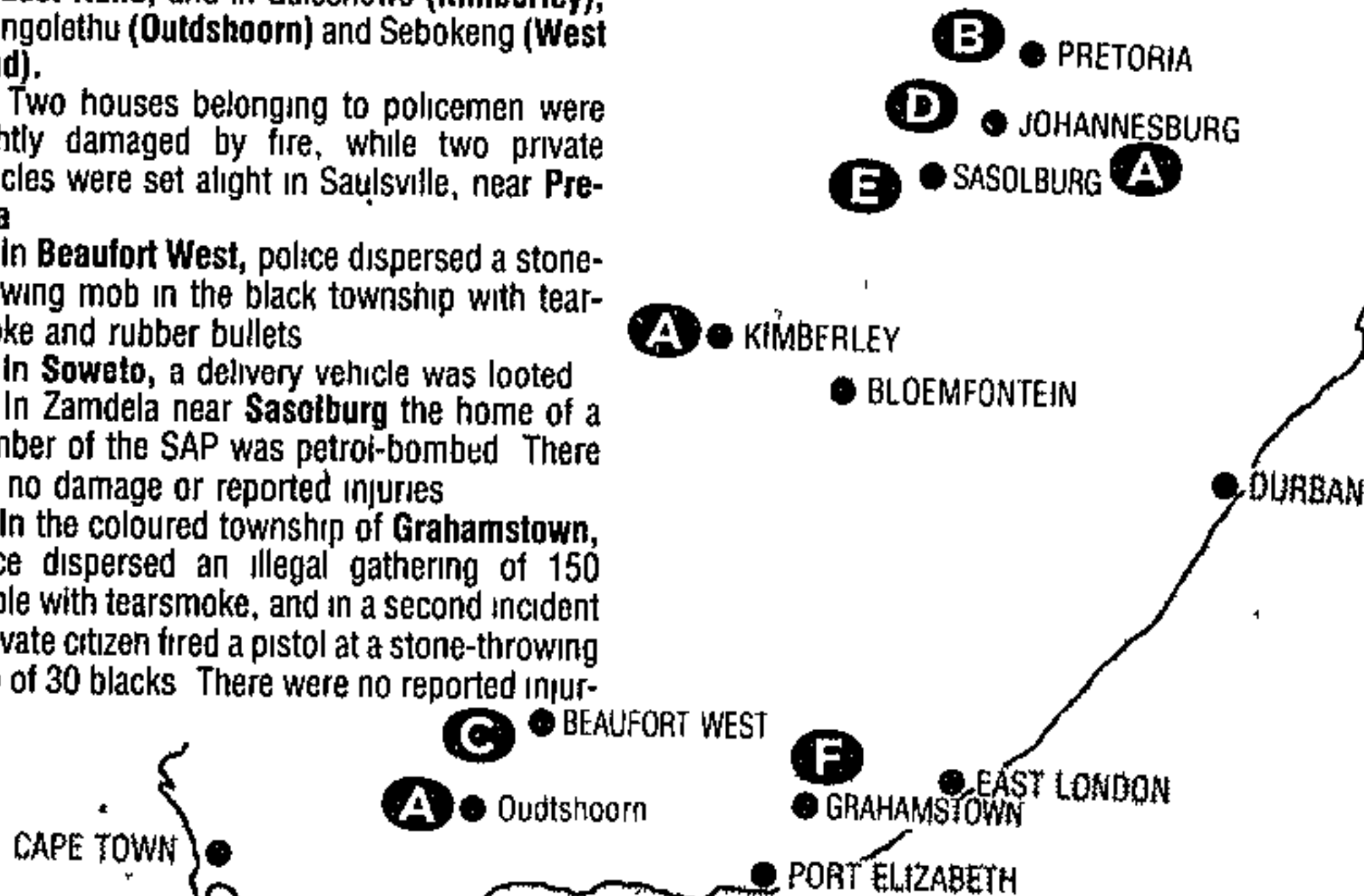
B Two houses belonging to policemen were slightly damaged by fire, while two private vehicles were set alight in Saulsville, near Pretoria

C In Beaufort West, police dispersed a stone-throwing mob in the black township with tear-smoke and rubber bullets

D In Soweto, a delivery vehicle was looted

E In Zamdela near Sasolburg the home of a member of the SAP was petrol-bombed. There was no damage or reported injuries

F In the coloured township of Grahamstown, police dispersed an illegal gathering of 150 people with tearsmoke, and in a second incident a private citizen fired a pistol at a stone-throwing mob of 30 blacks. There were no reported injuries



2 boys arrested in Beaufort West

TWO boys, aged 12 and 15, were arrested in Beaufort West yesterday allegedly for stoning police

A police spokesman said the two were held after police fired teargas and rubber bullets at a crowd of between 150 and 200 people who stoned police when they halted a march.

Meanwhile, in Soweto a 27-year-old man was killed "with spades and pitchforks" by about 150 people, police said. The reason for the violence was unknown and no action was taken.

Police reported isolated incidents of stone-throwing at Galeshewe

(Kimberley), Outdshoorn's Bhongolethu township, KwaZakele, Sebokeng on the West Rand, Duduze and Soweto.

Reports of arson came from Soweto, Sasolburg's Zamdela township, KwaZakele and New Brighton

Two houses belonging to policemen were slightly damaged by fire, while two private vehicles were set alight in Saulsville, near Pretoria

In Grahamstown, police dispersed 150 people with tearsmoke, and in a second incident a private citizen fired a pistol at 30 stone-throwers.

LATEST UNREST SITUATION

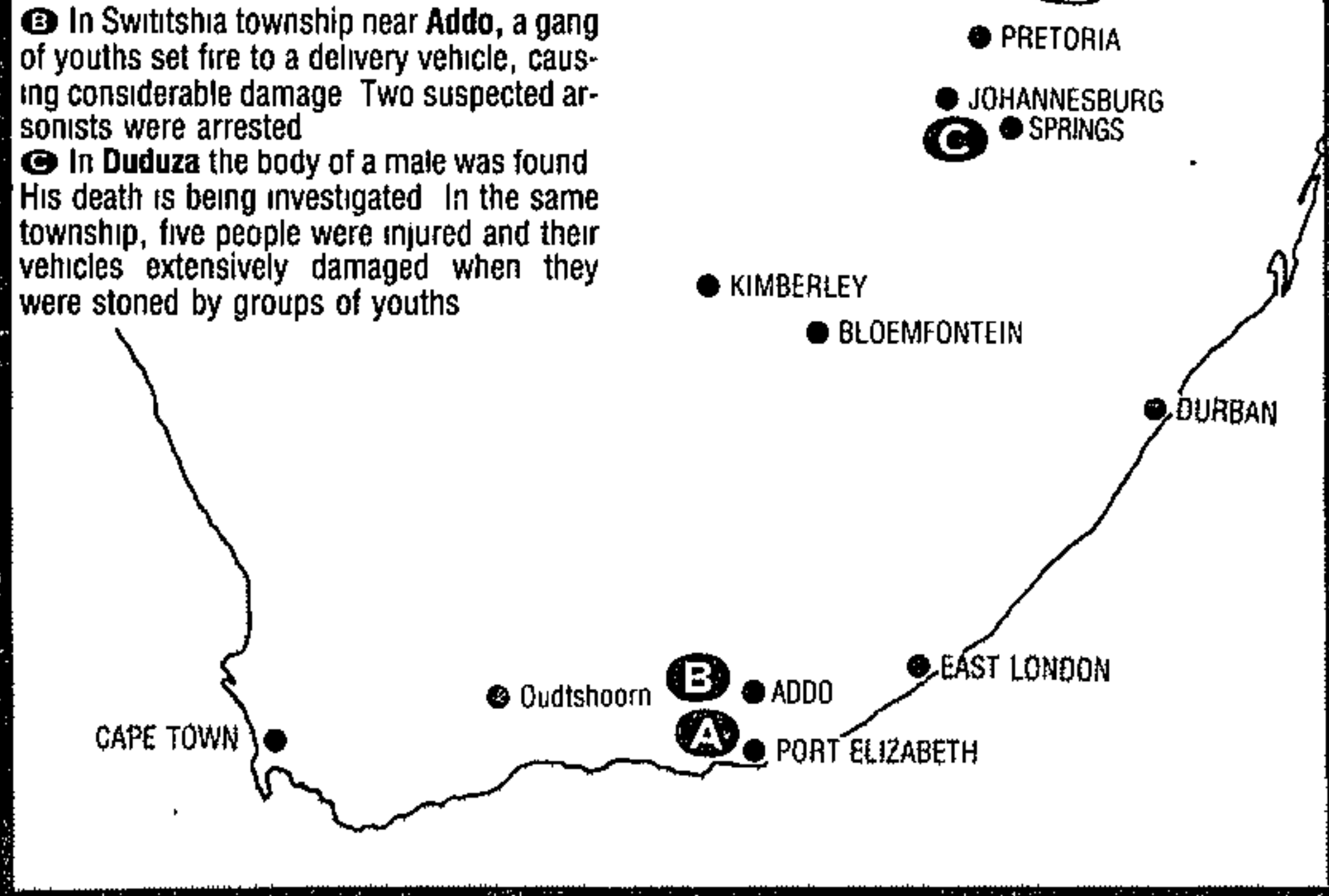
PRETORIA — The following Situation Report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 4pm yesterday

A In **Zwide** a burnt-out delivery vehicle was discovered

B In **Switshia** township near **Addo**, a gang of youths set fire to a delivery vehicle, causing considerable damage. Two suspected arsonists were arrested

C In **Duduza** the body of a male was found. His death is being investigated. In the same township, five people were injured and their vehicles extensively damaged when they were stoned by groups of youths

Opp Times 22/5/85
(274)



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US warns tourists about travel in SA

Political Staff

THE US Government has taken the unusual step of warning Americans about travelling in South Africa while township unrest continues.

This may have serious implications for the tourism industry.

The warning comes in an official "travel advisory" issued by the State Department in Washington and aimed at American citizens planning to visit South Africa.

It says: "Due to the volatility of the situation in the townships surrounding urban centres in South Africa, Americans should consult with the embassy or consulate before travelling in South Africa."

The State Department regularly issues such advisory statements about troubled areas around the world which Americans might visit.

It has in the past warned against travel to the Ciskei, but this is the first time it has made such a sweeping statement about South Africa as a whole.

The "advisory" was compiled before the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, acknowledged at a public meeting last night that township unrest was fanning out from the main urban areas.

Mr le Grange said 1 549 incidents of unrest were reported last month alone, and 381 people lost their lives in the nine months ending April 30.

Extensive coverage of township violence in the American media adds weight to the travel warning and is causing concern in the tourism industry. "Hope!"

Now tourism officials are worried that the numbers might drop sharply.

The South African Government had been expecting the United States to issue an "advisory" on South Africa for several weeks. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said "no special significance" need be attached to it.

"All it does is to say to prospective American visitors that they ought to consult their representatives as regards travelling through specific suburbs," he said.

SUNDAY APRIL 15.

- 8,00 - 8,45 am Coffee and Croissants.
- 8,45 - 10,30 am Addresses to Plenary session.
- 10,30 - 11,00 am Tea.
- 11,00 - 12,30 pm Fifteen small groups covering four papers each.
- AFTERNOON FREE. (Voluntary excursions to be arranged.)
- 8,00 - 10,00 pm Film Festival.

MONDAY APRIL 16.

- 8,00 - 8,45 am Coffee and Croissants.
- 8,45 - 10,45 am Report back of small groups to demi-plenary sessions.
- 10,45 - 11,15 am Tea.
- 11,15 - 1,15 pm Fifteen small groups covering six papers each.
- 1,15 - 2,30 pm Lunch and Film.
- 2,30 - 4,00 pm Report back of small groups to demi plenary sessions.
- 4,00 - 4,30 pm Tea.
- 4,30 - 6,00 pm Demi-plenaries continued.
- 6,30 - 8,00 pm Drinks and supper.
- 8,00 - 10,00 pm Discussion and slide-tape show. Theme: "Models for Action."
- 10,00 - 11,00 pm Late night movie.

TUESDAY APRIL 17.

- 8,00 - 8,30 am Coffee and Croissants.
- 8,45 - 1,00 pm Conference divides into six groups to discuss working group themes.
- 1,00 - 2,30 pm Lunch
- 2,30 - 5,30 pm Films, videos, slide-tape shows.

Arrests, injuries as unrest continues

Argus 23/5/88 274
Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Fifteen people were arrested and a policeman was slightly hurt in clashes between police and groups of "hooligans" who caused extensive damage to private and public property in townships, the Police Directorate of Public Relations reported today.

In Ikageng, near Potchef-

stroom, police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot yesterday to disperse a mob which erected a roadblock and stoned passing vehicles. Thirteen arrests were made and a policeman was slightly injured in the incident.

In Viljoensdrif, in the Free State, two men were arrested after a vehicle involved in an accident was set on fire.

In Tembisa, on the East Rand, two private vehicles were destroyed by fire.

In Galashewe, near Kimberley, a beerhall was slightly damaged by arsonists.

Isolated incidents of stone-throwing and arson occurred in the Eastern Cape townships of New Brighton, Zwidi and Kwazakele today, police said

Cape Times 23/5/85 274

Unrest: 381 killed, 1 497 hurt

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The toll of death and destruction exacted during unrest in the black townships of South Africa over the past nine months was detailed by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, at a public meeting in Cradock last night.

Unrest had increased during the year, reaching a peak in April when a total of 1 549 incidents of unrest had been reported to the police — 30 percent more than in March, Mr Le Grange said.

Of this number, 849 incidents were reported in the Eastern Cape.

A total of 381 people lost their lives in unrest in the nine-month period ending April 30. Of these, 293 died as a result of police action, 6 died as a result of action taken by officials of development boards, while 82 died as a result of action taken by members of the public.

During the same period a total of 1 497 people were wounded or injured, 921 of these as a result of police action, while 17 were wounded or injured as a result of action taken by officials of development boards.

A total of 559 people were

injured as a result of action taken by the public.

Six policemen were killed, while 215 were injured.

Mr Le Grange said an analysis of these figures proved that a great percentage of those killed and injured were older than 18 years. Of a total of 381 killed, "only 74" were under 18 years of age.

Damage to buildings totalled R31-million and vehicles to the value of R12-million were destroyed.

Mr Le Grange said those "orchestrating" the unrest were using more sophisticated methods than ever before.

He said the banned South

African Communist Party and the ANC were deeply involved in a "background role".

He also blamed the United Democratic Front, radical trade unions and other elements both in South Africa and outside the country who he said supported the unrest in a subtle fashion with the aim of breaking down law and order in the country.

Referring to damage caused to schools and other buildings during unrest, Mr Le Grange said those responsible would find that government funds for the replacement of these buildings "will not be easily forthcoming".

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Angry backlash against black-on-black violence

NRK 45 24/5/81 (274)

GRAHAM LINSOTT gives a summary of comment in black newspapers on current events

ANGUISHED comment on the internecine violence that is tearing apart black society is becoming a prominent feature in black newspapers.

"Whither black South Africa?" asks The Sowetan. "A very strange question to ask, indeed, in this strange society of ours. But in the light of the killings, the burnings of houses and shops, the looting and the general mayhem one is forced to pose the question: What is really happening to us?"

The Sowetan says priests throughout the country gathered their flock last Sunday and tried to persuade warring factions to resolve their differences. Church attendances were good — and then reports came in of a mob on the rampage on the East Rand, burning, looting and shooting a man dead.

"What is the outside world thinking of us? Just a bunch of unruly elements who enjoy killing, maiming, injuring each other? We appeal to all peace-loving citizens of South Africa to let sense prevail. Let's try

and follow the good that Bishop Desmond Tutu is doing. Bringing all of us God's children together for everlasting peace in this beautiful country of ours."

The Sowetan Sunday Mirror says so-called revenge killings by mobs of pupils in the township cannot be justified in any civilised society.

"And then, in recent weeks, groups of people have simply enjoyed stoning residents' cars — for no apparent reason.

"On Friday, Putco decided to withdraw its services into the townships after dark because, they state, their drivers' lives have been threatened and their vehicles have been damaged to the extent where they felt they could not go on providing their service.

"This has meant that people using buses to transport them back to Soweto at night have to get off on the outskirts of the township and walk the rest of the distance to their homes.

"Many have ended up being robbed. Some will be killed even before they arrive home. The thugs will have a field day.

So what have those who have been stoning buses and taxis achieved?

"We would appeal to those responsible for these actions to stop it now. They are not doing the cause any good and in fact their actions can only precipitate another round of black on black violence. Heaven knows, we have seen enough of this."

□□□□

The Natal-based newspaper, Ilanga, describes the deaths of three more people following their detention by the police as adding fuel to the fire.

It commends the Commissioner of Police for instituting an official inquiry into the death of trade unionist Mr Andries Raditsela, but says the announcement was dampened by the revelation that yet another detainee had died in custody.

"It is inconceivable that those who walk the corridors of power can be unaware of these incidents. Coming as they do against the background of much concern and questioning of the role of the police in deal-

ing with escalating violence, these deaths can only exacerbate an already worsening situation. We think the public needs more than the assurance of an official inquiry to still their troubled souls. They would like to see the Government do all in its power to see that the perpetrators are duly brought to book."

□□□□

According to City Press, things are neatly tied up in the remote Western Transvaal township of Tshing.

One S K Manaka is police sergeant, chairman of Tshing Council, an elder of the Methodist Church and a member of the Independent Order of True Templars.

His daughter runs a shebeen where beer sells at R2 a quart, and customers are not bothered by police raids. His fellow-councillors never argue with him and, Mr Manaka told City Press, he is "well-liked" by the people.

A big, burly fellow, judging by the photograph. The kind of sheriff a town needs.

LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following Situation Report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 4pm yesterday

A In Kwathema arsonists set fire to a private vehicle causing extensive damage

B At Ratanda near Heidelberg, SAR Police arrested a youth when he and others stoned a delivery vehicle

C In Homevale coloured township in the Northern Cape, small groups stoned private vehicles and buildings, slightly injuring two people. They were dispersed by the SAP with rubber bullets

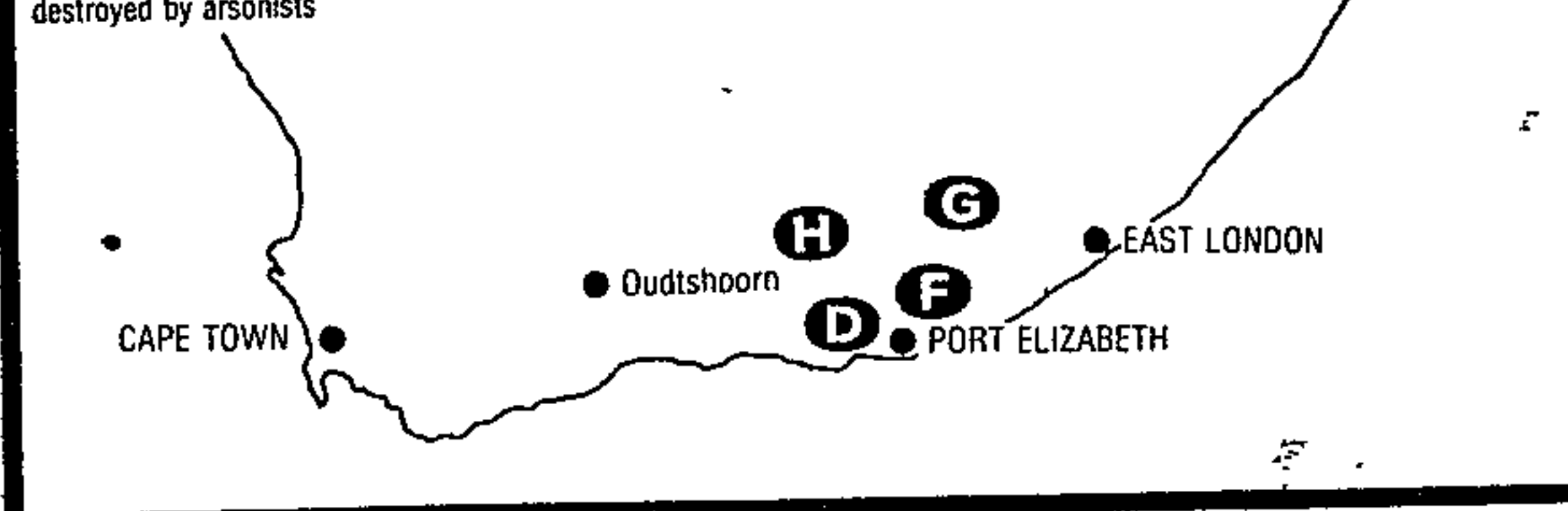
D In New Brighton, arsonists destroyed a private home

E In Phomolong, near Kroonstad, a Development Board official dispersed a group who were stoning a delivery vehicle, with rubber bullets. Three of the stone-throwing youths were slightly injured

F In Kwazakale and Veeplaas, two private vehicles were set alight and extensively damaged. SADF patrols extinguished the fires

G In Madubane in the Eastern Province, a municipal truck was destroyed by petrol bombs

H In Jansenville (Eastern Cape) a private dwelling was destroyed by arsonists



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LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the police public relations division for the period up until 4pm yesterday.

① In Thembisa, near Kempton Park, a vehicle was found gutted by fire

② In Galeshewe, near Kimberley, an attempt was made to set fire to a beer hall

③ In Sebokeng, buses and a post office were stoned, causing extensive damage. In another incident, a mob of 50 youths stole soft drinks from a delivery vehicle

④ At Viljoensdrif, in the Free State, police arrested two men who had set fire to a vehicle which had been involved in an accident

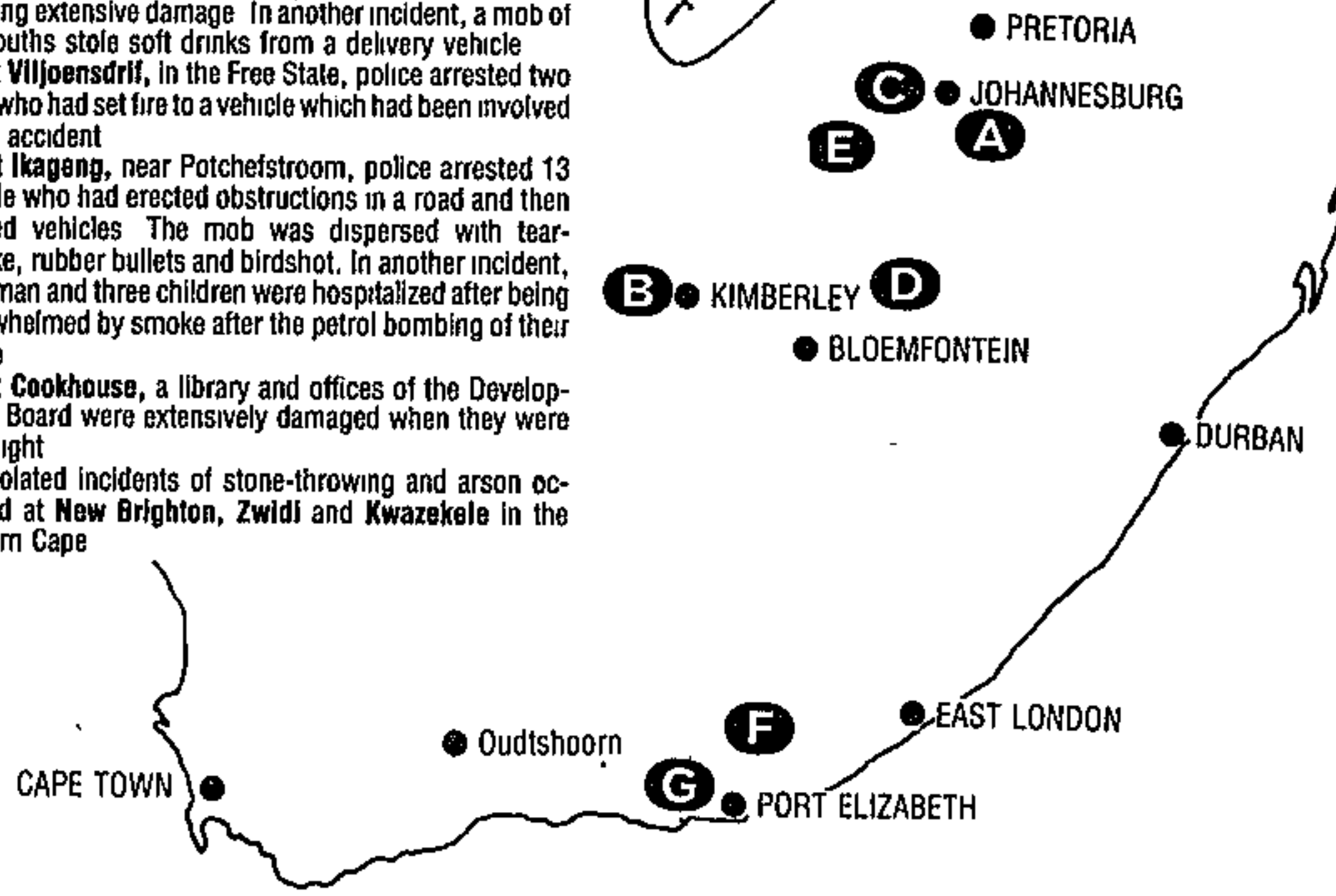
⑤ At Ikageng, near Potchefstroom, police arrested 13 people who had erected obstructions in a road and then stoned vehicles. The mob was dispersed with tear-smoke, rubber bullets and birdshot. In another incident, a woman and three children were hospitalized after being overwhelmed by smoke after the petrol bombing of their home

⑥ At Cookhouse, a library and offices of the Development Board were extensively damaged when they were set alight

⑦ Isolated incidents of stone-throwing and arson occurred at New Brighton, Zwidi and Kwazekela in the Eastern Cape

CAPE TIMES 24/5/85

274



By MZIKAYISE
EDOM

FOUR PEOPLE were killed and the national president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Lulu Johnson, was attacked with an axe outside his home by people believed to be Azapo members in incidents of violence at the weekend.

A black policeman was stabbed to death after he had fired at a crowd, killing a man and injuring another in Tembisa on the East Rand.

Two children, aged five and nine, died when their home was set alight in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, at the weekend. Police have confirmed the incidents.

Another resident from the same house

which was set alight had "gone amiss", and extensive damage was done before the fire was extinguished by a SADF patrol, police said yesterday.

Mr Johnson from New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, was attacked by a group of about 30 who also attacked a member of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (Peyco)

who was guarding his (Mr Johnson) home. Both were slightly injured and Mr Johnson was admitted at the Livingstone Hospital.

The incident happened in the early hours of yesterday.

A spokesman for the United Democratic Front (UDF) said Mr Johnson heard a commotion outside his Gqa-

malana Street home and saw a group of about 30, shouting that they were chasing an Azapo member.

"When Lulu went outside, he became the victim. The group attacked him with an axe, hacking him on the head. He could not identify his assailants, but was convinced they were Azapo supporters," the spokesman said.

The spokesman said this was the second attack this weekend on activists of UDF-affiliate organisations. He said on Friday, the Dora Street house of a UDF activist, known as Comrade Mamiya, was gutted by several petrol bombs.

"We have declared no war. We call on those perpetrating these attacks to stop," the spokesman said.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, the president of Azapo yesterday denied that Mr Johnson was attacked by members of his organisation.

He said: "According to reports I received yesterday from the Eastern Cape, there was a clash on Friday after a meeting between Azapo, UDF and the local cler-

gymen to discuss the infighting that has been going on for weeks between Azapo and UDF members in the area."

BLACK WARS

27

274

Sowetan

27/5/85

Stop black-on-black violence

Sowetan
2-7/5/85

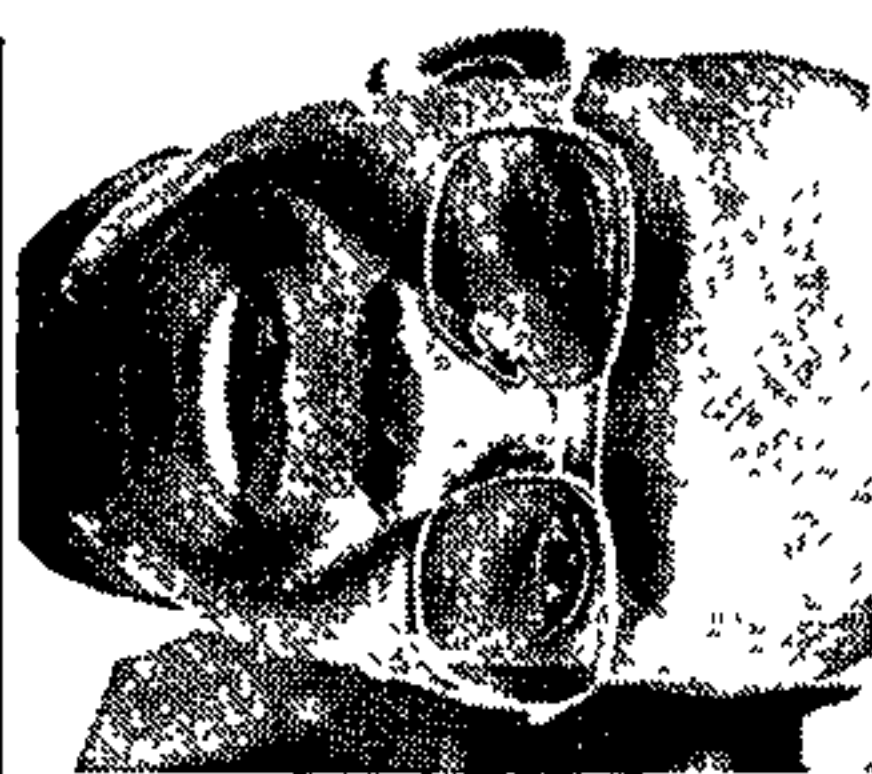
When supporters of political groups attack, main and even kill political rivals as has happened in the Eastern Cape and Turfloop University, then this situation demands more than a "stop it you fellows".

The Bishop Desmond Tutu peace mission, initiated by Father Lebamang Sebidi, is the first most important step taken, and the ball is now in the courts of the organisations, with or without the help of the clerics, to ensure that this peace initiative is consolidated.

There is no doubt that same black South Africa wants peace — it knows how important this is. And no doubt, the leaders of the organisations themselves, who pledged themselves to work towards this peace, are now busy ensuring that what was sown did not fall on rough ground.

But while the peace process continues, it is important to have another look at the situation, consider the dangers and implications, and learn from it.

While the leaderships of Inkatha, the UDF and the UDF



LAST Friday The SOWETAN looked at the violence in our organisations and spelt a message of hope. Today news editor Thami Mazwai looks at "is violence from another angle, the dangers involved and the implications.

vocateurs have infiltrated their organisations and are manipulating the situation to suit their evil ends.

Agent provocateurs are people hired by a system to provoke confrontation.

The third danger in the situation are the fanatics, the hardliners who simply adopt the attitude: "If you are not with me, you are against me". These fanatics are easily manipulated by agent provocateurs and mischievous elements. They are thus a danger.

The above three are the immediate dangers in the situation, but, there are more sinister implications over and above these dangers. These include:

- the black community is being thrown into confusion and disillusionment;

the white community



THOUSANDS at Regina Mundi last Sunday.

Many in the community are tolerant of the fact that university students are normally emotional, particularly so on touchy issues like political affiliation.

But beating political rivals near to death is taking it rather too far.

Taking the violence into perspective, one has no doubt that even the banned African National Congress (ANC) and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) are just as embarrassed by it. Exiles monitor and analyse events in the country more carefully than the people still inside.

One can imagine the pain they feel when we slaughter each other.

The effect of the violence on overseas organisations supporting the liberation struggle is obvious. They get disappointed. There is no point in them going on disinvestment campaigns, sports and cultural boycotts when WE spend our time as-saulting one another.

Another implication that seems to have escaped is that Azapo and the UDF oppose the Government as they claim it is undemocratic. Among other things, democracy entails accommodating the opposing viewpoint. This the SA

When our organisations try and exterminate one another, can they claim a commitment to democracy?

ment to democracy with straight faces?

Are they prescribing one version of democracy to the Government while prescribing another form to themselves? And their form entails exterminating all opposition?

The fighting among our organisations also brings into focus the question: "Can they control their followers?" One can only hope they can.

Lastly, one of the organisations involved in the fighting claimed that not every body who puts on its T-shirt is their follower. The organisation was denying that its followers were responsible for an act of

violence
I wonder if that organisation will also deny people wearing their T-shirts when these people go on praiseworthy campaigns.



BISHOP DESMOND TUTU: Leading peace mission.

27/5/85

are aware of the dangers, the many foot-soldiers of these organisations are ignorant of the harm this fighting is doing to the dignity of the liberation struggle.

Dangers

The immediate dangers are:

- action by supporters of the system who have joined the general petrol bomb throwing knowing rival groups will be blamed;
- action by indirect agents of the system such as agent provocateurs; and
- fanatics within the organisations getting out of hand.

Already petrol bombs are flying in many parts of the country. They also fly in areas where there are no rivalries, and only one organisation exists. It needs no brilliant analysis to guess who the petrol bomb throwers are.

Secondly, that agent provocateurs are now abound is beyond dispute. How does one explain a situation in which thousands at a service accept the peace package and hardly does the cheering die down when officials of one group are attacked.

The UDF and Azapo to a lesser extent, must seriously address themselves to the fact that agent pro-

munity and Government need no better reason to cling to power with justification;

- support organisations overseas are disappointed;
- the internal organisations themselves lose credibility; and
- chaos reigns with no form of control.

Concern

That the black community wants peace was shown by the numbers that went to Regina Mundi in Soweto and Dan Qeqe stadium in Port Elizabeth. Thousands.

Not only this, but the people who went to these services were adults, the midriff of the black community. These are the people who give respectability to our organisations, and they showed their concern by going to the peace services.

Meetings are mostly attended by youths, but for the peace meetings even the adults came. No other display by the community can show the need for peace.

It is with this in mind that one imagines the pain and disappointment in the black community when students at the University of the North savagely beat up the leaders of a rival political group at the campus recently.



FATHER Lebamang Sebidi . . . initiated peace talks.

No point

This infighting has also given all justification to white South Africa and the Government that blacks can never rule the country. Current Affairs last Wednesday said this much. And, opinion in white circles, nationalist or liberal, is that the present violence among our organisation shows that we will destroy the country.

I personally reject this with contempt, but many other people, black at that, may accept it.

Cape Times 27/5/85 (274)

Five die in unrest in E Cape, East Rand

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Five people died in unrest in the Eastern Cape and East Rand at the weekend.

According to police reports a Constable Mshlango was stabbed to death in Tembisa on the East Rand after he opened fire on a group of people, killing one man and injuring a second.

Police used tearsmoke and rubber bullets in incidents of stone-throwing in Tembisa and Kwathema and, later on Saturday, 500 people were dispersed with tearsmoke and sjamboks in the two troubled townships.

Man on burning rubbish

There were no reported injuries or arrests, police said.

In the Eastern Cape, police found a man unconscious on a burning rubbish heap in Kwazekele on Saturday. Police said the unidentified man, who was allegedly attacked and put on the heap by a group of about 20 youths, was in a critical condition in hospital.

On Friday, two children, aged five and nine, died in an arson attack on a New Brighton "housing complex".

Last night, a 26-year-old man died of a gunshot wound in Settlers Hospital in Grahamstown.

According to the Police weekend duty officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant Cecil Vermaak, Mr Sydney Njadayi was fatally wounded after police guarding the Tantjie home of a town

councillor opened fire on a group of between 200 and 400 people who stoned the house.

The crowd were returning from a funeral, he said, and police used tear-smoke to disperse them.

A police report said that incidents of "stone-throwing, petrol-bombing and arson" had occurred in areas of the Eastern Cape and East Rand.

House set alight

Thirty eight people were arrested for public violence and arson in Oudtshoorn, in the Eastern Cape, where police used tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse rioters. Three others were arrested at Galashewe, near Kimberley.

Seven children and a man were injured after a house was set alight in Oudtshoorn, while in Adelaide, also in the Eastern Cape, a policeman fired shots at rioters who petrol-bombed his house. No injuries were reported.

Police also reported that stone-throwers were dispersed with tear-smoke in Inanda township, near Durban, and patrol dogs were used to disperse people in Alexandra township, near Johannesburg. There were no injuries or arrests.

Five houses at Delmaine in Port Natal were gutted by "arsonists".

● UDF-affiliate leaders attacked by PE mobs, page 2

Cape Times 27/5/85 974

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● UDF-affiliate leaders attacked by PE mobs, page 2

CAPE TIMES 28/5/85 274

Girl, 15, shot in head in clash with police

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — In Grahamstown yesterday, a 15-year-old girl, Nomhle Sineke, was admitted to Settlers Hospital with a bullet wound in her forehead, after a clash with police in the townships.

Her condition was described as serious by the medical superintendent, Dr Graham White.

Stone-throwing

A spokesman for the SA Police in Pretoria confirmed the incident. He said live ammunition was used "only in extreme cases" and the wound to the girl could have been caused by a rubber bullet.

The spokesman reported weekend incidents of stone-throwing and petrol bombing in the Port Elizabeth townships of Kwazakele and New Brighton and at Bongweni, Cookhouse, adding that police used tear-smoke and rubber bullets to disperse crowds.

In the black township of Grahamstown, police dispersed an illegal gathering with tear-smoke, according to the spokesman. "The mob then moved to the Gra-

hamstown/Kenton-on-Sea road where they stoned passing vehicles before being dispersed again," he said.

In Fort Beaufort yesterday, police used tear-smoke and quirts to disperse a crowd of about 50 people who had gathered illegally.

Yesterday afternoon the directorate reported isolated incidents of stone-throwing and arson on the East Rand in Katlehong, Ratanda, Sebokeng (Vaal Triangle) and Tembisa. In two of these incidents, police dispersed stone-throwers with tear-smoke.

Pleaded

Sapa reports that a Rini town councillor whose Grahamstown home was attacked on Sunday night pleaded in vain with a mob of about 500 youths to leave.

Rev Siphosiso Qangule said he was at home with his family when the mob — part of a 7 000-strong funeral procession — stopped in front of his house at 5pm.

"They started throwing stones at the house, and my family and I and the two police guards on duty went outside to try

to persuade them to stop," he said.

He phoned for a Hippo which came soon afterwards. "They also sent a helicopter which circled overhead, but even that wouldn't persuade the crowd to move away."

Shots

After the barrage of stones had continued for about half an hour, the police guards fired shots and the crowd scattered. Shortly after that, the body of Mr Sydney Njabayi, 26, was found lying in an adjoining street with a bullet wound in the throat.

The police spokesman reported that an illegal gathering in the township has been dispersed with tear-smoke on Sunday night.

● A police spokesman reported incorrectly on Sunday that two white women had been injured at Bontrug near Kirkwood on Saturday when crowds stoned passing cars.

Correcting this statement, a police spokesman said yesterday that the incident had, in fact, occurred at Beitbrug in the Transvaal and not at Bontrug.

LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA → The following Situation Report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 4pm yesterday

A In Tanti, a councillor's home was stoned by a mob. Police fired tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse them, later a man was found dead in an adjoining street. Cause of death is being investigated.

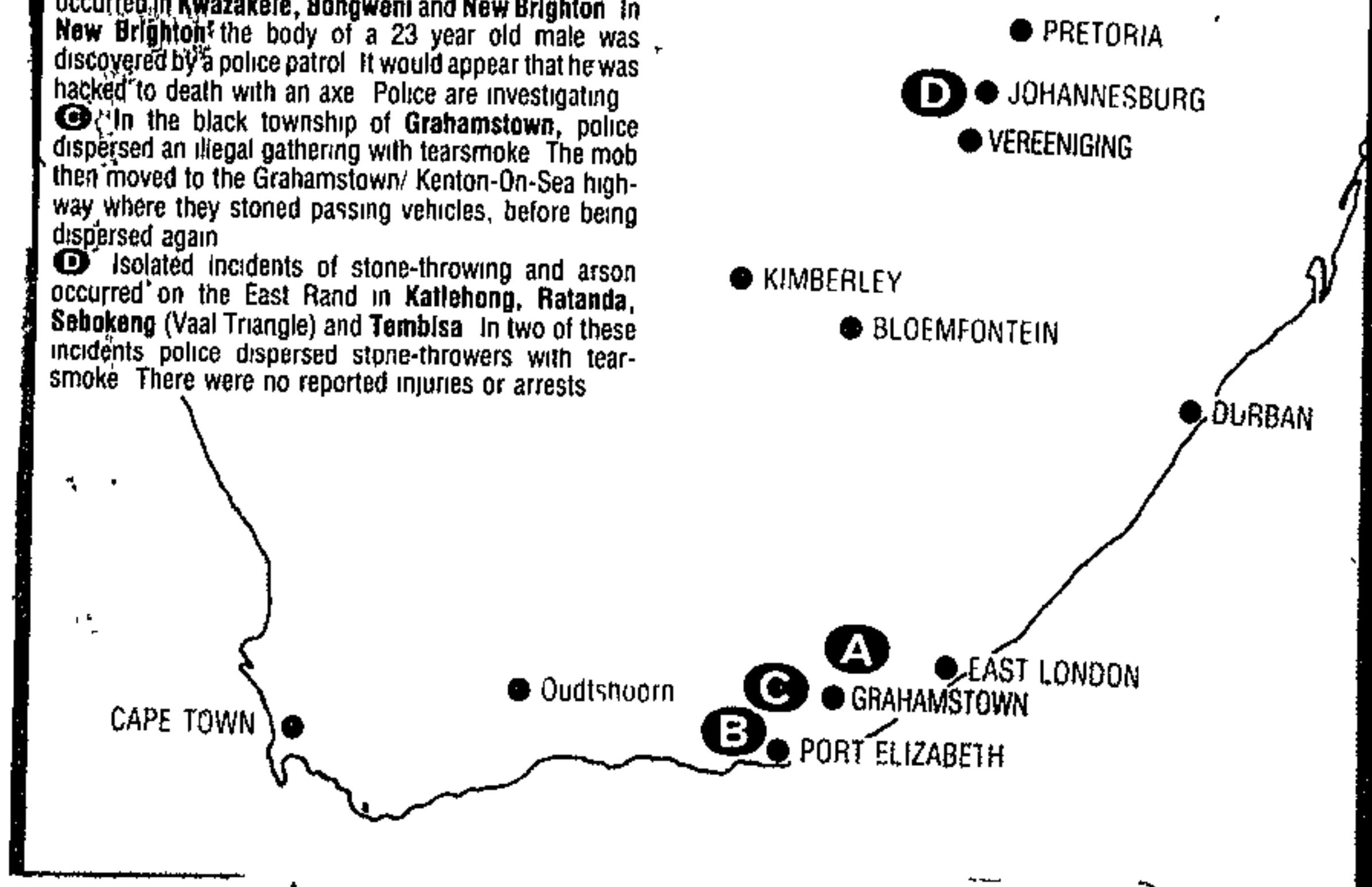
B Incidents of stonethrowing and petrol bombing occurred in Kwazakhele, Bongweni and New Brighton in New Brighton the body of a 23 year old male was discovered by a police patrol. It would appear that he was hacked to death with an axe. Police are investigating.

C In the black township of Grahamstown, police dispersed an illegal gathering with tearsmoke. The mob then moved to the Grahamstown/ Kenton-On-Sea highway where they stoned passing vehicles, before being dispersed again.

D Isolated incidents of stone-throwing and arson occurred on the East Rand in Katlehong, Ratanda, Sebokeng (Vaal Triangle) and Tembisa. In two of these incidents police dispersed stone-throwers with tearsmoke. There were no reported injuries or arrests.

CAPE TIMES
28/5/85

574



'Innocent sufferers'

THIS year's unrest has so far claimed at least 208 lives and damage to property is estimated at millions of rands.

The figure was released by a field worker of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The analysis was for the period January 31 to May 21. A radio report last week put the figure at 381 deaths and 1 497 injured since January. 1 549 incidents of violence were recorded in April, of which 849 were in the Eastern Cape, while 402 were reported on the Witwatersrand.

But, in the middle of this carnage, are the "innocent sufferers" — the many black people who have to suffer in the process, for no reason, and all in the name of the struggle

- they lose their lives;
- their shops are attacked and destroyed;
- they have to walk long distances when buses are withdrawn,
- their cars are stoned,
- their taxis are damaged;
- their houses are attacked perhaps simply because a jealous neighbour, business or jealous lover accused them of being sell-outs.

While reasons are advanced why community council members, Putco and delivery vehicles are attacked the innocent sufferers' lose lives with their relatives never knowing why. Community council members are accused of being part of the system and thus they do have an idea why they are attacked. Putco and delivery vehicles are attacked rightly or wrongly, because they are perceived to represent white business that exploits blacks

Rural

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said it is clear that the current unrest in the country is no longer restricted to larger metropolitan areas and the Eastern Cape. He told a public meeting in Cradock last week that the violence was spreading to rural areas and was in all provinces, and that this was extremely worrying. There has also been an increase in the number of incidents of violence.

A look into the situation at present, especially on the number of victims who are "innocent sufferers", shows that jealousy against people who are prosperous is a significant factor. Some people are victimised because they have big houses or their businesses are flourishing — these people are accused of obtaining money for these "luxuries" by selling-out on the black masses. But

SINCE the year started, many people have died, lost relatives, had their houses gutted or shops burnt — all without reason. SELLO RABOTHATA looks at the plight of the innocent sufferers.

there is never evidence to this effect.

Also, some people are attacked because somebody somewhere, out of envy or jealousy, accused the victim of being a police informer. Questions are never asked why the said person is described as an informer and youths, often led by thugs, are only too happy to attack the hapless accused.

While the Govern-

ment has never been done to their members' businesses, has resolved to meet with trade unions and black political organisations on such issues. The Soutacoc president, Mr Phillip Ramakobya, said there is no doubt that the black businessman is playing a very important role in the struggle for the liberation of the black man, "and as soon as all the other parties involved realised this,



the better it will be for all of us."

A spokesman for Putco said the company has lost approximately

R5 million on buses that have been stoned, windows broken, or set on fire. The company has also experienced a loss of R4.5 million in revenue. This has led to a decision that buses be withdrawn from the troubled townships and the practise will continue "as long as the lives of our drivers and passengers are endangered."

Action

When Putco takes action on the situation it normally withdraws buses. This means that thousands of people must travel long distances or pay exorbitant taxi fares.

In addition they are subject to attacks by thugs on their way home and lose their wage packets or even lives at times

Mrs Ann Clear, a spokesman for the Baragwanath hospital, said the township unrest and violence was causing a problem for the hospital. The indiscriminate stoning of vehicles during unrest may lead to the hospital to consider

withdrawing its ambulance service in the area. In the past two months, five emergency vehicles belonging to the hospital had been hijacked in the area and a threat to burn down the Orlando West clinic was made if the staff refused to treat an injured student from a Soweto high school.

Police

She said: "The majority of those involved in the stone throwing incidents claim our staff is responsible for calling police to troubled spots. This is not true. We have nothing to do with the police. The radios in the emergency vehicles are merely for contact between the hospitals and clinics around the complex. Any interested resident is welcome to come and take a drive in these vehicles, with our superintendents, to see how they operate."

Putco bus drivers also held a meeting to discuss the stoning of buses as they see this action as endangering their lives and those of commuters. They threatened to stop operating in black townships if parents do not

prevent their children from acting in this way. The drivers said they were in the dark as to why they and the buses are being stoned as they convey people to and from work. Thousands of commuters are also known to be against the stoning of buses as this action inconveniences them in that they have to walk long distances to their homes when buses stop entering the troubled areas.

Solutions to the problem are not easy. But it appears that the answer still lies in organisations like Cosas, Azas, Azaso, Azapo and the UDF. Only they have the key to make the townships safer

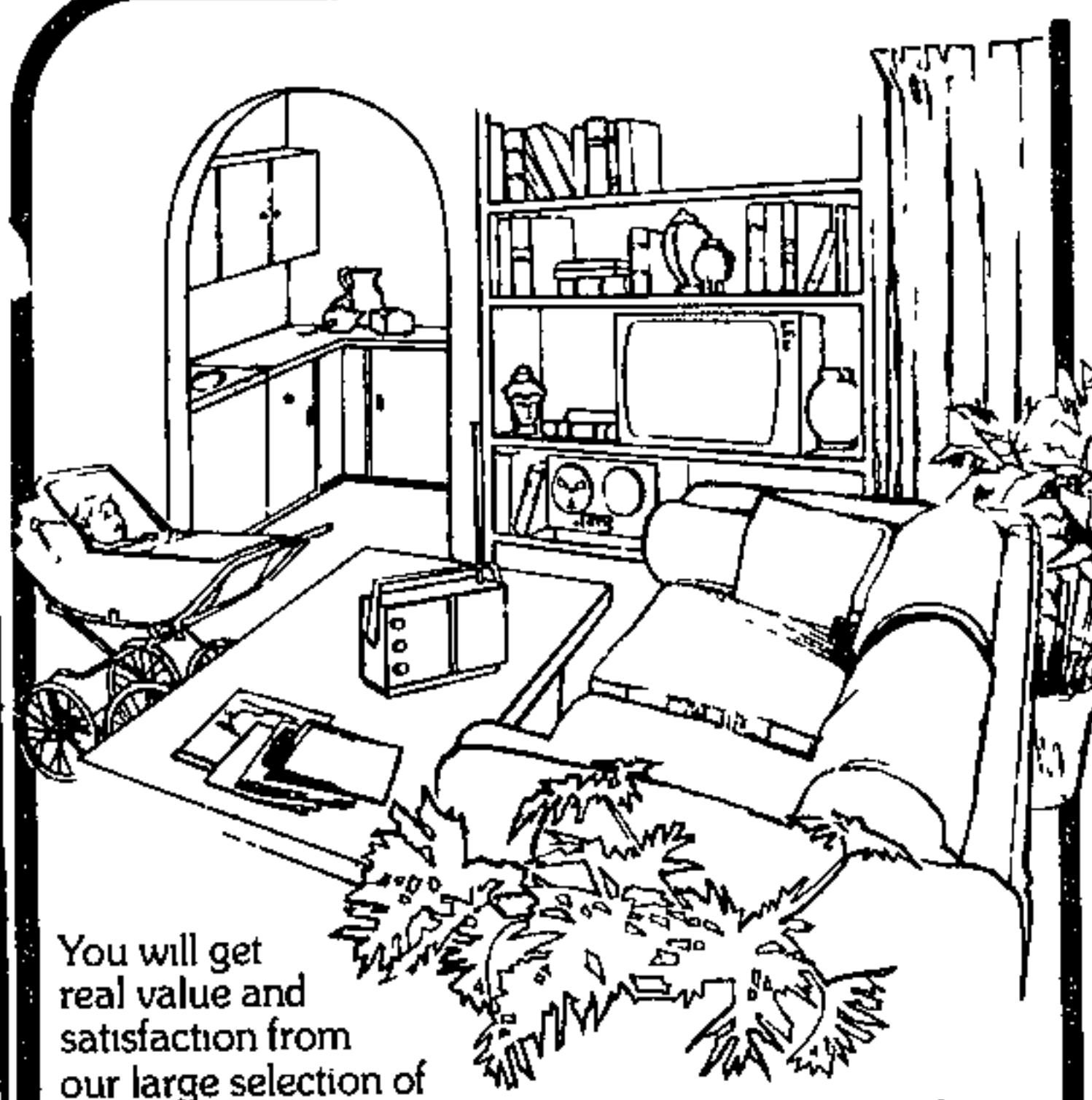
Parents seem to have lost control over their children, the police seem to have lost control of the situation, save where the Security Police are involved. Other community structures just do not have the credibility

Azapo, Azaso, Cosas and the UDF are now the only hope. But can they ultimately protect the innocent sufferers? Only time will tell



PUTCO has lost approximately R5-m on buses that have been stoned or set alight

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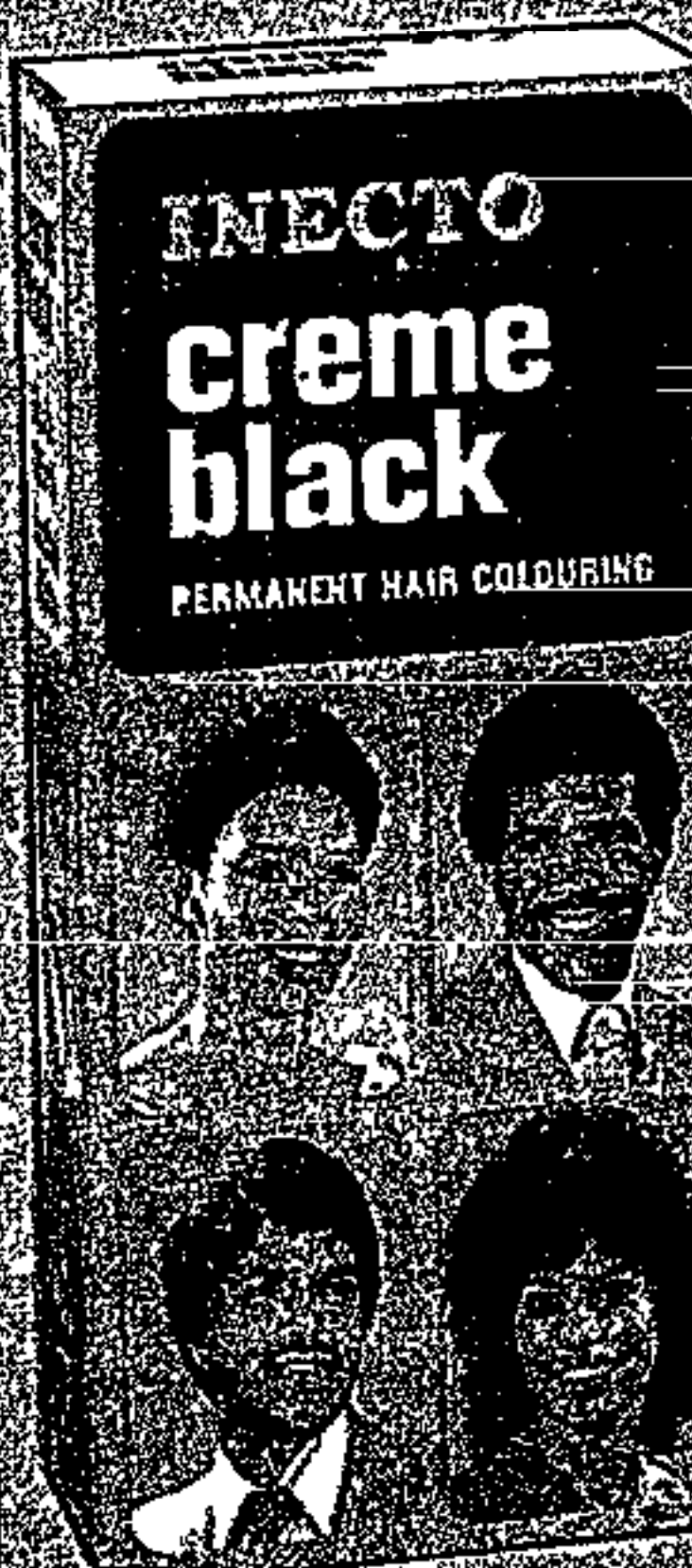
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11/6/85 29/5/85 274

Stone-throwing mobs near Pretoria

PRETORIA. — There were isolated incidents of stone-throwing in Katlahong on the East Rand and Atteridgeville near Pretoria, according to police.

In Fort Beaufort three black males were arrested for public violence.

In Atteridgeville a mob of "delinquents" robbed a delivery vehicle.

In the Fingo township near Grahamstown, police dispersed a mob of blacks with tearsmoke.

There were no reported injuries. — Sapa.

LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 8pm yesterday

A Two incidents occurred in Thembisa on the East Rand in which drivers of delivery vehicles were robbed

B Isolated incidents of arson occurred in Tanti, Durrington and Alicedale in the Eastern Cape

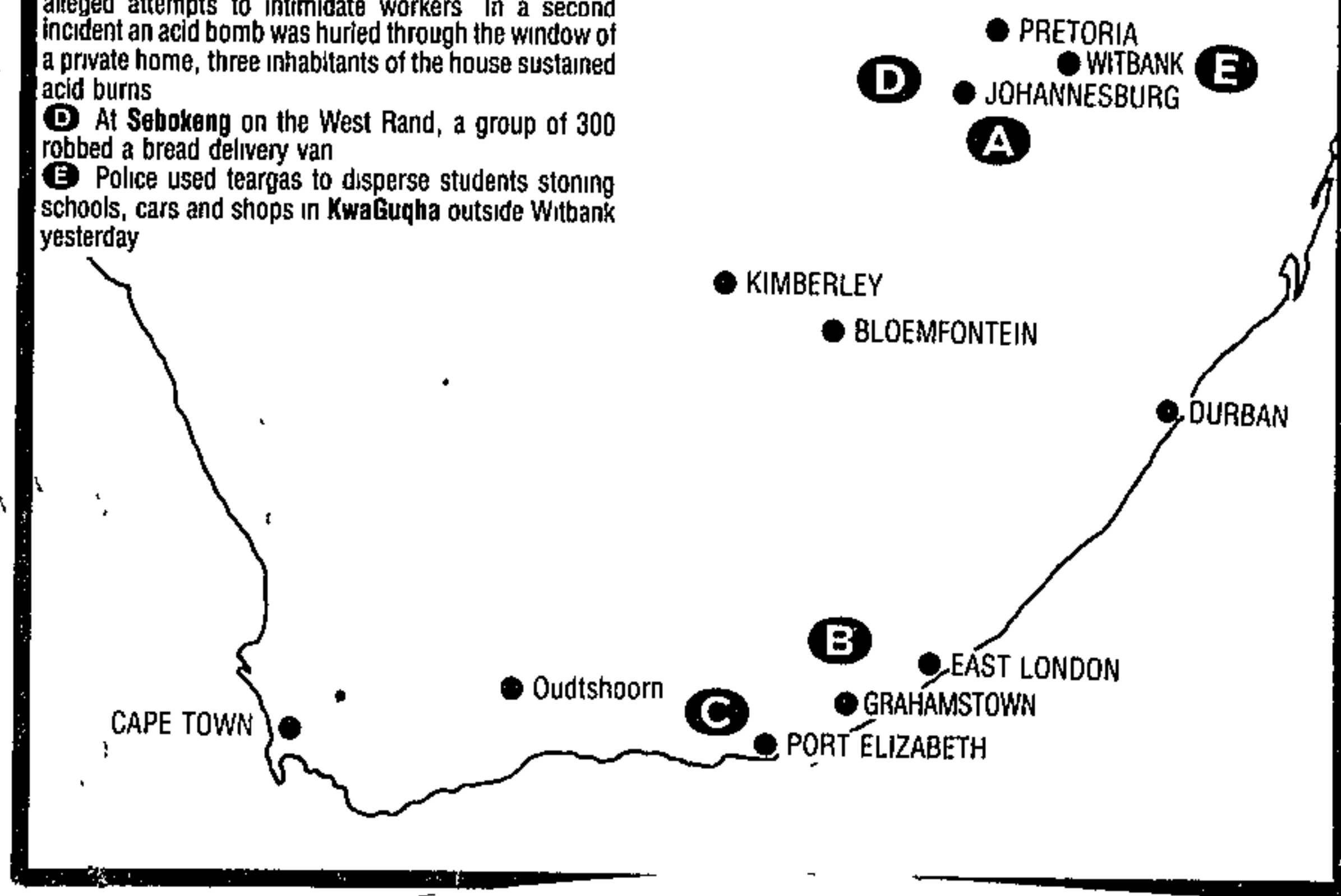
C Three black men were arrested in New Brighton after alleged attempts to intimidate workers. In a second incident an acid bomb was hurled through the window of a private home, three inhabitants of the house sustained acid burns

D At Sebokeng on the West Rand, a group of 300 robbed a bread delivery van

E Police used teargas to disperse students stoning schools, cars and shops in KwaGugha outside Witbank yesterday

CAPE Times
29/5/85

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WORLD

New insurrection call spells change in ANC tactics

LONDON — The African National Congress has embarked on a major change of tactics in its 25-year-old armed fight against the South African government.

Clearly encouraged by sustained rioting and "resistance" in the black townships over the past four months, the ANC has called on its membership to mount a popular insurrection through a combination of civil disobedience, industrial action and affirmative action.

This change in tactics, which comes before the banned organisation's first consultative conference for 16 years, marks a clear swing away from the armed struggle towards an Iranian-type popular uprising.

The switch follows more than a year of internal debate and re-assessment of tactics after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, which has effectively closed the last direct route through which the ANC could infiltrate South Africa.

The new strategy has also been given impetus by what is seen as a sustained mood of expectation and revolt inside black townships.

In two major statements released from its Lusaka headquarters — one last month and the other on May 9 — the ANC leadership called on members to consolidate the achievements of its immediately declared objective — rendering the black townships "ungovernable".

Now the ANC rank-and-file is being called on to:

- ☐ Prepare for a long-lasting work stoppage;
- ☐ Replace "stooge councils" in the black townships with people's committees — signalling the first move by the ANC to seize the political initiative internally at a time when

By JOHN BATTERSBY

black local government has all but collapsed;

☐ Form youth crime prevention units in the black townships to curb "anti-social elements";

☐ Wage a campaign to persuade black councillors and others co-operating on government platforms to resign;

☐ Persuade black policemen and soldiers to refuse to carry out orders and "secretly turn against their masters";

☐ Recruit sympathetic whites "to the cause of the liberation struggle and urge white youth to refuse national service".

The new directives are set as the new priorities of the ANC's struggle.

Although the previously central role of the "armed struggle" has clearly been downgraded in the list of priorities it has, however, not been abandoned.

The ANC's military wing — Umkhonto we Sizwe — is called on to "intensify its struggle" and concentrate its struggle against "defence and police bases" and on the strengthening of its "internal political revolutionary bases".

There is no support in either of the statements for Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange's recent claim that the ANC has decided to strike at soft targets inside the country.

An editorial in London's Daily Telegraph yesterday said "The South African government appreciates that the ANC lies behind many of the present internal troubles.

"It also knows that it is more difficult to pin down ANC activists within South Africa than outside," the Telegraph said.

LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the public relations division of the SAP for the period up until 8pm yesterday

A Isolated incidents of stone-throwing occurred in **Katlehong** on the East Rand

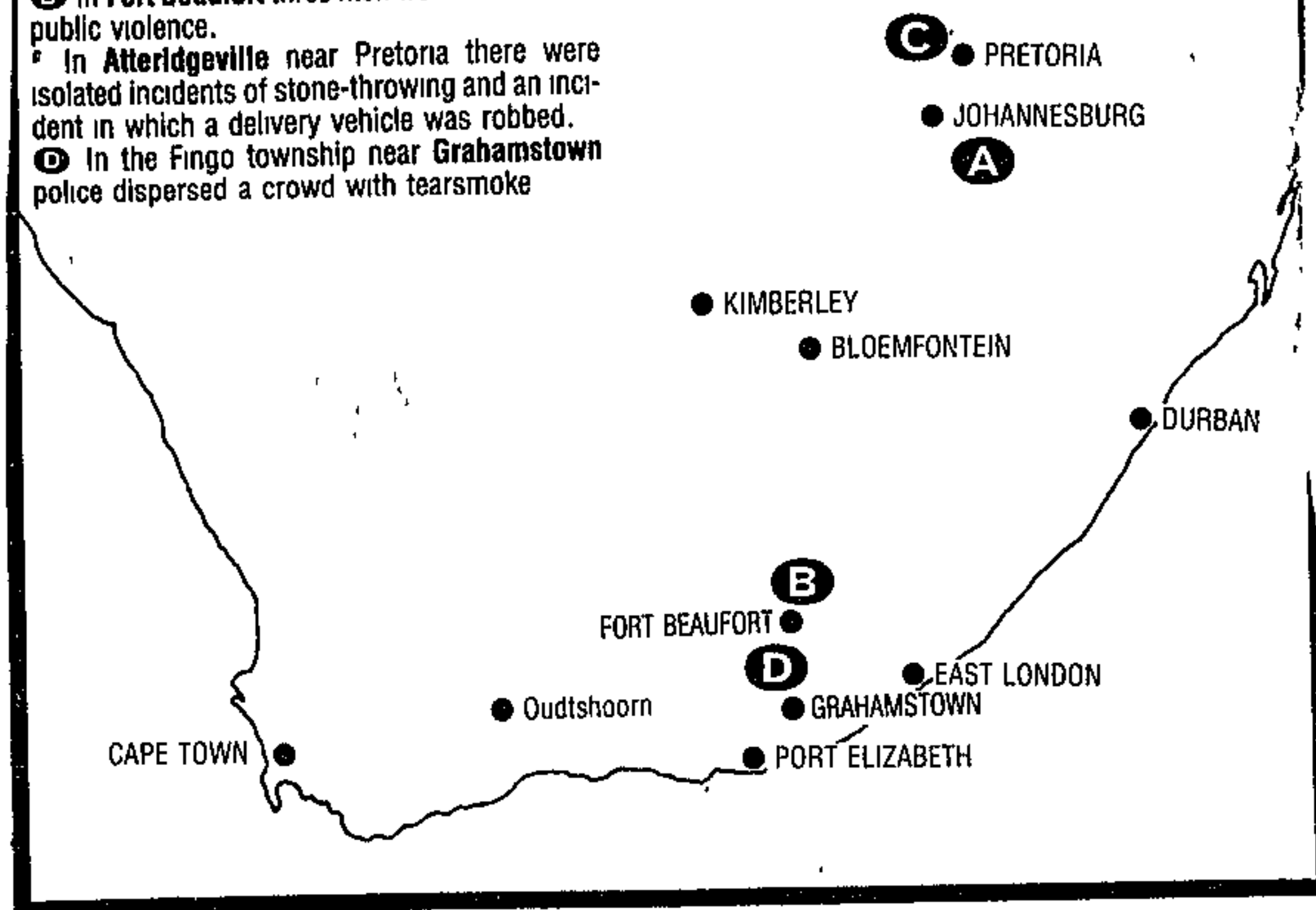
B In **Fort Beaufort** three men were arrested for public violence.

In **Atteridgeville** near Pretoria there were isolated incidents of stone-throwing and an incident in which a delivery vehicle was robbed.

D In the Fingo township near **Grahamstown** police dispersed a crowd with tearsmoke

Cape Times 30/5/85

574



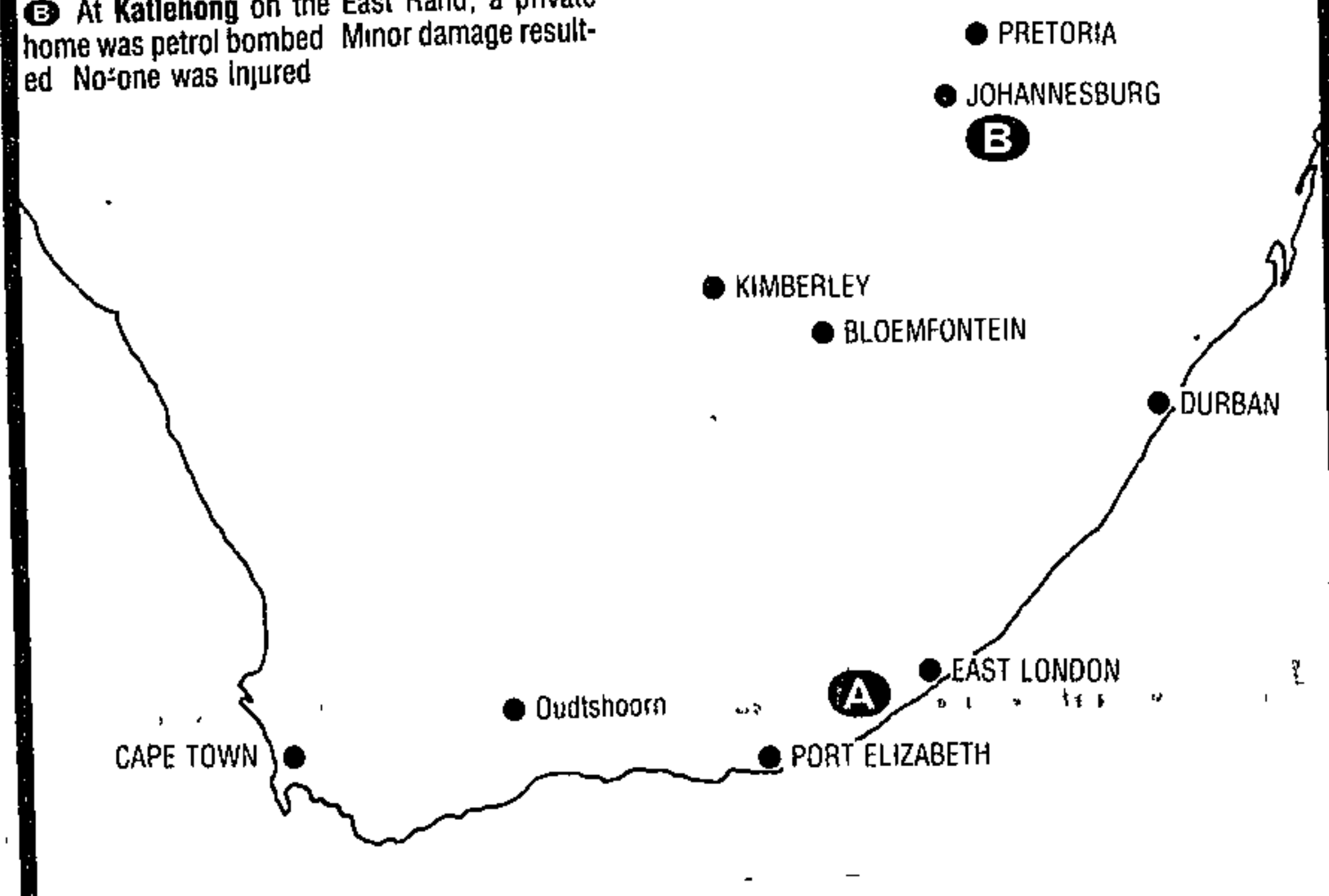
LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 8pm yesterday

A At **Kenton-at-Sea**, 76 youths were arrested for public violence, when they stoned members of the SAP

B At **Katlehong** on the East Rand, a private home was petrol bombed. Minor damage resulted. No-one was injured.

CAPE Times 274
31/5/85



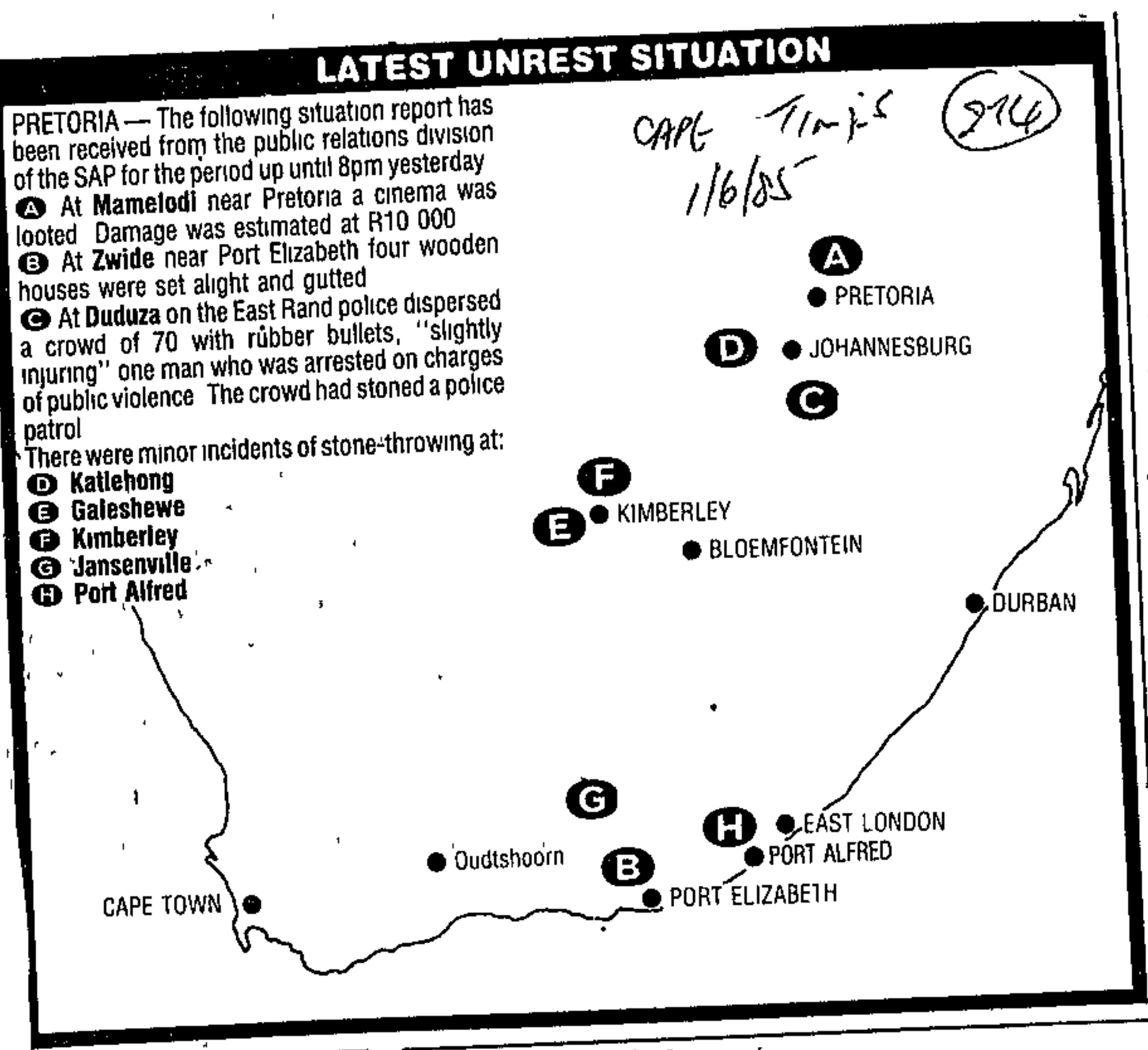
LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the public relations division of the SAP for the period up until 8pm yesterday

- (A) At Mamelodi near Pretoria a cinema was looted. Damage was estimated at R10 000
- (B) At Zwijl near Port Elizabeth four wooden houses were set alight and gutted
- (C) At Duduza on the East Rand police dispersed a crowd of 70 with rubber bullets, "slightly injuring" one man who was arrested on charges of public violence. The crowd had stoned a police patrol

There were minor incidents of stone-throwing at:

- (D) Kattlehong
- (E) Galeshewe
- (F) Kimberley
- (G) Jansenville
- (H) Port Alfred



274

Two killed as unrest continues in E Cape

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH. — Two people were killed and a man was injured in townships here yesterday as unrest continued in the Eastern Cape and the Transvaal.

According to a spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria, an 18-year-old man was found "brutally murdered"

at Motherwell near Port Elizabeth yesterday.

The spokesman said the man had numerous stab wounds and an attempt had been made to set his body alight.

Meanwhile, in New Brighton yesterday morning police discovered the charred remains of an unidentified

man. Indications were that he had been murdered and police were investigating, the spokesman said.

In a further incident in New Brighton, a man was slightly injured when a group of people stoned his house.

In KwaZakele yesterday, police used tear-smoke to disperse a group of about 600 people, believed to be United Democratic Front supporters, and a group of about 20 people, believed to be Azapo supporters, who attacked each other, according to the spokesman. No injuries were reported.

In Zwile, four wooden houses were severely damaged after they were set alight on Thursday night.

In Port Alfred's township yesterday, police dispersed an unlawful gathering with teargas.

At Duduza, near Nigel on the East Rand, a man was slightly injured and arrested for public violence

when police dispersed a 70-strong mob with rubber bullets after a police patrol was stoned yesterday morning, the spokesman said.

The incident occurred minutes before the mass burial of four people killed during unrest in the township two weeks ago. About 4 000 mourners packed the Duduza hall where the funeral service was held.

Cinema

In Mamelodi, Pretoria, a mob of blacks looted a cinema early yesterday, causing damage estimated at R10 000.

According to the police spokesman, "isolated minor incidents" were also reported from Port Alfred, Zwile, Jansenville and Kimberley, and Kathlehong and Galeshewe in the Transvaal on Thursday night.

● A police spokesman has confirmed that six more arrests have been made in connection with the death of a Nigel nurse, Mrs G de Lange.

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LATEST UNREST SITUATION

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the public relations division of the SAP for the weekend period up until 8pm yesterday

A At Guguletu in Cape Town police fired tear-smoke to disperse a mob which threw a petrol bomb at a private house. Later shots were fired at the house and police arrested four men.

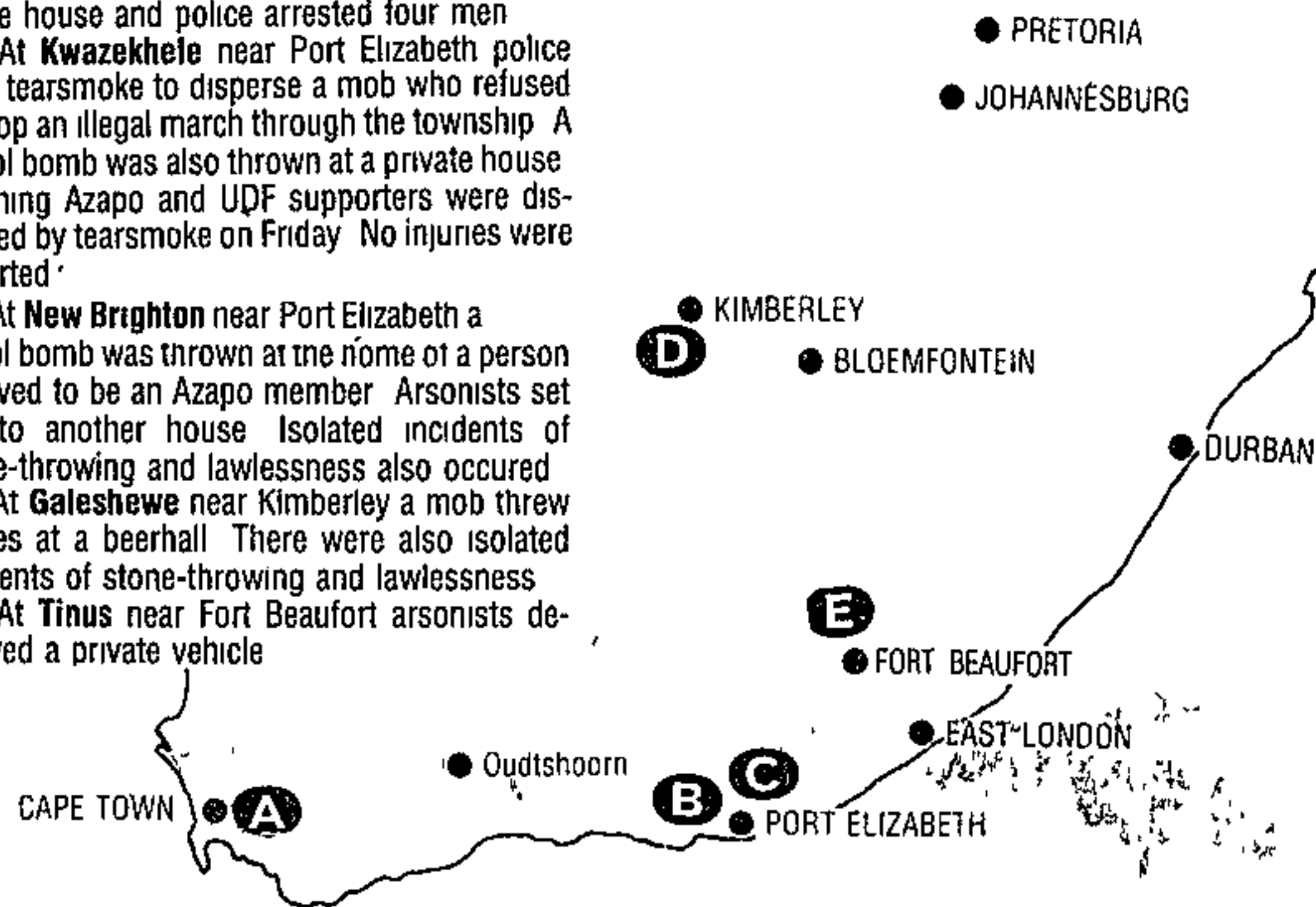
B At Kwazekhele near Port Elizabeth police fired tearsmoke to disperse a mob who refused to stop an illegal march through the township. A petrol bomb was also thrown at a private house. Clashing Azapo and UDF supporters were dispersed by tearsmoke on Friday. No injuries were reported.

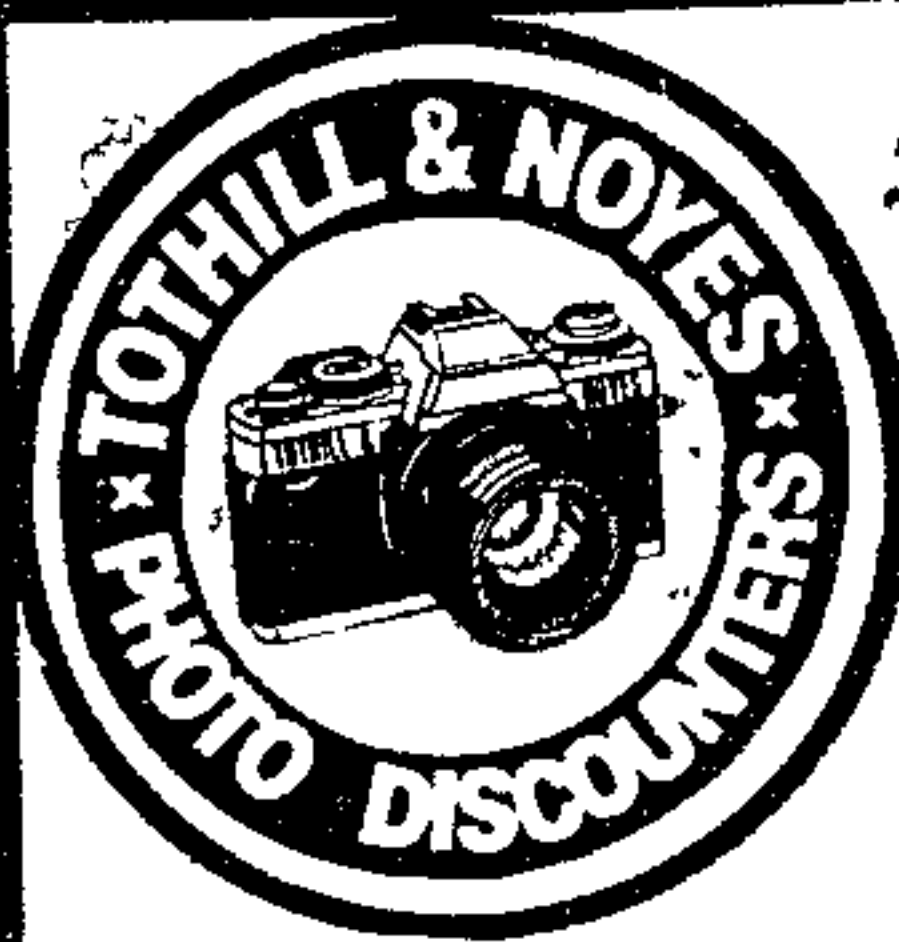
C At New Brighton near Port Elizabeth a petrol bomb was thrown at the home of a person believed to be an Azapo member. Arsonists set fire to another house. Isolated incidents of stone-throwing and lawlessness also occurred.

D At Galeshewe near Kimberley a mob threw stones at a beerhall. There were also isolated incidents of stone-throwing and lawlessness.

E At Tinus near Fort Beaufort arsonists destroyed a private vehicle.

CAPE TOWN 3/6/85
274





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Cape Times 4/6/85
**No unrest
last night**

770
Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — For the first time in almost a year, no incidents of unrest were reported in South Africa last night.

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria said last night the occurrence of unrest-related incidents had been "tapering off" since last month.

There has been continual unrest for some 11 months. The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said last month that 381 people had died and 1 497 had been injured in the previous nine months of unrest.

Buildings valued at more than R31-million and vehicles worth more than R12-million, including over 1 000 passenger buses, were destroyed.

Eastern Cape townships were the hardest-hit.

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 8pm yesterday

A Two incidents of unrest occurred in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. In the first, two black men petrol-bombed the cab of a bus, causing the driver to lose control and crash into a home. In the second incident the home of a journalist, believed by police to be a member of the United Democratic Front, was set alight and completely destroyed. Two men were slightly injured in this incident.

B The charred body of a black member of the SA Police has been found about half-a-kilometer from his at Graaff-Reinet, which had been set alight and gutted. Thirteen people have been arrested and face a charge of murder.

Cape Times 6/6/85

(214)

● PRETORIA

● JOHANNESBURG

● KIMBERLEY

● BLOEMFONTEIN

● DURBAN

B

● GRAAFF REINET

● EAST LONDON

● Oudtshoorn

A

● PORT ELIZABETH

● CAPE TOWN

Cops won't use 'softer approach' in riot control

274 *Sowetan* *11/6/85*

SOPHISTICATED new equipment, including helicopters and water cannons, recently acquired by the South African Police did not mean that the police intended implementing a "softer approach" to unrest control, a spokesman for the Minister said yesterday.

The spokesman confirmed that four new helicopters had been bought from an overseas country. He declined to give details of the deal or to divulge the name of the country which contravened the international arms ban to supply South Africa with new equipment.

He said the acquisition of the helicopters was not the start of a "softer approach" to unrest control, but simply meant that the South African Police was "modernising and adapting" its approach.

"These helicopters are not gunships. They will become the police's 'eye in the sky' to assist in all forms of crime control," he said.

"The helicopters were not bought specifically for use in unrest situations, but to be used in general police activities," he added.

The spokesman said that, contrary to reports yesterday morning, the water cannons were not bought overseas, but were in fact manufactured locally.

"We manufactured the cannons ourselves after studying modern technology in overseas countries," he said.

The spokesman also denied that the police intended introducing the use of horses to prevent policemen from coming into close contact with rioters in unrest situations. This, he said, would be impracticable.

Passive crowd

"The use of horses can be effective if you are confronted with a passive crowd. But it is not feasible to use horses in the control of a hostile crowd.

"Utter chaos could erupt if we tried to use horses in the control of rioting, stone-throwing mobs."

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, gave details of new riot control methods when he spoke at a National Party regional conference in Klerksdorp at the weekend.

SACC concern over violence, killings

116-512/6/83 (10) 11/12

JOHANNESBURG. — Leaders of the South African Council of Churches have expressed grave concern about the violence between black political groups and have called for reconciliation

In a statement today following a meeting of church leaders yesterday 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 different 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"

They called on leaders of the respective groups to "restrain" their people

"It must be realised that such inter-group violence only hampers the cause of justice and peace we all so earnestly seek. Also, it creates opportunity for other groups to exploit and manipulate the situation. The divisions and factions are a manifestation of the policy of divide and rule

"We welcome all endeavours to secure peace among our people in the townships.

"We call on our members to work strenuously for reconciliation in their communities throughout South Africa," the statement said

— Sapa

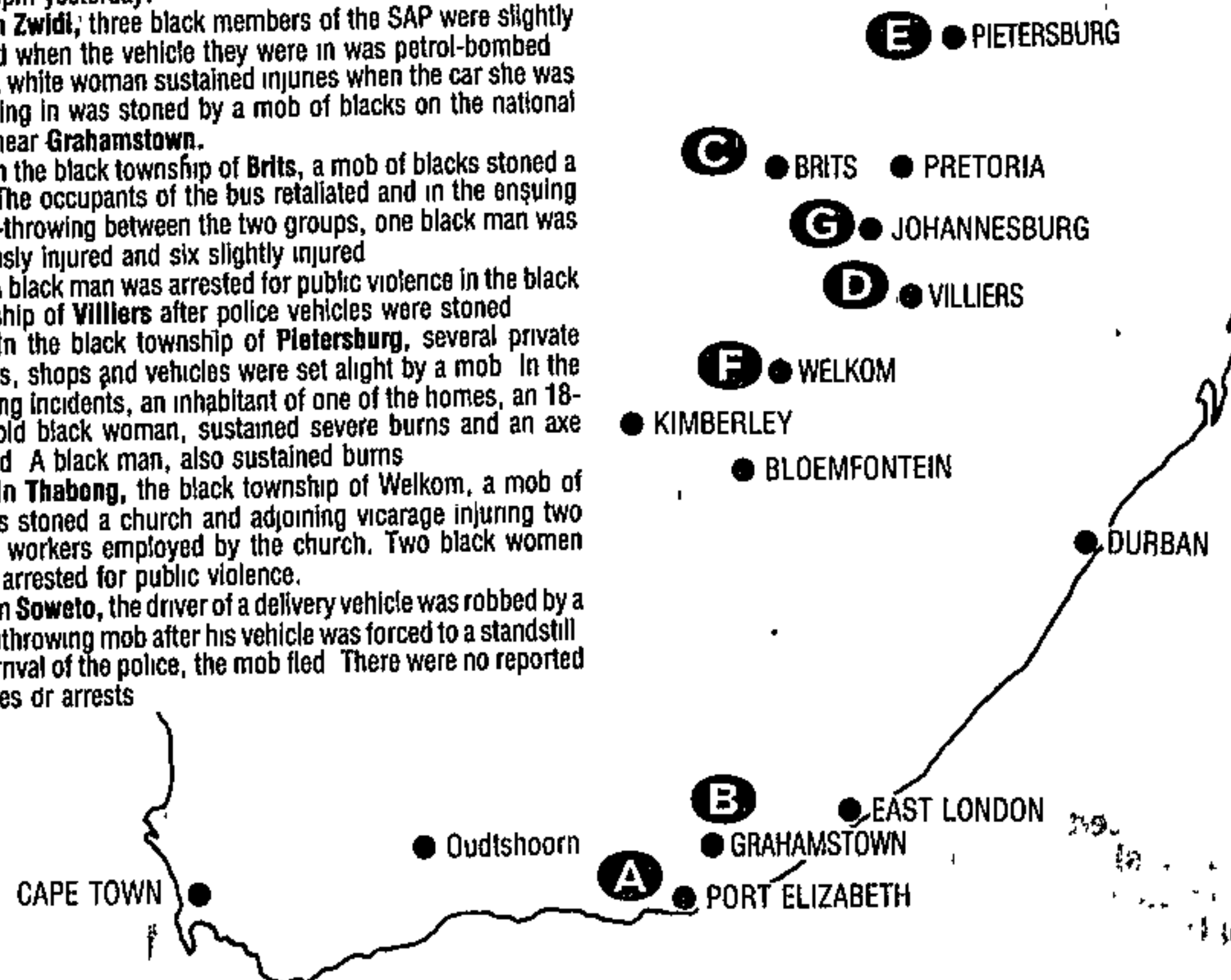
CAPL Timp 12/6/85

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UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 8pm yesterday.

- (A) In Zwide, three black members of the SAP were slightly injured when the vehicle they were in was petrol-bombed.
- (B) A white woman sustained injuries when the car she was travelling in was stoned by a mob of blacks on the national road near Grahamstown.
- (C) In the black township of Brits, a mob of blacks stoned a bus. The occupants of the bus retaliated and in the ensuing stone-throwing between the two groups, one black man was seriously injured and six slightly injured.
- (D) A black man was arrested for public violence in the black township of Villiers after police vehicles were stoned.
- (E) In the black township of Pietersburg, several private homes, shops and vehicles were set alight by a mob. In the ensuing incidents, an inhabitant of one of the homes, an 18-year-old black woman, sustained severe burns and an axe wound. A black man, also sustained burns.
- (F) In Thabong, the black township of Welkom, a mob of blacks stoned a church and adjoining vicarage injuring two black workers employed by the church. Two black women were arrested for public violence.
- (G) In Soweto, the driver of a delivery vehicle was robbed by a stone-throwing mob after his vehicle was forced to a standstill. On arrival of the police, the mob fled. There were no reported injuries or arrests.



The chilling statistics of pupil violence

274

Sowetan 13/6/85

WIDOWED pensioner watches helplessly as all her earthly belongings go up in flames; a young man is brutally assaulted before his body is doused with petrol and set alight; a terrified couple flees in panic as petrol bombs explode in the living room of their four-roomed house.

shebeen brawl at the weekend, remains.

In some instances the incidents of arson and murder turn out to be cases of mistaken identity.

The public reacts with shock and dismay and says such children ought to be jailed — or even hanged. But that will not help the granny who is now starving or the man who is badly hurt, maimed or even dead.

Shebeen

The circumstances surrounding these attacks are now common knowledge. A pupil (boy or girl) goes to a shebeen on Friday or Saturday night. He gets into an argument, or the girl is approached by another patron at the shebeen.

The usual happens. The boy gets involved in a drunken quarrel with another youth. In

SINCE the year started more than 10 homes have been attacked — leaving grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers and mothers, children and other relations destitute. Newspapers have condemned the attacks, but they

continue.

This week a pensioner in Diepkloof, was "helped" out of bed by pupil vandals and arsonists, and made to look on while they burnt her house to the ground. Black pensioners are bottom of the social scrap.

the process he is stabbed to death, or injured. The girl, with

heap.

On Monday pupils made pensioner

Martha Mabe homeless. It turned out the burning was a mistake. But she is still homeless. Four other families in Soweto have suffered similar fates. Today

The SOWETAN takes a look at this spiral of madness in our community, particularly in Soweto, where bands of pupils have now instituted a reign of terror, victimising their own parents.

her fresh looks attracts some half-drunk men. The inevitable happens.

It also happens that a pupil goes to the shebeen with his girlfriend — who is a pupil — to "groove". A pass is made at the girl and a scuffle follows. Another death or stabbing...

At school on Monday morning the killing is announced. The cause of the killing, its

instant justice, where any mitigating factor is seen as a lie. Pupil makgotla in action.

It is pertinent to ask if any pupil did inquire what their dead or injured colleague wanted in the shebeen in the first place. And was this pupil not in possession of a knife?

When the system victimises the family of an activist there is general outcry — from the very pupils themselves.

But they victimise the families of alleged killers, oblivious of the fact that these families could be law abiding and concerned parents, unaware that their children go to shebeens.

Black leaders agree that these bloody executioners in school uniforms must be stopped. But how?

History

It began on October 24, 1983 when a group of high school boys left their classroom to hunt the alleged killer of three colleagues who died in a shebeen the

Martha Mabe saw her entire house go up in flames as pupils stood by warning that anyone who tries to extinguish the flames would "meet his maker".

Cause

A social worker said the revenge killings "underline the fact that people have lost respect for the law and they have no confidence in the police to report the murders. They now take matters into their own hands."

A clinical psychologist feels parents have — since the outbreak of violence in 1976 — neglected their "God-given right" of disciplining their children.

"Parents and teachers seem to be too scared to stand up and call their children to order. It appears as if the children are now in full control at home, in the community and at school."

The question on the lips of most people is: why should pupils — who are not supposed to be in a shebeen in the first place — take

parents during a meeting at the previous weekend.

● October 2, 1984: Pupils from a school in Central Western Jabavu, Soweto, stoned and bludgeoned a man they suspected of having killed their colleague.

● October 7, 1984: Two houses in Emdeni were set alight by pupils.

● October 24, 1984: Pupils from a Pinville high school burnt a house of a man they suspected of having killed their colleague.

● March 3, 1985: A shebeen owner dies at Baragwanath Hospital after an attack by students from a local school.

● March 18, 1985: Two men killed and four houses damaged by pupils from a school in Emdeni.

● March 20, 1985: Pupils from a Mofalo, Soweto school go out on a futile search for members of a gang known as the A Team. They sow destruction in their path to and from Zone 10 Meadows.

● April 11, 1985: A Meadowlands youth is stoned and burnt to





VICTIM — a helpless pensioner weeps uncontrollably after children young enough to be her grandchildren, had incinerated her home.

not given, or considered by the now emotional pupil fraternity. The law of the jungle takes over, alas at an institution of learning. It is an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. More ominously, a life for a life. And the pupil horde goes out, on a mission of death and destruction.

'Makgotla'

The horde has become police men, prosecutors, judges and executioners. The aged pensioner Mrs "culprit(s)" are given

weekend before Charles Chaube, Vezi (no surname given) and another youth known only as Thina — all pupils at the Tsonga High School in Diepkloof died brutally during confrontation with the township youth.

The Diepkloof pupils had begun a bizarre trend which was to throw the sprawling Soweto township into

up, issues that started outside the school situation?

"Permissiveness, my brother. Children will tell you we live in a new society with new norms and values," said one man.

But the general consensus is that what happens outside of the school premises should be confined to that.

From cuttings obtained from the SOWETAN library, it emerges that even areas outside Soweto are gripped in this insane terror of school uniform judges, jury and executioners.

● August 28, 1984: A house in Pinville was burnt when pupils went on the rampage to avenge the killing of their colleague.

On the same date pupils from a Soshanguve school set a classroom alight and damaged windows of their school after they accused the principal of having "fied" to their

death and three other youths seriously injured when pupils from a Dobsonville school went on a revenge mission.

● April 13, 1985: A house in Zola 2 and another in Orlando East are fire-bombed after a funeral of a pupil.

● April 16, 1985: A 20-year-old man is savagely beaten to death before being set alight.

● April 16, 1985: A house in Mamelodi is petrol-bombed hours before the funeral of a local pupil.

Chilling statistics — but the question remains: what are we doing about these wanton killings?

Maybe we are waiting for this acts to be part of our lives before we do something.

In the meantime, somebody out there is an innocent victim of a feud between his son and a pupil over a 16-year-old girl.

1811

THURSDAY, 13 JUNE 1985

1812

(ii) (aa) Yes—houses—4 (as at 24 May 1985)

(bb) Yes—businesses—2 (as at 24 May 1985).

Rabid animals: vaccination

cat, 14 dogs, 22 cattle, 2 sheep, 4 cats and 3 aardwolf).
Natal—148
(7 meercat, 128 dogs, 8 cattle, 1 sheep and 4 cats).
Western Cape—15
(1 goat, 5 jackal, 6 dogs, 1 cat and 2 meercat).

977. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Agricultural Economics:

(1) Whether his Department keeps statistics of the number of confirmed cases of rabid animals in the Republic of South Africa; if so, how many of each type of animal was found to be rabid in each veterinary region in the latest specified year for which figures are available;

(2) whether his Department has taken steps to supply each veterinary region with vaccine; if not, why not; if so, (a) in what quantities and (b) to which organizations was such vaccine supplied;

2(a) and (b) Yes, vaccine was supplied to State and private veterinarians in each veterinary region. The following inoculations were done:

Region	Dogs	Cats
Transvaal	45 893	8 940
Northern and Eastern Transvaal	47 641	1 064
Highveld	56 141	10 736
Orange Free State ..	12 462	2 912
Natal	179 791	23 704
Eastern Cape and Karoo	13 331	5 265
Western Cape	5 201	850
	360 460	53 471

(3) whether his Department (a) has entered into any agreements and/or (b) liaises with any national and independent Black states in regard to the inoculation of animals along common boundaries; if not, why not; if so, what is the nature of such (i) agreements and/or (ii) liaison;

3(a) and (b) Yes, agreements were reached with all national and independent Black States to supply similar veterinary services in respect of, among others, the control and reporting of diseases. All confirmed cases of rabies in these State are reported to the Directorate of Veterinary Services and inoculations along common boundaries are administered accordingly.

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

(4) No.

The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS:

(1) Yes, 1 April 1984 until 31 March 1985:

Transvaal—28

(24 meercat and 4 dogs).

Northern and Eastern Transvaal—17

(3 meercats, 8 dogs, 5 cattle and 1 cane-rat).

Highveld—98

(55 meercat, 13 dogs, 24 cattle, 3 mongoose, 2 cats and 1 pig).

Orange Free State—78

(1 musk-cat, 9 jackal, 23 meercat).

978. Mr R M BURROWS asked the Minister of Co-operation, Development and Education:

(1) Whether his Department keeps statistics of the number of confirmed cases of rabid animals in national and independent Black states; if not, why not; if so, how many of each type of animal was found to be rabid in each such state in the latest specified year for which figures are available;

Rabid animals: vaccination

1813

THURSDAY, 13 JUNE 1985

1814

(2) whether his Department has taken steps to supply each of these states with vaccine; if not, why not; if so, (a) in what quantities and (b) to which organizations was such vaccine supplied.

(3) whether his Department (a) has entered into any arrangements and/or (b) liaises with any national and independent Black states in regard to the inoculation of animals along common boundaries; if not, why not; if so, what is the nature of such (i) arrangements and/or (ii) liaison;

(4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION, DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION:

(1) No. Statistics are kept by Onderstepoort and the Directorate of Veterinary Services of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing.

(2) No. Vaccine is freely available and may be ordered directly from Onderstepoort by the national states and the independent states.

(3) (a) and (b) No

The matter is dealt with by the Directorate: Veterinary Services of the Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing

(4) No.

274 *Hennard*
Unrest situations: persons charged
1813 13/6/85
992. Mr K M ANDREW asked the Minister of Justice:

(1) Whether any persons were charged following their arrest by South African Defence Force personnel in, as a result of or in connection with unrest situations in the Republic during the latest specified period of 12 months

for which figures are available, if so, (a) how many and (b) what were the charges in each case:

(2) whether any of these persons were convicted as a result, if so, (a) how many and (b) of what offences in each case?

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

(1) and (2) No, not as far as can be ascertained.

Hennard
National servicemen: religious objection
1002. Mr G B D MCINTOSH asked the Minister of Manpower:

(a) How many national servicemen (i) applied for and (ii) were (aa) granted the status of religious objectors and (bb) referred to his Department for placement in alternative forms of service during the period 1 January 1984 up to and including the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) how many of these persons were (i) Jehovah's Witnesses, (ii) Roman Catholics, (iii) Anglicans, (iv) Methodists, (v) Baptists, (vi) Presbyterians, (vii) members of the Dutch Reformed Church and (viii) members of any other specified religious denominations?

The MINISTER OF MANPOWER:

(a) (i) 438 (as at 5 June 1985).

(ii) (aa) 353 have been classified as religious objectors, 4 applications have been refused and 81 are awaiting classification.

(bb) 278 letters have already been sent requesting them to report to the offices of the Department of Manpower for evaluation and placement in community service

CAL- TIME

13/6/85

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UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 8pm yesterday

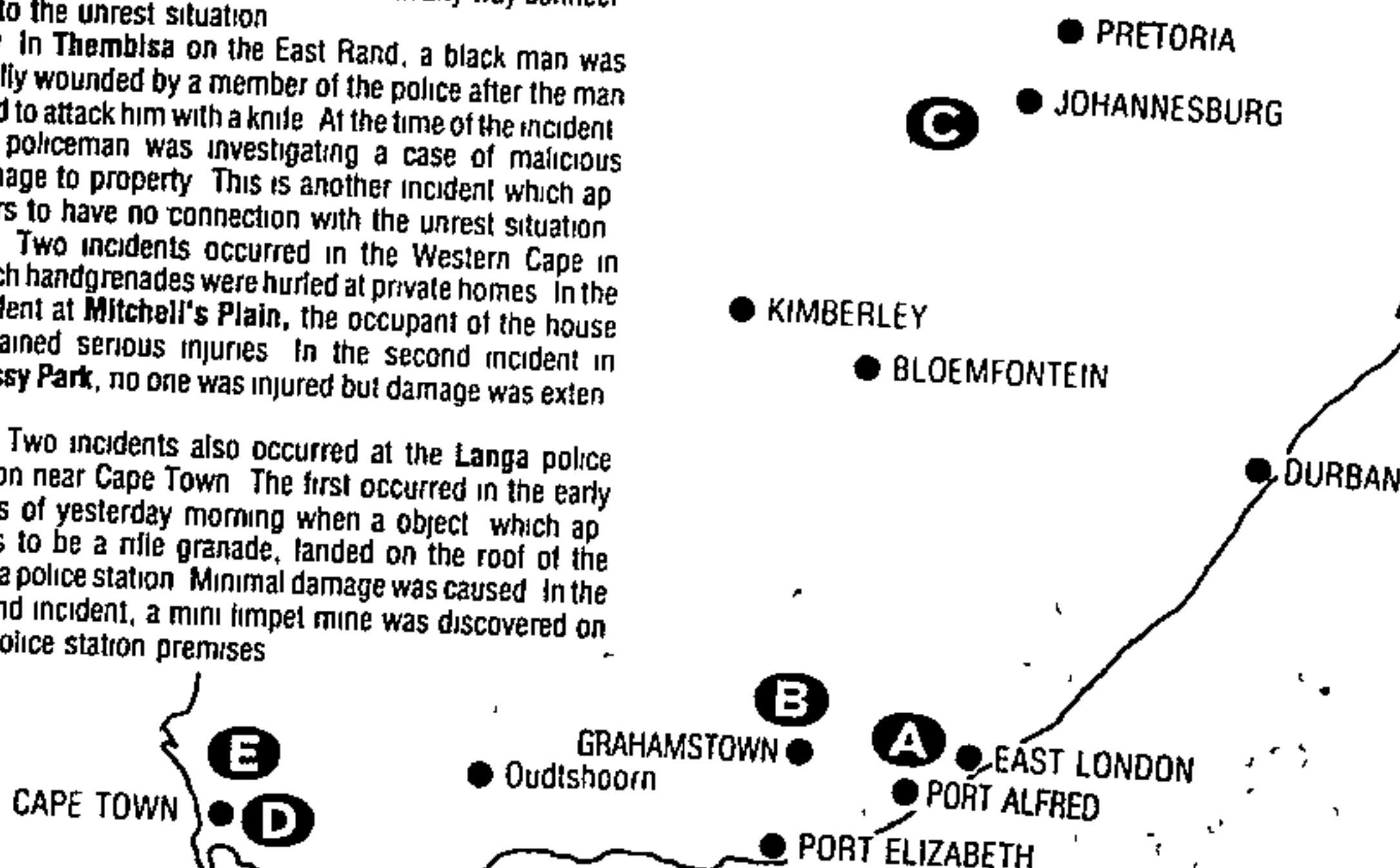
A Two homes were petrol-bombed in Veeplaas and in the black township near Port Alfred. SAP and SADF patrols extinguished the fires. No arrests were reported.

B In the coloured township near Grahamstown, a shop owned by a Chinese man was looted and set alight. It does not seem that this incident is in any way connected to the unrest situation.

C In Thembisa on the East Rand, a black man was fatally wounded by a member of the police after the man tried to attack him with a knife. At the time of the incident the policeman was investigating a case of malicious damage to property. This is another incident which appears to have no connection with the unrest situation.

D Two incidents occurred in the Western Cape in which handgrenades were hurled at private homes. In the incident at Mitchell's Plain, the occupant of the house sustained serious injuries. In the second incident in Grassy Park, no one was injured but damage was extensive.

E Two incidents also occurred at the Langa police station near Cape Town. The first occurred in the early hours of yesterday morning when an object which appears to be a rifle grenade, landed on the roof of the Langa police station. Minimal damage was caused. In the second incident, a mini impet mine was discovered on the police station premises.



Houses set alight by petrol bombs

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A number of incidents of unrest occurred in the Eastern Cape on Tuesday night, according to a spokesman for the SA police public relations division in Pretoria.

Only two incidents were reported by the spokesman as having occurred yesterday.

He said that in Veeplaas and Port Alfred's black township, two houses were petrol-bombed. In both cases damage was extensive. Police and South African Defence Force patrols extinguished the fires.

At Grahamstown, a

shop owned by a Chinese man was looted and set alight by an "unidentified gang" in the coloured township, the spokesman said. The blaze was extinguished by the fire brigade.

However, according to the spokesman it did not appear that this incident was "in any way" connected with the unrest situation.

In KwaZakele yesterday, a vehicle belonging to Kayamandi Town Council was petrol-bombed. In a second incident in the township, a police vehicle was stoned, the spokesman said.

Tele Views

VIEWERS can hardly wait for Wimbledon — though one viewer hopes it will exclude Bob Hewitt's "intrusive and distracting" commentary.

Miss Helen Faure, Rondebosch: "I would like to comment on the excellent television coverage of the French Open tennis championships — but why must we have Bob Hewitt's commentary inflicted on us day after day? His inane comments are unnecessary, intrusive and distracting. Will we have to put up with him at Wimble-

THE African National Congress considers that its struggle has entered a new era, favouring the development of insurrectionary forces and tactics.

The ANC External Mission has said that thousands of copies of a four-page ANC statement calling on blacks in effect to develop insurrectionary forces and tactics have been distributed inside South Africa in recent weeks.

The pamphlet, probably the most aggressive and confident ever from the ANC, provides an important insight into the organisation's thinking.

It is understood that the drawing up of the pamphlet, entitled "ANC call to the nation: the future is within our grasp", followed several days of discussion among ANC external mission leaders during which the nature, extent and potential of unrest since August last year

ANC pamphlets herald changes in tactics

was analysed.

Its distribution comes on the eve of the ANC's second national consultative conference - to be held soon at an undisclosed African venue - which is scheduled to bring together about 200 delegates for a major review of ANC tactics and methods.

The ANC has claimed that underground presses were responsible for the bulk of the distribution of the pamphlet inside the country.

The pamphlet appears to develop further the central theme in all recent ANC pronouncements: that black people should make apartheid unworkable and the country

Own Correspondent: Harare

ungovernable by, at this stage, by attacking weak points of State power, such as the Black Local Authorities.

The pamphlet explicitly identifies several tasks for different sections of ANC supporters, including a special task for blacks serving in the army.

What has become clear is that the ANC anticipates that the destruction of Black Local Authorities in some townships and the eviction of many black policemen lends itself to the creation of what one source cal-

led "mass revolutionary bases under popular and underground leadership".

The idea seems to be gradually to transform these townships into "no-go" areas for all but larger security contingents.

The ANC has clearly also noted black working class assertiveness and what sources identify as the development of an internal leadership increasingly able to call the tune.

The ANC considers that the crisis confronting the South African State is fast becoming "fundamental". It argues that the Government has

hitherto totally failed to develop - and shows no potential for developing - political initiatives able to legitimate the reformist option.

Rather, hundreds of thousands of blacks and other ANC supporters have themselves developed methods of struggle, be they legal or violent.

The ANC appears to be saying that, in the normal course of things, after a lengthy period of struggle in which the State is brought to a point of crisis, insurrection provides the means for a final seizure of State power.

● The SAP Division of Public Relations has said that they are not aware of any such ANC pamphlet being distributed in the townships.

However, on last week's list of banned books was an ANC pamphlet, whose heading was given as "Make South Africa Ungovernable!"

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Verwante Nywerhede
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Vince Automobile

INCE

CHC-Trans 15/6/85
274

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period until 8pm yesterday

A The charred body of a 16-year-old black man was found under a heap of burning tyres by an SAP patrol in the black township of Motherwell, near Port Elizabeth

B In Tantje, near Grahamstown, a 20-year-old black man who was a member of Azapo, was allegedly stoned and then beaten with knobkernies by a group of blacks. When an SAP patrol arrived, the mob fled. The man died later

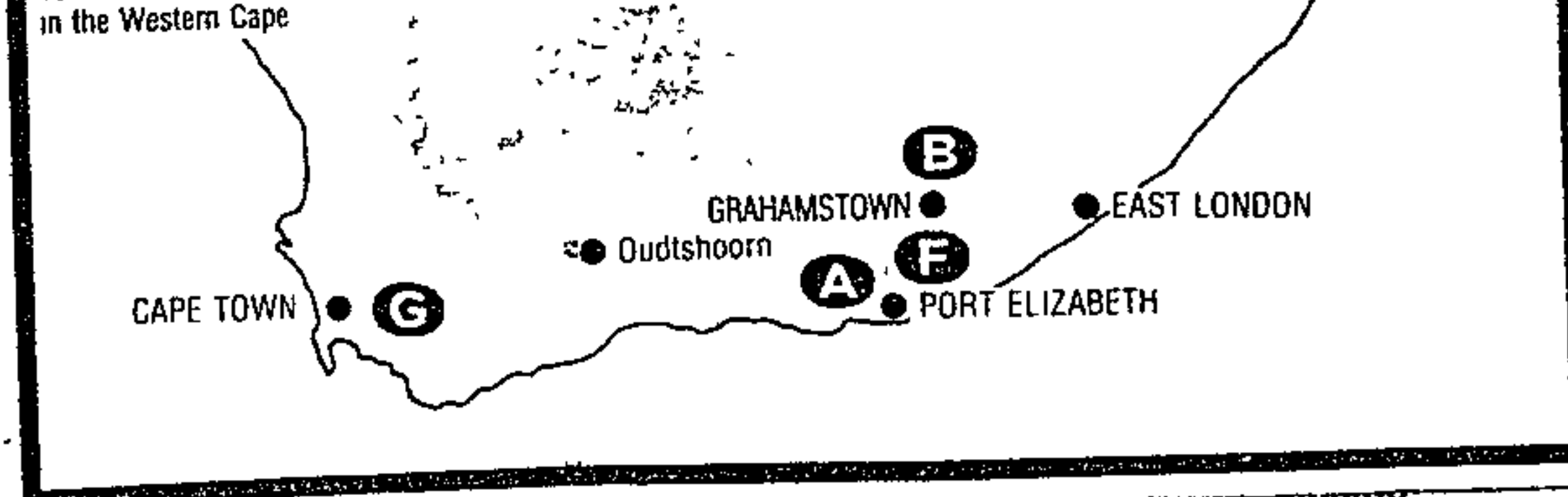
C In Thabong near Welkom, a police patrol used rubber bullets to disperse a mob of blacks who were stoning a church and the home of a black councillor. There were no reported injuries or arrests

D In the township of Galashawe, near Kimberley, six men were arrested for public violence after allegedly stoning a bus

E Other incidents of unrest occurred in Ikageng near Potchefstroom and Tembisa on the East Rand

F A seven-year-old boy has been stoned and burned to death in the Zwijde township near Port Elizabeth

G Two hand grenades were hurled at a house in Tembisa on the East Rand and at a home in Crossroads, in the Western Cape



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Arrest in grenade attack

Cape Times 17/6/85

774

of Soweto's Committee of 10, were among speakers who addressed the crowd attending the service

● A bomb blast shattered a window and damaged the gate of a home in Ferguson Street, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, yesterday morning

A window of an adjoining house was also shattered in the blast, but no one was injured.

Lieutenant-Colonel G Van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the house belonged to Mr Bigboy Douse, a lorry driver, who was not at home at the time. He said Mr Douse was not affiliated to any political organization

In East London a duty manager, Mr Christo Kruger, averted a possible tragedy when he found two limpet mines planted outside the King's Hotel where more than 400 patrons had wine and dined earlier in the night.

Other incidents of unrest in the Eastern Cape were reported in Fort Beaufort and Bongweni, near Cookhouse. No one was injured

● Two bombs — about 20 minutes apart — rocked KwaZulu police buildings still under construction in Umlazi last night, bringing to three the number of explosions yesterday in the Durban area apparently

To page 2



Foreign newsmen wear gas masks as police teargas crowds in Soweto.

AN injured man under guard in Tygerberg Hospital may provide police in the Western Cape with a vital breakthrough in their investigation of a suspected terror cell responsible for hand-grenade attacks in Cape Town during the past week.

The unidentified 22-year-old was shot and wounded in Nyanga at the weekend following a chance encounter between a police patrol and three men believed to be responsible for a hand-grenade attack on the home of Cape Town Community Council vice-chairman Mrs Elfie Shwabane, of Nyanga.

The incident follows the hand-grenade attacks on the homes of the Deputy Minister-designate of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, in Mitchells Plain, the Labour Party secretary and MP for Silverton, Mr Fred Peters, in Grassy Park, the Langa police station and the home of Cape Town Community Council chairman Mr Roland Njoli.

The incident occurred on Saturday morning when a police patrol encountered three men believed to be engaged in the attack on Mrs Shwabane's Nyanga East home.

One man was wounded and arrested and police fired shots at two other men who got away

The wounded man is reported to be in a satisfactory condition, a police spokesman said last night.

No one was injured in the house and it was not badly damaged when one grenade exploded outside

An unexploded grenade was found in the veld next to Mrs Shwabane's house.

● Meanwhile, two services commemorating the ninth anniversary of the start of massive rioting which erupted in Soweto on June 16 were held yesterday in Hazendal and Wittebome.

The rioting which flared in Soweto in 1976 later spread around the country. During the following eight months,

at least 575 people died in riotous incidents, according to the Cillie Commission, and more than 250 of the deaths occurred in Soweto

The situation in Cape Town yesterday was quiet with no reported incidents and minimum police presence

However, other parts of the country were not as peaceful with three bombs exploding in the Durban area and one in a Port Elizabeth township

And in Soweto police used tearsmoke and sneeze machines to disperse more than 1 000 people after a church service attended by 6 000 people at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church. No one was injured

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, and Dr Nthatho Motlana, head

Earlier, about 4am, a powerful explosion rocked the offices of the Natalia Development Board in Lamontville near Durban. Nobody was hurt in the blast which ripped a hole in an office roof, broke several windows

There were also sporadic incidents of stone-throwing and other unrest in Durban's black townships but there were no reports of serious injuries

● In a separate incident yesterday, a number of youths were injured by gunshot when Alexandra Town Council police opened fire on a chanting crowd returning from a commemoration service at the Nubule Hall in the township.

Later yesterday it was not possible to establish how many people had been injured. Steven Radebe, 17, of Second Avenue, was treated at the Alexandra Clinic for gunshot wounds in the face, hand and body.

Last night some police vehicles patrolled the streets while others guarded the homes of several councillors

Earlier, the meeting heard Mr Azhar Cachalia, the UDF national treasurer, say an increasing number of people were paying the "supreme sacrifice" in the fight against an oppressive government.

He also said that "the murder of our people in Botswana is not only the responsibility of the South African Government and its arm, the SADF, but also of Rabin and Hendrickse"

AN injured man under guard in Tygerberg Hospital may provide police in the Western Cape with a vital breakthrough in their investigation of a suspected terror cell responsible for hand-grenade attacks in Cape Town during the past week.

The unidentified 22-year-old was shot and wounded in Nyanga at the weekend following a chance encounter between a police patrol and three men believed to be responsible for a hand-grenade attack on the home of Cape Town Community Council vice-chairman Mrs Elfie Shwabane, of Nyanga.

The incident follows the hand-grenade attacks on the homes of the Deputy Minister-designate of Population Development, Mr Luwellyn Landers, in Mitchells Plain, the Labour Party secretary and MP for Silvertown, Mr Fred Peters, in Grassy Park, the Langa police station and the home of Cape Town Community Council chairman Mr Roland Njoli.

The incident occurred on Saturday morning when a police patrol encountered three men believed to be engaged in the attack on Mrs Shwabane's Nyanga East home.



Foreign newsmen wear gas masks as police teargas crowds in Soweto.

One man was wounded and arrested and police fired shots at two other men who got away.

The wounded man is reported to be in a satisfactory condition, a police spokesman said last night.

No one was injured in the house and it was not badly damaged when one grenade exploded outside.

An unexploded grenade was found in the veld next to Mrs Shwabane's house.

Meanwhile, two services commemorating the ninth anniversary of the start of massive rioting which erupted in Soweto on June 16 were held yesterday in Hazendal and Wittebome.

The rioting which flared in Soweto in 1976 later spread around the country. During the following eight months,

at least 575 people died in riotous incidents, according to the Cillie Commission, and more than 250 of the deaths occurred in Soweto.

The situation in Cape Town yesterday was quiet with no reported incidents and minimum police presence.

However, other parts of the country were not as peaceful with three bombs exploding in the Durban area and one in a Port Elizabeth township.

And in Soweto police used tearsmoke and sneeze machines to disperse more than 1000 people after a church service attended by 6000 people at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church. No one was injured.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, and Dr Nthatho Motlana, head

of Soweto's Committee of 10, were among speakers who addressed the crowd attending the service.

A bomb blast shattered a window and damaged the gate of a home in Ferguson Street, New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, yesterday morning.

A window of an adjoining house was also shattered in the blast, but no one was injured.

Lieutenant-Colonel G Van Rooyen, police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the house belonged to Mr Bigboy Douse, a lorry driver, who was not at home at the time. He said Mr Douse was not affiliated to any political organization.

In East London a duty manager, Mr Christo Kruger, averted a possible tragedy when he found two limpet mines planted outside the King's Hotel where more than 400 patrons had wine and dined earlier in the night.

Other incidents of unrest in the Eastern Cape were reported in Fort Beaufort and Bongweni, near Cookhouse. No one was injured.

Two bombs — about 20 minutes apart — rocked KwaZulu police buildings still under construction in Umlazi last night, bringing to three the number of explosions yesterday in the Durban area apparently

To page 2

Nobody was hurt in the blast which ripped a hole in an office roof, broke several windows

Earlier, about 4am, a powerful explosion rocked the offices of the Natala Development Board in Lamontville near Durban.

Before bomb experts could get in to investigate the first explosion, a second bomb went off at 9.20pm. Damage was slight.

Police said the first bomb went off about 9pm at the construction site of the new KwaZulu police offices, which are next to the main Umlazi police station.

and damaged part of a wall.

There were also sporadic incidents of stone-throwing and other unrest in Durban's black townships but there were no reports of serious injuries.

In a separate incident yesterday, a number of youths were injured by gunshot when Alexandra Town Council police opened fire on a chanting crowd returning from a commemorative service at the Ntshabane Hall in the township.

Late yesterday it was not possible to establish how many people had been injured. Steven Radebe, 17, of Second Avenue, was treated at the Alexandra Clinic for gunshot wounds in the face, hand and body.

Last night some police vehicles patrolled the streets while others guarded the homes of several councillors.

Earlier, the meeting heard Mr Azhar Cachalia, the UDF national treasurer, say an increasing number of people were paying the "supreme sacrifice" in the fight against an op-

pressive government.

He also said that "the murder of our people in Botswana is not only the responsibility of the South African Government and its arm, the SADF, but also of Rajabansi and Hendrickse".

A youth was shot dead and another was arrested when mobs stoned the home of the Mayor of Daveyton on the East Rand yesterday afternoon, police said last night.

A policeman and two Administration Board officials, who were guarding the house, had opened fire on the youths, a police spokesman said.

Lebowa police yesterday dispersed a crowd of 2000 people in Seshogo, Pietersburg, when they marched in the streets in protest against the banning of a commemorative service for the 1976 riots.

Three children were arrested and an executive member of the Seshogo Action Committee, Mr Phokela Raselhaba, was arrested and later released — Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent and Sapa

Arrest in grenade attack

Cape Times 17/6/85

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UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following Situation Report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period up until 4pm yesterday

A At Zwijde near Port Elizabeth police fired shotguns at a group throwing petrol bombs. Nobody was injured
B At Oudtshoorn police fired shotguns, rubber bullets and tearsmoke to disperse a group stoning a bus. No injuries were reported

C At Jansenville police fired rubber bullets to disperse a group of arsonists
D In Springs six people were arrested after a stoning incident

E Police used the sneeze machine, fired teargas and rubber bullets to disperse people outside the Regina Mundi church in Soweto. Stones were thrown at the police and one policeman was injured and four vehicles damaged

In Daveton, a mob hurled stones and petrol bombs at the home of the black mayor. The crowd dispersed when a security guard fired shotgun and rifle rounds at them. A seriously wounded black youth died later in hospital. Police arrested another youth

F One man was arrested at Walville near Benoni when an illegal march was staged

G Police dispersed a group of people in Durban leaving the St Anthony's Church and marching toward the railway station

Tearsmoke was used to disperse a group of people at Lamontville near Durban who stoned a bus. Police were stoned when they arrived

CAPE TOWN

B

Oudtshoorn

A

PORT ELIZABETH

EAST LONDON

BLOEMFONTEIN

KIMBERLEY

G

DURBAN

JOHANNESBURG

PRETORIA

F

E

D

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Cape Times 17/6/85



Petrol bomb hurled into packed bus

ARGW 18/6/85
Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Passengers smashed windows to escape when a petrol bomb was hurled into a crowded bus in Kwazakele, near Port Elizabeth

No one was hurt, according to police

But in another incident a 20-year-old man was burnt to death when arsonists petrol-bombed his home in Kwazakele.

Several homes of members of the United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organisation were petrol-bombed and, in one incident in New Brighton, four petrol bombs were hurled at the home of a UDF member and four people were burnt.

"A further incident occurred in the black township of Motherwell near Port Elizabeth, where a black male

was injured by a rubber bullet after police had fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse a stonethrowing mob," police said. He was treated and detained for public violence.

"Another incident in which the lives of innocent black people were endangered by arsonists occurred in Atteridgeville near Pretoria when a petrol bomb was hurled into the lounge of a hotel."

In Duduza and Daveyton on the East Rand arsonists also "attacked and set fire to a number of private residences," according to the police.

Sapa reports that a 20-year-old high school pupil from Mamelodi was shot dead and at least seven Mamelodi and Atteridgeville houses, including that of a newly elected town councillor, were damaged at the weekend.

2 youths die in attack on mayor

Cape Times 18/6/85 274

From SOPHIE TEMA
JOHANNESBURG. —

Two youths were killed and an East Rand Development Board policeman was injured during a petrol-bomb attack on the house of Daveyton's mayor, Mr Tom Boya, on Sunday.

Daveyton, is about 10km from Benoni in the East Rand.

The two were shot and killed when a guard at Mr Boya's home fired shots at a crowd of people who threw petrol bombs and stones at the house.

A police spokesman in

Pretoria could confirm only one death, but the second was confirmed by Mr Boya's office yesterday.

Police have arrested a youth in connection with the incident.

A nine year-old white boy, Daniel Barnard, was yesterday admitted to a Durban hospital after being struck on the head by a stone.

Daniel was in the back of his parents' truck when he was hit by the stone thrown by a group of blacks. He was taken to hospital by a passing motorist.

Daniel is believed to have a fractured skull with brain bruising.

At the University of the North (Turfloop) near Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal, a pupil was killed and three others were wounded during unrest.

S Mafukoane, a pupil of Hwiti High School, was allegedly shot on the university's campus and was certified dead on arrival at Groothoek Hospital.

Two cafeterias on the campus were also badly damaged by fire and private vehicles were stoned by students.

Demonstrating students and pupils also stoned the buildings of the Department of Education and Training at Mankweng township.

In Welkom's Thabong township, police fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse mobs throwing stones at police and cars.

Bullet wounds

A 40-year-old woman and a 15-year-old girl were admitted to hospital for bullet wounds. Their conditions have been described as satisfactory.

In Galeshewe village, in the Northern Cape, a woman was slightly injured and arrested when police dispersed groups with rubber bullets.

A guard was attacked and stabbed at the township's beer hall by two black men. He fired birdshot in defence.

Two bystanders were injured in the incident.

In Mohlakeng township, near Randfontein on the West Rand, police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and pistols in several incidents to disperse stone-throwing youths.

A slightly injured man was detained for public violence.

5 die, 9 hurt after June 16 services

AT LEAST five people were killed, nine others injured — five of them seriously — during incidents of violence which took place after the June 16 memorial services held throughout the country.

Police also said 20 houses, most of them belonging to councillors and policemen, were attacked and 10 of them set alight in Daveyton, KwaThema (East

Rand), Ikageng and Kagiso (West Rand) and in KwaMashu (Durban). Two youths were shot dead in Daveyton on Sunday night when a mob of about 1 000 attacked the home of Mr Tom Boya, the local mayor.

Two other men were fatally wounded in Mamelodi, Pretoria, and De Aar, Cape Province, when mobs clashed with police.

A woman was assaulted and set alight in

Addo, Eastern Cape, by unknown people. Her legs were bound together. Police said they discovered her body early yesterday.

In Bloemfontein and Thabong police used tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse rampaging youths. In Mohlakeng near Randfontein and Daveyton, Benoni, three beerhalls were set alight. In Katlehong, Germiston, a bottle store was stoned and looted

A 19-year-old youth was shot dead when a group of stone-throwing youths attacked a 35-year-old policeman at his home in Mamelodi, Pretoria, at the weekend.

Lieutenant Jefferson of the police public relations directorate in Pretoria yesterday said a mob of youths attacked the policeman and hurled stones at his house in Mamelodi West at about 10pm on Sunday. The policeman, who may not be identified, was asleep at the time of the incident.

Meanwhile four houses including that of an Atteridgeville town councillor, Mr Victor Zobane, were damaged by stone-throwing youths on Sunday night. Brigadier H A du Plessis, chief CID officer for the Northern Transvaal, yesterday said a mob of about 400 youths who were from the June 16 commemoration services at the local Anglican Church attacked the houses at about 9pm.

Local health inspector and former town councillor, Mr Tom Maputla and his family escaped serious injury when youths attacked his house with stones. Police also reported that a Putco bus had all its windows smashed by the mob at Ramohoebe Square.

A car belonging to a student at the Soshanguve Technikon and the nearby post office were also damaged by the stone-throwing mob. Nobody was injured and no arrests have been made.

In Daveyton nine houses were attacked and badly damaged. Two of the houses belong to Mr Boya and his deputy, Mr Edwin Motibang. The rest belong to members of Cosas, UDF, the Daveyton Residents' Committee and Erapo.

Police yesterday used tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse rampaging youths in Daveyton who were stoning passing cars.

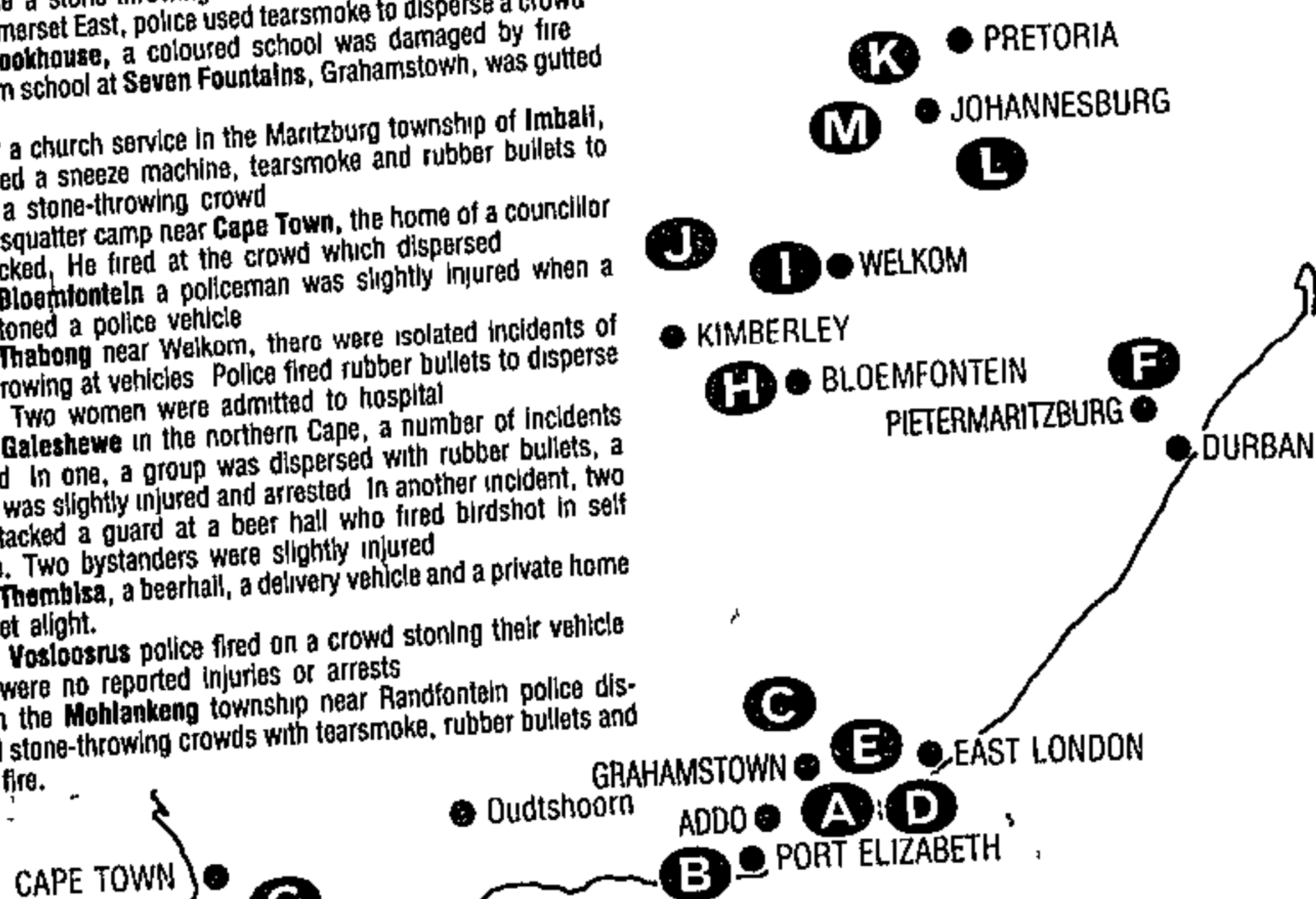
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18/6/85

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the police public relations division for the period ending 8pm yesterday

- (A) The burnt body of a young woman was found by police in a township near Addo.
- (B) After a church service in New Brighton, police uses tearsmoke to disperse a stone-throwing crowd
- (C) In Somerset East, police used tearsmoke to disperse a crowd
- (D) In Cookhouse, a coloured school was damaged by fire
- (E) A farm school at Seven Fountains, Grahamstown, was gutted by fire
- (F) After a church service in the Maritzburg township of Imbali, police used a sneeze machine, tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse a stone-throwing crowd
- (G) In a squatter camp near Cape Town, the home of a councillor was attacked. He fired at the crowd which dispersed
- (H) In Bloemfontein a policeman was slightly injured when a crowd stoned a police vehicle
- (I) In Thabong near Welkom, there were isolated incidents of stone-throwing at vehicles. Police fired rubber bullets to disperse crowds. Two women were admitted to hospital
- (J) At Galeshewe in the northern Cape, a number of incidents occurred. In one, a group was dispersed with rubber bullets, a woman was slightly injured and arrested. In another incident, two men attacked a guard at a beer hall who fired birdshot in self defence. Two bystanders were slightly injured
- (K) In Thembisa, a beerhall, a delivery vehicle and a private home were set alight.
- (L) In Vosloorus police fired on a crowd stoning their vehicle. There were no reported injuries or arrests
- (M) In the Mhlabankeng township near Randfontein police dispersed stone-throwing crowds with tearsmoke, rubber bullets and pistol fire.



Counting the Cost of Unrest

TO quantify the cost of unrest and violence over the past nine months defies calculation. That it is large is undisputed. In just 45 days in one small area, the Vaal Triangle, the bill, apart from the huge social cost in wasted lives and injuries, was R15m.

Since those few weeks in September, when Sharpeville erupted for a second time, unrest has become a way of life in many parts of the country.

In that turbulent time angry mobs attacked — and in some instances destroyed — schools, beerhalls, shebeens, private houses and cars, buses, administration board buildings and businesses.

People have been arrested and jailed, further burdening an already overloaded judicial system. And hundreds have died, either because of police action or because they have been identified as 'collaborators' with the 'apartheid system', and have been murdered.

While the cost — aside from the human toll — is impossible to estimate, glimpses are contained in the following facts gleaned from various sources. At least:

- R31m damage has been caused to property;
- R12m damage to vehicles and trains;
- 10 000 people arrested due to unrest-related incidents;
- 43 schools damaged in the Eastern Cape alone;
- Putco bus company has lost nearly R10m, either through damage to buses or lost earnings;
- The South African Special Risks Insurance Association (Sasria) has had claims totalling R35m;
- 440 people have died and 1 500 have been injured.

Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange said 381 people had died from September to April — most of them as a result of police action.

The South African Institute of Race Relations documented another 59 deaths in May. Since then there have been more. The figure now tops 440.

Co-operation and Development

Unrest has become as South African as blue skies and boerevors. There are those who say every day is June 16, the day Soweto erupted in 1976. Earlier this month the SAP reported a 24-hour period when there had been no unrest, a news event indeed. PETER WALLINGTON takes a look at nine months of continuous unrest and the damage, or some of it, that is costing this country millions of rands.

Spokesman Johan Steenkamp said the R43m in damage caused to property and vehicles was a national total for all damage reported to the police.

Apart from damage to property millions of rands have been lost in unpaid rents and levies. Co-operation and Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen told parliament recently that more than R13m — from 16 000 households in Le-ko township — had not been paid.

While this is the only specific case known, Steenkamp said other councils had also had difficulty in getting rentals and levies.

Sasria GM Rodney Schneeberger said the past few weeks had seen a significant increase in claims from unrest. These had risen from R26m in April to R35m at the end of May.

Schneeberger pointed out that this figure concerned only property or vehicles, insured with Sasria, damaged in political unrest.

Putco — which operates buses in the Vaal Triangle and Natal — has lost R5m through damage to vehicles. Furthermore, thousands of passengers have been left stranded at various times after Putco withdrew services from certain

areas. According to a Putco spokesman this cost the company another R4,5m in lost fares.

She added that 11 buses had been destroyed since August and another 40 damaged. There were 130 bus drivers injured. 10 000 bus windows had been shattered.

Law and Order spokesman Colonel Leon Mellet said it was impossible to put a cost on police action during this period. But police vehicles are not covered by Sasria and many have been damaged. Then there have been increased transport and maintenance costs as policemen move from one hot spot to another.

More than a hundred policemen have had their homes gutted and alternative accommodation has had to be provided. "It is impossible to tabulate all of this," but there has to be an increased cost," Mellet said.

Black local authorities have also been the target of anger in the townships. Recently minister Gerrit Viljoen sought new powers to continue the administration of black townships if the local authority resigned en bloc — the clearest sign to date that the black local authority system was close to collapse.

Since 1982, 34 local authorities, with city council status, have been introduced. Of the 393 councillors, Steenkamp said there were 39 vacancies because of unrest, while another five councillors had been killed. He said there were another 13 vacancies not related to the unrest.

By April more than 140 of the 1 165 members of old-style community councils had been forced to resign and, in some areas, such as Heidelberg, Beaufort West and Cradock, entire councils had resigned.

In Uitenhage all but councillor T B Kinikini had resigned by March. He and three members of his family were subsequently killed.

More than 100 councillors have been attacked while 66 have had their homes burnt down and many their businesses destroyed. Others have had their shops, funeral parlours and taxis boycotted.

Schools have also been a target, and in the eastern Cape alone 43 schools were damaged, three of them completely destroyed.

The Department of Education and Training had set aside R140m to make good the need for 6 000 more classrooms and spokesman Job Schoeman said it was doubtful whether there would be any money to repair the damaged schools.

Another spokesman for the department said that in the past three years damage to schools had amounted to more than R1,5m.

South Africa's image abroad has also suffered because of the unrest, and this could, if it has not already, adversely affect the flow of foreign capital to this country.

At the recent Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut congress in Port Elizabeth, institute executive member G Z Liebenburg said that, while South Africa had attracted large investments from overseas, increasing pressure on foreign organisations to liquidate their investments had led to many giving preference to loans instead of investments.

Assocom's Vincent Brett said it was almost impossible to say whether investments had slowed down because of the unrest.

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period ending 8pm yesterday

A At Kwazakela near Port Elizabeth a petrol bomb was hurled into a crowded bus, passengers were forced to smash the windows to escape. Other incidents were the death of a 20-year-old man after arsonists petrol-bombed his home, a bus driver was allegedly threatened and robbed by two men armed with knives and petrol bombs, a petrol bomb and a burning car tyre were thrown into the home of a UDF member and other homes of UDF and Azapo members were petrol-bombed.

B At New Brighton, shots were fired and four petrol bombs were hurled at the home of a UDF member during which four people were burnt. In a second incident, the empty home of an Azapo member was petrol-bombed and stoned, the SADF extinguished the blaze.

C In the black township of Motherwell near Port Elizabeth a black man was injured by a rubber bullet after police had used tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse a stone-throwing mob.

D In Duduza and Daveyton on the East Rand, arsonists attacked a number of private residences causing extensive damage. Arsonists also destroyed buses and private vehicles. On occasions, the SA Police were forced to use tearsmoke to disperse mobs. In two incidents, home owners fired shots, but no injuries were reported.

E At kwaMashu near Durban, a number of buses were damaged by stone-throwers.

F At Atteridgeville near Pretoria a petrol bomb was hurled into the lounge of a hotel.

G At De Aar, the SAP were forced to fire birdshot at youths who stoned police who were removing obstructions placed in a road.

H In Soweto, two private homes were burgled and then set alight.

I A mob robbed and set alight a delivery vehicle in the black township of Mhlabeng near Randfontein. Police dispersed them with rubber bullets, there were no reported injuries or arrests.

CAPL TMB 19/6/85

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F • PRETORIA
H • JOHANNESBURG
I • D

G • KIMBERLEY
• BLOEMFONTEIN

E • DURBAN

C • EAST LONDON
A • PORT ELIZABETH
B

CAP T 10 15 19/6/88

Pupil killed in attack on policeman

274

PRETORIA. — Another four people have died in incidents of unrest and several people have been injured, according to reports received yesterday.

In Mamelodi near Pretoria, a high school pupil died after being shot and at least seven houses in the area and Atterdigeville, including that of the newly-elected town councillor, were damaged by stoning.

Benny Nkuna, a matric pupil at Tseko-Thabo High School, was shot after youths had allegedly attacked the house of a Mamelodi policeman.

He later died in Kala-fong Hospital.

A police spokesman here yesterday confirmed the shooting.

Boy, 12, dies

A 12-year-old boy died when a bus careered out of control and crashed through a hedge after being stoned in KwaMashu, Durban, on Monday evening.

Police said a Durban Corporation bus was travelling along Mbondwe Road when a mob started stoning it. The driver lost control and the bus ploughed through a hedge.

The bus was later towed away and yesterday morning at first light the body of the unidentified boy was found in the hedge.

A number of incidents occurred yesterday in New Brighton near Port Elizabeth, where houses were set on fire with petrol bombs. In one incident a black man was found burnt to death,

police reported.

A 20-year-old man was burnt to death when arsonists petrol-bombed his home in KwaZakele, according to a police report.

Several homes of United Democratic Front and Azanian People's Organization members were petrol-bombed and in one incident in New Brighton, four petrol bombs were hurled at the home of a UDF member and four people received burn wounds.

In Motherwell near Port Elizabeth, a black man was injured by a rubber bullet after police fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse a stone-throwing mob, the police said.

He was treated and detained for public violence.

At KwaZakele near Port Elizabeth, the lives of passengers on a bus were endangered when unidentified people hurled a petrol bomb into a crowded bus.

"The petrol bomb ignited and the passengers were forced to smash the windows to escape," the police reported.

"Another incident in which the lives of innocent black people were endangered by arsonists, occurred in Atterdigeville near Pretoria when a petrol bomb was hurled into the lounge of a hotel," the police report said.

In Duduza and Daveyton on the East Rand, arsonists also "attacked and set fire to a number of private residences", according to the report.

"Extensive damage was caused. In addition, buses and private vehicles were destroyed by arsonists."

Shots fired

"On occasions, the police were forced to use tearsmoke to disperse mobs. In two incidents, home-owners fired shots, but no injuries were reported."

There were also incidents of unrest in Steynsrus in the Free State, and Randfontein.

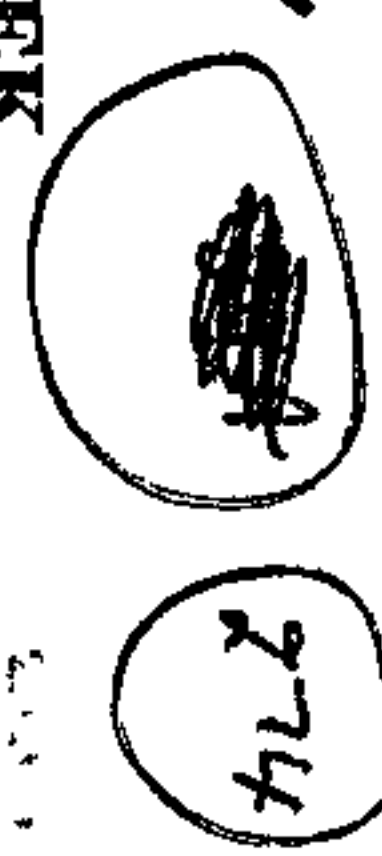
Meanwhile, Putco buses were yesterday still running only to the borders of certain townships after unrest-related violence on Monday resulted in 84 of the utility's vehicles being damaged. — Sapa

3 hurt in grenade attack on police

By DI MEEK

THREE policemen were injured in Guguletu yesterday when a man suspected by police of being a terrorist hurled a hand-grenade at them.

Capt Tink
20/6/85



The man escaped and had not been traced by late last night.

Two of the policemen were from Cape Town and the third was from Claremont. They received leg, arm, head and face injuries. Two were admitted to Woodstock Hospital but the third did not need treatment.

A police liaison officer, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, said the attack took place at 5.15pm at the corner of NY1 and 117 in Guguletu during a general investigation to arrest a suspected terrorist.

He said eight policemen were involved in the patrol. They saw a suspicious-looking black man standing on the corner of the road and recognized him as the terrorist of whom they had a description.

Three of the policemen started walking towards the man to arrest him when he pulled out a hand-grenade, threw it at them and fled.

The grenade exploded between the policemen who received "minor injuries". One of the policemen then fired at the man. The man shot back and escaped.

Lieutenant Laubscher said the police were still patrolling the area.

He said the names of the three injured policemen would not be released.

Meanwhile, at least seven people were

slightly injured when a bomb exploded outside a roadhouse on the Durban beachfront last night.

The Cape Times correspondent reports that the blast happened soon after 8pm outside the XL Roadhouse on South Beach.

At least 40 people, who were sitting in the restaurant of the roadhouse, escaped serious injury.

A fisherman told police he saw a man and a woman racing off in a car shortly before the explosion.

The man said: "Just before the bomb exploded a man and a woman in a red car raced off in a big hurry. I did not get a chance to take down the number."

Police cordoned off the restaurant as hundreds of people rushed to the scene.

A spokesman said last night the exact cause of the blast had not been established.

COLIN HOWELL reports from Johannesburg that there have been further incidents of unrest on the East Rand.

Among these, a man carrying a petrol bomb received minor burns in an attack on an armoured police vehicle in Duduza on Tuesday night, a police spokesman said in Pretoria. The man was arrested after being treated.

Yesterday in Soweto, near Johannesburg, police arrested two men for public violence after stones had been hurled at police vehicles.

And in Daveyton, the scene of several petrol-bomb attacks on policemen's homes this week, police dispersed a mob of arsonists with tear

smoke. In a second incident there 17 men were arrested for arson and public violence, the spokesman said.

On Tuesday night police used rubber bullets and tearsmoke to disperse a stone-throwing mob in New Brighton, near Port Elizabeth. Two men were arrested after buses were stoned in Kwamashu near Durban.

In Galeshewe, near Kimberley, police arrested three men on charges of arson and public violence and also dispersed a mob with birdshot at a roadblock.

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period ending 8pm yesterday

A In New Brighton, police dispersed a stone-throwing mob with tearsmoke and rubber bullets. No injuries or arrests were reported.

B In Daveyton on the East Rand, police arrested two black men for public violence after a stone-throwing incident. Police, in other incidents, used tearsmoke to disperse a mob who were looting a bottle store and dispersed another mob with tearsmoke who were trying to set fire to a private home.

C In Kagiso on the West Rand, police dispersed stone-throwers with tearsmoke.

D In Duduza on the East Rand, police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse a mob looting a bottle store. In another incident a black man in an alleged attempt to petrol bomb a police vehicle, set himself alight, he sustained minor injuries and was arrested.

E At KwaMashu in Port Natal, police arrested two black men after a stone-throwing incident at buses.

F In Galeshewe near Kimberley, police dispersed a mob at a road barricade with birdshot. There were no reported injuries or arrests.

G In Soweto police arrested two black men on a charge of public violence after a stone-throwing incident involving police vehicles.

A map of South Africa with a coastline line. Various cities are marked with dots and labeled. Some locations are also marked with letters in circles. The locations and their corresponding letters are: Cape Town (bottom left), Port Elizabeth (bottom center), East London (bottom right), Durban (far right), Bloemfontein (center right), Kimberley (center left), Pretoria (top center), and Johannesburg (top center). Letters in circles are placed near the following locations: A near Port Elizabeth, B near Johannesburg, C near Johannesburg, D near Johannesburg, E near Durban, F near Kimberley, and G near Pretoria. Handwritten notes in the top right corner include 'CAPE Times' and '20/6/85' with a circled number '974'.

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period ending 8pm yesterday

(A) In New Brighton, police dispersed a stone-throwing mob with tearsmoke and rubber bullets. No injuries or arrests were reported.

B In Daveyton on the East Rand, police arrested two black men for public violence after a stone-throwing incident. Police, in other incidents, used tearsmoke to disperse a mob who were looting a bottle store and dispersed another mob with tearsmoke who were trying to set fire to a private home.

C In Kagiso on the West Rand, police dispersed stone-throwers with tearsmoke

D In Duduza on the East Rand, police used tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse a mob looting a bottle store. In another incident a black man in an alleged attempt to petrol bomb a police vehicle, set himself alight, he sustained minor injuries and was arrested.

E At kwaMashu in Port Natal, police arrested two black men after a stone-throwing incident at buses

F In Galeshewe near Kimberley, police dispersed a mob at a road barricade with birdshot. There were no reported injuries or arrests.

6 In Soweto police arrested two black men on a charge of public violence after a stone-throwing incident involving police vehicles

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20/6/85

● PRETORIA

● JOHANNESBURG

C

D



R

● KIMBERLEY

● BLOEMFONTEIN

F

DURBAN

● EAST LONDON

PORT ELIZABETH

● Oudtshoorn

CAPE TOWN

Two more die in unrest

PRETORIA. — Police yesterday reported that two people died in incidents of unrest in Zwide and Kwathema.

The body of an unidentified man was found in Zwide in the Eastern Cape after overnight rioting in the area, police said yesterday.

The report said the burnt body was found where two houses had been attacked by a "gang of arsonists". Five people were arrested.

At Kwathema on the East Rand, an 18-year-old man was killed yesterday after he attempted to set fire to a policeman's house.

The policeman fired a shotgun, killing the man. Police took possession of a petrol bomb.

Police also reported sporadic incidents of petrol-bombing and stone-throwing in Eastern Cape townships on Wednesday night.

Police fired tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse crowds.

Defence Force patrols helped extinguish fires started by arsonists, police said.

In Kwazakhele the driver of a bus was slightly injured when his vehicle was petrol-bombed and stoned.

In Zwide near Port Elizabeth petrol bombs and burning tyres were used to set fire to two private homes, one of which was destroyed.

Two youths were slightly injured in Soweto yesterday.

The police report said a large group stoned members of the police force who retaliated by firing teargas, rubber bullets and bird shot to get them to disperse.

Incidents of unrest, arson and stone-throwing occurred yesterday in the townships of Tembisa, Kwathema, Tshakane, Vosloosrus, Tinus, New Brighton, Dorrington, Kwazakhele and Thomas Campbell. — Sapa

that is

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period ending 8pm yesterday

(A) In New Brighton two houses and a beerhall were petrol-bombed. In another incident police used tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse a stone-throwing mob

(B) In the township of Michausdal near Cradock, a member of the SAP fired at a gang stoning his home

(C) In Kwazakale, a number of private homes were petrol-bombed. In another incident a two buses was slightly damaged by petrol bombs and stones, one driver was slightly injured

(D) At Motherwell, a gang of youths set fire to a truck, which was slightly damaged.

(E) In Zwile, two houses were petrol-bombed, one was extensively damaged. The body of an unidentified man was found at the scene. Five suspected arsonists were arrested

(F) In Bedford, a delivery vehicle was set on fire and destroyed

(G) At Adelaide, a truck was extensively damaged after being stoned and set alight

(H) In Kwatema, police fired rubber bullets to disperse a mob throwing petrol bombs. In other incidents of arson, private houses were damaged. An member SAP was forced to fire at a mob stoning his vehicle.

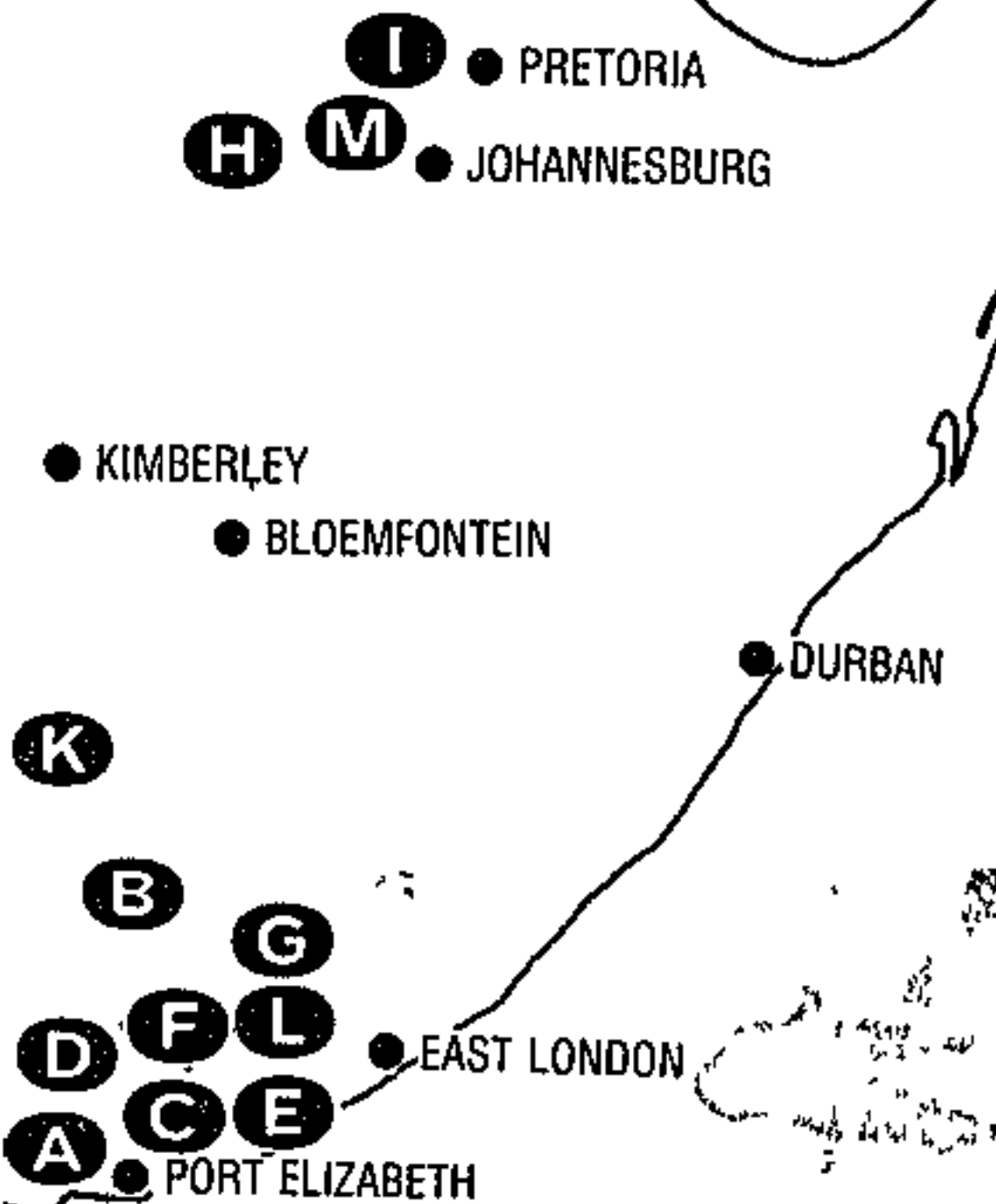
(I) In Mamelodi, buses and a private vehicle were extensively damaged by stone-throwers

(J) In Bongulethu, near Oudtshoorn, the home of a councillor was petrol-bombed causing minor damage

(K) In the black township of De Aar a cafe was set alight

(L) In Tinas, near Fort Beaufort, a private vehicle was destroyed by arsonists

(M) In Soweto police fired tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse them a stone-throwing mob, two youths were slightly injured



JUNE 16 SERVICES

Unity and teargas

At least five people died violently and several homes, most of them belonging to policemen and community councillors, were attacked throughout the country in incidents related to the commemoration of the June 16 1976 unrest. A number of people were arrested.

The violent deaths and attacks occurred when youths in various black communities on the Witwatersrand, in the eastern Cape, Durban and at the University of the North in the northern Transvaal allegedly went on the rampage and clashed with police at the end of commemorative services.

A spokesman for the SA Police directorate in Pretoria said the situation was "basically the same as in the past but not on as big a scale."

In Soweto, where a massive crowd of more than 5 000 had crammed the Regina Mundi Catholic Church at Rockville, police sprayed the area with teargas at the end of the service and had the crowd scampering for cover.

The police, who acted just as a large group of chanting people began moving towards them on the east side of the church, used a sneeze machine, teargas and rubber bullets.

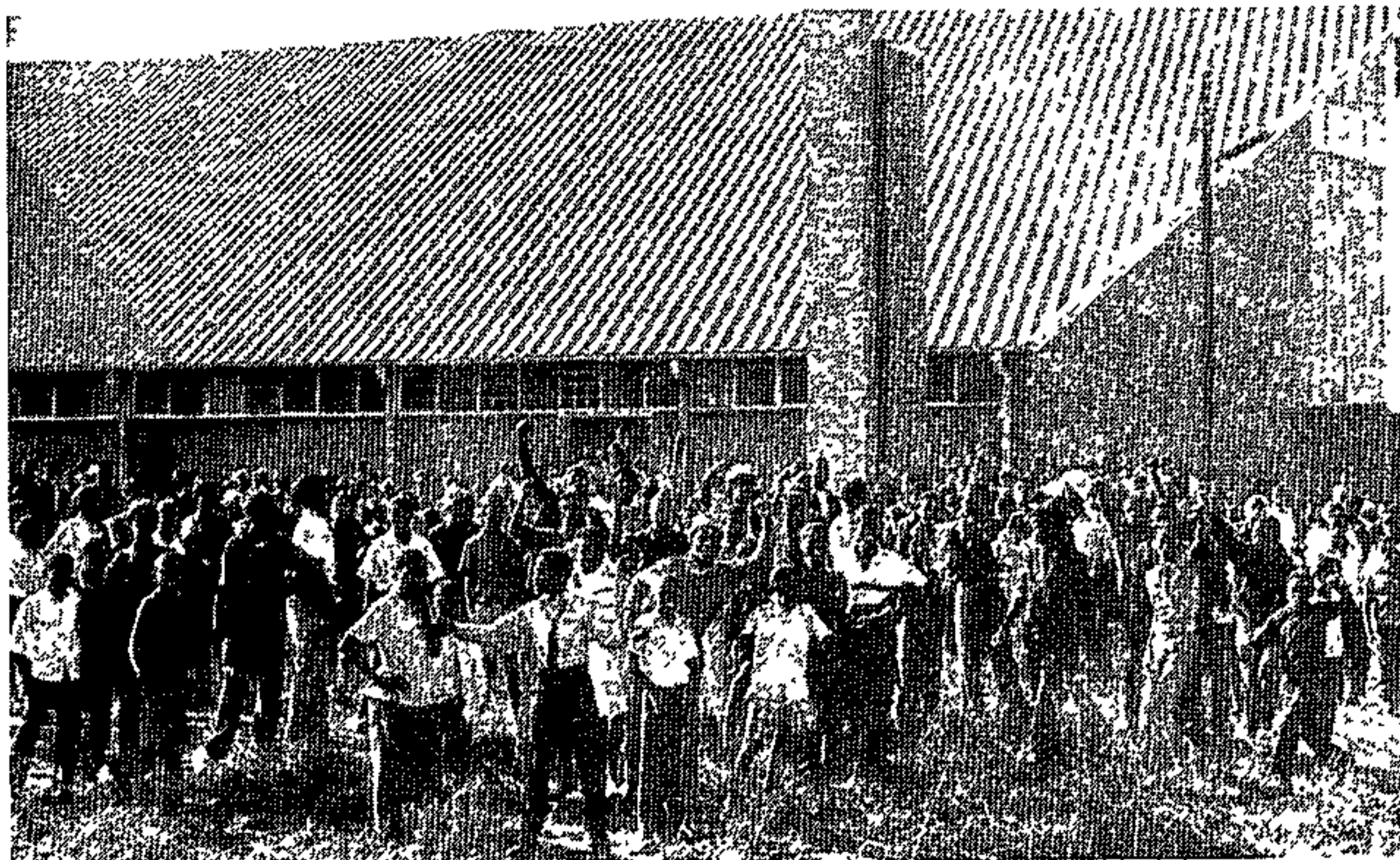
Lack of tension

A striking feature of the commemorative services this year was the lack of tension between the two main black political groupings — the non-racial United Democratic Front (UDF) and the black consciousness Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) — which have patched up their differences. For the first time in recent months the two movements shared political platforms and speakers made calls for black unity during services.

Two youths were shot dead in Daveyton, Benoni, when a group allegedly attacked the house of the local council chairman Tom Boya. At Mamelodi in Pretoria another youth was shot dead when youths attacked a policeman.

A pupil from Hwiti High School at Mankweng outside the University of the North also died violently when youths, mostly university students, clashed with Lebowa police. A woman was burnt to death at Addo in the eastern Cape.

About 20 homes, most of them belonging



Regina Mundi . . . traditional venue for June 16 commemorations

to policemen and community councillors, were attacked in Alexandra, Daveyton, Kwa Thema, Sebokeng, Kagiso and Katlehong within the Witwatersrand complex. Attempts were made to burn 10 of the houses.

A number of shops, beerhalls and bottle-stores were also attacked and looted in Soweto, Daveyton and Katlehong.

The police spokesman in Pretoria said three youths were arrested in Soweto on Sunday when youths were found by police placing obstructions on a road and attacking private vehicles.

In Tembisa a youth found in possession of two petrol bombs was arrested, said the officer, and a man was wounded at Kwa Thema when a group attacked a policeman's home, and the policeman opened fire.

At Regina Mundi, speakers, including the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu and Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, condemned the SA army raid in Gaborone as "a murder of innocent people."

Killings of blacks by blacks were condemned. Bishop Tutu said acts like the burn-

ing to death of people as happened in the eastern Cape "discredited the noble cause of the struggle for liberation." ■

who burned cat is set alight by two men

Tourism hit by township unrest

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22/6/85

SOUTH Africa's tourist industry, worth R1 200 million a year, has taken a buffet-ing as a result of nationwide unrest, it was disclosed yesterday.

Mercury Reporter

At a time when the exchange rate was most favourable for Americans to visit South Africa, Washington officials had warned potential tourists of the dangers of township unrest here, the annual meeting of the South African Tour and Safari Association was told on the South Coast yesterday.

Three major factors considered by American tourists planning a holiday were the risk to their safety, the distance they might be asked to travel and the cost, said Mr Gert van der Veer, chief executive of South African Airways.

As a result of the disturbances throughout South Africa, the national airline expected a drop of 20 percent in US bookings from August.

Already this year there had been a drop of 11 percent in visa applications from Americans.

'The American market has taken a dive,' said Mr van der Veer.

On the bright side European tourists appeared not to have been deterred so much by township unrest and West German bookings had shown a slight increase.

Mr van der Veer said the country's best advertisement was a satisfied tourist.

South Africa could boast a ratio of one in three visitors who returned to the country, one

of the healthiest return-rates in the world.

More optimistic views were expressed in Port Elizabeth at the opening of a seminar organised by the Eastern Province Tourist Association.

The deputy director (tourism promotion) of the South African Tourism Board, Mr Kobus Roux, told the seminar that in 1984 R4 600 000 had been spent on international advertising campaigns and a record 454 880 overseas visitors had come to South Africa.

Chairman of the South African Tourism Board, Mr Danie Hough, pointed out that by 1990 tourism would outstrip oil as the world's biggest industry and he felt that in the short term it offered the best stimulant to recovery from South Africa's recession.

Damaging

The seminar was being held as part of a campaign launched earlier this month by President Botha to make South Africans aware of holiday possibilities in their own country.

Although tourism had been affected by damaging publicity suffered in the US Mr Hough said the country remained an internationally attractive holiday destination.

'We have countless friends abroad who have visited this country and who regard it as a wonderful land and a land of wonders.'

Mr Reinoud Boers, director of a tour company, felt that the industry might even help to solve some of the problems which caused township unrest.

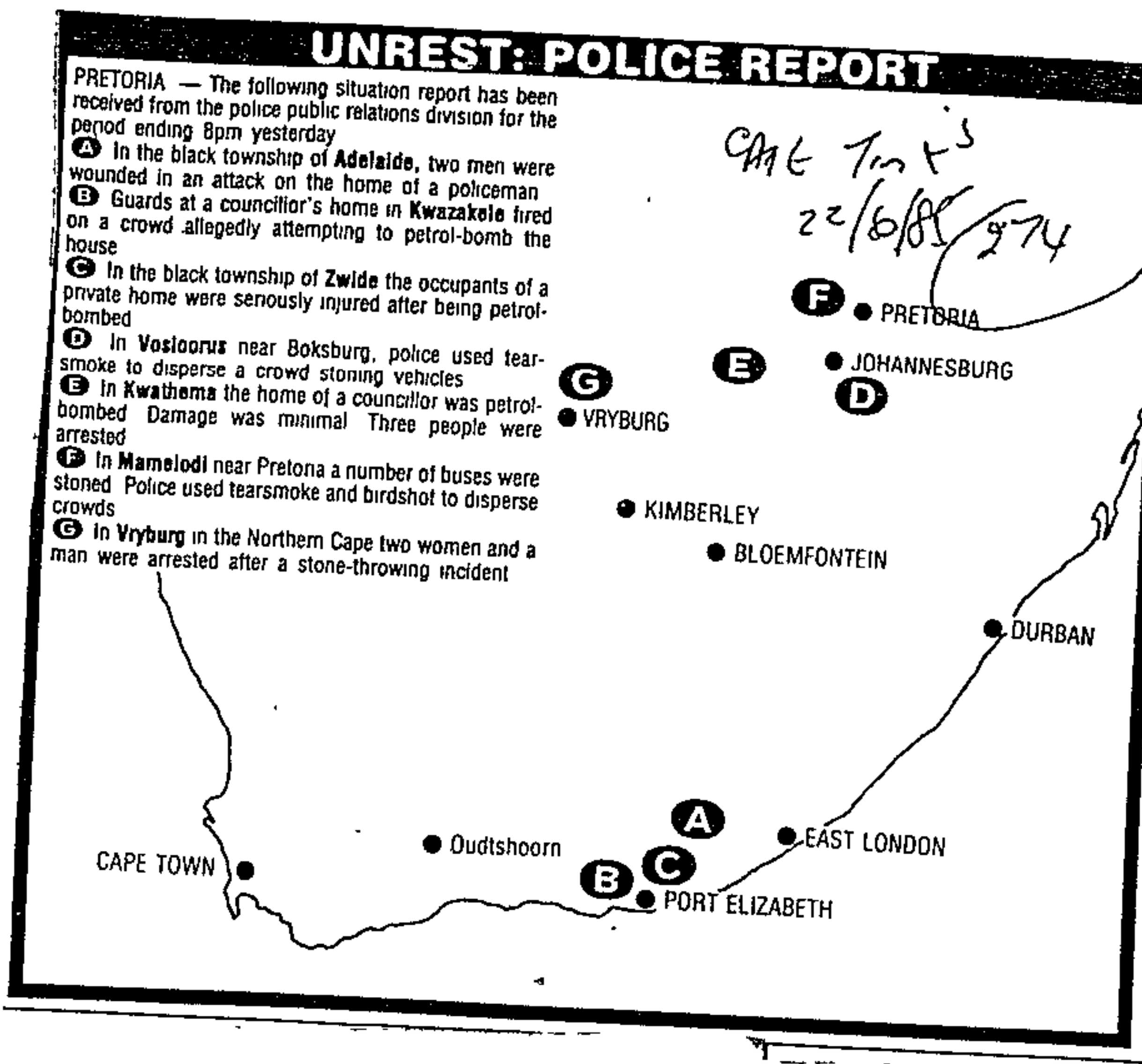
A healthy black tourist industry, he said, could create an outlet for tensions and help meet heightened black expectations.

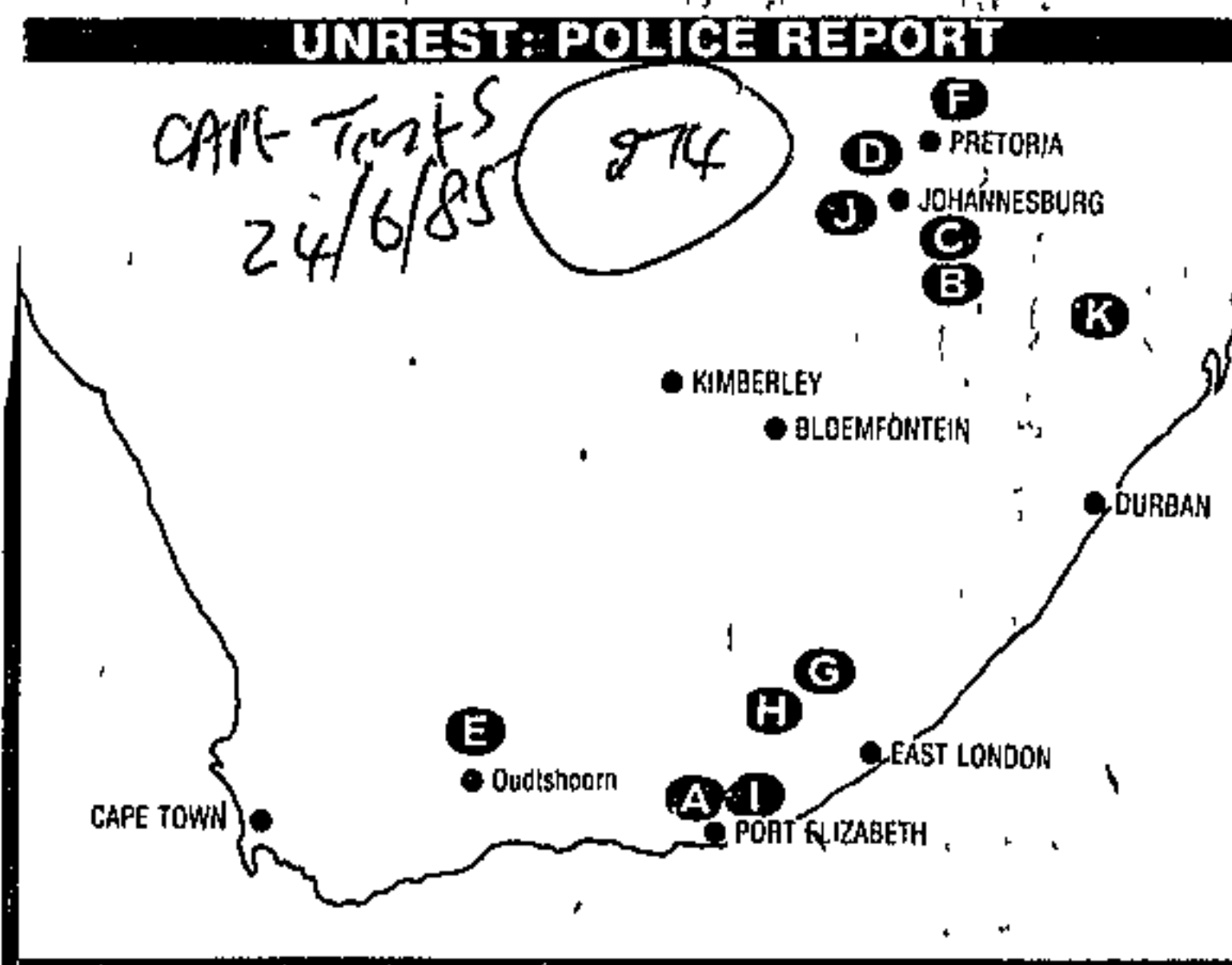
Mr the allegations: he said police were acting in re- door-to-door

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the police public relations division for the period ending 8pm yesterday

- A In the black township of Adelaide, two men were wounded in an attack on the home of a policeman
- B Guards at a councillor's home in Kwazakela fired on a crowd allegedly attempting to petrol-bomb the house
- C In the black township of Zwile the occupants of a private home were seriously injured after being petrol-bombed
- D In Vosloorus near Boksburg, police used tear-smoke to disperse a crowd stoning vehicles
- E In Kwathema the home of a councillor was petrol-bombed. Damage was minimal. Three people were arrested
- F In Mamelodi near Pretoria a number of buses were stoned. Police used tear-smoke and birdshot to disperse crowds
- G In Vryburg in the Northern Cape two women and a man were arrested after a stone-throwing incident





PRETORIA — The following Situation Report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the weekend period up until 4pm yesterday:

Ⓐ At KwaZakele and New Brighton near Port Elizabeth several police vehicles were stoned or petrol-bombed. A crowd of about 300 was dispersed by police using tearsmoke while another crowd of about 40 was dispersed with birdshot. No arrests, injuries or damage were reported. Seven buses were also stoned causing R1 600 damage. No police action was taken. A delivery vehicle from a Fort Beaufort bakery hit a barricade of drums early Saturday morning. The driver alleged he was shot with a catapult in his left eye and knocked unconscious. He regained consciousness and found that he and his passenger were outside the vehicle which had been gutted by fire causing R50 000 damage. 3 400 loaves were also stolen worth R1 400. Yesterday morning at New Brighton an unknown black man threw a hand-grenade at the home of Azapo member the Rev E Magina. His guard, Mr T. Klaas, 28, received shrapnel injuries. Ⓑ At Duduza on the East Rand the homes of two Administration Board members were stoned causing R600 damage. Stones and a petrol bomb were also thrown at the home of another board member causing R8 000 damage. No police action was taken. Ⓒ At KwaThema on the East Rand, about 10 blacks threw a petrol bomb at a private home. A black man fired a shot at the group, causing the death of a 14-year-old youth. No police action taken. Ⓓ At Tembisa near Kempton Park a crowd of about 50 gathered and a petrol bomb was thrown at a house causing R800 damage. Ⓔ At Soweto about 200 blacks threw a petrol bomb at a shop and adjoining house causing R37 500 damage. A woman was injured and no arrests were made. Another shop was looted by a crowd of about 60 and damage was estimated at R1 200. No arrests. A crowd of about 150 was dispersed by police. Ⓕ At Bhongolethu near Oudtshoorn a group of blacks stoned the house of a policeman causing R500 damage. Also, 12 blacks stoned a SAP vehicle but were dispersed with tearsmoke. Ⓖ At Mamelodi near Pretoria about 30 blacks stoned a SAP vehicle and threw a petrol bomb at it, causing R20 damage. They were dispersed and a man was wounded. Four men were arrested for public violence. A private vehicle was also set on fire causing R5 600 damage. No police action taken. Ⓗ At Somerset East in the E Cape a crowd of blacks was dispersed with birdshot after stoning a policeman's home. No damage and no injuries. Ⓘ At Adelaide in the Cape a SAP vehicle was stoned and petrol-bombed causing R1 500 damage. Police used tearsmoke to disperse the crowd. Ⓚ At Zwile near Port Elizabeth five black men tried to set a house on fire. Police arrested one man. Ⓛ At Everton near Vereeniging about 50 blacks marched to the private home of an Administration Board member and stoned it and a vehicle. The guard fired birdshot but no one was injured. Ⓜ At Volksrust in the Eastern Transvaal a crowd of about 70 was dispersed with birdshot after stoning a SAP vehicle. One man was arrested. A beerhall was also stoned causing R100 damage. Birdshot was used to disperse the group and one man was arrested.

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the police public relations division for the period ending 8pm yesterday

A A man was arrested in the township of Zwide and two others were injured when a crowd allegedly attempting to set a private home alight was set upon by the occupants

B In Soweto, a store was broken into and looted

C Fifteen people were arrested in the township outside Oudtshoorn on charges of public violence

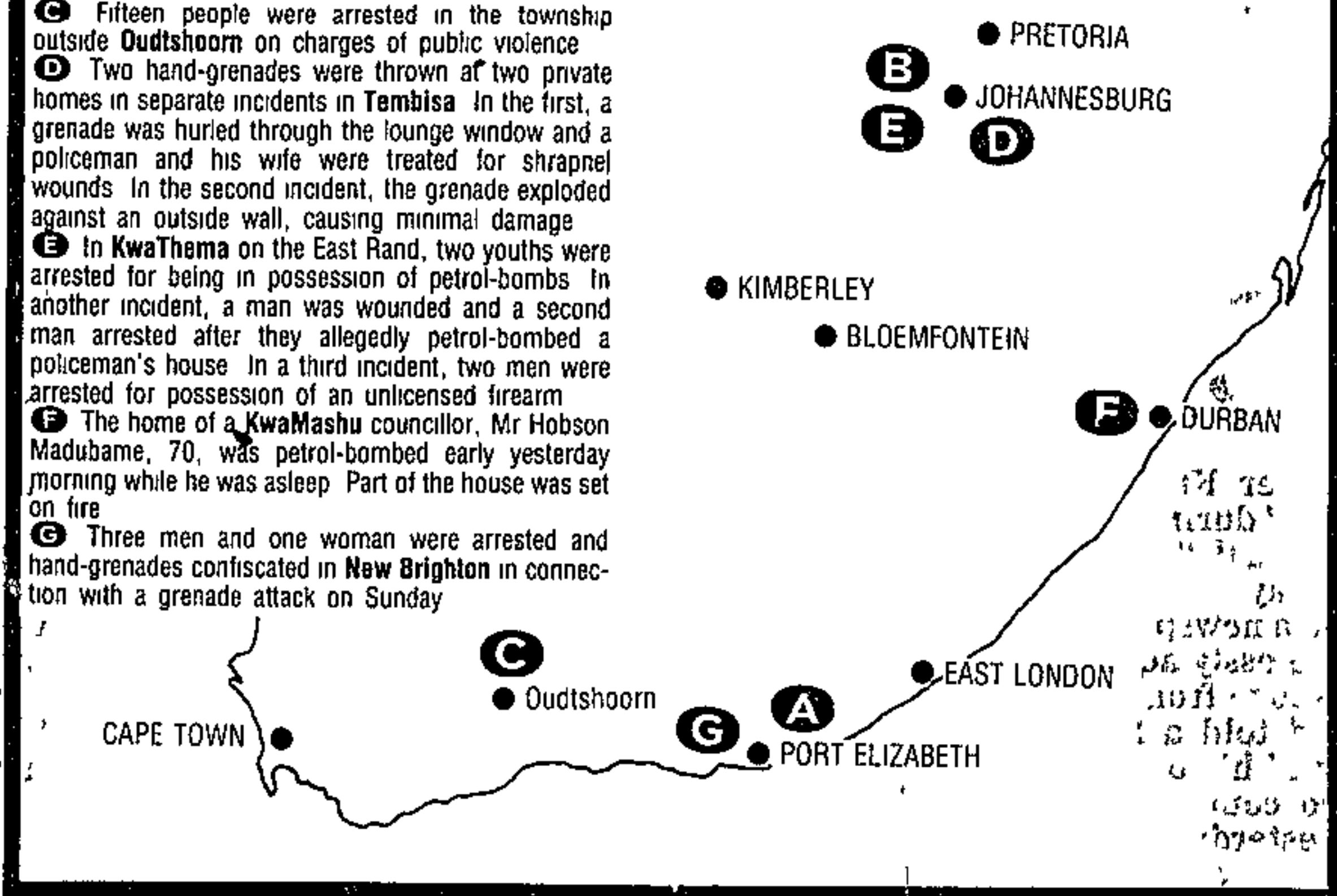
D Two hand-grenades were thrown at two private homes in separate incidents in Tembisa. In the first, a grenade was hurled through the lounge window and a policeman and his wife were treated for shrapnel wounds. In the second incident, the grenade exploded against an outside wall, causing minimal damage

E In KwaThema on the East Rand, two youths were arrested for being in possession of petrol-bombs. In another incident, a man was wounded and a second man arrested after they allegedly petrol-bombed a policeman's house. In a third incident, two men were arrested for possession of an unlicensed firearm

F The home of a KwaMashu councillor, Mr Hobson Madubame, 70, was petrol-bombed early yesterday morning while he was asleep. Part of the house was set on fire

G Three men and one woman were arrested and hand-grenades confiscated in New Brighton in connection with a grenade attack on Sunday

CMT Tmt's
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ONE TIME
25/6/85

Blast at Carlton Centre

JOHANNESBURG — An explosion hit the Carlton Centre here late yesterday afternoon, but caused no injuries and only "localized" damage.

The blast, a few minutes after 5.30pm, rocked the 15th floor of the Carlton Tower office block, police said.

AECI

Colonel Fred Bull, police liaison officer for the Witwatersrand, said: "The explosion was localized to the passage of this floor, which is occupied by AECI (Pty) Ltd. There was extensive damage to interior walls and ceiling, but no fire and no injuries."

The cause was still being investigated.

The building was sealed off immediately after the blast and newsmen were not allowed access, but a member of Carlton Security who was on the 15th floor at the time of the blast said ceilings collapsed and windows shattered and there had been a lot of smoke.

● In Durban, the home of a KwaMashu councillor, Mr Hobson Madubame, was petrol-bombed early yesterday morning.

Mr Madubame, 70, was asleep when two bombs were thrown at his house, one into the bedroom in which he was sleeping. It did not explode, but the second one exploded against the front door and set part of the house on fire.

"Luckily for us we managed to get out of the house quickly and douse the fire, otherwise severe damage would have been done," said Mr Madubame, who is the councillor for Ward 2.

He could not say who was responsible for the attack but thought it could be linked to the coming elections in the township.

Police are investigating.

Two attacks

● In Pretoria yesterday, police reported that there were two hand-grenade attacks on private homes in Tembisa on Sunday night, one on a policeman's house. The policeman and his wife are being treated for shrapnel wounds, police said.

● Two people were injured in Zwidi, Port Elizabeth, after a house was set on fire. A man has been arrested. — Sapa

Police find body under burning tyres

PRETORIA. — The body of an unidentified black man was yesterday found under burning tyres in KwaZakele by police in the trouble-torn Eastern Cape, police said last night.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Division here also told Sapa that a group of 50 people yesterday threw a petrol bomb into a private house in KwaZakele. No injuries were reported.

And in Zwide, near Port Elizabeth, a crowd of 50 people stoned a bus yesterday.

In Newclare on the West Rand, 240 coloured people stoned four SAP vehicles and two buses, causing damage estimated at R2 000, the spokesman said.

Police used birdshot and rubber bullets to disperse the crowd. No one was hurt.

In Tembisa, on the East Rand, a group of about 18 people set fire to a private vehicle yesterday. No one was injured, the spokesman said.

The Cape Times correspondent in Maritzburg reports that police were yesterday patrolling the Mpophomeni township near Howick after the killing of two bus passengers on Monday night.

Police had used tear-gas to disperse the mob.

Sporadic unrest in the township has been linked to the eight-week strike by 950 Metal and Allied Workers' Union members dismissed by Sarmcol.

Two men died of head injuries when the bus in which they and 58 other people were travelling was attacked by a group of about 250.

The dead were identified yesterday as Mr Vusi Mbense, 38, of BTR Sarmcol, and a Mr Mabusa, aged 40, who worked for the SA Transport Services in Howick.

Meanwhile, two men have been arrested after four thatch-roofed houses belonging to two BTR Sarmcol employees were set alight near Elandskop on Monday night.

On Friday night seven huts belonging to Sarmcol workers were damaged by attackers. Two were destroyed by fire.

● Ebrahim Moosa reports that according to the Johannesburg-based South African Institute for Race Relations, 242 people have died as a result of political violence in South Africa this year.

A spokeswoman yesterday identified the main areas of unrest as the Eastern Cape and the East Rand.

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

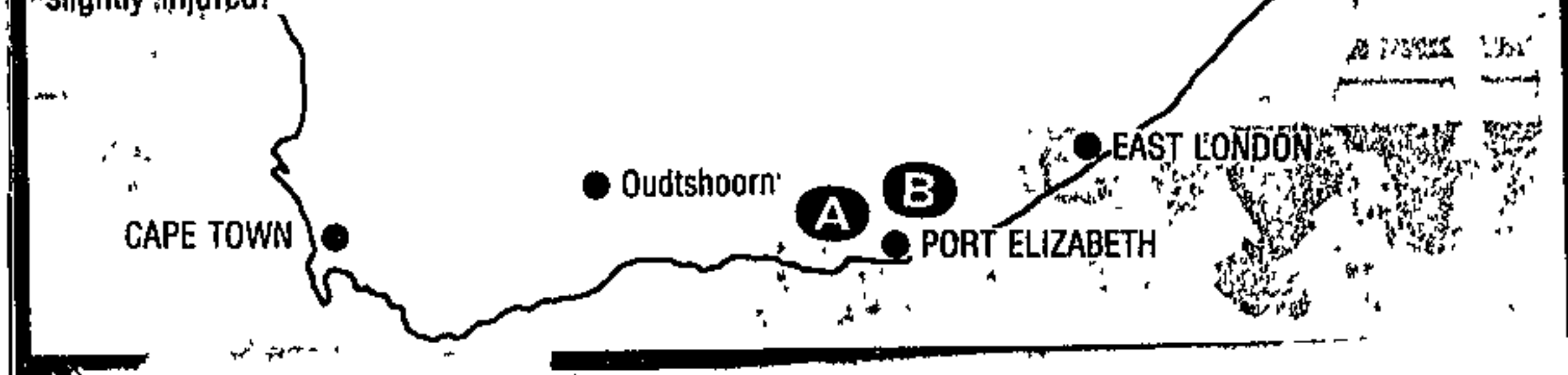
PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period ending 8pm yesterday.

(A) In Kwazakale, youths set fire to a secondary school, damaging windows, furniture and books, a SAP patrol extinguished the blaze. Arsonists petrol-bombed three private homes, causing minor damage, the SAP dispersed them with birdshot and arrested two men, no injuries were reported.

(B) In New Brighton a private home, owned by a relative of an Azapo member, was stoned and extensively damaged by a petrol-bomb. The inhabitants extinguished the fire, no injuries were reported.

(C) Minor incidents of stone-throwing and petrol-bombing were reported in Howick and Mamelodi. Damage was minimal.

(D) In Tembisa, a handgrenade was thrown at the home of a councillor, damaging the roof and windows. The councillor and his wife were slightly injured.



CAN TON 27/6/85

Grenade 'attackers' lost hands

274

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are investigating the possibility of a co-ordinated terrorist attack after seven people died, one was reported missing and seven were seriously injured in separate hand-grenade and bomb explosions on the East Rand early yesterday morning.

Six of the seven men killed had missing right hands, an official statement from police headquarters in Pretoria said yesterday.

The attacks were aimed at the houses of policemen and at an electrical sub-station in Kgaswane Street, Kwa-Thema, the police statement said.

The body of a black man was found at the scene of the sub-station blast. Although the blast was caused by a powerful explosive device — presumably a limpet mine — the nature of the explosive has not yet been established, it said.

No damage was caused to the sub-station and police explosives experts were conducting investigations to establish the nature of the blast.

Minor damage was caused at a number of the other scenes.

The bodies of those killed have not yet been positively identified, but preliminary investigations tend to indicate that they handled the hand-grenades and explosive devices themselves, police said.

'ANC'

All the grenades were of Russian origin, which had to date been used only by ANC terrorists in the Republic, the police statement added.

The seven injured people were admitted to various East Rand hospitals, where they are under police guard.

One of those injured was the publicity secretary of the Duduza branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr John Mhlangeni, who lost a hand.

nades exploded on the corner of Nala and Letsapa streets in Kwa-Thema, near Springs. Although police found scraps of clothing, no bodies were found here.

● Another explosion occurred at Thage Street, in Kwa-Thema, and the body of a black man was found. An unexploded RGD5 grenade was found near the body.

● Three bodies were found in Nala Street, Duduza, near Nigel. Their injuries were consistent with those of hand-grenade injuries, the police statement said.

Crowd

No remains of an explosive device were found here as the gathering of a large crowd hampered police investigations, it said.

The family of another man — Mr Osborne Dlamini — said he had gone missing after the explosions.

● And, also in Kwa-Thema, the home of the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg East, the Right Rev Simeon Nkoane, was petrol-bombed early yesterday morning for the second time in a week.

Shots fired

Three shots were also allegedly fired at the bishop by three men masked in balaclavas, but nobody was injured in the attack. Petrol was thrown on the doorsteps of the house, trapping Bishop Nkoane and his family — including his 82-year-old mother — inside the house.

The house was first attacked at 1am last Friday. A police spokesman could not confirm yesterday's attack.

Police confirmed yesterday that a limpet mine was used in the blast which caused extensive damage to AECI offices on the 15th floor of Johannesburg's Carlton Centre on Monday evening.

Several panes in the R25-million glass-and-steel dome nextdoor were badly cracked by the force of the explosion.

In the Peninsula, security police acting on information are holding

The other incidents happened at the following places

● Two hand-grenades exploded in Ndabazitha Street, Tsakane, and two black men died.

● Three hand-gre-

To page 2

CAN TON 27/6/85

From page 274

a group of people for questioning about a series of terrorist attacks in the area. No charges have been brought.

A police spokesman said security police had the names of other suspects allegedly connected with terrorist activities and were conducting follow-up operations.

● In other incidents of unrest reported in the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape yesterday rubber bullets were used to disperse a large crowd at Tinus, near Fort Beaufort, after people ignored a police order to leave.

A petrol bomb was then thrown at a police vehicle and birdshot was used to disperse the crowd. A youth was slightly wounded and admitted to hospital, police said.

Five people were arrested after cars were stoned near Adelaide.

A police spokesman said the arrests were made after cars were stoned on the national road between Adelaide and Fort Beaufort yesterday afternoon.

At KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, early yesterday morning, damage estimated at R20 000 was caused when a mobile ticket office was petrol-bombed and gutted, the spokesman said.

Also at KwaZakele, the house of a member of the Azanian People's Organization was damaged by fire about 6 15pm yesterday, according to the spokesman. He said damage was estimated at R5 000.

Another KwaZakele home was destroyed by fire about 2pm yesterday, but the spokesman said last night the incident had not been reported to him.

At Duduza on the East Rand yesterday morning, a group of people stoned a police vehicle causing damage estimated at R200.

At Daveyton near Benoni, a petrol bomb was thrown at the home of a member of the United Democratic Front member yesterday afternoon causing damage estimated at R200. No injuries were reported.

At Duduza near Nigel a group stoned a police vehicle, causing R200 damage. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

The acting mayor, Mr. ...
 emergency meeting of head ...

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UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period ending 8pm yesterday

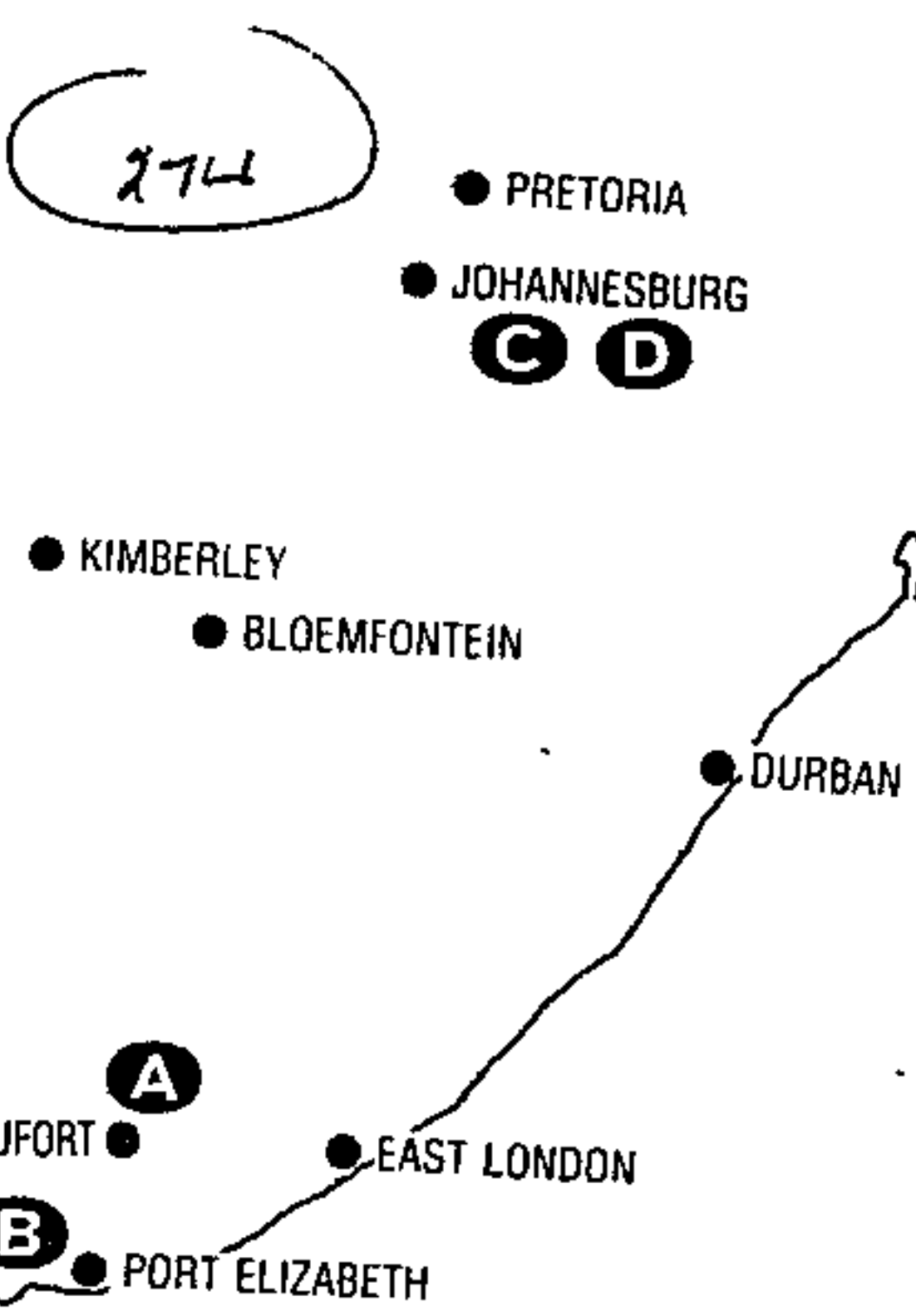
① At Tinas near Fort Beaufort, a large group was warned by the SAP to disperse, but ignored the warning. They then moved to the Dornington area and were again warned to disperse. After the mob started throwing stones the police were forced to use tearsmoke and rubber bullets. A petrol-bomb was then hurled at a police vehicle and birdshot was used to disperse the mob. A youth was slightly wounded and was admitted to hospital.

② At Veeplaas, a number of buses were stoned and windows were broken.

③ At Tsakane on the East Rand, SAP were forced to use birdshot when their vehicle was stoned, no injuries were reported. Also in Tsakane, a handgrenade exploded in the street near a private house, two men were killed in the blast and eight were injured.

④ In KwaTema near Springs, a handgrenade exploded near a private home. One man died in the incident. At approximately the same time, another handgrenade was thrown at an electrical sub-station, one man died in the blast.

GME - TIMIK 27/6/85



49
 Pocket
 REE

... education by some groups, but that member yesterday app...

DRUP

Post Focus



A victim of a terror attack is assisted by a bystander.

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress (ANC) signed with blood a vow to step up their fight against South Africa's white minority Government, political analysts say.

A consensus exists among analysts and official sources that an unprecedented spate of recent bombings across the country was the work of the ANC.

The ANC this week emerged from its first crucial policy debate since 1969 and resolved to step up the campaign, warning that there could be many more civilian casualties.

A senior political analyst said: "Only the ANC is capable of sabotage on the scale witnessed in South Africa over the past few weeks. Clearly, a new policy directive has come out and the ANC is going on the offensive."

Another political expert, Professor Robert Schrire, of Cape Town University, said the intensifying warfare in the country indicated the mobilising effect on blacks of relentless unrest which has claimed over 450 lives since February,

1984.

He said the intensity of violence was the result of growing sophistication among the politically-powerless black majority combined with increasing ANC organisational capacity.

"It has been a learning process on both sides: South Africa's handling of black unrest and blacks' tactics in retaliating," Prof Schrire said.

He said this week's attacks on townships near Johannesburg and in Transkei may have been partly intended as retaliation for a South African raid on alleged ANC targets in neighbouring Botswana 13 days ago.

The senior political analyst, who did not want to be named, said this

week's incidents indicated a growing willingness among young blacks inside South Africa to join the "armed struggle".

A police statement said six of the eight killed by grenades and bombs near Johannesburg lost their right hands, suggesting they were poorly trained. They were mounting attacks on black policemen seen by many blacks as Pretoria's collaborators.

"Any attempt to co-ordinate such an attack by established ANC members would probably have been uncovered by the State's intelligence network which spreads all the way to ANC bases abroad," the analyst said.

"The fact that numerous grenades and explosives were distributed si-

multaneously, and the disastrous results for the perpetrators, indicates they were people previously not clearly associated with the ANC," he added.

Prof Schrire said a noticeable switch of unrest tactics over the past few weeks, as grenades have increasingly replaced petrol bombs in township violence, underscored a growing despair among blacks of securing better civil rights under white domination.

"Blacks no longer see an evolutionary process that will lead to majority rule," he said.

A leading expert on the ANC, Witwatersrand University lecturer Tom Lodge, told a seminar this week that the ANC, many

of whose founding members are jailed in South Africa, had moved the battlefield from black townships to urban areas.

What has surprised experts was the apparent abundance of sabotage material inside South Africa, even though Pretoria last year secured a peace accord with neighbouring Mozambique which had served as a major ANC base.

Political analysts are divided on the durability of the present cycle of violence, one of the longest in memory.

Some say it will continue indefinitely while others, like Prof Schrire, expect the ANC to "reach a point of exhaustion and pause to recharge batteries".

Vow 'signed with blood'

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E. Post

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28/6/85 No support for unrest leaders 274

Staff Reporter
THOSE responsible for the current unrest did not have the popular support of the majority of the country's citizens, the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

Speaking at a passing-out parade of 160 students at the Bishop Lavis Police College, Mr Hendrickse said South Africa was a country on which the communist bloc, through the African National Congress, had focused attention.

The ANC was not merely opposed to the present system of gov-

ernment, but was violently opposed to any system ensuring "peaceful evolution from the old style of government".

He said: "They realized that they had little hope of persuading the senior echelons of the total black society to violent unrest as these people, through their experience, clearly would not stand for the loss of life which they could foresee as the only result of such uprisings as we have seen since September 1984."

Most of the pupils and other youths employed in the campaign for unrest had been coerced into the "terror and bloodletting".

scription Campaign (ECC), Miss Janet Cherry, was picked up by security branch members at her workplace, the Adult Literacy Project.

According to the ECC's press officer, Mr David Shandler, she was then taken to her home, which was searched, before being detained.

The branch secretary of the General Workers' Union (GWU) in Port Elizabeth, Ms Nomonde Ngumane, was also detained at the union's offices.

Two other detainees are Mr Thobile Mhlahlo, vice-president of the Motor Assemblers' and Component Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa) and United Democratic Front executive committee member, and Mr Notho Gunto, regional executive member of the UDF.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, confirmed that the four arrested in Port Elizabeth were being held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act, in terms of which they may be detained for 48 hours.

The ECC has condemned the detentions, while a local spokesman for the GWU commented: "We are outraged at Miss Ngumane's detention. We regard this as an attack on the union as a whole and demand her immediate release."

Mr Shandler said apartheid ruled through the use of force and of detention to silence its opponents, but attacks "on the security of peace-loving South Africans are to be expected in a country in the grips of civil war and one ruled by a minority government".

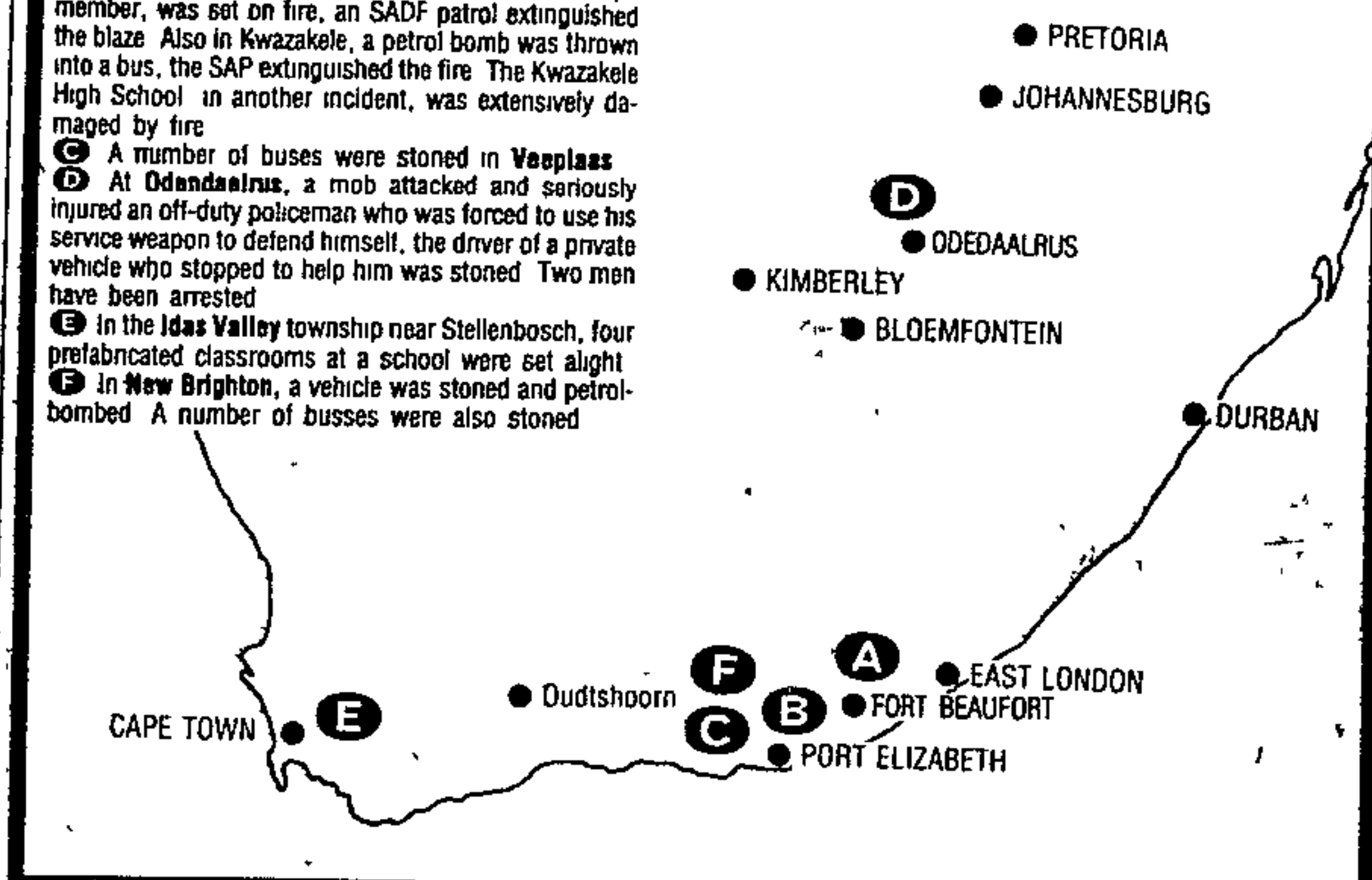
17 Sport 11 Horoscope 11 Focus 10 Classified 10 Business 11 Editorials 11 Shipping 5 Births, etc. 10 Comics 6 Bridge

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period ending 8pm yesterday

- A At Fort Beaufort, the SAP were forced to fire tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot to disperse gangs of stone-throwers after private and police vehicles were damaged. Five youths were arrested
- B In Kwazakale, a house, owned by an Azapo member, was set on fire, an SADF patrol extinguished the blaze. Also in Kwazakale, a petrol bomb was thrown into a bus, the SAP extinguished the fire. The Kwazakale High School in another incident, was extensively damaged by fire
- C A number of buses were stoned in Vaaplaas
- D At Odendaalsrus, a mob attacked and seriously injured an off-duty policeman who was forced to use his service weapon to defend himself, the driver of a private vehicle who stopped to help him was stoned. Two men have been arrested
- E In the Idas Valley township near Stellenbosch, four prefabricated classrooms at a school were set alight
- F In New Brighton, a vehicle was stoned and petrol-bombed. A number of busses were also stoned

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Minister: press aiding unrest

CAPE TOWN — The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, claimed yesterday that the English press was "helping instigators of unrest" to achieve their aims.

At a passing out parade of 149 policemen and women at the Bishop Lavis Training College, Mr Hendrickse gave as an example Dr Allan Boesak's Freedom Charter meeting at Uitenhage last Monday.

"Dr Boesak spoke on Monday evening in a hall built to accommodate 1 000 people, yet one English press headline read: Boesak addresses 4 500 at Uitenhage," Mr Hendrickse said.

"Not a single one here today was threatened with force or intimidated to join the South African Police.

"It is sad that so many young people allow the volatile power inside them to be tapped and used to make this country appear to be ungovernable.

"By misusing our youth for revolutionary purposes, the ANC and other instigators of unrest give their campaign a strong symbolic colour, of the vitality of a new generation trying to shake a yoke in the only way they thought possible.

"But we are very thankful that the young people who have been misled in this way are a minority.

"These young policemen before us are a reflection of our youth as we know them ... honest, upright and responsible." — Sapa

[Handwritten scribble]

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28/6/82 D. R. R. R.

UNREST: POLICE REPORT

PRETORIA — The following situation report has been received from the Public Relations Division of the SAP for the period ending 8pm yesterday

- (A) At Grahamstown, a private home was petrol-bombed and extensively damaged. The owner of the house fired on the mob to defend himself and his family. An SAP patrol extinguished the fire. No injuries were reported.
- (B) At New Brighton, three petrol-bombs were thrown at a private home, causing minimal damage. The blaze was extinguished by the inhabitants. A woman was slightly injured.
- (C) At Kwazakale, Veeplaas, Cradock and Zwidi, minor incidents of stone-throwing and arson were reported. In Veeplaas the burnt body of a black man was found next to the road and a youth was arrested in Zwidi while throwing stones at a Defence Force vehicle.
- (D) At Galeshewe near Kimberley, two buses were slightly damaged by stonethrowers.
- (E) At Kaitleng on the East Rand, SAP vehicles and buses were stoned. The police fired rubber bullets to disperse the mob.
- (F) In Welkom a municipal guard fired birdshot at stone-throwers who attacked a church. There was no injuries nor damage to the church.

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