

# On the Run in Soweto

Newsday reporter Les Payne is on an extensive tour of southern Africa. This is another in a series of reports:

By Les Payne

Newsday Staff Correspondent

Soweto, South Africa—Thopheto Modise, 17, is hiding and running from the South African police. He is a high school student and a leader of the activist group that organized student boycotts here and workers' strikes in Johannesburg.

Most Soweto student leaders are in jail. Others, like Modise, are hotly pursued by police. The remainder have fled to Europe and other African States. Swaziland granted asylum to 92 Soweto student leaders on Wednesday.

Modise is well known to the police. A slim, handsome African, he seems unconcerned about the dangers of his life as a fugitive. He dresses casually in turtle-neck sweaters and slacks, avoiding the dashikis and sandals police consider to be the uniform of militants.

"The police know the colors of all of my jackets," Modise said, "so I don't wear them." He has been issued the despised reference book that all black males over 16 are required to carry at all times. "I never carry my reference book because if I am stopped the police would be certain to recognize me," he said. "When I am stopped, I say that I am 15 years old."

Two weeks ago, Modise addressed a crowd at the funeral of a man who had died while in jail. During a disturbance which erupted at the graveyard, police killed three blacks, injured 36 and arrested more than 100 persons. Modise was chased and shot at during the melee. He melted into the crowd and escaped unharmed.

Police tried to trap Modise by telling some of the arrested students to telephone and ask him to visit them. "If you visit a friend in jail here," Modise said, "you will be locked up on the spot. The police questioned several of my friends about me. I know they are looking for me day and night. I have to keep moving."

The Soweto Student Representative Council, the group Modise heads, is composed of two student chairmen from each of 50 schools in Soweto. The council meets secretly now and plans ways to keep alive the campaign to voice grievances against the South African government. "A lot of students have been killed by police," said another student leader who asked not to be identified. "We can-



AP Photo

In August, young Soweto blacks protest the detention of student leaders

not forget them. We also have to express our sympathy for those hundreds of students who are in detention."

The student task will be more difficult next week, after school closes for summer vacation. "We will continue to work with the adults and the parents," Modise said. "We will try to educate them as to why they should take part in work strikes. We will use pamphlets. We want this issue to be a national issue."

"The strikes are very tough on parents. They tell us that we can't fight the white man without guns. They said that it is suicide. But we have no guns, and the adults offer us no other solution. We must continue to do what we can."

Racial disturbances first flared here on June 16, shortly after 10 AM, when some 10,000 schoolchildren protested the use of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction in black schools. A recently released government report on the period of June through August states that "police have been forced to open fire and the first of 176 lives was lost." The report states that police arrested more than 800 Africans and kept 77 under "preventive detention," which allows a person to be held in jail for a year without being charged with a crime.

Africans claim that more than 400 persons have been killed by police and that the number being detained may run into the thousands.

The youth council has called for four strikes since the rebellion erupted in June. The earliest strikes were short and effective: A five-day work stoppage called for this week, the youths say, has been less than 30 per cent effective. Police have reported incidents of students stoning commuter trains, taxis and cars carrying Soweto residents to work. Some workers stayed in Johannesburg throughout the week to avoid the risk of re-entering this black township after a day's work.

"The adults just cannot afford to lose a week's pay," one student leader said. "They have no savings. The white man pays them only subsistence salaries. I think we have to understand that even one day away from work is a grave sacrifice for them."

Students have disrupted final examinations here in protest over government policy. They have attacked as "Uncle Toms" the blacks who collaborate with the government. One such black "traitor," an artist, lost his meticulously constructed thatched-hut African village museum. It was burned to the ground. The artist, Credo Mutwa, had called for even greater

police force in suppressing black protests.

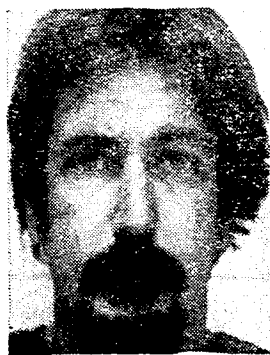
The main targets of attack by blacks have been the shabeams, private houses outfitted as speakeasies. In Soweto, they range from the elegant cafes to beer-dispensing hothouses. Many of the shabeams have been firebombed, and all of the "known ones" have been closed.

"Drinking and fighting among ourselves is one of our big problems here," one of the youth leaders said. "Many fathers say that they cannot afford to send their children to school, but they spend a lot of their money in the shabeams. Life is hard. But too many parents are misusing their money on liquor. We have closed them down and we will keep them closed."

A growing number of student leaders are maturing quickly in the ways of protest. The best-known fugitive is Donald Tsietsi Mashinini, 19, who escaped to England recently after evading police here for weeks. Some have gone abroad to study politics or military tactics.

"The police wanted to kill Mashinini as much as they want to kill Modise," a local black journalist said in Johannesburg. "Unless Modise gets away from South Africa, the police will certainly catch him."

## Convict Facing Life Prefers Death



Gary Mark Gilmore

Salt Lake City—Gary Mark Gilmore has decided to die.

Convicted of murdering a motel clerk, Gilmore says he prefers execution to prison, where he has spent 18 of his 35 years.

"It's my own decision," Gilmore told District Judge J. Robert Bullock. "I was not influenced by anything but the fact that I don't want to spend the rest of my life in jail."

Bullock has refused to delay the execution, scheduled for Nov. 15. However, court-appointed defense attorneys, acting against the will of Gilmore, are attempting to win a stay of execution from the Utah Supreme Court.

Gilmore is said to have written a letter disavowing the appeal. He has also dismissed his attorneys.

A court-ordered psychiatric study, completed yesterday, has judged Gilmore sane. "I believe he's sincere and rational and sane," said Craig Snyder, one of the defense attorneys. "But the emotional impact and trauma of what he's done and gone through make me question if he's emotionally able to do what's in his own best interest."

It now must be decided if an appeal can proceed when a defendant wants no appeal. And, attorneys say, the constitutionality of a new Utah law controlling capital punishment should be determined before anyone

dies because of the nature of one of its provisions.

To Gilmore, who also is accused of murdering a service station attendant, it is all a waste of time. "You sentenced me to die," he told Judge Bullock. "Unless it's a joke or something, I want to go ahead and do it."

Having made that profound choice, Gilmore was required to make another, more practical choice: Utah permits condemned criminals to choose the method of execution—firing squad or hanging.

If the processes of law do not interfere, the final request of Gary Mark Gilmore will be granted in 10 days, by a firing squad.

# The Protest Peddler From Soweto

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By Les Payne

Newsday Staff Correspondent

Bethanie, South Africa—"Black power" drove up to the village high school in a small, dark German car. The Soweto Student Representative Council had sent one of its leaders to organize a protest at Lerothodi High School. There are 800 students at the school; 120 of them are boarders from distant black townships like Soweto.

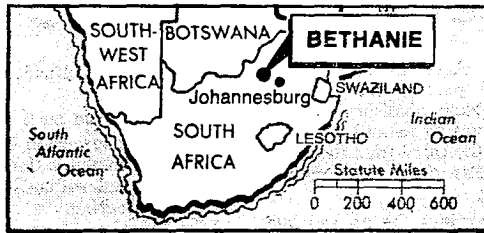
The school is isolated in a tobacco-growing valley about 80 miles northwest of Johannesburg. The student body is in sympathy with urban area students who have been protesting since June 16. Three months ago, students here burned down an administration building and chased away the school's unpopular principal. Closed then, the school reopened three weeks ago. Exams started a week ago.

"It's anarchy here," said Tlhopheho Modise, a student and "black power" leader dispatched to organize the protest. Modise himself is on the police wanted list for having participated in the Soweto protest demonstrations. "The students here have been stoning cars, attacking innocent people, raping the girls," he said. "Some of them have been using the protest as an excuse to run wild. Most of them want to protest the government treatment of black people in South Africa, but they don't know how to go about it. They don't know how to organize."

The village of Bethanie is run by a tribal council, which reports directly to the South African government. Bethanie is dotted with mud-huts, square brick houses and round tin shacks. Goats freely roam dusty roads and rocky trails. Most of the villagers work in wheat and tobacco fields of the nearby white town of Brits.

Legalized racial discrimination in education was one of the underlying causes of the Soweto student uprising in June, leaders say. A requirement that Afrikaans be used as a medium of instruction triggered the student demonstration. But the protests actually grew out of broader grievances.

South African whites between the ages of 7 and 16



Newsday Map by Ron Zembko

are required to attend school. Their books are free. Education for blacks is not compulsory. It is, in fact, discouraged. Black parents, who earn far less than whites even for equal work, are required to purchase books and pay tuition for their children's education. In a black laborer's family of five or more, it is common for parents to choose which child they will try to educate. Teachers at the black school are generally ill-qualified; most often they are themselves victims of a discriminatory education system. The government spends almost five times more to educate white children than it spends for black children. There are 4 million whites in South Africa, and 16 million blacks.

Most students at Lerothodi High School are from families whose parents barely earn subsistence wages. "It is tough on my mother," said one 16-year-old girl at the school. "Sometimes I feel guilty, especially when I realize that my mother cannot afford to send my other sisters to school."

Students are waging a campaign to gain free compulsory education. Government officials plan to require Africans to attend only the first four years of primary school, starting next year.

Student protests have brought Lerothodi close to disaster. There are only nine teachers for the 800 students. The teachers are overworked and some are reportedly ill-prepared. There are no electric lights in the dormitory. Recreational facilities are meager. The girls spike volleyballs over a raggedy, makeshift net. The boys kick soccer balls across a weed-choked, pockmarked field.

Modise, who is 17, was greeted as a hero by the

girl students in their dark blue uniforms. He inquired about incidents of stoning and rape. The girls told about being attacked by a group of male students after the protest demonstration. One girl had filed rape charges with the police.

Modise told the teenagers how Soweto student protesters had boycotted their final examinations, and suggested that they do the same. He also talked about work strikes in Johannesburg. The students there have issued pamphlets calling on blacks to boycott all white downtown stores from Dec. 16 to Jan. 15. Modise concluded that there was little possibility of getting a strike tactic to work in the farms and villages of Bethanie.

As he met with the students, word very quickly spread around the campus that a group of "black power agitators" was in the village. Rose Chowe, matron of the girls' dormitory, observed that strangers moved among the students. "We don't need trouble here," she said. "The boys and girls have not been speaking to each other since the rape incident last month. We have not had classes disrupted. School will let out next week. What police did in Soweto was awful, but breaking up the classes here won't help that any."

Mpoki Masilo, who is in charge of the school, refused Modise permission to address a mass assembly of students. Several teachers threatened to inform the local police that Modise was in the area.

Masilo said he fears organized "black power" demonstrations. He explained how, in August, he and the principal were locked in a room and stoned by angry students. "I was literally praying for my life," he said. The principal was stoned and chased away. Now they are threatening to break up the examinations. "I have enough trouble here at the school. I don't need this black power."

"The adults are just tired and scared of the white man," Modise said. "We have to take over. We have to fight with the weapons we have. We need to boycott classes, withhold our parents' labor, boycott white merchants and work out other needs by attacking a system that treats us like animals."

As the rumors spread that "black power" leaders were on campus, Modise drove away on the dusty back road, carefully avoiding the village police outposts.

## 'Gang's' Backers Hunted in China

Agence France-Presse

Changsha, China—A ranking provincial Communist Party official says that a nationwide campaign has begun to identify supporters of four purged radical leaders. Observers believe the step may be a prelude to a wider purge.

Sun Yin-yun, a standing member of the Hunan Province Revolutionary Committee, which governs the native province of the late Chairman Mao Tse-tung, said the campaign will focus on "unmasking" possible "accomplices" of the radicals. It has just begun in that province, Sun told a group of French correspondents who visited there this week on a tour of the places where Mao spent his youth—his native town of Shaoshan and the provincial capital of Changsha.

The entire province population of 40 million was taking part in the inquiries, Sun said, adding: "We are counting on the popular masses to denounce the accomplices of the gang of four." The "gang of four" is the party's designation for the so-called "radical" leaders who were arrested last month during a power struggle after Mao's death Sept. 9. The four included Mao's widow, Chiang Ching, and three other high party officials, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chao and Yao Wen-yuan.

Sun said that "detailed inquiries" about supporters of the four had been ordered by the party Central Committee, which is headed by Mao's successor, party Chairman Hua Kuo-feng. Observers felt such an inquiry could be

a step toward a purge, particularly in Mao's native province.

Denunciations, Sun said, were being made largely on wall posters and in letters sent to party committees. In Changsha itself, the masses were carrying out the denunciations, he said, and indeed walls in the town were covered with hundreds of multicolored, tightly written posters, which were being read with interest by small groups of people.

Meanwhile, former Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping, who was dismissed last April, will not be returned to his former positions, Tan Chen-lin, vice chairman of the Chinese National Peoples Congress, said recently in Peking.

Diplomatic sources in Peking said Tan Chen-lin confirmed to a delegation of Filipino journalists here that Teng Hsiao-ping was still a member of the Communist Party, of which he was secretary-general before the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s.

But the official added that the criticism campaign against Teng's "right deviationist" policy would continue. At the time of his second dismissal, Teng held the posts of vice premier and party vice chairman.

Tan Chen-lin also confirmed information obtained last Sunday from the assistant editor-in-chief of the People's Daily, An Kang, that Mao Tse-tung's widow, Chiang Ching, and her "accomplices" would not be executed but would have to confess their "crimes."

Tan's statements gave support to the theory that Teng could be rehabilitated at a lower level than his previous rank.



UPI Photo

In a photo released by the Chinese news agency Hsinhua, soldiers in Peking sing "The three main rules of discipline and eight points of attention." According to Hsinhua, "They are determined to obey orders of the party central committee headed by Chairman Hua Kuo-feng and wage a resolute fight against the Gang of Four and its accomplices."

# In Soweto, Offensive Against Youth

Newsday reporter Les Payne is on an extensive tour of southern Africa. This is another in a series of reports.

By Les Payne  
Newsday Staff Correspondent

Soweto, South Africa—Dozens of African youths have been arrested in their homes or on the streets here in a week-long series of raids by South African police.

As a result of the police sweeps, teenagers, by day, have practically abandoned the streets of this sprawling black township of 1.2 million. And by night, many are sleeping in churches and in the homes of distant relatives, keeping a sharp eye out for raiding policemen who wear green and brown camouflaged fatigues. Black families say they live in fear of a knock on the door.

Soweto police refused to reveal the exact number of youths arrested in the recent raids. One top police official said the raids were intended to "weed out the loafers." Gen. David Kriel, the officer in charge of riot control, said that the "house-to-house raids will continue because we are investigating cases relating to arson, pillage and other charges." The stepped-up police campaign follows a period of unrest that began June 16 with the outbreak of riots.

Eyewitnesses say that each day there are many house-to-house searches, streetcorner arrests and seizures of children—one was 8 years old—without their parents' knowledge. "They drove up in their vans, knocked on the door and asked for my reference book," said one man, who asked not to be identified. "They left when they found out that no students live here. But they went up and down the street and I saw them put some boys in the van and drive away."

As the raids have increased, many parents have sent their children to live at the homes of relatives who have no children. Police, they say, are using the addresses of school rosters to round up students. Those who remain generally keep out of sight during daylight hours. Only small children are noticeable on the busy streets here. And even they sometimes run away when they are approached by a car that is white, like the vehicles police often use.

The unarmed black resistance here is led by the Soweto Student Representative Council, a group of 100 activist students that has organized and enforced community job strikes, student boycotts of final examinations, the boycott of downtown Johannesburg merchants and the closing of neighborhood speakeasies. The council also has called for a two-month period of mourning for

those "hundreds of students killed during the uprising."

About 4,200 Africans have been indicted since the uprising started in June, according to figures released by the South African Institute of Race Relations. More than 1,200 of those charged have been convicted. The others are facing trial. Many of those arrested have been charged with violence during the riots or with arson, sabotage or attempted arson. Seventy-seven persons are known to be held in "preventive detention" under the Internal Security Act which allows holding a person up to a year without filing charges.

The police have said they are attempting to arrest leaders of the student council. The group was headed by a 19-year-old student who recently escaped to England. Blacks call him by his first name, "Tsietzi," which in the Sotho language means "trouble." The police call him by his last name, "Mashinini," and those other leaders who have escaped from South Africa the police call "Mashininis." Student leaders say about 1,000 youths have fled the country since the riots. Some 207 are known to be across the border in Swaziland, where they have been granted asylum.

"Mashinini named his successor before he left," one high-ranking policeman said. "We know his name. We are

looking for him, but we haven't been able to find him yet." The student leader's name is Khotso F. Seatholo, 18.

Located with other fugitive leaders, Seatholo was interviewed by Newsday regarding the strategy of the resistance movement in the face of police pressure. Answering questions at the home of a political activist two days ago, Seatholo, whose name means "peace," pondered the questions before replying in a soft, firm voice.

He denied that the student revolt is influenced by outside forces. He said he never had read Frantz Fanon or heard of Eldridge Cleaver. He is vaguely familiar with the politics of Malcolm X but carefully repudiated the black Muslim leader's call for violence. The student leader said the resistance has adopted some of the nonviolent tactics advocated by Martin Luther King.

"The big difference between the struggle in America and here is that blacks are in the minority there and we are in the majority in South Africa," Seatholo said. "Blacks, as I understand it, were fighting institutionalized racism and seeking equal rights. We are seeking power, politically, economically and socially."

"The police terror here has heightened our people's consciousness more."

—Continued on Page 11

# Syrians Set to Divide Beirut Factions

Beirut (AP)—Syrian armored forces tightened their grip on Beirut today, readying for a drive through the heart of the devastated capital to separate Moslem and Christian combatants in the 19-month-old civil war and consolidate their control of the city.

The Syrian vanguard of the enlarged Arab League peacekeeping force took control of all northern, eastern and southern approaches to the capital. Their arrival yesterday gave the war-weary city its first peaceful night in months. An Arab League military spokesman said the Syrian air force was put on the alert "just as a precaution in case any one attempts to challenge the disengagement operation."

Columns of Syrian tanks ringed the city as an armored Syrian brigade prepared to move into the no-man's land cutting Beirut into Moslem and Christian halves. The spokesman said the 3,000-man brigade would advance in 120 tanks and 50 armored personnel carriers to set up a three-mile long buffer zone by Sunday. They will be reinforced by 1,900 Saudi Arabian and Sudanese peacekeeping troops, he said.

Bulldozers of the Syrian engineer corps today were knocking down concrete barricades crisscrossing streets on the city's eastern fringes. Unarmed Christian militiamen stood by. Across the local front line Moslem fighters slept behind their sandbags. A watchman said there was no shooting during the night, "so they slept for a change."

Neither side gave any indication it might defy the Syrians, who warned that they would crush any fighting. Most of the warring leftist Moslem and right-wing Christian military leaders have agreed to the intervention, and there has been no resistance so far to the Syrian advance. Sniping and random shelling virtually ended during the night. Hospitals reported only one person killed. The civil war has taken more than 37,000 lives since the Christians and Moslems started fighting each other in April, 1975.

About 6,000 Syrians rolled down on Beirut from Lebanon's central mountains yesterday and encircled the capital in a lightning operation that left



AP Photo

Syrian tank crewman chats with a Lebanese child on the road to Beirut

only the sea open to the combatants. The Arab League spokesman said a mechanized brigade of 50 tanks, 100 personnel carriers and 3,000 men swept through Christian territory and took up positions along the north and northeast of the city.

A second brigade of 120 tanks, 3,000

soldiers and 50 personnel carriers pulled into the eastern and southern edges of the city, cutting off the Moslems and their Palestinian allies from their southern supply areas. "Both brigades are scheduled to consolidate their grip on the capital's outskirts and the vicinity of the international airport to-

day, pending the arrival of the disengagement brigades," he said.

Two more 3,000-man Syrian brigades are assigned to the two major cities entirely under Moslem control, Tripoli, 60 miles north of Beirut, and Sidon, 25 miles south of Beirut. The truce force is to be fully deployed early next week.





Allon and Toon in quiet conversation in Tel Aviv

AP Photo

# Israel Calls U.S. Biased in Vote

Combined News Services

Tel Aviv—Israel accused the United States yesterday of anti-Israel "discrimination" after it backed a United Nations Security Council statement critical of Israeli policy in the occupied Arab territories.

The foreign ministry issued a sharp statement saying Foreign Minister Yigal Allon had summoned U.S. Ambassador Malcolm Toon for an "urgent meeting" to give him Israel's reaction to Thursday's Security Council consensus statement.

The Israeli statement said that United States and Israel may differ on matters of policy, "but disagreements should not be exposed at any time or in any forum. A hostile Egyptian initiative . . . is not the proper occasion for airing such disagreements."

The Security Council consensus, responding to a complaint by Egypt, "sharply deplored" Israel's policies in the Arab territories won during the 1967 war and termed them "an obstacle to peace."

Angered by the U.S. action, Allon rebuked Toon in public yesterday in a breach of diplomatic etiquette unprecedented in Israeli-American relations. The foreign minister icily snubbed the American envoy in front of reporters, photographers and diplomats, bluntly expressing Israel's anger at the United States for voting for a United Nations statement criticizing the Israeli occupation of Arab lands.

"Good morning," a grim-faced Allon said as he greeted Toon coldly. "I say good morning only out of convention.

I'm very disappointed by the American vote."

Witnesses said Toon appeared embarrassed by Allon's blunt words as the two men waited in front of the Besarabia House conference hall in Tel Aviv to greet a delegation of U.S. congressmen visiting Israel. "Let's talk about it later," Toon said.

The foreign ministry said in a later statement that Allon expressed to Toon "the deep disappointment of Israel at the U.S. association with" the UN statement. The statement acknowledged there were "differences of opinion" between Israel and the United States concerning "certain aspects of Israel's policies in the administered areas." But it added that "neither the timing nor the forum were suitable for their airing."

According to the statement, Allon expressed "appreciation for positive elements" in the U.S. speech at the Security Council, but pointed out that "as far as Israel is concerned the negative content of the final statement far outweighed any positive comment that may have been made."

In Washington, State Department officials tended to play down the strong Israeli reaction, with one official calling it a "temper tantrum." The official pointed out that there had been no change in basic U.S. policy toward Israel and that the UN vote concerned only one aspect of that policy. He noted that the United States has consistently expressed concern about Israeli policy in occupied lands and that the United States had recently considered a major arms agreement with Israel a demonstration of U.S. support.

# Soweto Refugees Vow to Return

*Newsday journalist Les Payne is on an extensive tour of southern Africa. This is another in a series of reports.*

By Les Payne

Newsday Staff Correspondent

Johannesburg—To flee or not to flee is a question facing young black activists opposing apartheid here in South Africa. Hundreds of African students have fled the republic since riots broke out in June. They went first to neighboring Swaziland and Botswana and then on to Tanzania, England or the United States.

Many sought political and military training. Almost all have vowed to return to carry on the struggle and a few already have slipped back into the country.

Newsday has confirmed that more than 200 students from Soweto have recently escaped to Swaziland. They are housed in camps run by two revolutionary groups: the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC). There are 97 students in the ANC camp near Manzina and 110 at the PAC camp in Mdushane.

Students in both camps are heavily guarded for their own safety, according to camp officials. Though allowed to move about freely during the day, they are required to return to the camps by 6 P.M. Camp officials said they fear that South African police will attempt

to capture the students and forcibly repatriate them.

Both ANC and PAC have attempted to recruit the students, offering them money and hotel accommodations, but most have resisted the efforts. "We are not interested in money and hotel rooms," explained one student in the ANC camp. "We have lost friends at the hands of the police in Soweto. Many others have been put in jail. We are here to find ways to fight back."

The students spoke angrily about police action against blacks in South Africa. Some bore scars and bruises from their ordeal in Soweto and many said that they had left South Africa only when arrest appeared imminent. Some said that they had left in order to obtain training in military tactics before returning to fight. There were plans to fly the students to nearby countries where, presumably, they are to be trained.

"We are going to do everything possible to make their stay here bearable," said an ANC spokesman. "These kids have gone through hell. They are eager to strike back at the enemy."

"We came here to chart out our own destiny," said one 18-year-old student in the camp at Manzini. "Some of us are interested in medicine or teaching or law or stage acting. But what is important for us now is to undergo military training. We will go back to Soweto in nine to 12 months and continue the struggle."

The student exodus and mass arrests

by police have seriously affected the rebels' ability to enforce their calls for boycotts and job strikes. The best known and most effective dissident leader, 19-year-old Tsitsi Mashinini, the former president of a student group, recently escaped to London but reportedly plans to return to South Africa secretly.

However, students here say that Mashinini is totally cut off from the day-to-day operations in Soweto, where he once led the resistance against police and government policy. And they voice concern that he and other exiled student leaders are being used by revolutionary groups abroad such as ANC and PAC.

Problems for the Soweto students arose almost from the moment they arrived in Swaziland. They had asked the deputy prime minister to keep their presence in Swaziland a secret. "We wanted our coming here a dead secret," one 20-year-old student said. "We didn't even tell our parents and close friends." But last week, soon after their arrival, the Swaziland government announced that it had granted asylum to 92 Soweto students under its interpretation of UN provisions.

"We were taken aback when one afternoon we heard a radio broadcast giving all the details of our presence here," a student at the ANC camp said. "This was a terrible breach of faith. We don't know why this was allowed. We now feel that our lives are in dan-

ger. We have had to change our plans for bringing more students to Swaziland. Obviously the inlets here are heavily guarded now."

Soon after the announcement the South African police placed roadblocks on highways leading to the Swaziland borders. Seventeen students have been arrested on charges of attempting to leave the country without proper travel documents. Following those arrests, numerous Soweto students changed their plans to leave South Africa by way of Swaziland. In the face of increased police raids in Soweto, many hid at the homes of distant relatives. Others crossed into Botswana—eight Soweto students were arrested Wednesday during an attempt to enter Botswana.

With increased police pressure against student activists in Soweto and at the border crossings, many young rebels have resigned themselves to going into hiding until the pressure eases. However, several of the most wanted leaders of student groups move boldly about Soweto, coordinating student boycotts, community clean-up campaigns and meeting with community leaders.

At the top of the police wanted list is Khotso S. Seatlholo, 18, who replaced Mashinini as president of his student group. "I don't wish to flee the country," said Seatlholo. "However if the pressure gets much greater I may also have to take a leave and come back to continue the struggle."

# Blacks Say S. Africa Toll Higher

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By Les Payne

Newsday State Correspondent

Johannesburg—The number of blacks killed since rioting erupted in South Africa last spring is "overwhelmingly" greater than the figures released by government authorities, according to black leaders here.

In the Transvaal Province, which includes Soweto and other black townships near Johannesburg and Pretoria, the government has put the death toll at about 200. Black residents of Soweto, however, say that the number of blacks killed exceeds 400, and may be as high as 700.

A government-appointed commission is currently investigating the overall death toll throughout this republic. Local police officials, meanwhile, are refusing, for what they describe as "security reasons," to disclose the total number of persons killed or jailed by police in connection with the riots.

The previously released figures and the current government silence on the death toll have fanned the fires of hostility between the Africans and the government and have given rise to numerous rumors of wanton police violence. Soweto leaders discussed the rumors and other problems last week with Brigadier Jan Visser, the white police commissioner. But the four-man community delegation headed by David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, was not satisfied with some of Visser's answers.

## Asked for Proof

"Every time we voiced a complaint, Visser would say 'prove it,'" said Thebehali, who is the unofficial mayor of Soweto. "He told us to come up with proof, with signed affidavits from witnesses. People have been arrested and beaten, and even killed, for making such statements. They are afraid to come forward. This fear is justified. There would probably be police retaliation."

The delegation also complained about the presence of the 120-man riot police unit in Soweto, which has become a symbol of "police occupation."

The commissioner reportedly agreed to withdraw the unit "as soon as possible." Visser acknowledged that the police had received many complaints about the unit but denied charges that his men have been conducting terror campaigns, neighborhood arrest sweeps and massive school raids.

"I have heard the rumors about [secret] burials . . . and mass graves," Visser told Newsday. "There is no truth to them. I have even heard rumors that we have buried a half million black children in Soweto. There is not even that many children in the whole township."

"It is impossible to know how many blacks have been killed during the riots," said the Rev. Manas Buthele, chairman of the Black Parents Association. "No one can yet quote a figure with a great degree of certainty. But the people are skeptical because the police refuse to release a complete list of the names of those killed. All we can say is that the number killed is overwhelmingly greater than the figures the government has released."

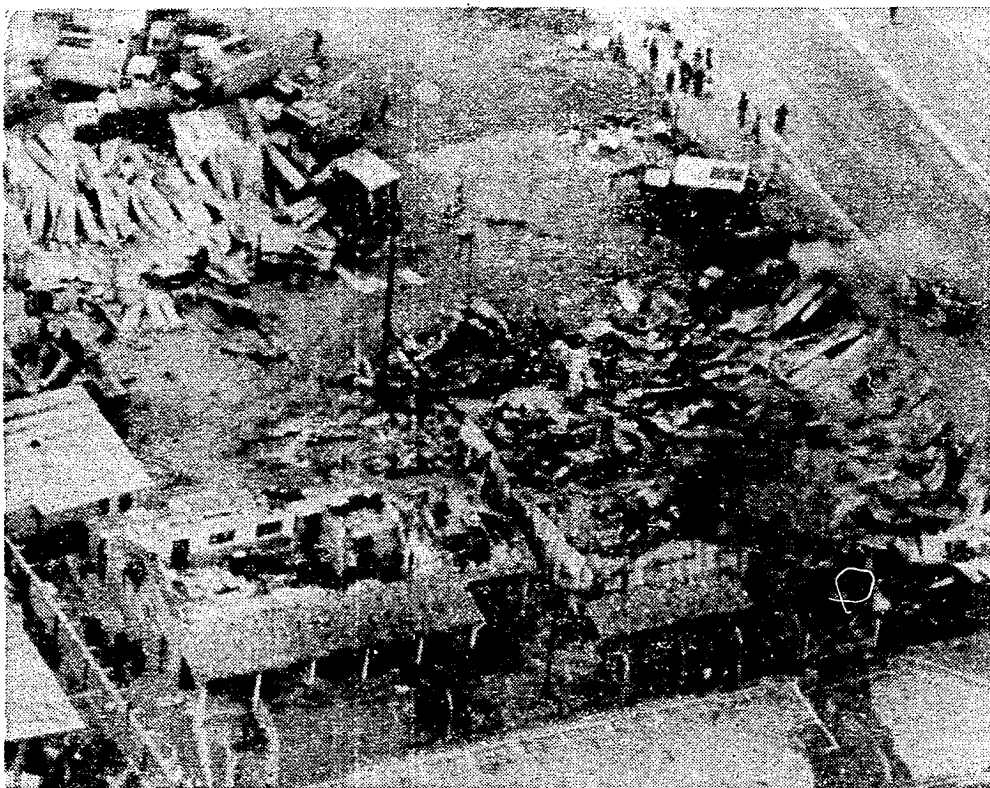
## Problem of Paupers

One of the major obstacles to the compiling of a death list, appears to be the state's apparent treatment of deceased "paupers."

Under government policy, the dead who have not been identified are buried in unmarked graves at state cost. Blacks claim that the police have used the pauper policy to bury Africans who could easily have been identified.

Police deny that such a practice has been employed to make the death toll appear lower. "We [routinely] bury paupers. Not only those from the riots but in the normal course," Visser said. "We sometimes keep the body up to three months, and if we cannot establish identity we take a photograph and fingerprints and turn the body over to a local undertaker to be buried."

In at least one incident following the June riots, the official death toll figure given by police was lower than the actual number of blacks who died. On Sunday, Oct. 24, police opened fire on an African crowd gathered at the cemetery after the funeral of a 22-year-old college student who, they said, had hanged himself while in police custody. The official death toll for the incident was listed as three, but Newsday has confirmed earlier published reports that at least six Africans died as a result of the incident.



UPI Photo

The effects of rioting earlier this year in Guguleto, a suburb of Cape Town

## Trapped in the Backlash Of a Country's Division

Johannesburg—Maxwell Mahlinza is dead. His body lies in a pauper's grave, but he was not a pauper.

He was 24, the father of a two-year-old daughter, the husband of Maria, who is eight months pregnant.

Maxwell worked in a furniture store in Johannesburg. He regularly attended the African Congregation Church in Soweto. He also loved to dance, fancied jazz, treasured his "Back to Back" album by Duke Ellington and Johnny Hodges. He was friendly, outgoing, very close to his father, Paulos, and his four brothers and three sisters.

Like most Africans here, Maxwell was acutely aware of the South Africa's policy of apartheid. Still, the student uprisings in June caught him by surprise. He had questions about apartheid, but no solutions. He had an eighth-grade education. He was not a political activist.

Maxwell Mahlinza disappeared on June 17th, one day after the riots erupted here. Returning from work he was shot in the hip by police, apparently by a stray bullet intended for high school students running away from the authorities. Then, he was arrested.

Witnesses told his family that Maxwell had been shot in the hip and taken into custody. They began a four-month search.

First they went to the hospitals. Paulos, Maria and Lizzie, the older sister, went to Barhewanath Hospital near Soweto. They went to Leratong. And Vereening. They did not find Maxwell.

Then, after several fruitless days of searching, growing increasingly alarmed by the mounting death toll in the riots, the family began making the rounds at mortuaries.

"I went the first time to the government mortuary at Roodepoort," Lizzie, 29, said. "I was really hoping that we would not find him there. We looked at the corpses of the people who had been shot during the riots. There were more than 100. They were both young and old. The bodies were lined up on several shelves. They were covered with blankets from the waist down."

"It was grisly. I was scared. There were faces with bullet holes. There were bullet holes in many of the heads, and shoulders. Some of the chests had been completely torn open. I saw some bodies that couldn't

have been more than 10 or 11 years old. There was a terrible odor in the place. I didn't see anyone who looked like Maxwell."

Lizzie had nightmares after her trip to Roodepoort. She never again visited the morgue. But the next day, Paulos and his son Ephram went to a mortuary in Krugersdorp Town to look for Maxwell among the corpses there. Nothing.

The Mahlinzas also searched for Maxwell at nearby prisons. They went to John Vorster jail, Louwkop prison, Modder Bee prison, Johannesburg prison. At each, clerks checked the records, then sent a messenger down the overcrowded corridors shouting "Maxwell Mahlinza . . . Maxwell Mahlinza," still nothing.

The prison officers were courteous," Lizzie said. "Most of them were black. They seemed to pity us. At each of the prisons, we met several other families looking for their relatives. Like us, they did not find them."

The family made regular trips to all of the known jails, prisons, hospitals, mortuaries and community undertakers. No trace of Maxwell. The uncertainty continued for four months. Occasionally, a family member remarked that Maxwell was probably dead. But Paulos and Maria insisted that he somehow was alive.

On Nov. 9, two policemen knocked on the Mahlinzas' door and showed Paulos a photograph. The face had deep cuts, scars and lacerations. The eyes and cheeks were severely swollen. The snapshot was that of a dead man. Maxwell.

The father asked the policemen how his son had died. They said that they didn't know. They only knew the date: June 17.

Mahlinza said that the only injury his son had when arrested was a bullet wound in the hip. "How do you know that?" the policemen asked.

Mahlinza explained that witnesses had told him. He refused to give their names. He was told, in turn, that his son had been buried in a pauper's grave, along with several other blacks who died unidentified at the hands of police during the uprisings in June.

"The police are to blame for the shooting," Lizzie said. "Maxwell was very kind. He used to do everything for us. My heart is heavy over his murder. But we are helpless. What can we do?" —Payne

# S. Africa Hides Race Riots' Toll

Deaths linked to disturbances in Soweto exceed government figures by at least 132

By Les Payne

Newsday Staff Correspondent

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Johannesburg—The death toll connected with racial disturbances in Soweto is at least 75 per cent higher than figures released by government authorities, according to statistics compiled by Newsday.

The three-week investigation shows that 332 lives have been lost during disturbances in Soweto alone since rioting began in June. The government has placed the death toll at about 200 for the entire Transvaal Province, which includes Soweto and other black townships near Johannesburg and Pretoria. The government's toll for disturbances throughout the republic was only 350, according to figures Minister of Justice Jimmy Kruger reportedly released to visiting U.S. Congressman Charles H. Diggs (D-Detroit). Newsday's documented death toll for the republic, far from complete, is in excess of 435 persons.

Police officials in areas hard hit by rioting say that the death toll is a matter of "national security." Inquiries are routinely referred to the office of the Minister of Justice, where information is blocked.

Since riots broke out last spring, Africans have made thousands of inquiries concerning the whereabouts of relatives. Yet the government refuses to release a list of those slain or detained by authorities. Even members of Parliament have been unsuccessful in getting the government to release the names of Africans killed, injured or detained.

"Nobody knows the accurate death toll yet," said Helen Suzman, a Progressive Reform Party member of Parliament. "The official figures are very likely underestimated. The hospitals have been restricted from giving even members of Parliament the death and injured figures. I have asked the minister of justice to publish the list of people killed and detained, so that parents will know for sure whether their missing kids are dead, in jail or have skipped across the border. The minister of justice is just not prepared to do that."

The Soweto death toll of 332 is still incomplete. There were major obstacles to Newsday's attempt to compile a comprehensive death list. Police officials will not cooperate. Hospital authorities have been silenced. Some eyewitnesses were frightened. Several morticians refused to talk. Bodies have been sent to distant mortuaries for burial. Thousands of Africans are missing and relatives don't know if they have been slain, injured, jailed or if, like hundreds of black youngsters, they have fled the country. A major obsta-

cle to compiling the death toll is the state's policy of burying "unidentified" persons in unmarked pauper's graves at state cost. Newsday has encountered several cases of families who searched for relatives for months only to find that they had been slain during the riots and buried by the state as paupers.

Newsday compiled its list from state-issued death certificates, funeral parlor records, Inquest Court files, family and eyewitness accounts of slayings, and documents from church groups that assisted in burying riot victims. Most of the victims were shot by police; however, some were struck by automobiles and others slain during clashes between blacks at the height of the uprising.

Scores of victims died from a lack of speedy medical attention. Doctors and ambulance drivers told of injured youngsters allowed to languish on the ground for hours without medical attention. One doctor said that he took two patients to Baragwanath Hospital near Soweto, but had to leave them bleeding on the ground outside the gate because guards would not allow him to enter without a gate permit.

At least eight victims with nonfatal injuries simply bled to death. One 46-year-old woman died of hemorrhaging from a thigh wound. Two 24-year-old men bled to death from gunshot wounds of the leg.

Newsday verified the ages of 115 of the victims. Of that number, about 80 per cent were less than 30 years old and most of them died from gunshot wounds. About 35 per cent of those slain were teenagers. Ten were younger than 12. The death list included one 6-year-old, three 5-year-olds, and two 4-year-olds. One of the 5-year-olds died after being struck by a car while running from police during the uprising. The others were shot dead. The first to fall during the outbreak of June 16 was believed to be Hector Pieteron, 13. He was cut down when police opened fire on marching students demonstrating against the use of the Afrikaans language as a medium of instruction for

One hundred-ninety-three names on Newsday's list were verified by the records of the Johannesburg Inquest Court. Under the government's system, inquests are held at the discretion of the magistrate when no criminal action is filed in cases of violent death. Deaths resulting from the riots were marked with an "R" in the margins of the court file. Only about 50 per cent of the riot deaths were recorded at the Inquest Court. Several highly publicized and controversial cases growing out of the disturbances were omitted.

Black leaders have maintained that many more Africans have been killed than the government admits. —Continued on Page 27



Newsday Photo

A body is dragged out of a building in Soweto during disturbances in June.

## Spanish Aide Kidnaped by Basques

By Jules Stewart

Newsday Special Correspondent

Madrid—In a daring daylight raid yesterday in downtown Madrid, the Basque Nationalist Organization (ETA), kidnaped Antonio Maria del Oriol, a high-ranking government official and former minister of justice.

Oriol, a close adviser to King Juan Carlos, is president of the council of state, a government advisory committee. He is also one of the wealthiest men in Spain.

ETA, a revolutionary organization of some 200 armed guerrillas, demands the independence of Spain's four Basque provinces.

At 11 AM, four young men entered Oriol's small office on Calle Alfonso XII, a fashionable residential street that faces Madrid's Retiro Park. They said they had come in behalf of a local priest and asked to speak to Oriol.

As soon as they entered Oriol's office they pulled out submachine guns and ordered everyone to lie on the floor. Then they whisked their victim into a waiting car. The doorman who witnessed the kidnapping



Oriol

said that "Oriol had an expression of panic on his face."

While the identity of the kidnapers has not been officially confirmed, one high ranking Basque militant said, "It was ETA." He said that the organization soon would release a communique claiming responsibility for the kidnapping.

This ETA militant also termed the 63-year-old Oriol, a Basque who fought with Francisco Franco's army during the civil war, "a traitor to his people." He said that Oriol was "an ideal target for a kidnapping."

In his role as minister of justice under Franco, Oriol is remembered by the Basques as the man who demanded death penalties for 11 out of 16 ETA militants during the controversial 1970 Burgos court martial. Pressure from several European governments forced Spain to reduce the death sentences to life imprisonment.

Although there was no immediate reaction from the government on the kidnapping, the interior minister rushed back from Madrid from an out-of-town trip to meet with Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez. There is fear for Oriol's life. Last April another ETA kidnapping victim, wealthy Basque industrialist Angel Berezadi, was found with two bullet holes in the back of his neck.

In September, another high-ranking government figure, Juan Maria Villar Araluce, was gunned down by ETA militants in broad daylight in the streets of San Sebastian.

ETA's latest operation comes only four days before a national referendum on the government's demo-

cratic reform program. The bill, if it is approved as expected, will set up a freely elected two-house Parliament and pave the way for Spain's first free election in 40 years.

The kidnapping also comes 24 hours after a secret press conference in Madrid by Santiago Carrillo, the head of the illegal Spanish Communist Party. Carrillo, banned from Spain since the 1936-39 civil war, has placed the government in an embarrassing position by making an appearance in Madrid. This has added to the tension before the referendum and threatens to endanger plans for a smooth break with the Franco past.

While the Communist Party is "an issue that the government is willing to take up after the election," according to an official source, ETA violence poses a much more serious threat to peace.

ETA sources say that the kidnapers will demand the release of all Basque prisoners in jail, now believed to number 150. While Juan Carlos declared an amnesty for political prisoners in August, most ETA militants were not released.

In the past, the government has not given in to ETA demands and there appears to be little likelihood that Oriol's case will change this policy.

So far, the police have no clue as to the whereabouts of Oriol's kidnapers. The operation was planned with split-second timing, and the commando unit could have reached a hideout in the hills of the Basque country within hours after its escape from Madrid.

According to a top Spanish army general, "Revolutionary activity and separatism will not be tolerated. This is what could lead to an outbreak of widespread violence in Spain."