

# BLACK POLITICS

1985

1st

JULY

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31st JULY

# Indian, coloured MPs had 'profound affect'

Mercury Reporter

THE presence of Indians and coloureds in Parliament had had a profound effect on most of the legislation dealt with by the Government this year, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Minister's Council, said at the weekend.

MM 1/7/85

At a report-back meeting in Ladysmith, the leader of the ruling National People's Party in the House of Delegates said 77 amendments had been made to the Regional Services Council Bill by the standing committee before it was finally approved by the white, coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament.

Earlier, at a symposium to discuss the Bill, Mr Rajbansi explained why the NPP had supported it.

## Amendments

Addressing members of various Natal Local Affairs Committees, rate-payer organisations and community leaders in the Midlands area, he said he supported the Bill for several reasons.

'We supported it only after far-reaching amendments were accepted by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis,' he said, adding that the Bill provided for joint exercise for all race groups, including blacks.

For the first time blacks would be included in a local government structure, he said. Furthermore the Bill provides for development of undeveloped areas and it also compels councils to allocate funds where the need is greatest,' he said. However, he said the NPP had rejected the Local Government Amendment Bill because of its segregated structures which would lead to autonomy.

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# Rival groups separated by width of corridor

11A C. Port 1/7/85

By CATHY SCHNELL  
WHILE the conflict between the UDF and Azapo rages in the townships, their Port Elizabeth leaders run offices on either side of the same corridor.

The offices of the two rivals face each other across the first floor corridor of Court Chambers in Main Street. Only a couple of metres — or less than a stone's throw — away.

In reporting for work the leaders often bump into each other in the passage, and, depending on the severity of the conflict in the town-

ships, offer either pleasantries or snarled accusations.

As yet, no cases of fisticuffs in this neutral territory between the two offices have been reported. Nor have there been any reports of hatchets being buried — in opposing members heads!

The UDF moved into the Court Chambers building first. Recently Azapo followed suit. There's nothing like keeping an eye on the opposition, some people mused.

Living so close to each other does have its

advantages: the two camps are always aware who is visiting who, and can continue their extensive communications without posting any letters or using the telephone.

The Reverend M Maqina, executive member of Azapo, admitted that the passage was a neutral ground for members of the two camps.

"We do greet each other there, sometimes argue and sometimes throw accusations around."

There were no executive members in the UDF offices today.

# More than

NM 11/7/85  
1 000 000

sign up



### African Affairs Correspondent

THE membership of Inkatha has exceeded the 1 000 000 mark and now stands at 1 155 094, the secretary-general of the movement, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, revealed at Ulundi during the weekend.

Speaking during the 10th annual conference of Inkatha, Dr Dhlomo said the Inkatha Youth Brigade had the largest membership of the three wings comprising the organisation. The current membership of the youth section stood at 438 936.

He said the Inkatha Women's Brigade membership was 392 732 and the general membership was 323 426.

### Applauded

A feature of the conference, attended by about 7 000 delegates and observers, was the presence of 11 MPs of the Progressive Federal Party, headed by the Natal leader of the PFP, Mr Ray Swart, and the veteran member for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman.

Chief Buthelezi said he applauded the PFP's decision to throw its doors open to all race groups. Its Parliamentary role demanded that this be done.

And he made it clear that Inkatha had no objection to admitting all races following the repeal of the Political Interference Act, but he added that the organisation did not want to 'rush into a hasty decision' in this connection.

He said that Inkatha should think deeply about the role it played and whether the movement, in fact, should do the same.

### Needed

The history of the struggle for liberation had shown the difficulties which ensued when black organisations opened their doors to all races.

'In part, the very real difficulties between the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the United Democratic Front have roots in this issue,' he said.

The Inkatha president said that the PFP, with a new multiracial membership, might yet find that it needed black partnerships with black organisations which elected black leaders.

'My own political intuitive sense tells me that it would be foolhardy for Inkatha to rush into hasty decisions in this regard,' he said.

'I personally wish to see the scrapping of the Population Registration Act and this would really clear the decks as far as I am concerned.'

The conference passed a resolution accepting the broad principles formulated by the KwaZulu Finance Corporation to guide the drawing up of a KwaZulu Code of Employment Practice.

Delegates requested the committee drawing up the code to have wide consultations with workers in Inkatha as well as with trade union and employer organisations in South Africa, Europe and North America.

Chief Buthelezi escorts Mrs Helen Suzman out of the tent after the official opening of the 10th annual conference of Inkatha. The PFP MP for Houghton received a standing ovation from the 7 000-strong crowd.

## 'Declaration of war'

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THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says he sees recent messages to blacks in South Africa from the external mission of the ANC as a 'declaration of war' on Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi told the Inkatha conference that the ANC-in-exile apparently failed to understand that every attack made on him was an attack made on millions of black South Africans who supported him.

He said the 'cancer' of black-on-black violence for political purposes could easily rip through the body politic and 'maim and destroy generations of progress towards liberation'.

He said President Samora Machel of Moz-

ambique was totally justified in saying bluntly to the ANC's mission-in-exile that it had achieved nothing worth achieving in the armed struggle in the past 20 years and would achieve nothing worthwhile in the next 20 years.

'We are absolutely clear that apartheid is far

more vulnerable to the politics of negotiation than it will ever be to the politics of violence,' he said.

Turning to recent exchanges between himself and President Botha, Chief Buthelezi said the people of KwaZulu could not be 'browbeaten or bullied'.



# Missing leaders perturb groups

IA  
E Post  
1/7/85

By JIMMY MATYU

THE mystery killings of two Cradock civic leaders and the strange disappearance of two others on Thursday last week have been strongly condemned by both the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation in the Eastern Cape.

The two organisations added they were also concerned with the disappearance of other community leaders since the disappearance of student leader, Mr Siphiso Mthimkulu, and his friend, Mr Topsy Madaka, during 1982.

They were reacting to the weekend discovery of the bodies of two community leaders, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, of Cradock, and Mr Fidelo Mhlawuli, of Oudtshoorn, and the still missing Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata, both of Cradock, who all attended a UDF meeting in Gelvandale on Thursday.

Mr Goniwe's car, in which the four were travelling, was found burnt out on the Grahamstown-Port Elizabeth road near the Aldo Scribante race track.

In a statement today, Mr Stone Sizani, publicity secretary for the UDF (Eastern Cape), said the number of missing leaders had now risen to eight.

Those still missing, he said, were Mr Mthimkulu, Mr Madaka, Mr Mobbs Gqirana, who was a former Robben Island prisoner and banned, Mr Goniwe, Mr Calata, and three leaders of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, president, Mr Siphiso Hashe, secretary, and Mr Champion Galela, organising secretary, on May 8.

Mrs Nyameka Goniwe, wife of the missing Cradock civic leader "does not want to be made to believe" that any organisation was involved in his disappearance.

Mrs Goniwe said it was "strange" the incident happened just before the meeting her husband was to have had today or tomorrow with officials of the Department of Education and Training over his application to be reinstated as a teacher.

# World Press expected at probe into Biko medics

NM. 1/7/85

IIA

**Mercury  
Correspondent**  
**JOHANNESBURG—**  
Overseas observers and the international Press will be at a top-level inquiry, starting today, into the professional conduct of the two doctors who treated black consciousness leader Steve Biko before his death in detention nearly eight years ago.

The South African Medical and Dental Council was ordered by the Transvaal Supreme Court earlier this year to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the two district surgeons, Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker, after six South African doctors brought an action urging a fresh

inquiry.

The Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice W G Boshoff, said then there was *prima facie* evidence of 'improper and disgraceful' conduct on the part of the two doctors in a professional respect in their treatment of Mr Biko during the five days preceding his death.

## Historic

The Pretoria Supreme Court hearing was an historic one: it was the first time the council, a statutory body, was legally ordered to hold a hearing.

The Court found a medical certificate on Biko, issued by Dr Tucker at the request of the security police, was 'materially false and misleading'.

The doctor had said on the certificate he had found 'no evidence of any abnormality or pathology'.

## Charges

A spokesman for the South African Medical and Dental Council in Pretoria said yesterday the charges against Dr Lang and Dr Tucker would not be made public before the start of the hearing at 9 a m today.

The disciplinary committee, consisting probably of five doctors, will be headed by the president of the Medical Council, Prof Frans Geldenhuys. The names of the other doctors would be available only at the start of the hearing, the spokesman added.

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sign up

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And he made it clear that Inkatha had no objection to admitting all races following the repeal of the Political Interference Act, but he added that the organisation did not want to 'rush into a hasty decision' in this connection.

He said that Inkatha should think deeply about the role it played and whether the movement, in fact, should do the same.

### Needed

The history of the struggle for liberation had shown the difficulties which ensued when black organisations opened their doors to all races.

Chief Buthelezi maintained that the split between the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress had its roots, in part, in this issue.

'In part, the very real difficulties between the Azanian Peoples' Organisation and the United Democratic Front have roots in this issue,' he said.

The Inkatha president said that the PFP, with a new multiracial membership, might yet find that it needed black partnerships with black organisations which elected black leaders.

'My own political intuitive sense tells me that it would be foolhardy for Inkatha to rush into hasty decisions in this regard,' he said.

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more vulnerable to the politics of negotiation than it will ever be to the politics of violence,' he said.

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# Bodies of missing men found

Mercury Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH—The bodies of two of four community leaders who disappeared after the burned-out shell of their car had been found outside Port Elizabeth on Thursday night, have been found near the car.

The other two men are still missing.  
 Mr Fidelo Mhlawuli, an Oudtshoorn teacher was found after an unidentified caller informed the police of a body in the bush between Bluewater Bay and the sea. He had been stabbed and set alight, and his right hand was severed.

Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, a member of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradock) was found on Friday night, one kilometre from the car. He too had been stabbed and burned.

Two other men, Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata, both Cradock community figures, are still missing.

## UDF members

Lt-Col Gerrie van Rooyen, SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday that the two dead men had been identified by a nephew of Mr Mhlawuli.

Col Van Rooyen said the second body was discovered after a fisherman had telephoned the S A P radio branch and told them where to find the body. Col van Rooyen said the man did not wish to be named as he did not want to get involved.

The men, except for Mr Mhlawuli, who was a teacher, were all members of the Cradock Residents' Association, and committee members of the UDF in the region.

The four men were in Port Elizabeth on Thursday to attend a weekly UDF briefing and were due to return to Cradock the same night.

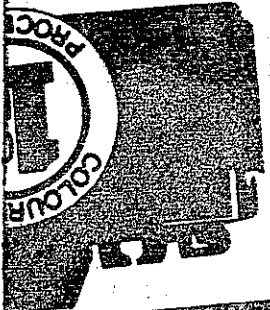
Col Van Rooyen said a charge of murder was being investigated.

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SHOP & PICK UP PAY HYPER, DURBA  
 15 MERCURY LANE, DURBA

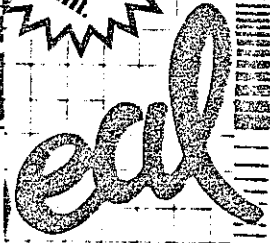
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Page 2

Page 4

Page 6

details



GO FOR RIO

# aid into Ang THE PASSENGER SPECIALS

Cmdt Hennie Henn said from Windhoek that the SWATF pull-out from Angola after Saturday's raid was delayed by renewed fighting and the discovery of arms caches.

The South African Defence Force Chief, Gen Constand Viljoen, had said the soldiers would

withdraw from Angola after the cross-border raid to pursue Swapo members who had stage sabotage attacks in the north of the territory of Friday night.

South African forces completed a negotiate troop withdrawal from southern Angola in mid



DATCENTRE

## Mr Beatles' Rolls

oyce once bought in erday for R4 180 000 by a

young people at the fair,' he said. Bidding opened at R160 000 and in seconds. John Lennon bought the car in 1966.

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CPK T 1315 117KS  
PAC leader  
dies in Harare

GABORONE. — The chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr John Nyathi Pokela, 59, died in hospital in Harare yesterday morning.

Mr Pokela, who spent 13 years on Robben Island, became one of the founder fathers of the PAC in 1959, after the Africanists broke away from the ANC over the Freedom Charter in 1958. — Sapa

APGAS 1/7/85  
(11#)

# SA church 'awakened by voices of oppressed'

Staff Reporter

THE church in South Africa was being "awakened from its sleep" by the voices of the poor and oppressed, the Rev Sid Luckett told a United Democratic Front meeting held on the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

About 700 people attended the meeting at Athlone civic centre yesterday.

The Freedom Charter, blueprint of many non-racial organisations including the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front, was adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955.

Mr Luckett recalled that the Rev Trevor Huddleston had "rebuked" the church for being slow to join "the struggle for



Rev Luckett

freedom", before the formation of the charter.

"But at last there are signs that the church is stirring from its sleep, awakened by the voices of the poor and the oppressed," Mr Luckett said.

Referring to President P W Botha's claim that a group — including Mr Luckett — arrested during a protest march to Parliament had sought the downfall of South Africa, Mr Luckett said: "We don't want the downfall of the country, but we will pray for the downfall of the present regime."

## PFP CRITICISED

The chairman of the Atlantis Residents' Association, Mr Noel Williams, said it was clear that none of the demands of the Freedom Charter had been met by the Government.

He criticised the Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, and the PFP for planning to spend R10-million on recruiting coloured voters while there was severe poverty was in South Africa.

# Inkatha in merger?

CLOSER ties — even a possible alliance — between Inkatha and the Progressive Federal Party are on the cards following Inkatha's congress in Ulundi, at the weekend.

11/7/85  
The congress was attended by 10 of the PFP's 27 members of Parliament and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was warm in his praise of the party.

"The PFP's presence

IA  
here today indicates that discussion and negotiations can bridge the gulf which apartheid has established between black and white," Chief Buthelezi told several thousand supporters at the congress. Sowetan

"I have a growing sense of confidence that we will sit side-by-side around a future negotiating table," he said to applause.

Chief Buthelezi complimented the PFP for its courage in opening its membership to all races, but said Inkatha would postpone its decision on whether to do the same.

"The history of the struggle for liberation has shown the difficulty with which black organisations open their doors to all races."

In a three-hour speech which criticised tactics and stressed the importance of negotiations, Chief Buthelezi said that only a national endeavour could avert tragedy in South Africa.

His rapprochement with the PFP is significant at a time when the

repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act is causing a re-alignment of Political movements.

However, a possible stumbling block in the Inkatha-PFP relationship could come over the nature of the co-operation between the parties, while Inkatha members favour an alliance, PFP sources would prefer Inkatha members to join their party.

This would mean a flouting of the principle that a person may not belong to two parties, but the PFP might avoid this by describing Inkatha as a "cultural liberation movement".

An Inkatha source said he did not think members would want to join the PFP but believed they would be willing to co-operate.

The congress, which celebrated Inkatha's 10th anniversary, was attended by diplomats from Britain and the United States and a delegation from the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

Articles 2/1/86

11/1/86

# UDF and Azapo — an unbridgeable chasm?

KEN VERNON of The Argus bureau in Port Elizabeth talks to the two black political groups in the Eastern Cape which are at each other's throats

ONE metre separates the warring Azapo and UDF factions in the Eastern Cape.

That is the distance across a narrow hallway in a central Port Elizabeth building where the offices of the two organisations face each other.

But the narrow, footworn hallway is an impossibly wide chasm, filled with a record of comrades killed and homes destroyed in two months of violent warfare between the ideologically opposed groups.

"It really is ironic," says Azapo general secretary Mr Mbulzeli Dukumbama, sitting in the Azapo office while UDF members jostle in the hallway.

"When I bump into those guys in the hallway outside, we nod at each other and pass.

"But if we see each other hours later in the township, we may easily end up trying to kill each other."

But each side says it is up to the other to cross the narrow passage to begin discussions that could end the killing and destruction.

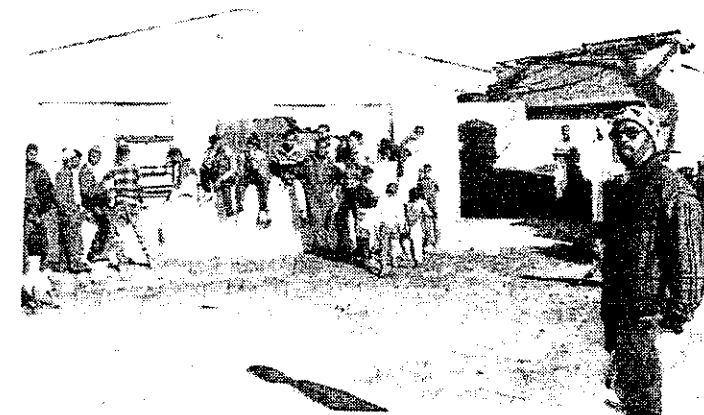
So far, at least eight people have died in the fighting.

And more than 80 houses have been destroyed in fire-bombings and inevitable reprisals.

Yet the outbreak of fighting was the result of a skirmish between school children supporting the rival groups.

According to the vice president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr H M Fazzie, the conflict began at the funeral of a victim of the unrest in the area during April this year.

"When the time came for the youth to be buried, Azapo and the Port Elizabeth black Civic Organisation (Pebco), a UDF affiliate, both claimed



Azapo leader the Rev Ebenezer Maqina (right) and some of the 70 youths guarding his house, which has been turned into an armed base

"I was called in by Pebco and persuaded them to allow Azapo to claim the youth for the sake of peace.

"However, at the funeral, some school children who support the UDF were taunted by Azapo youths, and they replied by singing UDF songs, upon which the Azapo youths assaulted them.

"Some of our supporters heard of this and abducted an Azapo leader for a time, and Azapo responded by abducting some UDF people — from then on things just escalated."

But the head of Azapo in the Eastern Cape, the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, says the conflict began when the UDF tried to exclude Azapo from participating in the burials of unrest victims, claiming it represented all the victims in order to claim a prominent position in the fight against the Government.

"It was from that time, when we were even denied the right to attend the funeral of the Langa victims, that we could see that a physical confrontation was inevitable," he said.

"The UDF want to claim to be the only voice of the people, and to that end they have decided they have to eliminate Azapo."

Whatever the beginnings of

Mr Derrick Swartz, general secretary of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, says that while the UDF is committed to a non-racial solution to South Africa's political problems, Azapo has adopted a black consciousness standpoint which demands that only blacks can be involved in the struggle to liberate them from white domination.

"Azapo are committed to working toward a black socialist Azania, while the UDF has no mandate from its 660 affiliated organisations to work towards any specific solution," says Mr Swartz.

"This is one of Azapo's problems — they confuse us with a politically motivated party such as themselves, and then accuse us of being too moderate.

"Azapo claim that the black working class must lead the revolution, and that they are the vanguard of the working class, but in fact they are just a bunch of arm-chair revolutionaries.

"The UDF, on the other hand, is involved in issues, such as the new constitution, that affect black people now — we say we cannot go beyond what the people understand and want now."

The first serious confrontation between the two groups occurred on the night of May 3 when a firebomb was

thrown, aged three and five, were burnt to death. Mrs Mayekiso was badly burnt and close to death for several days.

That night another Azapo supporter, Mr Mareksi Tshisa, was stoned to death.

Since then five more Azapo supporters have been killed, as have at least three UDF supporters, and at least 80 homes have been destroyed.

Azapo, who have suffered more in the fighting, have since set up armed bases where its leaders are constantly guarded and homeless supporters are housed.

A tour of the home of Azapo leader Mr Maqina showed room after room filled with mattresses, most with people sleeping on them.

"We have to sleep in shifts here," said Mr Maqina. "There are about 70 people staying at my house. Many of them have had their own homes destroyed in UDF petrol-bomb attacks."

The confrontation has taken an ominous turn in the past two weeks, with two hand-grenade attacks on Mr Maqina.

A grenade thrown at his car bounced off and failed to explode, and then another was thrown at his house, and a young guard suffered shrapnel wounds when it exploded. Several shots were fired by the attackers, Mr Maqina said, but no one was hit.

Most township residents ask: where will it end?

One conciliation meeting between the warring groups, organised by the Interdenominational Ministers' Association, ended in failure — and more attacks.

"It is up to the UDF to control their unruly and uncontrolled elements before we can talk," says Mr Maqina.

"My office is always open for them to come and discuss peace," says Mr Fazzie.

Both believe that the Government is sitting on the sidelines happily watching them fight. And there have



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Yet the outbreak of fighting was the result of a skirmish between school children supporting the rival groups.

According to the vice president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr H M Fazzie, the conflict began at the funeral of a victim of the unrest in the area during April this year.

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Whatever the beginnings of the power struggle between the two groups, it is the deep-seated ideological differences between them which has fuelled the fighting, and made compromise almost impossible.

Mr Derrick Swartz, general secretary of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, says that while the UDF is committed to a non-racial solution to South Africa's political problems, Azapo has adopted a black consciousness standpoint which demands that only blacks can be involved in the struggle to liberate them from white domination.

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The first serious confrontation between the two groups occurred on the night of May 3 when a firebomb was thrown at the home of Mr M Mayekiso, an Azapo supporter.

Mr Mayekiso was out, but his wife and two young children were at home. The chil-

dren, aged three and five, were burnt to death. Mrs Mayekiso was badly burnt and close to death for several days.

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Both believe that the Government is sitting on the sidelines happily watching them fight. And there have been suggestions that a "third force" may be actively promoting the violence.

But between the offices across the narrow hallway, the fighting and killing goes on.

# SOWETAN

TUESDAY, JULY 2, 1985

27c + 3c GST (PWV) Elsewhere 35c

# BIKO

Two doctors facing probe

*(Rtl) Sowetan 11A 2/5 2/7/85*

# HEARING



TWO white doctors who treated Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died in detention in 1977, were yesterday accused of lying and failing to keep proper records when they appeared before a disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council.

Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker appeared before the council's disciplinary committee in Pretoria on two charges of improper or disgraceful conduct.

They have pleaded not guilty. They are accused of having failed to comply with their professional responsibilities when they treated Mr Biko shortly before he died in September 1977.

### False

According to the summonses issued against them, the council alleges that Dr Lang had issued a false certificate stating that he had examined Mr Biko and had found no evidence of abnorm-

To Page 2

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HEARING: Steve Biko who died in detention on September 12, 1977.

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ality or pathology on the detainee. He did this after a request from the Security Police. U.P.

Dr Colin Hersch, a specialist who performed a lumbar puncture on Mr Biko, said analysis had shown that Mr Biko had suffered a brain damage and was also limping. His speech was slurred. "I recommend that he be hospitalised but was told that the police will not permit that", Dr Hersch said.

Both doctors are also alleged to have allowed their care of the patient to be unduly influenced by the views and opinions of others to the effect that the patient was possibly "feigning" illness.

"You subordinated the interests of the patient to the wishes and preferences of the security police", the council said.

The allegations against Dr Lang are that he:

- Allegedly wrote a false statement on October 11, 1977 stating that Mr Biko had given him a good account of himself at the time when he (Dr Lang) was aware that Mr Biko had suffered from an organic lesion of his brain. He also neglected to mention in his report that when he arrived at the Sanlam Building in Port Elizabeth on September 7, he had found Mr Biko in handcuffs and or leg irons;
- Failed to object to the decision by the police that the patient be transported from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria by means of a Land Rover car. He failed to take a proper history from the patient and also to enquire about the injuries he sustained;
- Failed to observe an injury on the patient's forehead near his left eye and on the mouth;

- Failed to ensure that the patient be removed from room 619, Sanlam Building in Port Elizabeth to a place where he could be adequately examined;
- Recommended that the patient be transferred from the Sydenham Prison Hospital to the Walmer police cells and failed to stop the police from using leg irons or handcuffs on the sick man;
- Failed to keep the patient under proper personal observation.

His co-accused, Dr Tucker allegedly:

- Failed to mention in his report he had found Mr Biko handcuffed by one ankle to a grille in a room on September 8;
- Falsely stated that Mr Biko was mentally alert "but answered questions in an indistinct manner which might have been due to the swelling of his upper lip";
- Failed to enquire from the patient or others on

September 8, circumstances under which the clothing and bedding of the patient had become wet with urine;

- Failed to spot the injuries and to stop the police from using handcuffs on the patient;
- Allowed the patient to be transported to Pretoria when he (Dr Tucker) had earlier found him "frothing at the mouth, hyperventilating, apathetic and un-

able to communicate and had been informed that the patient had collapsed," and

- Failed to insist that the patient be transported by ambulance and that he be accompanied by a medical attendant. He also failed to ensure that a medical report relating to the patient be sent with the patient to Pretoria.

The hearing continues.

# Biko case: two doctors face lengthy charge list

Star 11/7/85  
11A  
By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

The two "Biko doctors" were today formally accused of failing to make accurate diagnoses and of not providing professional medical care to Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko in the five days before his death in detention in 1977.

Dr Ivor Ralph Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker, respectively district surgeon and chief district surgeon of Port Elizabeth at the time, are appearing before a disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council in Pretoria.

Both men pleaded not guilty to a long list of charges of medical misconduct.

Mr Biko died in a Pretoria prison in September 1977 after 26 days in detention.

Other charges facing the doctors include:

- The falsification of medical reports detailing his physical condition during the last few days he was alive.

## 'MANIFEST URGENCY'

- Failing to notice the "manifest urgency" of his situation in the period between September 7 and September 11 1977.
- Not keeping proper notes and records of their dealings with him.
- Failing to notice a wound on his temple.
- Failing to get details of Mr Biko's previous medical history.
- Subordinating the best interests of their patient to the wishes of the Security Police.

The two doctors are also charged with not doing anything to prevent Mr Biko from being taken from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria in a Land-Rover, even though Dr Tucker was aware Mr Biko had been hyper-ventilating, and frothing at the mouth and had collapsed.

Dr Tucker is charged with failing to arrange a medical attendant to look after Mr Biko on his journey, and not ensuring the detainee's medical report went with him.

Dr Lang is charged with issuing false medical certificates.

CAPT Tumbis  
sday, July 2, 1985

11A  
7/2/85

# Councillor's house destroyed

From SOPHIE TEMA

JOHANNESBURG. — The house of Soweto councillor Mr Michael Madikane was destroyed in a petrol bomb attack on Sunday night.

The official residence of the mayor of Soweto, Mr Edward Kunene, was also bombed, but there was no damage.

A relative of the Madikanes said the bombing occurred shortly after a church service on Sunday to commemorate the signing of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown in 1951.

Last week the home of councillor Mr Julius Mdlalose, chairman of the Soweto Town Council's housing committee, was attacked by a group of people, all wearing balaclavas.

He and his family fled their home and sought refuge with neighbours.

● In Welkom, two cars belonging to the Rev J Pathe, the Orange Free State regional chairman of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), were set alight at his Thabong home at the weekend. Mr Pathe is also chairman of the Thabong Residents Action Committee.

● Sapa reports that in Durban a House of Delegates MP, Mr A K Pillay, of the Solidarity Party, had a narrow escape yesterday when two petrol bombs hurled at his home in Merebank. Durban, failed to explode.

"I shouted to my family to get out of the house. I ran to the car and pushed

the bottle off the bonnet while my family managed to put out the other bomb's flames," Mr Pillay said.

"Luckily the bombs did not explode. They could have caused a lot of damage."

He could not say who was responsible for the incident, as he had "no enemies".

● In Hobsonville near Oudtshoorn, the Development Board offices were extensively damaged by fire yesterday. There were no reported injuries or arrests, police said.

● In Port Elizabeth, extensive damage was caused yesterday in Kwazakale township where buses, delivery and municipal vehicles were stoned and petrol bombed. Police said a police patrol vehicle was also damaged in a stoning incident.

In Walmer township police used birdshot on two occasions to disperse groups of stone throwers. While in Aberdeen near Graaff-Reinet, police arrested 14 people after dispersing a crowd with tearsmoke. In another incident in the township, a policeman's house was stoned. A black youth was slightly wounded, medically treated and arrested on a charge of public violence.

In Petrusville near De Aar, police arrested eight men on charges of public violence after dispersing a mob with birdshot.

Transkei  
minister  
murdered

UMTATA. — Transkei's Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Mr Cromwell Diko, was found shot dead in his car at the weekend at Tabankulu.

The Transkeian Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima, announced Mr Diko's death in the National Assembly and said he would give full particulars today on the incident.

The head of the Security Police, General Leonard Kawe, said Mr Diko's body had several bullet wounds. Police have refused to release details of the murder, but reports reaching here said Mr Diko was travelling back from a traditional feast in his official car when a gunman opened fire on him.

He was not hit immediately and the gunman was apparently joined by a second, who opened the door of the car and shot Mr Diko. He died on his way to hospital.

No motive for the killing has emerged.

Mr Diko joined the Legislative Assembly in 1963 as a member of the ruling Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP), but in 1968 joined the minority Progressive Federal Party. He was also a member of the Democratic Party before rejoining TNIP for the 1976 general election when Transkei became independent.

He was regarded as a volatile member of the Assembly and often made controversial speeches. — Sapa

# ANC seeks revenge for SADF raid

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — The African National Congress (ANC) has overwhelmingly endorsed a series of hardline policy changes which will, if implemented, escalate its underground war and strike at "soft" civilian targets.

According to sources close to the ANC leadership the secret 10-day conference, which ended in Kabwe near Lusaka amid stringent security last week, was characterised by almost total unanimity for the new hardline approach.

Decisions overwhelmingly endorsed by the 250 delegates who attended the conference included:

- A resolution approving the escalation of the ANC's military activity to include striking at "soft" or civilian targets.

## Avoid talks

- A hardline decision to avoid all official contact or talks with the South African Government or its representatives.

- A re-affirmation of the ANC policy calling for disinvestment and economic sanctions against South Africa.

- The unanimous endorsement of a "council of war" strategy. Delegates repeatedly chanted the slogan "Mayihlome" (let us go to war) and demanded revenge for the deaths of ANC colleagues in the Gaborone raid.

- The election of several hardline radicals along with congress stalwarts onto the ANC executive and the formation of a "council of war" including senior members of the ANC executive and the leadership of Umkhonto We Sizwe — the ANC's military wing.

## Grassroots

The overwhelming grassroots support for a policy of striking at "soft" targets surprised even the ANC leadership which has warned in recent years that it is inevitable that civilians will get caught in the crossfire of an escalating guerilla war.

The "soft target" decision could dramatically change the nature of conflict in South Africa but ANC sources do not believe that it will lead to the indiscriminate killing of whites or assassination of white political leaders as some reports have suggested.

The sources indicated, however, that there could be a repetition of incidents like the controversial Pretoria bomb blast in which 18 people were killed.

## Supermarket

There could also be an escalation of attacks on black "collaborators" such as councillors and black policemen.

Some sources believe the ANC could implement its new "soft target" policy with an attack on a shopping centre or supermarket in a white area.

The new 30-strong ANC executive faces a dilemma, however, in implementing the soft target policy because the imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, has spoken against such a policy and has described the Pretoria bomb blast as a "mistake".

The consultative conference — the first in 16 years — was called specifically, among other things, to review ANC military strategy after the setback following the Nkomati Accord when its fighters were kicked out of Mozambique.

## Heated

Since then, however, the situation in Southern Africa has changed dramatically and recent statements by the ANC leadership have emphasized the need to capitalise on sustained internal resistance.

ANC sources at the conference said that debate was heated and charged with emotion.

The South African commando raid into Gaborone strengthened the arguments of the hardliners who had been calling for a long time for tougher military tactics.

Occurring two days before the conference, even those ANC members who would otherwise have argued against the decision, were pushed into a position where they had no option but to back the hardliners.

The conference also voted overwhelmingly against talks with "homeland" leaders.

The delegates are understood to have voted for talks only if President Botha was prepared to discuss how to dismantle apartheid.

Two unpopular old-guard members of the ANC executive — Mr Andrew Masondo, a security commissar, and Mr John Motsabi — were dropped from the executive by popular vote.

# UDF man killed in PE unrest

By JANE CONYNGHAM

A SUPPORTER of the United Democratic Front was reported killed in renewed violence between the UDF and Azapo in Kwazakele today.

This follows an outbreak of faction violence in the townships overnight in which the homes of at least five Azapo officials were burnt.

In Kwazakele today a crowd of angry Azapo supporters, who had regrouped after attacking a nearby house, were dispersed by police using tearsmoke and rubber bullets.

A spokesman for the police public relations division in Pretoria said the body of a man aged 30 was found.

He had been hacked to death. Two other men had also been hacked and were removed to hospital immediately.

The vice-president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Henry Fazzie, said the home of the UDF president in the Eastern Cape, Mr Edgar Ngoyi, was stoned today.

Mr Ngoyi's home was undergoing repairs following a petrol bomb attack a few weeks ago.

Mr Ngoyi is awaiting trial on a murder charge and has been refused bail.

● Turn to Page 3

# UDF man killed in PE

● From Page 1

Mr Fazzie said violence was escalating in Kwazakele today, specially in the Magaleni section.

People were milling about the streets and the situation was very tense, he said.

Five homes belonging to Azapo members were burnt down last night in Kwazakele.

The regional chairman for Azapo in the Eastern Cape, Mr Sonwabo Ngxale, said Azapo members camping at a house in Njoli Street, were attacked by UDF supporters early today.

Mr Ludwe Masholugi, Mr Zimlindile Hule and a third Azapo member were badly injured during the attack and were admitted to Livingstone Hospital, he said.

Extensive damage was caused today in Kwazakele when buses, delivery and municipal vehicles were stoned and petrol-bombed.

● Hundreds of black staff members at Port Elizabeth Provincial Hospital were sent home at lunch-time today as violence flared in the city's townships.

Nearly 400 nurses, cleaners and gardeners left on the advice of the police.

At Dora Nginza Hospital in Zwide, staff remained on duty and the superintendent, Mr Phillip Malberbe, said the number of patients being treated in casualty was increasing. Five people suffering from burns were taken to hospital by ambulance just before lunch.

Ambulancemen also removed the body of a man.

● See Page 10



# ANC in Lusaka hit by bomb

The Star's Foreign  
News Service

*Star 2/7/65*  
LUSAKA — The African National Congress offices in the centre of Lusaka were rocked last night by an explosion believed to have been caused by a bomb left outside a security gate.

The steel gate was blown off its hinges and windows in nearby buildings were shattered — but there was no major damage.

An ANC spokesman said there was an exchange of gunfire at the scene of the blast. It is believed, however, that the shots came from security guards who fired at random when the bomb went off.

Police and troops cordoned off the area and sealed off an alley leading to the building. The cordon was still there late this morning.

The spokesman said no further details could be given until the organisation had completed its own investigations.

# Biko case findings still to be ratified

Stat 8/17/85

Pretoria Correspondent

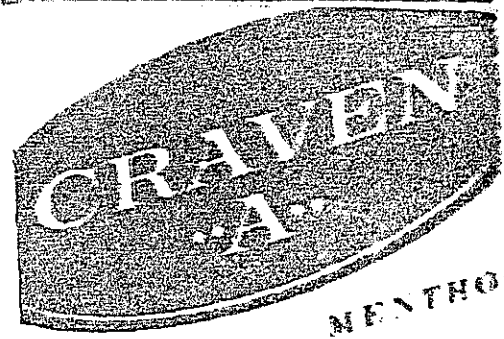
The findings and sentences imposed on the two Port Elizabeth district surgeons who treated Mr Steve Biko before his death in detention, will come before the full South African Medical and Dental Council for ratification between October 14 and 16.

Mr Don Brunette, Attorney-General of the Transvaal, said today the records of the SAMDC inquiry would be studied to determine if any new facts emerged during the hearing.

But the full council still had to confirm the findings of the committee and any decision on the possible reopening of the Biko case would only be taken then.

On Friday the committee recommended a three-month suspension suspended for two years on Dr Benjamin Tucker, chief district surgeon of Port Elizabeth who was found guilty of improper and disgraceful conduct in sanctioning Mr Biko's transfer without adequate medical care from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria in a Land Rover.

Dr Ivor Lang, was cautioned and reprimanded after being found guilty of improper conduct for failing to keep correct records of his findings and compiling misleading reports about the condition of Mr Biko.



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...to extremely important to any company, because

...is worth his weight ... as R40 000 p.a. or

THE OFFICIAL ... SIVE COURSE IN ... SING MANAGEN

# Five die in Rand E Cape unrest

Cape Times - 3/7/85

**Own Correspondent**  
**PORT ELIZABETH.** — Unrest claimed five more lives, police reported yesterday.

In KwaZakele, Port Elizabeth, a man was hacked to death while another was shot by police, and three people — including two children — died in blasts on the East Rand.

A United Democratic Front supporter, Mr Vuyi Mfuthwana, 30, who was hacked to death was the victim of renewed feud between the UDF and the Azanian Peoples' Organization.

His body was found after a group was dispersed with tearsmoke and rubber bullets, police said.

According to relatives, Mr Mfuthwana was stabbed and hacked near his KwaZakele home by about 100 Azapo supporters armed with knives and axes.

Five men were injured and are in a serious condition in hospital.

Another man died after police fired tear-smoke and birdshot to disperse a crowd who had gathered illegally in Kwazakele, police said.

In Tembisa on the East Rand, two children aged six and 10 died and their father was seriously injured when a hand-grenade was thrown through the window of their home yesterday.

The 59-year-old father, Mr William Mothele, was taken to Tembisa Hospital and his condition last night was reported to be "serious but stable".

In a separate incident, an explosive device which detonated under the steps of a Tembisa shop killed a woman and injured three men. Damage to the shop was extensive, police said.

In another incident on the East Rand, a hand-grenade exploded after it bounced off a police vehicle it was thrown at. No one was injured.

As unrest escalated in Port Elizabeth townships yesterday, buses were withdrawn at 1pm and more than 400 workers at Port Elizabeth's Provincial Hospital were sent home on the advice of the police.

Police reported that a number of houses, shops and a school were damaged in petrol bombings in Port Elizabeth's townships.

● Sapa reports that three UDF members from Oudtshoorn who were detained by security police last Thursday were released yesterday morning. They are Mr Reginald Oliphant, Mr Humphrey Joseph and Mr Clive Stuurman.



Star  
3/7/85

# SADF 'not responsible for bomb'

119

Pretoria Bureau

A spokesman for the South African Defence Force has categorically denied the SADF was responsible for Monday's bomb attack on the African National Congress headquarters in Lusaka.

The ANC has accused the SADF of causing the blast. They said agents of the Pretoria government were responsible for bombing its offices.

But the SADF spokesman said this morning that South African forces had in no way been involved in the incident.

Windows were shattered and pieces of metal from the gate were found up to 30 m away — but no one was injured.

The ANC statement condemned the "violation of Zambia's territorial integrity" and the threat it posed to the lives of the Zambian people.

# Slain man's wife is pregnant

3/7/85  
E. Post  
IIA



The first person in the search posse to stumble across the bodies of Cradock community leader, Mr Matthew Goniwe, and Mr Fort Calata, was Warrant Officer FANIE ELS (right) of the murder and robbery squad. Making entries in his diary is Lieutenant-Colonel ERIC STRYDOM, head of the squad. The bodies in the photograph have been obscured.

Picture by Evert Smith

THE widow of the 28-year-old Cradock community leader and school-teacher, Mr Fort Calata, is expecting the couple's third child in about two weeks time.

idea that the charred body had any link with the burnt-out wreck of Mr Goniwe's car which was found about 10 kilometres away.

The charred bodies of Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Calata were found yesterday in a clearing near St George's Strand during a combined security forces search.

Only on Saturday afternoon did a nephew of Mr Mkhonto identify the body.

According to Mrs Nyameka Goniwe, widow of Mr Goniwe and a close friend of the Calata family, 29-year-old Mrs Sheila Calata is expecting the baby "any day".

Col Van Rooyen said police had tried throughout Friday to contact the Goniwe family in Cradock and only late on Friday night were they able to make contact with the family, who said Mr Goniwe was in PE.

The police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, was asked today to explain why the impression had been given that the police had not searched for the missing Cradock community leaders.

On Saturday a passing fisherman came across the body of one of the four, Mr Ficelo Mhlawuli, an Oudstroom primary school principal, between Bluewater Bay and the beach.

He said a team from the Eastern Cape murder and robbery squad searched for three days for the missing men.

A team from the murder and robbery squad searched the bush in the vicinity on Sunday, Monday and yesterday.

Col Van Rooyen sketched the background to the investigations since the discovery on Friday afternoon of the body of Mr Sparro Mkhonto, an executive member of Cradock.

A fullscale search party, which included members of the SADF, could not be organised until yesterday afternoon because of the police's tremendous workload in the townships.

At first police had no

Mrs Molly Blackburn, MPC for Walmer, said today that Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata were men of exceptionally strong character and high ideals.

# Killings: UDF

# offer reward

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~ E. Post

3/7/85

**Post Reporter**  
The United Democratic Front is to offer a R5 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of people responsible for the deaths in Port Elizabeth of Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata and two other members of the UDF.

This was disclosed today by Mr Derrick Swarts, general secretary of the UDF in the Eastern Cape. The UDF believe that a South American-style right wing death squad may be responsible for the deaths.

The four were found dead in the veld. Three other senior UDF members have been missing for two months.

The burnt bodies of Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata were found yesterday. The bodies of Mr Sparro Mkhonto and Mr Ficelo Mhlawuli were found on Friday. All were prominent in Cradock community affairs.

A team of national UDF members is expected in the Eastern Cape shortly, along with members of Amnesty International and a standing United Nations Committee on Missing Persons, to investigate the case.

"There is no doubt that this is a political assassina-

tion," said Mr Swarts. "The situation in the Eastern Cape is getting worse, and now people are beginning to go missing without trace."

Mr Swarts said that he was the last person to see Mr Goniwe and the three other dead men alive. This was when he and Mr Goniwe had had a briefing on Thursday night at a Gelvandale house.

"We met every week. He would fill me in on the rural situation and I would brief him on the urban situation in the Eastern Cape," Mr Swarts said.

"The last topic we discussed on Thursday night was the safety of our people. I said he should sleep over in Port Elizabeth rather than risk the long drive back to Cradock, but he just laughed off the idea and said he would not allow anyone stop him."

"We believe that a right-wing political death squad may be operating in the Eastern Cape, and that it is responsible for this terrible crime," Mr Swarts said.

"A short time ago the UDF in Johannesburg revealed that such a group had compiled a hit list of prominent UDF members, including Bishop Tutu. What we are now seeing in the Eastern Cape may be a part of that hit list."

Mr Swarts dismissed the idea that the present feud between the UDF and Azapo in the Eastern Cape could have been connected with the deaths of Mr Goniwe and the other three men.

● In another development, Mr Dan Sandi, an executive member of the Grahamstown Civic Association, alleged today that callers identifying themselves as the killers of the Cradock four have threatened to kill civic leaders in Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and Port Alfred.

Mr Sandi said he and Mr Douglas Rwendela, who administers an educational project in Grahamstown, had received numerous threatening calls today.

He said these had been reported to the police. A friend of the vice-president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Henry Fazzie, who did not wish to be identified, claimed today that Mr Fazzie had received similar calls.

● The community of Cradock's Lingshale township has reacted with outrage to the deaths of Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata.

Mrs Nyameka Goniwe said today there was a feeling of anger and hatred among the community over her husband's death.

"People have been pouring into the house ever since Friday when the bodies of Mr Mkhonto and Mhlawuli were found," she said.

A provisional date of July 13 has been set for the funeral of the four murdered men, and the full national executive committee of the UDF is to attend the funeral in Cradock.

● Another report, picture — Page 3



The head of the Eastern Cape murder and robbery squad of the South African Police, Lieutenant-Colonel ERIC STRYDOM, directs operations yesterday at the start of the search for two Cradock community leaders, Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata. Members of the SADF, detectives and Pressmen combed the area on foot. The party found the bodies in a clearing a few metres from the dirt road between Bluewater Bay and St George's Strand. Picture by Evert Smith.

All Black team for SA tour named — Page 28

  
'On course for tragedy' — Page 3

Former PE man rescues two from sharks — Page 3


## Mob stabs, stones hiker

A PORT ELIZABETH man hitch-hiking on the main road outside Cradock was attacked, stabbed and stoned by a group of about 20 people in broad daylight yesterday.

Mr S F Swanepoel, 29, of Third Avenue, Cradock Place, was rescued by a member of the SA Defence Force who happened to be driving past.

He rushed the injured Mr Swanepoel to Cradock Hospital. A police spokesman in Pretoria said Mr Swanepoel was "out of danger".

The spokesman said Mr Swanepoel was surrounded and attacked at about 10.45am yesterday.

  
Dakin's Aussie links — Page 11

EP players shine at Bok rugby trials — Page 26



*SAPA Times 3/7/85*  
**SA denies  
blasting ANC**

LUSAKA. — A bomb damaged the Southern African headquarters of the African National Congress here on Monday night and both the ANC and the Zambian Government blamed South Africa. But an SADF spokesman denied South African involvement.

The ANC said in a statement the explosion destroyed a gate outside its offices and broke windows.

A Zambian Government statement said the bomb was part of South Africa's policy to destabilize the region.

But in Pretoria an SADF spokesman said: "I can categorically deny any suggestions of Defence Force involvement or of South African involvement." — Sapa-AP



# Grenade blasts home of former councillor

Staff Reporter

A GRENADE exploded in the Guguletu home of former community council member and owner of the KTC Bazaar, Mr Leslie Kakaza, early yesterday morning.

It was the seventh bomb attack in the Peninsula in the past month and the fifth attack on Mr Kakaza's property since he became involved with the community council in 1979.

No one was injured in the blast, which occurred about 5.07am and slightly damaged furniture and fittings.

Police cordoned off the area around the house in NY78 within minutes, but no arrests were made.

No one has claimed responsibility.

The grenade was thrown through Mr Kakaza's front-room window and exploded on the floor, blasting shrapnel into walls and ceiling.

None of the four people in the house — Mr Kakaza, his wife Mavis, their daughter Jacqueline and a maid-servant, Miss T Stofile — were injured in the



Mr Leslie Kakaza in his home which was damaged by a blast yesterday morning.

blast.

"It was the biggest blast that I have ever heard in my life. I'm surprised that I'm still alive," Mr Kakaza said.

He said he had been singled out for attack because of his involvement with the community council — where he held various posts.

In October, during the

community council elections, Mr Kakaza's home was petrol-bombed. His shop at KTC has also been attacked several times.

In March this year, he stood down from the council and his vacant Guguletu Ward 5 seat will be contested in a by-election in August.

Political Correspondent

THE majority of South Africans regard violence as an acceptable means of achieving political aims, the HSRC has found.

A series of surveys conducted by the HSRC showed that 63 percent of Africans, 40 percent of Indians, 37 percent of coloured people and 30 percent of whites reacted positively to the question on whether it was acceptable to use violence to attain political ends.

One of the surveys showed "convincingly"

# Political violence 'acceptable'

that militancy among Africans was due almost entirely to their feelings of economic deprivation.

The HSRC report blamed much of the high conflict potential characteristic of South African society on the separation and division of people as a result of the government's apartheid policies.

A credibility crisis had developed around the whole socio-political

system that had led increasingly to the use of force as the only basis for maintaining social order.

The HSRC investigation said it was an "indisputable fact" that there would not be much consolation for those who were under the "illusion" that the transition from an apartheid society to a broader

democratically oriented social order would occur

overnight and without a hitch.

In addition, it was misleading to believe that whites had such control over their own destiny that they could dictate the rate, direction and nature of change according to their own needs.

There was also no consolation for those who believed that uncontrolled violence would lead to the ideal society.

On a more positive

side, the report identified various forces which could help improve intergroup relations:

● The government's growing willingness to enter into dialogue with black leaders on the accommodation of Africans' political aspirations.

● Recognition of the rights of Africans to be involved at the highest level of government in

decision-making regarding their own interests.

● Current reform initiatives to repeal or relieve offensive discriminatory measures.

● The irreversible accommodation of Africans, coloured people and Indians in the South African economy.

● The growing willingness among whites to accept Africans as fully fledged South African citizens.

● The increase in interests and associations that cut across the "colour line" and thus promote common interests and values.

CAPC Links 3/7/85 (11A) (11B) (11C) (11D)

# UDF blames 'death squad' for killing

Argus 3/7/85 (11A) (2) (2) (2)

PORT ELIZABETH. — The UDF in the Eastern Cape believes that a right-wing "death squad" may be responsible for the killing of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other prominent members of the organisation.

The United Democratic Front's general secretary in the Eastern Cape, Mr Derrick Swartz, blames the same group for the disappearance of three other UDF members two months ago.

He said today: "There is no doubt that this is a political assassination."

Mr Swartz disclosed today that the UDF was to offer a re-

ward of "at least R5 000" for information leading to the arrest of those responsible for the deaths. He said a high-level national UDF team was due in the Eastern Cape soon with members of Amnesty International and a standing United Nations committee on missing persons to investigate the case.

Mr Swartz said he was the last person to see Mr Goniwe and the others alive — when he and Mr Goniwe attended a briefing on Thursday night at a Gelvandale house.

He had tried to persuade Mr Goniwe to sleep over in Port Elizabeth rather than risk the long drive to Cradock.

However, they had chosen to drive straight home and their intention was not to stop for anyone except somebody in authority.

Mr Swartz believes this is crucial because in spite of Mr Goniwe's car having been burnt, there was no body damage to suggest it had been forced off the road.

"This is a political assassination. Of that there is no doubt and we believe that a right-wing death squad may be operating in the Eastern Cape and is responsible for this terrible crime."

● Burnt bodies found

— Page 3.

# Blood trail traces dying moments

ARGUS 3/7/85

Cont from Page 11A

vor Roux. The bullet struck him a glancing blow on the head. Mrs Roux then went to her bathroom and shot herself.

Mr Trevor Roux later received treatment in hospital for a head wound.

Police who arrived on the scene said it appeared as if Mrs Roux had spent the night contemplating the shootings. Her bed had not been slept in and a Bible lay on top of it.

Letters were found, including a typed note, a letter addressed "to whom it may concern" and a two-and-a-half page letter to her husband.

The contents of the letters have not been disclosed.

Shocked relatives and friends gathered at the Rouxs' single-storey home in Mauritius Road hours after the shootings.

A neighbour, Mr Kevin Hopkins, said: "They were a good family. They used to have reli-

gious meetings at home on Saturday afternoons. I cannot understand why this happened."

Lieutenant Laubscher confirmed that Mr Alec Roux was arrested on Sunday in connection with a fraud allegation.

He was in police custody last night but was released on bail this morning. He had been due to leave for Aliwal North later today to face trial.

A neighbour said she heard noises and sent her husband to investigate.

CAPE/NATIONAL

# Burnt bodies of UDF men found

Argus Bureau

**PORT ELIZABETH** — The five-day search for missing Cradock community leaders and prominent United Democratic Front members Mr Mathew Goniwe and Mr Ford Calata has ended with the discovery of their burnt bodies.

Almost beyond recognition, they were found in a small clearing in thick bush at St George's Strand near here yesterday.

The discovery has confirmed fears for the men's safety after the burnt shell of Mr Goniwe's car was found at the weekend off the main road to Cradock.

The bodies were spreadeagled on the ground almost 2km from where Mr Goniwe's car was found and near the spot where a fisherman found the body of Mr Ficelo Mhlawuli on Saturday. Mr Mhlawuli was in

Mr Goniwe's car when it was last seen heading for Cradock after a UDF meeting in Port Elizabeth last Thursday.

The body of a fourth passenger, Mr Sparro Mkhonto, was found in the bush near the burnt-out car on Monday.

## The worst

The men attended a UDF committee meeting in Port Elizabeth on Thursday and were last seen at 9pm as they drove towards Cradock.

Post-mortem examinations take place today.

Mrs Myameka Goniwe said from Cradock she was "empty" at the death of her husband, but had expected the worst after the discovery of the bodies of Mr Mhlawuli and Mr Mkhonto.

Police did not search for Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata after the discovery of the car and other bodies because they had

not been officially reported missing.

Yesterday afternoon members of the Port Elizabeth Murder and Robbery Squad, aided by troops, scoured the dense bush at St George's Strand. The bodies were found after an hour.

The death of the men is being mourned by community leaders from all walks of life, black and white.

Mr Goniwe rose to prominence when his sacking from a teaching post in Cradock started a 15-month school boycott which spread and paralysed all black schools in the Eastern Cape.

He was held in Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison for several months as the boycott progressed and, when released, his name was placed on the list which prevented him being quoted.



Police at the scene where the bodies of UDF members Mr Mathew Goniwe and Mr Ford Calata were found.

(TIA) J. Asfutu 3/7/85  
**Caretaker council for PAC**

NEW YORK — A caretaker council is expected to be named to head the Pan Africanist Congress until a successor to Mr John Nyati Pokela is chosen. PAC officials were already gathered for a meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, of the Organisation of African Unity's liberation committee when news of Mr Pokela's death reached them. Their presence together is considered fortuitous in helping to contain any power struggle such as took place in 1979. — DDC.

ANC offices in Lusaka hit

11A

~~11B~~

# BOMBED

LUSAKA — The African National Congress offices in the centre of Lusaka were rocked on Monday night by an explosion believed to have been caused by a bomb left outside a security gate.

Sowetan 3/7/85  
SOWETAN FOREIGN SERVICE



ANC LEADER: Mr Oliver Tambo.

The steel gate was blown off its hinges and windows in nearby buildings were shattered, but there was no major damage and nobody was reported injured.

An ANC spokesman said there was an exchange of gunfire at the scene of the blast. It is believed, however, that the shots came from security guards at the building who fired at random when the bomb went off.

### Details

Police and Zambian troops cordoned off the area shortly after the explosion and sealed off an alley leading to the building. The area remained cordoned off late in the morning.

The ANC spokesman said no further details could be given until the organisation had completed its own investigations into the bombing.

The Lusaka office is

believed to house the ANC's main headquarters. It is also understood to play an important role in ANC military operations although the organisation's main training camps are believed to be in Tanzania and Angola.

The South African police claimed recently that the SADF raid on ANC targets in Gaborone on June 14 has uncovered evidence that ANC suicide squads in the Republic were being directed from the Lusaka office.

The ANC offices in Lusaka are inconspicuously situated in a single-story building in Chachacha Road behind a retail shop. They can be reached only through an alleyway.

According to reports here, the ANC had been expecting an attack on the office and were on the alert.

The South African Defence Force has denied any involvement in the

blast which slightly damaged the Lusaka offices of the ANC last night.

A spokesman for the SADF told Sapa yesterday: "The SADF categorically denies any involvement in the blast."

## 2 more UDF bodies found

11A Star 3/7/85  
The bodies of Cradock's, foremost members of the United Democratic Front — Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata — have been found at Bluewater Bay, south of Port Elizabeth.

The discovery yesterday, made after a police and military search by ground and air, means all four political activists who disappeared on evening have been accounted for.

The burnt-out shell of Mr Goniwe's car was left on the Port Elizabeth-Grahamstown road.

The charred and mutilated bodies of Cradock Residents' Association executive member Mr Thomas "Sparrow" Mkonto and Oudsthoorn teacher Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli were found at the weekend.

The bodies found yesterday were only about two kilometres from the spot where Mr Mhlawuli's body had been found.

Residents, puzzled that they were not found earlier, have suggested that the people responsible for the deaths planted the bodies there recently.



# 13 on terrorism charge over guns in caves

11A  
Pietermaritzburg  
Bureau  
THIRTEEN alleged African National Congress members, including a woman, appeared in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday in connection with the discovery of a large cache of arms in

<sup>NM</sup>  
caves in the Ingwavuma area last year. 4/7/85

A 53-page indictment alleges that bases were established in Ingwavuma for the 'recruitment and training of the local populace' in the use of weapons.

Police had to shoot their

way into two caves where the arms were stored. This resulting in the deaths of two trained terrorists, according to the indictment.

The main charge against the accused, who were not asked to plead, was one of terrorism, with alternative charges of il-

legal possession of weapons and ammunition.

The 13 were refused bail after counsel for the Attorney-General of Natal handed in a certificate in terms of Section 30 of the Internal Security Act prohibiting granting of bail.

The hearing was post-

poned by the Magistrate, Mr M A Alexander until October 15 for trial in the Supreme Court at Estcourt.

Among the weapons found were 51 hand grenades, 38 machineguns,

◆ TURN TO PAGE 2

## Terrorism charge

◆ FROM PAGE 1

four pistols, thousands of rounds of ammunition and a variety of banned political literature.

The accused are: Wilfred Mapumulo, 28, of Umvoti, Robert Dumisa, 26, of Nongoma, James Marupeng, 26, of Vosloosrust township, Boksburg, Norbert Buthelezi, 23, of Mahlabatini, Bhekizazi Mthelhuva, 31, of Uboombo, Vusumuzi Nyawo, 30, Amos Mafuleka, 21, Joel Makhunga, 27, Mfinywani Bamali, 41, Dumezweni Myeni, 35, Bofana Mafu, 35, Boy Mvubu, 39, and Nokuhamba Nyawo, 64, all of Ingwavuma.

Mr B Shezi appeared for all the accused. Mr C J van Schalkwyk and Mr R Stuart appeared for the State.

# Street to honour Mandela

WASHINGTON — The Mayor of Washington, Mr Marion Barry, introduced legislation yesterday to rename the street running outside the South African Embassy the Nelson and Winnie Mandela Avenue. ~~Star~~ 11A

"For more than 20 years the Mandelas have been the subject of (South African) oppression that has denied them the basic rights that many of us take for granted. We cannot sit idly by while such oppression continues," Mr Barry said. Star 4/7/85

A spokesman in Mr Barry's office said the proposed Bill was a first step in the legislative procedure, including

approval by Congress, that could take several months to complete.

The move will "send a clear message to the world that those of us in the nation's capital fully support the efforts to free Mandela". There was no immediate comment from the South African Embassy.

● The Greater London Council is to erect a two-metre high bronze bust of Nelson Mandela on the South Bank of the Thames at a cost of R35 700.

The GLC's Labour-dominated Arts and Recreation Committee voted last week to buy the bust and to have it erected outside the Royal Festival Hall. — Sapa-Reuter, Star Bureau.

# Biko doctors fulfilled their duty — counsel

Pretoria Bureau

A disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council has been asked to find that the two doctors who treated Black Consciousness leader Mr. Steve Biko shortly before he died fulfilled their professional duty towards him.

The two Port Elizabeth doctors, Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker, are charged with denying Mr Biko proper medical care in the last few days before

his death in detention in 1977.

Both have pleaded not guilty. *11A*  
Counsel for the pair, Mr Louis Harms, said that many of the charges against the two men did not hold up, and it had not been proved that they were guilty of dereliction of duty. *SA 4/7/78*

The two doctors had made "reasonable" judgments on the symptoms they saw in Mr Biko just before his death.

Earlier pro forma complainant, Mr Willem du Plessis, said the two doc-

tors failed to communicate to other people involved in looking after Mr Biko that he was a very sick man, possibly with brain damage.

If the other parties had known the full facts they would not have sent him on a 1200 km journey to Pretoria Central Prison in a Land-Rover for treatment — but would have accommodated him in a local hospital.

Mr Biko died soon after arriving in Pretoria.

The hearing continues.

# ANGER

By SEFAKO NYAKA

ANGER and revulsion yesterday greeted the news of the brutal and callous murder of two prominent Eastern Cape leaders.



**TV1 (10.37 pm) Hill Street Blues.** The death of four drug addicts at the Hill Street Precinct causes concern among the police department that there is a lot of 'bad dope' out on the streets.

**TV2 (7.24 pm) Ngolwesi.** A potpourri of variety items presented by Bobby Dikili and Jabulani Mdloose with interesting guest artists and musicians. Many cash prizes to be won.

**TV3 (8.01 pm) Molato.** Ke Wa Mang Mushi meets Dikeledi and invites her to a party where they fall in love. While on a picnic together, Mushi's girlfriend arrived and causes trouble.

**TV4 (10.23 pm) Night Court.** An ex-nun falls for Harry and asks him out in the hope of having a closer relationship.

**Bop TV (10.00 pm) Knots Landing.** Tonight is the first episode of a series about the lives and loves of five married couples.

11A And a high level delegation from Amnesty International and a standing United Nations Committee on Missing Persons is due in the Eastern Cape to investigate the case together with a top-ranking United Democratic Front team.

This was disclosed by the UDF's Eastern Cape general secretary Mr Derrick Swartz, who also announced that the Front was to offer a reward "of at least R5 000" for information leading to the arrest of those responsible for the deaths.

## Cruelty

"The violence and cruelty of these murders leaves us with no other conclusion than that the defenders of apartheid are bent on a murderous path of eliminating all popular leaders of the oppressed in South Africa," Mr Murphison Morobe, spokesman of the UDF, said in a statement.

Reacting to the slaying of Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata — whose badly mutilated bodies were found at Bluewaters Bay in

Sowetan 4/7/85

## As more leaders' bodies are found

Port Elizabeth on Tuesday afternoon — Mr Morobe said "we are not going to let this go by. Those who are responsible for the heinous murders should know that the masses shall yet pass judgment on them."

"We view these murderous deeds as an attempt to silence the democratic voices of the people," said the regional chairman of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation in the Eastern Cape, Mr Sonwabo Ngxale.

The secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Beyers Naude, yesterday said the SACC would only be issuing a statement after it had obtained further information on the matter.

Mr Goniwe was to have addressed the annual National Union of South African Students festival at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, last night.

Dr Naude, who filled Mr Goniwe's place at the festival, was expected to make a statement there.

"If these murders don't bring the UDF

and Azapo together, then nothing will. They must close their ranks," Mr Siphso Gamede, a taxi driver at the Diagonal Street taxi rank in Johannesburg, said.

One commuter said the deaths "fill every self-respecting South African with revulsion."

## Brutal

An executive member of the United Mining, Metal and Allied Workers' Union, Mr Enoch Galela, said such "brutal acts will not intimidate the oppressed masses" of this country.

"We know who is responsible for this inhuman and barbaric act," he said.

The murder of the four leaders came almost two months after the disappearance of three other leading Eastern Cape activists.

Mr Siphso Hashe, Mr Qaaqwuli Godolozzi and Mr Champion Galela disappeared without trace after leaving home to pick up a friend at the Port Elizabeth airport.

The UDF has vowed to take every step possible to track down those responsible.

CAPL TIME 4/7/82

# Police, SADF in search

JOHANNESBURG. — Police conducted a house-to-house search in Tembisa early yesterday while members of the Defence Force stood guard.

Residents at Mfuyani Section said the search started at 8am and was conducted by members of the South African Police while members of the SADF stood guard outside the houses which were being searched.

The raid follows two explosions in the township over the past two days.

In one explosion two children were killed when a hand-grenade was thrown into a house, while in the other incident a woman was killed in an explosion at the shop of the local mayor, Mr Lucas Mothiba.

However, a senior East Rand police spokesman said the house-to-house search in Tembisa was not a result of the explosion on Tuesday.

● Meanwhile, in Durban a policeman guarding the home of a House of Delegates MP fired shots at a car early yesterday morning after one of the occupants tried to throw what looked like a petrol bomb at the house.

Mr Mohan Bandulla, opposition Solidarity MP for Havenside, Chatsworth, said he was awakened by two shots outside his home in Hollywood Avenue about 2.30am.

The suspect car was a luxury German model without registration plates.

It was the second such attack, or failed attack, on a Durban MP in the past few days.

Early on Monday, another House of Delegates MP, Mr A K Pillay, Solidarity MP for Merebank, found two unexploded petrol bombs outside his home.

● In Daveyton on the East Rand, police arrested eight men and took possession of nine petrol bombs.

● Police yesterday reported that incidents of stone-throwing, arson and petrol-bombing continued overnight in the Eastern Cape. Police said this was apparently a continuation of a feud between the Azanian People's Organization and the United Democratic Front.

In KwaZakele a SADF member was slightly injured when an army vehicle was petrol-bombed. There were no other injuries or arrests.

In a second incident in KwaZakele, a man was arrested after police dispersed a group trying to set fire to KwaZakele High School and another man was wounded and arrested by police after he allegedly tried to petrol-bomb a policeman's house.

Meanwhile, another round of peace initiatives aimed at ending the feud between supporters of the UDF and Azapo will be arranged soon by the East Cape African Chamber of Commerce (Ecacoc), according to a prominent Azapo member, the Rev Mzwandile Maqina.

SAL Times of TRS

# UDF Deaths Police accused

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front (UDF) claimed yesterday it was the "popular view" that there was police complicity in the recent deaths of four Eastern Cape UDF leaders.

The bodies of two of the men, Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata, were found days after the charred bodies of their travelling companions, Mr Thomas Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mlawuli, were discovered in the burnt-out hulk of their car.

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, said the organization was "deeply angered at the painful and brutal deaths".

He said this incident, and the recent disappearance of three other East Cape community leaders — Mr Siphon Hashe, Mr Champion Galela and Mr Qaqa Godolezi — left all "self-respecting South Africans" with a "deep sense of revulsion".

Since 1981 more than 10 activists in the Eastern Cape had either disappeared or been murdered but no one had been charged.

The police's failure to find leads left "many questions".

He said: "Because of this inability to make any headway, the popular view has become that there is police complicity in these incidents."

A spokesman for the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the statement appeared to be "very harsh".

However, he said, the police wanted to study the statement before responding to it.

● About 300 people paid tribute to Mr Goniwe at a moving session of the Nusas July Festival last night.

The festival is being held on the Wits University campus and was to have been addressed by Mr Goniwe last night.

## Post Focus

### Post Reporter

IN a violent world, Matthew Goniwe was an unlikely hero.

He was a small, trusting man with a big, friendly smile.

Neatly built and mild-mannered, he had no thoughts of being a celebrity and shied away from public speaking.

Being home with his young family appealed to him more than standing in front of an audience.

But he was a brilliant teacher and saw it as his duty to use whatever talents he had to uplift the black community — a duty that extended beyond the classroom at Sam Xhali Junior Secondary School in Ilingelihle, Cradock, where he became acting principal.

In 1983, in the shabby township beyond the school gates, support rallied spontaneously around him for the formation of Cradora, the residents' association that challenged township rent increases and first brought him into conflict with the authorities.

Goniwe was not a seeker of confrontation, and he desperately tried to dissuade children from boycotting classes in his support when three cruel blows dislocated his work and his family life in late 1983 and last year.

First he was transferred to Graaff-Reinet. Then he was dismissed for refusing to go. And finally he was detained.

Throughout the months of his detention, his wife, Nyameka, was as optimistic as he was that the sacrifices would in the end be worthwhile and all would turn out well.

After he was released, the Department of Education and Training even invited him to apply for his old teaching post. His application went in but it was never approved.

At the time of his death last week, Goniwe was rising rapidly as a popular hero.

But he had no personal political ambition for his own sake, other leaders

# Goniwe did not seek confrontation

4/7/85

IIA

E. Post

say. His concern was the people.

Today the black community in Cradock mourns the death of Goniwe and the other three leaders who died with him — Fort Calata, Sparro Mkhonto and Ficelo Mahawuli.

They were found dead in mysterious circumstances near Goniwe's burnt out car on the outskirts of Port Elizabeth. The men were returning to Cradock after attending a United Democratic Front (UDF) briefing in Gelvandale.

At the time of his death, Goniwe had been elected rural organiser of the Eastern Cape region of the UDF, having refused the post of vice-president. He felt he had too many civic commitments in Cradock.

Mrs Goniwe said he hated violence, so much so that he had dropped boxing for yoga. He was bitterly opposed to the apartheid system and was concerned for its victims.

He had suffered detention and harassment, but coped by talking about it, and then laughing it off.

A friend, Mrs Molly Blackburn, said Goniwe was non-political in his personal life, and entered politics because of popular pressure.

She said his ability to appraise current issues, to understand what was right or wrong, was astounding.



MATTHEW GONIWE

As a teacher, using limited resources, he began to churn out students with A and B symbols in science and mathematics.

He waged a campaign against alcohol and sex abuse among the youth, and won their respect.

He was 38 when he died.

As a youngster, Goniwe attended primary and junior school in Cradock, then went to Hill Town boarding school for the final two years. He completed a higher teacher's diploma at Fort Hare and returned home to teach at the Cradock Bantu Secondary School, later to be called Sam Xhali Junior Secondary.

In 1972, he and the late Cradock stalwart, John Hlehlekani, principal of Cradock Bantu Secondary

School, left to teach in Bityi village in Transkei.

After a year they left for the Mqanduli, 40 kilometres outside Umtata where he and Mr Hlehlekani started a school in a dilapidated church hall. They called it the Holomisa Secondary School, later to become a high school.

There he taught until he was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act and imprisoned in 1977 for four years.

At the end 1981 he was released from prison in Umtata. While in prison he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree through Unisa. He majored in education and political studies.

Goniwe then took a post at Nqweba High School in Graaff-Reinet. In his third month there the principal left, and Goniwe was promoted from acting teacher to acting principal.

In 1983 Goniwe was appointed acting principal at the Sam Xhali Junior Secondary School in Cradock.

His wife said: "It was wonderful. The community loved it. Everything flourished. It produced beautiful results. He brought together parents, teachers and pupils."

Later that year the Cradock Youth Association was born. It coincided with the development of a new section of the Cradock township,

which was introduced under a new and perplexing system of "sliding rents". Residents who moved into the new, but essentially identical four-roomed houses, had to pay R54 more than before. They took the houses because there was no other accommodation.

Concern over the rent hike, plus encouragement from those around him, prompted Goniwe to involve himself in civic matters. This was not well-received by the authorities.

In December, 1983, he received a telegram from the Department of Education and Training transferring him back to Graaff-Reinet. He was to start in January, 1984.

But residents met and insisted that he refuse the transfer. His wife said they saw the transfer as a political move to get rid of an emerging community leader.

The schools boycott began on February 3 in protest against his dismissal, and in support for the demand for Student Representative Councils at schools.

It did not end until 15 months later. South Africa's longest schools boycott was finally called off at the insistence of Goniwe and the Cradora executive, which included Fort Calata, whose body was found alongside that of his friend and colleague on Wednesday.

4/7/83 IIA ~~SECRET~~ E. Post  
**Killings: police also offer a reward**

**Post Reporters**

THE South African Police have offered a R1 000 reward for information leading to the arrest of the killers of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata and the two other members of the United Democratic Front.

This is the second reward offered.

Yesterday the UDF offered a R5 000 reward for information leading to the killers being

brought to justice.

These rewards follow the grim finding this week of the mutilated and burnt bodies of Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata on Tuesday.

The bodies of Mr Sparro Mkhonto and Mr Ficelo Mhlawuli, both UDF members and executive members of the Cradock Residents Association, were found last Friday.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, po-

lice Press liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said anyone with any information should contact the murder and robbery squad in Port Elizabeth at 547892.

Yesterday the general secretary of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Derrick Swarts, blamed a right-wing political death squad he believed might be operating in the Eastern Cape for the four murders.

This force were re-

sponsible for the "political assassinations", Mr Swarts said.

⊙ All knowledge of the existence of such a force was denied by a spokesman for the police directorate for public affairs in Pretoria.

The spokesman said all murders would be investigated thoroughly "and if such a force exists it will form part of the investigations".

⊙ See Page 7



# Caretaker council may lead the PAC

**From RICHARD WALKER**  
NEW YORK. — A caretaker council is expected to be named to head the Pan Africanist Congress until a successor to John Nyati Pokela is chosen.

That choice will be determined in South

Africa, a PAC spokesman told a press conference at the United Nations on Monday.

PAC officials were already gathered in Tanzania for a meeting in Arusha of the Organization of African Unity's liberation committee when

news of Mr Pokela's death reached them.

Their presence together is considered fortuitous in helping to contain any power struggle, such as took place in 1979 and led to the murder of Mr David Sibeko, one of a triumvirate who had taken over the chairmanship from Mr Potlako Leballo.

Mr Pokela, who was 63, was released from 13 years on Robben Island in 1980 and was appointed PAC chairman early in 1981. He helped stabilize an organization described by one PAC official as "weakened to the point of disintegration".

Led by the foreign affairs director and UN observer, Mr Gora Ebrahim, the PAC challenged the African National Congress dominance in international organizations and Mr Pokela embarked on series of missions to countries usually regarded as ANC preserves.

ARGAS 4/7/85

# South Africans who mysteriously disappear

JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports from Johannesburg on an alarming trend as black unrest continues — the 'disappearance' of opponents of apartheid

PEOPLE don't simply disappear without trace in this day and age — or do they?

Ask Mrs Nyameka Goniwe of Cradock whose husband, Matthew, disappeared some time last Thursday evening while visiting Port Elizabeth. The gutted wreck of his car was found on the Port Elizabeth-Grahamstown road.

The charred bodies of two of his fellow travellers, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, were discovered at different locations, well away from the wreck. The fourth man in the party, Mr Fort Calata, has also vanished without trace.

Or ask Mrs Pinda Molefe, whose father, Mr Sipho Hashe, set off from his home for Port Elizabeth airport on May 9 with two companions. Casual farewells exchanged that may well have been final goodbyes — for none of the men has been glimpsed by his family since.

Then again one might put the question to the mother of 16-year-old Sowetan Jabu Maluleke, who was reportedly removed from a home-bound train by men in plainclothes on May 10. Since that day life in the Maluleke home has been one of waiting for the return of the first born.

Matthew Goniwe, Sipho Hashe and Jabu Maluleke have one thing in common — they are all leaders of organisations which are vehemently opposed to apartheid and have been part of mass protest action in the last year.

With the exception of Mr Mhlawuli, their fated companions — Mr Mkhonto, Mr Champion Galela, Mr QaQawula Godolozzi — are likewise prominent figures.

Not surprisingly, some human rights groups and progressive political organisations have begun to speak of a programme of systematic elimination of opponents of apartheid by agents unknown.

They remind us that the disappearances and murders take place against an ominous backdrop, where:

□ Popular leaders' homes are petrol-bombed — even the home of a man such as Anglican Bishop Suffragan Simeon Nkoane who has no sectional identity.

□ The smouldering differences between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation are repeatedly stoked by bogus pamphlets, purportedly issued by the two organisations.

□ The UDF and Azapo leadership insist their organisations are not at war, yet battles rage between their members and suspicion that their ranks have been infiltrated by apartheid forces grows.

□ The existence of a "hit list" for the abduction of 14 leaders in Johannesburg and Soweto (including Bishop Desmond Tutu) is revealed.

□ Vigilante groups operate seeming-



The MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, has described the deaths and disappearances of UDF members in the Eastern Cape as "very sinister" and warned that unless "this very suspicious incident" was cleared up it would cause further problems in the townships. She called on the police to get to the bottom of it without delay.

er cases are being treated as missing person investigations and in May a court dismissed with costs an application for the Minister of Law and Order to produce Mr Hashe.

But many people in the Eastern Cape still clearly suspect that their leaders have been bumped off. Some weeks ago, when mass burials were conducted under the supervision of po-

Who are these leaders who are regarded at grassroots level as enough of a threat to apartheid for some pro-apartheid "third force" (as Azapo and the UDF call it) to want them out of the way?

Mr Goniwe, Mr Calata, and Mr Mkonto filled top positions in the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora) which waged rent battles, opposed the local council (which eventually resigned en masse) and supported the pupils' school boycott over a period of about 18 months.

Mr Goniwe — the general secretary of Cradock — was virtually the embodiment of the community struggle in Cradock. The school boycott — which lasted solidly for over a year — was sparked when he was removed from his position as acting principal after playing a leading role in the rent strike.

Mr Calata and Mr Mkonto were Cradock executive members. The Calata name is revered in Cradock. Fort Calata's grandfather was Canon Calata, the first general secretary of the African National Congress.

Mr Calata and Mr Goniwe were among four Cradock men held in preventive detention for six months last year. They were released without charge.

Mr Hashe, Mr Galela and Mr Godolozzi led the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), the body which commanded almost 100 percent support in its March work stayaway in protest at cost of living increases.

Mr Hashe (58), Pebco general secretary, had his home petrol bombed twice prior to his disappearance. He joined the ANC in 1956 — when it was a legal organisation — and was jailed for 10 years for furthering its aims after its banning.

Mr Godolozzi (30) is a founder member of Pebco. He was elected to the position of president in 1982 and has held office since then, becoming the longest serving president of the organisation.

Mr Galela (38) fills the position of organising secretary in Pebco and also belongs to the General Workers' Union.

Young Jabu Maluleke, the youth who was mysteriously taken off a Soweto-bound train at Dube station, is publicity secretary of the local branch of the Congress of South African Students. He was carrying pamphlets concerning a pupil-parent meeting at the time of his disappearance, says a friend who witnessed his removal. Railways Police and the SAP have been unable to

# They suddenly disappear

JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports from Johannesburg on an alarming trend as black unrest continues — the 'disappearance' of opponents of apartheid

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The charred bodies of two of his fellow travellers, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, were discovered at different locations, well away from the wreck. The fourth man in the party, Mr Fort Calata, has also vanished without trace.

Or ask Mrs Pinda Molefe, whose father, Mr Siphon Hashe, set off from his home for Port Elizabeth airport on May 9 with two companions. Casual farewells exchanged that may well have been final goodbyes — for none of the men has been glimpsed by his family since.

Then again one might put the question to the mother of 16-year-old Sowetan Jabu Maluleke, who was reportedly removed from a home-bound train by men in plainclothes on May 10. Since that day life in the Maluleke home has been one of waiting for the return of the first born.

Matthew Goniwe, Siphon Hashe and Jabu Maluleke have one thing in common — they are all leaders of organisations which are vehemently opposed to apartheid and have been part of mass protest action in the last year.

With the exception of Mr Mhlawuli, their fated companions — Mr Mkhonto, Mr Champion Galela, Mr Qaqawula Godolozzi — are likewise prominent figures.

Not surprisingly, some human rights groups and progressive political organisations have begun to speak of a programme of systematic elimination of opponents of apartheid by agents unknown.

They remind us that the disappearances and murders take place against an ominous backdrop, where:

□ Popular leaders' homes are petrol-bombed — even the home of a man such as Anglican Bishop Suffragan Simeon Nkoane who has no sectional identity.

□ The smouldering differences between the United Democratic Front and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation are repeatedly stoked by bogus pamphlets, purportedly issued by the two organisations.

□ The UDF and Azapo leadership insist their organisations are not at war, yet battles rage between their members and suspicion that their ranks have been infiltrated by apartheid forces grows.

□ The existence of a "hit list" for the abduction of 14 leaders in Johannesburg and Soweto (including Bishop Desmond Tutu) is revealed.

□ Vigilante groups operate seemingly unchecked — abducting people and meting out rough "justice" which has cost several lives.

Police in the Eastern Cape have opened murder dockets in the cases of Mr Mkonto and Mr Mhlawuli. The oth-



The MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, has described the deaths and disappearances of UDF members in the Eastern Cape as "very sinister" and warned that unless "this very suspicious incident" was cleared up it would cause further problems in the townships. She called on the police to get to the bottom of it without delay.

er cases are being treated as missing person investigations and in May a court dismissed with costs an application for the Minister of Law and Order to produce Mr Hashe.

But many people in the Eastern Cape still clearly suspect that their leaders have been bumped off. Some weeks ago, when mass burials were conducted under the supervision of police at Zwide cemetery, Port Elizabeth youths refused to believe that the bodies were those of paupers who had died in hospital — they conducted an unauthorised "exhumation" of about 20 bodies to see if their leaders were among the dead.

Who are these leaders who are regarded at grassroots level as enough of a threat to apartheid for some pro-apartheid "third force" (as Azapo and the UDF call it) to want them out of the way?

Mr Goniwe, Mr Calata, and Mr Mkonto filled top positions in the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora) which waged rent battles, opposed the local council (which eventually resigned en masse) and supported the pupils' school boycott over a period of about 18 months.

Mr Goniwe — the general secretary of Cradora — was virtually the embodiment of the community struggle in Cradock. The school boycott — which lasted solidly for over a year — was sparked when he was removed from his position as acting principal after playing a leading role in the rent strike.

Mr Calata and Mr Mkonto were Cradora executive members. The Calata name is revered in Cradock. Fort Calata's grandfather was Canon Calata, the first general secretary of the African National Congress.

Mr Calata and Mr Goniwe were among four Cradock men held in preventive detention for six months last year. They were released without charge.

Mr Hashe, Mr Galela and Mr Godolozzi led the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), the body which commanded almost 100 percent support in its March work stayaway in protest at cost of living increases.

Mr Hashe (58), Pebco general secretary, had his home petrol bombed twice prior to his disappearance. He joined the ANC in 1956 — when it was a legal organisation — and was jailed for 10 years for furthering its aims after its banning.


Mr Godolozzi (30) is a founder member of Pebco. He was elected to the position of president in 1982 and has held office since then, becoming the longest serving president of the organisation.

Mr Galela (38) fills the position of organising secretary in Pebco and also belongs to the General Workers' Union.

Young Jabu Maluleke, the youth who was mysteriously taken off a Soweto-bound train at Dube station, is publicity secretary of the local branch of the Congress of South African Students. He was carrying pamphlets concerning a pupil-parent meeting at the time of his disappearance, says a friend who witnessed his removal. Railways Police and the SAP have been unable to locate Jabu.

Certainly a significant number of significant opponents of apartheid have disappeared. It is impossible to assess whether a similar proportion of people in lesser positions is affected.

Zimbabwe  
burial for <sup>4/7/85</sup>  
PAC leader

 HARARE — The chairman of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Mr John Nyati Pokela, who died in Harare on Sunday, will be buried in Zimbabwe, says the PAC secretary-general, Mr Joe Mkhwanazi.

"There could have been no better place outside Azania to lay to rest a freedom fighter of Comrade Pokela's calibre other than Zimbabwe," he said on arrival at Harare airport yesterday.

The Mr Pokela arrived in Harare on Sunday from Botswana, and was treated in hospital after complaining of a headache. He collapsed and died later that day.

**By SEFAKO NYAKA**

THE ANGER of black people over the disappearance of two prominent members of the United Democratic Front, turned to open revulsion yesterday.

When the disappearance of Cradock leaders, Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata was announced, there were fears that the two men would never be seen alive again.

And yesterday when news about the fate of the two filtered through, it only confirmed the people's fears that there is a systematic programme to eliminate black political activists.

The discovery of the charred and mutilated bodies of Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata at Blue Waters, south of Port Elizabeth, on Tuesday afternoon, signals a new turn in political "assassinations" in South Africa.

Thursday's discovery, made after a police and military search by ground and air, accounts for all four political activists — all members of the United Democratic Front — who disappeared last Thursday evening, leaving only the gutted shell of Mr Goniwe's car on the Port Elizabeth-Grahamstown road as an ominous indication of their fate.

**Bodies**

The bodies of two other Cradock executive members, Mr Thomas "Sparrow" Mkonto and Outshoorn teacher Mr Sicele Mhlawuli were found at the weekend.

This year alone eight people have disappeared — or died — under mysterious circumstances. And all were prominent figures in the black political arena.

• Three leaders of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) disappeared without trace shortly after the successful March stay-away in Port Elizabeth. They are:

Pebco founder member and president, Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, general secretary and former Robben Island prisoner, Mr Sipho Hashe and organising secretary and general workers' Union member Mr Championi Gabela.

• Two months ago the publicity secretary of the Soweto branch of Cosas, Mr Jabu Maluleke was mysteriously taken off a Soweto-bound train at Dube.

However, the "murder" and "abduction" of black political activists is not new. On November 20, 1980, the mutilated body of Durban lawyer Mr Griffiths Mxenge was found near the Umlazi Cycling Stadium.

# Horror discoveries

*11P Sowetan 4/7/85*

The former Robben Island prisoner had 45 stab wounds, a slit throat and his stomach was ripped open and his ears almost cut off.

Former Cosas president, Mr Siphiwe Mtimkulu disappeared without trace outside a Port Elizabeth hospital. He had gone to the Livingstone Hospital for medication.

What is more baffling is that Mr Mtimkulu disappeared after having filed a law suit against the police claiming torture and poisoning.

There are fears in the community that the dead and missing men are victims of a programme of "systematic elimination of anti-apartheid activists" by unknown agents.

But while the fighting between Azapo and the UDF continues, those responsible for the dastardly acts will always have a chance of blaming it on either of the two groups.

Is it not time to unite and in so doing isolate the barbaric murderers? This is the question we should be asking.

About ten years ago top Zimbabwe nationalist, Dr Edson Sithole — who earned a law doctorate while in prison — disappeared without trace in what was then known as Salisbury.



LAWYER: Mxenge

# Turbulent priests

(11A)

(11A) B. Day  
95/7/85

Nobody can say now whether Matthew Goniwe wanted to be buried at Cradock on Saturday under the hammer and sickle of the Soviet Union, a banner of barbarism rivalled in our time only by the Swastika.

But the red flag that flapped behind the mourning priests at his graveside did say something about the cause in which he died.

He was not alone in dying. Nobody who saw the television film of Miss Maki Skhosana killed by fire and beating at another graveside on Saturday can doubt the voracity of that cause, it's appetite for death.

Miss Skhosana, aged 23, was the third "police informer" singled out at a burial on the East Rand in three weeks. The first was saved by Bishop Simeon Nkoane; the second was saved by the heroic intervention of Bishop Nkoane and Bishop Desmond Tutu. Miss Skhosana was unlucky, when she was chosen to die, the priests were marching past the red flag at Cradock.

The priesthood is more sceptical these days of the Virgin Birth than of liberation theory, so the church is unlikely to discern a pattern in the weekly witchhunt for "informers" to be slaughtered on camera.

Frankly, I find it easier to believe the Virgin Birth than to assign these events to chance.

This is not, let me add defensively, the folly of innocence. I have followed the progress of the African revolution southward from the Sudan, where a priest took me in 1960 to examine a village destroyed by troops who suspected its inhabitants of "collaborating" with the Anyanya rebels.

Kenya and Tanganyika, Rwanda and Burundi, Katanga, Angola and Cabinda, Mozambique and Malawi and Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique — I have been on the fringes, or sometimes in the thick of it, all the way, stumbling across the corpses that litter the road to liberation.

Of Miss Skhosana's death I can only say, as Dylan Thomas said of a child's death by fire in London, that after the first there is no other.

But I have no doubt that her death was planned according to modern Marxist revolutionary theory. She was chosen — if you have seen "Apocalypse Now" you will know what discipline is required for the choice — to be the messenger of terror, to warn the community: do not "collaborate". Do not be suspected of it. Do not risk even being accused of collaboration.

The use of a Marxist technique of terror does not necessarily make the unrest in the townships Marxist; the



KEN OWEN

flying of the hammer and sickle is harder to explain, but Bishop Tutu has suggested reasonably that it was perhaps a gesture of defiance.

What is impossible to explain away is the Freedom Charter, in whose name the political protest occurs. The Charter envisages a South Africa in which the banks, mines and "monopoly" businesses will be nationalised and the land divided "among those who work it". The Charter says "there will be a committee of workers to run the gold mines" and "the workers will

take over and run the factories".

This document was drawn up by a group of mainly white people dominated by the Congress of Democrats which the liberals of the time believed, rightly I think, to be a Communist front.

The mouthpiece of the COD — *New Age* — was slavish in its devotion to the Soviet Union, and an apologist even for Soviet misdeeds which were ultimately denounced by Nikita Khrushchev.

Dogs, it was said of *New Age*, bark louder than their masters.

The COD eventually forced the liberals out of the small group who drafted the Charter. The Marxist view prevailed, was written into the Charter, accepted by acclamation (not by vote) at a Congress of the People and split the ANC.

Ever since then there have been determined efforts (starting with Nel-

son Mandela in 1956) to pretend that the Charter does not mean what it says.

The most recent example is an extraordinary assertion in *Frontline* magazine by Wits lecturer Duncan Innes that the aim of the national liberation struggle, "as expressed in the Freedom Charter," is to create a democratic capitalist state.

A "capitalist state" in which workers committees run the factories? In which the land is handed over to the peasants? In which the mines and banks are nationalised?

Innes knows, and describes in detail, how the Communist Party has beaten off all challenges to the extraordinary influence it wields within the ANC. One challenge by an anti-Soviet Trotskyist group ended in the expulsion of the Trotskyists; another challenge from a black nationalist group led by Tennyson Makiwane ended in the expulsion of Makiwane.

(Makiwane, whom I knew as a member of the Liberation Committee of the OAU in the Sixties, fled to Transkei but was pursued there and assassinated. His wife Ruth now works for Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lesi).

There are two important reasons to define the character and the aims of those who claim to lead the fight against apartheid.

The first is that we should know what we are fighting for. The Left is at excessive pains to reassure us that the struggle in the townships is not Marxist. The liberals, the black nationalists, the democrats, the believers in capitalism, the priests, all who were driven out of the coalition when the aims of the revolution were being defined, are now being invited back in.

We can all rejoin the struggle to create a "democratic capitalist state" in which the factories will be run by workers' committees and in which dissidents will, no doubt, be treated according to the admirable penal code with which the Soviet Union cloaks the Gulags.

In short, it's a con.

The second reason is even more important: a non-racial democracy may yet be achieved by reform. The elimination of racism is something in which we can all join our endeavours, socialist and capitalist, black and white, cleric and layman.

A Marxist revolution can come only by war — a war fought by the methods of terror and counter-terror that began last week with the death of Miss Skhosana and the declaration of the state of emergency.

Whatever emerges from the struggle, it will not be liberty

## What was really said

The strategies of the African National Congress (ANC) are almost certain to take a more radical and violent turn following the election of a number of young hardliners into the national leadership.

In Kabwe, Zambia, the ANC's National Consultative Conference elected 11 new faces and increased the national executive committee from 22 to 30 because of work pressure. More significantly, the new leadership will take over when the ANC has overwhelmingly decided to intensify its military operations.

But one question plagued South Africans of all colours and persuasions this week and generated high emotions from several quarters. Did the ANC *really* decide to switch from a strategy of avoiding civilian deaths to attacking "soft" targets like shopping centres?

A prominent SA daily first reported that

Financial Mail July 5 1985

Zanu (PF) anger against whites after the results were announced, however, has blinded them to the steady erosion of support for Smith.

After winning all white seats in a 20-year series of general election walkovers, Smith's share of the vote was cut to 55%, while the most "pro-Mugabe" of independent candidates, the Minister of the Public Service, Chris Andersen, annihilated Smith's former defence minister in the Mount Pleasant constituency.

"A boer is a boer and does not change," lamented Mugabe. But many obviously have. ■



more up murders  
East Cape

# Govt rejects UDF claims

*D. Defandt*  
*17/8*

**PRETORIA**—The government has taken the "strongest exception" to claims that the authorities were involved in the murders of four United Democratic Front activists in the Eastern Cape.

The Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, said in a statement released here yesterday "in reaction to inquiries by members of the foreign press", that the government had persistently tried to restore law and order in areas affected by unrest to prevent incidents such as these taking place.

He said he wished to convey his condolences to the families of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Didelo Mhlawuli who had been "tragically killed" in the Eastern Cape and assured them every attempt would be made to bring their killers to justice.

Mr Nel said the government was engaged in discussions with blacks of all political persuasions, including many vociferous opponents of its policies.

"An internecine power struggle is taking place between opposing radical organisations and has claimed many lives and caused untold damage.

"The alarming statistics of blacks killed during violent unrest in recent months is indicative of a deliber-

ate campaign of terror by black radical organisations directed specifically against moderates and those prepared to negotiate."

Mr Nel said about 100 blacks had died during April and June this year as a result of this campaign.

"I wish to direct an appeal for reason to those individuals and newspapers who have been responsible for the unfounded insinuations pertaining to the barbaric murder of the four men."

Mr Nel said he could only trust that Mr Goniwe's death had nothing to do with recent negotiations he had been having with officials of the Department of Training and Education about his possible reinstatement as the head of the Sam Xhali School in Cradock.

Mr Nel referred to a newspaper report which quoted Mrs Goniwe on the possible reinstatement of her husband as head of the school.

Mrs Goniwe was quoted as saying it was "interesting and strange" that her husband had gone missing only days before he was due to hear about his re-

instatement

Mr Nel said the chief director (control) of the Department of Education and Training, Mr Jaap Strydom, had sent a telegram to Mr Goniwe requesting an appointment for July 1 or July 2 "to finalise matters regarding his reappointment".

"I can only trust that Mr Goniwe's untimely death had nothing to do with these negotiations," Mr Nel said.

Meanwhile the South African Police have offered a R1 000 reward for information in connection with the killings of the activists.

A statement from the SAP public relations division said claims that police were responsible for the killings were "without any substance", and would not facilitate the murder investigation.

At a press conference yesterday, the UDF reiterated its claims that the authorities were involved in the murders of the activists and declared July 13 and 14 as national days of protest.

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, said South Africa was heading towards a situation similar to that in South America where thousands of people disappeared.

He said 27 political leaders were now missing in the Eastern Cape, Transvaal and Free State.

"Leaders of the people and ordinary members of our organisations have been forced to go into hiding as they flee the townships for fear of their lives."

Mr Morobe said that while comprehensive evidence about the identity of the killers of the four men was not available, there was circumstantial evidence.

In London, three UDF spokesmen told a press conference yesterday that more than two dozen political activists had disappeared in South Africa over the last few years.

This pointed to an alarming trend that seemed to be intensifying this year, the three, all lawyers, said.

Mr Zac Yacoob, Mr Yunus Mohammed and Mr Ray Suttner were in Britain on a brief stop-over on their way to Washington to attend an international conference on the legal aspects of apartheid. — DDC-Sapa.



Police 11A

~~confirm~~  
detention

Mercury Reporter

POLICE have confirmed that Mr Shirish Soni, an organiser for the International Youth Year Committee under the auspices of the UDF, has been detained in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Soni was detained at his Effingham Heights home early Saturday morning

Seven security policemen searched the house and Mr Soni's boutique in Field Street and his clothing factory in Victoria Street. NM 5/7/85

Another UDF member Mr Riaz Shaik has also been detained.

# Medical Council finds Biko doctors guilty

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

A disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council today found "Biko doctors" Dr Ivor Ralph Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker guilty of improper conduct and, further, found Dr Tucker guilty of disgraceful behaviour.

Dr Lang and Dr Tucker, who were respectively district surgeon and chief district surgeon of Port Elizabeth at the time, treated Mr Biko in the final days before his death in detention in September 1977.

Both men had pleaded not guilty to the main counts of failing to provide adequate medical care and the falsification of medical reports.

The committee found Dr Tucker guilty of disgraceful conduct on count one, in that he failed to prevent Mr Biko being sent 1 200 km to Pretoria in a Land-Rover even though he had observed that Mr Biko was frothing at the mouth, hyperventilating, had extensor plantar reflex (up-going toe), was apathetic, unable to communicate and had collapsed.

Dr Tucker was found guilty of failing to ascertain the results of a lumbar puncture before allowing Mr Biko to travel to Pretoria.

## Disgraceful behaviour

The committee found he had been guilty of disgraceful behaviour, for failing to insist that Mr Biko be transported by ambulance and because, despite his knowledge that there would be no medical personnel in attendance on the journey, had not insisted on such attendance being provided.

He was also found guilty of failing to insist that a medical report be sent with the patient to Pretoria.

Dr Tucker was found guilty of improper conduct on count one for continuing to believe the patient was feigning illness despite the symptoms which contradicted this opinion and for failing to conduct a proper examination and give proper treatment.

Dr Tucker was found guilty of improper conduct on count two in that he had stated that Mr Biko's central nervous system had shown no change between examinations even though he had not checked this properly.

Dr Lang was found guilty of improper conduct on count one in that he issued an incorrect medical certificate and a misleading bed letter.

Dr Lang was further found guilty of improper conduct for failing to conduct proper examinations, failing to inquire about the possibility of head injuries and failing to take a proper history from the patient.

He also failed to keep proper notes and to observe the patient properly.

But he was found not guilty on count two.

## Mitigation

Counsel for Dr Lang and Dr Tucker, Mr Louis Harms, presented argument in mitigation of sentence.

He said that in the past eight years, the Press, medical profession and public had "taken their pound of flesh" from the two doctors and this had "not been without the loss of blood".

"The emotional impact on them has been extreme if you consider what has happened in the past eight years," said Mr Harms.

The disciplinary committee suspended Dr Tucker for three months (suspended for two years) and cautioned and reprimanded Dr Lang.

Dr Tucker was given until September 1 to appeal against his sentence. The committee will forward a record of the sentence to the full council at its next meeting in October.

The council may then increase or decrease the penalty.

# UDF blames cops for deaths

THE United Democratic Front yesterday claimed that the deaths or disappearance of many people in the country happens under circumstances which allow the organisation to conclude that these people are victims of political assassination or abductions carried out by the "regime" or its agents.

Meanwhile the South African Police are offering a R1 000 reward for information about the recent murder of Mr Matthew Goniwe and his three colleagues in the Port Elizabeth area.

The UDF accusation was contained in a statement read by Mr Murphison Morobe, acting publicity secretary of

the UDF, at a Press conference held in Johannesburg.

The organisation was reacting to the deaths of four of its leading members in the Eastern Cape whose charred and mutilated bodies were found at Bluewaters Bay this week.

The four are Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicele Mhlawuli.

Mr Morobe said a "catalogue of these acts of terror" showed that they have taken place in areas where "resistance to the regime" was strongest.

He said the "toll of terror" thus far was 27 people missing in the East-

ern Cape, Transvaal and the Free State — at least 20 activists in Duduza and Soweto being on hit lists, with one person dying as a result, and at least 11 other "political assassinations".

The state of terror, and the occupation of black townships by the SA Defence Force and the S.A.P. made it difficult to establish what had happened to the many people who had disappeared.

"Many people have died or disappeared in circumstances which only make us conclude that they have been victims of political assassinations or abductions carried out by the regime or its agents.

"The UDF calls on all those who form part of the democratic movement to close ranks. History calls upon us to defend not only ourselves, but our movement as a whole."

Mr Trevor Manuels, outlining what the UDF could piece together on the last movements of the four men said: "On their departure from Port Elizabeth last Thursday night the group agreed that they would not stop for anybody other than for uniformed police; the body of the car was not damaged in any way — an indication that they were not forced off the

To Page 2

## Deaths

From Page 1

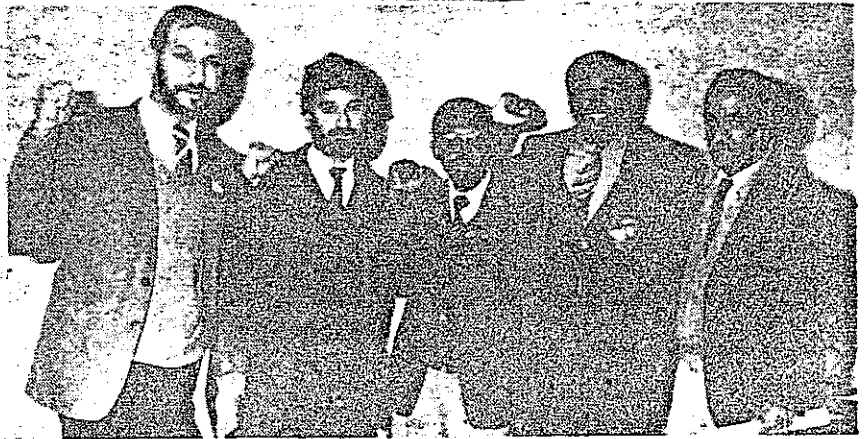
road; it has been reported that there had been a police roadblock just before the turn-off to Bluewater Bay on the same night; and arrangements for the visit had been made by phone and nobody besides the dead knew of the visit.

Mr Manuels said: "There is a deep-seated anger within the ranks of the UDF at these brutal killings.

Mr Morobe yesterday also said the organisation has decided to call upon all freedom loving South Africans to observe the weekend on July 13 and 14 as a National Day of Protest.

The South African Government yesterday said it takes the strongest possible exception against the "callous insinuations" which have been made regarding the deaths of four Eastern Cape activists.

In reaction to enquiries by members of the



UDF EXECUTIVE: (From left) Mr Trevor Manuels, Mr Azhar Cachalia, Mr Curnick Ndlovu, Mr Murphison Morobe and Mr Billy Nair.

foreign Press the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, said in a statement "the Government has persistently tried to restore law and order in areas affected by unrest exactly to prevent such tragic incidents."

Information can be conveyed to the commander of the Murder and Robbery Unit, Lieutenant Colonel E Strydom, at telephone (041) 54-7892 at work and (041) 51-2907 after hours."

Handwritten notes in the left margin: a circled scribble, '11A', 'Soweto', and '5/7/85'.

Can Tones 5/7/85

Cosas

rapist

jailed



Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A 23-year-old member of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was jailed by the Port Elizabeth Regional Court yesterday for eight years for raping a 15-year-old girl, also a Cosas member, because she allegedly collaborated with "civil servants".

Siphiwo William Mange, of Kwazakele, was found guilty of raping the girl on May 16, and taking her to a golf course in the township where she was repeatedly raped by him and six others over three days.

The girl told the court that Mange grabbed her when she was on her way home about 8pm on May 16. He threatened to stab her, and raped her, she said.

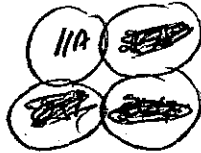
She said that she was then taken to the golf course, and when Mange handed her over to six of his friends who were waiting there, he said: "Here she is. I have brought her."

She said the men raped her in turn, and alleged that she had had people killed by her uncle, who is a policeman.

Mange admitted one previous conviction for rape, two for assault and three for theft.

# Radicals to blame for deaths — govt

CMB Tink 5/7/85



From PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The South African government has taken the "strongest possible exception" to claims this week that the authorities were involved in the murders of four United Democratic Front (UDF) activists in the Eastern Cape.

Responding to local and international concern over the deaths, Mr Louis Nel, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, said yesterday that the government had persistently tried to restore law and order in areas affected by the unrest.

He said this was "exactly to prevent such tragic incidents" as occurred in the Eastern Cape where an "inter-ethnic power struggle by opposing radical organizations" had claimed many lives and resulted in untold damage.

But the United Democratic Front (UDF) reiterated the claims at a press conference yesterday and declared July 13

and 14 as national days of protest against the murders last week of the activists — Mr Fort Calata, Mr Mathew Goniwe, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, told the conference that South Africa was heading towards a situation similar to fascist South America where thousands of people disappeared.

He said 27 political leaders were now missing in the Eastern Cape, Transvaal and Free State; two hit-lists of 20 activists in Duduza and Soweto had been uncovered, with one person dying as a result; and

there had been at least 11 political assassinations.

"Leaders of the people and ordinary members of our organizations have been forced to go into hiding as they flee the townships for fear of their lives.

"Many people have died or disappeared in circumstances which only allow us to conclude that they have been victims of political assassinations or abductions carried out by the regime or its agents."

Mr Morobe said that while comprehensive evidence about the identity of the killers of the four men was not available, there was circumstantial evidence to back up the allegations.

● Before leaving Port Elizabeth last Thursday evening the group agreed they would not stop for anybody other than uniformed police.

● The body of the car was not damaged, implying that they had not been forced off the road.

● There was a police roadblock near the Bluewater Bay turnoff last Thursday night.

● Arrangements for the visit were made on the telephone. The only people who could have gained access to this information were those who had access to "sophisticated listening equipment".

Mr Morobe said the UDF called on "all those who form part of the democratic movement" to "close ranks" and observe the weekend of July 13 and 14 as days of protest.

## In London

Three UDF spokesmen made the same claims at a press conference in London yesterday. They said more than two dozen political activists had disappeared in South Africa over the past few years.

Mr Zac Yacoob, Mr Yunus Mohammed and Mr Ray Suttner were in Britain on a brief stop-over on their way to Washington to attend an international conference on the legal aspects of apartheid.

Meanwhile, the South African Police have offered a R1 000 reward for information in connection with the killings of the activists.

# Outcry mounting over UDF deaths

By Jo-Anne Collinge

An international storm is brewing over the murders of four United Democratic Front leaders in the Eastern Cape. *Star 5/7/85*

Yesterday the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, issued a statement saying the "South African Government takes the strongest possible exception to callous insinuations" about the deaths.

He did not say what the insinuations were, but they are apparently charges that "death squads" of apartheid supporters are behind the killings.

The UDF has appealed to Amnesty International and the United Nations to send teams of observers to investigate and monitor the situation.

The four men killed were Cradock Residents' Association leaders Mr Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata and Mr Sparrow Mkonto, and Oudtshoorn teacher Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Their mutilated and charred bodies were found between Saturday and Tuesday over a wide area outside Port Elizabeth.

In London yesterday, Transvaal UDF official Mr Raymond Suttner told a Press conference that a "new phase of terror" had begun against the organisation.

He claimed its leaders had become the targets of killings and abductions by death squads.

"These disappearances are a new phenomenon in the South African conflict," he said. "These people are not selected at random — they are key leadership figures in their regions. Of course, we do not know who is responsible for these abductions and killings."

In Johannesburg, the UDF national executive committee said it believed the four men were victims of carefully planned assassinations.

It rejected suggestions that the Azanian People's Organisation was to blame.

Mr Trevor Manuel, the Western Cape representative, claimed:

- That before leaving Port Elizabeth on the night of their disappearance, the men had communicated their intention not to stop for anyone other than uniformed police.
- That there was no damage to the body of the vehicle, indicating it had not been forced off the road.
- That telephonic arrangements for the group's visit to Port Elizabeth were made immediately before departure and the only external parties which could have known of the meeting would be those who have access to sophisticated listening devices".

Mr Nel's statement read: "The Government has persistently tried to restore law and order in areas affected by unrest, to prevent such tragic incidents as have occurred in the Eastern Cape, where the internecine

power struggle between opposing radical organisations has claimed many lives and resulted in untold damage."

Mr Nel referred to a statement by Mr Goniwe's widow that it was "interesting and strange" that her husband had been killed just as his reinstatement as a teacher seemed almost certain.

Mr Nel confirmed that negotiations between the Department of Education and Mr Goniwe had been under way. "I can only trust that Mr Goniwe's untimely death had nothing to do with these negotiations."

## Police 'harassed' picketers

The national vice-president of the Black Sash, Mrs Joyce Harris, expressed outrage at "police harassment and attempted intimidation" of picketers along Oxford Road, northern Johannesburg, today.

And along Jan Smuts Avenue, police confiscated placards from students who were protesting about the death of Mr Matthew Goniwe, of the United Democratic Front, and other political leaders.

Most of the 150 students were from the National Union of South African Students.

They held placards bearing slogans such as "Stop rightwing death squads", "Who is next?", "Stop political assassinations" and "UDF's Goniwe murdered — PE".

Mrs Harris said that along Oxford Road police were polite, but they drove past continuously, photographed demonstrators and stopped to take their names and addresses.

Mrs Harris said: "It seems any form of protest — no matter how silent and peaceful — is no longer legitimate in this so-called democracy."

# Pokela to be buried

THE FUNERAL service of the dead Pan Africanist Congress leader, Mr John Nyathi Pokela, will be held on Saturday, July 13, in Harare, Zimbabwe, the organisation's representative in Botswana, Mr N r Mzorane, said yesterday.

5/7/83 *same day*  
Mr Mzorane, speaking from Botswana, said July 13 was a tentative date but the PAC has written telegrams to Mr Pokela's relatives inside South Africa informing them of the developments. The organisation's observer mission in the United Nations also held a well attended Press conference at the UN on Monday morning to announce Mr Pokela's death.

Mr Lawrence Ukwu expressed condolences to the PAC and the Azanian people, on behalf of the United Nations' Correspondents Association, for the loss of a "hard working selfless and tireless leader," whom he said he knew very well. Mr Ukwu represents the News Agency of Nigeria.

## Delegation

The observer mission of the PAC has scheduled a memorial service for all the UN delegates on Friday at the UN church centre. A statement from the first secretary and president of Zanu (PF) and Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, was also received.

Meanwhile, Mr Joe Mkhwanazi, the PAC's secretary general is leading a delegation which arrived in Harare yesterday to supervise funeral arrangements for Mr Pokela. A number of embassies in Harare are reported to have sent condolences to the

PAC. The Tanzanian High Commission said Mr Pokela's death was a "great loss for the liberation struggle" and the Nigerian High Commission said "his departure from the struggle would be a great loss for Africa".

The *Herald* newspaper in Harare said, among other things: "His death therefore, is likely to be viewed in Pretoria with a sense of relief if not beastly ecstasy." It added that the PAC rank and file should not let South Africa take advantage of the "leadership gap" created by Mr Pokela's death and should unite and carry on more resolutely where their chairman left off.

# Decision on Biko doctors welcomed

by  
Gary van Staden,  
Political Reporter

Political parties and doctors have generally welcomed yesterday's verdict by a disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council that the doctors who treated Black Consciousness leader Mr Steve Biko before his death in detention were guilty of improper conduct.

However, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Black Consciousness movement most closely identified with the late Mr Biko, yesterday described the verdict as tokenism and said the doctors still had a lot to answer for.

## INADEQUATE

Most of those approached for comment said they felt the sentences handed out to the two doctors were inadequate and lenient but all said they were pleased the matter had at last received an official hearing.

A disciplinary committee of the Medical Council yesterday found Dr Ivor Ralph Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker guilty of improper conduct and further indicted Dr Tucker for disgraceful behaviour.

Dr Lang was found guilty of improper conduct on eight allegations, the council said. He was cautioned and reprimanded.

Dr Benjamin Tucker was found guilty of both disgraceful and improper conduct — mainly for allowing a sick Mr Biko to be sent on a 1 200 km journey to Pretoria without proper medical care — and recommended a three-month suspension suspended for two years. He was given until September 1 to appeal.

Mr Biko died on September

partment of neurology at Groote Schuur Hospital, said it was important the council reaffirmed the age-old traditions and rules governing medicine.

"I am very relieved at the finding but it is regrettable that the SAMDC had to be compelled to hold an inquiry," she added.

"It is our collective responsibility to strive for a high standard of medical care for all South Africans and our fervent hope that radical change in the care of prisoners will now be implemented," she said.

The decision of the council was particularly apposite, she said, in the light of allegations that doctors were being hindered by the police in their care of victims of unrest.

"Rumour has it that we (the six physicians who called for an inquiry) received money to take the action we did from outside sources. We never received money from outside and used our own money, money provided by colleagues and money supplied by people concerned about the integrity of the medical profession in this country," she said.

Azapo criticised the sentence as "tokenism", saying the medical body was "a bumbling arm of the profession" that heard the case only under intense local and foreign pressure.

Mr Biko's widow, Nontsikelelo, now living in King William's Town, said she was "happy the truth has at last come out" about her husband's death.

"But I expected the sentences to be heavier."

## SATISFIED

Professor Ames and two of the other Supreme Court applicants, Professor Phillip Tobias of the University of the Witwatersrand medical school, and Professor Trevor Jenkins of the SA Institute of Medical Research, were present at the hearing.

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Mr Biko died on September 12 1977 of head injuries and brain damage.

Dr Francis Ames, one of the six physicians who applied to the Pretoria Supreme Court for the council to inquire into the conduct of the two doctors, said from Cape Town yesterday it would be a bitter disappointment if Dr Lang and Dr Benjamin were the only ones called to account.

Professor Ames, of the de-

partment of neurology at Groote Schuur Hospital, said it was important the council reaffirmed the age-old traditions and rules governing medicine.

"I am very relieved at the finding but it is regrettable that the SAMDC had to be compelled to hold an inquiry," she added.

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In a joint statement later, the three academics said they were satisfied the council had fulfilled its statutory duty to maintain high standards of medical conduct, although the case would never be forgotten.

"We believe that the long and deplorable history of refusals (by the council) to act in this responsible manner will remain as a blot on the reputation of the organised medical profession of South Africa," they said.

Cape Times 8/2/85

11A

# Police rescue Azapo man in axe attack

PRETORIA. — United Democratic Front members attacked a supporter of the Azanian People's Organization with axes, knives and spades yesterday, seriously injuring him, police said.

An unrest situation report issued by police headquarters in Pretoria said police dispersed the attackers in New Brighton near Port Elizabeth and took the man to hospital, where his condition is critical.

In Colesberg's black township, police arrested 79 people on charges of public violence, the police report added.

## Guest speaker

Meanwhile it was announced yesterday that Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and senior vice-president of the South African Council of Churches, will be a guest speaker at the combined funeral service of six unrest victims in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

Mr Themba Duze, the spokesman for the funeral committee, said Mr Siphogogela, a UDF supporter who died in the feud between the UDF and Azapo, will be buried along with five others who died as a result of police action. They are Mr Mncedisi Dyasi, 17, Mr Zola Dyasi, 18, Mr Tozamile Nowela, 19, Mr Thembinkozi Tokota, 20, and Mr Sebenzile Tesani, 37.

According to unconfirmed reports, two youths were shot dead in clashes with police in Duduza township on the East Rand yesterday. Police also arrested several youths in the township. The unconfirmed reports said a youth had died after a

clash with the police. His name was given as Joe Nonyane.

However, Colonel J Venter, of the Police Directorate of Public Relations, denied there had been unrest in Duduza.

In Johannesburg yesterday, police confiscated placards and took down the names of demonstrators who stood along several of the city's arterial roads to protest against the deaths of Mr Matthew Goniwe of the United Democratic Front and other political leaders. Demonstrations by six organizations were held on Jan Smuts Avenue, Barry Hertzog Avenue and Oxford Road.

The charred bodies of Mr Goniwe and fellow civic leader, Mr Fort Calata, were found on the road between Cradock and Port Elizabeth on Tuesday.

## Bodies

They were found after the bodies of their travelling companions, Mr Thomas "Sparrow" Mkonto and Oudtshoorn teacher Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, had been found some days earlier.

During the demonstration several students had their names taken by police, and on Jan Smuts Avenue, police confiscated placards from protesting students. Along Oxford Road police photographed demonstrators and stopped to take their names and addresses.

Mrs Joyce Harris, national vice-president of the Black Sash, said: "It seems that any form of protest — no matter how silent and peaceful — is no longer legitimate in this so-called democracy." — Sapa and Own Correspondent

SATURDAY, JULY 6, 1985

# HALF THE STORY

ALMOST eight years after the death of black consciousness leader Steve Biko while in police custody, the South African Medical and Dental Council, finally compelled by a Supreme Court order to act as it should have done in the first place, has reversed a decision clearing the doctors who treated the detainee shortly before his death.

To an extent — the sentences being so pathetically inadequate — a little of the shame felt by many in the medical profession at the earlier exoneration of the two doctors will have been wiped away by yesterday's findings that Dr Benjamin Tucker was indeed guilty of 10 counts under the main charge of disgraceful conduct and Dr Ivor Lang guilty of improper conduct under eight subordinate charges.

The verdict means that those who protested in the interests of the honour of their profession have been vindicated and an important message has gone out to all medical practitioners who have anything whatever to do with people held by the State for whatever reason.

While the inquiry found that neither doctor had subordinated the interests of Biko to those of the police, we believe the hearing and the findings will have reinforced our view that there should be no room for

doubt that medical ethics and concern for the welfare of a patient must always take precedence over any other consideration — whether or not the doctor holds a State post.

The ghost of Steve Biko will not have been exorcised nor will justice have been done, however, if the two doctors alone are punished for their omissions and failures while those guilty of causing Biko's death go free.

Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, has said that there is nothing to stop the earlier decision against the laying of criminal charges being reversed, and that the attorneys-general of the Eastern Cape and Transvaal will be studying the latest medical association inquiry record and the findings of the inquest afresh.

Whatever now transpires the system of detention without trial, which resulted in this senseless death, emerges even more disreputable than before.

And the verdict of the medical council will stand out in stark and accusing contrast with that of the inquest court — that Steve Biko died probably as a result of head injuries sustained during a scuffle with police who were questioning him — until those who were part of any 'scuffle' are subjected to a similar searching inquiry in the courts.

7/7/85  
**Ingwavuma 13** (11A)  
**on ANC charge** (11A)

THIRTEEN INGWAVUMA residents, including a 64-year-old woman, appeared in the Maritzburg Supreme Court this week to face charges in connection with the ANC.

The State claims police had to shoot their way into two caves in Ingwavuma late last year, after finding large caches of arms stored there. Two "trained terrorists" died in the shootout, the charge sheet alleges.

In the cache were machine guns, pistols, and hand grenades. The State alleges the accused were setting up ANC bases in KwaZulu.

It is also alleged that Mrs Nellie Nyawo, 64, harboured the men and kept a pistol for them. The accused will appear again on October 15.



**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE**

ANC leaders on the platform at the recent consultative conference: (From left, front row) secretary-general Alfred Nzo, treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi, President Oliver Tambo, Umtshonto weSizwe political commissar Chris Hani, new executive member Mac Maharaj and Sactu president Steve Dlamini. (Second row) Ruth Second row) Ruth Mkomoti and Pallo Jo-

# What about Inkatha, asks Chief Buthelezi

INKATHA president Gatsha Buthelezi devoted most of his 33-page presidential speech this week to criticising the African National Congress.

He kicked off by saying the ANC's recent consultative conference was not a people's conference because Inkatha was not represented.

He described it as a conference of those who "claim to be speaking on our behalf - but we don't know what they said on our behalf".

"Not only was black South Africa excluded from participating in this conference, but Inkatha - a vital instrument of the people's power - was denigrated and rejected."

He further said ANC delegates "are faceless nobodies who will not report to Inkatha because they disown it".

"Having met in secret about secret agendas they will strut around the capitals of the world puffing out their chests as though they have consulted with black South Africa."

"They will speak as if they have a God-given prerogative to speak for us without consulting us," he said.

**Really got them fooled**  
THOUSANDS of delegates at Inkatha's annual general conference listened in total disbelief at Chief Gatsha Buthelezi called on the ANC to intensify the armed struggle and concentrate more on the enemy's armed forces and police.

In fact, Chief Buthelezi was reading an ANC pamphlet - mocking it.



Gatsha Buthelezi: "ANC are faceless nobodies."

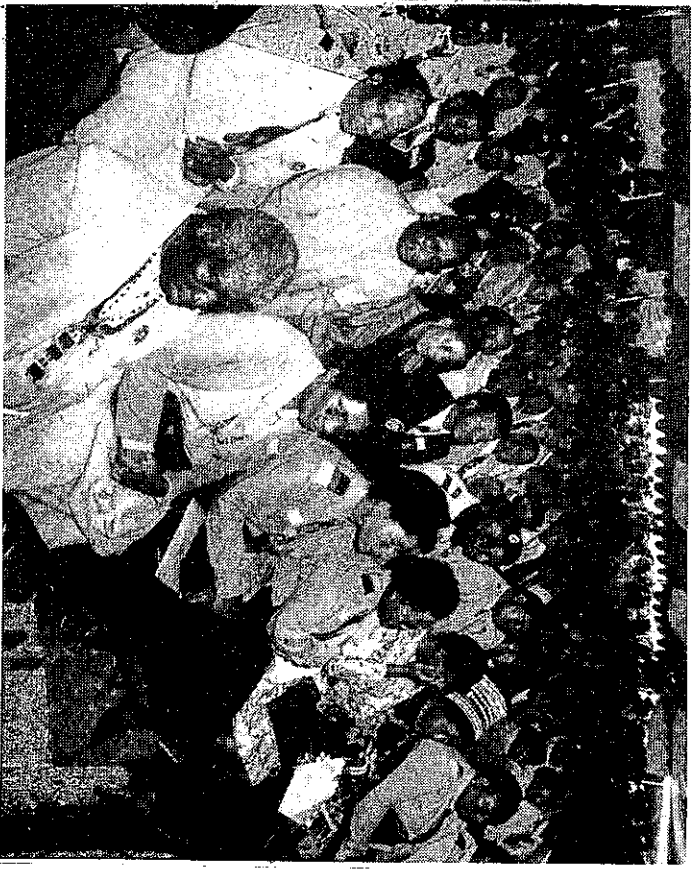
# Inkatha edges closer to PFP

CALLS FOR a multiracial alliance at Uluindi this week.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said this raised his hopes that the politics of negotiation was becoming a reality.

Notable observers at the conference were 11 Progressive Federal Party MPs and delegations from the African Students Bond and the Reform Party. Former coloured Labour Party members were also there.

Chief Buthelezi applauded the PFP's decision to open its doors to all races. He also pointed out that Inkatha had no objection to admitting all races but added that they did not want to "rush into a hasty decision".



Inkatha members: Feel bad about being "denigrated and rejected".

Additional comment in this issue and news items by P. Salyer-Smith and P. Goshwa. Readings and sub-editing by D. Nindzwa. Tel. 011 of 204. Eloff Extension, Johannesburg.

# Not yet, Le Grange — unionist

VAAL trade unionist Lazarus More won't sue Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange for injuries until the Pretoria treason trial against him and 21 others is over.

His lawyers said they saw no purpose in preparing a civil claim against Mr Le Grange while the trial continues.

Mr More was shot in the pelvis by cops during a shooting incident in Sebokeng at the height of the Vaal unrest last November.

His doctor feared that any attempt to remove the bullet could be fatal. The lawyers said he still suffers from pains.

# 'He was a man to be proud of'



IA Dec Press 7/7/85

By MONO BADELA

THE DEATH of Cradock schoolmaster and community leader Matthews Goniwe has stunned the strife-torn Lingelihle township.

His wife Nyameka Goniwe was shattered by his death. She said the deaths of Mr Goniwe, Cradock Residents' Association official Sparrow Mkonto, chairman Fort Calata — grandson of first ANC general secretary Canon Calata — and Oudtshoorn teacher Sicelo Mhlawuli have shocked and horrified the villagers.

Three homes, including that of a school inspector, were set alight as youths in the area vented their anger following the disappearance of the four leaders.

Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata's bodies were found at Blue Water Bay near Port Elizabeth on Tuesday — a few days after the charred remains of the two others.

The two other officials were found about two kilometres from the area where Mr Goniwe's gutted car was found by cops last Friday.

Port Elizabeth politician and Black Sash official Molly Blackburn said the men were people South Africa could really be proud of. Their death was shattering and the manner in which they died was appalling.

Mrs Blackburn, closely associated with Cradock, also said it was a privilege to have known and worked with Mr Goniwe.

"His death is a crippling blow to those who are fighting for a real change in South Africa," she said.

A former political prisoner and later Section



**A poignant pic: Fort Calata and family shortly before his death.**

28 detainee, Mr Goniwe emerged as a popular leader in the Eastern Cape during a period of rent hikes.

In September 1983 he and others formed Cradock to fight the introduction of the town council system in Lingelihle later that year and for the improvement of living conditions in the drought-stricken township.

He was elected Cradock chairman. Security cops had shown interest in him and Cradock from the early days, said Mrs Goniwe.

After qualifying as a teacher at Healdtown in 1968, he taught for four years in Cradock before taking up a post in Transkei in 1971. In

1976 he was arrested by Transkeian authorities and in 1977 he was sentenced to four years in terms of the suppression of the communist act for teaching youths Marxist doctrine.

Mr Goniwe obtained his BA degree, majoring in political science and education, while serving his sentence. Soon after his release in 1982 he went teaching in Graaff-Reinet. The following year he returned to Cradock as acting principal of Sam Xhalie Secondary School.

In December that year the Education and Training Department transferred him back to Graaff-Reinet. DET's decision to transfer and later dismiss Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata led to

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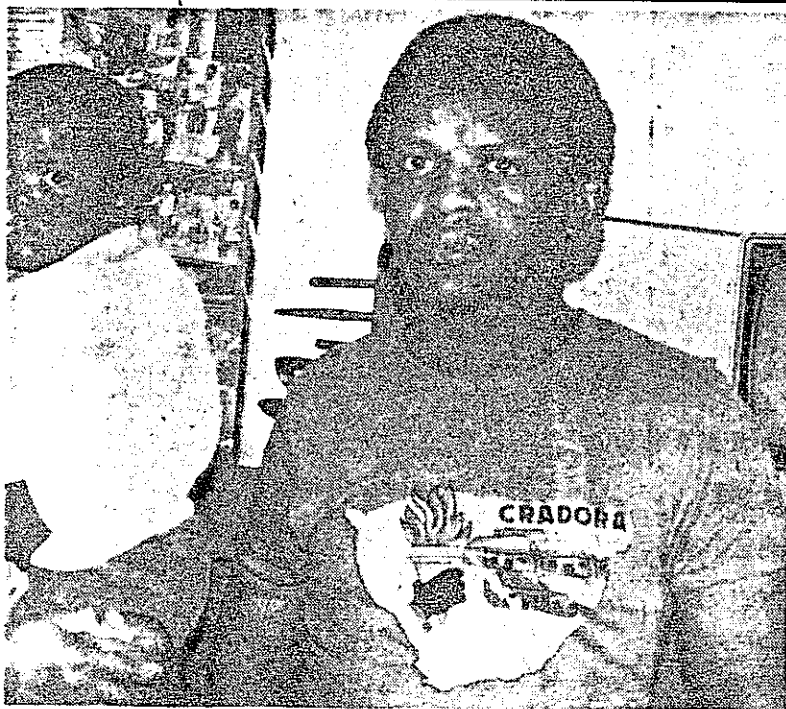
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The leader and his family — Matthew Goniwe.

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In December that year the Education and Training Department transferred him back to Graaff-Reinet. DET's decision to transfer and later dismiss Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata led to

the country's longest school boycott ever, with more than 4 500 school children demanding their immediate and unconditional reinstatement.

Unrest followed, resulting in four deaths and several homes belonging to school inspector and teachers being gutted.

In March this year students returned to classes after boycotting for 15 months, but unrest continued.

Mr Goniwe's dismissal — coupled with the school principal's refusal to allow the election of an SRC at Lingsihle High — sparked the start of the school boycott. For six months —

while Mr Goniwe, his nephew Mbulelo, Mr Calata and Madoda Jacobs languished in detention — Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange banned all political meetings in the area.

In January, Cradock's Lingsihle Village Council members resigned en bloc.

At the time of his death Mr Goniwe was a full-time organiser for the United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape. His specific task was to visit smaller towns in the area, spreading the UDF's message.

Mr Goniwe is survived by his wife and two children.



# Botswana pays tribute to Pokela

*C. Piers*  
*7/13/75*  
*IA*  
*[Signature]*

**BOTSWANA** President Quett Masire has sent a message of condolence to PAC administrative secretary J Mkwana after the death of PAC chairman John Pokela.

"The death of chairman Pokela is not only a loss to the PAC, but a loss to the whole of Africa - and to the liberation struggle in our region," President Masire said.

"His wise counsel will forever be missed by all of us who had the privilege of having been associated with him."

President Masire conveyed his sympathy and that of his government to the bereaved family.

Mr Pokela, 66 - who left Gaborone last Thursday for Dar es Salaam - took ill in

Harare and died in hospital.

He was a co-founder of the ANC Youth League in 1943 and a co-founder of the PAC when it broke away from the ANC in 1959. He fled to Lesotho in 1963 after the Sharpeville shootings.

Zimbabwe Prime Minister Robert Mugabe also paid tribute to Mr Pokela this week.

"Pokela was a gallant fighter against apartheid - a great freedom fighter had fallen," said Mr Mugabe.

PAC secretary general Joe Mkwana and PAC information director Edwin Makoti arrived in Harare on Wednesday to arrange for the funeral.

Mr Pokela is expected to be buried in Zimbabwe. A request to this effect has been made to the Zimbabwe Government by the visiting PAC delegation.

# Doctors' conduct found 'improper'

Mercury 6/7/85

(11A)

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The two doctors who treated black consciousness leader Steve Biko in detention in 1977, Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker, were yesterday found guilty of improper conduct by the disciplinary committee of the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC).

The SAMDC further found Dr Tucker guilty of disgraceful conduct.

However, both doctors will be allowed to continue practising.

Dr Lang was found guilty of improper conduct under eight subordi-

nate charges while the committee found Dr Tucker guilty on 10 counts under a main charge that his professional conduct had been disgraceful in the treatment of Mr Biko during the five days before his death in 1977.

Both doctors were district surgeons in Port Elizabeth at the time of Mr Biko's detention and death in prison.

In passing sentence, Prof Frans Geldenhuys, SAMDC president and leader of the panel hearing the charges, said: 'The committee decided that Dr Lang be cautioned and reprimanded.'

## Suspended

Addressing Dr Tucker, Prof Geldenhuys said: 'For the purposes of the penalty the findings on both counts are taken together. Coming to a finding regarding such penalty, the committee has taken into account the submissions made on your behalf by counsel.'

'The committee decided to forward a record on this inquiry to (the SA Medical and Dental) council at its next meeting in October 1985 with the recommendation that you be suspended for three months, but that the operation of the penalty be suspended for two years, on condition that you are not found guilty by council of any contravention during that period.'

However, Mr Louis Harmse, Dr Tucker's legal counsel, earlier told the hearing his client

would retire within the next year.

Dr Tucker was given until September 1 to appeal against his sentence.

After Prof Geldenhuys had delivered sentence both doctors jumped from their seats to shake Mr Harmse's hand.

They also exchanged handshakes with some of the doctors who had sat in on the inquiry.

Before passing sentence, Prof Geldenhuys said that after careful consideration of all the evidence the committee unanimously found that Dr Tucker had failed to object to the patient being transported 1 200 km to Pretoria in the back of a Land-Rover instead of an ambulance, in spite of his knowledge that there would be no medical assistant or personnel to accompany the patient.

Dr Tucker was also found guilty of failing to insist or ensure that a medical certificate be sent with the patient to Pretoria.

He was found guilty of improper conduct on count two for having stated that Mr Biko's central nervous system had shown no change between examinations although he had not checked this properly.

Dr Lang was found guilty of improper conduct on count one in that he issued an incorrect certificate and misleading 'bedletter' but was

found not guilty on count two.

He was also found guilty of improper conduct in that he failed to conduct a proper examination, failed to inquire and ascertain the possibilities of a head injury and failed to take proper medical history from the patient.

Dr Lang also failed to keep proper notes and to observe the patient.

Both doctors were found not guilty on a charge that they had subordinated Mr Biko's interests to those of the security police.

## Extreme

Mr Harmse said in his plea in mitigation of sentence that for the past eight years the Press, medical profession and the public had taken their pound of flesh from his clients and this had not been without the loss of blood.

He said the emotional impact on his clients had been extreme if one considered what had happened in the past eight years.

Mr Harmse said both his clients had been medical men of repute and read several letters of testimony in relation to the conduct of both doctors from other medical practitioners from all over the country.

Dr Lang is due to retire within five years while Dr Tucker will retire shortly.

● See Editorial Opinion

# Finding 'vindicates'

## Political Reporter

THE SAMDC's judgment against the two doctors who treated Mr Biko before he died in detention vindicated the stand taken by six doctors who had pursued the case since the Biko inquest.

Prof Frances Ames, one of the doctors who, through the Supreme Court, had forced the SAMDC to conduct a hearing, said the accusation that those who kept the Biko issue alive were politically motivated had been shown to be untrue.

## Scapagoats

'Our motive was to en-

'Our most fervent hope is that there will now be a radical change in the medical care of prisoners.

'It is very important that doctors now have the support of the SAMDC, so that they can practise in their traditional role and not bow to the authorities.'

Dr Rob Dyer, general secretary of the National Medical and Dental Association, a non-racial rival body to the Medical Association of South Africa, congratulated the six doctors.

But, he said, his association noted 'with great

spokesman, said she was 'absolutely astounded at the leniency of the sentence'.

'Professional men found guilty of such a serious offence should be struck off the medical roll,' she said.

'It is a sad reflection indeed that the SAMDC virtually had to be forced to take action against two men who had done such harm to the good standing of South Africa's medical profession.'

'It is just too bad it took eight years. I could never understand how the council originally refused to take action, but I suppose

cker, disgraced in the treatment of Mr Biko during the five days before his death in 1977.

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Prof Frances Ames, one of the doctors who, through the Supreme Court, had forced the SAMDC to conduct a hearing, said the accusation that those who kept the Biko issue alive were politically motivated had been shown to be untrue.

## Scapegoats

'Our motive was to ensure a high standard of medical care for all South Africans, especially for detainees who are lost to public scrutiny once they disappear into a closed prison system.'

'We would be bitterly disappointed if the whole affair were to end with Lang and Tucker being made the only scapegoats.'

'Our most fervent hope is that there will now be a radical change in the medical care of prisoners.'

'It is very important that doctors now have the support of the SAMDC, so that they can practise in their traditional role and not bow to the authorities.'

Dr Rob Dyer, general secretary of the National Medical and Dental Association, a non-racial rival body to the Medical Association of South Africa, congratulated the six doctors.

But, he said, his association noted 'with great concern' that since Biko's death at least 10 other detainees had died.

While the doctors had been found guilty, 'it is actually the system of detention itself and other methods used by the security police which needs to be put on trial', he said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP Law and Order

spokesman, said she was 'absolutely astounded at the leniency of the sentence'.

'Professional men found guilty of such a serious offence should be struck off the medical roll,' she said.

'It is a sad reflection indeed that the SAMDC virtually had to be forced to take action against two men who had done such harm to the good standing of South Africa's medical profession.'

'It is just too bad it took eight years. I could never understand how the council originally refused to take action, but I suppose it's better late than never.'

'I would like to know what the follow through will be.'

## 'Tokenism'

An Azanian People's Organisation spokesman said yesterday that the two doctors 'will still have to stand trial in the Azanian equivalent of the Nuremberg trials'.

Azapo, formed out of

what remained of the Black People's Convention (BPC) founded by Mr Biko, dismissed the council's verdict as 'tokenism'.

Mr Imrann Moosa, Azapo publicity secretary, said: 'The verdict proves once again that the SAMDC is a bumbling arm of the executive.' The SAMDC had consistently shown hostility towards doctors with a social conscience, he added.

Sapa reports that Mr Biko's widow, Nontsikelo, now living in King William's Town, said she was 'happy the truth has at last come out' about her husband's death.

Reacting to the verdicts passed by the SAMDC, she added: 'But I expected the sentences to be heavier.'

Mrs Biko said she was grateful to the doctors who were responsible for bringing the two district surgeons before the SAMDC disciplinary committee.

# No ties with ANC - union

By ALI MPHAKI

THE AFRICAN Allied Workers' Union of South Africa has denied receiving any money from the ANC or South African Congress of Trade Unions as reported in several newspapers on June 21.

Reports that the Aawusa was receiving money from the ANC

were made by Major Craig Williamson to different newspapers, including *The Citizen*, after the SADF raid in Botswana.

This was after police announced that they had found important documents in the raid, of which one said the Aawusa was receiving money from the ANC or Sactu.

In a statement released by the union's general secretary, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, it said: "We want to make it categorically clear that we have no ties with any banned organisation or Sactu."

"However, the union cannot stop faceless individuals who go about taking money from or-

ganisations for their own ends.

"We further wish to point out that we do not rule out the possibility of legal action against the newspapers and their source. The union is presently looking into the political and legal implications of the statement as it affects it," the statement said.

# Biko could have been saved - medicos

**BLACK** Consciousness leader Steve Biko had a 98 percent chance of surviving his head injuries if he had received adequate medical treatment.

He could even have been saved on the day of his death if the seriousness of his condition had been realised, physician Joe Variawa said at the weekend.

Dr Variawa, a specialist at Johannesburg's Coronation Hospital, is one of the six doctors who took the SA Med-

ical and Dental Council to the Supreme Court to force them to take action against the two "Biko doctors", Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker.

The two were found guilty of improper and disgraceful conduct respectively during an SAMDC disciplinary hearing in Pretoria last week.

Dr Lang was cautioned and reprimanded while it was recommended that Dr Tucker be suspended from prac-

tising medicine for three months. The application of this penalty was suspended for two years on condition that he was not found guilty of any contravention during that period.

However, it was made clear at the start of the inquiry that the hearing was not going to decide whether the conduct of the doctors had contributed to the death of Mr Biko.

"It is quite evident that the medical management of Biko's ill-

ness was severely deficient," Dr Variawa told The SOWETAN after the disciplinary hearing.

"Proper management would possibly have averted a fatal outcome," he said.

Dr Variawa's belief was supported by the University of the Witwatersrand's Professor Phillip Tobias, another of the doctors involved in this year's Supreme Court action.

"There is medical opinion that if care had been proper and ad-

equate from the beginning Biko might not have died," said Professor Tobias.

According to Dr Variawa the first 18 to 30 hours after the sustaining of a head injury are crucial.

Most deaths from brain injury and other complications occurred in the first 12 to 24 hours, he said.

About 92 percent of those who survived the first day would live, while those who survived 48 hours had a 98 to 99 percent chance of living.

## Autopsy

Dr Variawa, who has made an extensive study of the Biko autopsy results, said the Black Consciousness leader had sustained at least three separate head injuries in the night or early morning of September 6 or 7, 1977.

He died on September 12 — five days or six days later — after severe cerebral damage caused complications which led to acute kidney failure.

Tracing the medical progression of Biko's last days, Dr Variawa said the black leader probably lost consciousness for a period ranging from 10 minutes to an hour after sustaining his injuries.

After a period of confusion — which might be followed by a violent outburst — Biko would have lapsed into a state of lethargy during which he would have been unco-operative and uninterested in his surroundings.

It was during this period that he was examined by the Port Elizabeth doctors.

"Biko probably would have recovered within a few days," said Dr Variawa.

He could not say whether he would have been left with permanent brain damage.

# Biko case findings still to be ratified

Stat 8/17/85

Pretoria Correspondent

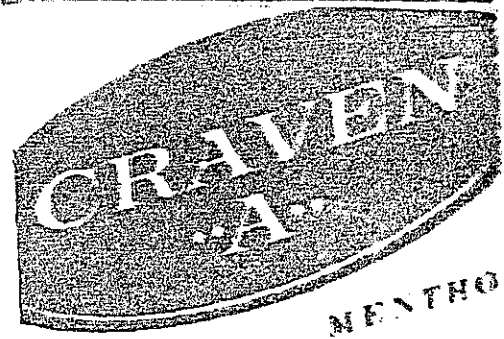
The findings and sentences imposed on the two Port Elizabeth district surgeons who treated Mr Steve Biko before his death in detention, will come before the full South African Medical and Dental Council for ratification between October 14 and 16.

Mr Don Brunette, Attorney-General of the Transvaal, said today the records of the SAMDC inquiry would be studied to determine if any new facts emerged during the hearing.

But the full council still had to confirm the findings of the committee and any decision on the possible reopening of the Biko case would only be taken then.

On Friday the committee recommended a three-month suspension suspended for two years on Dr Benjamin Tucker, chief district surgeon of Port Elizabeth who was found guilty of improper and disgraceful conduct in sanctioning Mr Biko's transfer without adequate medical care from Port Elizabeth to Pretoria in a Land Rover.

Dr Ivor Lang, was cautioned and reprimanded after being found guilty of improper conduct for failing to keep correct records of his findings and compiling misleading reports about the condition of Mr Biko.



SAFARI OF PORTADILLY

...to extremely important to any company, because

...is worth his weight ... as R40 000 p.a. or

THE OFFICIAL ... SIVE COURSE IN ... SING MANAGEN

# Boy dies in cell as unrest continues

CAPE TOWN  
4/7/85

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PRETORIA. — Six people died and at least seven were injured as unrest spread through townships in three provinces at the weekend, police confirmed here yesterday.

Police also confirmed that a 20 year old Steytterville township youth leader was shot dead on Wednesday last week and his 13-year-old nephew subsequently died in police detention.

Sapa reports that police said that the worst incidents occurred on Friday, when unrest flared in New Brighton, Sasolburg, the north-eastern Cape and the East Rand. Police said four people died in the township of Duduza, near Nigel.

Late on Friday, a police spokesman denied reports of unrest in the East Rand township. Police also refused to comment on reports on Sunday in which residents claimed that at least two people had died on Friday.

In yesterday's report, police said they used birdshot on five occasions to disperse stone-

throwing crowds in Duduza. Three people were killed during the incidents and four people, including a policeman, were injured.

A woman died in Duduza when the car she was travelling in collided with a police armoured vehicle, the report said.

## Cameraman

A cameraman of World Television News in Johannesburg said yesterday he had laid assault charges against police.

Mr Rapits Montsho alleged police assaulted him last Friday as he filmed events in Duduza, took him to a hall where two policemen again assaulted him, later "forcibly" took him to his car and again assaulted him when he returned to get a receipt for his video equipment which had been confiscated.

He said he was forced

back to his car.

He then went to police at Dunnottar to lay charges of assault.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria last night had "no comment".

Police said a man died in the Natal township of Howick in a stone-throwing incident. A second man was seriously injured in the incident, police said. A man was arrested on a charge of public violence.

In the north-eastern Cape town of Steynsburg, a man was killed and two people were injured when police used birdshot and rifle fire to disperse mobs who had set fire to development board buildings, the report said.

## Fatality

Meanwhile, police confirmed yesterday that Mr Zwandile Muggels, 20, co-ordinator of the Karoo Youth Congress, was fatally wounded on Wednesday in Steytterville when police, using tearsmoke, rubber bullets and birdshot, dispersed a crowd which attacked a policeman's home in the Eastern Cape township.

A police spokesman said 13-year-old Johannes Spogter was arrested during the police action and died two days later while in the Steytterville police cells.

Asked if Johannes had been wounded during the police action, the police spokesman said the circumstances of his death were "still being fully investigated".

According to friends of the youths, Mr Muggels had attended a memorial service on

Wednesday night for the four community leaders killed near Cradock.

The friends said that after the service, Mr Muggels and a group of youths were walking back to the township when police fired teargas at them. The youths retaliated with stones and ran away.

The friends claimed that later in the evening police fired rubber bullets and teargas at youths sitting around a fire in the township.

Mr Muggels ran into an uncle's house. He was followed by police and allegedly "beaten up", shot and wounded.

He and his 12-year-old nephew, who was in the house, were then taken away in a police van, the





CAPE TOWN 3/7/85

From page 1

friends claimed.

They said that on Thursday morning, Mr Muggels's parents were informed that their son had died in custody. They were told the 12-year-old would appear in court.

Early on Friday morning Johannes's parents were informed he had died in custody.

The police spokesman declined to comment on the friends' allegations.

In further reports of unrest yesterday:

● Police said tear-smoke and rubber bullets were used in New Brighton to stop fighting between members of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo).

Yesterday Azapo dismissed claims by the police that it might have been behind the deaths of the four UDF community leaders from Cradock.

Eastern Cape vice-president Mr Pambili Ntloko said the deaths were "clearly the work of the system".

Meanwhile, the general secretary of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Derrick Swartz, also dissociated Azapo from the killings. He said a right-wing death squad was at work in the Eastern Cape exploiting the conflict between his organization and Azapo.

● The Commissioner of Police, General P J Coetzee, yesterday challenged people who "are accusing the police of being behind recent township unrest" to come forward with their facts.

In his statement General Coetzee said: "Each time the SA Police are forced to act against those practising violence, the lawless and the murderers who burn down the houses of law-abiding citizens, those who throw hand-grenades into bedrooms and take the law into their own hands, there are so-called witnesses who calculatedly spread false and twisted reports bent on making the SAP the villains.

"Allegations that police need to raise the muzzles...



# 11 on arson charge after alleged UDF-Inkatha clash

## Court Reporter

A 51-YEAR-OLD black woman and 10 black men, including a 17-year-old youth, appeared before Mr H W Weitz in the Durban Regional Court yesterday charged with arson and malicious injury to property.

Their appearance follows clashes between alleged supporters of

Inkatha and alleged members of the United Democratic Front at Hambanathi township in August last year.

Before the Court were Norah Dlamini, 51, Zibusu Dlamini, 22, Solomon Dlamini, 31, Nomthandazo Dlamini, 32, Andrietta Ngema, 45, Lindiwe Ngema, 31, Jonathan Mthembu, 22, Nkosikhona

Shanganesi, 18, Phillip Makahathini, 35, Johannes Mthetwa, 23, and the 17-year-old youth.

They have pleaded not guilty to two counts of arson and four of malicious injury to property.

The hearing continues.

Mr C van Coller appears for the State and Mr G van Niekerk for all the accused.

# DEATH THREAT

11A ~~11A~~ 9/7/85 Sowetan



WARNED: Bishop Simeon Nkoane.

Pic: ROBERT MAGWAZA

**BISHOP Simeon Nkoane, the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, yesterday said he has been warned to leave Kwa-Thema, near Springs, or face death.**

The warning and threat on Bishop

By SELLO RABOTHATA

Nkoane follows only days after two petrol-bomb attacks on his home. The first attack was on Friday, June 21, and the second on Wednesday, June 26 and he was told this would not be the last attack on him. He also

said he has reported the attacks to the police, who promised to investigate.

He said: "A man phoned my home, but at the time I was away at a church synod in Pietermaritzburg and my 12-year-old niece took the

message.

"The man said the people who had earlier attacked me have promised to come back until I leave KwaThema.

"The man also left a telephone number, but we believe it is a public phone number because it rings endlessly and it is never answered. It would be very unreasonable of me to take these threats lightly after the number of attacks on my home. I have also reported the matter to the police," Bishop Nkoane said.

## Killed

Meanwhile, the South African Police Directorate in Pretoria yesterday said three men were killed and three others, including a policeman, were injured when police dispersed a stone-throwing mob with birdshot in Duduza, near Niigel, at the weekend. The police also said a woman was killed in a motor vehicle accident involving a police Casspir. The accident is being investigated.

Four victims of the grenade explosions which rocked three East Rand townships, Kwa-Thema, Duduza and Tembisa, last week are to be buried in Kwa-Thema today.

The funeral service will be held at the local football stadium starting at 10am. By late yesterday it was still not clear when victims of the grenade explosions in Duduza would be buried.

Although reports have stated that they would be buried tomorrow, community leaders said this was just a tentative date.

## June 19 police swoop detainee released

ARL 45  
10/7/85

(118 X 2012)

Political Staff

A GUGULETU man, detained in a police swoop on political activists last month, has been released from detention.

Mr Trevor Manuel, Western Cape secretary of the United Democratic Front, said Mr Thabo Ngcokoto was released yesterday.

Mr Ngcokoto was detained on June 19 with several other young people from the townships. Most of them are prominent members of the UDF.

Police liaison officer Captain Jan Calitz confirmed that a "black male" had been released from detention but declined to provide further information.

A number of Cape Town UDF members are still being held under the Internal Security Act, including the publicity secretary, Zou Kota, the joint regional secretary, Miranda Qwanyashe and the former publicity secretary, Mr Baba Ngcokoto.

Police have refused to confirm the names of those still in detention, nor name the section of the Internal Security Act under which they are being held.

# Duduza 'grenade' victims shot, court told

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A man who said he was in fear of his life stated in an affidavit filed in the Rand Supreme Court that the victims of alleged hand-grenade explosions in Duduza recently were all shot.

Mr Nicholas Shata said he saw the bodies of the victims surrounded by police.

"I could see that they had all been shot and one of them had the top of his head severed by what police described to newspaper reporters later as a hand-grenade," he said.

### BEFORE THEIR DEATHS

Mr Shata said three of the dead men had been at a Cosas executive meeting in Duduza with him the evening before.

After the meeting two people approached them, asking their names and addresses, and said they were interested in having further discussions with them.

Mr Shata said he told the two men his name was Lishi Moloi. He did not return that evening to the address he had given them.

### POLICE "CAME LOOKING"

Mr Shata said he believed now that the two people were either policemen or working for the police and that the Cosas members who died were killed or injured "as a consequence of the view taken" by those policemen or informers.

He said that on July 1 armed policemen came to look for him at his

house. They asked for "Lishi Moloi", the name he had given the two people who had approached him at the Cosas meeting.

"My sister disclosed my full names to them and this came as a surprise to them," Mr Shata said.

### A DANGEROUS MAN

He said the policemen threatened to kill him and "grenade the house" because he was a dangerous man.

"I am certain that the police who called at my home are in fact capable of executing their threat to kill me and that this visit is connected with the contact I made with the delegation (of police or informers at the meeting).

"I fear that even if I am not killed or maimed but simply arrested, I will thereafter be assaulted or ill-treated in custody," Mr Shata said.

### HARASSED OR ASSAULTED

He asked the court in an urgent application to interdict and restrain policemen from assaulting, harassing or molesting him.

Following negotiations, the Minister of Law and Order and the station commander of the Springs police station gave an undertaking that Mr Shata would not be harassed, assaulted or molested.

This was made an order of court by Mr Justice Kirk-Cohen.

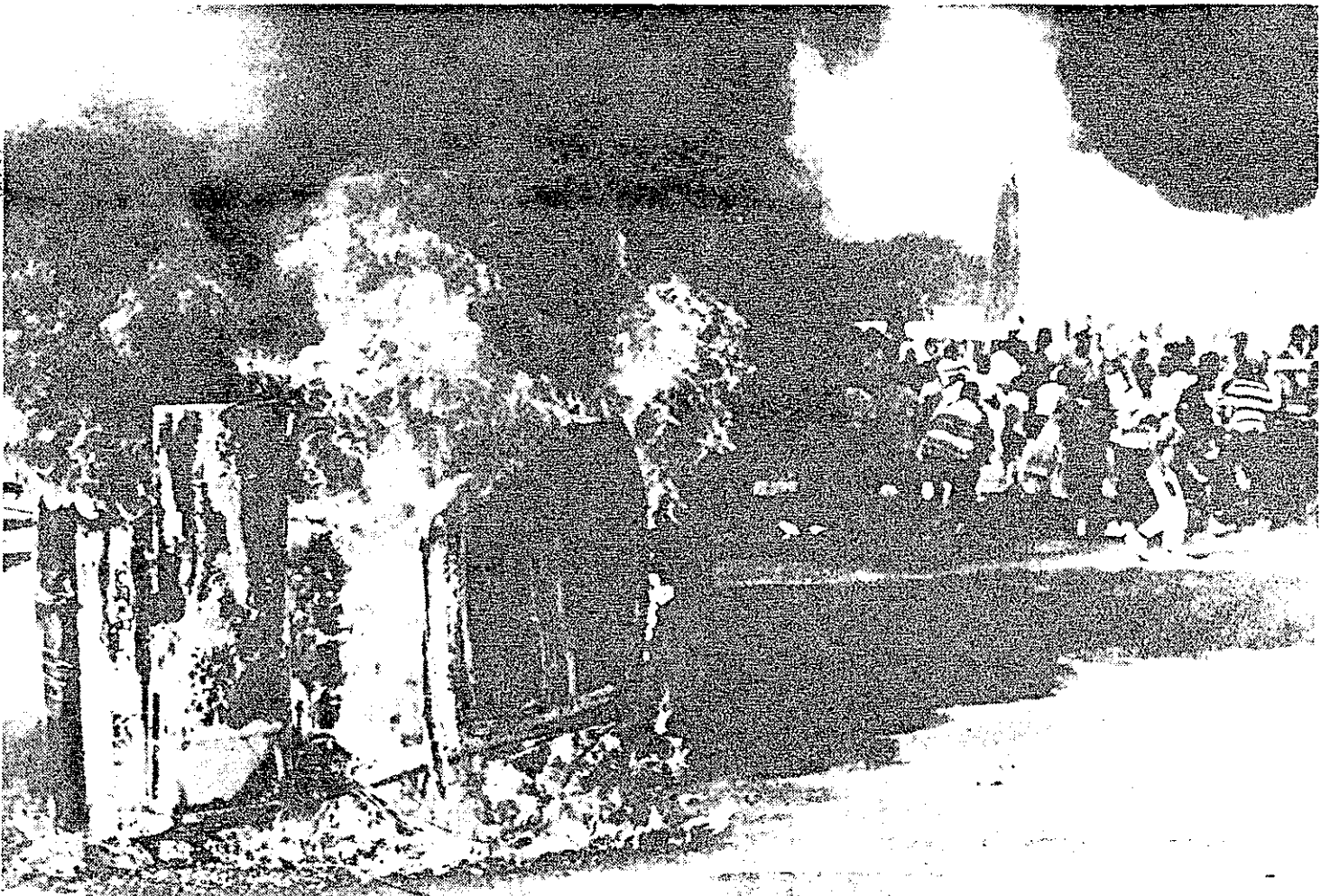
In an agreement handed to the court the minister and the Springs station commander said they did not concede the truth of Mr Shata's allegations, which were viewed in "a serious light" and would be investigated.

● See Page 5.

TIA

10/7/85

# 7 more die in Ra



People scatter after a crowd of angry youths set a car belonging to the SABC alight in KwaThema yesterday near where a funeral service for four victims of grenade blasts was being held.

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# e in Rand unrest

From SOPHIE TEMA

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Seven people were shot dead, two were critically wounded and at least 36 were arrested in continuing unrest in the East Rand area yesterday.

About midday yesterday two youths were shot and seriously injured by policemen outside the KwaThema stadium where a burial service was being conducted for four people who were killed in grenade explosions two weeks ago.

Sapa reports that two other youths, a teenager and a boy aged about 10, were shot in the head yesterday in KwaThema, near Springs.

Reporters watched as police opened fire from a township councillor's home at a crowd advancing towards it. The youths were taken away by residents. Their condition was not known last night.

## Vigil

Police said that early yesterday morning, seven people were shot dead and several wounded when a crowd stoned houses and threw a petrol bomb at the home of a policeman in KwaThema.

But residents in the township yesterday reacted angrily to the police reports and said dozens of people attending a night vigil at the township's Gugulethu Cinema were attacked by the police.

They said six people were shot and killed outside the cinema as they ran out of the teargas-filled building.

Residents said they scrambled under the cinema seats and the stage when several teargas canisters were thrown into the building.

Police then entered the cinema and drove people out with teargas.

Windows in the building were smashed and a number of bullets had holed the cinema wall and a steel gate.

Early yesterday morning employees of the

cinema scrubbed off blood stains from the stoep, floors and walls.

East Rand residents, including several community leaders in Duduza, KwaThema and Tsakane, have called on the government to appoint independent commissions of inquiry into the actions of police in the area.

However, the police spokesman yesterday denied that police had entered the cinema after teargas had been shot into the building.

He said police only took action against rioters who threw a petrol bomb at the house of a policeman and stoned several other houses belonging to policemen.

He said rioters then fled into the cinema where 36 were arrested.

Unrest flared at yesterday's funeral for the four killed in the controversial grenade blasts two weeks ago.

## 'Manhandled'

The four dead were Congress Skhumbuzo Mtshweni, a graduate who held a B Sc degree and was attached to the University of Potchefstroom; Cosas members Jabulane Mahlangu and Stephen Mathibe Modisane; and Vincent Kholekile Nokwindla, co-ordinator for the Cosas KwaThema branch.

An SABC car, thought by people at the funeral to belong to police, was damaged and set on fire despite attempts by the Rt Rev Simeon Nkoane and Father Peter Hortop, a Catholic priest, to intervene.

Sapa reports that two SABC reporters were "manhandled" and their car set alight after the funeral, attended by 25 000.

People at the funeral became suspicious of

the car which had a CB aerial and a tape inside. A request was made through a loudhailer for the owner of the car to come forward and identify himself but no one came forward.

The car was then set alight.

The SABC said that the reporters were then manhandled but slipped away and went to the KwaThema police station to report the incident.

Troops and police with at least 20 armoured vehicles stood guard at the main entrance to the township.

## 'Informer'

The atmosphere in KwaThema was electric as a dusty cortege of mourners' vehicles, led by people carrying the flag of the outlawed African National Congress, headed for the cemetery from a sports stadium where the funeral was held.

Reporters saw a man suspected of being a police informer being assaulted and seriously injured in the stadium before being saved by the intervention of a Catholic priest at the service.

"They want to burn him, you see," Father Peter Hortop told reporters. "He seems to be an informer."

"These people are crying from their hearts: 'Let us be human beings'," said Father Hortop.

Father Hortop and residents of the township said police were suspected of acting as agents provocateurs and providing the youths who were buried yesterday with booby-trapped grenades.

● Synod rejects use of violence, page 2

● Police deny 'cinema attack', page 9



The SABC alight in KwaThema yesterday near the blasts was being held.

# Must blacks suffer in silence?

LONDON — Ellen Khuzwayo, writer and life-long campaigner for black rights, has accused the South African Government of continuing to project an image of a black people still not yet ready to assume responsibility.

She recalled the "great men, the men of power and prestige" who founded the African National Congress, who from the beginning "could have easily gone into parliament to deliberate the affairs of the country and its future. But it just did not happen.

"We are said to have not arrived, to be "not

**Own Correspondent**

ready" as though we were a cake that is not yet ready to come out of the oven. The truth is black people were ready at the turn of the century, but were just not given the opportunity."

Mrs Khuzwayo whose recently completed autobiography, Call Me Woman, has been one of this year's publishing events, told BBC-2's Surviving documentary how her own awareness of the lack of justice grew through the Pass Law confrontations of the 1950s to Sharpeville

and eventually to her own incarceration, as one of the Soweto Council of 10, for five months.

The interview, filmed before Mrs Khuzwayo returned to South Africa after publication of her book earlier this year, also revealed something of the despair

which she says has been growing in the face of the failure of dialogue between the racial groups in the country.

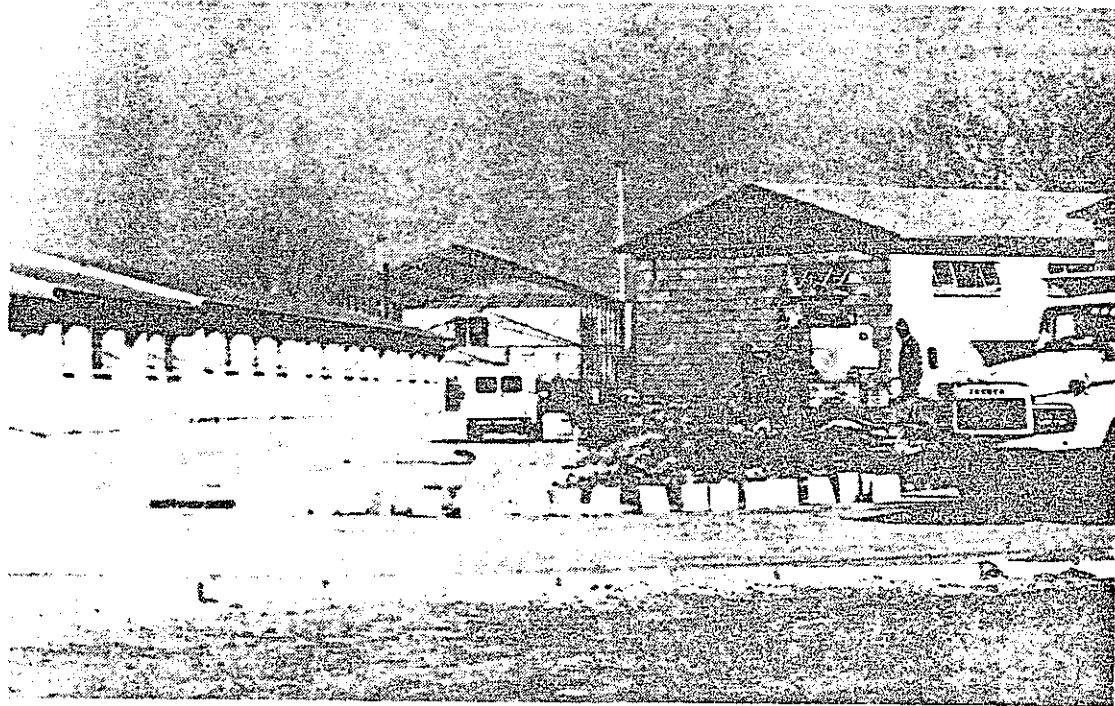
She said: "The other image of black people is that they've done nothing to help themselves when the truth is that they have struggled very, very hard, compromised by being put in jail, bitten by dogs turned on them..."

## Dilemma

"I have a feeling of depression, of hopelessness. Is it worth it? Is it still worth it to talk? Does it mean anything?"

"When you're outside the country, you think: I'm going back, I must go back. It's my home. I feel happy to go back to see my children, but I think of many things that you need to experience to understand..."

"I am a mother and a grandmother, and I think to myself: Must my children, my grandchildren, suffer in silence? Must the generations that come be stooges and just keep quiet? What is going to happen to them in the future? This is the dilemma the black people find themselves in."



A SMALL PART of the Industrial Park nearing completion in Katlehong. There is accommodation for a further 10 entrepreneurs.

## R1,2-m industrial park for Katlehong

The R1,2-million Katlehong Industrial

park for Katlehong

*(7/9) Sowetan 10/7/85*



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OUTSPOKEN: Mrs Ellen Khuzwayo... lifelong campaigner for black rights.



Completion in Kattlehong. There is accommodation for entrepreneurs.

# ustrial park atlehong

(30) Sowetan  
10/7/85



# Buthelezi praises report on apartheid

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has expressed the hope that the findings of the Buthelezi Commission will be re-examined by the Government in the light of the recently-released HSRC report on Inter-group Relations.

Chief Buthelezi said in a statement that the HSRC report should be closely examined to see the extent to which its recommendations echoed those of the Buthelezi Commission.

"The Buthelezi Commission report went way out front, and the existence of another substantial body of thought which also breaks from South Africa's past political traditions will certainly put the Buthelezi report in a new perspective and demand that its recommendations be carefully considered."



Buthelezi: Chief Minister of KwaZulu

10/7/83  
Chief Buthelezi praised the compilers of the HSRC report for defying the severe limitations with which apartheid had in the past "shackled creative thinking" about the nature of South African society. *Sowetan*

CAPL TIMES 10/7/88

# UDF attitude to tour non-violent

**Own Correspondent**  
EAST LONDON. — The United Democratic Front had never intended to use violence against spectators and players had the proposed All Black rugby tour taken place, the Rev Arnold Stofile said yesterday.

Speaking from his Alice home, Mr Stofile, a University of Fort Hare theology lecturer, said the issue of supporters and players had not been raised in the High Court hearing which led to the cancellation of the tour.

Mr Stofile, who arrived in South Africa from New Zealand at the weekend, said reports which claimed he had stated in court that supporters could be "hit" were not true.

"It seems as if some people are trying to discredit the UDF's efforts to prevent violence," he added.

Mr Stofile said he had told the hearing in Wel-

lington that demonstrations against the proposed tour would be organized in South Africa.

When asked by the court what he thought would happen if demonstrations were staged, he replied that this would "probably lead to confrontation" between the demonstrators and the police.

"The conflict could have led to violence and bloodshed, and even deaths."

In the circumstances it would have been impossible to give guarantees that people would not be hurt.

Mr Stofile said that on his return to Alice he was detained at East London airport for two hours by South African and Ciskeian security policemen. "They searched my belongings and then released me." Since arriving home he had also received a number of "racist" phone calls.

# Emotional crowds mob youths' fu

## Scenes of anger and grief in kwaThema Stadium

An odd mixture of emotions pervaded kwaThema Stadium yesterday when four young men, who died two weeks ago in hand grenade explosions, were buried.

The people started gathering around the stadium from about 9.45 am and when the funeral service began, it was almost full. By midday, the terraces of the 15 000-capacity stadium were packed

There was the sadness of the bereaved families, mingled with bravado as each family's spokesman said their "children's blood would not have flowed in vain".

There was also the anger of thousands of youths, who said in their songs that they would not be deterred in their quest for freedom by death and bombings

And there was also a carnival atmosphere as thousands of pairs of stomping feet stoked up clouds of dust in chants praising the jailed leaders of the outlawed African National Congress, Walter Sisulu and Nelson Mandela, as well as exiled ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

The dead youths were regarded as heroes. Thousands of T-shirts on the backs of mourners proclaimed the young men as martyrs and even bore the names of the grenade victims.

Many banners were unfurled — from the ANC flag to youth congress and trade union flags. They were hoisted high close by the four simple wooden coffins which stood on tables during the service.

Schools officially reopened yesterday but children did not attend classes. Shops and other business were closed

East Rand reports by Chris More, Rich Mkhondo, Jon Qwelane and Sol Makgabutlane.

and many workers did not report for duty.

The few that did had to walk long distances after work because buses went only as far as the kwaThema Police Station at the entrance of the township.

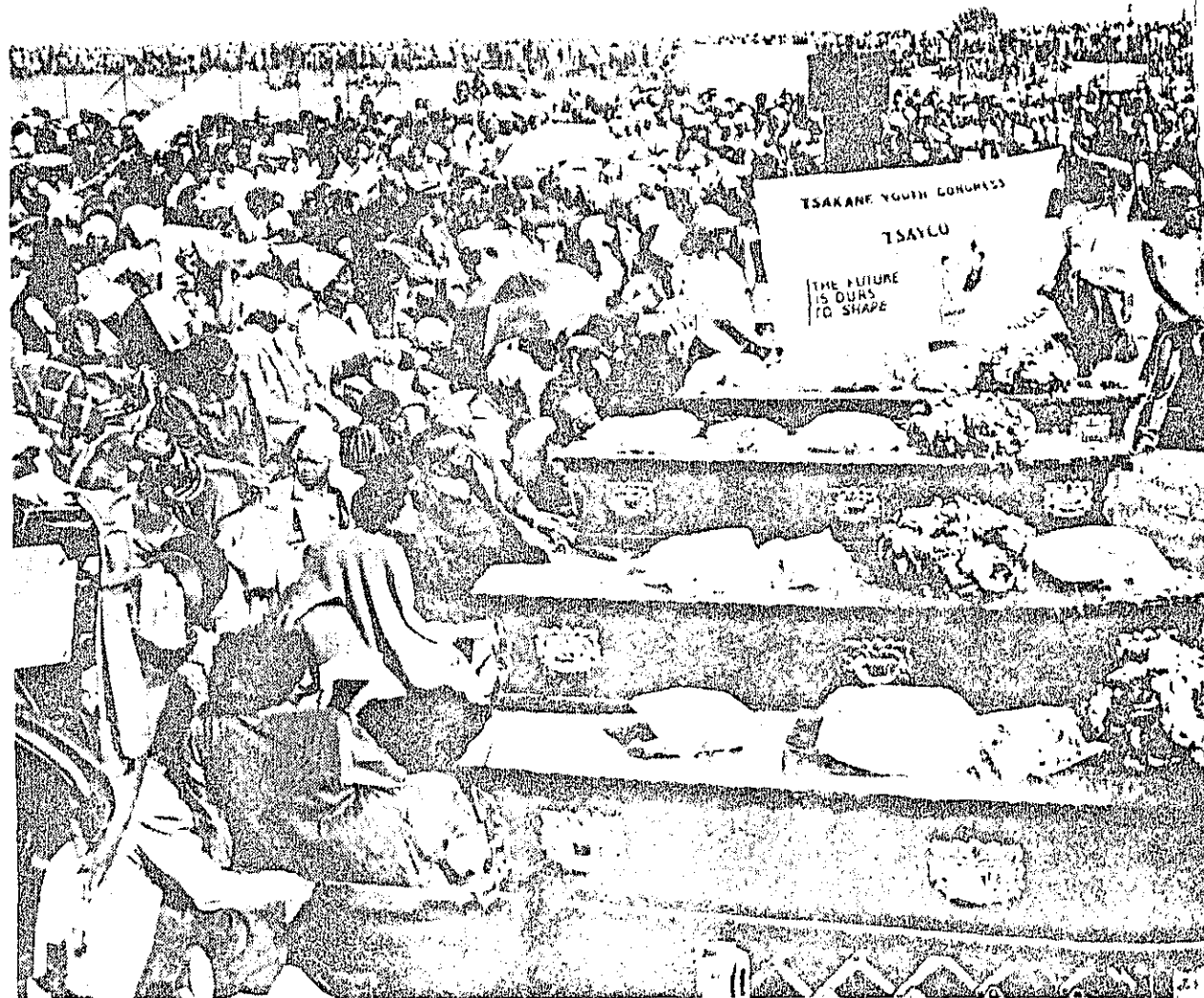
Shortly after 2 pm a solid phalanx wormed its way to the cemetery about 3 km away. Hearses which came to the stadium were a formality; the coffins were borne shoulder-high by youths all the way to the graveyard.

Before the service was over, there was an estimated 50 000 people in the grounds and thousands more outside. Thousands more lined the route of the funeral procession.

About a kilometre from the cemetery, concealed in a plantation of bluegum trees, were policemen in an armoured troop carrier and in several cars.

Later, troop carriers and SAP vehicles were seen at the kwaThema Police Station.

Several mourners believed they were preparing for the funerals today of the remaining grenade victims, who will be buried in Duduza near Nigel.



Relatives sit next to the four coffins containing the remains of four youths killed two weeks ago by grenade.

# al crowds mob youths' funeral

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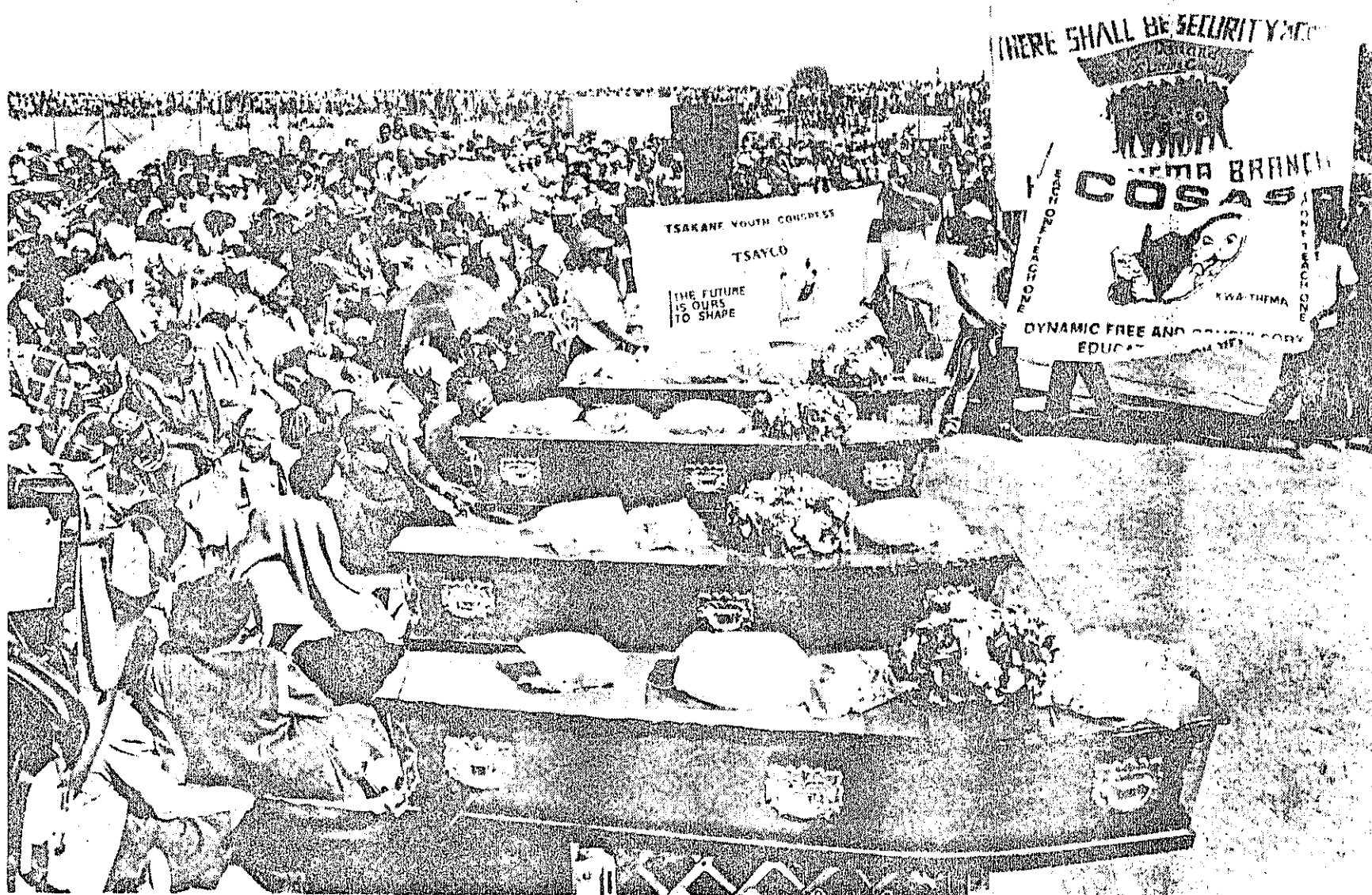
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Star 10/7/85



Relatives sit next to the four coffins containing the remains of four youths killed two weeks ago by grenade explosions on the East Rand.

# Call to probe four murders

CAPE TOWN — There should be a full investigation into whether "State employees" had murdered the four Cradock community leaders whose bodies were found in the bush outside Port Elizabeth this month, the vice-chairman of the Civil Rights League, Mr Brian Bishop, said last night.

Speaking to about 800 people at a memorial rally for the four men at the Athlone Civic Centre, he said the Commissioner of the South African Police, General Johan Coetzee, had accused people of spreading "lies and twisted reports" about the killings.

The general should therefore welcome an investigation to establish the truth, Mr Bishop said.

Recently top members of the Government had justified the crossing of international borders and the killing in cold blood of people who were said, without proof, to be acting against the interests of this country.

Who could therefore blame State employees for believing that a "local" operation, similar to the Gaborone one, was justified, he said.

In all, 10 Eastern Cape community leaders had died in mysterious circumstances over the past few years and "not one case has been solved", Mr Bishop said.

He rejected the theory that Azapo-UDF conflict led to the murders.

"I discussed the issue with Matthew Goniwe (chairman of the Cradock Residents' Association and one of the murdered men) eight days before his death and he confirmed there was no UDF-Azapo tension in Cradock."

Mr Bishop said that when Mr Goniwe was in detention at Pollsmoor Prison last year he had developed a fascination for the Third Reich and had asked Mr Bishop for books on the subject "because it was racist and oppressive — and beaten".

Candles were lit for Mr Goniwe and the other three men, Mr Sicelo Mahlawuli, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Fort Calata, at the rally last night.

● Cape Town police are searching for those responsible for hanging an effigy and banner from a pedestrian bridge on the Eastern Boulevard, near Woodstock, yesterday.

The effigy of a man hung from the bridge next to a banner on which "Who murdered Matthew Goniwe" was written in red and black.

The effigy and banner were removed by a traffic officer yesterday morning and taken to the Woodstock Police Station. — Sapa



Youths in Duduza township on the East Rand who attended a mass funeral for hand-grenade victims yesterday chant and dance after setting an alleged police informer's car alight. Picture: Daniel Simon

*CAPE TIMES 11/7/85*

# Bishops save man at Duduza funeral

JOHANNESBURG. — A man died in KwaThema yesterday as more than ten thousand people attended a funeral in the riot-torn Duduza township for four youths killed in hand-grenade explosions last month.

SOPHIE TEMA reports from Duduza that after the funeral the Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, and the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg East, the Right Rev Simeon Nkoane, saved a man mobbed by about 50 people who accused him of being a police spy.

Bishop Nkoane physically fought off the crowd of youths who were intent on burning the man alive by throwing him into the burning wreck of his car.

A crowd of angry youths stormed the man's car after questioning him for several minutes.

## Doused

Bishop Nkoane pleaded with the youths not to injure the man but, ignoring him, they set alight to the vehicle with a petrol bomb.

The man was dragged away from Bishop Nkoane and the crowd beat him severely.

The man begged Bishop Nkoane to intervene but the knife-wielding

petrol and tried to hurl him into the flames.

While Bishop Nkoane struggled with the crowd, the man broke free and ran towards Bishop Tutu, who was sitting in his car.

Bishop Tutu dragged the man into his car and drove from the scene at high speed towards the township. The man, who was apparently severely injured, was admitted to hospital.

## 'Solidarity'

Bishop Tutu and two other members of the Anglican Church were allowed to leave the synod that is currently being held in Maritzburg to visit the affected East Rand area "as an expression of the synod's solidarity with and concern for the people".

In his address Bishop Tutu said: "We have been sent by the Anglican Provincial Synod sitting in Maritzburg to tell the people of Duduza that we are with you and support you in the struggle."

"We are struggling against a system which is totally evil — the system of apartheid."

Before Bishop Tutu spoke, two reporters from the Citizen newspaper were ordered to leave the stadium.

Reporters and other

blacks attended the funeral as armoured police vehicles patrolled Duduza's streets and monitored the gathering with cameras from a nearby hilltop. Riot units kept their distance and did not interfere.

The youths who were buried yesterday were Solomon Mashabane, Osborn Dlamini, Samuel Mashiane and Lucky Mogodi.

The service was interrupted by crowds of people who broke away from the stadium to rescue people who came from Tsakane township on foot to attend the funeral but were chased back by police in armoured cars.

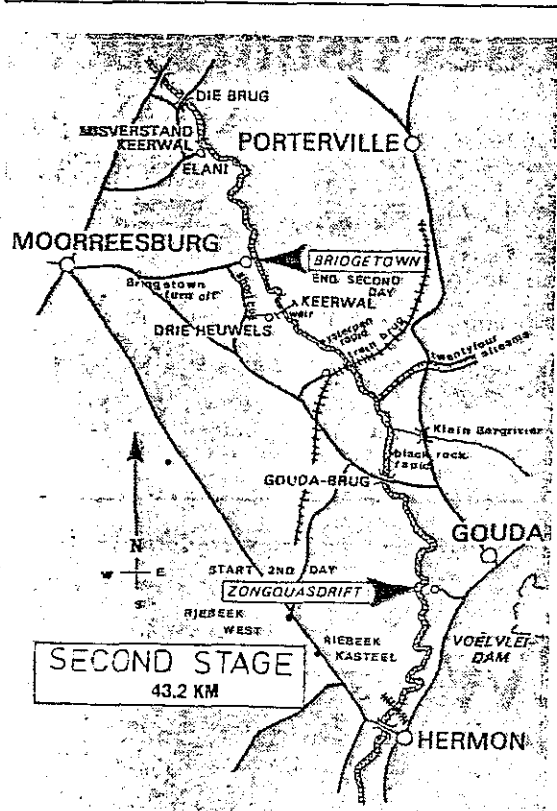
Earlier, police said three men were killed in KwaThema on Tuesday and early yesterday, taking the death toll in unrest since Friday to at least 16.

Two unidentified men were shot dead by police when they stoned the homes of policemen in KwaThema, a police spokesman said.

The body of a black man, aged 20, was brought to the KwaThema police station late on Tuesday evening. — Sapa-AP and UPI

Coetzee defends police, page 2

Leading article page 10



The second stage of the gruelling Winelands Berg River Canoe Marathon which starts at Zongquasdrift this morning. ● First stage to Chalupsky, picture, back page

## Reaganomics to Reaganese

WASHINGTON. — The Reagan administration has virtually rewritten the dictionary in its verbal contortions to avoid saying "tax increase".

When Mr Reagan raised R198 billion in taxes in 1981, it was called "revenue enhancement".

When he said he would consider taxing social-security benefits of the wealthy if Congress would not freeze cost-of-living increases, Senator Robert Dole called it a "recapture of benefits".

White House spokesman Mr Larry Speakes referred to the plan as "replacement of revenues".

Mr Reagan's promise that a tax increase would happen only "over my dead body" apparently necessitated the euphemisms — UPI



# Grievances: Boycotters force businesses to intercede

Organised boycotts by black consumers in the Eastern Cape are threatening to cripple many white-run businesses. KEN VERNON of the Argus Port Elizabeth Bureau reports

BEYOND the terrifying violence and near-anarchy in Eastern Cape black townships, a number of communities are simultaneously exerting a more subtle pressure that has forced white commerce to intercede with authorities to improve township life.

Organised boycotts by black consumers in several towns are threatening to cripple many white-run businesses.

Businessmen say it is an "unprecedented trend" of coercing white commercial organisations to a greater awareness of black social and political concerns.

In Adelaide, where an almost 100 percent boycott has been in operation for more than two months, the local businessmen's association and municipal officials have met black township representatives in an effort to end the boycott.

## Demands

Public relations officer for the association Mr Keith Wootton said his organisation, which represented English and Afrikaans-speaking businessmen, had met the boycott organisers, the Adelaide Youth Congress, who had listed 22 demands to be met before the boycott could be ended.

"Their demands ranged from repairing township roads to the removal of the police and army units from the township," said Mr Wootton. "We wrote to several authorities and forwarded copies of these letters to the Youth Congress, but the boycott has continued."

In nearby Fort Beaufort where a less effective boycott has been in operation for more than three months, several white-owned businesses which rely mainly on black consumers are threatened with bank-

ruptcy unless the boycott is ended, according to the president of the Fort Beaufort Chamber of Commerce, Mr Richard Roy.

"We even invited black businessmen to join our chamber in an effort to end the boycott, but have had no response" he said.

Traders in the affected towns have complained that the boycott has been maintained only by a high level of intimidation of shoppers by black youths.

Last week a month-long boycott by black shoppers of white-owned businesses in Grahamstown was called off after a township action committee presented a list of 34 demands to the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce calling for, among other things, the withdrawal of police and SADF patrols from the townships and the resignation of the local black community council.

Chairman of the chamber Mr Brian Birt said the chamber wished to remain neutral in the

issues raised, but wanted to act as a channel of communication between blacks and the relevant authorities, and had already reported back to the action committee on 20 of the 34 issues raised.

The president of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, Mr Frank Whiteman, said there was an unprecedented trend taking shape of blacks boycotting white businesses in order to force them to try to solve political problems.

"There is no doubt the boycotts are a manifestation of the current unrest in the Eastern Cape and this can be seen from the political demands being made in order for the boycotts to end."

Commenting on whether businessmen would be able to meet the demands of the boycotters, Mr Whiteman said that through the Association of Chambers of Commerce businessmen had access to the Cabinet but on the local level it was difficult determining who to speak to in the divided black townships.

## Overnight

Another problem was that boycotting groups expected that the changes they demanded could be made almost overnight.

Professor Bill Davies, professor of development studies at Rhodes University and former head of the Urban Foundation in the Eastern Cape, said the boycott tactic used in smaller towns could have the effect of alerting white businessmen at last to black grievances and could possibly result in political action to redress those grievances.

"I don't believe the organisers of the boycotts think that local white businessmen can solve all the problems facing the black community, but if the boycotts continue and businesses start going broke, then some political reaction may set in and white businessmen will start calling on their local MPs to try to solve these political problems."

Professor Davies felt the boycotts had hit smaller towns because it was easier to organise and enforce boycotts within the smaller population, and because the results enjoyed a higher profile than in a larger urban area.

"The organisers of the Grahamstown boycott showed that they had total control over the situation when, after they had received certain assurances from the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce to try to effect changes, the boycott was called off overnight."

"I believe this convinced the town's businessmen that the same people could also re-instate it overnight and this led to action on their part."

# Treason trial of UDF supporters begins today

Pietermaritzburg  
Bureau

THE treason trial of 16 supporters of the United Democratic Front, expected to be one of the longest in this country, begins in the College Road Supreme Court here this morning.

At today's hearing legal counsel for the State and the Defence are expected to present legal argument on the 587-page indict-

ment.

However, actual evidence in the trial of the 16 people charged with high treason and alternative charges under the Terrorism Act and with furthering the aims of unlawful organisations, is only expected to get under way in August.

All 16 are on bail totalling R170 000, in terms of an order granted by Natal's Judge President,

Mr Justice Milne, in May.

Mr Justice Milne will preside over the treason hearing.

Tight security is expected today at the historic College Road Supreme Court, which has been the scene of many important trials.

At the first hearing of the trial on May 20 this year 13 spectators were arrested by police outside the court. Eight of

them were later charged with demonstrating within 500 m of a court building.

The accused are: M Ramgobin, 52, C Sewpershad, 48, MJ Naidoo, 54, E Jassat, 52, D Mokoena, 37, E C Nkondo, 57, A Gumede, 71, D P David, 44, A Sisulu, 66, F Chikane, 34, E A Saloojee, 49, I Mohamed, 54, RT Gqweta, 33, SJ Njikelana, 29, SB Kikine, 37, and DI Ngcobo, 38.



# Govt has outwitted boers' 2000 in E Cape — UD

# A man

# lied — and only

11/7/85

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Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government had declared war on the people of the Eastern Cape, a crowd of about 1 000 was told at a United Democratic Front memorial rally held to mark the deaths of four Cradock men.

Mr Mkhoseli Jack, leader of the Port Elizabeth Youth Organisation (Peyco), told the meeting the "battle lines have been clearly drawn".

He said the murder of Cradock community leader Mr Matthew Goniwe and three of his colleagues, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, was a "devastating blow against our struggle and against

our nation".

"I am not afraid to say that the 'boers' killed Goniwe and I don't care what action they take against me," he said during a fiery speech.

### 'AUTHORITIES DON'T LISTEN'

Mr Jack said people who had been victims of alleged police or army atrocities had tried to report these to the authorities "but they do want to listen, so we won't bother to report these matters anymore".

He warned the Government that there would be no peace until it started negotiating with the African National Congress, which was recognised as the representative of the

people.

"We will embarrass the Government as much as we can. I am not ashamed to tell you that you must create chaos here. Disorganise wherever you see the state," Mr Jack told an enthusiastic crowd.

Mr Brian Bishop of the Civil Rights League called for an full investigation to determine whether "State employees" had murdered Mr Goniwe. In this case, and in others involving mysterious deaths or disappearances, telephone tapping had made the murders possible, he said.

"If the police do not tap telephones, an inquiry must establish who does," he said.

"A thousand Goniwes are in towns across South Africa," executive member Mr W Rhodes told the rally.

### 'MORE LEADERS WILL EME

In a tribute to the Cradock community leader he said: "You have comrade, but in all the small to our land 1 000 Goniwes are eme

"Murdered, but not forgotte light you have lit will blaze on."

At the start of the meeting night, the audience which packed Athlone Civic Centre sang a while a candle encased in wire was lit.

# narrowly escaped being burnt alive



Crowds at the head of the funeral procession to the cemetery in Duduza on the East Rand yesterday. Coffins were carried shoulder-high.

The evidence, according to the judge and jury was conclusive: the accused was a proved enemy of the people and the only sentence befitting crime was execution.

The judge and jury were the same people — censured youths attending the funeral yesterday of hand grenade victims at Duduza, near Nigel.

The accused was a smartly dressed man who said he was Mr David Kgope, a butcher from Daveyton. He also he was a teacher.

Pro deo counsel for the accused was the Anglican Suffragan Bishop for Johannesburg East, the Rt Rev Simeon Nkoane, pleaded with the youths to spare the man's life.

But the youths were incensed. So incensed that they had already prepared the funeral pyre — the man's car was already on its way and in flames. All that was left was for the victim to be thrown into the flames and left to burn alive.

The dramatic chain of events was set in motion when the offered youths travelling to Duduza a lift. But he told them he was not really going to Duduza but to Tsakane, at Brakpan.

When the youths later spotted the man's car among the Press convoy, they approached him and asked him for credentials. He did not have any. He said

East Rand reports  
Jon Qwelane, Sol

# 'Struggle means risking one's life'



Crowds at the head of the funeral procession to the cemetery in Duduza on the East Rand yesterday. Coffins were carried shoulder-high.

# 'Struggle means risking one's life'

The struggle for political freedom entailed putting one's life at risk and that was what the four victims of the hand grenade blasts in Duduza township on the East Rand had done, the principal of the school they had attended said at their funeral yesterday.

Mr B Motjwadi said the people of Duduza were in turmoil "and its young are an endangered species". "This is no ordinary time.

## SLEEPING COMRADES

"You have assembled in true African tradition that when there is a death in the community, you come to thousands," he said, pointing to the crowd of approximately 10 000 people gathered at the stadium.

An unnamed classmate of the youths pointed at the coffins of Osborne Dlamini, Solomon Mashabane, Samuel Mashiane and Lucky Mogodi and said: "The comrades who are sleeping here died in front of my eyes.

"As I talk to you today, I am expecting death to come to me at any time because I know the system is after me as well. Apartheid has taken my friends from me and robbed them of their most precious thing — life.

"We must expect that people are going to die for the liberation of this country," he said.

When the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, stood to speak, a contingent of police vehicles drove around the stadium and several people chanted that they should leave. He asked the people not to

panic and run from the police because "their guns cannot kill the spirit of freedom we are looking forward to".

"Do not run away. If they shoot at you, they must shoot you in the forehead and not in the back running away."

Mr Pat Lephunya of the United Democratic Front said: "Those countries that reap the wealth of our country, like America and Britain, will not be forgiven.

"Gatsha Buthelezi will also not be forgiven for what he is doing as far as investment is concerned. Those that killed our comrades will also not be forgiven."

The master of ceremonies, Mr Enoch Makhalemele of the East Rand Chamber of Commerce, said some people had confiscated T-shirts being sold at the stadium commemorating the deaths.

"Those people will wear the T-shirts and then be wolves in sheep's clothing. Be careful of them because they will sing the same songs as you. Be careful because it will mean the difference of being assaulted or killed, and staying alive."

## TELLING LIES

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, told the people they must fight for their freedom.

"We know that the people in authority in Cape Town tell lies, because they have been shown to tell lies. There is no way they can tell any truth about apartheid, because apartheid is totally indefensible," Bishop Tutu said.



Bishop Desmond Tutu says the last prayer before a coffin is lowered into the grave during yesterday's funeral.

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When the youths later spotted the man's car among of the Press convoy, they approached him and asked him for credentials.

He did not have any. He said he had forgotten his reference book at home.

But he produced a school exercise book on which he had a list of various East Rand traders, and sums of money against their names and businesses. He said it was the money he had been collecting to help run similar burials the day before in kwaThema at Springs.

Asked why he did not collect money from his own business community in Daveyton, but chose to do so a great distance away in kwaThema, the man could say only that he was asked by his township's branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) to do so.

## SECOND CHANCE

But he had taken a bad chance, because Cosas members from Daveyton were at the funeral and were called. They denied knowledge of the man, and also denied that anyone in their region had been sent to collect money.

They also said they knew the real Mr David Kgope; their families bought meat from his butchery. At this, the man said he was not really the owner of the butchery, but his son. The youths then mentioned the owner's daughter, and asked where she lived. The man did not know.

The valiant efforts of Bishop Nkoane and the Rev EH Maphanga seemed doomed to fail as hundreds of youths bayed for the man's blood.

To give him another chance, the youths approached the chairman of the East Rand

## East Rand report: Jon Qwelane, Sol Makgabutlane, C' More, Mike Tisso and Rich Mkhond

Chamber of Commerce Enoch Makhalemele, to organisation traders and businessmen in the region.

Again the man's claim he was Mr David Kgope disproved, because the business leader knew the real one.

By then the angry youth began to rain blows on the man, whom they dropped ground and trampled upon sought refuge under a car, but was pulled out.

He was badly beaten up then dragged to his blazing. He was about to be thrown into the flames, but sum enough strength to run protective arms of Nkoane, Bishop Desmond and Bishop Kenneth Oram in Grahamstown. He clung to the legs of Bishop Tutu.

Bishop Nkoane and Bishop Oram, as well as the Rev Maphanga, did their best to head off the baying crowd, had already tasted blood was moving in for the kill.

The clerics hustled the man into Bishop Nkoane's car disappeared into the distance with Bishop Nkoane at the wheel — destination the hospital.

The day before, Bishop Nkoane also missed the moments of the funeral in kwaThema of another blast victims.

He had taken another beaten man to hospital.

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But the youths were incensed. So incensed that they had already prepared the funeral pyre — the man's car was already on its road and in flames. All that was left was for the victim to be thrown into the flames and left to burn alive.

The dramatic chain of events was set in motion when the man offered youths travelling to Duduza a lift. But he told them he was not really going to Duduza but to Tsakane, at Brakpan.

When the youths later spotted the man's car among those of the Press convoy, they approached him and asked him for credentials.

He did not have any. He said he had forgotten his reference book at home.

But he produced a school exercise book on which he had a list of various East Rand traders, and sums of money against their names and businesses. He said it was the money he had been collecting to help run similar burials the day before in kwaThema at Springs.

Asked why he did not collect money from his own business community in Daveyton, he chose to do so a great distance away in kwaThema, the man could say only that he was asked by his township's branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) to do so.

## SECOND CHANCE

But he had taken a bad chance, because Cosas members from Daveyton were at the funeral and were called. They denied knowledge of the man, and also denied that anyone in their region had been sent to collect money.

They also said they knew the real Mr David Kgope: their families bought meat from his butchery. At this, the man said he was not really the owner of the butchery, but his son. The youths then mentioned the owner's daughter, and asked where she lived. The man did not know.

The valiant efforts of Bishop Nkoane and the Rev EH Maphanga seemed doomed to fail as hundreds of youths bayed for the man's blood.

To give him another chance the youths approached the chairman of the East Rand

## East Rand reports by Jon Qwelane, Sol Makgabutlane, Chris More, Mike Tissong and Rich Mkhondo

Chamber of Commerce, Mr Enoch Makhalemele, to whose organisation traders and other businessmen in the region belong.

Again the man's claim that he was Mr David Kgope was disproved, because the business leader knew the real one.

By then the angry youths had begun to rain blows on the man, whom they dropped to the ground and trampled upon. He sought refuge under a Press car, but was pulled out.

He was badly beaten up and then dragged to his burning car. He was about to be thrown into the flames, but summoned enough strength to run to the protective arms of Bishop Nkoane, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Kenneth Oram of Grahamstown. He clung to the legs of Bishop Tutu.

Bishop Nkoane and Bishop Oram, as well as the Rev Maphanga, did their best to ward off the baying crowd, which had already tasted blood and was moving in for the kill.

The clerics hustled the man into Bishop Nkoane's car and it disappeared into the distance with Bishop Nkoane at the wheel — destination the local hospital.

The day before, Bishop Nkoane also missed the final moments of the funerals in kwaThema of another four last victims.

He had taken another badly beaten man to hospital

# Boycott of PE businesses to start on Monday

12/7/85

11A ~~AND~~ S. Post  
Post Reporter

A PLANNED eight-week boycott of white businesses in Port Elizabeth by blacks is to go ahead from Monday, a spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee, Mr Mkhusele Jack, said today.

"The decision to take this line of action has been reached after prolonged appeals to the authorities to stop alleged police brutalities in our townships, to scrap the Kayamnandi Town Council and to put an end to the disappearance of our leaders," he said.

#### Demands include:

- That the South African Defence Force and the heavy contingent of police be withdrawn from the black townships.
- That the mysterious disappearance of people in the townships should come to an end.
- That the Government should freeze price-rises on basic commodities, especially those used by blacks.
- That the tour of South Africa by the All Blacks be called off.
- That the ban on meetings, which has been extended to the end of the year, be lifted.
- That the Black Local Authorities Act be scrapped.

Mb. 12/7/85 (2) (11A)

## Unrest: Probe of police, SADF role

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front is setting up a commission to investigate the conduct of security forces and police in black townships.

UDF acting publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said here yesterday that the commission would include prominent church leaders and local and international jurists.

"Contact has already been made with international bodies and persons," he said.

It is understood that the London-based monitoring group, Amnesty International, is like-

ly to play a leading role and that attempts are being made to contact international law experts.

Mr Morobe said three factors had prompted the inquiry:

- Allegations concerning widespread police and SADF violence in townships.

- Numerous requests for investigation from community and church organisations as well as from the families of people who have died.

- The need for a tribunal of "undoubted independence" to investigate and assess the allegations.

formal business sector," says Jacobsz.

A possible solution could be to set simple minimum standards and then let communities themselves decide their additional needs. "What is demanded by one community might not be regarded as essential for another. For example, one community might want the walls of a butchery tiled from floor to ceiling, while another might not," he says. He sees this approach being linked to both the current devolution of political power and government's rethink on housing standards

in developing communities.

Jacobsz believes the State is in favour of deregulation, but some local authorities stand in the way. He says: "Local authorities play an extremely important part in business activities. Their rules and regulations apply and they enforce them. There are marked differences of approach. Some are more lenient than others. Some realise that in the interests of good relations and to eradicate friction and promote development, it is often better to turn a blind eye. An example is

'pirate taxis'. In some cases, regulations are enforced to the letter, while in others all that is demanded is that the taxis are roadworthy and the drivers are licensed."

Jacobsz regards the informal business sector in black communities as a "very important facet" in overall economic development. "It is providing income, generating growth and creating employment opportunities. I think we would make a big mistake to underestimate the power of that informal sector," he says. ■

GABORONE RAID

## Botswana's perspective



Festus Mogae, Permanent Secretary to Botswana President Quett Masire and head of the Botswana civil service, spoke to the *FM* on behalf of the President in Gaborone.

**FM:** What is Botswana's view of the SADF raid aimed at alleged ANC homes?

Mogae: The SA government made a decision to violate the territorial integrity of this country and then carried it out. This was a premeditated act of aggression. The SA government said the raid was aimed at ANC bases in Botswana. You, on the other hand, say at ANC homes. You probably are in a dilemma because, indeed, the SADF has attacked residential homes and one office block. All these targets are inhabited by civilians.

It was, therefore, a case of an army with machine guns entering people's homes at night to shoot them at close range in their beds, whilst they were sleeping. This is cold blooded murder of the most callous and cruel kind imaginable. Our view is that SA has, without any provocation, decided to invade Botswana as it once threatened, and ordered its army to murder innocent civilians, among them old men, women and children.

Why, in your view, did Pretoria launch the raid if, as Botswana has said, civilians and not ANC fighters were killed? And why after the two states had been negotiating over security/infiltration matters in recent months?

SA faces a daily onslaught internally against the inhumane system of apartheid. The state of affairs in that country is tantamount to a full-scale insurrection, and yet the government is unable to do much about it. In the US, SA faces a daily embarrassment of causing arrests of prominent people for singing protest songs against its apartheid laws. This is compounded by the disinvestment campaign. SA has also bungled a cynical operation in Angola. In Namibia, SA had been hoping to establish a respectable puppet regime, but its current interim government there consists of its known cronies.

Perhaps SA believed it should convince itself, in the face of such horrendous failures, that it still could do something successfully and demonstrate to the world its power and the will to resort to brutal force as it wished. It may believe such brutal acts of murder will silence its critics and appease the fringe rightwing with bloodletting.

The security meeting we held with SA culminated with an agreed public statement between the two governments, in which the Foreign Minister of SA said his government no longer required Botswana to sign an agreement because it accepted its assurances that it does not allow use of its territory as a launching pad against SA. He said that SA also undertook not to allow its territory as a launching pad against Botswana. Following this agreement, we had every reason to feel relieved because we genuinely believed that we had now reached a reasonable settlement. The agreement was even more welcome because SA had been making public threats of an invasion on Botswana.

Prior to the unprovoked act of aggression and its aftermath, there was no evidence that Botswana is being used as a launching pad into SA. There is no single act, or shred of evidence, linking any of the people murdered with a specific plan or act in SA. Attempts to fabricate evidence and to contrive to link events in SA with Botswana by the SADF still leave the burden of proof very much on the SA side.

According to SA, Botswana merely paid lip service to the undertaking to control insurgents alleged to be passing through your territory.

SA allegations against any activities in Botswana have always been investigated. Whenever Botswana police came across people carrying arms of war, they have been arrested, tried and imprisoned. Statements attributed to Mr Pik Botha and the police indicate that the government is well aware of this. If they and the SA ambassador to London are fully aware of this, I find it curious that President Botha could have said to Parliament that Botswana is paying lip service to its policies. On the contrary, this is evidence that we are committed to the policies and undertakings we made.

Is SA still pressurising, and is Botswana now considering signing a formal Nkomati-type accord with Pretoria?

I am not sure what SA wants from us. However, after what has happened it is doubtful whether any agreement with SA would be meaningful in the sense that it would be difficult to have confidence in what it says it will do. You recall that SA has been casting about, making noise about entering into non-aggression pacts with its neighbours. With respect to Botswana, there is now no doubt that SA has committed an act of aggression against my country. A UN Security Council resolution, which constitutes an instrument of international law, has unequivocally stated that fact.

Is Botswana going to expel all refugees linked, perhaps, to the ANC, as Lesotho was forced to?

The entire country is under attack. The violation of the territorial integrity of a country is a most serious matter. This is the first and foremost responsibility of our government. Botswana is the first country of asylum of refugees from SA. Even if it were possible for us to expel all refugees today, there will be others tomorrow. The only way we could stop receiving refugees, is if they do not come. Refugees can only be expelled from Botswana when the Refugee Advisory Council is satisfied that they have contravened their conditions of stay as refugees. SA says it gave a list to Botswana some time ago of suspected ANC insurgents operating in your country. Did Botswana investigate?

The SA Foreign Minister gave list of 17 people to our former Minister of External Affairs, Archie Mogwe, in March 1983. We investigated the list and informed SA of our findings. We also requested SA to furnish evidence supporting its allegations. In Botswana we respect the rule of law. No-one will be summarily expelled simply because SA says so. SA should behave in accordance with international law governing the conduct of relations between states. In this respect, refugees are treated under the Geneva Convention. There are conditions which they observe and may not be expelled from a country without any evidence that they have contravened such conditions. ■

FACE  
TO FACE

ZIMBABWE ELECTIONS

# Fear and loathing

Zimbabwean whites are now more fearful than at any time since the 1972-1980 bush war. At the same time, members of black minority parties are falling victim to a vicious pogrom by mobs of Zanu (PF) supporters. That is why no one would mourn the fact that the June 27-July 2 elections may be the last resembling the Western notion of a democratic test of opinion.

Three people are reported to have been killed and hundreds left homeless and destitute as weekend jubilation by Zanu (PF) victors turned to well-organised victimisation of the losers.

Joshua Nkomo, leader of the main opposition party, Zapu, believes that the wave of attacks on people suspected of not voting for PM Robert Mugabe is designed to pave the way for the banning of Zapu and the proclamation of a one-party state.

Zimbabwe, says the veteran nationalist leader, has been polarised by the election into ethnic groups. The poll, he claims, has created a false appearance of unity under Mugabe's leadership of the three main Shona tribes — the Cezuru (to which Mugabe belongs), the Karanga and the Manjika.

Nkomo himself won all 15 Matabeleland seats compared to the 63 scooped by Mugabe in all the predominantly Shona-speaking areas except the remote south-east, where Shangaan fellow tribespeople of the exiled Zanu founder, the Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, returned a lone Zanu MP.

Whites have also rallied round a traditional leader, former Rhodesian PM Ian Smith. His Conservative Alliance Zimbabwe (CAZ) won 15 of the 20 reserved white seats whose existence is entrenched until 1987 under the British-designed Lancaster House constitution.

But seasoned observers agree that if whites knew then what they know now, many of them would probably not have voted for Smith. They were sincerely shocked when it became clear how their support for Smith had been perceived by Mugabe and other black Zimbabweans. It is a "we did not mean it like that" kind of attitude, and few whites are now prepared to state openly that they voted for the CAZ.

When a by-election has been held to fill a vacancy caused by the death of a candidate, Mugabe is expected to hold 64 seats in the House of Assembly — six short of the total he will need to remove the white seats constitutionally when the guarantees expire in two years' time.

But he is not prepared to wait, he told a press conference, regardless of the damage unconstitutional action would cause to Zimbabwe's relations with Western trading partners and aid donors.

"When we believe we are right, the Western countries can say what they want — they can go hang," said Mugabe.

Mugabe's threats to retaliate against the 100 000 white community here for Smith's



PM Mugabe ... "the West can go hang"

poll successes have raised fears of a witch-hunt by Zanu (PF) informers in shops, offices and factories for alleged Smith supporters.

Even whites long opposed to Smith have been alarmed, since black workers have been giving them first-hand reports from the townships, where mobs of screaming Zanu (PF) women have been jogging around with lists of addresses.

In Harare's Mufakose township alone over 400 homes of alleged minority party supporters have been ransacked. Policemen confessed they were under orders not to intervene so long as no lives were lost while homeowners and their belongings were thrown out into the street.

Nevertheless, a defeated Zapu candidate was axed to death by a mob in Harare's Dzvivaresekwa township.

There was an indication that the situation was getting out of hand even by Zanu (PF)'s broadminded standards when politburo members appealed for rank-and-file supporters "not to take the law into their own hands."

Zimbabwe is not yet a one-party state, noted Information Minister Nathan Sha-

muyarira.

The irony of the election hysteria, according to constitutional analysts, is that most key functions of Parliament have in any case been taken over by the Zanu (PF) central committee, while the national policymaking function of the cabinet has been assumed by Mugabe's 15-member politburo which is not answerable to the legislature.

Holders of cabinet portfolios, such as Zimbabwe's internationally-respected Agriculture Minister Dennis Norman, who is expected to be brought in again from outside party politics, only have a say in day-to-day technical application of policy.

Unlike Western cabinet ministers, they are powerless to influence plans, for example, to commit a massive force of Zimbabwean troops to fighting Renamo rebels in Mozambique before the next rains break — an imminent move which may have momentous consequences for southern Africa.

□ See feature on page 58.

11A ~~3333~~  
THE UDF SLAYINGS FM

## Who is responsible?

Who murdered the four United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders on their way from Port Elizabeth to Cradock last week? If this question is not answered soon, wild speculation could give way to firm conviction — with unpredictable consequences.

Theories abound on who could have been responsible for the death of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicele Mhlawuli. It remains to be seen which stands up to close examination.

The four men were on their way back to Cradock after attending a secret meeting in Port Elizabeth last Thursday night. Their car was found the next morning next to the road between Blue Water Bay and St George's Strand on the Port Elizabeth-Grahamstown road. The bodies of Mkhonto, chairman of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora), and Mhlawuli, a school principal from Oudtshoorn, were found in the vicinity of the burnt-out car on Friday and Saturday, respectively. They had been stabbed and their bodies burnt.

On Tuesday, a police and military search found the stabbed and charred bodies of Calata and Goniwe further away from the car. Friends who saw their bodies claim that Goniwe's hands had been broken and Calata's fingers had been severed.

Goniwe (38) was the founder of Cradora and the Cradock Youth Organisation (Cradoya). Both organisations are affiliated to



Smith



the UDF. A brilliant teacher and community leader respected far outside his hometown, Goniwe was sacked from his teaching post last year and became the central figure in a school boycott in Cradock which spread to almost all schools in the eastern Cape. He had been detained for several months and was about to be reinstated as a teacher when he was killed. Calata (29) was an executive member of Cradock and chairman of Cradock.

UDF leaders immediately voiced the suspicion that the authorities could be responsible. An indication of the importance government attaches to the incident, the allegations, and the prominent attention it immediately received in the international media, is that its denial was first made not by the Minister of Law and Order, but by Deputy Foreign Minister Louis Nel.

Government, Nel said in a statement, "takes the strongest possible exception against the callous insinuations" regarding the deaths. "The government has persistently tried to restore law and order in areas affected by unrest exactly to prevent such tragic incidents as have occurred in the eastern Cape where the internecine power struggle between opposing radical organisations has claimed many lives and resulted in untold damage.

"The alarming statistics of blacks killed during violent unrest in recent months is indicative of a deliberate campaign of terror by black radical organisations directed specifically against moderates and those prepared to negotiate. In the period between April and June 1985 some one hundred blacks died as a result of this campaign."

Nel then referred to Goniwe's pending reinstatement and said that the Chief Director (Control) of the Department of Education and Training, Jaap Strydom, had already requested an appointment with Goniwe for July 1 or 2 "to finalise matters regarding re-appointment."

Added Nel: "I can only trust that Mr Goniwe's untimely death had nothing to do with these negotiations... I wish to express my condolences to the families of the deceased and assure them that the legal processes will continue in order to bring the perpetrators of these deeds to justice."

The head of Port Elizabeth's Murder and Robbery Squad, Lieutenant Colonel Eric Strydom, followed this up with a statement

that he had "good reason" to believe that Azapo sympathisers were responsible.

Azapo's Eastern Cape vice-president, Phambile Ntloko, quickly denied this and said: "The deaths were clearly the work of the system. Azapo would never engage itself in such acts. The system is exploiting the present feud between the UDF and Azapo to remove elements it realises are a danger to them."

UDF spokesmen also stated their belief that it was not Azapo, but "agents of the regime" that are to be held responsible.

UDF executive member Trevor Manuel says there is "a deep-seated anger within the ranks of the UDF" at the murders. Manuel explains why they do not believe Azapo members could have been responsible by pointing out that:



**UDF's Manuel ... not blaming Azapo**

□ On their departure from PE on Thursday the group agreed that they would not stop for anybody other than uniformed police;

□ The body of Goniwe's car was not damaged at all — an indication that they were not forced off the road;

□ It has been reported that there had been a police roadblock just before the turn-off to Bluewater Bay on the same night; and

□ Arrangements for the meeting in PE had been made by phone and no-one except the people at the meeting knew of the visit.

A spokesman for SAP headquarters in Pretoria would not tell the *FM* more than that the case is being investigated thor-

oughly by Colonel Strydom and his team. The police have offered a reward of R1 000, and the UDF a reward of R5 000, for information leading to the arrest of the murderers. ■

# Synod 'no' to call on Mandela

CAPE TIMES 12/7/85 (2) 11A

## Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — A call for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela was rejected by the Anglican Synod yesterday.

The synod also decided by 76 votes to 32 not to place an item on the coming New Zealand rugby tour on the order paper.

The motion, proposed by Archdeacon Christopher Gregorowski of Cape Town, urged players, officials and supporters of the tour not to proceed with it because of the volatile situation in South Africa.

A motion backing a national convention was passed at the synod, meeting here, but delegates rejected an amendment which called for the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and "other life sentence prisoners from Pollsmoor Prison and Robben Island".

The amendment, proposed by the Rev Sydney Luckett of Cape Town, was coupled to an amendment endorsing the call by the Synod of Anglican Bishops for a national convention.

About 50 members of the synod absented themselves from voting on the Nelson Mandela amendment and voting on this measure was 68 against and 52 in favour.

Meanwhile the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, said in

his reply to the Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev Philip Russell, that recriminations and false accusations did not help to resolve the issue of escalating violence in South Africa.

On Monday night the Provincial Synod sent telegrams to the State President, Mr P W Botha, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, and General Malan, calling for the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry to investigate the activities of the police, the Defence Force and paramilitary forces in the townships of the East Rand.

General Malan said in a telexed reply that the SADF, far from being involved in action which inflamed matters further, was doing what it could in support of the SAP in a difficult situation.

The synod also decided not to accept a motion, proposed by Mr Terry Mackey of Pretoria, noting that the proceedings of the assembly had frequently resembled a party political rally rather than a Christian assembly to legislate and advise.

The motion said church experience in South Africa had been that a church manipulated by politics lost both its credibility and its membership.

12/7/85

# Botha replies in Dutch row

From PHILLIP  
VAN NIEKERK

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday denied that police had intended to violate the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria when they blocked an attempted escape by a detainee, Mr Klaas de Jonge.

The Netherlands Government has demanded that Mr De Jonge, who is at the centre of a row which has plunged relations between the two countries to an all-time low, be returned to their embassy in Pretoria.

Mr De Jonge allegedly led unsuspecting police to the embassy on Tuesday on the pretext of pointing out an arms cache, before making a desperate bid for the sanctuary of the embassy.

Mr Botha told a press conference in Pretoria yesterday that Mr De Jonge was being held under suspicion of establishing caches of arms for the ANC.

Mr Botha called the conference after the Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, had summoned the South African Ambassador, Mr David Louw, to The Hague to protest against the violation of their embassy.

Sapa-AP reports from The Hague that the opposition Labour Party on Wednesday asked Mr Van den Broek to recall the Dutch Ambassador as a protest against the incident. However, a Foreign Ministry spokesman said that for the time being, no further moves against South Africa were considered.

Mr Jacobus van der Velden, the first secretary of the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria, said Mr De Jonge had been sitting in the embassy waiting room for about 30 seconds when he was grabbed by three armed policemen.

But Mr Botha said yesterday that Mr De Jonge had only "partially" entered the embassy and that he was at all times legally in custody.

Mr De Jonge's ex-wife, Mrs Helena Pastoors, is also being held under Section 29.

Mr De Jonge, a respected anthropologist, was detained on June 23. Mrs Pastoors, who is studying for a doctorate in linguistics at the University of the Witwatersrand, was detained a few days later.

Mrs Pastoors was scheduled to leave South Africa at the end of last month.

# Unrest toll is 450 SAIRR

CAPE TIMES  
12/7/85

PRETORIA. — One man died as unrest continued in townships across the country yesterday and the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) said 450 people had died in "political violence" in the Republic since September last year.

Of the 450 dead, nearly 300 died this year, the SAIRR said in a statement issued to Sapa.

Half of the deaths occurred in incidents involving the police, while about a third died in "civilian black-on-black violence," the SAIRR said.

Meanwhile, police reported last night that a man's body was found near the scene of an arson attack on a delivery vehicle in Daveyton, near Benoni. The attackers had been dispersed by police.

## 25 arrested

Police also reported that nine people were injured and 25 arrested in continuing countrywide unrest.

Two PFP MPs, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe and Mr Peter Soal, visited trouble-torn KwaThema and Duduza on the East Rand yesterday and called for the withdrawal of riot police from the townships.

In a statement, Mr Van der Merwe, (Green Point), and Mr Soal, (Johannesburg North), said: "The riot police must withdraw from the townships, policemen resident in potential riot areas should be accommodated elsewhere and further interference at funerals or meetings should cease."

They were concerned about the increasing violence and, in many cases, the conflicting versions of events.

The two MPs saw a cinema where police were said to have fired teargas and rubber bullets into the crowd on Monday night. In the foyer of the cinema they found "a substantial

number of rubber bullets, teargas canisters and shells."

In a statement released yesterday the SAIRR said: "The high number of deaths in incidents involving policemen is cause for very grave concern.

The allegations of unlawful police action, notably in the Eastern Cape and on the East Rand, are particularly alarming, and it is of the utmost importance that they be speedily investigated."

It suggested a body such as the General Council of the Bar of South Africa conduct a full public inquiry.

"The situation also necessitates an urgent and comprehensive review of the extremely complex question of how to restore peace in the townships in the least provocative manner.

"The institute knows there are demands simply for the withdrawal of security forces from the townships, but the real question is how to make them be seen and accepted there as protectors of the peace and guardians of legitimate authority."

The UDF has decided to appoint a "non-governmental" commission of inquiry to investigate the conduct of the police and the South African Defence Force in black townships.

The acting national publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphy Morobe, told Sapa yesterday the commission would include prominent church leaders and local and international jurists.

He said factors leading to the appointment of the commission included allegations of widespread police and SADF violence in the townships and numerous requests from community leaders and from families of people who had died. — Sapa

# Call for Mandela release is defeated

11A  
12/7/85 NM

Mercury Reporter

PIETERMARITZBURG—An amendment to a motion calling for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other life-sentence prisoners in Pollsmoor Prison and on Robben Island was defeated by a narrow majority yesterday.

The amendment, proposed by the Rev Sydney Lockett of Cape Town, was coupled to an amendment endorsing the call by the Synod of Anglican bishops for a national convention. The Synod approved this call.

About 50 members of the Synod absented themselves from voting on the Mandela amendment and voting on this measure was 68 against and 52 in favour.

Fr Lockett objected to a request in the original motion that the United States Government should be directly involved in negotiations for peace.

He said that U S intervention around the world had been 'oppressive'.

The Synod decided by 76 votes to 32 not to place an item on the forthcoming New Zealand rugby tour on the order paper.

The Synod also decided not to accept a motion, proposed by Mr Terry Mackey of Pretoria, noting that the proceedings of the assembly had frequently resembled a party political rally rather than a Christian assembly to legislate and advise.

The motion said church experience in South Africa had been that a church manipulated by politics lost both its credibility and its membership.

Mr Mackey said afterwards that he was disturbed that the Spirit of God had not been working at the Synod as it should.

It was not wrong that political issues should crop up at the Synod but they should not dominate.

'I think I shall have to find myself another church, possibly the Roman Catholic Church,' he added.

● See Editorial Opinion

## Fears over 'political stance'

Mercury Reporter

SEVERAL white priests attending the Synod have expressed grave fears that financial contributions to the Church will drop sharply as a result of the political overtones of the present Synod.

Some have reported that planned giving programmes have already been affected by the present stance of the Church.

A priest from a so-

called liberal, wealthy white parish said yesterday that his Christian Stewardship figures for this year were considerably down on the levels for last year.

He said that a prominent parishioner had decided to divide her allocation between the Anglican Church and the Salvation Army because she felt that the latter denomination used the money more effectively.

Another priest said he

was not looking forward to returning to his congregation to explain the highly controversial Synod resolutions.

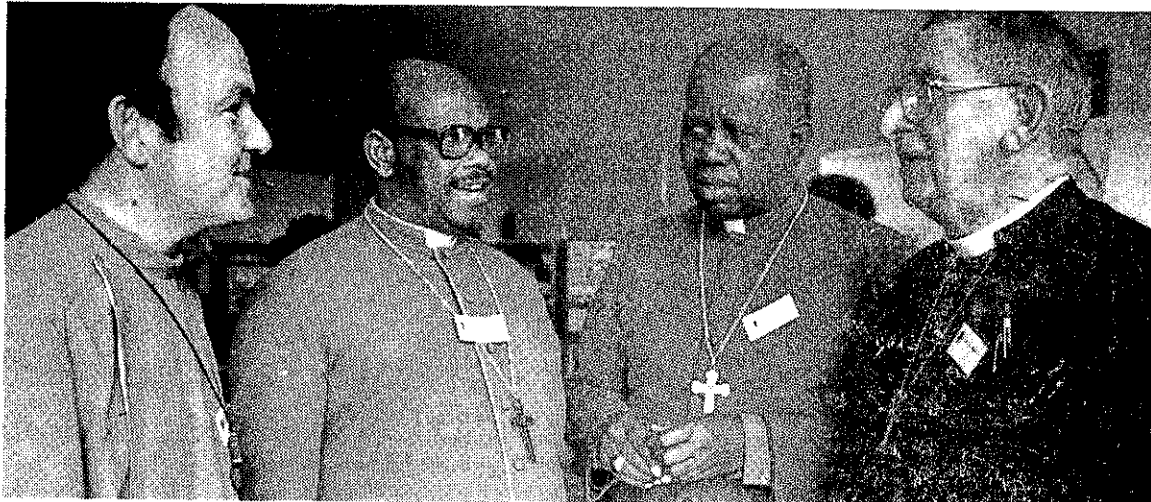
A senior clergyman said he had changed the subject of his sermon for this Sunday in order to report back on the Synod.

He said he had already had criticism from members of his congregation about certain features of Synod deliberations.

Most of the controversial motions have been

passed by two-thirds majorities and have obviously been to the liking of the liberal white clergy and laity and to the vast majority of the blacks present.

A minority of white delegates have been perturbed, however, by the approval of resolutions dealing with conscription, military chaplaincies and condemnation of South African Defence Force and police action in black townships.



At the Anglican Provincial Synod yesterday were (from left): Bishop D M Nestor, Suffragan Bishop of Lesotho, Bishop Jacob Dhlamini, Bishop of St John's, Bishop S Ndwandwe, Suffragan Bishop of Johannesburg, and Bishop Frederick Amooore, executive officer of the Anglican Church in southern Africa.

# Pokela to be buried

THOUSANDS of people including foreign VIPs are expected to attend the funeral of Mr John Nyathi Pokela, leader of the outlawed PAC on Saturday in Harare, Zimbabwe.

Mr Pokela died a week ago after an illness.

He was admitted to the Harare Hospital

where he died.

He was elected chairman in 1981 after leaving the country.

He had served 13 years jail on Robben Island after being abducted from Lesotho by South African agents.

He died after a visit to the PAC offices in Botswana.

12/7/85

# UDF to start probe on police

By ALI MPHAKI

THE United Democratic Front has decided to appoint a non-governmental commission of inquiry into the recent conduct of the SAP and the SADF in the townships.

Members of this independent commission will comprise, among others, prominent church leaders and local and international jurists, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, Mr Murphison Morobe said yesterday.

Already, Mr Morebe added, contact has been made with a number of international bodies and people.

He said the following factors sparked this decision.

- Allegations concerning widespread po-

lice and SADF violence in the township, 12/7/85

- Numerous requests have been received from various organisations within the country, church leaders, the community and from families of people who have died; and

- The need for a tribunal of undoubted independence to investigate and assess the serious allegations involving organs of the State.

Mr Morobe said legal experts were in the process of making preparations in connection with the commission.

He said the South African Council of Churches (SACC) was considering its role in this commission. Further details will be released soon.

# Pokela's

73/785 NA

# widow

# to miss

# funeral?

*P. Anjathal*  
Dispatch Correspondent  
HARARE — The Transkeian and South African authorities may prevent the widow of Mr John Nyathi Pokela, the late chairman of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, from travelling to Harare for his funeral today.

The PAC secretary-general Mr Joe Mkhwanazi said after arriving here from Dar-es-Salaam that Mrs Athalia Pokela and the PAC leader's father, Mr James Pokela had been "under terrible pressure and harrassment by both the Transkei and Pretoria's racist police since the news of Comrade Pokela's death reached South Africa two weeks' ago.

Members of the PAC central committee arrived in Harare on Wednesday for today's funeral, to be held at Warren Hills cemetery amid tight security. Several members of the Zimbabwean cabinet, possibly including Mr Robert Mugabe himself, are likely to attend in a show of solidarity.

Mr Pokela, 50, died in Harare's Parirenyatwa hospital on June 30 shortly after being flown in from Botswana, where he was reportedly taken ill with a cardiac complaint.





# Coloured PFP branch to open in PE

E. Post (304) (11A)  
13/7/85

By DIRK VAN ZYL  
THE Progressive Federal Party's first big "coloured" branch in the Eastern Cape is set to start operating under the leadership of a semi-retired taxi fleet owner, Mr Norlen Mallick, of Springdale, Gelvandale.

Mr Mallick, 55, recently joined the PFP following the opening of its membership to all races and said in an interview with Weekend Post yesterday that he had already recruited 100 other people of colour to follow his path.

He will put himself forward as the first chairman of the new branch in Springdale.

Mr Mallick, a devout Muslim, said he had never belonged to a political party before but decided to join the PFP of his own volition because he believed its policies would "bring stability to all

people in South Africa, not only coloureds and Indians, but blacks as well."

He had already recruited most of his friends and family and would make himself available as the first PFP branch chairman in Springdale.

Mr Mallick said he intended being a delegate to the PFP's first non-racial congress in almost 20 years in Durban at the end of next month.

He was not concerned about any possible opposition to his step from groups within the community "because I follow my own conscience".

Mr Mallick added: "I'm a Muslim and my Bible says there should be no discrimination whatsoever."

He said he had no confidence in the Labour Party which was "the only party we could join before" because it was "still in the

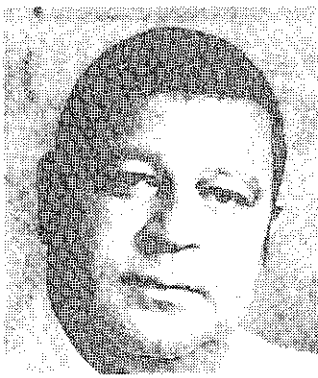
system of Group Areas and this doesn't make sense".

He pointed to the low percentage polls in last August's elections for the Houses of Representatives and Delegates as an illustration, as he saw it, of a lack of confidence in the LP.

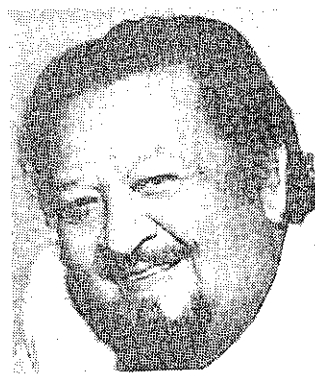
Mr Mallick felt it was not fair that the LP had tried to apportion to itself the major share of the credit for the scrapping this year of the Mixed Marriages Act, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, "when Mrs Suzman (PFP MP for Houghton) has been asking for it for years — and she never got credit".

● PFP regional director Mr Bobby Stevenson said yesterday any further potential new PFP members could telephone the party at PF 521770

Mr NORIEN MALLICK (right), with the PFP's Eastern Cape regional director, Mr BOBBY STEVENSON, at the party's regional headquarters in Port Elizabeth yesterday.



Mr Harold Ross



Rev Allan Hendrickse



Mr Fred Peters



Mrs Joan Kantey

# 'Racist outburst'

By JOHN MACLENNAN  
Political Staff

THE Labour Party is ducking for cover following a controversial "racist outburst" by Mr Harold Ross MP, in which he said he had no love for the Cape Town City Council, "Jews and boere".

The remarks, published in the Cape Herald, have earned him stinging criticism and calls for his resignation.

The matter is particularly sensitive in the light of the Government's vehement "boerehaat" campaign some years ago, in which they blamed the opposition for rabid anti-Afrikaner sentiments.

## Refused calls

Now a member of the party which is seen as the Government's partner in the new political system through its majority in the House of Representatives, and which has contributed a Minister to the Cabinet in the person of the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has loosed a broadside which is sure to anger the mainly Afrikaner National Party — not to mention Jews in and out of the party.

This week, Labour Party leader Mr Hendrickse refused to take calls on the matter after the subject of the call was relayed to him. He referred reporters to the Labour Party national secretary Mr Fred Peters, who did not respond.

And a member of Mr Ross's family said he could not be contacted because the MP for Rietvlei in Cape Town was on a week's holiday, "either in Johannesburg or Durban".

Mr Ross made his comments while being interviewed on

## Call for MP to resign

moves in Parliament to grant management committees powers similar to those enjoyed by city councils.

The Indian House of Delegates has rejected the measures as an entrenchment of racism, but Mr Ross said he was confident that members of management committees will next year not have to go "cap in hand to white councillors to ask for what they consider to be favours", the Cape Herald report says.

He added: "Let me tell you something about the City Council: Before coloured people

were in a position to buy houses, the Jewboy owned everything. Not only did he rent his ramshackle dwellings to dozens of tenants, he also knocked up structures in backyards and rented those, as well. He exploited our coloured people."

In a letter to the Cape Herald Mr Hendrickse apologised to all who felt hurt by the remarks, made it clear "boerehaat" and anti-Semitism were not Labour Party policy, yet patted Mr Ross on the back for his sincere attempts to solve coloured housing problems.

Mr Ross has, however, come in for a lambasting from Cape Town city councillors. Mrs Joan Kantey said she would write to the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Hendrickse, and the Jewish Board of Deputies.

Mr Arthur Wienburg said: "As a Jewish public representative I take the strongest exception to Mr Ross's remarks, which are not befitting a member of Parliament.

"As Mr Ross's salary is paid by public money — which includes taxes paid by Jews. I call for his immediate resignation."

Mr Gordon Oliver said in a letter to the Cape Herald: "Mr Ross's statement does nothing to help this country in its struggle to lift itself out of the quagmire of human ignorance, fear, prejudice and greed that we have experienced for so long."

LIK ARCA'S

13/7/85

11A

By MUDINI MAIVHA

MAHWELERENG residents in the Northern Transvaal – fresh from a “victorious” boycott of Potgietersrus OK Bazaars – have launched another boycott on Lebowa Transport because of fare increases.

The OK boycott – because of “racist body searches” – started after a June 16 commemoration service organised by Azapo.

Residents claimed a new manager, a Mr Wahl, had instructed security men to frisk black customers, who were “treated like thieves”.

Parcels were left strewn on the floor and there were complaints of assault, with about 60 people handed over to the police and released without being charged.

The boycott co-ordinating committee demanded that the OK stop the searches and racial segregation, introduce better customer service, dismiss manager Wahl and a security officer, Mr Pienaar, and reinstate worker Paul Rametsi.

Mr Rametsi was dismissed during the boycott because he allegedly told a customer to beat up or stab a security officer at the OK.

He has since been reinstated.

OK Northern Tvl district manager Neville Stuart said

# OK's OK — now for the buses

Mr Wahl has been “transferred” to Pretoria and Mr Pienaar “has left us”.

Meanwhile Lebowa police have come out in full force against the bus boycotters who refuse to pay the 20 to 30 percent fare hike that came into effect on July 1.

Youths were lashed with quirts and 17 were arrested – only to be released later.

Residents claim even pre-school children were taken to the police station in town and accused of distributing boycott pamphlets. They were later taken back to the township.

Lebowa police chief Phillip Moloto said his men had arrested no pre-school children or

youths. Colonel Moloto said the only reports he had received from Mahwelereng were of stonings on Monday and Tuesday.

Police prevented a Sunday meeting to “re-evaluate, res-

tructure and intensify” the partial boycott at Molala Hall. Cops also stopped the launching of the Mahwelereng Youth Congress at the Lakalaka on Monday – saying the meeting was “banned” until next year.

**Song 'n dance**

CAPE TIMES 15/7/85 (11A) ~~11A~~

## UDF deaths: Rally tonight

Staff Reporter

**THE** Western Province Council of Churches, the United Democratic Front and the Black Sash are to host a commemorative rally at the Buitenkant Street Methodist Church early tonight to mark the death of four UDF members in the Eastern Cape.

Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli were all found dead almost three weeks ago.

The meeting will start at 5.30 and will be addressed by Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Mrs Di Bishop.

# Mourners

# 'shot by police'

CAPT TWF  
15/7/85  
IIA

From COLIN HOWELL  
JOHANNESBURG. — Several mourners were shot by police after a funeral on the East Rand on Saturday, according to internationally acclaimed South African photographer Peter Magubane.

Mr Magubane said yesterday he and "at least seven other people" had been injured by police shotgun fire after the funeral of an unrest victim in Katlehong on Saturday.

Speaking from his hospital bed, Mr Magubane said: "There was absolutely no provocation — the police just started shooting at people who were running away."

## Injured

Lieutenant T F Jefferson of the SA Police public relations division said birdshot, rubber bullets and tear smoke had been used to disperse "a large mob stoning a bottle store" in Katlehong. Three policemen had been injured in the incident.

It was "not impossible" that people had been injured but "no reports of anyone being shot and killed or injured have been received", Lieutenant Jefferson said.

But Mr Magubane, 53, who has 17 shotgun pellet wounds in his legs and body, said: "That must have been a different incident — there is no bottle store in the area where we were shot at."

About 2 000 mourners had been "milling around" outside the home of Mrs Pearl Nyembe, 26, who died after allegedly being run over by a police vehicle last week.

"It was very quiet — the people had come to wash their hands after the funeral," said Mr Magubane. "I was about to pack up my cameras when I noticed some people looking towards a police vehicle that was coming in our direction.

"As the police advanced, the people started running away. Nobody was throwing anything at the vehicle. I started taking pictures of the people running away.

"When the police vehicle was quite close to me, I ran to catch up with the mourners — I wanted to take more pictures of them and, also, I feared that the police would take away my cameras," said Mr Magubane.

"I heard shots behind me and felt pain under both my feet. A young

man was badly hit in the legs right in front of me. He collapsed and his friends pulled him into a house. I followed them.

"Inside, there were at least seven other people who had been shot," he said. "They all had leg wounds and the young man's legs were shattered — he couldn't walk.

"I had 14 holes in my legs and three in my bum," Mr Magubane said.

"The shooting went on for a while. Stones may have been thrown, I don't know, because the curtains were drawn in the house.

## 'United'

"But nothing happened before the shooting started — it was totally indiscriminate," the grey-haired photographer stressed repeatedly during the hospital interview.

Mr Magubane, who won international acclaim for his coverage of the Soweto riots in 1976 and who has a string of international awards to his credit, said township residents were "more angry and united than ever before".

"The pattern has changed altogether — the violence seems to be much worse now — and the police appear to be even less tolerant," he said.

"A bucket of water was placed outside the gate of every house on Saturday's funeral procession route... in case the tear-gas came. There wasn't that kind of solidarity in '76."

● At least one man was injured when a mob stoned people and several homes in Lamontville township near Durban last night.

The police liaison officer for Port Natal, Captain Winston Heunis, said a crowd of between 50 and 100 had stoned several people after a meeting at a Lamontville church.

The Rev W Masondo, the Methodist minister in Lamontville, said a memorial service had been held in his church for community leaders killed in Cradock in the Eastern Cape because the Lamontville community hall was no longer open to the public.

"I don't know if the people who did the stoning were at the service or if others were just taking advantage of it."

Captain Heunis said the crowd dispersed when riot police arrived.

● For details of countrywide unrest, see map on page 2

# Buthelezi, Botha <sup>CMT 7/2/85 15/7/85</sup> 'more estranged'

(118) ~~2057~~ Political Reporter

KWAZULU leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday attacked President P W Botha for consistently refusing to negotiate South Africa's constitutional future with blacks.

In a letter in yesterday's Sunday Times, Chief Buthelezi said: "I am now probably more estranged from the State President than I have been at any other time during his term of office."

Dissatisfaction with Mr Botha stemmed mainly from his failure to constructively negotiate the future of a "united South Africa" and "accept in principle the need to discuss a Declaration of Intent", the letter said.

Mr Botha had "emphatically" ruled out a united South Africa in terms of a unitary state, Chief Buthelezi said. Similarly, he had "poured cold water" on the Buthelezi Commission which proposed a merger between KwaZulu and Natal.

"The government has never once hinted at the need for whites to relinquish final political control in 87 percent of the country."

Chief Buthelezi dismissed plans for first- and second-tier government for blacks as being tantamount to consultations "between a sovereign tricameral parliament and the fragmented black body politic.

"I have done more than any other black leader to make the politics of negotiation possible. As a black leader I have recognized the reforms that have been introduced as reforms, but the State President and the government simply will not say to South Africa that they accept in principle the need to discuss a Declaration of Intent of the kind I have drafted."

# Botha comment on report likely

CAPC Trans 15/7/85 (11) (12)

## Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha is expected to spell out the government's long-awaited response to the HSRC report on intergroup relations at the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) in Stellenbosch tonight.

Mr Botha's initial response to the groundbreaking report — which identified apartheid as the root cause of the escalating race and class conflict bedevilling

South Africa — was brief and cautious.

When the 173-page report was released, Mr Botha merely acknowledged its publication and indicated the government was studying its contents.

And in a possible bid to distance his government from the findings, he noted that the report had been initiated by the council itself, and not by the government.

Since then no government spokesman has

been prepared to be drawn on whether, as has been the case in previous major HSRC studies, the government was prepared to incorporate the recommendations of the study in its policies.

Also billed to address the four-day congress at the University of Stellenbosch is KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who has had a hot-cold relationship with Mr Botha in recent months. After a relatively cordial meeting between the two leaders earlier this year that raised hopes for an expanding black-white dialogue, remarks made by Mr Botha during his end-of-session address to Parliament on June 19 caused relations to sour once again.

Mr Botha's determination to rule out the possibility of one constitution and one parliamentary system for South Africa angered Chief Buthelezi, who withdrew an earlier invitation to the State President to visit KwaZulu later this year.

Chief Buthelezi is expected to spell out the conditions for a negotiated solution to South Africa's problems and the advantages of a federal system during his address on Wednesday.

Also invited to speak at the congress are Mr Botha's former arch-rival and current Conservative Party member of the President's Council, Dr Connie Mulder, and the leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Delegates from all South Africa's Afrikaans universities will attend the congress. The H B Thom Hall at the university will be the main venue for the congress.



Mrs WINNIE MANDELA . . . "she must be honoured."

# 'Dedicate women's decade to Winnie

NAIROBI — The United Nations will be asked to dedicate the Interna-

tional Decade for Women to Mrs Winnie Mandela.

This emerged from a resolution at a meeting headed by American Activist, Ms Angela Davis, at Forum '85, the non-governmental UN International End of the Decade for Women Conference presently being held here.

The resolution tabled at a meeting on women of African descent, will be submitted by the International Research Network for Women of African Descent, of which Ms Davis is a founder member, for consideration by the UN world conference which opens in Nairobi today.

Ms Davis, Professor of Women's Studies at San Francisco University in the United States said a fitting end to the decade for women

would be its dedication to Mrs Mandela, a symbol of the struggle for women's equality.

She expressed solidarity with women who were fighting for national liberation.

"Women have the right to be considered full human beings in any society," she said.

## Radical

She spoke about the birth of her organisation, which was established in 1982 in response to a need for an international directory of women of African descent.

Ms Davis was imprisoned in the United States for bombing activities when she was a member of the radical Black Panther group.

"I realised that to state my case I needed literature on women from Africa: there was little available," she said.

11A

Sowetan 15/7/85



# 'Pertinent questions not denied'

CADY Temp 10/7/85  
(11A)

**Political Reporter**  
THE police were responsible for the murder of the four prominent black Cradock community leaders, the secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr Trevor Manuel, alleged last night.

Speaking at a memorial service at a City church for the four men who were found murdered more than two weeks ago, Mr Manuel said the UDF was aware of hit squads which were operating and that two hit lists had been traced in the Transvaal.

"Pertinent questions" surrounding events leading to the death of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sicelo Mahlawuli and Mr Sparrow Mkhonto had not been denied by the police. Only close confidants of the four men and "those who listened in to their conversations" knew about their unscheduled journey from Cradock to Port Elizabeth, he alleged.

### Forced off road

Evidence had been found that the men were forced off the road.

"People in our communities say that the police are undoubtedly responsible for the murder of our four comrades ... and because there is no response we are asking if the views of our communities are not true," Mr Manuel said.

So far neither the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, nor his deputy, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had denied the UDF's charges. Instead, they had left it to the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Louis Nel, to publicly defend the government's position, he said.

Dr Allan Boesak, UDF patron who conducted the service at the Methodist Church in Buitenkant Street, said the toll of violence had increased to a level where the bodies of those killed could not be counted any more.

He said the church would have to keep challenging the government. He warned that church

unity was at risk as the struggle continued, because many church leaders distanced themselves from the liberation struggle.

It was the duty of the church to tell the government that it was "illegitimate and unjust", Dr Boesak said.

Mrs Di Bishop, PFP provincial councillor, described Mr Goniwe as an "intellectual giant".

She said residents of Steytlerville, where a 12-year-old boy recently died in police detention, had vowed to her that the town would "never be the same again".

● When claims were first made alleging that the authorities were involved in the deaths of the four, Mr Nel said the government took the "strongest possible exception".

He said the government had tried to restore law and order in areas affected by the unrest but "an internecine power struggle by opposing radical organizations" had claimed many lives.

AGAS

16/7/85

117

## Police paid informer, court told

Staff Reporter

A MAN accused of subversive activities, possession of banned literature and being a member of the African National Congress was a paid police informer, the Regional Court, Hermanus, heard.

Mr Mpumelolo Shadrack Ndlakuhlelo, 30, and Miss Margaret Ndlawandle Mfobo, 36, both of Guguletu, have pleaded not guilty.

In a trial within a trial yesterday the defence argued that a statement by Mr Ndlakuhlelo, while he was held under the Internal Security Act, to a Cape Town magistrate on November 9 was not admissible as evidence because he had been influenced to make the statement.

Under cross-examination Mr Ndlakuhlelo denied he had thought he would not be prosecuted if he made the statement.

He said he had previously been paid as a police informer and had made the statement as a "favour" to the investigating officer, Colonel Johannes Griebenauw.

Colonel Griebenauw denied making promises to Mr Ndlakuhlelo.

Mr Ndlakuhlelo had previously been paid for information by the police. When he had been arrested he had co-operated fully and not withheld information.

Mr J S C van Graan is on the Bench. Mr W C Viljoen appears for the State. Mr A M Omar, instructed by Mr Y Ebrahim, appears for Mr Ndlakuhlelo and Mr R Vassen for Miss Mfobo.

ANGUS 16/7/85

# Boesak challenges PW to test at polls

## Political Staff

THE president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, has challenged President P W Botha to meet the South African Council of Churches at the polls to test who is more representative.

Dr Boesak was reacting to a statement by Mr Botha that the SACC was not representative of the majority of South Africans.

He issued the challenge at a memorial service in Cape Town for four murdered Cradock community leaders, Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

"I hear that Mr Botha says that we (the SACC) are not representative of the majority. I want to say to the State President: Let's go to the polls, where you can explain your apartheid policies to our people . . . and we shall see whether Mr Botha's government represents the majority of people in South Africa.

"We shall continue to say to him: Your government will remain an unjust, illegitimate and unrepresentative government."

## Stance defended

Defending the stance of the SACC, which has recently been criticised in some quarters of the church, Dr Boesak said if there was no "true unity of the church built on justice, peace and liberation", he would rather have no unity at all.

Dr Boesak began his sermon by referring to the "doubt and the uncertainty that had always been a part of the life of the faithful".

Referring to John the Baptist's wrestling with faith when he was incarcerated, Dr Boesak said that when he had heard of the death of the four Cradock men "I wondered what the meaning and sense of it all was".

Addressing the service earlier, Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF regional secretary, outlined the basis of the widespread suspicion that the police were connected with the death of the four men.

● Mr Louis Nel, Deputy-Minister of Foreign Affairs, has previously ridiculed suggestions that the authorities were involved in the deaths.

# Paratus lists '36 acts of ANC (11A) terror launched from Botswana' <sup>16/7/85</sup>

The African National Congress was responsible for 36 acts of "terrorism and violence" launched from Botswana in the nine months before commandos struck at 10 targets in Gaborone, according to the official SADF magazine, *Paratus*.

From August 1984 until the the Gaborone raid on June 14, six people had been murdered and extensive damage to property had been caused, said *Paratus*, giving official reasons for the raid.

Time "on target" in Gaborone was about 40 minutes as commandos struck at offices and houses "spread throughout Gaborone in such a way that the ANC could hide and shelter among residential and business suburbs".

Hand grenade attacks on two Cape MPs, just days before the SADF raid, were linked by the magazine to Palestine Liberation Organisation ties with the ANC. The grenade attacks "followed the PLO pattern".

According to the SADF magazine, ANC underground activity in Botswana in the nine months before the South African attack had resulted in:

- Three South African policeman and one Bophuthatswanan policeman being killed in contacts with the ANC.
- Two SA policemen being wounded.
- Two civilians being killed.
- Three ANC terrorists being killed in South Africa, and three in Bophuthatswana.
- Twelve ANC terrorists being

arrested in South Africa and 12 in Bophuthatswana.

● Four attacks on civilian targets in South Africa, and one attack on a police target.

*Paratus* said a total of 23 "ANC terrorists" were at large as a result of the organisation's Botswana activities. Of these, seven were in South Africa, six in Bophuthatswana and 10 in Botswana.

During the incidents 27 AK47 assault rifles, 94 land mines, 136 hand grenades and nine pistols had been recovered.

Botswana police had found large quantities of arms and ammunition. On April 26 1985 they found more than 10 000 rounds of ammunition, 278 hand grenades, 20 pistols, mines, plastic explosives, TNT and other weaponry.

11A  
h. Oam  
16/7/85  
All quiet  
on the  
shop front

PORT ELIZABETH — A planned boycott by black consumers of white shops in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage has shown no signs yet of getting under way.

The boycott, according to a pamphlet distributed among black householders, was due to start yesterday and last for two months.

It called, among other things, for people arrested during the unrest at Langa in March to be freed and for charges against them to be withdrawn.

Yesterday morning, white shopkeepers dealing mostly with black customers said there had been no noticeable reduction in business.

Tony Gilson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce, confirmed that black consumers had not yet responded to the boycott call but added that a pattern could develop later.

He said it was unfortunate that blacks were trying to resort to such a step. The chamber had invited them to discuss their grievances and where it could not help directly, it undertook to take up grievances with the authorities concerned.

The pamphlet, signed by "The community", also called for the reinstatement of workers who were dismissed from their jobs after the recent stayaway. Genuine leaders should not be hindered, driven away nor be killed as they were not agitators, it said.

It also called for the withdrawal of the police and the Defence Force from black townships because "We are not in a war situation". — Sapa.

# Parties respond to NIC's call for public meetings

Mercury Reporter

**SOLIDARITY, the official Opposition in the House of Delegates, would hold report-back meetings in its various constituencies shortly before its national convention in September, Mr Mamoo Rajab, the party's secretary and MP for Springfield, said yesterday.**

The leader of the ruling National People's Party, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the NPP had no immediate plans for big public meetings, but had already started house meetings in Chatsworth, Stanger and Ladysmith.

He said the NPP was planning a public meeting at the end of the year.

They were responding to calls by the Natal Indian Congress's acting president Dr Farouk Meer, who slammed the House of Delegates MPs for distancing themselves from the public after their first working session in Parliament.

Dr Meer said the MPs were accountable to the public and were therefore obliged to have report back meetings.

'These must be free and

open meetings and not by invitation only.'

He said various promises were made by them before the tricameral parliamentary election and the public had a right to know what had happened.

Mr Rajab said Solidarity was fully aware of its commitment to accountability to its voters.

## Overseas

'In principle we are committed to the fact that we are accountable to our voters and we'll be reporting back to them. In fact we've already arranged a series of public meetings towards the latter part of August as a run up to our convention early in September.

'Most of our leadership is presently overseas and

are expected to return at the end of August,' he said.

Mr Rajbansi said the NPP was talking to people from all shades of political opinion.

'It is amazing that of the number of people who sought the assistance of House of Delegates Cabinet ministers, about 80 percent are United Democratic Front supporters,' he added.

Mr Rajab said the first six months in Parliament had been a new experience for Solidarity.

'We cannot say that we really loosened the nuts and bolts of apartheid, but this is our objective. We will be doing this constantly.

'The most important of all is that both the coloured and Indian MPs were able to influence the attitude of the Government towards change.

'If we and the coloureds could sit and debate with the whites without the skies falling in, then there is no reason why blacks could not join in,' he said.

'We believe that the most important thrust which now remains is for black participation at all levels of Government. Our contention has been vindicated by the recent HSRC report,' he added.

## PAC gets new head

*3/10/85*

*(11A)*

*Sowetan*

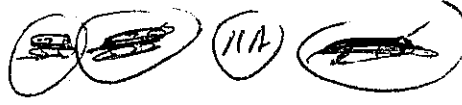
*17/7/85*

HARARE — The Pan Africanist Congress has elected former Robben Island prisoner Mr Johnson Mlambo as the chairman of its central committee, following the death in Harare last month of the former leader Mr John Nyathi Pokela.

The organisation held a central committee meeting in Harare on Monday and the 16 members present elected Mr Mlambo — who was secretary for foreign affairs under Mr Pokela — to the position of chairman.

Mr Mlambo (45) was born at Pilgrim's Rest in the Transvaal.

CARE Tills  
17/7/85



# Workers lose jobs in PE shop boycott

**Own Correspondent**  
**PORT ELIZABETH.** — The proposed eight-week boycott of white businesses here enters its third day today amid reports of intimidation and black employees losing their jobs.

A Sidwell meat trader said yesterday he had paid off five workers.

"They were packers but they had nothing to do. I can't afford to have them standing around for eight weeks," he said.

A Kempston Road

snack bar owner said he was laying workers off as "no one is buying".

Intimidation appeared to be a factor against patronage of cafes and fast-food outlets in North End where black custom accounts for up to 90 per cent of trade.

Shop-owners in the Law Courts area — usually a hub of the take-away food trade — told the same story yesterday of few or no sales.

A large meat trader said registered township

traders were buying on the wholesale side of his business. "But on our retail side which is 90 per cent black, there's nothing doing."

The manager of the North End branch of a clothing chain, with 75 per cent black trade, said his customers were coming in only to pay their accounts.

He said two who were looking at goods on Monday were ordered out by two intimidators.

"They asked them if

they didn't know there was a boycott. Then they told them to leave. I telephoned our security director in Johannesburg who advised me to contact the police if it happened again."

A spokesman for Constantia Centre said the boycott was definitely having an impact, but that Friday afternoon and Saturday would show the full extent of it.

● Meanwhile African consumers are complaining of township

prices. One woman said some shops charged five cents for a box of matches, 50 cents for a loaf of brown bread, 30 cents for half a loaf and 20 cents for a candle.

Grahamstown township residents have resumed their boycott of selected white-owned shops.

The secretary of the Grahamstown Civic Association, Mr Dan Sandi, said five shops in Grahamstown had been specifically singled out

for long-term boycotting.

He said the outlets had been blacklisted because managers or employees had been seen patrolling the townships in Defence Force or police uniforms, or because the shops enforced petty apartheid.

Mr Sandi said the week-long consumer boycott in June had been conditionally called off to enable the Chamber of Commerce to respond to 34 demands put to it.

"The boycott began

again spontaneously on Friday because the demands of the people had not been met," he said.

The president of the Grahamstown Chamber of Commerce, Mr Steven Birt, said the chamber had arranged to meet representatives of several township organizations today to discuss the boycott.

Mr Birt said he had been away from the city recently and could not judge the support for the boycott.



CAC Times  
17/7/85 (11A)  
~~11A~~

# 'Cards' for Goniwe funeral

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — About 100 000 mourners are expected to attend the funeral of Mr Matthew Goniwe and three other United Democratic Front activists in Cradock on Saturday, according to a statement released by the UDF in Port Elizabeth.

Members of the international press, foreign embassies, Amnesty International, trade unionists and the United Nations Commission on Missing People are expected to attend.

The funeral starts at 10am at the Lingelihle Stadium in Cradock and the UDF urged all media correspondents, as well as diplomats, to get "registration cards" from the UDF office here.

The UDF appealed to the Defence Force and police "to remove all roadblocks and themselves from the entire route to Cradock to avoid any undesirable situations. This is essential in order to respect the burial of the deceased."

Dr Allan Boesak has been invited as the main speaker and the Rev Arnold Stofile, who recently returned from New Zealand, will be the master of ceremonies, according to the statement.

Handwritten: *Carl Timp*  
Handwritten: *118* (circled)  
Handwritten: *32* (circled)  
Tuesday, July 17, 1985

# LP, NPP seen as 'part of govt'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent

THE overwhelming support of the Labour Party and the National Peoples Party for government-sponsored legislation during the past session revealed these parties as part of the government rather than the opposition.

This is the finding of a report compiled by the research department of the Progressive Federal Party on the first session of the tricameral Parliament.

The report contends that the majority parties in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates "went out of their way" not to oppose legislation introduced by the government and did not want to "embarrass" the government.

"This is obviously an indication of the pres-

ence of Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rajbansi in the Cabinet; in this respect they must be seen as part of government and not part of opposition."

The report adds that the appointment of Mr Luwellyn Landers of the LP and Mr Soobramoney Naicker of the NPP as deputy ministers of general affairs portfolios "will probably lead to an even greater desire on the part of the two majority parties in the other Houses to support the government, at least publicly".

The report argues that in general the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates were "far less inclined" to oppose the legislative programme of the government than the PFP.

However, the House of Delegates adopted a "somewhat more independent stand" than the House of Representatives on two occasions — when the South African Police Special Account Bill and the Local Government Affairs Amendment Bill were considered.

The report notes that a number of key pieces of legislation, including those like the Regional Services Council Bill, which entrench apartheid, were opposed by

the PFP but not the LP or the NPP.

The report also noted the scant opposition voiced by majority parties in the two new Houses to the proportionately inferior amounts allocated under their Own Affairs budgets compared with the amounts slated for white Own Affairs.

Criticism was also levelled at the LP's support for legislation providing for the transfer of powers and assets from existing local authorities to management committees falling under own affairs ministers.

## 'Cynical mind'

"The politically cynical mind would be tempted to deduce from the above arrangements that the government and the LP are co-operating closely to implement the government's apartheid policy and (considering the immense patronage at its disposal once it effectively controls housing) to strengthen and entrench the LP in coloured politics."

Turning to the number of questions asked by different parties, the report notes that only 78 questions were tabled by the House of Representatives during the session — a mere 37 of these by the LP.

# Management committee poll put back

Areas 17/7/85  
Municipal Reporter

MANAGEMENT committee elections — due in two months — have been postponed until 1988.

Speculation is that the Government feared a violent reaction if elections went ahead.

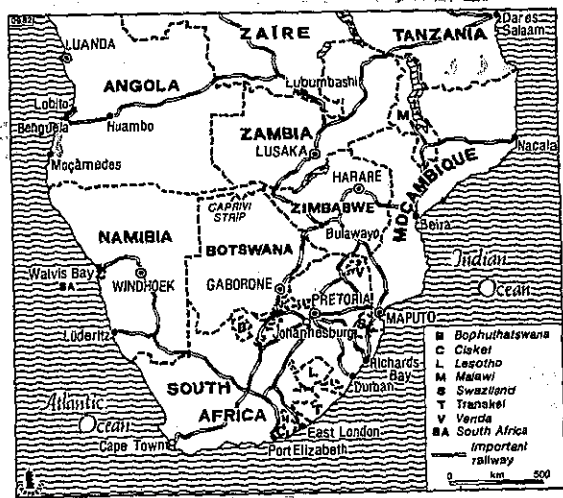
The postponement brings local government elections for coloureds and Indians into line with those for white councils.

Cape Town City Council received a telegram from the Provincial Administration this week saying elections in the Athlone, Kensington, Rylands and Wynberg/Wittebome management committee areas were being postponed.

Speculation is that the Government feared violence in black townships would "spill over" into coloured and Indian areas if elections went ahead.

One observer believed the elections would be an opportunity activists would grab at to "stir up trouble".

**AFRICA**



**REPORTS**

# Leaders of Swapo are accused of misusing aid money

*Amias*  
17/7/85  
*(initials)*

**Argus Foreign Service**

FRANKFURT. — Swapo leaders have been accused in a human rights organisation's report of misusing the movement's funds and of living in relative luxury while many of their followers go hungry.

The charges are made in a report on SWA/Namibia by the Frankfurt-based International Society of Human Rights, known by its German initials of IGFM.

IGFM researchers who tried to interview Swapo leader Sam Nujoma had trouble reaching him at his office.

"He is very busy with parties, receptions, revolutionary celebrations and dinners with Russian emissaries," the report said.

**Blankets sold**

The researchers reported that former Swapo members alleged that relief funds and goods were being expropriated and misused by the movement's leaders.

"The officials sold blankets, meat and medicaments and made a good business out of it," said Lisa Nganyone, a former bookkeeper in Swapo's office in Luanda.

"Many things disappeared at the harbour. They were allegedly stolen, but I am sure Swapo people had their fingers in it."

She also alleged that Swapo had inflated the number of SWA/Namibian refugees from about 30 000 to a fictitious 100 000 "to get more relief money".

**Black market**

A former Swapo official, Joseph Melunga, alleged that relief goods destined for refugees were being intercepted and sold on the black market in Angola.

He also complained that Swapo members received preference in the distribution of any relief items that got through to refugees.

"Only Swapo members get a stipendium or a decent education and money from the United Nations. Only those are helped who belong to the party.

"If there is trouble in the camps or people are against Swapo, then there is no food."



Mr Sam Nujoma



President Kaunda

CATC Times 17/7/85 (NY)

## SA headline news on Wall Street

NEW YORK. — The violence in South Africa's black townships was given major coverage by the influential Wall Street Journal, which wrote: "Never in the uneasy history of South Africa has black unrest been so prolonged, so brutal, so undirected".

Under the headline "South Africa rocked as black protests are increasingly taking a violent turn," the newspaper's readers were told of horrific incidents in black townships.

Steve Mufson, a Wall Street Journal staffer, wrote from Langa: "The targets aren't just white police, but black police, black schools, black township buses, well-to-do blacks. And the attacks are increasingly vicious.

"In one incident, a charred body was so badly burned that its sex couldn't be determined. In another, a man was dragged from his car and hacked to pieces. Last week, when Bishop Desmond Tutu waded into a mob of blacks and rescued a black suspected of being a government informer, the crowd shouted angrily at Bishop Tutu."

"The United Democratic Front, a major anti-apartheid group, has held meetings in Langa to discourage youths from attacking fellow blacks but many young people refused to attend or simply ignored the message," he wrote.

He continued: "Ironically, whites generally are sheltered from the violence. Clashes between police and residents of the black township of Alexandra outside Johannesburg went on for weeks before any white newspaper took notice.

Mufson added that with blacks separated from whites "the main targets of rioters have become blacks who are connected even remotely with white authority".

He also quoted the Rev Allan Boesak as saying that the unrest signified "the beginning of the end of apartheid".

South African whites, wrote Mufson, "contend that the violence shows why power can't — and shouldn't — be shared".

"Underlying the tension and violence is poverty and the feeling that there is little hope for the future, politically or economically." — Sapa

# Ex-spy tells of Soviet billions spent on S A

11A

1279 NMM 17/7/85

Mercury Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG —** Russia spent about R2 billion in 1980 on supporting 152 subversive organisations in South Africa, according to former master-spy Gerard Ludi.

He said the organisations being supported had replaced, and represented, the banned African National Congress (ANC).

Mr Ludi, who infiltrated and then blew apart the South African Communist Party in the 1960s, said this estimate had been worked out by a 'think tank' in 1980 when he 'worked for the Government'.

Addressing a Right-wing student group which had flown in 100 delegates from around the world, Mr Ludi told how he had been recruited into South African intelligence and had infiltrated the Communist Party on its behalf.

The international conference, Youth for Freedom, was attended by delegates from countries

## th fun fête

or assist in any other way is asked to contact Bernie Ackerman at 784747 or 784201.

One of six of its kind in South Africa, the home has 29 residents.

such as Afganistan, Cyprus and Nicaragua.

Mr Ludi said that when the amount of money spent by Moscow on supporting organisations in South Africa had been evaluated, 'we knew how much it costs to keep a spy in place ... it costs a hell of a lot of money to do that or to mount a sabotage attempt, and we believe our figures were fairly accurate'.

'South Africa is the second most important target for the Soviets after the Middle East, because we have the mineral resources needed and we have many thousands of skilled workers.

### Rivonia trials

It was Mr Ludi, known in his days as a spy as 'Q018' who put the leader of the Communist Party, lawyer Braam Fischer behind bars for life, and who was a chief State witness at the Rivonia trials which also saw the leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for life.

The Rivonia trials were a crucial turning point, because almost the entire high command of the organisation was caught and imprisoned as a result of 'Operation Q018'.

Mr Ludi said he had been gradually drawn into the heart of a communist cell at the University of the Witwatersrand as a student.

Initially he had been



Mr Gerard Ludi

wooed to communism by a coloured man, Mr Lionel Morrison, whom he believed had recently blown himself up while priming a bomb.

Mr Ludi said that in the canteen at Wits University, Mr Morrison had told him that the South African revolution was to start the next week.

### 'Wits cell'

'I went to the local army headquarters and said I wanted to join up because we were going to be at war the next week ... the sergeant I spoke to thought I was mad but he sent me to Pretoria, where I took an oath, told them what I had heard and mentioned specific names.

'They said "go back to Wits — that's where we want you". I went back to Wits and they paid my fees,' said Mr Ludi.

'The communist cell at Wits consisted of only

eight people, but we were manipulating 5 000 students.'

Mr Ludi, who also spent time at the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow, said the method of wooing people into the party was by inviting people to multiracial parties that were 'very daring in the 1960s, and they made sure that there were intellectuals there who seemed to be very reasonable people'.

### Ex-KBG agent

'It was a giant public relations operation. The one thing you noticed was that they never discussed South Africa, because it was easier to discuss other countries in the abstract.

Delegates at the conference also heard a former Russian KGB agent telling why the Soviet Union was concentrating on the Third World in its foreign policy.

The former agent, Mr Vladimir Sakharov, told delegates the Soviet economy needed foreign currency, as the Soviets were in the process of developing several major projects.

'They understand that the best way of getting currency would be to monopolise several of the international markets. The international markets are concentrated, as far as their source is concerned, in South Africa.

'Chrome, diamonds, platinum, and other minerals are by and large concentrated in SA and the Soviet Union. Therefore the Soviets are now engaged in a policy to downplay the US-Soviet relationship and play up the relationship between the USSR and Third World countries — especially countries surrounding South Africa.'

The conference, organised by the National Student Federation, aims to create an international youth association.

## Pretoria Correspondent

The Meat Board is expecting to clinch an export deal this week to rid the country of a R100-million mountain of beef which is swelling by about 500 carcasses a week.

A board spokesman said today a deal had not yet been finalised, as it was still trying to find a buyer for the meat, but some results were expected this week.

At the same time, the board was considering alternative ways of ridding itself of the surplus meat on the local market if it was not successful with the export attempts.

## Board working on beef export deal to end glut

However, the control board is unlikely to lower the floor price of beef this year to shift the surplus, pointing to slender chances of cheaper red meat for South African consumers because of this surplus.

The spokesman said the board did not believe cheaper beef on the local market would stimulate consumption and sales.

The board had been negotiating for an export market for the past

month, said the spokesman.

But reports of negotiations for an export market first appeared in November last year — since then the stockpile has increased by R10 million.

Sales of surplus meat to out-of-age homes and charity organisations has been halted while the search for an overseas market has been conducted. According to the spokesman, the meat had been sold to

these organisations for the past two years at a loss of R400 000.

The board has dismissed recent speculation that some of the surplus had begun to rot in the cool rooms and been sold as pet food. "Not one kilogram has gone off and it is not being sold for dog food."

The meat, he said, was frozen at very low temperatures and it was difficult to say exactly how old or the young the meat was. It was being sold and brought in all the

time.

The surplus, he said, had been built up over the past three years and while the size of the carcass mountain fluctuated, the board tried to keep it at 210 000 (South Africa's meat supply for up to seven weeks).

The market price for super beef was R2,37/kg, about 53 c less than the production cost of the feed lots, he said.

Star 17/7/85

# Ex-Robben Island (11A) man to star lead PAC

The Star Bureau

HARARE 17/7/65  
The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has elected former Robben Island prisoner Mr Johnson Mlambo as the chairman of its central committee in succession to Mr John Nyathi Pokela who died in Harare last month.

Mr Mlambo — the PAC secretary for foreign affairs under Mr Pokela — was elected at a meeting of the central committee held in Harare.

Mr Mlambo (45) was born at Pilgrim's Rest in the Transvaal and, in the early days of the PAC, was chairman of the Daveyton branch in Benoni. In 1963, he was sentenced to a 20-year term on Robben Island.

On Robben Island he met Mr Pokela and, upon his release, he toured South Africa working for the PAC. Last year, "at the insistence of both the internal and external leadership", he left South Africa to join the central committee of the PAC and assume his post as secretary for foreign affairs.

At a Press conference in Harare yesterday, Mr Mlambo pledged that the PAC would intensify the struggle within South Africa and would place particular emphasis on the armed struggle as the primary means of liberating the country.

| Grade    | Current Hours | Hourly Change 1975 to date | Nominal | Real  | Current Real Weekly Wages |
|----------|---------------|----------------------------|---------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grade 10 | 0.00          | 0.00                       | 14.95   | 16.71 | 18.03                     |
|          | 0.00          | 0.00                       | 19.35   | 22.88 | 26.40                     |
|          | 0.00          | 0.00                       | 22.88   | 26.40 | 29.04                     |
|          | 0.00          | 0.00                       | 11.44   | 11.42 | 10.92                     |
|          | 0.00          | 0.00                       | 10.16   | 9.32  | 10.32                     |
|          | 0.00          | 0.00                       | 14.47   | 11.44 | 11.42                     |
|          | 0.00          | 0.00                       | 11.44   | 11.42 | 10.92                     |
|          | 0.00          | 0.00                       | 12.84   | 12.75 | 12.18                     |
|          | 10.95         | 14.38                      | 16.02   | 12.84 | 12.75                     |
|          | 10.38         | 13.85                      | 16.55   | 18.76 | 20.14                     |
|          | 18.76         | 20.14                      | 21.58   | 24.48 | 24.48                     |
|          | 24.48         | 24.48                      | 28.08   | 30.96 | 30.96                     |
| Grade 12 | 10.95         | 14.38                      | 16.02   | 12.84 | 12.75                     |
|          | 10.38         | 13.85                      | 16.55   | 18.76 | 20.14                     |
|          | 18.76         | 20.14                      | 21.58   | 24.48 | 24.48                     |
|          | 24.48         | 24.48                      | 28.08   | 30.96 | 30.96                     |
|          | 10.95         | 14.38                      | 16.02   | 12.84 | 12.75                     |
|          | 10.38         | 13.85                      | 16.55   | 18.76 | 20.14                     |
|          | 18.76         | 20.14                      | 21.58   | 24.48 | 24.48                     |
|          | 24.48         | 24.48                      | 28.08   | 30.96 | 30.96                     |
|          | 10.95         | 14.38                      | 16.02   | 12.84 | 12.75                     |
|          | 10.38         | 13.85                      | 16.55   | 18.76 | 20.14                     |
|          | 18.76         | 20.14                      | 21.58   | 24.48 | 24.48                     |
|          | 24.48         | 24.48                      | 28.08   | 30.96 | 30.96                     |



Cost Traits (HB)  
18/7/85 (HB)

## 'The next move is up to the govt'

Political Correspondent

THE onus for breaking the negotiation deadlock between blacks and the government now rested squarely with President P W Botha, Kwazulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said in an interview he had gone out of his way to set the stage for meaningful negotiations with government by making concessions and spelling out agendas for debate.

The government, however, had failed to reciprocate and had instead adopted an evasive or prescriptive stance towards his overtures.

In addition Mr Botha and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, had made "very damaging" public statements which amounted to "pulling the rug from under my feet".

"It is now up to the government to make the next move. I feel I have compromised enough," Chief Buthelezi said.

"The ball is now in the government's court and it is up to them to spell out what they mean and take the initiative."

Chief Buthelezi said he was especially disappointed by the recent "tragic" interview Mr Botha granted to British television journalist Brian Walden, in which he appeared to rule out both a unitary state or a federation for South Africa.

"Once you put it like this there is nothing to talk about," he said.

"They (the government) still want to prescribe and want me to swallow what they want."

Chief Buthelezi said he stood for a single South Africa with a single constitution with a bill of rights.

CHIEF BUTHELEZI 12/7/85  
11A 12M 10P 3PM

# Buthelezi's bottom line on negotiation

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE National Party appeared unwilling to negotiate on the central issue facing South Africa — power-sharing with blacks, the Kwazulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday.

"We are utterly convinced that it is futile to negotiate about anything else," he told the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond in Stellenbosch yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said that while Inkatha was prepared to take "a very large step in the direction of compromise" by shelving for the time being its "deeply cherished ideal" of one man, one vote, in a unitary state, "we are not in principle prepared to negotiate unless we can negotiate about power-sharing".

He said that after recent discussions with President P W Botha and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, "it is not clear to us, and I would suggest that it not clear to anyone in South Africa, that the National Party is prepared to talk about power-sharing".

"The National Party may be prepared to talk about power, but we suspect that its concern is to talk about power division, not power-sharing."

The issued revolved around the difference between a federation which involved power-sharing as its central element, and a confederation which seemed to imply a division of power.

South Africa in many senses was already a confederation and it was "manifestly inadequate as a basis for peace and development".

## 'How the central cake must be cut'

He said power was essentially about control over resources and the major resource of the modern state, the central treasury and the budget, but so far "not one scrap of power over the central division of resources has been conceded to Africans".

Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha's desire to gain a share of the power over the central resources should not be seen as an attempt "to make exorbitant and crippling demands".

"We simply say that we are entitled, as a basic and inalienable right, to representation on the bodies which decide on how the central cake must be cut.

"We are prepared to negotiate about checks and balances in a system of power-sharing. We are willing to concede reasonable safeguards to white interests.

"We would be prepared to go to considerable lengths to preserve the confidence of whites in the system of government, because we realize that if whites were to withdraw their skills and experience, we blacks would suffer very dearly."

Any attempt to play ball with Mr Botha without a prior commitment by Mr Botha that he was willing to share power would mean the loss of his own mass following and political utility, Chief Buthelezi said.

By "quite clearly" making a single South Africa something he was not prepared to talk about, Mr Botha had "slammed down a non-negotiable before me", he said.

Argus 18/7/85 (11A) (502)

ARGUS 18/7/85

CITY/NATIONAL

# Vigil to mark funeral of UDF victims

Staff Reporter

A VIGIL organised by the Mowbray Inter Race Group (Mirge) will be held in St George's Cathedral on Saturday to mark the funeral in Cradock of four murdered United Democratic Front leaders. Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

Starting at 9.30am, the 2½-hour vigil will be to express sympathy with the bereaved and all victims of the unrest, concern about escalating violence and commitment towards achieving justice, reconciliation and peace in South Africa, according to Mrs Daphne Wilson of Mirge.

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo will open the service and members of the Langa Adult Choir and the Princess Square African Choir will lead the singing of hymns.

# Treason trial: 'Bail notes valid'

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The State has set about trying to prove to a Pretoria magistrate that the Attorney-General's certificates denying bail to the 22 Vaal Triangle treason accused are valid.

Defence counsel Mr Ismail Mahomed had told the court at an earlier hearing that the documents were illegal because they were issued before the

men were formally arrested. This was a violation of Section 30 of the Internal Security Act, in terms of which the certificates were made.

The State submitted that a magistrate could not rule on the certificates' validity and a lengthy legal dispute ensued.

However, magistrate Mr J B Koekemoer finally ruled yesterday that a lower court could decide if certain concrete

provisions in Section 30 had been complied with.

One of these, he said, was the provision that certificates must be issued after arrest.

Deputy Attorney-General Mr P E Jacobs, for the State, then argued the definition of the word "issued", saying a certificate could only be considered to have been issued once it had been handed into court.

# UDF badge hearing postponed

Argus 18/7/85 (11A) (502)  
Labour Reporter

AN Industrial Court hearing on an allegation of unfair labour practice by a man fired for wearing a United Democratic Front badge at work was postponed for a ruling on the court's competence to hear the complaint.

The case arose out of the dismissal of Mr Isaac Phooko from Atlantis Diesel Engines in May.

After lengthy legal argument in which Mr F Erasmus, for ADE, claimed that the hearing could not be held because the application had not fulfilled legal requirements, the presiding officer, Mr P E Roux SC, yesterday postponed the hearing.

It is alleged that after being given a written warning for refusing to obey an instruction and "abuse and misuse" of company property — the overall to which the badge was

pinned — the company introduced a new rule the following day prohibiting promotion of any political cause or organisation.

Mr Phooko was dismissed the following day.

He has applied for reinstatement in terms of Section 43 of the Industrial Relations Act. He is represented by Mr L J Bozalek of the Legal Resources Centre.

# Fate of missing men: Order sought

AR 12/7/85 (11A) (11A) (11A) (11A) (11A)  
PORT ELIZABETH — In a new attempt to learn the fate of three missing members of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), their families have brought an urgent application calling on the Minister of Law and Order to produce the men.

They are Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, president of Pebco, Mr Siphon Hashe, secretary-general, and Mr Champion Galela, organising secretary, missing since the night of May 8.

The application was brought yesterday by Mrs Elizabeth Hashe, Mr Hashe's wife; Mrs Benedicta Nobubele Godolozzi, Mr Godolozzi's mother; and Mr

Galela's wife, Mrs Rita Nomali Galela.

A similar application brought in June by Miss P Hashe, Mr Hashe's daughter, was dismissed with costs.

Yesterday's application was brought before Mr Justice Howie in the judge's chambers. The application was supported by affidavits of people who allegedly saw the men in police custody.

The applicants asked for an order calling on the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to show why he should not release the men from his custody and control, or alternatively, and failing that, produce

Mr Hashe, Mr Godolozzi and Mr Galela before the Supreme Court at a date to be fixed by the court.

If he opposed the application, the applicants want him to show why he should not be ordered to produce the cell register, the occurrence book, the possessions register, the meals register and all the books relating to the arrest, release and detention of people at the Algoa Park and Mount Road police stations from May 8 to the present.

The application was enrolled and postponed until Tuesday and the Minister was given until tomorrow to file opposing affidavits. — Sapa.

ARGUS 18/7/85  
PE boycott spokesman  
taken away by 'police'

Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH — Mr Mkhusele Jack, spokesman for the Consumer Boycott Committee here, was taken away from his work in North End today by two men who said they were policemen.

Mr Jack has been the only contact the Press have had with organisers of the black boycott of the city's retail outlets which began on Monday.

A colleague at his work said that the men who took Mr Jack away did not show identification but gave their names as Strydom and Lotter.

Police have not been able to confirm the report.

● PE boycott. Page 3.

# No birthday visitors for Mandela, 67

ACCUS  
18/15  
CIR

Political Staff

JAILED African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela received no visits today, his 67th birthday.

His next visit will be at Christmas, according to his attorney, Mr Ismail Ayob.



Mrs Mandela

Mr Ayob said Mr Mandela's wife Winnie, banned and restricted to the small Free State town of Brandfort, saw him on Sunday.

"But now all his visits have been used up. No one will see him between now and Christmas."

According to Mr Ayob, Mr Mandela is allowed 30 visits of 40 minutes each in one year.

Major A van Vuuren, a Prisons Department spokesman in Pretoria, said it was untrue that "prisoner Mandela" had used up his quota of visits this year.

Major van Vuuren said A-group prisoners could receive visits at their discretion provided they did not exceed five visits a month.

Asked how Mr Mandela would spend his birthday, Major van Vuuren said: "Due to practical reasons and against the background of the total daily prison population, no provision is made for individual prisoners to be treated differently on a birthday."

## "Sanity and justice"

The United Democratic Front, of which Mr Mandela is a patron, publicly wished him "Happy birthday" and reiterated its call for his unconditional release.

Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the UDF, said only the release of Mr Mandela and his colleagues "could bring some sanity and justice back to our troubled land".

Mr Mandela, who has been in prison for 22 years, this year turned down a conditional offer of release made by President P W Botha.

ARCUS 18/7/85 (119)

# Aim is power-sharing, not division of power

CHIEF MANGOSOTHO BUTHELEZI told the ASB this week what his bottom line was for negotiation with the Government. This is an edited extract of his speech.

I BELIEVE the future prosperity and stability of our country requires that major political formations like the National Party, Inkatha and others should resolve to work together to hammer out a political basis for peace and development. The matter is one of great urgency.

I am troubled, however, by what seems to be a great deal of vagueness and wishful thinking in speculation about an understanding between the National Party and Inkatha. What is constantly overlooked is that there are important issues which impede any possibility of a negotiated settlement. We run the risk of whistling in the dark unless we are prepared to examine these issues which divide us courageously and openly.

The major issue is power and the degree to which the National Party is willing to share it with blacks. We in Inkatha recognise that an insistence on majority rule in a unitary system is not a negotiable issue at this stage.

Having conceded this, we have taken a large step towards compromise which we believe can be negotiated. But we must insist that the issue to be negotiated is power-sharing and the extent and degree of that power-sharing.

We are not in principle prepared to negotiate unless we can negotiate about power-sharing. We are utterly convinced that it is futile to negotiate about anything else.

It is not clear to us, and I

would suggest that it is not clear to anyone in South Africa, that the National Party is prepared to talk about power-sharing. It may be prepared to talk about power, but we suspect that its concern is to talk about "power division" and not "power-sharing".

If this is so, we all have a great problem. One is really talking about the difference between a federation, which involves power-sharing as its central element, and a confederation, which seems to imply a division of power.

It is impossible for groups to go to the negotiating table when the participants have widely differing basic concepts of what they are going to negotiate about. We are not prepared to negotiate about a confederation for a variety of reasons, but one reason stands out most clearly:

### Central resources

In many senses, South Africa today, as regards the issue of African people, is already a confederation and it is manifestly inadequate as a basis for peace and development. Bits and pieces of power have been divided among the so-called homelands. Bits and pieces of power have also been allocated, in principle if not yet in practice, to the black local authorities in the common area. No power has been shared.

Power is essentially about control over resources and the major resource of a modern state are the central fiscus and

the budget. When we say we insist on power-sharing, we are really saying that African people must share in the determination of what happens to the budgetary resources, to the taxes that we all pay and to the revenue that we all help to earn.

No matter how much control one gives a particular group or particular region over its own affairs, one has not shared power unless one gives that group or region a say in determining what share of central resources it is going to get. Now you might think that our desire and aspiration is to gain a share of power over the central resources to make exorbitant and crippling demands. This is not the case at all. We in Inkatha who have experience of government and know how a modern state functions, would not dream of making demands which would have a destructive impact on the South African state as a whole. We would not wish to undermine white interests because we know that the interests of whites and blacks are so intertwined that if you hurt one you hurt everybody.

It is simply a matter of principle. We are South Africans who work in South Africa's shops, offices and factories, pay its taxes and provide a very large part of its market for consumer goods. We help to run its railways, police force, army and its civil service. On this basis we simply say that we are entitled, as a basic and

inalienable right, to representation on the bodies which decide on how the central cake must be cut.

We are prepared to negotiate about checks and balances, in a system of power-sharing. We are willing to concede reasonable safeguards to white interests. We would be prepared to go to considerable lengths to preserve the confidence of whites in the system of government, because we realise that if whites were to withdraw their skills and experience, we, the blacks, would suffer dearly.

We are prepared to shelve a unitary one-person-one-vote system, although obviously it always has been, and remains our ideal. We are concerned about making a start where a start can be made. Politics, after all, is the art of the possible. What we insist on, as our bottom line for negotiating, is that there must be some adequate degree of power-sharing in the central institutions of the State.

### Basic understanding

When I ask the State President to make a declaration of intent as a basis for negotiation, I am not expecting him to give details about the kind of proposals he would make in a process of negotiation. I am only asking him to indicate about a sharing of power and not simply about a more elaborate division of power. This basic understanding is essential if the process of negotiation is to start.

# Black boycott hits businessmen in PE

ARGUS 18/7/85 11A

## Argus Bureau

**PORT ELIZABETH.** — Black consumer boycotts of white-owned firms have spread to the city, causing a “desperately urgent” situation for many traders already hurt by the recession.

A call for help by the city's mayor, Mr Ivan Krige, to President P W Botha is bringing Mr Louis le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, to Port Elizabeth soon.

Boycott action had been effective, especially in areas where most consumers were black, said Mr Tony Gillson, director of the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce.

“It's difficult, if not impossible, to quantify something like this, but from reports coming to me it seems the boycott is hitting businessmen in these areas very hard.”

“There has been a definite drop in trade.”

“This is going to hurt everyone,” said one store manager in North End. “Most stores operate on 45 days' credit with their suppliers, and if the boycott lasts its scheduled two months there will be bankruptcy — and blacks will lose their jobs.”

A tour of shops in North End — usually teeming with black shoppers — showed most had not had a black customer for

two days, reflecting Mr Krige's claim that shopkeepers faced a “desperately urgent” situation.

The owner of a chain of four stores, who did not want to be named, said three of his shops, which depended on black trade, had experienced a 90 percent drop in sales.

A meat trader said he had laid off five workers, while a fast-food vendor said he had dismissed women who sold his product because people were afraid to buy from them.

The boycott had a twofold aim, said Mr Mkhusele Jack, chairman of the Consumer Boycott Committee: To force the removal of security forces from townships and to force

the resignation of the black Kayamandi Community Council.

Several shopkeepers have claimed that black youths intimidated shoppers, but Mr Jack denied that intimidation was necessary to enforce the boycott.

“The boycott is working even better than we expected. We have been organising for this for weeks and there is no intimidation because we don't need any,” he said.

Many shopkeepers said they had seen acts of intimidation. People returning from work have been searched by youths — and shopping goods found on them have been trampled on.



# 'I cannot make any more concessions'

NUM 18/7/85  
DUCA (11A)

**Ormande Pollock  
Political Correspondent**

STELLENBOSCH—Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said yesterday he could make no further 'concessions' in the search for a negotiated settlement in South Africa and the ball was in the Government's court.

In an interview after addressing the annual congress of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, whose 600 delegates represent the cream of Afrikaaner university leadership, Chief Buthelezi said there was not 'unlimited time' to find a solution.

He had been prepared to shelve his ideal of a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state, but President Botha had created a logjam by also rejecting the possibility of a federal system.

'What is left then to talk about?' asked Chief Buthelezi, who had told the students he was intent on a sharing of power, not a division of it.

Asked if he was sure he and Mr Botha were not misunderstanding each other, Chief Buthelezi said he had had discussions in Durban a week ago with Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, and he too had dismissed a federal system.

'My talks with him show I am prepared to talk to the Government. I have shelved my ideal, for which I have been attacked, but I know whites are not prepared to negotiate this at present,' said Chief Buthelezi.

He was prepared to try to make a start on some other form of government, but it would be impossible to enter negotiations without a declaration of intent.

Earlier, he had told the students, who had given him a warm reception, that he could not tell them what sort of system he foresaw as this would be 'prescribing' a solution in the same way Mr Botha was 'prescribing' by rejecting both a unitary and a federal system.

'I believe a federal system with a Bill of Rights which entrenches civil liberties is one of the things we should look at,' he said.

There was no such thing as a 'classical' federation as no two federations were the same. It could be possible to devise one 'peculiar' to South Africa.

Without a declaration of intent, he could lose the support of his followers, who had asked Mr Botha to postpone a visit to KwaZulu after he had ruled out a federal system during a recent television appearance.

'No discussions can get off the ground without a declaration of intent,' he said.

'The major issue is to share power so that no one group can dominate another. Whites dominate blacks at present and fear that blacks will dominate them if they ever come to power.'

He was not wedded to the wording of his own declaration of intent — which was circulated to all congress delegates — but it was the sort of document he expected the President to issue.

All groups should be represented at the negotiations as they would stall if there were people who could say their leaders were not around the conference table.

## **Scrap influx control, says ASB**

STELLENBOSCH—Delegates to the Afrikaanse Studentebond congress here yesterday voted overwhelmingly for motions calling for the scrapping of influx control within a year and the rejection of the idea of a separate state for whites.

The motions were for discussion, and the results do not constitute official ASB policy. They can be seen as an indication of the mood of the congress.

The influx-control motion was proposed by ASB secretary Willie Kruger, a final-year law student at the Rand Afrikaans University, who told the congress the pass laws were one of the greatest stumbling blocks to peaceful change.

Influx control had been instituted to control possible housing, unemployment and political problems, he said.

Economic forces had been so strong that this control was totally unsuccessful. Urbanisation was the 'natural result' of the free-market system.

The reality of the black man in South Africa's cities could not be wished away, he said.

The scrapping of influx control would not affect the homelands policy, as the Immigration Act would still apply. — (Sapa)

Cape Times 18/7/85 (114) (114)

# UDF commission

## to probe murders

**Own Correspondent**  
PORT ELIZABETH. — The United Democratic Front has appointed an independent commission of inquiry to investigate the murders of three Cradock community leaders and a teacher from Oudtshoorn.

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr Derrick Swartz, UDF regional general secretary, said the commission would get underway on Saturday.

It would be headed by two senior jurists from the International Court of Justice and would include an overseas sociologist and representa-

tives from the United Nations High Commission on Involuntary Disappearances, Amnesty International, the Detainees Parents Support Committee, the South African Council of Churches and the UDF, he said.

The commission will investigate the deaths of Mr Matthew Goniwe, UDF regional organizer, Mr Fort Calata, UDF executive member, Mr Sparro Mkhonto, chairman of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradock), and an Oudtshoorn teacher, Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, who was also a UDF member.

CAPC 1/1/83 7/7/83  
**Mandela is  
67 today** WDA

Political Reporter

THE leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Rolihlala Mandela, celebrates his 67th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison today.

Mandela, who was sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964 at the Rivonia trial, has already served 22 years in prison, most of it on Robben Island.

A son of a Tembu chief, he was born in 1918 in the Transkei.

Earlier this year he rejected the government's offer of freedom provided he rejected violence as a political strategy.

Last night, Mr Azhar Cachalia, national treasurer of the United Democratic Front (UDF), said that the Front wished him "a happy birthday" and cherished the hope that he "will soon be able to take his rightful place at the centre of the politics of our country".

# Duduza people 'living in fear'

CAPT Tombs  
18/7/85 Staff Reporter

A MEMBER of the Duduza Civic Association yesterday told about 2 000 students at a mass meeting held at the University of the Western Cape that people in that East Rand township were living in daily fear of their lives.

Mr Alex Mankwe said he was studying riots at the University of the West. "I have come to Cape Town to learn more."

"There are lappos in the street everywhere, even at night. There are gunshots everywhere. We have nothing for entertainment. The methods the police are using are too strong. The people on the East Rand have to live like this for the situation."

"If people are in fear they place asbestos in front of their houses, just out of fear for petrol bombs. It is a question of the United Democratic Front versus Azapo but a question of the UDF and Azapo versus the police."

Mr Trevor Manuel, UDF acting national publicity secretary, said: "The struggles of our people are far more overtly political. The targets of our people's anger are very clear: the Administration Boards and the police."

"We have seen the talk of reforms some 20 months ago. We no longer see those smirks and smiles of government ministers. There is very little connection between reform and the killing of our people. We have seen the fragmentation of the ruling class. Our slogan 'The people shall govern' is no longer unattainable."

# PE boycott taking a heavy toll

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Mayor of Port Elizabeth, Mr Ivan Krige, says there are "confidential plans at the highest level" to deal with the black consumer boycott of white-owned businesses.

With the planned eight-week boycott now entering its fourth day, some stores have already closed their doors, others will be following suit and increasing numbers of workers are being paid off.

Mr Krige, who has described the situation as "desperately urgent", said he was awaiting an imminent visit from the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, at the request of the State President, Mr P W Botha. He said his confidential plans were linked with Mr Le Grange's visit, but would not elaborate.

## Coloured, Indian traders squeezed

Last night the president of the Eastern Cape Traders' Association, Mr Ebrahim Soomar, said every effort was being made to set up a meeting as soon as possible with the boycott organizers.

"The talks will centre on the exclusion of our members from their campaign," he said.

Mr Soomar said his coloured and Indian members were feeling the effects of the boycott. "Some report a 95 percent sales drop. Although the boycott was not planned to include coloured and Indian traders, those in Korsten are being acutely affected."

The president of the Eastern Cape African Chamber of Commerce, Mr Monwabisi Mkaza, said on Tuesday the boycott could last "even a year. The climate is right and the people are conditioned."

The closure from lunchtime on Tuesday of four Durban Road stores has highlighted the seriousness of the situation.

One Korsten trader with two stores said he took R6 in his smaller shop yesterday and was closing it today. "It's uneconomic for me to keep it open. I've got R50 in the till from sales to coloured and white customers in the other store. My cousin in Cawood Street took R32. He is also closing up."

The chairman of the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Mr Koos Alberts, said although it was too early to assess the full extent of the boycott, he felt that in the long run it would rebound on the boycotters through job loss. "More unemployment leads to more unrest. It's a vicious circle."

## Food parcels being returned

Township residents, meanwhile, are returning their food parcels to a charity organization because of intimidation in the streets.

Mrs Jeannine Kromhout, administrative secretary of the Port Elizabeth Charity Organization in Port Elizabeth, said three women who received their parcels on Tuesday were accosted by youngsters who took the food away and bundled the women into a kombi.

"Now people are too terrified to keep the parcels," she said.

Cape Times  
18/7/85  
11A

# Boesak pleads for 'creative non-violence'

Staff Reporter

DR ALLAN BOESAK yesterday appealed to students at the University of the Western Cape not to respond to the crisis in the country by stoning cars and boycotting classes.

Dr Boesak, who is student chaplain at the university, said students should think instead of "creative non-violent activities".

"I get a little anxious when we have to go from funeral to funeral, from death to death, from mourning to mourning. It seems as if there is no end to all of this."

He said he got anxious when the "so-called" coloured communities across the country continued to live as though nothing was happening.

"I am a little anxious about us shouting slogans and coming here and suspending classes."

"There are those who are not even worried or concerned about what is happening simply because the kind of situation that we have heard being described has not yet come to Cape Town."

"It has not come to Cape Town because Mr P W Botha has a soft spot in his heart for Cape Town. It has not come to Cape Town simply because we have not yet responded to the crisis of the moment and that worries me."

"It does not mean that you have to stone cars or boycott classes. I am talking about the kind of creativity that oppressed people are supposed to have."

Referring to Naas Botha saying that the cancelled All Blacks tour was a tragedy, Dr Boesak said the real tragedy was what was happening in this country to thousands of people.

"The real tragedy is that we have to bury good honourable people like Matthew Goniwe. The greatest tragedy is that there are people in this country who just cannot be bothered," Dr Boesak said.

He told students their only responsibility was to ask what they could most constructively do.

# UDF and Inkatha in renewed clash

Crime Reporter

UDF and Inkatha supporters have clashed for the third night in a row in Lamontville as fears of the escalating violence grow.

On Sunday night more than 100 youths attacked the homes of Inkatha members in Hull Road after a UDF meeting at the Lamontville Methodist Church.

In an apparant revenge attack, inhabitants of the S J Smith Hostel — an Inkatha stronghold — attacked two blocks of flats

where members of the Joint Rent Action Committee live.

Two people, Mrs Violet Gumede and her daughter Ethel were seriously injured.

Early yesterday morning the Hull Street homes of Mr Thema Nkomi, 45, and Mr Bisusiwe Msomi, 44, were petrol bombed. Both are Inkatha supporters.

No one was injured in the attacks, but the home of Mr Msomi was completely destroyed. Damage is estimated at R60 000.



The home of Mr Bisusiwe Msomi is engulfed by flames after it was petrol-bombed early yesterday. No one was in the house at the time of the attack. Damage is estimated at R60 000.

CINEMA METRO

Page 2

72

1985

Grade 10  
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Current Real Weekly Wage: R 19.95

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Current Real Weekly Wage: R 21.79

# Cool down and talk

*WA* *11A*



Are we truly faced with a situation in which anarchy rules — a chilling world in which international hostility mounts with internal turbulence? The *FM* feels that businessmen need to

know more than the lurid headlines of the past months can reveal: part of the fuel of the deep recession we are undergoing is the unrest itself, and we need, too, to assess ways in which it can be defused and life can return to something approaching normal.

There are many paradoxes in the unrest. While, clearly, dramatic and politically important events are occurring in the townships, their long-term significance is difficult to assess. For a start, except through daily reports of gruesome violence in East Rand, Cape and Free State black townships, white SA and the business centres remain strangely untouched — except psychologically.

It is almost as if a *separate* country is in turmoil within the boundaries of geographical SA. But everyone is aware of the danger of this violence spilling into white suburbs or finding an outlet in industrial action. The stage has been reached where SA's "big issue" — meaningful black political rights — must be addressed.

The cycle of violence has continued virtually unabated since August last year, when Sebokeng erupted over the residents' refusal to pay higher rents set by its fledgling com-

**SA is not about to succumb to a revolution co-ordinated by the ANC. The situation is far more complex than that. It nonetheless finds itself in a predicament of such seriousness that direct action by the President is needed before things really fall apart.**

munity council. The rest of the Vaal Triangle townships followed suit, and widespread school boycotts simmered. The unrest then spread to the eastern Cape and the East Rand, where it continues.

Nationwide, about 500 people have so far died. This year alone about 100 blacks were killed by blacks — mostly people regarded as "in the system," but also through friction between the United Democratic Front (UDF) and Azapo over who "really" represents the cause of "liberation." Allegations of political abduction and murder by "agents of the system" surround at least six civic or UDF activists. The name of Matthew Goniwe — who will be buried this weekend — has been painted on walls around Johannesburg, perhaps the first time this kind of political sloganeering has

been seen in white suburbs. Millions of rands have been lost in damage to buildings and vehicles.

In short, the townships are perilously near the brink of the "ungovernability" called for by the banned ANC's leader, Oliver Tambo.

To what extent the ANC call was merely shrewd anticipation of events, and whether it is indeed playing a "vanguard" role in the upheavals, we do not know. Suffice to say that the ANC is bound to exploit the situation, and has vowed to attack "soft" targets.

But it is also highly significant that the townships trauma comes at a time when government has effectively jettisoned old-style apartheid. Reform is always accompanied by upheaval — a fact of life and history. Among better-off blacks, too, a sense of frustrated expectations is partly at work.

Internationally, Pretoria has never been as ostracised as it is now. Even Ronald Reagan's America has just

downgraded its diplomatic presence here and US sanctions are on the way. To cap it all, the Kiwi rugby tour appears to have been scotched — bringing for many a real sense of isolation.

However, not even the ANC seriously believes SA is on the brink of revolutionary insurrection leading inexorably to black majority rule. The State is by no means tottering and the economy is basically sound, the indicators pointing towards



**Le Grange**

recovery. SA's defences are intact, and people are carrying on with their lives.

However, it would be unwise to dismiss 1984-85 as simply a replay of Soweto 1976. Bantu Education grievances have been superseded by major political demands. This time it is adults, not just school pupils, who are in the forefront. Black parents and children are united as they were not in 1976.

Says Institute for Race Relations director John Kane-Berman: "The profundity, the depth of animosity and bitterness is very much greater than was the case in 1976. The reason for that is that the new constitution caused a very dramatic increase in racial polarisation. It is no accident that the protests erupted during the same week that the new parliament was being inaugurated."

There is also a depth of political cogency and organisation to the protests not seen in SA before. Anger is unmistakably being directed at black community councillors and policemen as "collaborators" — and, simply put, the "system" is being rejected. Barely five, out of 32, black councils are function-



**Graveside anger ... martyrs make rallying points**



ing. Yet these were meant to be the basis of government's new political dispensation for blacks, starting at the third tier and leading gradually to joint participation in the new Regional Services Councils — and beyond.

This violent failure of black local government has further contributed to frustration. Says Natal University's Lawrence Schlem-

mer: "Within the constitutional restraints of African local government and the Group Areas Act, the African local authorities have symbolised for the African elites in the townships their inability to aspire beyond the 'township,' both socially, residentially and politically. The framework of local government has been perceived as an impediment to the real aspirations of the rising African middle class and to the political idealism of the leadership of voluntary organisations."

A further, neglected factor is the often abysmal township living conditions blacks have to endure.

And to the extent that the environment will determine a man's consciousness, or state of wellbeing, the appalling lack of housing and services (of lights and water, sewage disposal, and so on) is dangerous to stability.

This condition is perhaps a natural consequence of a phenomenon government has only recently come round to accepting in principle — black urbanisation. The process has been going on without nearly enough planning and provision over the years. National Party policy was blind to the truth, and the result is that a generation of black urban dwellers, with modern industrial society aspirations, were never supposed to be around at all. Hence the huge backlog in social and other development.

Not the least of blacks' grievances is their veritable economic strait-jacketing through numerous laws which discourage economic and social self-improvement. What sociologists call "achievement motivation" is squashed and squandered.

The recession, rising prices and high unemployment have exacerbated matters. Higher rents and service charges levied by struggling councils are resisted to the point

of rebellion and beyond. The black urban councils have an utter lack of credibility — so surely, as an urgent point of reform, it is time to take a long, hard look at their financing. Township life must be improved.

As if that mix of conditions were not sufficient social tinder, black perceptions of police behaviour have simply made matters



**Bishop Simeon Nkoane**

worse. Serious allegations have been made by township leaders and residents in the East Rand against police conduct. Anglican Suffragan Bishop for Johannesburg East, Simeon Nkoane, says: "It is no good if the police hide behind balaclavas or disguise by darkening themselves with paint when moving about the townships. We don't need a faceless police force in the townships, especially at this time of unrest. There are many people willing to testify to the bad conduct of the faceless policemen but nobody, it seems, wants to listen to these people."

An idea of what township life is like is provided by a brief look at the East Rand, where near-anarchy has reigned over the past few weeks. At Tsakane, for instance, 6 000 families live in tin shacks in a squalid shantytown known as Kwavezi, on the



**ANC's Oliver Tambo**

outskirts of the township. Of the 6 000 families, only 200 have so far been provided with proper houses. Tsakane still uses the bucket system for sewerage.

Last January residents brought their outcry for housing to public attention when they held a protest demonstration. Then, at the end of March, another demonstration was held, this time against a site-and-service housing scheme because the people claimed rentals were too steep. Their cries fell on deaf ears.

Conditions at Duduza, which was established about 11 years ago when the old Nigel black township of Charterston was demolished, are primitive. There is no sewerage system, no electricity, no water taps in the yards, and the numerous streets criss-crossing the 5 000-strong township are not tarred. Earlier this year, Duduza residents demonstrated their anger over these conditions when, after a public meeting, they took night-soil buck-

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## STATISTICS OF VIOLENCE

From the beginning of May to Monday this week at least 65 people are reported to have died violently in unrest in the East Rand townships of Duduza, Daveyton, KwaThema, Tsakane, Katlehong and Tembisa.

Twenty were shot in KwaThema alone, most of them by police, but some by unknown assailants. Another 12 died in Duduza in clashes between rampaging youths and the police.

Ministers of religion generally, and in particular the Anglican Suffragan Bishop for Johannesburg East, Simeon Nkoane, helped control tempers of angry crowds of mourners who wanted to lynch at least three people they accused of being police informers and spies.

Damage includes destruction of community halls, post offices, beerhalls, homes of policemen and councillors, as

well as their businesses, buses, and private vehicles.

Numerous individuals, including two press photographers, have escaped with

injuries sustained from police bullets, and some other people have gone missing.

In the nine months to the end of April, according to Natal University's Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, 381 people died countrywide and 1 497 were wounded. Most of the deaths occurred as a result of police action, but 82 deaths and 559 injuries were the result of civilian violence on fellow residents.

Perhaps the most chilling killings were those in the eastern Cape townships of Kwanobuhle and Langa at Uitenhage; and those in townships in Port Elizabeth where demonstrators publicly burnt community members accused of siding with the authorities.

In the period, R31m of damage was done to buildings and R12m to vehicles. The cost to the country of the violence must be much higher by now.

### DEATHS 1985 From January 31 to July 9 1985

| Cause of death                | Number killed |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Police incidents .....        | 150           |
| Black on black .....          | 97            |
| Black on white .....          | 1             |
| Vigilantes .....              | 2             |
| Possibly vigilantes (*) ..... | 4             |
| Accidental (**) .....         | 19            |
| Unknown .....                 | 21            |
| Total .....                   | 294           |

\* Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Thomas "Sparrow" Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli.

\*\* Includes seven people in the East Rand who died when the handgrenades they were carrying exploded.

### Place of death (1985) Number killed

|                         |     |
|-------------------------|-----|
| E Cape .....            | 157 |
| W Cape .....            | 19  |
| Rest of Cape .....      | 6   |
| E Rand .....            | 78  |
| Rest of Transvaal ..... | 19  |
| Natal .....             | 5   |
| OFS .....               | 10  |
| Total .....             | 294 |

### DEATHS IN 1984

| Place                   | Number killed |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| E Cape .....            | 6             |
| E Rand .....            | 40            |
| Vaal Triangle .....     | 74            |
| Soweto .....            | 13            |
| Rest of Transvaal ..... | 14            |
| Natal .....             | 2             |
| OFS .....               | 2             |
| Unknown .....           | 24            |
| Total .....             | 176           |

Total deaths from January 1984 to July 9, 1985: 469. From September 1 1984 to July 9, 1985: known deaths number 443.  
Source: SA Institute of Race Relations

ets from their homesteads and emptied them in front of the local offices of the East Rand Development Board. Duduza is now referred to by locals as Beirut.

Local businessman Kebane Moloi, a former mayor who resigned from the local council earlier this year after pressure from the residents, says 1 100 Duduza families are on the waiting list for housing and have been waiting for years. They live in backyard shacks.

In Daveyton, Benoni, mayor Tom Boya says there are 6 000 families on the waiting list for housing. Between 5 000 and 6 000 backyard shacks have been erected by the homeless. His council wants to build 6 000 houses at Holfontein, an extension of the township, but has no funds to do so.

"We are turning a blind eye to these illegal structures. Not because we like them but because there is no money for us to provide better alternative accommodation for homeless residents," Boya says. "We have also discovered that there is no single private developer interested in the provision of low-cost housing for the poor and this is embarrassing."

Of the thousands of illegal structures in backyards at Katlehong, more than 2 000 have been destroyed, without any corresponding provision of proper accommodation in the township. It seems the East Rand Development Board neglected its wards in the township for years while serving the interests of apartheid by building homeland towns like Lebowakgomo, near Pietersburg, and Ekangala at Bronkhorstspuit.

Residents of the strife-torn East Rand townships admit there's nothing new about their housing grievances. However, they point out that new forces have entered the scene. These are the emergence of organised black trade unionism, the formation of youth organisations, including high school bodies,

and the establishment of township civic associations. These bodies, they claim, are not only jointly expressing these grievances but are also uniting township inhabitants by articulating their feelings on other bread-and-butter issues.

It is universally true that reform tends to operate as an accelerator of violence in societies made up of "haves" and "have-nots." Says Schlemmer: "The current process of reform is totally inadequate if not highly dangerous to stability. We need a package of reforms which will alleviate the social stress in the African urban communities in addition to single incremental reforms which necessity and political morality dictate."

It may be worth noting that the rural areas (Cradock, Kroonstad, Bothaville, Graaff-Reinet) have also been hit by the unrest as migrant labourers carry their grievances outside the urban areas. It would be unwise to ignore their development needs.

What should government do to stem this tide of black anger and break the cycle of violence? There are many opinions on this, but one thing is clear: *real* negotiation with blacks, and not only talk about a national forum, should start — very soon. That should be preceded by a simple, straightforward and unambiguous statement of intent by President P W Botha that the end-goal is genuine power-sharing with blacks and a replacement of the present constitution with representation for blacks in Parliament. Ideas on possible federal options have fermented for long enough inside the ruling NP and outside: it is time to get these proposals on the table.

Then there's Nelson Mandela. Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda's statement in an interview with the *FM* is supported by many leading political scientists and politicians: "The reason why I am insisting on the release of Mandela is that then there will be



The toll mounts

someone responsible, someone who is likely to carry by far the greatest majority of African opinion. If he could be released now, the African people will say: 'Ah, Mandela is going to speak. Let's wait.' It will be a psychological thing. It's the surest way of buying a little time.

"But you've got to have a beginning to stem this black anger in the African masses. . . Both Mr Botha and myself need a strong Mandela."

To which Cape Town University political scientist Hermann Giliomee adds: "White SA should once and for all learn the lesson that there is one thing more dangerous than a strong black political party, and that is the absence of it."

The ANC may not be quoted in SA, but what does an organisation such as the UDF demand? Says UDF spokesman Murphy Morobi: "Recognition of the right of Africans to citizenship of this country without a distinction between urban and rural is a basic demand. This government must realise that we have people we consider as real leaders. We cannot have a minority white government prescribing to us. I know the average white will be shocked by some of this, but it is not very different from the demands of Afrikaners in their history of struggle against the English."

Clearly, something drastic should also be done about the police's way of handling the unrest. Not only should there be many more of them, but they should get better training in riot control and on how to read the situation in townships. Surely the police should know by now that black funerals should be handled far more sensitively, for instance? And what has happened to the water cannon that the Minister of Law and Order has boasted about? The Minister and his deputy were on leave this week, and an official police spokesman would not be drawn on this question.

Perhaps UCT political scientist Simon Baynham's proposal should get serious consideration: "If the police are to deal successfully with the several stages of escalating civil unrest, then perhaps a new paramilitary unit should be established. The existence of a separate riot squad — independent of both the military and the police — is common in Western Europe. This would enable the regular police to cultivate an image of serving the interests of all members of the community, thus divorcing them from those duties that have given the SAP an unfortunate stigma as enforcers of internal order."

An unfortunate stigma they have indeed — and very little credibility in the eyes of blacks. Even when the ANC is responsible for gruesome deaths in the townships, many blacks still suspect the police.

The situation calls for bold action by President Botha. A starting point — which a moderate black like Mangosuthu Buthelezi has called for — would be that declaration of intent. And the township environment must be radically upgraded. Then the talking can start, and the killing stop. ■

## WHY NOT SOWETO?

Conspicuously absent, so far, from the daily news of township turmoil is Soweto. SA's largest urban black township reverberated round the world as the centre of black opposition during the 1976 riots against Bantu Education. Students — school pupils, actually — led the protests. Parents for the most part looked on in dismay. Nearly a decade later, and in smaller townships like Duduza and Thabong, adults are at the helm.

But why has Soweto stayed calm?

After 1976, says a political historian, there was a fairly major reorganisation of the police and policing methods in Soweto. "Policing in Soweto is a mite more sensitive after '76. They do not seem to go in with the same fervour as police seem to do in other townships," he surmises. The Kannemeyer inquiry's oblique criticisms of riot police methods in the Uitenhage massacre probably do not apply to Soweto.

Then, there's the size of the place. In a township as large as Soweto (population 1,5m), it is suggested, the issues of "col-

small proportion only are in industrial job. In the East Rand and eastern Cape, though, black employment is mostly industrial — hence the bigger toll taken by the recession as factories retrench workers or close down. Further, according to one political scientist, trade union organisation in those areas often preceded political organisation. For example, the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu) has its affiliates and basis in places like Katlehong. And the SA Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) has a place in Mdantsane and the eastern Cape. "Trade unions don't have the kind of social resonance in Soweto that is found in the East Rand and eastern Cape," says the academic.

With the international focus on Soweto in the wake of '76, government and private-sector involvement increased markedly. Electricity came to Soweto. The many townships which were until recently scarcely heard of, were unfortunately neglected. Foreign, particularly US, contributions to educational and other upliftment programmes were concentrated in



Soweto ... has much to lose from violence

laboration" and alleged treachery by "stooges" working within "the system," are less personalised. And the task of political mobilisation is far more formidable. Compare this to a small place like Duduza where, when four people were killed in the riots recently, virtually the whole town attended the funeral.

Soweto is probably also socially more complex than any other black urban centre. It is richer and thus relatively better able to cope with the recession. Proportionately more "middle class" or upwardly mobile people live there and they have more to lose in explosions of unrest.

Greater class differences and sectional interests also help explain the lack of any single over-arching political organisation in Soweto. Compare this to the dozens of civic organisations and action committees in little, previously unheard-of towns from the eastern Cape, Free State and Transvaal, which have been in the forefront of township protest and where meetings have recently been prohibited by law.

Sowetans are employed in a variety of jobs, including, largely, the commercial and services sectors in Johannesburg. A

Soweto. So it looks better. Driving into the township, the new highway, the smart houses of Diepkloof extension, the Funda Centre — all perhaps relieve the uninspiring view of rows of matchbox houses. And this may have some effect, says one who is involved in improving the quality of black urban life. But, it is pointed out, "buying a few houses does not a middle class make." People still relate to things like the vote and to being able to move to better areas.

For all that, the housing shortfall in Soweto, though bad, does not remotely compare with the grimness of that found in the East Rand and eastern Cape townships.

Some say trouble could well break out in Soweto, too. There is a measure of tension. Rents were increased last week and 107 people were arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act at the weekend, when the Women's Federation led a march to the Soweto council in protest at the rent rises. Higher rents touched off the trouble in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle and rents there have not been paid in a year.

with particular reference to the aging trend."

*B. Day*  
**Editor must quit demands UDF**

THE United Democratic Front has called for the resignation of the editor of the East London Daily Dispatch, George Farr, for having referred to Nelson Mandela as a "criminal".

The demand was made in a pamphlet which was distributed in East London last week. It threatened a boycott of the newspaper if the demand was not met by August 14.

Daily Dispatch managing director Terry Briceland said the newspaper had taken a firm anti-apartheid stand for decades, and had even suffered financially as a result.

Dushan is second



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Cape Times  
19/7/85

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**Political Correspondent**

IT IS becoming increasingly clear that the police force in South Africa is not keeping pace with the times, according to Dr Piet Muller, a columnist for the country's largest Afrikaans newspaper.

Writing in yesterday's Beeld, Dr Muller argues that there are not enough police available to exercise their authority in areas affected by unrest.

At best police were able to move into areas in a bid to "put out the flames", but as soon as they pulled out "inciters

of unrest" once again appeared on the scene and reimposed their authority.

Dr Muller said South Africa had spent millions of rands on protecting its borders, but the force responsible for maintaining internal peace had remained "forgotten".

With barely two policemen for every thousand people in South Africa, it was

hardly surprising that the emphasis had shifted over the years from the visible neighbourhood policeman to a patrol service by small but heavily-armed squads.

This had inevitably led to crowds being fired on, which had in turn helped inflame the situation.

"In this manner the maintenance of law and order to a large degree lost its legitimacy in the

black community."

The situation had been aggravated by heavy-handed police actions such as house-to-house raids that affected both law-abiding citizens and troublemakers.

At the same time black policemen had become increasingly frustrated, particularly because they had been progressively intimidated to leave black residential areas.

"In other countries this sort of feeling has in

the past led to elements of the police beginning to take the law into their own hands and attempting to use unorthodox methods to stop the unrest," he said.

Dr Muller said the seriousness of the unrest could be gauged by the fact that in certain areas like Duduza in the East Rand not a single policeman's home remained undamaged.

In this area the grip of the student organization

Cosas on the community was so large that they had set up their own "police station" and imposed their own version of law on the community.

He said that to call for the complete withdrawal of black policemen from black areas under such circumstances was "nonsense".

Dr Muller concluded that a strong show of strength was now necessary to end the unrest. The extinguishing of the flames should be followed by an imaginative programme of conciliation and political reform.

# Police the 'forgotten force'

ARGUS 19/7/85 11A

# 100 000 expected to attend the funeral of community leaders

KEN VERNON of the Argus Port Elizabeth Bureau reports on the funeral tomorrow of four black leaders found dead in mysterious circumstances outside Port Elizabeth earlier this month

THE tiny rural centre of Cradock in the Eastern Cape is battening its hatches as it steels itself for the biggest invasion of people the town has ever seen.

Tomorrow an estimated 100 000 are expected to descend on Cradock for the funeral of four community leaders found murdered outside Port Elizabeth earlier this month. And even if only half the expected number arrive, it will still be the biggest occasion in Cradock's history.

The main reason for the huge gathering is for leaders and ordinary people of all races and all walks of life to pay their respects to Mr Matthew Goniwe, a Cradock schoolteacher who in the past two years of his life became perhaps the most important black leader in the Eastern Cape.

Being buried at the same time as Mr Goniwe will be the three others who died with him when his car was waylaid outside Port Elizabeth — Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sicelo Mahawuli and Mr Sparrow Mkhonto.



Mr Matthew Goniwe . . . Cradock schoolteacher who in the past two years of his life became perhaps the most important black leader in the Eastern Cape.

## Central figure

As the central figure in a long period of unrest and violence in Cradock which spread throughout the whole Eastern Cape, Matthew Goniwe was a man of peace who a short time ago risked death or injury by interceding with a mob of youths stoning a police patrol.

He was born in Cradock and completed his schooling there before gaining a higher teacher's diploma from Fort Hare University and returning to his home town to teach.

In 1972 he and another well-known Cradock schoolteacher, Mr John Hlehlekani, went to Transkei and founded a school at Mqanduli, 40km outside Um-tata, which eventually became the Holomisa High School.

In 1977 he was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act and sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

While behind bars he studied and obtained a BA degree from Unisa, majoring in education and political studies.

## Brilliant teacher

After his release from prison he returned to teaching, first at Graaff-Reinet and then Cradock, where in 1983 he was appointed acting headmaster of the Sam Xallie High School.

Even his most fervent political enemies praised Mr Goniwe as a brilliant teacher who turned out students with good results in his chosen subjects of mathematics and science — subjects in which good teachers at black schools are a rarity.

At the same time he took a leading interest in local community affairs and was founder and first president of the Cradock Residents Association (Cradora) which was formed by Cradock residents to fight drastic rent increases in the Ilingelihle township.

It was as Mr Goniwe was in the forefront of moves by Cradock to fight these increases that he received a notice from the Department of Education and Training transferring him to Graaff-Reinet.

## Pivotal role

At the time the move was seen by Cradock as a politically motivated decision designed to end Mr Goniwe's pivotal role in local politics and defuse the movement against the rent increases.

When Mr Goniwe refused the transfer he was sacked, precipitating a school boycott in the town which lasted for more than 15 months and eventually spread to virtually every black school in the Eastern Cape.

Two months after the boycott started, Mr Goniwe was detained by police and

spent several months in Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison before being released, without being charged.

He was immediately placed on the Government's "consolidated list", which prevents him from being quoted by newspapers.

Early this year he was appointed rural organiser for the United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape and it was in this capacity that he travelled to Port Elizabeth one Thursday last month to attend a briefing with UDF general secretary Mr Derrick Swarts.

## Attacks

As Mr Goniwe and the three other men with him left the meeting at nine that evening, they were asked to stay the night in Port Elizabeth by Mr Swarts, who said he was worried about a spate of attacks on UDF leaders.

But Mr Goniwe drove his late model Honda car towards the road to Cradock.

The next day the burnt out remains of his car were found near the highway just outside Port Elizabeth. The bodies of Mr Mkhonto and Mr Mahawuli were found nearby and three days later the burnt and hacked bodies of Mr Goniwe and his close friend Mr Calata were found side by side in a clearing about 2km from where the car had been found.

His murderers have yet to be found.

# The struggle was their life

**F**our prominent leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), who were burnt and stabbed to death, will be buried tomorrow in Cradock in what is expected to be one of the biggest funerals in the Eastern Cape.

But the selflessness in which they dedicated their lives for the cause of the black man and for all freedom loving people in South Africa, will not be buried with them.

For Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mhlawuli and Mr Sicelo Mkhonto the struggle and their lives were indivisible. In fact, the struggle was their life.

That all four of them, through some strange twist of fate, could die in the same manner (all of them were teachers) leaves little doubt that the country has been robbed of true leaders.

A deep-rooted anger within the ranks of the UDF is prevailing today as thousands of supporters and members country-wide prepare to go to Cradock to bury them.

Mr Goniwe, founder of the Cradock Youth Organisation and Cra-

**FOUR prominent UDF members in the Eastern Cape who died mysteriously after a meeting will be buried tomorrow at Cradock. Their deaths were met with widespread condemnation after their charred remains were found near Bluewaters Bay. ALI MPHAKI looks into their lives and gives a brief account of Mr Goniwe's life.**

dock Residents' Association (Cradora) was born 38 years ago in the same township.

The son of a domestic worker and a firewood merchant, Mr Goniwe completed all his schooling in Cradock except for a brief period he spent at Healdtown College where he completed his teacher's diploma.

## Convicted

After completing a diploma at Fort Hare, Mr Goniwe taught in Cradock. In 1972, Mr Goniwe left Cradock to teach at Bitye, a rural village in the Transkei. He founded a school, at Mqanduli, some 40 km from Um-tata.

In 1977 he was convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act and was imprisoned in Umtata for four years. The conviction came as a result of the teaching of political theory of various ideologies at the school in addition

to the usual subjects. While in prison he completed a BA degree through Unisa, majoring in Education and Political Studies.

He was released towards the end of 1981.

He formed the Cradock Youth Organisation in July 1983. In August rents in Cradock were increased. While he was organising together with other residents to fight this issue, the Department of Education and Training (DET) informed him in December that he was being transferred to Graaff-Reinet as from January 1984.

The people of Cradock believed this to be a political move to stop the unified community under Mr Goniwe protesting against rents. He refused to be transferred and was subsequently dismissed. He reapplied for post in Cradock but his application was turned down. (DET now claims his reap-

pointment was due to be finalised in July this year).

On February 3, 1984, more than 7 000 pupils in Cradock began boycotting lessons to protest Mr Goniwe's dismissal — a boycott that was to last 14 months. The following month the area was declared an operational area and journalists were banned from the area.

## Arrested

On March 31, 1985, Mr Goniwe, his cousin Mr Mbulelo Goniwe, Mr Madoda Jacobs and Mr Fort Calata were arrested under Section 28 of the Internal Security Act. Mr Goniwe and Mr Jacobs were held in solitary confinement at Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town. Mbulelo Goniwe and Fort Calata were held at Diepkloof Prison near Soweto. They were released without being charged on October 9 the same year.

Mr Goniwe had since then been under constant police surveillance. Mrs Goniwe tells of an incident in 1984: "Matthew was taking me to town a little before 8 am. Before we left we saw se-



**THOUSANDS** are expected to attend the funeral of four leading Eastern Cape members of the UDF who died under mysterious circumstances.

curity policeman in cars coming up the street and they moved slowly past our house.

"We drove along the national road — the town is 2 km away along that road. We were ordered to stop. One of the occupants then pointed a gun at my husband's head, and said "I'll kill you, I'll kill you". Matthew was taken to the security police car and we were told to follow them to the police station where our car was searched from top to bottom.

"My husband laid a charge but we never heard anything more

about that." Mrs Goniwe said she could not count the number of times her husband was stopped and searched.

"In May this year the township was surrounded by soldiers and police. A police helicopter flew overhead and from it they shouted: 'Goniwe is not giving you electricity, Goniwe is not giving you water,' " Mrs Goniwe alleged.

And that was only days before Mr Goniwe disappeared. He went missing on June 27 together with Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli. They

were from a UDF meeting.

• A few days later the bodies of Mr Mhlawuli and Mr Mkhonto were found in different places in Port Elizabeth area.

Mr Mhlawuli's body was found after an unidentified caller informed the police he had seen a body in the bush between Bluewaters Bay and the sea. He had been stabbed and set alight.

Mr Mkhonto's body was found on a Friday night, one kilometer away from the car. His right hand had been severed. He had also been stabbed and burned.



CAPT Tux ~~FOOD~~  
19/7/85 (11A) \*

## Delegates get new R9m HQ

DURBAN. — Luxury — and tight security — are the keynotes in Malgate, the new R9-million headquarters here of the House of Delegates.

The high-rise building in Stanger Street was "opened" to about 30 journalists last night by the Chief Minister of the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, and his ministers Mr Baldeo Dookie (housing), Mr Boetie Abramjee (budget) and Mr Kassie Ramduth (education).

Particularly impressive are Mr Rajbansi's enormous wall-panelled 11th-floor offices, complete with a large conference chamber, cabinet room and cocktail bar.

Mr Rajbansi said no date had yet been fixed for the formal opening of the building. — Sapa



## Runcie sends envoy to mass funeral

LONDON. — The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, is sending an envoy to represent him at the funeral of 14 people killed in unrest in KwaThema, his office said yesterday.

A statement said Bishop of Lichfield Keith Sutton would attend the service and had been invited to speak by Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Archbishop Runcie, spiritual leader of the world's 65 million Anglicans, felt the presence of Bishop Sutton would give assurance of the "prayers and concern felt by the church worldwide about recent events", the statement said.

Meanwhile the KwaThema branch of Inkatha is refusing to heed a stayaway call to coincide with the mass funeral in the township.

An Inkatha spokesman said the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Students and the KwaThema People's Organization had arranged the stayaway — Sapa-Reuter

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# Poll calls for free Mandela

## Weekend Argus Reporters

MOST of the people who took part in an Argus phone-in were in favour of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela from prison.

Almost 75 percent of the callers said they thought Mr Mandela, who has spent 22 years in jail and celebrated his 67th birthday in Pollsmoor this week, should be released.

Only 91 of the 461 people who telephoned in said the former ANC leader should remain in prison.

Most callers said his release would stop township violence and bring about peace in South Africa.

## Strong opinions

The callers who insisted Mr Mandela should remain in prison said he had been jailed for criminal, not political, offences. Some expressed strong opinions about Mr Mandela.

Almost every Cape Town suburb and the country areas were represented.

"He is a member of an organisation which spreads terrorism," said Mr Clive Wilson, of Vredehoek.

Dr D Karallis, of Somerset West, said it was embarrassing that in a country which called itself civilised, a 67-year-old man who had been in prison for 22 years — jailed for trying to liberate his people — was still imprisoned.

## Solve problem

"He never intended violence — he is the leader of the majority of South Africans and he could do a lot to solve our problem," said Mr Cecil Watson, of Diep River.

"Keep him in prison and he will become a martyr. Free him, and he will be forgotten," said Mr K Patterson, of Plumstead.

Mr Frank Richardson, of Gardens, said: "All political prisoners should be released, because they are speaking against an immoral system."

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23/7/85

## Boesak flies back to US

### Political Staff

THE president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches Dr Allan Boesak left South Africa on Sunday night for the United States — after the state of emergency was proclaimed.

Dr Boesak, who is on a five-week overseas tour, interrupted his visit to return for the funeral at the weekend of four UDF leaders at Cradock.

A spokesman for his office said yesterday that his trip had been planned months ago and that he had cancelled appointments to return for the funeral.

There is some feeling in church circles that he should have cancelled the visit in view of the present circumstances in South Africa. There is also growing concern at the amount of time Dr Boesak is spending outside South Africa.

# Two demos acquitted

CA 205 21/7/83  
Court Reporter

TWO women who demonstrated against management committee elections in 1983 were yesterday acquitted by a Wynberg Regional magistrate of contravening the Internal Security Act.

Mrs Susan Jansen, 54, of Dove Road, and Mrs Wilhelmina Naidoo, 49, of Maranatha, Italian Road, Grassy Park, pleaded not guilty to attending an illegal gathering at Lotus River on September 9, 1983.

Evidence was that the women stood about 25m apart near the polling booth in Klip Road. Their placards read "A vote for management committees is a vote for Apartheid" and "Don't vote, reject apartheid, UDF unites Apartheid divides".

Mr A S McCarthy presided. Mr M A Broeksma prosecuted. Mr M K Parker appeared for both women.

# UDF's Chris Tinto is on hit list, W Cape rally is told

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THE name of Western Cape UDF vice-president Christmas Tinto has been added to a death list, an anonymous caller claimed in Cape Town this week.

This was announced by UDF Western Cape secretary Trevor Manuel at a church service to mourn the deaths of Mathew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mahlawuli.

"We know of two hit squads operating in the Transvaal," Mr Manuel said.

"But there is also another kind of squad operating in South Africa, the kind responsible for the death of a 12-year-old boy in Steytlerville," he said.

Mr Manuel was referring to the death in police cells of Johannes Spogter - who suffered head injuries, according to an autopsy report.

## NEWS PLUS

★ THE Seopasengwe Opposition Party in BophuthaTswana failed to present a nominee at the electoral division in Ga-Rankuwa this week - giving the ruling Democratic Party an "easy walk-over".

Both parties were to contest a Odi region by-election for a vacant seat in the National Assembly left by the late Amos Mmutle Kgomongoe.

Democratic Party nominee Joy Tshetho Mamogale was registered unopposed.

He said there were "pertinent questions" surrounding the deaths of the four Cradock leaders.

Only people who "listened in" on their calls would have known about their trip, he said.

In a statement, the UDF said: "Mr Tinto rose to a position of leadership through a tireless struggle which included two spells of imprisonment. For us in the UDF the hit list is no longer a hollow threat."

# 'Royal 3' on ANC charges

THE SECURITY <sup>trial</sup> of  
three prominent KwaZulu resi-  
dents connected to the Zulu  
Royal family began last week.  
Nongoma-based induna Sa-  
lusha Malinga Zondo - an ad-  
viser to Zulu King Goodwill  
Zwelithini - his adopted  
daughter Kathazile Maphu-  
mulo, and the king's former  
chauffeur Cornelius Mzama  
Zulu appeared in the Escourt  
Magistrate's charged with har-  
bouring members of the ANC  
and possession of arms.

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# Power-sharing is goal of black aspirations

I believe the future prosperity and stability of our country requires that major political formations, like the National Party, Inkatha and others should resolve to work together to hammer out a political basis for peace and development. The matter is one of great urgency.

I am troubled, however, by what seems to be a great deal of vagueness and wishful thinking in speculation about an understanding between the National Party and Inkatha. What is constantly overlooked is that there are important issues which impede any possibility of a negotiated settlement.

The major issue is power and the degree to which the National Party is willing to share it with blacks. We in Inkatha recognise that an insistence on majority rule in a unitary system is not a negotiable issue at this stage.

Having conceded this, we have taken a large step towards compromise which we believe can be negotiated. But we must insist that the issue to be negotiated is power-sharing and the extent and degree of that power-sharing.

We are not in principle prepared

**The major issue is power and the degree to which the National Party is willing to share it with blacks.**

to negotiate unless we can negotiate about power-sharing.

It is not clear to us, and I would suggest that it is not clear to anyone in South Africa, that the National Party is prepared to talk about power-sharing. It may be prepared to talk about power, but we suspect that its concern is to talk about "power division" and not "power-sharing".

If this is so, we all have a great problem. One is really talking about the difference between a federation, which involves power-sharing as its central element, and a confederation, which seems to imply a division of power.

It is impossible for groups to go to the negotiating table when the participants have widely differing basic concepts of what they are going to negotiate about. We are not prepared to negotiate about a



**Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has told the Afrikaanse Studentebond that his bottom line is for negotiation with the Government. This is an edited extract of his address to the SAB.**

confederation for a variety of reasons, but one reason stands out most clearly:

In many senses, South Africa today, as regards the issue of African people, is already a confederation and it is manifestly inadequate as a basis for peace and development. Bits and pieces of power have been divided among the so-called homelands. Bits and pieces of power have also been allocated, in principle if not yet in practice, to the black local authorities in the common area. No power has been shared.

Power is essentially about control over resources and the major resources of a modern state are the central fiscus and the budget. When we say we insist on power-sharing, we are really saying that African people must share in the determination of what happens to the budgetary resources, to the taxes that we all pay and to the revenue that we all help to earn.

No matter how much control one gives a particular group or particular region over its own affairs, one has not shared power unless one gives that group or region a say in determining what share of central resources it is going to get. Now you might think that our desire and aspiration is to gain a share of power over the central resources to make exorbitant and crippling demands.

This is not the case at all. We in Inkatha who have experience of government and know how a modern state functions, would not dream of making demands which would have a destructive impact on the South African state as a whole. We would not wish to undermine white interests because we know that the interests of whites and blacks are so intertwined that if you hurt one you hurt everybody.

But we are all South Africans who work in South Africa's shops, offices and factories, pay its taxes and provide a very large part of its market for consumer goods. We help to run its railways, police force, army and its civil service. On this basis, we simply say that we are entitled, as a basic and inalienable right, to representation on the bodies which decide on how the central cake must be cut.

We are prepared to negotiate about checks and balances in a system of power sharing. We are willing to concede that if whites were to withdraw their skills and experience, we, the blacks, would suffer dearly.

**We would not wish to undermine white interests because we know that the interests of blacks and whites are intertwined.**

We are prepared to shelve a unitary one-person-one-vote system, although obviously it always has been, and remains, our ideal. We are concerned about making a start where a start can be made. Politics, after all, is the art of the possible. What we insist on, as our bottom line for negotiating, is that there must be some adequate degree of power-sharing in the central institutions of the State.

When I ask the State President to make a declaration of intent as a basis for negotiation, I am not expecting him to give details about the kind of proposals he would make in a process of negotiation. I am only asking him to give us an indication about a sharing of power ...

# News restrictions after the 1960 emergency

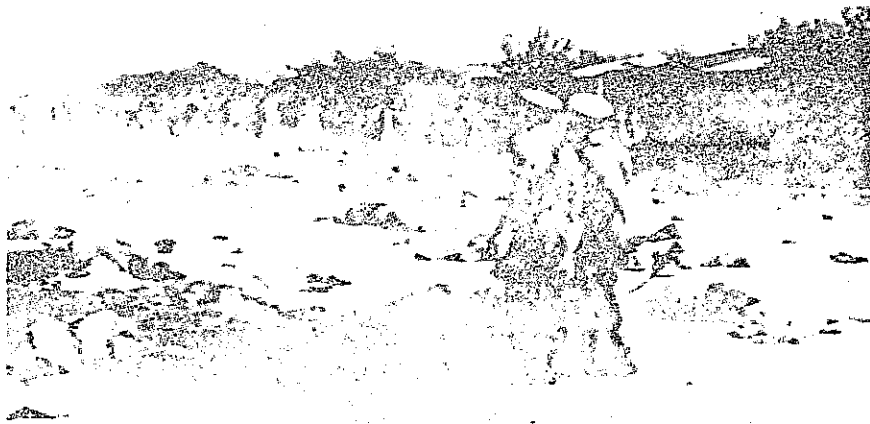
MATTERS came to a head in 1960, a year of spectacular turmoil in which South Africa probably came closer to revolution than ever before or since.

The government had announced that in 1960 the white electorate would be asked to decide whether to change the country's form of government.

Ever since the defeat of the Boer republics, a cherished Afrikaner goal had been the re-establishment of a republic, free of formal links with the British crown. The proposal met with strong resistance from English-speaking whites, who valued their ties with Britain and the Commonwealth. The largely English-speaking province of Natal threatened to secede if a republic were declared.

Blacks, who would not be consulted in the decision, saw in the republic a further entrenchment of Afrikaner domination and a weakening of what little protection the links with Britain afforded them. Led by the Pan-Africanist Congress, a militant offshoot of the African National Congress, they launched a passive resistance campaign against the pass laws, a hated symbol of their subjugation.

Political and racial tensions ran high. In January 1960 a police raiding party in Cato Manor, a black township near Durban, was set upon by an irate mob. Nine policemen were killed. These events received prominent cover-



A scene from Sharpeville where 69 people died after police opened fire during an anti-pass demonstration in March, 1960.

This extract from a new book\* on the South African press recalls the state of emergency in South Africa which was declared in March, 1960, when a campaign of passive resistance against the pass laws launched by the Pan Africanist Congress led to police shootings at Langa and Sharpeville and widespread disorder. (\* Total Onslaught: The South African Press under attack By Anthony Giffard and William Nachten (Macmillan)

age in South Africa and abroad.

The situation exploded into large-scale violence on March 21, the day the Pan-Africanist Congress had set for protests against the pass laws. Blacks were urged to go peacefully to the nearest police station, report they did not have their passes with them, and ask to be arrested.

A large crowd surrounded the police station in Sharpeville township, near Vereeniging in the Transvaal. The besieged policemen, mindful no doubt of what had happened at Cato Manor, panicked and opened fire with Sten guns.

By the time the firing stopped, 69 people lay dead and 180 were injured. Many victims were shot in the back as they fled, others were hit while in their nearby homes.

## ANC banned

Police in the black township of Langa, near Cape Town, opened fire on a crowd the same day. The violence quickly spread to other centres. The government responded by declaring a state of emergency, calling up civilian reserve units, arresting hundreds of people suspected of sympathizing with the black aspirations, and banning the ANC and PAC.

These events turned the international spotlight on South Africa as never before. The country's turmoil dominated the world's headlines as media and news agencies sent correspondents to cover the unrest. Their news reports led to South Africa's being roundly censured abroad, including a condemnation by the UN Security Council, called into session by Afro-Asian delegates who were widely reported as calling the shootings an "inhuman massacre", a "barbaric act", and "uncivilized behaviour".

Hundreds of demon-

strators scuffled with police outside the South African embassy in London.

The state of emergency prompted heavy selling of South African securities on the world's exchanges. In Johannesburg, stock prices took their worst losses in years. Movements flourished abroad to boycott South African goods, to isolate her politically, to ban sports and cultural exchanges.

Ironically, in many cases readers abroad were better informed about what was happening in South Africa than South Africans themselves. The emergency regulations included restrictions on reporting so far-reaching that if interpreted literally would mean a complete ban on publishing anything relating to the crisis.

The regulation prohibited, on pain of severe penalties, the publication of "subversive statements", presumably including photographs or cartoons. "Subversive statements" were defined as anything likely to have the effect of "subverting authority... inciting any section of the public to resist or oppose the Government... engendering or aggravating feelings of hostility in any person or

section of the public... causing panic, alarm or fear... weakening the confidence of the public in the successful termination of the state of emergency unless the statement is proved to be a true and complete narrative"

## Self-censorship

The result was that South African editors, unsure about what they could print, had to exercise a large measure of self-censorship. The Star, for example, carried a long extract from an editorial in the Times of London, dealing with the situation. Alongside this was a panel headed "CANNOT BE PUBLISHED" that read: "Many other London newspapers today gave great prominence to the situation in South Africa but their news reports and editorial comment are of such a nature that it is impossible to publish them in South Africa under the emergency regulations."

Because local publications largely used the line there were no prosecutions, although police did raid the offices of *Drum* and *Golden City Post*, publications with large black circulations. A number of black journalists were held under the emergency regulations; others fled the country.

## Undemocratic

But reports appearing overseas could not be controlled. Even the normally moderate Times of London was moved to write that the South African Government had seized with alacrity "the chance to put into practice the brutal, undemocratic methods which have always had the backing of a powerful minority in the Nationalist Party. The unquestioned duty of every government to maintain law and order has been prostituted. This week alone 1 200 Africans have been detained or arrested. Savage fines, out of all proportion to anything that would be tolerated in a civilized country, have been inflicted on many of the Africans for offences against the intolerable pass laws... the extent of the reign of terror, deliberately created, is hardly to be



the country's form of government.

Ever since the defeat of the Boer republics, a cherished Afrikaner goal has been the re-establishment of a republic, free of formal links with the British crown. The proposal met with strong resistance from English-speaking whites, who valued their ties with Britain and the Commonwealth. The largely English-speaking province of Natal threatened to secede if a republic were declared.

Blacks, who would not be consulted in the decision, saw in the republic a further entrenchment of Afrikaner domination and a weakening of what little protection the links with Britain afforded them. Led by the Pan-Africanist Congress, a militant offshoot of the African National Congress, they launched a passive resistance campaign against the pass laws, a hated symbol of their subjugation.

Political and racial tensions ran high. In January 1960 a police raiding party in Cato Manor, a black township near Durban, was set upon by an irate mob. Nine policemen were killed. These events received prominent cover-



A scene from Sharpeville where 69 people died after police opened fire during an anti-pass demonstration in March, 1960.

**This extract from a new book\* on the South African press recalls the state of emergency in South Africa which was declared in March, 1960, when a campaign of passive resistance against the pass laws launched by the Pan Africanist Congress led to police shootings at Langa and Sharpeville and widespread disorder.**  
**(\* Total onslaught: The South African Press under attack. By Anthony Giffard and William Hachten (Macmillan)**

age in South Africa and abroad.

The situation exploded into large-scale violence on March 21, the day the Pan-Africanist Congress had set for protests against the pass laws. Blacks were urged to go peacefully to the nearest police station, report they did not have their passes with them, and ask to be arrested.

A large crowd surrounded the police station in Sharpeville township, near Vereeniging in the Transvaal. The besieged policemen, mindful no doubt of what had happened at Cato Manor, panicked and opened fire with Sten guns.

By the time the firing stopped, 69 people lay dead and 180 were injured. Many victims were shot in the back as they fled, others were hit while in their nearby homes.

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Coverage like this led *Die Burger* to lament that comment abroad on South Africa was "practically a catastrophe... when [British] newspapers like the *Times* and the *Daily Telegraph* become practically hysterical in their vehemence, then it has become for us far far later than 12 o'clock on the previous day".

# Security tight at mass funeral

From RIAAN  
DE VILLIERS

CRADOCK. — Massive security precautions were enforced in this Karoo town during Saturday's mass funeral of four black community leaders found murdered in the Eastern Cape last month.

Following talks between the police and the Cradock Burial Action Committee, security forces kept well away from the township during the weekend.

However, Cradock itself was heavily guarded. Police and soldiers were stationed on the streets and SADF troop carriers were stationed on street corners.

Security force roadblocks diverted all traf-

fic not destined for the funeral off the national road which passes the township.

Funeral proceedings were monitored from a distance by several police film units and others watching through binoculars.

## Bodies found

Up to 25 000 people converged on Ilingelihle township from all over the country for the funeral which also became an extraordinary political show of force.

On Friday evening thousands of residents and other funeral-goers gathered outside the home of Mr Matthew Goniwe, secretary general of the Cradock Residents Association

(Cradora), one of the four leaders whose mutilated bodies were found near Port Elizabeth soon after their unexplained disappearance last month.

Early on Saturday morning chanting groups bearing a wide variety of UDF and other banners assembled in the township before marching to the sports stadium. Many people wore ANC colours.

## Diplomats

Foreign and local pressmen were accredited by the UDF and credentials were checked at the entrance to the township.

Diplomats from France, Norway, Denmark, Canada, Australia and Sweden were also present.

UDF marshals were on hand throughout the day to maintain order.

Observers were startled when a huge ANC flag, a red Soviet flag with a hammer-and-sickle emblem and a red banner bearing the words "South African Communist Party" were carried into the stadium.

They later preceded the funeral procession and remained on display throughout the day.

The four funeral standards also bore the colours of the ANC and the coffin of Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, chairman of Cradora, was wrapped in an ANC flag.

The other two activists buried were Mr Fort Calata and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli.

## Condemned

Dr Allan Boesak, UDF patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and the Rev Beyers Naude, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, were given a rousing reception and were carried shoulder-high to the podium.

Posters and banners condemned the killing of the four men and the "Uitenhage massacres". Others demanded the withdrawal of the SADF from the townships.

The crowd dispersed peacefully after streaming down to the cemetery for the burial at mid-afternoon.

No incidents were recorded at the weekend.

Police remained on guard in the town yesterday morning but reinforcements which had been housed at the Cradock showgrounds were preparing to leave.

# 30 000 at funeral of black leac

KEVIN VERNON of The Argus Port Elizabeth Bureau reports on the funeral of leaders killed in mysterious



Picture: WILLIE DE KLERK, The Argus

Mourners were astounded when two huge red banners appeared at the funeral for the four murdered community leaders at Cradock — one emblazoned with the Russian hammer and sickle and the other bearing the words South African Communist Party. The girls in bridal dress carry candles at the head of the funeral procession.

MORE than 30 000 black mourners gathered at a funeral in the dusty rural centre of Cradock in the Eastern Cape at the weekend in what could be the last such gathering in the area for some time.

Just hours after the funeral ended the government proclaimed a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts, including virtually the whole of the Eastern Cape.

In many ways the funeral encapsulated most of the major problems of the area which led to the state of emergency being declared.

It was being held for four black community leaders killed in mysterious circumstances.

The bodies of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli were found hacked and burnt to death outside Port Elizabeth three weeks ago — and their killers have not yet been found.

Mourners from as far afield as Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town arrived at the service in the tiny township of Illegible in more than 160 buses.

At the entrance to the township bereted UDF organisers shepherded mourners to specially-prepared parking areas — and demanded UDF accreditation cards from the Press before they could enter the township.

Inside the dusty, seatless stadium the mourners gathered under huge banners and flags representing virtually every black organisation in South Africa.

But even township residents were astounded when two huge red banners were marched into the stadium, one emblazoned with the Russian hammer and sickle, and the other with the logo "South African Communist Party".

The banners were being unveiled for the first time at any Eastern Cape gathering as far as is known and the audacity of the move excited the crowd and set the tone for the funeral.

Such funeral services for black victims of unrest in the Eastern Cape are unlike anything most people would ever have seen.

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# 00 at funeral of black leaders

Argus 22/7/85 (119) 208

The Argus Port Elizabeth Bureau reports on the funeral of leaders killed in mysterious circumstances



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Such funeral services for black victims of unrest in the Eastern Cape are unlike anything most people would ever have seen.

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ing T-shirts with revolutionary slogans on them which are normally kept hidden and brought out especially for such occasions.

Instead of sombre eulogies, the air is filled with fiery radical speeches — often led by ministers of religion — which might seem to have little to do with the dead who are being honoured.

At the Cradock funeral speeches were made by such leading black political figures as Dr Allan Boesak, such white clergymen as the Right Rev Bruce Evans, Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, and Dr Beyers Naude.

Some of the speeches were made by listed persons, who may not be quoted.

As Dr Boesak and Dr Naude, the white man and the coloured man were hoisted aloft and carried to the platform on black shoulders in a moment which moved everyone in the stadium.

As the midday sun dispelled the last of the Karoo morning chill, the coffins of the four murdered men were escorted into the stadium by a phalanx of yellow-shirted UDF officials — fists clenched in a universal sign in South African politics.

The funeral speeches were less than a third of the way through when the stadium buzzed with the news of the declaration of the state of emergency.

Black faces tightened and feet stamped dust into the air as the crowd registered its protest with freedom songs.

"A state of emergency will solve nothing," Dr Beyers Naude told the excited throng. "No state of emergency will bring peace until prison doors are opened for political prisoners and exiles can return home for peace talks."

Speeches condemning the All Blacks, the South African Press and the Government were heard, countless songs were sung and the heat and dust were endured while some of the smaller children began to doze off in the sun at the back of the sea of faces.

Then, as the speeches ended, the crowd followed the coffins through the rutted stony paths called streets in Ilingelihle to the barren windswept vacant area where Ilingelihle buries its dead.

# Buthelezi warns of 'black civil war'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The present unrest was the beginning of a black civil war, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwaZulu and Inkatha president, warned yesterday.

"What we see happening is the laying of foundations by the external mission of the African National Congress, United Democratic Front and Congress of South African Students of a black civil war situation throughout South Africa."

He said the UDF and its Cosas affiliate were "on the warpath" and being encouraged by the ANC to unleash violence against Inkatha supporters.

His supporters had "an inalienable right" to retaliate in the face of attack. But he was "extremely concerned" that if Inkatha supporters finally decided to defend themselves, and anything happened to people "on the other side", he and Inkatha would be criticised.

On the role of the police in the townships, Chief Buthelezi said blacks were in a dilemma. "What can we recommend? That the police be removed from our townships?"

# Botha under fire

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

THE introduction of the State of Emergency by the president, Mr P W Botha, was yesterday condemned by political, church and community leaders who warned that it will not solve the problems or stop the ongoing unrest in black townships.

Most people and organisations interviewed by THE SOWETAN yesterday said the State of Emergency introduced at midnight on Saturday will not solve the problems of the country.

They called on the government to negotiate with the leaders of the different races in South Africa for peaceful change.

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Beyers Naude, said the steps would not resolve anything and said, the SACC was convinced "the unrest will increase, the killings will continue, the unrests will multiply and the anger will grow."

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said the Government was seized by fear, which was manifesting itself in the declaration.

"The cosmetic changes that were brought about in a bid to buy a certain section of the black community failed dismally as the Government apartheid laws represent only a minority group, and those laws have been challenged at home and abroad. They have been put to test and also failed dismally," an Azapo spokesman said.

The president of the SACC, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, said it was unfortunate that the Government should respond to the legitimate grievances which underline the whole situation of unrest by declaring a State of Emergency which will have the effect of burying the expression of those grievances.

"The State President should know better that people with no access to the councils of power are prone

to using any means which will enable them to be heard. He should be in a better position to understand that, coming himself from a group that was once oppressed," Bishop Buthelezi said.

Mr Tom Boya, the mayor of Daveyton, Benoni and vice-president of the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (UCASA) said: "The Government should stop applying delaying tactics. They should release black leaders like Nelson Mandela from jail and negotiate with black leaders and their organisations towards a peaceful change."

The US State Department in Washington said the US administration was "deeply troubled by the ongoing unrest" and hoped the unrest would abate rapidly. "permitting the South African government to remove these measures and get on with the urgent business of reform."

Mr Jacob "Bhuda" Mathathe from KwaThema Springs, said "The State of Emergency has long been in operation in the black townships when the police and the army invaded the townships last year."

Mr Mzwandile "Nkunzi" Mafrika from Daveyton, Benoni, the Government was crazy. "They should talk to the leaders to solve the unrest in the townships instead of introducing the State of Emergency," he said.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement urged Britain to withdraw its ambassador from South Africa in the light of the declaration, and said the British government's refusal to consider sanctions meant it bore a "heavy moral responsibility for the increasing violence in South Africa which now amounts to a state of civil war."

The areas affected by the State of Emergency are: Adelaide, Albany, Alexandria, Alberton, Balfour, Benoni, Brakpan, Boksburg, Bathurst, Bedford, Cradock, Delmas, Fort Beaufort, Germiston, Graaf-Reinet, Hankey, Heidelberg, Humansdorp, Jansenville, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Kirkwood, Nigel, Pearson, Port Elizabeth, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Sasolburg, Springs, Somerset East, Steytleville, Uitenhage, Verseniging, Vanderbijlpark and Westonaria.

## Black organisations react to state of emergency

# Can't negotiate like this, says Inkatha

11A African Affairs Correspondent NM 23/7/85

**INKATHA'S** inner council has passed a resolution regretting the Government's decision to declare a state of emergency in certain magisterial districts.

The council says in a statement that while it understands the motivation behind the declaration, the fundamental cause of the prevailing conflict in South Africa is apartheid.

It says the violent response by certain black political organisations has given the Government the pretext of declaring the state of emergency.

The resolution says negotiations can take place neither in a state of emergency created by the Government nor in a state of anarchy perpetrated by black political organisations through black-on-black violence.

The inner council has also deplored the passing of a Bill by the United States Congress prohibiting the introduction of new investments into South Africa and the sale of Krugerrands.

### Condemned

A resolution to this effect says the council understands the abhorrence which the Americans have for apartheid, but it believes legislation of the House of Representatives and the Senate was passed without any knowledge of the real needs and aspirations of black people in South Africa, the 'very victims of apartheid'.

The body says these decisions will compound rather than solve the problems which apartheid creates.

The Mercury's Political

Reporter writes that the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation, the Black Sash, the Natal Indian Congress and the Reform Party yesterday unanimously condemned the declaration of a state of emergency.

They said the Government was sidestepping the real issue of the need to deal with black grievances and negotiate an acceptable political solution.

### Release

Azapo national publicity secretary Imrann Moosa said: 'All the State President is doing is stating blatantly what the position has always been.'

'Azapo wishes to say that no state of emergency will stop the black people's onward march to liberation.'

UDF Natal publicity secretary Lechesa Tsenoli said the state of emergency would not bring a return to 'normality'.

'If the Government is interested in restoring peace, then it must release political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela, allow for the return of exiles, talk to all other leaders with tested popular support and dismantle apartheid,' he said.

Black Sash national vice-president Ethel Walt said the declaration was 'definitely a step in the wrong direction'.

'The Government needs to negotiate with recog-

nised leaders of communities in each township to stop the violence and killing.'

Natal Indian Congress spokesman Farouk Meer said the state of emergency was the clearest indication so far of the failure of the Government's policy.

'An attempt to return to the Vorster era of the 1960s won't help but will only lead to more polarisation and violence.'

Reform Party leader Y S Chinsamy said the situation would continue getting worse until black political aspirations had been met.

'Until a political solution is found, no state of emergency is going to help very much.'

Solidarity endorsed a call by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, for Parliament to be reconvened to discuss and monitor the state of emergency declared at the weekend.

The national secretary and law and order spokesman for the party, Mr Mahmoud Rajab, said: 'As public representatives we ought to be fully informed as to what is happening.'

# Police had emergency powers long ago — Boesak

23/7/85  
The Star Bureau *stow*

LONDON — Dr Allan Boesak has launched another strong attack on the South African Government and the emergency provisions introduced at the weekend.

Speaking during a stopover in London yesterday, he accused the police of having assumed de facto emergency powers long before the weekend.



Mrs Helen Suzman . . .  
Boesak exaggerating.

What was happening in South Africa now was the result of the Government's "inability to understand the political aspirations and the determination of our people to have those aspirations realised".

He said: "The time when you could avert fundamental change in South Africa by merely reaching for a gun is over. It's time for the Government to take seriously our understanding of our situation and the demands of the people."



Dr Denis Worrall . . . "It was a response to a situation that had got out of hand."

system, very oppressive things that cause misery and perhaps even death". As far as the emergency was concerned, she particularly deplored the indemnity granted the police for as long as the provisions were in force.

South Africa's Ambassador to London, Dr Denis Worrall, told the Channel 4 interviewer the decision taken by the Government at the weekend was done "very reluctantly and regretfully". But he denied the Government had made these moves to gain more power. "It was a response to a situation that had got out of hand."

He said the suggestion that the police would use their indemnity to "go around killing people simply at random, is a nonsense".

Asked about an earlier statement that "we are now truly facing the spiritual children of Adolf Hitler", Dr Boesak said he stood by the remark — that people were dying in resettlement areas, or "concentration camps", of "hunger or hopelessness".

Mrs Helen Suzman, interviewed on the same programme, called Dr Boesak's view "an exaggerated statement", adding: "Things are bad enough in South Africa, one doesn't have to exaggerate."

She insisted, however, that "a lot of appalling things happen under the apartheid



# SA Govt admits failure, says UDF

NEWS  
23/1/85  
HA  
Zak  
P. 1/1/85

## Political Staff

THE declaration of the emergency was an acknowledgement of failure on the part of the Government, the United Democratic Front said today.

The Western Cape secretary of the UDF, Mr Trevor Manuel, is one of the few UDF officials who have spoken publicly since the declaration of the emergency.

Reporters have been unable to contact most of the national executive and officials in areas affected by the emergency.

Mr Manuel said because of the police swoop on activists in affected areas and the inability to reach certain areas it would no longer be possible to set up the independent commission of inquiry which the UDF had planned to investigate allegations of police brutality in unrest spots.

Accusing the Government of "short-sightedness", Mr Manuel said the "ungovernable" situation in many township was due to repression.

"Is any more repression going to change this? This declaration limits the prospects for peaceful change."

# Apartheid aimed at SA women

NAIROBI — The majority of South African women had made no advances in improving their status over the last 10 years, Ms Gertude Shope told the United Nations Decade for Women Conference here last week.

Ms Shope head of the African National congress delegation to the official UN conference which is reviewing global improvements in the status of women over the past decade, was speaking during the general debate session.

For the majority of South African women there had been a deterioration both in legal status and living conditions, Ms Shope said.

## Removals

Black women remained legal minors, with few rights and were defined in terms of and dependent on the relationship to a man.

Apartheid allocated to black women a special place and role, she said.

Health facilities provided free to African women were euphemistically called "family planning," Ms Shope said. The "sinister intent" was revealed in parliamentary debates when "population control" was the term used.

There were open references to the "menace of the black population" and the need to alter the

population ratio in South Africa, she said.

"How does one consider strategies for development, housing and the habitat in a society that is engaged in the greatest forced removals of population known in peace time," she said.

It was understandable, therefore that apartheid had been singled out uniquely from the many others repressive and oppressive systems known and declared a crime against humanity.

"It could with accuracy, be described also as a crime against women. Quite simply, it dehumanises us," she said.

It was because apartheid was directed so specifically at African women that they were in the forefront of resistance to it.

"Why are Albertina Sisulu and Winnie Mandela not here in Nairobi with us? Because they believe in the equality of all South Africans, because they have demanded our people's right to participate fully and equally in the development of our country, and because they have sought genuine peace in southern Africa they cannot be here," she said.

The women of South Africa believed ultimately that only they would be able to change their status and conditions.

"We reject totally the notion put forward outside and inside the conference that politics are best left to men," she said.



**'WHY are Albertina Sisulu (right) and Winnie Mandela (far right) not here in Nairobi with us? Because they believe in the equality of all South Africans, because they have demanded our people's right ...'**



UDF 24-788  
APC 7.1.15

# meeting in City

Political Correspondent

THE United Democratic Front will hold a public meeting at the Claremont Civic Centre at 8pm tomorrow to discuss the state of emergency.

Speakers will include Ms Mary Burton of the Black Sash and Mr Mike Rautenbach of the End Conscription Campaign. It is also possible that Dr Beyers Naude, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, will speak at the meeting.

The UDF said in a statement yesterday that what the state of emergency really meant was the effective sealing off of the 36 affected areas and the "granting of virtually unlimited powers to the security forces".

People living under the state of emergency "say that it is an admission that the State cannot reason and can only answer with force. For those of us outside the these areas, it will mean a further news black-out".



BISHOP DESMOND TUTU addressing the thousands of mourners at KwaThema Stadium yesterday during the funeral of 15 youths killed three weeks ago in the unrest.

Pic: JOE MOLEFE

24/7/85 Sowetan

# BURIAL DRAMA

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**1** K-MART'S UNBELIEVABLE PRICE SALE

**2**

**MENSWEAR**

|                           |                         |                   |                        |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Devonshire <del>100</del> | <b>39</b> <sup>99</sup> | Washable Trousers | <b>9</b> <sup>99</sup> |
| 3 PIECE MEN'S SUITS       |                         | WASHABLE TROUSERS |                        |

By ALLMPHAKI NKORANE MAKORANE and THEMBA MOLEFE



BISHOP DESMOND TUTU addressing the thousands of mourners at KwaThema St killed three weeks ago in the unres

24/7/85 Sowetan

# BURIAL DRAMA

(RTS)  
(HEB)

By ALI MPHAKI, NKOPANE MAKOBANE and THEMBA MOLEFE

**A CATHOLIC priest averted what could have been a bloody confrontation between three placard-carrying boys and the police during the funeral of 15 unrest victims in KwaThema, Springs, yesterday.**

Father Peter Hortop, a local priest, put his own life in peril when he stopped the boys who broke from the procession of about 50 000 mourners waving a placard which read: "We want peace — do not kill us".

The boys were about 1 km from the police who kept a low profile.

The priest, one of the many clerics leading the procession, ran with his cassock a-fly and stopped the boys aged about 12.

### Shot dead

The funeral service at the KwaThema stadium was addressed by Bishop Keith Sutton, the envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Reverend Robert Runcie, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg Desmond Tutu and many other leaders.

The funeral was the second "political" burial on the East Rand since the State of Emergency was declared by the State President. Mr P W Botha, on Saturday night.

Five people are believed shot — two dead — on Monday in Tsakane, near Brakpan, where two other

unrest victims were buried.

The SOWETAN crew, Ali Mphaki, Robert Magwaza and Peter Mkhwanazi, were held by police for about two hours at a Tsakane police camp.

They were questioned on their presence in the township and all films, except five, were exposed to light and destroyed.

At the time of going to Press last night, confirmation had not yet been received from the police about the three SOWETAN staffers.

The peaceful funeral could have been a direct plea from Bishop Tutu that people should not kill one another.

He was referring to Saturday's incident in Duduza where a 25-year-old woman was burnt to death by mourners who had attended the funeral of four unrest victims in the area.

Police were seen escorting foreign journalists out of the township after the funeral.

A heavy army and police presence was maintained in the trouble-torn township throughout the day.

He said all South Africans must dedicate themselves to free the country from apartheid.

He reiterated his condemnation of the assault and killing of a woman in Duduza last weekend.

Bishop Sutton told the cheering crowd that 65 million Anglicans world-wide were behind the black liberation struggle in South Africa.

He called on mourners to rally support behind

To Page 4

# RACING RESULTS

— Page 22

# Dilemma of change faces black students — rector

Tygerberg Bureau

BLACK students face the dilemma of whether to concentrate on their studies or devote their time to the liberation movement, says Professor Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape.

Addressing the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry yesterday on the choices of students at universities, colleges and high schools in the "current crisis situation", Professor van der Ross said that change was the central issue in South Africa today and the "big question" was whether the change would be orderly or not.

"The student is in the middle of this dilemma," he said.

Professor van der Ross said he lived "from moment to moment" because the atmosphere on the UWC campus was "very inflammable".

He said current events in the black student community were

linked to the emergence of the black-consciousness movement in the early 1970s.

This movement was based on the ideology that the black man should become aware of his own value and not feel "inferior and apologetic".

He said the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliate, the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) had grown out of the movement, as had the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm).

Although there was some antagonism between the UDF and Azapo the groups were based on common ground.

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was another organisation on the student scene, he said.

"Generally students are trying to be part of the 'liberatory movement'," he said. They had to choose a group with which to align themselves.

They had to decide whether to concentrate on their studies or take part in the radical or progressive movements, he said.

Students were radical, idealistic and emotional by nature. Many believed that their personal futures were less important than the future of their nation.

"People cannot be expected to lead normal lives in the kind of set-up that exists in the country today," he said.

"But don't get the idea that our students are placard-carrying revolutionaries. They have a deep desire to see a better country."



Professor van der Ross

# End violence or I quit, says Tutu

By Chris More  
and Michael Tissong

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday threatened to leave South Africa if "suspected enemies" were killed in the way in which a woman was burnt alive in Duduza township on Saturday.

In an impassioned plea to about 30 000 mourners packed into kwaThema stadium, Bishop Tutu said: "If you do this kind of thing again, I will find it difficult to speak for the cause of liberation."

After Bishop Tutu had made his plea, he led the crowd in chanting: "We shall be free ..."

The bishop said: "If the violence continues I will pack my bags, collect my family and leave this beautiful country that I love so passionately and so deeply."

"I say to you that I condemn in the strongest possible terms what happened in Duduza on Saturday. I deplore all forms of violence.

"Our cause is just and noble — that is why it will prevail and bring victory to us. You cannot use methods to attain the goal of liberation that our enemy will use against us.

"The pictures of that woman being burnt were shown around the world. There are many people around the world that support us. When they saw that woman burning on television, they must have said that maybe we are not ready for freedom. Let us not spoil things by such methods."

He then asked the crowd to chant after him: "We dedicate ourselves ... to the freedom struggle ... for all of us ... black and white. We shall be free."

## Defence Force

During the funeral service, members of the Defence Force and police patrolled the vicinity of the stadium.

When mourners left the stadium to bury 15 local residents who were shot dead two weeks ago, the SADF and police took up positions along the route to the cemetery and near the graveyard. Mourners left the stadium chanting and their ranks swelled to about 40 000 along the 3 km route.

After the burial, the SADF in troop carriers and police in Casspirs followed various splinter groups which went to the homes of the dead youths' families. There were no apparent confrontations.

The 15 who were buried were: Kenneth Siggala, Elias Lengoasa, Elias Vilakazi, Aubrey Kubheka, David Madonsela, Archibald Ndaba, Moses Sibanyoni, Hezekiel Mzizi, Naphtali Ndlovu, Welbeloved Mbatha, Shadrack Kodisang, Thomas Nkambule, Leonard Marokoane, Abram Thwala and the one woman, Melba Madonsela.

Star

24/7/85

# 50 percent support for black House poll

AKBLS  
24/7/85

Political Staff

TWO out of three English-speaking whites and one in three Afrikaners believe South Africa's urban black people should be represented in a fourth House of Parliament, according to an opinion poll.

A sample of 1 000 whites in the major metropolitan centres was tested last month by Mar-kinor for the poll.

Half those questioned supported the concept of a full-fledged House of Parliament for urban blacks.

The higher the household income of respondents, the stron-

get was their support for the idea.

The results also differed greatly from city to city. Johannesburg and Durban (68 percent) were the most enthusiastic about parliamentary representation for blacks, while it was least favoured in the Reef-/Vaal areas and in Pretoria (36 percent).

The Cape metropolitan centres (55 percent) and Bloemfontein (50 percent) were fairly evenly divided on the issue.

There was little difference between the views of men and working women.



# UDF, affiliates badly hit by swoop

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE first official list of people who have been detained since the declaration of the state of emergency at midnight on Saturday have disclosed a massive swoop on the UDF and its affiliated organizations.

The list of the 441 detainees, which was released by the police in Pretoria yesterday, does not appear to contain the names of any black consciousness supporters or members of the Azan-

ian People's Organization.

The names of some UDF leaders in the emergency areas, who according to friends have "disappeared", were also not on the list.

In Graaff-Reinet, 62 people have been detained — more than in Johannesburg where 59 people have been picked up — and just less than Port Elizabeth, where 64 people were detained.

Among those detained in Graaff-Reinet is the Rev Chris Nissen, a prominent figure in the

Eastern Cape UDF.

In the small town of Jansenville, 38 people have been detained, slightly less than in Springs where 43 were detained, but more than in many major urban centres such as Krugersdorp (21), Vanderbijl Park (15), Kempton Park (13), Benoni (17), Uitenhage (3) and Grahams-town (21).

In Fort Beaufort, 26 people have been detained.

There are 374 blacks on the list, four whites,

45 coloured people and 18 Asians.

They include: Simon Ratcliffe of the Media Resources Centre in Johannesburg; former Nusas president Auret van Heerden of the Careers Research Information Centre in Johannesburg; Biotumelo Raborife of the Media Resources Centre; Ismail Mononiat of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC); Picma Naidoo, believed to be Prema Naidoo, a former Robben Island prisoner who is a member of the TIC executive; Lalloo

Chiba, who served 20 years on Robben Island and is also on the TIC executive; Faizel Mamdoo, editor of the community newspaper Speak; Amos Masondo of Soweto Civic Association; July Ngwenya, believed to be Jabu Ngwenya, co-ordinator of the Release Mandela Committee; Ihron Rensburg and Alan Zinn, leading figures in the Eastern Province Council of Sport and the South African Council on Sport; Donovan Naidson of the Congress of

South African Students in Port Elizabeth; Michael Coetzee of the Eastern Cape UDF, and Aswell Andriaan, believed to be Aswin Andriaan, a Rhodes University student active in the Azanian Students' Organization.

The police statement also shows that 229 of the detainees were picked up on July 21, the first day of the emergency. A further 200 were detained on Monday and 12 more yesterday.

The detentions have

caused serious organizational and leadership problems for the UDF, particularly in the emergency areas, and its plans to set up an independent commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of police brutality have been cancelled as a result.

Whether the UDF will be able to operate in the 36 districts where a state of emergency has been declared, remains to be seen.

● Names of detainees, pages 4 and 7

*Cape Times 24/7/85*  
**Police to cut back**

**South Africa**  
"While the Botha re-

**'Reef of silver with**  
● The declaration of a

# Tutu calls for 'peace, in struggle'

AKG 22/7/85

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## Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Desmond Tutu has called for peace and discipline in the "struggle for freedom".

Addressing about 15 000 people at the funeral of 15 unrest victims in the East Rand township of Kwathema, Bishop Tutu said he had no doubt the people would win their freedom, but this had to happen in a non-violent way.

Freedom was a God-given gift: "We are not asking for freedom from 'the baas'," he said.

"Therefore we say to the rulers of this land: You cannot mock God, our God. We want you, who are the perpetrators of apartheid, to know that you have already lost.

"Unless you change, you have had it."

Bishop Tutu said he deplored the incident at Duduza township at the weekend in which a woman accused of being a police informer was bludgeoned and burnt to death.

"If we do this again I am going to find it difficult to speak up for our liberation.

## ARMY

"I will collect my family and I will leave this country that I love so dearly ... that I love so passionately.

"We cannot use murder to attain our goal of liberation," he said.

Referring to the strong police and army contingents positioned within sight of the gathering, Bishop Tutu said they too would not be free until all South Africans were free.

Guests at the funeral included the Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, and an envoy from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Lichfield, Bishop Keith Sutton.

Bishop Sutton called on people to support Bishop Tutu and also to provide safety for Bishop Nkoane, whose home has been attacked by unidentified assailants.

During the burial procession the Rev Peter Hortop of Kwathema intercepted a small band of placard-bearing mourners who ran towards a group of policemen, shouting that they wanted peace in the townships.

## Buthelezi's concern over halt of talks

### Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The president of Inkatha and Kwazulu's Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has expressed his concern over the state of emergency halting Government discussions with black leaders on black-white power-sharing.

In a statement from Ulundi today Chief Buthelezi said the declaration of a state of emergency was evidence that things were "not normal" in the country.

It was distressing to have to acknowledge that the declaration froze any possibilities of negotiation, he said.

### SPECULATE

"There can be no negotiations within a state of emergency nor can one negotiate in the midst of the anarchy that has been a feature of the kind of ructions we have seen in the townships."

Chief Buthelezi said he was not prepared to speculate about what might happen in Kwazulu.

He said: "It is not as if people have not tried to trigger unrest in the Natal-Kwazulu region."

He said South Africa needed democracy and national unity without which it would continue to suffer economically, bringing deeper deprivation to millions of black people.

11665 24/7/85

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## Hendrickse backs state of emergency

### Political Staff

THE leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has supported the Government's decision to declare a state of emergency in certain areas and has called for consultation with leaders of all groups.

In his first detailed response to the Government's move, he said today President P W Botha's announcement was "the right step at the right time".

Mr Hendrickse, chairman of the coloured Ministers' Council and a member of the Cabinet, also condemned the role of the South African Communist Party and the presence of the communist emblem at protest demonstrations.

He said: "As far as I can ascertain, most people have welcomed the declaration of the state of emergency in certain areas. It has become obvious that the situation got out of hand with looting, assault, burning and murder taking place.

"It is also obvious that even the freedom of expression and

limited freedom of organisation had been abused for indoctrination and exploitation by the SA Communist Party.

"The presence of the red flag on the University of the Western Cape campus last year during demonstrations and the blatant exhibition of the red flag at Saturday's funeral (at Cradock) makes the decision of the State President the correct one."

Mr Hendrickse said he was shocked to see Dr Allan Boesak speaking against the background of the hammer-and-sickle emblem and to see "supposedly Christian church ministers walking under the red banner".

He said: "Chaos and anarchy can certainly not be tolerated."

His impression was that a large percentage of black people endorsed the declaration of the emergency.

Mr Hendrickse said he and his party were firmly dedicated to a struggle against communism and were as dedicated to "the eradication of the evil of apartheid."

# Former PAC man stabbed to death

A FORMER member of the banned Pan African Congress, Mr Joel Aaron Raboroko (56), was killed at the weekend. *11A 2 Sowetan*

Mr Raboroko, of 5177 Sharpeville, was stabbed three times in the chest and back by unknown people on Saturday. He is the brother of SOWETAN reporter, Joshua Raboroko. *24/7/85*

Mr Raboroko's grandchild, Tiisetso Mahabane (5), died after being knocked down by a car on Saturday.

Mr David Raboroko, his son, told The SOWETAN yesterday that his father had visited relatives in the township when he was attacked. His reference book and other documents were missing when he was found.

He was an active member of PAC and was shot and wounded during the 1960 anti-pass campaign in Sharpeville. He leaves his wife Naomi, mother, six children and five brothers.

He will be buried at Evaton Cemetery on Saturday at 1 pm.

• Mr Jacob Mokarana Thema, father to former SOWETAN assistant editor, Derrick Thema, has died at the age of 78.

He died after a short illness at his home at 741 Zone 2, Meadowlands. Funeral arrangements had not been finalised at the time of going to press.

# Kiwis plagued by inherent racism, says UDF's Stofile

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH — The South African whose testimony before a New Zealand court was crucial in leading to the injunction which stopped the All Black tour has accused New Zealanders of being "plagued by inherent racism".

The Rev M A Stofile, a national executive member of the United Democratic Front and president of the Victoria East Rugby Union, said he felt New Zealanders had discriminated against him every time he had talked to them.

## RELUCTANT

"Basically I was reluctant to prick the conscience of the Australian and New Zealand people. I felt they should decide for themselves whether they wanted to be moral and God-fearing people.

"But I was persuaded that they were being misled by South African Government propaganda and that it was important for me to go and tell them the truth."

Mr Stofile said he had never at any time threatened violence against the All Blacks rugby players or supporters, but said that if the tour had gone ahead black organisations would have organised demonstrations at matches and these would inevitably have led to injuries.

Asked by the court if the tour would be a threat to lives, he replied: "Our people are always brutalised in these situations — and I ask that the people in New Zealand spare us the agony of seeing our people brutalised."

Mr Stofile said that generally

Australians and New Zealanders had given him a "fair hearing" but said that both countries were "bombarded" with propaganda by South African undercover agencies and people such as "Bacher and Goddard".

"I found Australian and New Zealand people quick to say they did not support apartheid, but to them this was a philosophical position and they found it difficult to see the practical connection between the tour and apartheid."

He said he did not accept that an individual had the right to play sport wherever he chose, especially if this led him to come to South Africa and help trample the rights of black people.

He said that before he had spoken to cricketers such as Kim Hughes and Graham Yallop they had not realised the implications of their proposed tour, and were "shocked" after he had explained that they would be "stealing R4.5 million from the mouths of hungry black children" if they came to South Africa.

## STILL RACISTS

Turning to the proposed tour by the British Lions in 1986, Mr Stofile said the British were "at heart still the racists they were in the 19th Century".

"If they try to tour we will take similar action against them that we planned for the All Blacks and make it very difficult for them to play rugby here.

"If they want to participate in the system of injustice we will treat them as the enemy they are, and when freedom comes we will remember their collaboration in our oppression."

117

SAW 24/7/85

# Belhar body against mancom

Staff Reporter

OPPOSITION is mounting in Belhar against an attempt by the local Labour Party MP, Mr Archie Poole, to establish a management committee in the area.

Following the public rejection of management committees at a mass meeting in Belhar in March, the Belhar Civic Association has added its voice to calls for the scrapping of the system.

In a recent newsletter, the association says residents want direct and equal representation at all levels of government, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

## Not autonomous

Popular opposition to management committees stems from the fact that they are based on a separate coloured vote and the Group Areas Act, and therefore entrench apartheid.

Management committees are not autonomous and the final decision on any matter affecting the areas which they serve rests with the white local authority under which they fall.

Mr Poole, who was elected to the House of Representatives on a 9.77 percent poll, has defended the mancom system in his newsletter: "We are not interested in separate 'coloured municipalities' but are prepared to use the management committee system as a temporary measure to reach the goal of direct representation."

## Temporary

The Belhar Civic Association was in no position to achieve anything because it was not recognized, he said.

"The management committee system should be seen as a temporary measure to achieve direct representation on local authorities, especially taking into consideration that wide decision-making powers will be granted to management committees in a Bill which will be passed in Parliament this session."

The Bill was rejected unanimously by the House of Delegates and has been referred to the President's Council for consideration.

ARGUS 25/7/85 (10/11)

# PW must decide if he wants talks — Tutu



Bishop Tutu

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, said today it was "up to State President P W Botha now to decide whether he wants to have discussions with me on ways to end the nationwide unrest".

"I can't do much more than to say: 'Here we are — we are willing to talk'.

"I would be ready to talk to the State President provided it was not something that he was doing merely to have a kind of talk shop," the bishop said.

Today Bishop Tutu said that he was not planning to do anything further.

"I could send the State President a telegram, but he had to be aware of what I said. It's all up to him now."

The two men last met in 1980.

With regard to his threat to leave South Africa if the killing of "suspected enemies" didn't stop, Bishop Tutu said today:

"I don't know how people can say that I have had a change of heart. I have always spoken out strongly against violence."

Was he serious about leaving the country?

"It was an unpremeditated statement which illustrated my strong feelings on the subject of violence. Yes, I was serious when I said that."

Meanwhile, Bishop Tutu still refuses to talk to the SABC. According to him the SABC did approach him for an interview.

"But not before they apologise to me," he said today.

Bishop Tutu was referring to a recent TV programme in which inferences were made about the political involvement of some clergymen.

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# Manuel, Issel Solomons fined

Staff Reporter

FIVE people charged with public violence at a political party meeting before the tricameral elections were convicted and two were acquitted in the Wynberg Regional Court yesterday.

Theresa Solomon, 39, Logan Wort, 21, Marcus Solomon, 45, and Shahieda Issel, 29, all of Mitchells Plain, and Trevor Manuel of Kensington were convicted. Ms Lucille Meyer, 23, and Mr Vivian Petersen, 26, also of Mitchells Plain, were acquitted.

Theresa Solomon was fined R200 or 100 days, while the other four were each fined R100 or 40 days. The magistrate, Mr A S McCarthy, said Theresa Solomon had been the first to go up to the stage at the People's

Congress Party meeting in Westridge Civic Centre on February 25, 1984. "Had it not been for her conduct, nothing might have happened."

Mr McCarthy said the court accepted that the public violence arose spontaneously. Evidence that all had appeared to come to the meeting from a church did not prove they had planned there to disrupt the meeting.

Damage at the meeting was confined to some R500, and "apart from Mr Marc Matebe, no one was seriously injured".

There was no evidence concerning who committed that assault.

Mr M A Broeksma prosecuted. Mr A M Omar, instructed by E Moosa and Associates, appeared for the accused.

## Car plant closed indefinitely

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Ford's Neave plant is to close "until employees gave notice of their intention to resume work". This was announced by the company yesterday after a strike at the plant which has lasted for five scheduled working days.

After the announcement, there was strong speculation in motor industry circles that the strike might give the company the opportunity to proceed with their plans to close the plant permanently.

When Ford and Amcar merged in January this year, it was announced that produc-

Windmills... becoming...



Whose mother Roseline was brutally killed in Duduza on Saturday.

# Put squeeze on SA, Boesak pleads at UN

Cape Times 25/7/85  
11A  
328

From RICHARD WALKER

NEW YORK — Charging that the government has "lost complete control of the situation", Dr Allan Boesak urged the United Nations Security Council to follow France's lead and enact measures to force Pretoria to negotiate with black leaders.

"Please, no more statements, no more condemnations," he told the special committee against apartheid in a flying visit to UN headquarters yesterday.

"Put pressure on South Africa now. Join the government of France in meaningful steps. No pressure now means no movement."

France is expected quickly to table a draft resolution when the Security Council meets this morning. It will almost certainly endorse a call for voluntary sanctions.

Dr Boesak said the state of emergency offered scope for "relentless butchery with-

out accountability"

Already in hand, he maintained, was a "systematic assassination of the middle-level leadership of the United Democratic Front, with other organizations suffering as well".

## Police

Death squads were operating under official protection, he said. Those responsible for the murder of four Cradock leaders "can only be the South African Police".

"The government has lost complete control of the situation and is now resorting to more and more violence and more and more legislated terrorism."

Economic sanctions had been endorsed by the South African Council of Churches as "a peaceful means to bring pressure", he told the committee, adding that the Security Council was today "in a unique position" to act.

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From JAYNE LA MONT

CAPC Times 25/7/85 (11A)

# Mob victim knew about 'spy' rumours



Mrs Diana Skosana with her five-year-old grandson Godfrey whose mother Roseline was brutally killed in Duduza on Saturday.

From SOPHIE TEMA  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Duduza woman whose horrifying death stunned TV viewers on Saturday, knew for almost two months that her life was threatened.

Miss Roseline Maki Skosana — the 24-year-old Lutheran Church choir singer accused of being a police informer — told her mother before she died: "I will not leave Duduza, because I am innocent."

At the dead girl's humble but spotless home in Duduza yesterday, stunned relatives spoke of her shocking death.

Godfrey, her five-year-old son, watched as international pressmen visited their home, seemingly unable to comprehend his mother's death.

The minister of the local Dutch Reformed Church, the Rev Henry Maphanga, said he had known Roseline.

According to the dignified churchman, she had emphatically denied any link with members of the police — except that they had come to her home

seeking information about her wayward cousin who lived with the family.

Her family said she had been a member of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and had told its leadership of the allegations.

Miss Skosana, a re-trenched factory worker, died at the hands of a rioting mob in Duduza on Saturday after a mass funeral. As she was kicked, beaten and set alight, her agony was screened on SATV news broadcasts.

### 'Rather leave'

Mrs Diana Skosana, her heartbroken mother, a domestic worker with the Methodist Food Relief Fund, yesterday said: "My daughter came to me almost two months ago and told me that it had been rumoured in the township that she was being suspected of being a police spy and was to be killed."

"I asked Roseline why she did not rather leave Duduza as it was going to be difficult for her to prove that she was not an informer."

"She replied and told me that she would rather stay and face her accusers than to run away."

"Lately she feared that our home would be burnt down and I remember her last words to me were that she would rather be killed and burned alive instead of our home, but she was clear she was innocent."

Mrs Skosana broke down and wept uncontrollably when she reached for a yellow plastic bag behind her dressing table and showed reporters the pathetic remains of her daughter's clothing.

From the plastic bag she pulled out blood-stained pieces of a faded blue T-shirt and floral scarf worn by Roseline.

The bag also contained bloodstained soil collected by the family from the spot where their daughter's body was found. (According to custom the soil will be placed in the coffin before burial).

Between sobs Mrs Skosana said: "I will never forget the gruesome manner in which my daughter met her death."

PHOTO BY MATHS BOXING MATCHES



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Mrs Grace Ncube in her Guguletu home yesterday after the explosion.  
 Cape Times Newscolour: Anne Laing

CAPE TIMES 25/7/85 (11A) (1/85)

# Gowns saved woman's life

**By CHRIS BATEMAN**  
**TWO** dressing gowns hanging behind a bedroom door almost certainly saved the life of a Guguletu insurance saleswoman whose home was extensively damaged in a mysterious hand-grenade attack early yesterday morning.  
 Mrs Grace Ncube, who lives alone in Guguletu, was sleeping about a metre from where one grenade exploded in the doorway of her bedroom at 12.15am yesterday. Shrapnel blasted through the open door towards the sleeping Mrs Ncube but was rendered harmless by the hanging gowns.  
 A second grenade exploded in Mrs Ncube's front yard, extensively damaging her car.  
 Most of her lounge furniture was damaged and all windows were shattered in the explosions.

A still shocked Mrs Ncube, a popular figure in the Guguletu Section 2 Methodist Church, said the motive for the attack was a "complete mystery" to her.  
 "I'm not a politician, I haven't argued with anyone. No threatening phone calls or letters. I don't understand it at all," said Mrs Ncube, whose home was crowded with well-wishers helping to clear up the mess yesterday morning.  
 Mrs Ncube said about 20 minutes before the explosions her phone rang once and stopped.  
 "I didn't think anything of it and went straight back to sleep."

Mrs Ncube has worked as an insurance saleswoman in Guguletu for 10 years and about three years ago worked closely with the former chairman of the Cape Town Community Council, Mr Bill Lubelwana.  
 Mr Lubelwana was shot dead outside his Guguletu butchery on August 20 last year. He was a professional boxing promoter and national rugby administrator.  
 Neighbours of Mrs Ncube could offer no explanation for the attack and believed it to be the work of "hooligans".  
 A spokesman for the

of the SAP would initially only confirm that a hand-grenade attack had taken place in the Western Cape, causing about R2 000 damage and not injuring anyone. However, later the division confirmed that an attack involving two hand-grenades had taken place in Guguletu.  
 ● Six people have been arrested in the troubled Zwelethema township at Worcester since violence erupted there on Monday night, police said yesterday.  
 Pupils boycotting classes at Vusisizwe High School in solidarity with the deaths of four Cradock community leaders last month, and with residents protesting at notification of rent increases on August 1, had been responsible for widespread petrol-bombing.

The Bill is in a position to achieve nothing because it was not recognized, he said.

"The management committee system should be seen as a temporary measure to achieve direct representation on local authorities, especially taking into consideration that wide decision-making powers will be granted to management committees in a Bill which will be passed in Parliament this session."

The Bill was rejected unanimously by the House of Delegates and has been referred to the President's Council for consideration.

# Belhar body against mancom

Staff Reporter

OPPOSITION is mounting in Belhar against an attempt by the local Labour Party MP, Mr Archie Poole, to establish a management committee in the area.

Following the public rejection of management committees at a mass meeting in Belhar in March, the Belhar Civic Association has added its voice to calls for the scrapping of the system.

In a recent newsletter, the association says residents want direct and equal representation at all levels of government, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

### Not autonomous

Popular opposition to management committees stems from the fact that they are based on a separate coloured vote and the Group Areas Act and therefore entrench apartheid.

Management committees are not autonomous and the final decision on any matter affecting the areas which they serve rests with the white local authority under which they fall.

Mr Poole, who was elected to the House of Representatives on a 9.77 percent poll, has defended the mancom system in his newsletter. "We are not interested in separate coloured municipalities but are prepared to use the management committee system as a temporary measure to reach the goal of direct representation."

# Black bishop still sees ray of hope

The Star's  
London Bureau

(11A) Star 25/7/85

Bishop Simeon Nkoane, Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, has rejected a suggestion that moderates like himself and Bishop Tutu will eventually come to be despised by South Africa's blacks and be regarded as "Uncle Toms" and "Bishop Muzorewa" figures.

"No, I don't believe that," he said on BBC television on Tuesday night. "I think that a person of Bishop Tutu's calibre is too great for people to regard as an Uncle Tom."

"They know and they realise that Bishop Tutu wants freedom like they do and that he is avoiding violence not because he is a coward, but because of really strong convictions."

"I would hope that people will realise that I, too, do not think that violence is the way to bring peace."

But he conceded that the people's patience was "running out."

Bishop Nkoane was interviewed immediately after the screening of a film showing Bishop Tutu speaking at the funeral on Tuesday of 14 blacks killed in township violence, and denouncing the burning to death of a woman.

Bishop Nkoane, who led the service at the funeral, said he thought people there had felt tense, possibly because of the state of emergency.

Asked how Bishop Tutu's message of non-violence had gone down, he said: "Initially, I think people were very responsive to his message. But

I have had other people talking to me privately and expressing difficulties, saying violence was being perpetrated against them. They said: 'But how can we not retaliate?'"

He did not think there was a danger that moderates like himself would be swept away by an upsurge of violence. "I think people respect people like Bishop Tutu. But what I think will happen is that many people will want to do acts of violence when we are not there."

Bishop Nkoane said he did not think the scrapping of the influx control laws, as suggested by Mr

**"As a Christian, I don't think I ought to give up."**

Harald Pakendorf, editor of *Die Vaderland*, who also appeared on the programme, would be an adequate gesture.

"I think the blacks now are looking for strong gestures, such as asking their leaders to speak to people like the State President."

Even the offer of a black Parliament would not be a meaningful gesture, he said.

"I think that at the moment just to negotiate around a table would satisfy a lot of blacks."

Mr Pakendorf, interrupting, asked: "Why is it not possible for black leaders to come forward? There have been several gestures from the Government saying come and talk to us ... If you think that talking is the beginning, then it seems that we have in fact reached the point where we can get going."



Bishop Simeon Nkoane ...  
"violence is not the way to bring peace."

He said he would have thought talks would have been made more difficult because of the state of emergency and the level of violence. "I'm pleasantly surprised to hear what the Bishop has to say. I'm certain the Government would be equally pleasantly surprised."

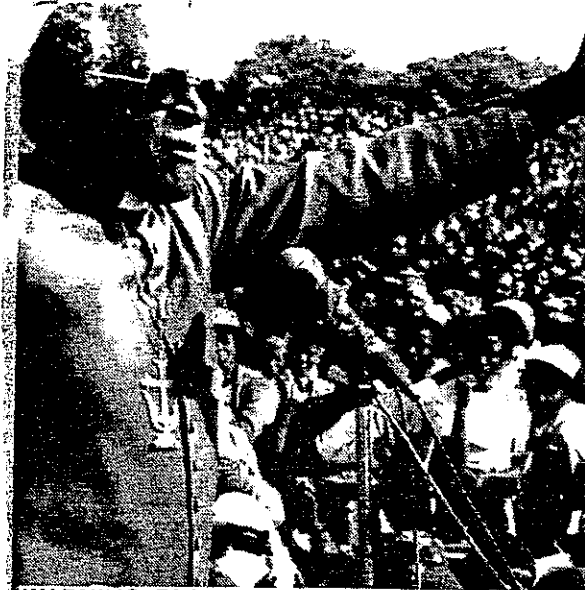
Mr Pakendorf thought the Government should perhaps come forward with a gesture like scrapping the influx control laws and a declaration of intent.

Bishop Nkoane was asked, given the present violence, whether negotiation by the moderates was possible.

He said: "I think so." But he added: "The thing is this about the Government: — they can't even speak to harmless creatures like myself. I just don't understand ..."

Asked what hope he had that his offer of negotiation would be taken up, he said: "As a Christian, I don't think that I ought to give up hope."

"I ought to continue to believe that the Government consists of people who are human and in the end they will recognise my own humanity and the humanity of others."



WARNING: Bishop Desmond Tutu in KwaThema.

# Stop the killings or I will pack my bags - Tutu

SONDAM 25/7/85 (11A)

**THE Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg and Nobel Peace Prize laureate, Bishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday threatened to pack his bags and leave South Africa if "suspected enemies" were killed in the manner in which a woman was burnt alive in Duduza**

**township on Saturday.**

In an impassioned plea to about 30 000 mourners packed into KwaThema Stadium, Bishop Tutu said: "If you do this kind of thing again, I will find it difficult to speak for the cause of liberation again."

After Bishop Tutu made his plea at the stadium, he led the crowd chanting: "We shall be free . . ."

Bishop Tutu said: "If the violence continues, I will pack my bags, collect my family and leave this beautiful country that I love so passionately and so deeply.

"I want to say to you that I condemn in the strongest possible terms what happened in Duduza on Saturday. I deplore all forms of violence.

"Our cause is just and noble that is why it is going to prevail and bring victory to us. You cannot use methods to attain the goal of liberation that our enemy will use against us.

"The pictures of that woman being burnt were shown around the world. There are many people around the world that support us. When they saw that woman burning on television, they must have said that maybe we are not ready for freedom. Let us not spoil things by those kinds of methods again.

"I want you to demonstrate the discipline of a people that are ready for freedom."

He then asked the crowd to chant after him: "We dedicate ourselves . . . to the freedom struggle . . . for all of us . . . black and white. We shall be free."

# SA Govt is out of its depth, says Buthelezi

VIA  
107  
SA 25/7/85

There was no prospect of the Government moving towards the politics of consensus, the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday.

"The Government is, in fact, out of its depth. It is posturing strength to hide a weakness to govern," Chief Buthelezi told a gathering of businesswomen in Johannesburg.

According to Chief Buthelezi, the Government had "no plans to share with the population at large" but there were prospects of reform which had never been there before.

"There is a fluidity and never before have the conditions for the successful politics of negotiation been more propitious in South Africa. Today we have the last opportunity to make negotiation a possibility."

Chief Buthelezi reiterated his commitment to negotiation and non-violent change. He was still prepared to shelve the principle of one-man-one-vote in a unitary state to find a solution which was acceptable to all population groups in the country, he said.

"Inkatha has given white South Africa an opportunity of co-operating with constructive black anger. Whites must choose between dealing with constructive black anger or destructive black anger. But, whether they like it or not, they are going to be dealing with black anger."

The Government, on its own, would not succeed in bringing about the changes that the country needed, Chief Buthelezi said.

"It is vitally necessary for the State President to make a declaration of intent with black leaders. This will enable people like myself to mobilise vast black forces to work in partnership with whites to bring about a new future."

"The State President will simply have to make such a declaration of intent with black leaders. It is historically necessary to do so — and do so, he will," Chief Buthelezi said.

Star 25/7/85

## Talks with Tutu: 'It's now up to PW'

"It is up to State President P W Botha now to decide whether he wants to have discussions with me on ways to end the nationwide unrest," Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, told *The Star* this morning.

"I can't do much more than to say: here we are -- we are willing to talk."

Bishop Tutu was referring to statement he made in an interview with the BBC yesterday.

"I would be ready to talk to the State President provided it was not something that he was doing merely to have a kind of talk shop," the Bishop told the BBC.

This morning he said he was not planning to do anything further.

"I could send the State President a telegram, but he had to be aware of what I said. It's all up to him now." The two men last met in 1980.

With regard to his threat to leave South Africa if the killing of "suspected enemies" didn't stop, Bishop said this morning: "I don't know how people can say that I have had a change of heart. I have always spoken out strongly against violence."

Was he serious about leaving the country?

"It was an unpremeditated statement which illustrated my strong feelings on the subject of violence. Yes, I was serious when I said that."

● Anglican Archbishop Philip Russell of Cape Town is also awaiting an answer from the State President to his request for a meeting to discuss violence in South Africa.

"We don't know yet if, where and when the State President would want to meet Archbishop Russell and other church leaders," the Archbishop's secretary said today.



# Inkatha stages city hall demonstration

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — About 700 members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade demonstrated in front of the Durban city hall this morning.

While eight of their representatives met the mayor, the others stood on the city hall steps singing and dancing and shouting slogans, including "amandla" (power).

They held up placards, some of which read "The city of Durban belongs to all regardless of colour", "Durban has no place for separate development", "Black South Africans

are also citizens of this country", "Durban celebrates 150 years of discrimination", "All people should share", "Do it now Mr Mayor — tomorrow will be too late" and "Inkatha is the voice of reason. Heed the voice of reason or face the consequences".

The demonstrators, many of whom appeared to be schoolchildren, arrived in buses at 10.30 am. They refused to speak to the Press and said their leaders, who were talking with the mayor, would make a statement later.

117  
11A

Star 25/7/85

| Grade    | Current Hours | Hourly Change 1975 to date: Nominal | Real    | Current Real Weekly Wages |
|----------|---------------|-------------------------------------|---------|---------------------------|
| Grade 10 | 0.00          | 0.00                                | 0.00    | R 19.85                   |
|          | 0.00          | 17.59                               | 20.22   |                           |
|          | 0.00          | 21.98                               | 23.74   |                           |
|          | 0.00          | 27.72                               | 27.72   |                           |
|          | 0.00          | 31.68                               | 31.68   |                           |
|          | 0.00          | 34.76                               | 34.76   |                           |
|          | 0.00          | 44                                  | +0.0%   |                           |
| Grade 12 | 11.88         | 15.84                               | 19.43   |                           |
|          | 22.12         | 29.06                               | 33.21   |                           |
|          | 26.09         | 26.55                               | 25.82   |                           |
|          | 23.74         | 21.77                               | 23.87   |                           |
|          | 23.57         | 44                                  | +425.6% |                           |
|          | 23.57         | Real                                | +61.2%  | R 21.79                   |

# UK cleric heaps praises on Tutu



HOP SUTTON . . . at the KwaThema funeral.

LONDON — A British bishop who arrived in London yesterday after attending Tuesday's funeral of 15 unrest victims in KwaThema, has heaped praise on Bishop Desmond Tutu and called on the South African government to accept his offer to open negotiations.

The Right Reverend Keith Sutton, Bishop of Lichfield, described Bishop Tutu as "A great leader" and likened his influence to that of Mahatma Gandhi.

He told a Press conference in London that he believed the South African crisis might be resolved if the govern-

ment answered sections of the community."

He urged that this opportunity should be taken while there was still time to defuse the situation.

Bishop Sutton attended the funeral as a representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, answering an invitation from Bishop Tutu.

Asked his impressions of the State of Emergency, he said that when he arrived in Johannesburg on Monday he had been "a little surprised at how peaceful it all seemed . . . the State of Emergency is there, but I felt very little added stress."

But he said he believed blacks were intimidated by the security forces, and that a black

bishop who took him to visit bereaved families in KwaThema was "shaking with fear that the army was on his back."

Two South African church leaders have arrived in London to address a conference on Southern Africa.

They are the Reverend Abel Hendricks and the Reverend Peter Storey.

Rev Hendricks is president of the Methodist Church of South Africa and Rev Storey is a former president of the South African Council of Churches.

Rev Hendricks left South Africa last week before the State of Emergency was declared, and Rev Storey was in Mozambique at that time. — Sapa.

ANC

wants  
Sowetan  
Durban

destroyed'



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

THE African National Congress and its supporters wish to see Durban's commerce and industry disrupted and to see the greater Durban area becoming ungovernable. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned.

In a statement released from Ulundi after his meeting with Durban's mayor, Mr Neil MacLennan, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said: "The ANC's mission in exile and those who work to further its ends in our country would prefer to see Durban going up in smoke.

"They would prefer to see commerce and industry disrupted and they would prefer to see the greater Durban area becoming ungovernable."

Political violence went hand in hand with political inequality and the exclusion of blacks from the democratic machinery of first-, second- and third-tier levels of government would continue to be a prescription for violence, he said.

"The proponents of violence are going to be fed continually with incident after incident which they can use to persuade the deprived population of this region to reject the politics of negotiation."

Chief Buthelezi said that the people of Natal and KwaZulu, by joining together, could work towards a shared future — "a future our people really do want."

## Letters to the Editor

# Who mandated you?

Dear Sir — <sup>SOWETAN</sup> Every black South African knows that Inkatha, as the largest black political organisation ever to have emerged in the history of this country, is dominated by peasants and workers. You, Sir, know that each and every year Inkatha's leaders stand accountable to the people in annual general conferences. Inkatha is a black organisation speaking with an authentic black voice. <sup>26/7/85</sup>

Everything Chief Buthelezi says and does is mandated by the people. I can say this unequivocally because every member of Inkatha knows full well that Chief Buthelezi only does that which the people want him to do. They know that he is accountable to the people and that as a constituency leader in a vast membership-based organisation, he derives his very considerable power from the fact that he leads the people where they want to go.

I have watched Chief Buthelezi put the question of disinvestment as a black South African strategy to Inkatha's annual general conference and ask delegates there for guidance as to what position he should adopt. Each and every year conference unanimously rejects disinvestment as a strategy which black South Africa should endorse.

For years now Chief Buthelezi has raised the question of disinvestment as a strategy blacks can support in mass meetings in Soweto. Each and every year he gets a thunderous applause for the positions he has adopted.

### Absurd suggestion

No mass meeting of black South Africans, dominated by peasants and workers, has ever approved of disinvestment as a strategy. No black leader can claim to have a mandate from the people to promote disinvestment as a strategy. Chief Buthelezi certainly can claim to have a mandate to oppose disinvestment.

In your editorial in the SOWETAN on Wednesday, May 29th you said: "Inkatha has the democratic right to express its stand against disinvestment in whatever manner it chooses, but the campaign put in front of the American Consulate's office in Durban, smacks of humbug and political opportunism." And you go on to say: "To say members attending the demonstration, was mandated by the people, is to be hypocritical." Only one who is totally ignorant about the nature of democracy could make the absurd suggestion that despite the fact that Inkatha's demonstration in favour of investment was well-supported, and despite the fact that crowds in their tens of thousands applaud Chief Buthelezi's stand on disinvestment, that the demonstration in Durban was a "hum-



Dr F T MDLALOSE . . . Inkatha's national chairman.

bug", that was "political opportunism" and that it was "hypocritical". When a leader reflects the views of millions of black South Africans why do you not hear his as reflecting something you should sit up and take note of?

The SOWETAN writes as though it knows better than the people about what the people themselves want, and an inkling of why you do this is given in your argument in the same editorial that "The arguments are also so complex that even the most sophisticated have problems settling the debate in their minds."

You are saying, Sir, that ordinary blacks do not understand the questions involved. You say: "... How can we be expected to believe that the grass root people who attended the demonstration have a clear grip of the factors involved in this very complex issue." And you go on to say: "The people are told disinvestment will mean starvation for them, and that this is presumably the beginning and end of the debate." People do not have to be told this; they know it. The thousands of black South Africans who every Monday morning line up at factory gates know it. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed know it. They know that no work means no jobs, and that no jobs means starvation.

Presumably if there was a demonstration, no matter by whom it was organised, in which people gathered to support the demand for majority rule, you would say that the constitutional issues were so complex that people could not understand and that their demand for majority rule was humbug, was hypocrisy and political opportunism.

You have a problem, you say, with the "type of demonstration by Inkatha (which) seems to have been stage-managed." "Does the SOWETAN really think that other organisations do not have to manage demonstrations?"

Are they not organised? And why is Inkatha not permitted to organise demonstrations when other black political groups in this country do this so very frequently? There would have been no stay-aways in the Transvaal last year had it not been organised and orchestrated. Every time groups gather to hold up placards, they have been organised. Was Mrs Tutu's demonstration at City Bank not organised? Did it suddenly emerge like a puff of air on Inkatha's demonstration in favour of investment shames black South Africa, and should shame every journalist who is more than a lackey of Inkatha's political opponents.

Who mandated the SOWETAN to issue veiled threats in this editorial? In your editorial you say: "the times we are living in, with moves by some people to bring unity to the black cause do not need such tawdry political point scoring. This will only serve to alienate people who seem prepared to sit with Inkatha and discuss unity in the black struggle."

### Demands unity

Inkatha has the kind of power which does not need to be propped up by anybody at any time. If Inkatha turns to talk about unity, then it does so from a position of massive strength. Your editorial gives readers the impression that Inkatha cringes before those as a supplicant for unity. Inkatha does not cringe for unity. It boldly demands unity because black South Africa needs unity and not because it needs unity with any other group. The struggle needs unity, and this whole editorial is a knife in the back of unity. It is written to score points off Inkatha. It is authored by base political motives and it disgusts every black democrat.

It is dirty underhand politics to suggest as you did in your editorial that the demonstration in Durban was made to salvage Chief Buthelezi's image in America.

• This letter has been shortened due to lack of space on this page.

DR. F T MDLALOSE

National Chairman

## WORD of GOD

### Worship the Lord!

O come, let us worship and bow down: let us kneel before the Lord our maker.

Psalms 95:6



Political comment in this issue by J Latakomo and A Klaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johan-

OPPOSITION leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert today made an urgent appeal to the Government to consult black religious leaders in a bid to curb violence in black areas.

He called for the implementation of a five-point peace plan "to stabilise conditions in the townships and to enable the Government to catch up with pressures for change."

Speaking at a public "state of emergency" meeting of the Progressive Federal Party in the Cape Town City Hall, Dr Slabbert urged the Government to take these steps:

**Religious leaders**

● Discuss with religious leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Simeon Nkoane and others how violence in the townships — whether from police or inhabitants — could be scaled down;

● Appoint from such people a national committee to monitor and investigate the underlying causes of the unrest — "It is important that people in the townships be in a position to give evidence to members of a committee they trust and respect," Dr Slabbert said.

● Say clearly and unambiguously, so that people could understand, that influx control and similar "blatantly discriminatory measures" were going to be scrapped;

● Declare itself willing to negotiate on the basis of one constitution and one citizenship; and

● Release Mr Nelson Mandela and similar persons unconditionally.

Dr Slabbert said that if the Government did not take steps of this nature it would be trapped into "the old too-little-too-late pattern."

Half-hearted concessions and reforms actually contributed to the instability and unrest they were supposed to solve, he said.

**Certain demands**

Earlier in his address, Dr Slabbert warned that if the Government did not accept certain demands from black people as reasonable, it "might as well tell this country that we can prepare for a permanent state of emergency."

It was no longer good enough for the Government to say that it was "willing to negotiate about reasonable demands."

The time had come for the Government to say what it regarded as "reasonable demands" and to say with which black people it was willing to negotiate.

To illustrate his point, Dr Slabbert posed these questions:

Was it reasonable to demand that a black person not be compelled to live out his life in a Government-declared black township?

**Full citizen**

Was it reasonable for a black person to want to move about freely in search of work and shelter, like anyone else in the land of his birth?

Was it reasonable for a black person to want to be a full citizen in the same constitution governing his country?

Was it reasonable for a black person to want to participate fully and equally in the Government which controlled his life?

Dr Slabbert said these demands had been stated time and again by black leaders.

Slabbert tells PW to consult bishops

AKUS  
26/7/85  
111



Picture: PETER STANFORD, The Argus

Part of the capacity crowd at last night's UDF meeting in Claremont.

Arbus 26/1/85 (274-327) 110

## People's voice 'will not be silenced'

Staff Reporter

"WE are living in times of the knock on the door," a capacity crowd of United Democratic Front supporters in the Claremont Civic Centre were told.

Mr Graeme Bloch of the UDF Western Cape executive told the meeting, called to discuss the state of emergency, that the voice of the people would not be silenced until the country was governed by a united democratic South Africa.

Constructive engagement was nothing but "collaboration", he said.

Mrs Mary Burton of the

Black Sash called for supporters to be informed accurately and to resist propaganda.

"What we read, hear on the radio and see on television has so little resemblance to what we actually experience," she said.

Mrs Maria Machau of the Detainees Parents' Support Committee, whose daughter is in detention, said parents were not told why their children were being held.

"We are just told 'Section 29', but we don't know what Section 29 is."

Miss Janet Cherry, a Black Sash advice office worker in

the Eastern Cape, said the Eastern Cape was in a situation of a low-intensity civil war.

People were shocked when 19 people were shot by police in Uitenhage on one day, but double that number had been shot in Uitenhage since then, and double that number had been shot in Port Elizabeth in six months, she said.

Mr Mike Rautenbach, an executive member of the End Conscription Campaign, who did two years' national service in the police force, said: "It is now that we must call for peace and justice and an end to this bloody war."

Available <sup>AKW</sup>  
for talks <sup>22-7/85</sup>

**P W Botha**

~~Political Staff~~  
**Political Staff**

PRESIDENT P W Botha has intimated that he is prepared to meet Nobel Peace Prize-winner Bishop Desmond Tutu if a proper appointment is made.

In a statement he repeated earlier remarks that he was always willing to negotiate with anyone who "does not propagate violence".

However, he "unfortunately cannot negotiate with other people who make appointments for discussion by means of the public media".

President Botha referred to the special Cabinet committee investigating black political rights. "Anyone is free to approach the committee or myself to make appointments for discussion."

● See Page 15.

# Bishop Tutu — a message of peace heard around the world

FRANS ESTERHUYSE of The Argus Political Staff looks at Bishop Desmond Tutu, who has offered himself as a peace mediator between the Government and other groups

IF anybody has towered above most of South Africa's leaders in attempts to bring an end to violence and conflict it is Bishop Desmond Tutu.

It has been in the most heinous of crimes that he has shown a capacity for sanity. He has been the only one to offer an alternative to the policy of being burnt alive by angry mobs. He has lashed out at blacks who murdered suspected "informers", and has become a father figure at funerals of black arrest victims.

The Bishop of Johannesburg and a member of the Nobel Peace Prize has made his name and a difference in many aspects of protest as violence continued in black townships.

His message of peace has been heard by millions around the world and has been acclaimed in Western capitals.

This week he again offered himself as a mediator to start negotiations for peace between the Government and other groups.

In his reaction to the declaration of a state of emergency in certain areas, Bishop Tutu urged the Government to negotiate with the authentic representatives and leaders of every section of our society.

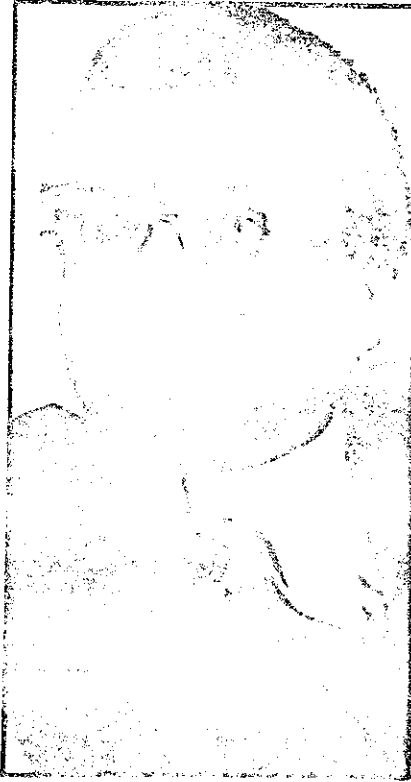
In spite of his crusade for peace, however, Bishop Tutu remains a controversial figure in South Africa. He is viewed with suspicion by many whites, especially on the Government side.

He has been accused of being a trouble-maker and has come under severe criticism from the SABC and even from such leaders as the Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu.

A recent opinion poll conducted by a market research company showed that he was well liked in urban black townships. Fifty-five percent of black women interviewed said they liked him very much, while only nine percent said they did not like him at all.

In contrast, an earlier survey found that fewer than 25 percent of white South Africans believed he deserved the Nobel prize.

Whatever South Africans think of him, it seems beyond any doubt that he has



Bishop Desmond Tutu ... a harsh critic of apartheid but in his striving for peaceful change prepared to join forces with the Government.

emerged as a powerful influence not only in South Africa but also among opinion-makers abroad.

Bishop Tutu is a harsh critic of apartheid, but in his striving for peaceful change he is prepared to join forces with the Government.

He demonstrated this in the past when he worked together with the former Minister of Education and Training, Mr Barend de Ploois, in trying to solve school boycotts in the Atteridgeville area.

Until now Bishop Tutu has remained an optimist and a man of hope even in the most adverse circumstances. Most

of the time he has appeared confident and hopeful that solutions could be found to South Africa's most crucial problems.

He has been in hope where Government officials saw nothing but gloom. The very existence of the United Democratic Front for example, has been described by him as a hopeful sign that there could be "a non-racial coalition at a time when you would have thought there was very much on the agenda."

His optimistic approach to problems was clearly illustrated when he said earlier this year: "It is perfectly possible for two people to look at what seems to be the same reality and to have two totally contradictory perceptions."

"One will despairingly see but a hopelessly little, while the other will see the whole of a picture that is still in the dark."

In a funeral address to 60,000 mourners in Uitenhage earlier this year, Bishop Tutu rejected accusations that protests by black people were the work of agitators.

"Not only do we, the people of South Africa, is apartheid itself," he said, and added: "I am opposed to the use of violence to overthrow the system. Let us not use the methods used by our enemies."

While condemning the Government's policies, Bishop Tutu has pressed President P. W. Botha for his initiatives.

Of Mr Botha he has said: "In a sense Mr Botha has gone a very long way towards showing that he is willing to take very courageous action within the South African context."

"We have ... what he has done in terms of opening the cabinet and the Indians involved in political decision-making. My problem with him is that I cannot understand why he was able to go so far, and then refuse to take the extra few steps that would have done the trick."

"He himself says that South Africa can no longer be ruled exclusively by whites ... that in itself is a revolutionary concept. If he is prepared to risk the wrath of his people, why doesn't he go for the real McCoy?"



11A 26/7/85

# De Aar — battleground

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS

UNTIL now, the Karoo town of De Aar has been best known as a major railway junction.

But as the gutted development board complex at the entrance to Nonzwakazi testifies, it has also become a grim battleground in the clash between black political protest and the State.

The board offices were attacked for the first time last month. Last Monday night, the entire complex was gutted.

Blackened filing cabinets were standing in the open as workers began replacing the roof of the board's office building late last week.

A separate three-roomed community council building — complete with a council chamber fitted with yellowwood furniture — was a charred shell.

Board officials were operating from a garage on the premises.

The community council became a "village council" in March and met until June. It is now defunct. All its members have resigned, and some have left the township. Black policeman have been evacuated. Community spokesman claimed the council was "finished". Some councillors who had agreed to co-operate with the people were staying, but others had left.

Since unrest started in April, two township houses have been burnt down and others damaged. Two shops in the township were also burnt down last month.

On Sunday June 16, 71 people, mostly youths, were arrested after a demonstration. They have since appeared on charges of public violence and arson. Sixty have been released on bail.

On the same day, a man, Mr Boyi Mantyi, was shot dead and others were wounded.

Since then, 17 more

people have appeared in court. Twelve were still being held last week.

The attack on the board complex was not the only violence last week. The next night, a woman was hacked to death in the township and her body set alight. The house of a community leader was mysteriously firebombed.

The high school was being boycotted and a boycott of "white" businesses was in progress.

De Aar was swarming with police. There were policemen in the streets and vehicles incessantly patrolled the town and drove to and from the township.

The authorities were advising all whites not to enter the township. I was eventually given permission to do so on my own cognizance.

Community representatives also advised me not to enter the township alone.

I was eventually met in town after dark by four youths who inspected my press card and drove me into the township along tracks in the veld.

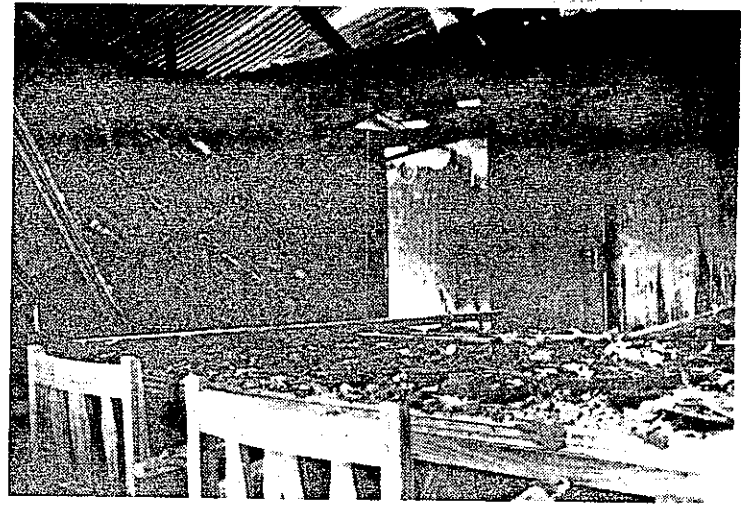
Community figures and residents filed furtively into a house.

The township carried an aura of latent violence. People seemed to be in constant fear of the police. They spoke in low voices and tensed up when noises were heard outside or a vehicle drove past.

### Books burnt

A student leader said the high school had been closed several times in the second term and another boycott had started two weeks ago. Students had been told demands would be met when the school reopened for the third term, but only one had been met — the resignation of the principal.

"Some students are still locked up. Students now say they cannot attend when the others are not there," he added. The books of a few students



1. The remains of De Aar's "village council" chamber.



2. The Rev



3. Mrs Beauty Tantsi lost her left eye after being shot by police. Mrs Ida Tantsi (left) has a neck wound.



4. A gu

who had attended school were burnt a few days before.

Residents displayed the constitution of a new community organization, the De Aar African Residents' Association (DAARA), formed last month. Police had refused permission for meetings.

A group of women said they had formed a branch of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee to try to help people in prison.

People made a number of allegations about

police conduct and claimed police were provoking violence. They spoke of "going to Sanlam" — a colloquial term for interrogation by security police — and of an "A-team" operating in the township.

"We have appealed to the police to stay out of the township completely. We can solve our own problems. Then there will be peace," one said.

A youth said his 13-year-old brother had been shot in the stomach two weeks before. He

said he had "just been marching in the street".

They claimed some wounded people were being treated in the township, because they were being arrested when taken to hospitals.

On June 18, Mrs Di Bishop, PFP MPC for Gardens, her husband Brian and Mrs Molly Blackburn, PFP MPC For Walmer, visited De Aar to record allegations by residents about police action, after a group of residents had approached Mr Monwabisi

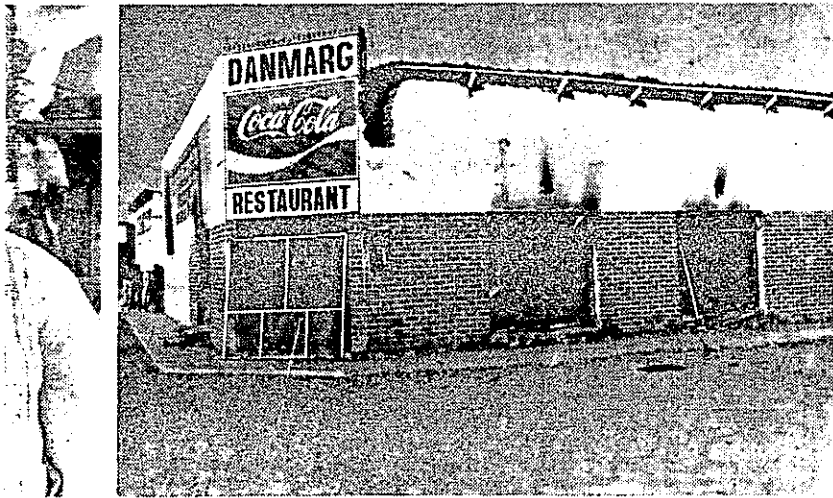
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# Sound of black protest



2. The Rev Timothy Soloshe (79) ... detained for questioning last week.



4. A gutted shop in Nonzwakazi township.

der the Internal Security Act and is still a prominent figure in the community. Two petrol bombs had been thrown at his house two nights before. Community spokesmen claimed it had not been done by township people.

The next day, a DAARA member accompanied me around the township. Remains of barricades littered the streets. The township seemed tense and unnaturally quiet.

I was taken to view the gutted houses of former councillors. One was said to have left the township the previous day. I was also shown two burnt-out shops. Spokesmen said one belonged to a former council member and was "burnt by the people".

I was taken to the house of the Rev Timothy Soloshe, 79-year-old minister of the Presbyterian Church, who was taken to the police station and questioned earlier last week after allowing DAARA to use the church hall for a meeting.

"They were rude and pushed me around. They told me the aim of my church was to destroy the people of De Aar. They said it was not a church of God but a church of the devil.

"I told them, since the church was made by people of this country, I have the right to give it to them to use for meetings."

They also pointed out a nearby house where the woman had been killed two nights earlier. Dried blood marked the wall and stoep. Youths said township people believed she had been an informer.

They scattered as police approached and inspected my press card. I was allowed to remain but told my presence in the township would be investigated further.

I was also taken to a house in "Malay Camp",

a squalid, mixed squatter township strung out next to the steam locomotive graveyard, to see Mrs Beauty Tantsi, 30, who has lost her left eye. Her grandmother, 71-year-old Mrs Ida Tantsi, has a neck wound. It was claimed they were shot on July 9 and that Mrs Tantsi's eight-year-old daughter Wendy was shot in the buttocks.

Mrs Tantsi's eye was removed in the Kimberley hospital. When she went to the police to file a complaint after her discharge, she was locked up and charged with public violence. Her grandmother and 13-year-old daughter Zolizwe were held and have appeared in court. Wendy was released after questioning.

A prominent community spokesman said later: "I cannot understand the suppression of community protest.

## 'Raw deal'

"Blacks are getting a raw deal here. Problems in the township are endemic. But the authorities are rejecting all lines of communication.

"The violence is being committed by certain elements among the youth. They are very frustrated. It is not done by organizations or on behalf of organizations.

"DAARA sent a delegation to the authorities, but it was turned away. Executive members have been detained. We are denied access to our own public halls. That is why DAARA is making use of church halls. The churches are not police property.

"But our greatest concern now is violence by the police. People are losing all faith in the police.

"We can't be under police rule here. This is not a police state. We sleep and we are not asleep.

"We are in a state of emergency."

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Makaula, president of the Cradock Residents' Association, the previous weekend for assistance.

They were accompanied by Mr Makaula as well as Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Sparrow Mkhonto — nine days before they were murdered. The party was followed by security police.

At a meeting in the township, a number of sworn statements were taken from residents which contain allegations about police con-

duct. They are to be submitted to the police for comment.

No goods were being bought in town. The boycott was aimed at demanding a government investigation into the Goniwe murders and recognition of DAARA.

Later, youths ran in with a warning that the police were in the township.

I was taken to the home of a former councillor who resigned in March after being detained for two weeks un-

Cape Town President Botha today intimated he would be prepared to meet Nobel Peace prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, if a proper appointment was made.

In a statement he repeated earlier remarks that he was always willing to negotiate with anyone who does not propagate violence.

However, he unfortunately could not negotiate with people who make appointments for discussion by means of the public media.

President Botha referred to the special Cabinet Committee investigating black political rights which he said conducted negotiations with community leaders on behalf of the Government.

"Anyone is free to approach the Cabinet Committee or myself to make appointments for discussion."

A spokesman for the President's office said any request for a meeting should be directed to the Office of the President.

Bishop Tutu made his offer to mediate in the state of emergency in an interview with the BBC and later in newspaper interviews.

### 'Up to P.W'

Bishop Tutu said yesterday, "I would be prepared to talk to the President provided it was not something that is just doing merely to have a kind of talk shop."

He said he was not planning to do anything further.

"I could send the President a telegram, but he had to be aware of what I said. It's all up to him now."

● Bishop Tutu said this week a meeting between him and the State President would have to be about the basics of possible ways to end the unrest.

"We would have to get down to brass tacks pretty quickly."

The two men last met in 1980.

The Bishop reiterated yesterday that he was serious about his threat to leave the country if blacks did not stop killing "suspected enemies" indiscriminately.

"It was an unpremeditated statement which illustrated my strong feelings on the subject of violence."

The Star was unable to reach Bishop Tutu for comment today. According to his wife he was having a quiet day and could not be reached by telephone.

## Slabbert tells Govt. talk to black clergy

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert today appealed to the Government to consult black religious leaders with a view to curbing violence in black areas.

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly called for a five-point peace plan to stabilise conditions in the townships and to enable the Government to catch up with pressures for change.

He urged the Government to:

● Consult religious leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu on how violence — whether from police or inhabitants — could be scaled down.

● Appoint from such people a national committee to monitor and investigate the underlying causes of the unrest.

● Say unambiguously that influx control and similar "blatantly discriminatory measures" were going to be scrapped.

● Declare itself willing to negotiate on the basis of one constitution and one citizenship.

● Release the imprisoned black leader Nelson Mandela and similar persons unconditionally.

Dr Slabbert said that if the Government did not take imaginative steps of this nature it would be trapped into "the old too-little-too-late pattern".

Political Staff

# President hints he is willing to meet Tutu

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Anyone can make an appointment with me, says P.W

# Mandela meetings banned

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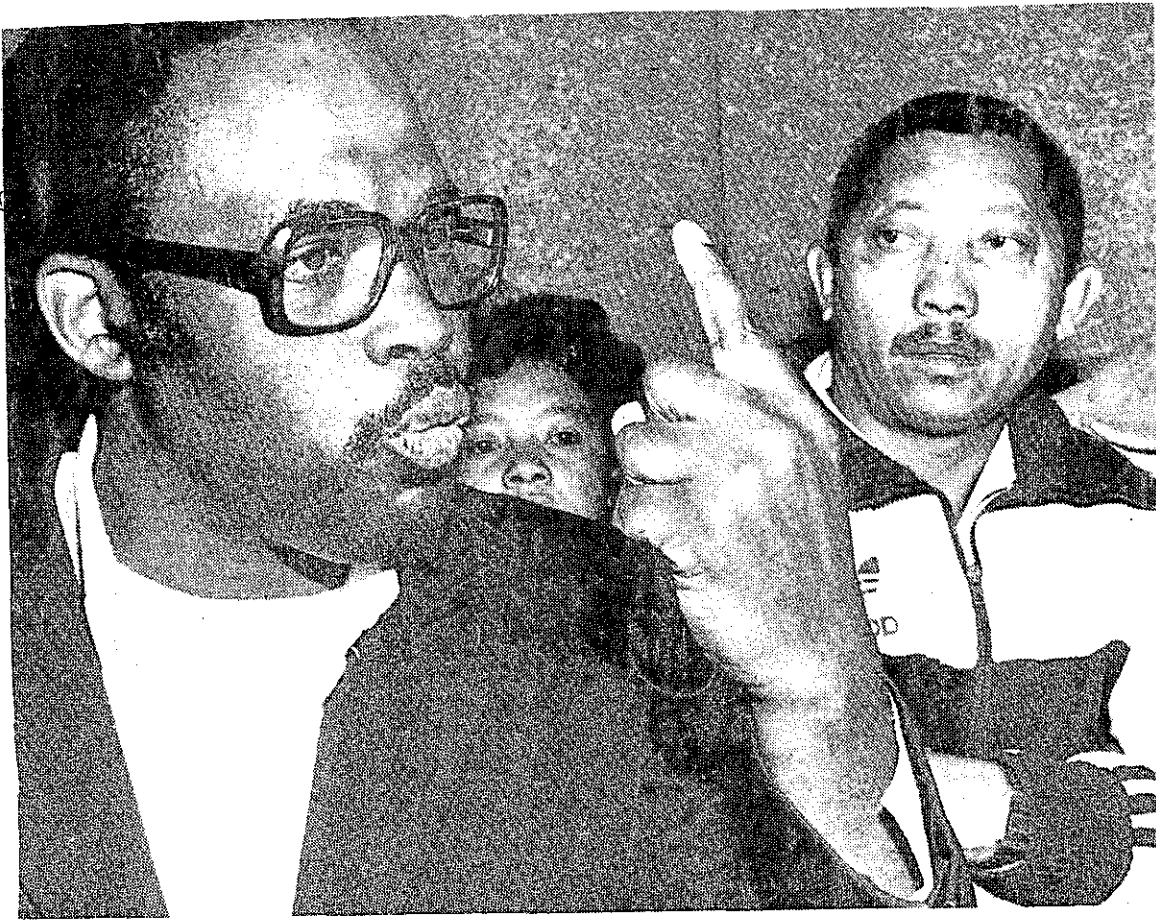
All gatherings to celebrate Nelson Mandela's 67th birthday have been banned in Soweto.

The Divisional Commissioner of Police for Soweto, Brigadier Jan Coetzee, has ordered that all celebrations planned for Sunday be banned in terms of powers provided under the emergency declaration.

Brigadier Coetzee ordered that the Release Mandela Committee could not proceed with celebrations.

Such celebrations have also been prohibited in Diepkloof, Lenasia, Roo-depoort, Diepmeadow, Dobsonville and Eldorado Park.

Mandela was born in Transkei on July 18 1918.  
— Sapa.



# Modified plans rejected

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Municipal Reporter

The Westbury Residents' Action Committee (WRAC) has rejected modified plans for a controversial Johannesburg City Council housing scheme.

Mr Thys Wilsnach, director of the council's housing department, yesterday unveiled the plans and said they were initially accepted by a WRAC delegation.

*26/7/85 Star*  
The WRAC however says it rejected the plans when shown them. A mass meeting also rejected an invitation to send two representatives to a meeting today between council officials, coloured leaders and Mr David Curry, Minister of Housing in the House of Representatives, to discuss housing problems in Johannesburg, including Westbury.

Mr Solomon Oliphant (left), chairman of the Westbury Residents' Action Committee, makes a point to WRAC member Mr Eugene Billings. They were with 26 other members who gathered at the Civic Centre in Braamfontein today. The group rejected an offer to send two representatives to meet Mr David Curry, Minister of Housing in the House of Representatives, after all had sought to attend the meeting being held there.



Flanked by Inkatha officials and supporters, Durban's Mayor, Mr Neil MacLennan, addresses the crowd which demonstrated outside the City Hall yesterday.

## Open facilities to all, say protesters

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Mayor of Durban, Mr Neil MacLennan, yesterday addressed a crowd of about 300 placard-wielding demonstrators outside the Durban City Hall.

They had accompanied a delegation of the Inkatha Youth Brigade which presented a memorandum requesting that all facilities in the city be opened to people of all races. NM 26/7/95

Mr MacLennan said he agreed with many of the points expressed about open facilities and consented to see eight delegates for private discussions.

The memorandum said municipal by-laws based on race and skin colour had outgrown their purpose.

It said the beaches under the control of the Durban City Council should be free of segregation and that buses operated by the Durban Transport Management Board should be desegregated.

'We believe what we are demanding may instil fear in the hearts of some but will revive courage in others,' the memorandum said.

The mayor said after the meeting that the deputation had agreed to make some minor alterations to the memorandum which would be submitted to the Management Committee.



Cape Times 26/7/85 (BWA) (H.A. (Wear) (BWA) (W.S.A.)

# As close to peace as to civil war

From BRIAN BISHOP (Cape Town):

STEYTLERVILLE is a small, dusty farming town on the road from Uitenhage to Graaff-Reinet. On July 13 two of its young men were buried, the latest victims of the tensions sweeping the East Cape. We were invited with Molly Blackburn MPC by the community to attend the funeral.

We were accompanied by three American lawyers, an international television team and three members of the PFP Youth. Mrs Blackburn had telephoned the local SAP commander to request the police keep a low profile and to remind him of Mr Justice Kanne-meyer's remarks about the police and funerals.

The two young men to be buried were Mzwandile Muggles, aged 20, a leader of STEYCO, the Steytlerville Youth Congress, a UDF affiliate and Johannes Spogter, aged 13, a schoolboy who died in detention and whose principal paid homage to his qualities.



Mr Brian Bishop

On July 4 the black and "coloured" communities of Steytlerville held a procession between their two "townships" to honour the four Cradock leaders murdered in Port Elizabeth. At the request of the SAP commander the route

was altered to avoid passing two white-owned shops.

That evening 24 policemen and local farmers raided the black township of Kabah. We spoke to many witnesses and tape recorded some reports. Because of the occasion we did not take sworn statements. In terms of the Police Act the allegations may not be published but an independent pathologist has submitted his reports to family lawyers.

The funeral attended by about 1000 people lasted 4½ hours and consisted of prayers, hymns, freedom songs, tributes and messages from many organizations. How one wished that those who form white opinion could hear the messages of anger and frustration from obviously gentle people.

As youths filled in the graves, they chanted in praise of the heroes. "Mandela, VIVA. Tambo, VIVA. Goniwe, VIVA". Long lists of those who have died or suffered. Denis Goldberg and Neil Aggett were the only two white names I heard. From time to time they

switched to those they opposed, "Botha, VOETSAK. Le Grange, VOETSAK. Sebe, VOETSAK". Short lists of community councillors and "home-land leaders".

We had taken seats near the back of the crowd and were unknown to our neighbours. We were treated with the respect accorded to funeral guests but with no warmth until we were seen to join in Nkosi Sikeleli. After that we were flooded with warmth, especially from the youth, who said they had never previously met white people who opposed apartheid.

I told them that my wife had stood as a Provincial Council candidate against a Steytlerville farmer (whom they knew) and had spoken for integrated schools and complete non-racialism, and had unseated the Nationalist, collecting 6568 votes in just one white suburb.

Anyone who saw the reaction would realize how easy it would be to be as close to a great peace as we now are to civil war, if only our people could meet one another.

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# Black leaders 'won't talk'

## Political Correspondent

THE prospects for a peaceful resolution of the crisis facing South Africa were limited because most of the country's effective black leaders were no longer able or willing to negotiate with the government, according to Progressive Federal Party MPC Mrs Molly Blackburn.

Speaking at a state of emergency rally in the Cape Town City Hall yesterday, she said: "President P. W. Botha has the effective leaders locked up, or they are in hiding, or they have been murdered, or they refuse to breathe the same air as him."

### Debates?

"Who on earth is there for him to talk to?"

Mrs Blackburn criticised Mr Botha's refusal to reconvene Parliament and his remark that action — not debate — was now necessary to control the unrest.

"Mr Botha may care to enlighten us as to who took part in the debates that he now says are over."

She also wanted to know how many times the special Cabinet committee on the constitutional future of blacks had been convened.

Mrs Blackburn said the practice of arresting church ministers during the state of emergency had a "chilling effect" and was a reminder of nazi practices.

"Is this the only way the government knows how to deal with men of conscience?"

The government's willingness to resort to "medieval practices" and its continued commitment to apartheid "will mean that tragic events will become normal" in South Africa.

Mrs Blackburn said she received daily accounts of deaths by shootings and of township houses being stoned by policemen.



## Botha's reply to Tutu on unrest talks

11A Ormande Pollok  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha said yesterday in reply to a request by Bishop Desmond Tutu for talks about the current unrest that he could not make appointments through the media.

'I am always willing to negotiate with anyone who does not propagate violence,' said Mr Botha.

'Moreover, there is a Cabinet Committee which conducts negotiations with community leaders

on behalf of the Government and anyone is free to approach the committee or myself to make appointments for discussions.'

Bishop Tutu was not available for comment on the State President's reply.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the Association of Law Societies said yesterday it was concerned at the declaration of a state of emergency, and hoped it would be ended as soon as possible.

# Revealed: How Communist Party is now running the ANC

HOURS after President Botha declared a state of emergency, the African National Congress called on supporters to arm themselves by ransacking white homes and isolated police stations in search of weapons

In a chilling broadcast from Lusaka last Sunday, the banned organisation also identified the ANC struggle with the aims of the United Democratic Front (UDF), whose leaders the ANC commentator constantly referred to as "comrades".

And this week the ANC targeted rebel Australian cricket captain Kim Hughes and his team as a "soft option" to strike at should the rebel tour go ahead as scheduled.

The latest statement, by an ANC delegate attending the UN Decade for Women conference in Nairobi, indicates for the first time that sporting teams are no longer immune from attack.

**BY NORMAN WEST, STEPHAN TERBLANCHE and MARSHALL WILSON**

ANC by having 25 of its leading members appointed to the new 30-member ANC executive committee.

The ANC executive was recently enlarged from 22 to 30 members at the organisation's secret consultative conference held at Kabwe, north of Lusaka.

For the first time whites have been elected to the ANC executive.

The 11 new members of the executive are reported by intelligence experts all to be leading members of the SACP. They are:

- Joe Slovo, military

strategist of the ANC and first white to be elected.

● Mac Maharaj, former Robben Island prisoner and first Indian to be elected.

● Aziz Pahad, another Indian now on the executive, who is considered to be on the left of the ANC and has worked in London for a number of years.

● James Stuart, a radical with a strong military background, based in Lusaka.

● Francis Meli, who was educated in East Germany and is editor of the ANC official mouthpiece and is considered a marxist radical.

● Palo Jordan, also radical but close to ANC president Oliver Tambo. He was a close friend of Ruth First, wife of Joe Slovo who was killed, and was with her at the time of her death by parcel bomb.

● Ruth Mompati, former London chief representative and close to Tambo. She has strong African nationalist leanings.

● Reg September, who was a former president of the South African Coloured People's Congress. He is the first coloured on the executive.

● Tony Mongale, a radical who headed the ANC's mission in East Berlin.

● Sizakele Sigxashe, a young radical.

● Cassius Make, also a radical in ANC terms.

The weeks before the ANC conference were marked by the rise of a strong faction comprising mainly younger members who were disillusioned with the direction of the ANC and wanted more militant action.

Intelligence analysts be-

lieve, however, a compromise was forced by the older ANC members at the conference, giving rise to continued dissatisfaction among the younger radicals.

But the radicals did manage to have a number of their hardline resolutions adopted at the conference. The main resolutions adopted were:

● Future attacks on soft, civilian targets — mainly whites.

● No talks with the South African Government until President Botha is prepared to discuss the total elimination of apartheid.

● Increasing the international disinvestment drive against South Africa.

● The election of a "war council" to direct an intensified "people's war".

● Intensification of terrorist training for ANC members. The ANC at present has between 8 000 and 10 000 trained terrorists, it claims.

● Efforts at reconciliation with the banned Pan African Congress (PAC).

## Blast at SA embassy

A BOMB blew the gates off the South African embassy in central Lisbon early yesterday. But nobody was injured, police said.

A little-known leftist group calling itself the Autonomous Revolutionary Group claimed responsibility as "an act of solidarity" with South African blacks and workers.

The blast came during a visit to Portugal by the Deputy South African Foreign Minister, Mr Louis Nel. — Sapa-AP

## Takeover

It shows a clear change of tactic for the outlawed ANC and appears to have been sparked by a recent statement by Hughes, who said from Perth earlier this week that the tour would go ahead despite unrest in the townships.

Meanwhile, observers believe the banned South African Communist Party (SACP) has staged an almost unnoticed takeover of the

## Craven plans his own world cup

□ From Page 1

invite all the other countries to play here.

"The Prime Minister of New Zealand has said that he would rather have the Soviet

on the future course accordingly.

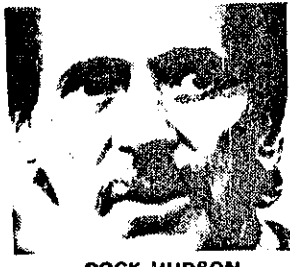
"As an amateur country, we must strive to keep our amateur status. We will also see to it that our sportsmen in this country, and those who

## Holding thumbs for Rock . . .

□ From Page 1

a weekend. He has a lovely pool. We always talked about movies, other actors and actresses. He is very interested in astrology, always wanting to know people's star signs.

"We kept in touch by phone, and I could stay away for months, then see him and go back and carry on talk-



"Rock liked the idea and said that some day he was going to go public and stop hiding in his closet," he said.

"I thought it would be a good idea for him to go public because it would take away a lot of the stress of hiding his secret."

The main reason that Hudson did not go public was his fear of alienating his millions

back to the infamous Louella Parsons, knew Hudson's secret and were part of the conspiracy of silence, Armistead said.

So successful was this conspiracy that certain gossip columnists even made up fictitious girlfriends for Hudson.

He went through a sham marriage in 1955 because a fan magazine threatened him

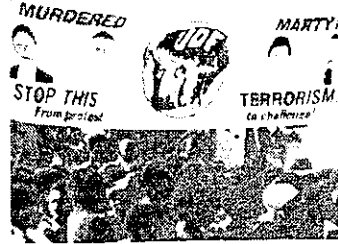
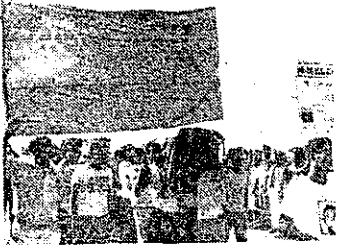
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# 've forever'



PICTURE BY EVANS MBOWENI

These are the main features at Matthew Goniwe's funeral.

There can be no doubt that Mr Goniwe's memory will live on in the hearts and minds of the students he taught maths and science to.

His memory will also live on in the Transkei, where he and John Hlehlekani founded a school in 1972, which eventually became Holomisa High.

It was at that school that Mr Goniwe allegedly taught students Marxist ideology - which led to his conviction under the Suppression of Communism Act.

Back in South Africa, in 1983 he was appointed acting headmaster of Sam Xollie High School.

But Mr Goniwe will be most dearly remembered by the tiny community

of Ilingelihle, where he was the founder and first president of the Cradock Residents' Association, formed to fight rent increases in Ilingelihle.

He later became the UDF's rural organiser in the Eastern Cape.

He travelled to Port Elizabeth last month for the UDF - and it was there he met his brutal death.

His death has heightened fears that a right-wing "death squad" is operating in the country.

Three years ago, Cosas leader Simphiwe Mthimkhulu disappeared after he instituted a R150 000 legal action against the police for allegedly poisoning him during his detention.

He has never been seen again. Pebco's leadership has also disappeared - they left their homes to meet someone at the airport on May 8, and have never been seen since.

Many anti-apartheid campaigners have recently been shot at, received death threats and had their homes bombed.

As a result, the homes of a number of community leaders are guarded from sunrise to sunset - but it has not stopped the attacks completely, nor has it always led to prosecutions.

Mysterious vigilante squads have also sprung up in a number of areas, such as Welkom and Duduza. In Duduza a four-month pregnant Cosas

leader died when a petrol bomb was hurled into her home.

A reign of terror has gripped the little township of Thabong in Welkom - three youths died after allegedly being assaulted by vigilantes.

Two men were stoned to death in revenge after it was discovered that they were members of the feared "Phakathi" vigilante group.

A "Demolition Squad" was set up in Soweto to kidnap several community leaders.

The fear that a mysterious death squad exists has now taken on new meaning.

The mysterious circumstances surrounding the deaths of Mr Goniwe and other political activists mean only one thing - a death squad is determined to eliminate anti-apartheid leaders.

No-one has yet been positively identified as being part of the mysterious "Third Force".

The UDF said it was forced to conclude that "the defenders of apartheid" were bent on a "murderous path" to eliminate anti-apartheid leaders.

# 'He will live

By SANDILE MEMELA

THE FUNERAL is over.

Thousands of people have paid their last respects to murdered Eastern Cape schoolteacher Matthew Goniwe - a man who had become perhaps the most important black leader in the area.

Mr Goniwe was buried in Cradock with three other community leaders who died with him when his car was waylaid outside Port Elizabeth - Fort Calata, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto.

But the murderers have still not been found.

And the question haunting most mourners last weekend was: "Is this the end of Matthew Goniwe?"

Will he become just another name in the history of anti-apartheid campaigners who died mysteriously?

His involvement and commitment



Death of a leader: The SA Communist Party's flag - and swelling anger - were the main features

to community affairs tells a different story.

The man of peace will always live in the hearts of Ilingelihle residents.

His mysterious disappearance and gruesome death has prompted the boycott of white businesses which began last Monday to demand an explanation for his death and that of the other three UDF leaders.

As a result of the boycott, Chamber of Commerce representatives of Eastern Cape towns met secretly in Grahamstown with police, military and other officials to discuss the tremendous impact of the consumer boycott.

A young activist, Mkhuseleli Jack, was reportedly grilled for nearly three

hours by security police about the formation and aims of the boycott committee.

White traders are now feeling the anger of township residents - the boycott is hurting their businesses, already suffering from the recession.

The unrest in Cradock and the rest of the Eastern Cape shows no signs of subsiding.

When Mr Goniwe was told he was going to be transferred from Cradock to Graaff-Reinet, it led to a marathon school boycott which lasted for more than 15 months and spread to most schools in the Eastern Cape.

The school boycott now threatens to engulf the whole country.

There can be Goniwe's memory in hearts and minds: taught maths and

His memory was: Transkei, where 'kani founded a school eventually became

It was at that school Goniwe allegedly taught ideology - which was under the Suppression Act.

Back in South Africa was appointed as Sam Xolli High

But Mr Goniwe is remembered by t

# Happy birthday!



MAPONYA  
Donation

## To Nelson, *(11A) S. Press* from Rich

28/7/85

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**By MONO BADELA**

**SOWETO** businessman Richard Maponya has donated R5 000 towards Nelson Mandela's 67th birthday party, which will be celebrated at the Jabulani Amphitheatre on Sunday.

The bumper party, which kicks off at noon, is expected to attract thousands from all parts of the country. Two other well-known personalities - football administrators Kaizer Motaung and Abdul Bhamjee - have also donated generously towards the celebration.

The festivities are organised jointly by the Black Priests' Solidarity Group and the Release Mandela Committee.

Chief organiser Jabu Ngwenya of the RMC told City

Press that although the actual program starts at noon, the gates would be opened at 8 am to avoid a rush at the entrances.

Johannesburg Anglican bishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa will conduct proceedings.

African National Congress leader Mandela turned 67 on July 18. He has been in jail for 22 years.

Mr Ngwenya said: "Mandela celebrated his birthday in jail even though his wish and ours is that he could have celebrated his birthday as a free man with his family and friends."

Mr Ngwenya said even after 22 years in prison, Mandela had emerged more courageous and dedicated to the struggle for peace and equality for all in South Africa.

Asinamali, Harari, Siphon Mabuse, Stimela, Ebony, and Brenda and the Big Dudes will perform free of charge. The program will also feature some of the country's finest poet.

Municipal and General Workers Union of S.A.  
General Workers Union of S.A.

Zantsi, K  
Zint, G

# De Jonge 'confessed to arms smuggling'

11A NM 29/7/85

AMSTERDAM—The head of the South African security police has claimed that Dutchman Klaas de Jonge has confessed to smuggling dozens of types of weapons and spare parts into South Africa for the banned African National Congress, reports the Dutch newspaper the Telegraaf.

In an interview published this weekend by the newspaper, Gen Herman Stadler said on Friday that Mr de Jonge had smuggled the weapons in a car registered to the address of the Dutch Consul-General in Johannesburg.

Gen Stadler was reported to have told the newspaper's Johannesburg correspondent it was not known whether the Consul-General, Mr G Meihuizen, or any of his staff had been aware of this.

He added that Mr de Jonge's links to embassy personnel were being investigated.

The Netherlands Government has refused to comment on the South African allegations.

Mr de Jonge, a sociologist who worked in several African countries, has become the centre of a diplomatic dispute be-

tween the Netherlands and South Africa since July 9, when he was dragged from the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria by South African policemen.

Mr de Jonge had been arrested by South African authorities on June 23 upon his arrival from Harare, Zimbabwe, for alleged violations of South Africa's Internal Security Act.

He managed to escape from a police car on July 9, and took refuge in the embassy waiting room, where he was recaptured.

## List of arms

The Dutch Government protested about the violation of embassy immunity and threatened to recall its ambassador unless Mr de Jonge was returned.

South African authorities surrendered him to embassy officials on July 18, but have asked that he be returned to South African custody to stand trial. The Dutch Government has not responded.

The Telegraaf reported that on Friday the Dutch Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Hugo Carsten, was given a list of arms. Mr de Jonge allegedly smuggled into South Africa.

The list purportedly

came from the South African indictment against Mr de Jonge.

Security police reports containing Mr de Jonge's purported confession indicated that he was smuggling the weapons on orders from Umkhonto We Sizwe (or Spear of the Nation), the ANC's military wing, said the Telegraaf.

The list included about 50 types of weapons and spare parts which Mr de Jonge allegedly confessed to having smuggled in from Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

The weapons were allegedly smuggled in from February 1981 to June 1985 and hidden in 17 sites in the vicinities of Johannesburg, Pretoria, Randburg, Krugersdorp, Durban and the Northern Transvaal.

Among the weapons Mr de Jonge purportedly cached were magnetic mines and anti-tank rockets with launchers, as well as high explosives, said the Telegraaf report.

In response to the allegations, a Dutch Foreign Ministry spokesman said yesterday: 'We are not giving any reactions while he (de Jonge) stays in our embassy.'

'We have not had any

allegations yet from the South African Government.'

Gen Stadler also reportedly told the Telegraaf his Government planned to take Mr de Jonge back into custody in September, when Gen Stadler said the Dutch Embassy would move to new quarters.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed that a new embassy was being readied but would not confirm when the

move would be made or how Mr de Jonge's removal from diplomatic immunity would be dealt with.

South African attorney Kathleen Satchwell, who has been retained to defend Mr de Jonge, arrived in the Netherlands yesterday to discuss her client's case with Foreign Ministry officials, the spokesman said.

The substance and scheduling of the talks were not disclosed. — (Sapa-AP)

## 'De Jonge smuggled arms into S Africa'

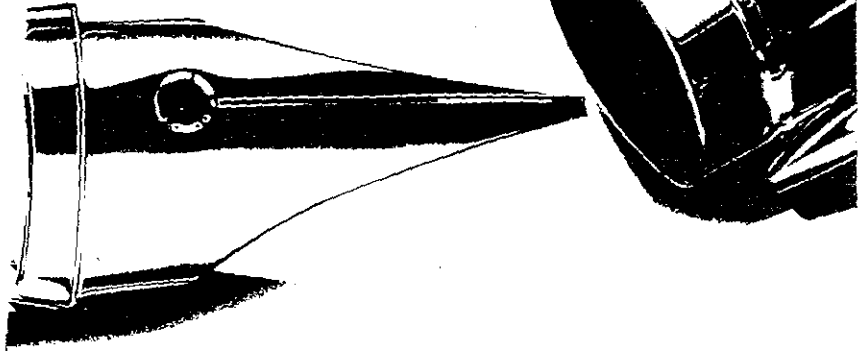
AMSTERDAM — The head of the South African security police has claimed that Dutchman, Mr Klaas de Jonge, has confessed to smuggling dozens of types of weapons and spare parts into South Africa for the banned African National Congress, according to the Dutch newspaper, *De Telegraaf*.

In an interview published this weekend by the newspaper, General Herman Stadler reportedly claimed on Friday that Mr de Jonge had smuggled the weapons in a car registered to the address of the Dutch Consul-General in Johannesburg.

Gen Stadler reportedly told the newspaper's Johannesburg correspondent that it was not known whether the Consul-General, Mr G Meihuizen, or any of his staff were aware of this, and added that Mr de Jonge's links to embassy personnel are being investigated, according to *De Telegraaf*.

The Netherlands Government has refused to comment on the South African allegations.

Mr de Jonge, a sociologist who worked in several African countries, has become the centre of a diplomatic dispute between the Netherlands and South Africa since July 9, when he was dragged from the Dutch embassy in Pretoria by South African Police. — Sapa-AP.



## No church probe for Boesak

CAPE TOWN 29/7/85

Political Staff

THE NG Sendingkerk will not hold an inquiry into Dr Allan Boesak's role at the funeral of four murdered UDF members last week in Cradock where communist and ANC flags were hoisted.

This was confirmed yesterday by Dr A J C Erwee, the Scribe of the Sendingkerk.

The appearance of Dr Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front and Assessor of the Sendingkerk, at the funeral was greeted with raised eyebrows by conservative churchmen.

On Saturday the Burger reported that the Moderator of the Sendingkerk, the Reverend I J Mentor, said the church would investigate Dr Boesak's role at the funeral.

Yesterday, Dr Erwee said the moderation was not qualified to take action against what an individual "says or does". This was the prerogative of the Ring of the SA Gestig (Circuit).

# the kind of fore the ink dries.

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# New plan for Mandela's release?

A **BOLD** new plan to provide for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and other jailed ANC leaders without the Government losing face is to be considered by Pretoria. (1/1)

The release of Mandela and other long-serving ANC prisoners such as Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, could play a major role in reducing tension in South Africa where 36 districts are in a state of emergency.

It has also been disclosed that the Govern-

ment has been talking to United Democratic Front members in their private capacities. These meetings have been at an unofficial level and may not have involved the extended Cabinet Committee which is meant to examine black political rights.

Sources said this week that the plan to release Mandela and others would involve making use of frequent pleas for the unconditional release of Mandela by black leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Bu-

thelezi and Bishop Desmond Tutu, both of whom have come across as "responsible leaders" in the current crisis.

The Government has often said it is prepared to listen to responsible black leaders who renounced violence, sources pointed out. Both Chief Buthelezi and Bishop Tutu were in this category. The release of Mandela and other political prisoners would form a major part of discussions between Bishop Tutu and President Botha if the two men meet.

A meeting became likely this week after Mr Botha expressed his willingness to meet the Bishop if a proper appointment was made. Bishop Tutu said he would send a communication to urge a meeting for talks to resolve the unrest.

All the Government need do is say that it has, in terms of its stated policy, listened to responsible leaders such as Chief Buthelezi and possibly Bishop Tutu, and release Mandela and other on this basis.

This will get the Government out of the corner into which it painted itself when it made the conditional offer to release Mandela and other long-term political prisoners earlier this year.

President P W Botha

made the offer on condition the prisoners renounce the use of violence as a means of achieving political goals.

Mandela and other ANC prisoners rejected the offer. Sources say the Government knew they would reject it and the offer was made in order to score a point.

An unconditional offer to release the ANC leaders would look like an about-turn and would mean a loss of face for the Government.

Bishop Tutu's powerful stand against the current violence, both by the security forces and by blacks, has made a strong impression.

Chief Buthelezi said this week that in every meeting he has had with a South African Prime Minister or President, including Mr Botha, he has asked for the unconditional release of Mandela and other ANC leaders.

He believes that people cannot negotiate if their leaders are excluded.

Sources close to the Government revealed that it was UDF leaders acting in their personal capacities that Mr Chris Heunis, the Minister of Constitutional Development, was referring to recently when he said the Government was speaking to radical leaders.

CAPE TOWN (11A)  
29/7/85

# 'Don't rely on foreign opinion'

## Political Staff

DOMESTIC opposition to foreign tours should be intensified because public opposition in "so-called democracies" could not be relied upon, the Rev Arnold Stofile told more than 1 500 people in Athlone yesterday.

Mr Stofile gave evidence in the New Zealand High Court on behalf of the United Democratic Front (UDF) which led to the All Blacks tour being stopped by court order.

He was speaking at a joint anti-tour meeting held by the South African Council on Sport, the New Unity Movement, the UDF and the Azapo-National Forum committee.

The All Black tour had not been cancelled because the people involved there had undergone "a change of heart and mind", he said. Immediately after the High Court decision had stopped the tour, there were people overseas who were ready to support sending rebel teams to South Africa.

The international community was not informed about the opposition in South Africa to foreign tours, he said.

If the countries concerned were in fact "bastions of democracy and Christian civilization" there would have been no need to convince their governments and sports bodies that tours to South Africa were seen as "participating in our oppression", he said.

Imam Hassan Solomons, a member of the Muslim Judicial Council, said that the conflict in South Africa was not one between "peace and normality or governability and ungovernability" but a struggle between good and evil.

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 21.79

Current Real Weekly Wage: R 19.85

|                         |       |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Grade 10                | 0.00  | 0.00  | 17.59 | 20.22 | 21.98 | 23.74 | 27.72 |
| Grade 12                | 11.88 | 15.84 | 19.43 | 21.58 | 23.74 | 25.90 | 30.24 |
| Current Hours: 44       | 22.12 | 29.06 | 33.21 | 26.09 | 26.55 | 25.82 | 23.74 |
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## SA wants to release Mandela — report

LONDON — The South African Government wants to release Nelson Mandela, claims *The Times* diarist. This is the reason it has allowed two wide-ranging interviews with him by foreigners. (11A)

In both interviews the black nationalist leader was portrayed as "a responsible, dignified and almost statesman-like figure who wants peaceful change, and in both he made it clear that he wanted his views relayed to the white authorities". STAN 29/7/85

The South African Government has pressing reasons for wanting to release Mandela, adds the Diarist. "Not only are they terrified of him dying in prison — but his release now could help defuse the present countrywide violence." —

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# Church will not probe Boesak role at funeral

CAPE TOWN — The NG Sendingkerk will not hold an inquiry into Dr Allan Boesak's role at the funeral of four murdered UDF members last week in Cradock — where communist and ANC flags were hoisted.

This was confirmed yesterday by Dr A J C Erwee, the Scribe of the Sendingkerk.

The appearance of Dr Boesak at the funeral — he is patron of the United Democratic Front, and Assessor of the Sending-

kerk — was greeted with raised eyebrows by conservative churchmen.

On Saturday, a Cape morning newspaper reported that the Moderator of the Sendingkerk, the Rev I J Mentor, said the church would investigate Dr Boesak's role at the funeral.

Yesterday, Dr Erwee said the Moderature was not qualified to take action against an individual. This was the prerogative of the Ring of the SA Gestig, he said. — Sapa.

# UDF trial 'will lead to disaster'

Religion Reporter

11A

The Catholic bishops of Southern Africa have made a last-minute appeal to the SA Government to abandon the trial of 16 United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders charged with treason.

The bishops interpreted the trial as the latest Government move in its campaign to destroy the UDF, said a report in the latest issue of the Catholic newspaper *Southern Cross*.

The bishops' protest against the treason trial was contained in a booklet entitled "Treason Against Apartheid", published by the London-based Catho-

lic Institute for International Relations.

The booklet alleged the trial was aimed at isolating the UDF leadership for as long as possible, even though the authorities would eventually be forced to free the accused.

In that case, the bishops said, "the South African Government will have proved itself guilty of using the process of justice to perpetrate injustice".

The booklet declared the trial would lead to disaster, since the UDF was "perhaps the only organisation capable of channelling the pent-up anger of the townships into peaceful political change rather than bloody civil war".

stat 30/7/85

# Mandela's release will restore township peace — Soal

By Gary van Staden  
Political Reporter

11A  
The sooner Nelson Mandela was released from prison the sooner peace would be restored to South Africa's troubled townships, Mr Peter Soal, Progressive Federal Party MP for Johannesburg North, said last night.

Mr Soal was addressing a report-back meeting at the Rosebank Hotel.

It is no good him (President P W Botha) saying that the black leaders should telephone him and make an appointment. Any head of the South African State worth his salt at this critical juncture must take the initiative himself if calm and order are to be restored," Mr Soal added.

"The Government is meant to be in control of the

situation but unless it does something about it, and pretty quick at that, apartheid is going to destroy us all."

Mr Soal said that it was vitally important that President Botha negotiate with as many black leaders as possible and that was why the Government should review its offer to Nelson Mandela as soon as possible.

Turning to the state of emergency, Mr Soal said that it was to be hoped that Mr Botha would use the regulations to defuse the situation rather than as an excuse to clamp down as the security forces were apparently doing.

"It (the Government) got us into this mess. Two ambassadors have already been withdrawn and another is hanging on by the skin of his teeth. The UN Security Council has taken a decision (on sanctions)

that goes further than any previously taken by that body.

"How much longer can we rely on the veto of the US and the British when even the Americans are urging us to end this state of emergency?" Mr Soal said.

Mr Soal said, as far as constituency matters were concerned, that he had once again raised in Parliament the issue of the Northlands and Saxonwald post offices.

He added that the relevant Minister, Dr Lapa Munnik, had agreed to visit the constituency and see for himself what could be done to improve postal and telephone services in the area.

Mr Soal added that a decision had been taken by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, to erect a police station in the area and that a suitable site would now have to be found.

Mr Peter Soal . . . PW must act.

# Protesting is difficult for blacks

The state of emergency, now in its second week, has added a new dimension to protest politics and other demonstrations in the black community.

Up to only 10 days ago, holding protest marches and other forms of political assembly was tough enough, but only an order signed by a magistrate could prevent events organised by political bodies or for political purposes.

At the weekend, the Divisional Commissioner of Soweto Police did not make representations to the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg to outlaw celebrations planned to mark the birthday of Mr Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress.

Brigadier J C Coetzee simply invoked the new powers vested in the police in terms of the emergency regulations, and signed orders banning the celebrations in wide areas of Johannesburg and Roodepoort because he believed public peace would be endangered by the fes-

tivities

But even before the state of emergency was declared, demonstrations and protest marches were still a dicey business. Often police would break up such gatherings and charge participants under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

A few weeks ago a number of trade unionists were arrested and charged after a march from the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, where another unionist had earlier been cleared of charges related to last year's work boycotts.

Two days later, scores of armed policemen stood outside the headquarters of the South African Council of Churches and faced a throng of people inside the building and on its steps.

The people had been holding a protest service inside Khotso House — outdoor meetings, unless of a bona fide sports or religious nature, have been outlawed since 1976 — and wanted to disperse but said they feared police action.

11A Stal 30/7/85  
In the same week 2 000 supporters of the ultra right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbewiging (AWB) crowded in a hall not far from the Central Police Station in Pretoria, where they listened to a fiery address by the group's leader before approving a motion of full confidence in the police for the way the unrest was being handled.

## PLEDGE

After the meeting, about 1 000 people left the hall and marched to the police station where they submitted a letter intended for the Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, promising him support and pledging to help maintain "law and order" if it became necessary.

Not a single policeman disrupted the march, and the SAP Directorate for Public Relations said no action was taken against the AWB marchers because their procession was only noticed when they reached the police station.

Black spokesmen said there seemed to be an apparent dis-

parity in the way their protests were treated by the police. Police were always evident outside the venues where black groups wanted to hold meetings but not a single policeman was anywhere near the hall where the AWB held its meeting.

They also noted that earlier this year hundreds of Natal farmers blocked traffic in Maritzburg when they drove tractors in protest along a main road there.

Not a single policeman disrupted that tractor procession whereas black demonstrations were often halted even if there was no violence.

But one group which seems to enjoy unmolested protests is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha. Members have demonstrated several times but none has ever been charged with disturbing the public peace.

By and large, channels for protest have been gradually closing during the last few years. The emergency has added a new dimension.

# Playing games while SA burns

From SOPHIE TEMA  
JOHANNESBURG. —  
The State President, Mr  
P W Botha, was yester-  
day accused of playing  
political games while  
the country burned

The allegation was  
made by Nobel Prize  
laureate Bishop Des-  
mond Tutu, who was  
reacting to Mr Botha's  
refusal of his request for  
an urgent meeting be-  
tween the two of them to  
discuss unrest in the  
townships.

Bishop Tutu, Anglican  
bishop of Johannesburg,  
yesterday told a press  
conference at his  
Orlando West home that  
his telegramme message  
to Mr Botha had read:  
"Would like to meet you  
urgently, either by my-  
self or with one or two  
church leaders."

The reply from the  
President's office, read  
to Bishop Tutu over the  
telephone, said Mr  
Botha had already "or-  
ganized his tight sched-  
ule" to include a meet-  
ing with an Anglican  
Church delegation on  
August 19, to be led by  
Archbishop Philip Rus-  
sell of Cape Town.

Bishop Tutu said he  
cannot see how he can go  
with the other group  
which is not an all-Angli-  
can delegation. Besides,  
Bishop Russell has al-  
ready invited other  
church leaders to be  
with him at the meeting.

"His (Mr Botha's) reply  
indicates that he does  
not want to meet me  
alone and that perhaps  
he feels that if he had a

\*\*\*\*  
To page 2



30/7/83  
From page 10  
meeting with me...  
would not benefit

The bishop said he  
was alarmed by the con-  
sequences of Mr Botha  
having "lost out" on the  
opportunity of meeting  
with him for talks.

"He is playing politi-  
cal games when the  
country is burning and I  
have no time to play with  
him," Bishop Tutu said.

At present young  
people understood only  
the language of violence  
"and very soon we will  
not be able to stand be-  
fore them if we cannot  
indicate why we are ad-  
vocating non-violence".

By yesterday after-  
noon it was confirmed  
that Mr Botha had indi-  
cated his willingness to  
meet leading business-  
men in Pretoria this  
week to discuss the  
emergency.

Meanwhile, John Bat-  
tersby reports from Lon-  
don that the Canadian  
Government has urged  
the 50-nation Common-  
wealth to act as a media-  
tor in setting up a dia-  
logue between the South  
African Government and  
genuine black leaders.

The proposal was  
made yesterday by Cana-  
dian Foreign Minister  
Mr Joe Clark, who was  
addressing a meeting of  
the Royal Common-  
wealth Society in Lon-  
don.

● Leading article, page



THE State President, Mr P W Botha, has refused Nobel Peace Prize laureate Bishop Desmond Tutu's request for an urgent meeting on black unrest, saying the Bishop could join a church group meeting him three weeks from now.

Bishop Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, sent a message to Mr Botha early yesterday saying, "would like to meet you urgently, either by myself or with one or two other church leaders," according to the Bishop's office.

Mr Botha's office replied that the President "has already organised his tight schedule," to include a meeting with an Anglican church delegation on August 19, led by Archbishop Phillip Russell of Cape Town.

### Dictate

A spokesman for the President said Mr Botha's reply indicated he was not willing to meet separately with Bishop Tutu before then, and that Mr Botha "obviously doesn't want to dictate to the Anglican Church on who they should include in their delegation."

Bishop Tutu, reached at home, was

# P W S N U



BISHOP DESMOND TUTU: Yesterday accused the President, Mr P W Botha, of acting like a politician rather than a statesman.

PH. JOE MOLEFE

clearly angry at the President's response, saying, "I don't play political games, and I would have thought the situation requires statesmanship. I have done all I could about it on my side.

"I don't see how I can go with the other delegation," Bishop Tutu added, because Bishop Russell had already invited leaders from several other churches to accompany him to that meeting.

"I had hoped that I might have been able to do something. Obviously, he (Botha) thinks differently," Bishop Tutu said when asked if he thought Mr Botha had missed an opportunity to try to defuse nearly a year of black rioting. "And there is not very much I can do about it."

Observers said Bishop Tutu took a considerable political risk in even making the request to see Mr Botha, even if it were

granted. Many black leaders have opposed any negotiator with the white rulers of South Africa until they demonstrate a commitment to begin dismantling apartheid and to open a broad dialogue with blacks on change.

Presidential spokesman Jack Viviers said Bishop Tutu's request was received by telephone and that Mr Botha's reply was telephoned by the President's office to Bishop Tutu. He said the two men did not speak directly to each other.

Mr Viviers said Mr Botha's reply to Bishop Tutu was: "I said I am prepared to talk to people who denounce violence and civil disobedience. I am meeting Archbishop Russell of Cape Town on August 19, together with a small delegation."

He added that no conclusions about Mr Botha's willingness to meet religious leaders critical of his government should be drawn from the date of the meeting with Bishop Russell. He said Bishop Russell was out of South Africa and that the August 19 date suited the Archbishop. — Sapa-AP.

Handwritten marks: "BS" at the top right, "HIP" in a circle, and "TU" in a circle with a scribble above it.

**UNBEATABLE RECORD SA THOUSANDS MORE**

#### ARTIST

- PHIL FEARON & GALAXY
- RICHIE S
- KOOL & THE GANG
- BILLY OCEAN
- BOB MARLEY
- CECIL MITCH
- RICHARD J SMITH
- MARGINO
- ALEX KHAOLI
- SCOTCH
- HEY FEVER
- POINTER SISTERS
- LITTLE JACK JINGLE
- JOY WHITE
- STEVIE WONDER
- FUNK MASTERS
- TEDDY
- THREE MILLION
- GWEN GUTHRIE
- MADONNA
- THREE MILLION
- STREET DANCERS
- JABULANI
- BEAULAH HASHE
- REBBIE JACKSON
- SHALAMAR
- FUN LOVERS
- MISTER SPECIAL
- DENNY'S EDWARDS
- TAX
- JACKSONS
- MARGINC
- PHILIP BAILEY
- LEW KIRTEN
- MILLIE JACKSON
- STREET KIDS
- REBBIE JACKSON
- THIRD WORLD
- PAT SHANGE
- GWEN GUTHRIE
- LETTA MBULLU
- VARIOUS
- WEATHER REPORT
- MARGARET SINGANA
- GWEN GUTHRIE
- ALETO
- WHAT DO I DO
- AFRICAN DANCE
- EMERGENCY
- THE HITS OF KOOL
- AFRICAN QUEEN
- ONE LOVE
- STRAIGHT FROM
- I NEED YOU
- THAT'S MY MAN
- BAMBO WANGU
- COUGH SONG
- SNEEZING SONG
- JUMP
- TELEDO GIRLS
- HUPUPA DWIPP
- I JUST CALLED IT
- IT'S OVER
- JUDGE FOR YOU
- I'VE BEEN ROBBED
- WE ARE FAMILY
- HOLIDAY
- I'VE GOT THE HO
- GIVE IT TO ME
- LOVE & JOY
- GOOD TIMES
- CENTPEDE
- DANCING IN THE
- LET'S SMILE
- WORKING LOVE
- DON'T FLOO AN
- TAX
- VICTORY
- THAT'S MY MAN
- CONTINUATION
- TALK TO ME
- ESP
- STREET KIDS
- CENTPEDE
- ALL THE WAY ST
- I LOVE AFRICA
- PORTRAIT
- IN THE MUSIC
- PHILLY BALLADS
- PROCESS ON
- ISIPWE SAM
- GWEN GUTHRIE
- PARTY NIGHT

## The MIRROR closes down

THE SOWETAN Sunday MIRROR has been closed down. Its last edition appeared at the weekend. *243 Sowetan*

The board of directors of the Argus Company also announced that it has been decided to close the Bloemfontein publication, *The Friend*, after publication of the issue of July 31. *30/7/85*

*The Friend* has incurred losses for many years and in the current economic environment which has been aggravated by the highly competitive market situation in Bloemfontein, the outlook

State community and its demise will leave a gap which cannot be filled.

Over 80 people on *The Friend* will become redundant. The Argus Company will endeavour to place as many of them as possible in alternative employment at other branches but, in the prevailing economic climate, it is not anticipated that many transfers will be possible. Those who can't be offered alternative employment will be given severance pay benefits. We are discussing the matter with the trade unions concerned.

March 30 1971  
UWC  
marchers  
break  
windows

Education Reporter

STUDENTS demanding the dismissal of University of the Western Cape lecturers with certain political affiliations overturned furniture and broke windows after marching on the administration buildings.

UWC rector Professor Richard van der Ross today issued a statement banning all campus meetings while lectures were in progress. Any student holding a meeting and any person, group or organisation preventing students from attending classes would be severely dealt with, the statement said.

The march followed yesterday's meeting where about 3 000 students declared an indefinite boycott of lectures in protest against the state of emergency.

A LIST

Several hundred then marched on UWC's administration buildings to hand to Professor van der Ross a list of lecturers students want dismissed.

They then converged on the offices of at least five staff members. In the office of the head of the history department, Professor G D J Duvenhage, furniture was overturned. In the offices of economics lecturer Mr van Zyl Wolfaard and assistant registrar Mr D C Engelbrecht, windows were broken.

A fire extinguisher was emptied into the office of Professor A J Basson, head of the chemistry department, but he persuaded students they had confused him with someone else.

Students gathered outside the cafeteria on campus early today after the doors to the main hall, where a meeting was planned, were locked.

● Lectures have been suspended at Hewat Training College in Athlone after students staged a walkout.

# The day Lingelihle w

By RIAAN DE VILLIERS

ALL roads led to Cradock before Saturday, July 20.

Political unrest which had engulfed large parts of the country had started with a school boycott in this quiet Karoo town many months ago when an acting school principal, Mr Matthew Goniwe, became involved in a rent action and was dismissed after refusing to accept a transfer.

Now, thousands of people from the Eastern Cape, the Karoo and elsewhere were streaming to Lingelihle township to bury Mr Goniwe and four other community leaders found murdered after attending a UDF meeting in Port Elizabeth a few weeks before.

Clearly, it was to be a showcase funeral. Talk was that up to 100 000 people might attend.

Massive security precautions were in operation. A large combined security force bivouacked at the showgrounds guarded the town, seemingly against a possible mass invasion.

Heavily armed police were posted on the streets and troop carriers were stationed on street corners.

At the same time, everything pointed to high-level planning to avoid another Langa.

A month before, police, SADF forces from Grahamstown and the local commando consisting of farmers on horseback had surrounded and invaded the township in a "show of force", searching houses and executing arrests as a



Saluting youths at the Cradock funeral, against the backdrop of a South African Communist Party banner.



Funeral standards and

helicopter circled overhead.

Now, Lingelihle was wrapped in cotton-wool. Security forces were under the command of a general from Pretoria. Police spokesmen declared talks had been held with the burial action committee and security forces would remain in the background if peace was maintained. There were mutual appeals for order from the police and the funeral organizers.

Traffic destined for the funeral was politely waved through at roadblocks.

There were other signs of a belated attempt at conciliation. Last year, Mr Goniwe spent six months in detention.

Now, in an extraordinary eulogy printed in the local newspaper just before the

funeral, Mr Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, declared Mr Goniwe had been a practising Christian and a "man of peace who did not seek confrontation".

His funeral should be seen as an occasion for "prayer and meditation" and an opportunity for "all to come together as Christians, to attempt to reconcile differences" and "forget past hurts", Mr De Beer added.

He added he had intended that Mr Goniwe should be re-employed by the department — an intention that was "tragically frustrated by his untimely end".

Events would soon take a different turn. For one day, though, Lingelihle was a "liberated zone".

Pressmen, diplomats and funeral-goers were met at the entrance to the township by UDF marshals and directed to the sports stadium. The press and other visitors were formally accredited by the UDF.

In the township, thousands of people assembled behind a variety of banners and marched to the stadium.

ANC colours were widely displayed — on clothing, coffins and funeral standards. Posters and banners further served as a vehicle for popular political expression.

"SADF — get out of our townships", several said. "Le Grange, you are respond on the death of Goniwe", another read.

A poster proclaimed: "Tambo, we demand AKs and ba-

zookas — we are ready".

Observers were startled when the huge Soviet flag and red banner — soon to be featured so prominently on South Africa's TV screens — were borne into the stadium.

Representatives of various organizations expressed surprise and no one could say who was responsible for them.

There was little response from funeral-goers. Many seemed as nonplussed as observers were.

They remained in evidence throughout the day, however, in the stadium and during ceremonies at the graveside.

The funeral proceedings were muted and there were far fewer people than expected — perhaps about 25 000.

# Lingelihle was liberated



against the backdrop of a party banner.

Funeral standards and a Soviet flag at the graveside in Lingelihle cemetery on July 20.

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Nevertheless, it remained an extraordinary event, a rare and open display of popular belief in a different social and political order.

Lingelihle's "Spring of Freedom" was a brief one. Later that night, whites crowded into hotel lounges to listen to the State President announce a state of emergency.

Soldiers cheered as Mr Botha declared: "Any person who continues to disturb the public rest and peace will now have to face, under these measures, the security forces."

By the next morning, all visitors had departed and Lingelihle was as quiet as the grave.

Since then, 19 people have been detained.

On Sunday July 21, I

travelled to Graaff-Reinet, a major centre of conflict. Once again, the town was blanketed with police.

White residents were guarded and seemed reluctant to talk to visitors.

But it appeared a near-complete strike had taken place the previous day and a widespread boycott of white businesses was in progress.

The atmosphere was tense. Community figures in the townships were fearful and reluctant to speak on the telephone. Their anxiety soon proved to be well-founded.

## Referred

The next day, I contacted local development board officials for permission to enter Hillside township.

They said they had been instructed to

throw their full weight behind the emergency regulations. They could no longer grant permission for access to the township and referred me to security force representatives.

They already appeared to be aware of my presence in Graaff-Reinet. They brought the terms of the state of emergency to my attention and told me I was not permitted to enter the township.

Until then, I had been able to obtain permission from development board officials to enter townships in troubled towns. This, together with my press card, had lent crucial, if fragile, legitimacy to my presence in black areas when accosted by police.

I had also been able to make contact with community leaders to provide safe passage in and out of townships and arrange accounts of events by residents.

Now, this system had collapsed on both fronts. It appeared as if it would no longer be possible to report on towns where the state of emergency had been brought into effect.

Later that day, PFP MPC Mrs Di Bishop, who has visited a number of towns affected by unrest, and two American visitors tried to enter Hillside township. They were accosted by police, taken to the police station and questioned.

On Tuesday, police announced that 62 people had been detained in Graaff-Reinet in terms of regulations under the state of emergency. The figure has since risen to 66.

# Time magazine gives SA prime treatment

By Ramsay Milne, The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — In treatment accorded only to the assassination of President Kennedy, the volcanic eruption of Mount St Helens, and major world catastrophes, *Time* magazine takes a deep and penetrating look at South Africa this week — and the result, to American readers, is a picture of a country hopelessly and violently at odds with itself.

*Time* comes to no conclusions itself, but places a strong emphasis on the likely future role to be played by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Though the reports carry interviews with a wide range of prominent South Africans, including President Botha, Bishop Tutu, the Rev Beyers Naude, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Mr Alan Paton, they focus more strongly on Chief Buthelezi than any, seeing him as the one leader with whom both blacks and whites might be able to talk.

Though noting his opposition to the African National Congress and that he has been called a "traitor", "sell-out" and "puppet", *Time* says both black and white foes of apartheid know that without his consent a solution to South Africa's problems is virtually inconceivable.

"He is pragmatic, articulate and dynamic," the magazine says. "When Buthelezi speaks, both whites and blacks listen — yet what he has to say pleases neither audience."

It quotes Chief Buthelezi as saying: "The forces demanding the politics of negotiation are mounting. Sooner or later the politics of negotiation will become a reality."

To many blacks, *Time* points out, his message — one of compromise and negotiation — is not militant enough.

It quotes him: "We do not seek cheap popularity by posturing in favour of the armed struggle when we do not have even the tools to carry it out. We have not said that we blacks may not be forced one day to take up arms. The point is that there are just no arms to take up at present."

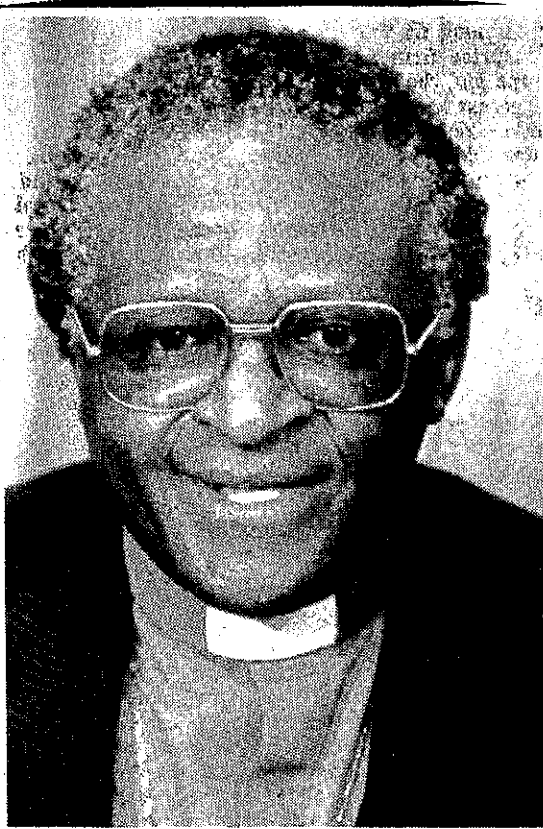
## 'DICTATORSHIP'

*Time* also quotes Cape Town businessman Mr Jannie Momborg as saying that what South Africa wants now is "an enlightened dictatorship" — not for the blacks, but for the whites.

"I think we are going to have to force things through for the sake of the country," he says, adding that if he were president he "would bring Chief Buthelezi into my Cabinet".

"I'd scrap the bloody three-way Parliament and bring the whites, Indians and the coloureds into one body, and then I'd look for a federal solution for the next phase, bringing in the blacks."

The magazine's cover carries the words "Black Rage, white Repression, a Challenge for US Policy", and depicts a young black with raised fists against a background of a vehicle in flames.



Bishop Desmond Tutu, Nobel Peace Prize winner and the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, is in the spotlight again after the State President, Mr P W Botha, turned down his request for a one-on-one meeting. In this interview with HANNES DE WET he tells why he wants to hold talks with Mr Botha.

## 'Like it or not, I have influence in world today'

(11A) SAW 31/7/85  
"I don't think there's a lot of love for me on the part of President Botha. The exchanges we have had so far were not over-happy."

Bishop Desmond Tutu smiles wistfully: "Yes, think of the actions against me in the past — such as the fact that my passport was taken away on a few occasions. But what has happened eventually was not what they would have liked."

"The international community hasn't ignored me. Whether the Government likes it or not, I do have influence in the world today."

"Without trying to boast, I can meet more Heads of State today than they can."

The Bishop leans forward: "Have you seen the editorial this morning?"

He was referring to comment in a conservative morning paper saying it would not be easy to forgive Bishop Tutu for the harm he had done South African with his critical remarks during his overseas visits.

"You see, even they are saying that I have influence. Now I ask you, where's the logic? Surely the world would also listen to me if I can tell them to give South Africa a chance."

"I can use the same influence to help my country. And that's what I'm trying to do."

"That's why I am still willing to hold talks with the State President."

"Somebody has to try. If I come out bespattered with mud, so be it. If there is still a chance that we could get this logjam moving, then it's worth the risk."

There are people in the black community who think that the bishop should not talk to the Government at all — that he could lose credibility.

"You should see some of the letters I have received. But I have to keep on trying," he says.

Can Desmond Tutu still be a peacemaker in South Africa? Is he regarded as a leader by the black community?

### 'A VISION FOR POLITICIANS'

The Bishop hesitates for a moment. "I think it can be said that I do have a leadership of some sort. They still ask me to speak at funerals."

"But they accept that I'm not a political leader who can negotiate deals for them."

"The function of people like me is to hold up a vision for politicians to try to realise. Our role is to identify with the oppressed. Our duty is to say evil is evil — before or after liberation."

Bishop Tutu says he has no ambition to be a politician. He quotes the examples of Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran and Abel Muzorewa of Zimbabwe. "Ample reason for me not to want to be a politician," the Bishop says laughing. "People like me are meant to show society what society is meant to be."

When he says he wants to meet President Botha, it is not for his personal gain.

"What can there be in it for me? Increased stature? Certainly not. I don't need meetings with the South African State President to enhance my stature. But I have a responsibility for my flock, which consists of black as well as white people — and I sincerely want to help my country."



**A TANTALISING** insight into what could be achieved through black/white dialogue in South Africa passed fleetingly across British television screens last week.

One could not help but be struck by the deep irony of the situation.

Why did it take a BBC television satellite to connect Vaderland editor Harald Pakendorf to Bishop Simeon Nkoane?

And why a state of emergency before black and white sit down at a table to talk about a new South Africa?

There was a tremendous poignancy in the brief satellite encounter between Pakendorf and Nkoane which distinguished it from the overwhelming media attention given here to the state of emergency.

The direct dialogue between these two moderate and well-meaning South Africans led both to the disarmingly simple conclusion: there was no reason why dialogue between black and white

Since then a request by Bishop Tutu for a formal meeting with President P W Botha to discuss ways of defusing the tide of violence sweeping the townships has been re-

fused by the State President, who explained that he was to meet an Anglican Church delegation next month.

Are the Anglican bishops to emerge as the honest-brokers in setting up the elusive indaba between black and white to

## John Battersby LONDON BUREAU

should not begin immediately.

Pakendorf conceded that he was encouraged by what the bishop was saying and the bishop said he could not understand what was preventing the Government talking to 'a harmless creature like myself.'

### Powerful plea

Earlier in the same programme one had seen Bishop Desmond Tutu making his powerful and impassioned plea to the assembled thousands at the Springs funeral for the violence by black against black to stop.

But even as Bishop Tutu spoke sections of the ululating and chanting crowd appeared to be impervious to his plea and his emotional warning that he would abandon his fight against apartheid and leave the country he loved if the violence did not cease.

It was a stark reminder of the level of black anger and the mood of expectancy and martyr-like euphoria that has gripped the black townships — a

warning that the influence of moderates such as Bishop Tutu is waning.

But Bishop Tutu's message did get through to the majority of the crowd and the significance of the occasion was that he made the appeal in the terms that he did.

steer the country away from its headlong course to disaster?

My sources here tell me it was no coincidence that Bishop Tutu's plea to stop the violence was made in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury's personal envoy.

The Bishop of Lichfield, the Right Reverend Keith Sutton, was sent to the Springs funeral in response to an appeal for support from Bishop Tutu after death threats to Bishop Nkoane, the assistant Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

But I understand that Bishop Sutton's visit was the first move by the Archbishop of Canterbury in an ambitious and carefully considered intervention by the Anglican hierarchy to calm black passions and pre-

pare the climate for black-white dialogue.

Dr Runcie, who has developed a close personal relationship with Bishop Tutu, is due to visit southern Africa in the near future.

The sources tell me that the Archbishop's chief trouble-shooter, the Rev Terry Waite, whose diplomacy has unravelled thorny impasses in Libya and elsewhere, is intimately involved in the Anglican initiative which has included contacts with leading members of the South African business community. Mr Waite had ample oppor-

# Talk about talks must stop, and talks begin

tunity to get to know Bishop Tutu when he accompanied him on his trip to Oslo to receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

### Shocked

Bishop Sutton, the Archbishop's special envoy who addressed the Springs funeral last week, clearly carried the signal from Dr Runcie that the time had come for Bishop Tutu to act with the full backing of Canterbury.

The state of emergency and the horrifying televised scene of a black woman suspected of being an informer being beaten and burned to death by black youths has shocked the Church.

On his return to Britain last week Bishop Sutton urged the Botha government to 'seize the opportunity' for talks with Bishop Tutu.

### Impressed

Bishop Sutton spoke of the Nobel Peace Prize laureate as a leader who could play a key role in the development of South Africa and compared him to Mahatma Gandhi as an apostle of non-violent resistance.

He was clearly deeply impressed with Bishop Tutu's ability to control the highly emotional crowd 'in total peace and discipline.'

'The most tragic thing would be if South Africa, given the gift of this amazing leader, should discredit him by letting the time run out on him in the great ministry that he is pursuing,' Bishop Sutton said.

The Times said in an editorial that charges that Bishop Tutu was 'conniving at black revolution' were 'tragically misplaced.'

### Authority

'It is very difficult to feel hopeful about the future of South Africa but what hope there is lies precisely in sustaining the authority over the black population wielded

by, among others, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Bishop Tutu and, indeed, by Nelson Mandela ...

'The current violence is clearly intended to make that impossible, but white leaders must do all they can to create opportunities for dialogue with men of such unusual moral stature.' The Times said.

I understand that the Anglican plan has the quiet nod from Downing

Street although Mrs Margaret Thatcher is insisting that Britain will fight mounting international pressure for sanctions tooth-and-nail.

When President Botha says that the state of emergency is an interim measure to restore order to enable further reform he still gets a sympathetic ear in Washington and Whitehall.

There is an intense debate already under way as to whether the state of emergency will last weeks, months or years, but the consensus is that it will be months rather than weeks and some believe it will continue until genuine black-white dialogue begins.

For three days the state of emergency dominated every television and radio news bulletin and the front pages of Fleet Street's major newspapers. Hours of prime television time were devoted to behind-the-news features and panel discussions.

The news coverage was highly objective and the actuality programmes — particularly those on BBC Newsnight — intensely constructive.

The overwhelming message that emerged from all this was: President Botha's options have been drastically narrowed if pending disaster is to be averted in South Africa.

'He must talk and he must talk now. The talk about talks must stop and the real talking must begin. Nelson Mandela must be released unconditionally as a participant in those talks along with other representative black leaders.'

This was the main thrust of statements issued by the the US and British governments and by the 10 EEC foreign ministers.

The statements reflected less rhetoric and a deep appreciation of the seriousness of the situation in South Africa.

### Irony

The irony of the new situation is that any reformist gestures President Botha now makes will have to be all the more dramatic to make an impact and defuse black anger.

The violence of the past year — and now the state of emergency — has set President Botha's reformist programme so far back that only a dramatic and symbolic gesture, such as the release of Nelson Mandela, would allow him to regain the initiative.

The alternatives are bleak: more repression will bring further international isolation, deeper economic recession and feed the internal cycle of violence.

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Plea by  
Cosas on  
boycotts

WITBANK. — In a move welcomed by police headquarters in Pretoria, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) yesterday circulated pamphlets urging pupils in Witbank to return to school today.

A Cosas spokesman told Sapa his organization had decided to end the school boycotts.

The boycotts have been going on for the past 10 days, claiming three lives and causing injuries to residents of KwaGugha, Lynneville, Ackerville and Schoengesicht townships at Witbank. Damage of thousands of rands has been caused to property set alight or damaged.

A police spokesman in Pretoria welcomed the move.

Colonel Vick Haynes said police welcomed any member of the community who would encourage pupils to return to school. — Sapa

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# UWC students, police

CAPE TIMES 31/7/85



Students confront police with stones after setting debris on fire at the university's main gate during their clash with police yesterday.

Pro

Cape Times Newscolour: Anne Laing

**Political Staff**  
**POLICE** fired several canisters of teargas at protesting University of the Western Cape students and other youths outside the UWC campus yesterday afternoon, as the university's rector attempted to restore calm.

Students yesterday boycotted classes for the second day in succession and held a meeting on the campus in defiance of a ban by the rector, Professor Richard van der Ross. Their decision to continue the boycott will be reviewed at a meeting today. Around 2pm yesterday hundreds of UWC students returning from a meeting at the Peninsula Technikon gathered outside the main gate of UWC, singing freedom songs.

They stopped a furniture vehicle and removed goods from it, which were later returned, and started throwing stones at passing cars on Modderdam Road. Two armoured vehicles — Casspirs — and members of the Railway Police regional task force arrived and cordoned off sections of Modderdam Road. Professor Van der Ross and the deputy rector, Professor Jaap Durand, asked police

not to enter the campus. University officials desperately tried to keep students inside the barricade at the main gate and tried to prevent them from throwing stones. Students and youths shouting "Viva ANC, viva Tambo" then set fire to debris at the main entrance of the campus and stoned a police squad who stood poised outside the campus. As stoning of police continued, several canisters of tear-

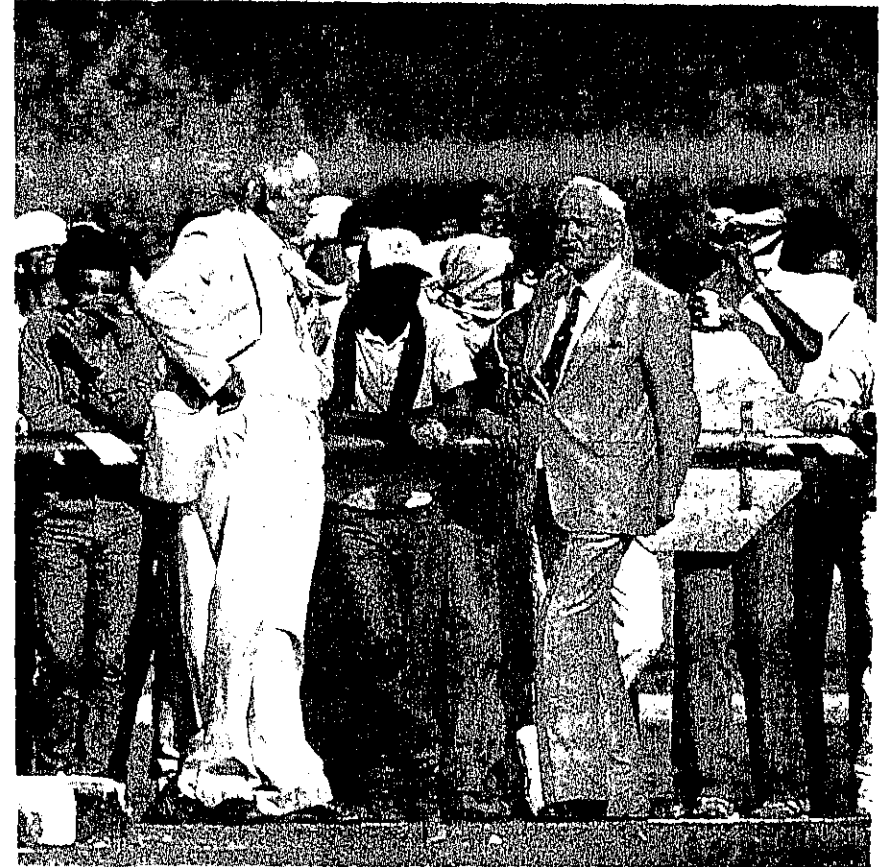
gas were fired at the students. Stones narrowly missed Professor Van der Ross as he tried to prevent a police squad from advancing on the students. Later Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and UDF patron, also arrived at the scene. At the request of the rector he defused the situation by speaking to students. Around 4pm most of the students had retreated.

Police then marched through the theological campus using a side entrance bid to keep students from the campus fence protect Modderdam traffic. An exhausted Professor Van der Ross, who had in a hail of stones and had made efforts all campus to calm the situation at considerable risk to self, said later: "I don't getting hurt, but these

Pro 1. 31/7/85 (22) (Pro)

# Students, police clash

CAPE TIMES 31/7/85



Students on fire at the university's main gate during their clash with police yesterday.

Cape Times Newscolour: Anna Laing

Professor Van der Ross (right) and Professor Durand try to control the situation on campus yesterday.

opped a furniture  
nd removed goods  
hich were later re-  
id started throwing  
assing cars on Mod-  
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— and members of  
ay Police regional  
arrived and cor-  
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at considerable risk to him-  
self, said later: "I don't mind  
getting hurt, but these kids

have their whole life ahead."  
Yesterday morning stu-  
dents forced their way into  
the university's main hall to  
hold a meeting there. They  
ignored calls by the rector to  
return to classes and also vot-  
ed down his request to ad-  
dress them.  
Dr Boesak, who also ad-  
dressed the student meeting,  
told students that the West-  
ern Province Council of  
Churches was prepared to  
consult students and com-

munity organizations to start  
a consumer boycott of white-  
owned shops.  
Students should be clear  
about their goals while boy-  
cotting, since the situation in  
the country was serious, he  
said.  
Newspapers which were  
not prepared to carry an ac-  
curate account of events con-  
cerning students, such as the  
Burger, Sunday Times and  
Rapport should not be pur-  
chased, he said.

Bishop deplures 'point-scoring'

# Tutu 'sad and disappointed' at P W's rebuff

Star 30/7/85

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said yesterday that he was disappointed and sad at the State President's refusal to meet him for talks on resolving the unrest.

From his home last night, Bishop Tutu said he was distressed at the President's failure to see the need for urgent talks with credible representatives of the black community.

President Botha, yesterday told Bishop Tutu that he would be meeting an Anglican Church delegation, headed by Archbishop Philip Russell of Cape Town, on August 19.

Bishop Tutu said he was thankful for Mr Botha's quick reply to his request for a meeting but the President seemed to have mistaken the delegation led by Archbishop Russell as an all-Anglican delegation, which it was not.

The bishop said: "I am disappointed that the President could be interested in political point-scoring when the country is on fire.

"If he is unwilling to talk to people like me, it seems unlikely that he would ever be prepared to meet people who are more radical.

"It is a pity that, when I am overseas, I am able to meet any head of state, but I cannot meet the head of state in my own country.

"Our country is in a desperate situation. We need to take ourselves out of the morass in which we find ourselves.

"People who were opposed to my meeting with him will say: 'We told you so'. The young people who advocate violence will also say Mr Botha's reply serves me right.

## NOTHING TO SHOW

"The young people are right sometimes. We have nothing to show for our advocacy of non-violence.

"But the ball is in the President's court. I am still prepared to meet him to resolve the country's crisis.

"The Hippos driving around in the black townships cannot bring any peace. I believe that there is still provision for peace for all of us, black and white, to co-exist as citizens of one country."

## CONDEMNATION

There has been some condemnation of the President's refusal to meet Bishop Tutu.

Black Sash vice-president, Mrs Joyce Harris, said: "At a time when it is difficult for credible black people to meet the white leaders and still retain their credibility, I think there was a need for the President to listen to courageous people such as Bishop Tutu."

East Rand's Inkatha PRO, Mr Steven Mbatha, said: "It is still important that President Botha listen to the views of people such as Bishop Tutu who are concerned with the problems of this country."

Azanian People's Organisation president, Mr Ish Mkhabela, said: "Clandestine and piecemeal talks with certain individuals will be interpreted as a strategy to divide the black community and sow more confusion."

MAG 30/7/85



# Theologian returns from US to lecture at UWC

PIPPA GREEN of The Argus Political Staff interviews Dr Richard Stevens, one of only a few South Africans to be granted political refugee status in the US

A PROMINENT black theologian, who was granted political asylum in the United States after spending seven months in detention, has returned to South Africa to lecture at the University of the Western Cape.

Dr Richard Stevens, who fled the country on an invalid passport five years ago, was one of the few South Africans to be granted political refugee status.

Even renowned anti-apartheid figures like the poet and former political prisoner, Dennis Brutus, have waged a long battle with the American authorities for political asylum.

At the time, says Dr Stevens, he was reluctant to apply for asylum.

But he had left on a passport which was valid for only two weeks and when he applied to the South African consulate in New York for a renewal, he was turned down.

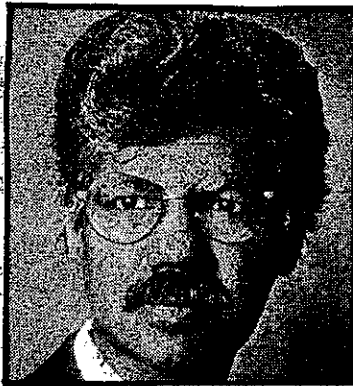
"I had offers from four American universities to finish my PhD thesis, but I was in a Catch 22 situation as I had no visa. The South Africans refused to renew my passport, so the only way I could stay was to apply for political asylum."

"I got it 10 months later, after President Reagan had come to office. Reagan changed the rules about political asylum when he came to power, especially regarding South Africans. Fortunately I had documentation proving that I feared persecution in this country."

Fortunately, too, he says, he had influence-wielding American contacts such as Senator Ted Kennedy and Mr Andrew Young.

Dr Stevens, who was a co-director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies when he left, spent seven months of 1980 in "preventive detention" and after his release he feared a banning order.

An active member of the black consciousness movement and a former controversial student leader, he had been at the forefront of a struggle to get an SRC recognised at UWC.



Dr Richard Stevens ... "We are not fighting apartheid any more; we are fighting over land"

And now, armed with a PhD in theology from Princeton University, it is slightly ironic that he should return to teach at the university which expelled him in 1973, and that he should caution students that boycotts might not be appropriate action in the current crisis in the country.

"For nine years I was at the giving end of boycotts and demonstrations, and now I am (as a lecturer) at the receiving end. But when I was a student, we were dealing with 1 600 students, now we are dealing with more than 7 000. Students, as a privileged

class in the black community, should combine educating themselves with community action."

And why did he come back? And "into the middle of it", as he puts it.

"I never gave up my South African citizenship. For four years they refused me a visa, but I kept on writing back and demanding."

His persistence paid off and, in October last year, he was issued a two year passport, with which he returned in February when his mother died.

He applied for and got the UWC job on that visit, "and that made my resolve to come back firmer".

And although, in America, the neighbourhood in the New Jersey town near Princeton where he, his wife and four children lived was "nice", and although his children went to a "decent" school, and although he could buy a house wherever he could afford one — it was still not home.

Here — home — he finds a R130 000 house in Glenhaven looks completely different from a R130 000 house in Newlands, but he cannot buy the (better) Newlands one.

It is a reflection which, he says, reinforces his major political premise, which derives largely from the philosophy developed in the early black consciousness days: "The struggle is over land."

"We are not fighting apartheid anymore; we are fighting over land."

The returned exile says he will not choose between the Freedom Charter orientated, non-racial United Democratic Front and the black consciousness Azapo.

"But many of my friends (from the black consciousness movement) are now in the UDF. My decision to come back was partly due to that. I saw that, within the UDF, black consciousness had a further run. It needed to grow."

# Peace talks on the agenda

WORLD attention will focus on an historic meeting between State President P W Botha and Nobel Peace winner Bishop Desmond Tutu likely to take place this week.

Bishop Tutu wants an end to the crisis. Referring to the mob killing of a woman the Bishop declared at a funeral: "If this continues, I'll pack my bags and leave."

The President has indicated his willingness to discuss the unrest with the Bishop. No date has yet been set for the meeting but it is likely to be held this week.

Nine years ago, Bishop Tutu made a passionate plea to the then Prime Minister John Vorster for a solution to South Africa's political crisis. He warned of "terrible consequences" facing the



PEACE: Bishop Desmond Tutu.

country.

He said he was frightened.

Three weeks later Soweto exploded.

Since then the country's leadership has changed and Bishop Tutu has continued his call for peace and reconciliation.

In his letter to Mr Vorster he warned that unless basic social changes were introduced a violent con-

frontation would follow.

Bishop Tutu may now repeat the warning he made to Mr Vorster.

In his 1976 letter he said: "I am writing to you sir, because I have a growing nightmarish fear that unless something drastic is done very soon then bloodshed and violence are going to happen in South Africa almost inevitably."

He said he wished to

God that he was wrong "that I have misread history and the situation in my beloved country".

But 1976 proved his worst fears.

Now Bishop Tutu wants to speak to South Africa's leader again.

If his 1976 letter to Mr Vorster is any reflection of his present concern for the future of the people — black and white — Bishop Tutu may stress those sentiments once more.

These are extracts from his historic letter:

"I am writing to you as one who is a member of a race that has known what it has meant in frustration and hurt, in agony and humiliation, to be a subject people.

"The history of your own people speaks eloquently of how utterly impossible it is when once the desire for free-

dom and self-determination is awakened in a people for it to be quenched or to be satisfied with anything less than that freedom and self-determination.

"Nothing will stop a people from attaining their freedom to be a people who can assume the responsibilities and obligations that are the necessary concomitants of the freedom they yearn for.

"For most blacks this can never be in the homelands, because they believe they have contributed substantially to the prosperity of an undivided South Africa."

The Bishop also wrote of the Government's declaration to move away from racial discrimination.

"I am afraid that very little of this movement

has been in evidence so far.

"Fathers are still separated from their loved ones as a result of the pernicious system of migratory labour."

Bishop Tutu wrote of his commitment to reconciliation with justice for all, and the need for a situation where South Africa's riches will be shared more equitably.

The Bishop ended his lengthy address to Mr Vorster by making three requests:

Accept the urban black as a permanent inhabitant with consequent freehold property rights; repeal the pass laws and call a national convention of the genuine leaders of all sections of the community.

The Reverend Allan Boesak said he would consider joining the meeting.



MEETING: State President P W Botha.



# Tutu asks for urgent meeting with PW

JOHANNESBURG. — Bishop Desmond Tutu today asked the State President, Mr P W Botha, for an urgent meeting to discuss the unrest in the country.

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg sent a telegramme to Mr Botha saying, "Would like to meet you urgently, either by myself or with one or two other church leaders," a spokesman said.

In the Western Cape a boycott of black high schools started today and the atmosphere in coloured schools in the region was described as "extremely tense".

## SCHOOLS EMPTY

Department of Education and Training circuit inspector for the Western Cape Mr Piet Scheepers said black secondary schools in the Peninsula, Paarl and Worcester were empty.

Pupils at coloured high schools were demanding to be allowed to run awareness programmes in place of lessons and the situation was "very tense", a spokesman for the Department of Education and Culture, Mr A Jordaan, said.

At Belgravia and Alexander Sinton high schools groups of about 150 pupils were negotiating with their principals for awareness programmes while other pupils attended classes, Mr Jordaan said.

## SUSPENDED

Pupils were calling for similar programmes at six high schools in the northern areas and at Crestway High normal classes had been suspended for such a programme.

In Mitchell's Plain about 70 pupils of the 850 enrolled gathered outside the school today but classes continued.

The principal of the Groenberg Secondary School at Grabouw was negotiating with the SRC after pupils refused to attend class today and at the

Klein Nederburg Secondary School in Paarl about 50 pupils were gathered outside, he said

## CALL FOR RESTRAINT

The University of the Western Cape has called on the authorities to exercise "the utmost restraint" and for students and the public to avoid provocation.

In a declaration issued on behalf of UWC's administration, rector Professor Richard van der Ross said violence could not be condoned whatever its cause.

Bus services into Guguletu were suspended today after a night of unrest in Cape Town's black townships in which a bus and a panel van were set alight and at least one car stoned.

Police used tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse crowds.

Reaction squad policemen were on duty at various spots and railway police task force members were on stand-by with Casspir armoured vehicles at Cape Town station.

A spokesman said that as far as the police were aware no one had been injured by police action and no arrests had been made.

## POLICE REPORT

The police unrest situation bulletin for the period 6.30pm yesterday till 8am today said the number of arrests under the emergency regulations was now 1 205.

In New Brighton near Port Elizabeth a vehicle was driven at high speed at a Defence Force foot patrol. A shot was fired and the driver was fatally wounded. Four passengers fled.

On the West Rand a school was set alight but little damage was caused. No injuries or arrests were reported.

In Mamelodi near Pretoria a municipal ambulance was destroyed by arsonists. No injuries or arrests were reported.

## POLICEMAN ATTACKED

A man was shot dead when a gang of eight attacked an off-duty policeman in Washington Street, Langa, at the weekend.

Brigadier Hennie Kotze, Divisional CI chief for the Western Cape, said the policeman, who he declined to name, was walking home early on Saturday when he was attacked.

The policeman fired a shot, killing one of his assailants instantly. — Argus Reporters and Sapa.

● List of detainees — Page 6.

# P.W. Tutu

N/E 22645 27/7/85

11/1/85

## JOHANNESBURG. —

The State President Mr P W Botha, and the Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, are likely to meet soon in an attempt to defuse the countrywide unrest.

Bishop Tutu said last night he would send a communication to Mr Botha urging a meeting for "frank and urgent" talks on resolving the unrest.

"We are awaiting Bishop Tutu's request, and will grant him an appointment as soon as possible," the State President's private secretary said last night.

Mr Botha said yesterday he was prepared to meet Bishop Tutu — or any person who did not propagate violence as a political tool — "if a proper appointment were made."

# to talk

## Open mind

Bishop Tutu originally made his offer to mediate with the Government in an interview with the BBC and later in newspaper interviews.

"I don't think much will be gained by speculating now on what these proposed talks will lead to."

"As a Christian I always go into something like this with an open mind and hope that God will bless my decision," Bishop Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, said from his home last night.

"There is no point in going into such talks prejudiced by past discussions or events."

Bishop Tutu and Mr Botha previously held talks in 1980, when the Bishop was General-Secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

## Earliest

"I will be sending my request to Mr Botha's office on Monday morning as soon as I get back to the office," Bishop Tutu said.

Mr Botha's private secretary said: "We are awaiting Bishop Tutu's request, and will arrange a meeting at the State President's earliest possible convenience."

"The State President has had similar requests from Archbishop (Philip) Russell (the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town) and will have to see when Bishop Tutu can be fitted into his already busy schedule." — Sapa.



TALK TO BLACK LEADERS: Mr Peter Soal of the PFP.

# P W Botha urged to negotiate with blacks

11A  
~~20/11~~

July 1985

By SELLO RABOTHATA

**THE sooner the State President Mr P W Botha negotiates with the real black leaders to reach a system of genuine power sharing and joint decision making, the sooner the future of South Africans will be secured.**

This was said by Mr Peter Soal, Member of Parliament for Johannesburg North, at a report-back meeting to his constituency last night. He said it is important that Mr Botha consults with as many black leaders as possible and "this is why it is necessary they review their offer to Nelson Mandela."

Mr Soal said: "It is no good Mr Botha saying that the black leaders should telephone and make an appointment. Any head of the South African state worth his salt at this critical juncture must take the initiative himself, if calm and order is to be restored.

"I believe the sooner Nelson Mandela is released, the sooner peace will be restored in the townships. The Government is meant to be in control of the situation, but unless they do something about it, and pretty quickly at that, apartheid is going to destroy us all."

He mentioned a number of commissions of inquiry, headed by prominent people, saying he wondered how history will judge the Nationalists who have consistently ignored all those "learned gentlemen."

He mentioned the most recent report by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) as having singled out entrenched separation, population registration, a racially bound legal system, unequal education and economic and job restrictions as contributing to mistrust and resentment.

"It describes apartheid as a failure and advocates a new approach to group relations. This has surely been the most devastating condemnation of apartheid ever published. And what has been the reaction of the Nats? The State President says he is tired of the Afrikaners being blamed for everything.

"Is that not typical of the Nats to look back instead of facing the future. I don't blame Van Zyl Slabbert or Marius Barnard or Nic Olivier or Beyers Naude or Breyten Breytenbach for pass laws, influx control, group areas, forced removals and all the other racially discriminatory laws.

"I blame the Nats. One hopes P W Botha will use the State of Emergency to defuse the situation rather than to clamp down as the security forces are apparently busy doing," he said.

He said the Nats got the country into this mess. Two ambassadors have already been withdrawn, "and one is here by the skin of his teeth." The security council has taken a decision which goes further than any taken by that body. "How long can we rely on the veto of the United States and the United Kingdom when even the Americans are urging us to end the State of Emergency."

Mr Soal paid tribute to Bishop Desmond Tutu for the courageous stand he has taken and for the lead he is giving in promoting peaceful dialogue.



# Botha and Tutu to meet next week

~~3/11/85~~ 11A Steer 27/7/85

— by —  
Andrew Beattie



The State President Mr P W Botha and Nobel Peace prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu are likely to meet next week in an attempt to defuse the unrest timebomb.

Bishop Tutu said last night he would send a communication to President Botha urging a face-to-face meeting for "frank and urgent" talks on resolving the unrest.

"We are awaiting Bishop Tutu's request, and will grant him an appointment as soon as possible," the State President's private secretary said last night.

President Botha stated yesterday he was prepared to meet Bishop Tutu — or any person who did not propagate violence as a political tool — "if a proper appointment were made".

Bishop Tutu originally made his offer to mediate in the state of emergency with the Government in an interview with the BBC and later in newspaper interviews.

"I don't think much will be gained by speculating now on what these proposed talks will lead to. As a Christian I always go into something like this with an open mind and hope that God will bless my decision.

"There is no point in going into such talks prejudiced by past discussions or events," the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg said from his home last night.

Bishop Tutu and Mr Botha previously had talks in 1980, when the Bishop was general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

"I will be sending my request to Mr Botha's office on Monday morning as soon as I get back to the office," Bishop Tutu said.

"We are awaiting Bishop Tutu's request, and will arrange a meeting at the State President's earliest possible convenience. The State President has had similar requests from Archbishop Russell, and will have to see when Bishop Tutu can be fitted into his already busy schedule," the State President's private secretary said last night.

# 6 000 at UWC rally in support of detainees

ALLMS 26/7/85

Staff Reporters

THOUSANDS of Western Cape students and school pupils filled the University of the Western Cape's sports stadium today in a huge show of solidarity with people detained since the state of emergency was imposed.

Gates were closed on the rally during the morning when about 6 000 were in the stadium.

Western Cape secretary of the UDF Mr Trevor Manuel told the rally: "Our presence here shows us the Government can do nothing to stop us on our march to freedom. The fact that schools and colleges are closed today at our wish is proof of that."

He said the balance of forces had never been more favourably weighted.

"We must seize this opportunity with both hands. We must act decisively and act now - action that will maximise student unity, involve parents, community and trade organisations."

Mr Manuel said the Government Executive Council had decided that "the patience of the people" was running out. "Heaven help this country if their patience runs out," he said.

Students arriving at the campus were headed a little from the reactor, Dr R E Vander Ross, calling on them not to boycott.

Press photographers were barred from the stadium and an organiser warned that anyone found taking photographs in the crowd would have their cameras destroyed.

There was a total boycott of black secondary schools in the Peninsula today, according to the Department of Education and Training.

© See Page 3.

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**MONDAY 29th JULY**  
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**Teacher jailed on ANC charge**

*Cape Times 28/7/85*  
**Court Reporter**  
 A GUGULETU school-teacher was convicted in Hermanus Regional Court yesterday of being a member of the African National Congress — but acquitted on a charge of subversion.

Mpumelolo Shadrack Ndlakuhlolo, 29, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment for being a member of the ANC and furthering its aims. Three years of the sentence were suspended for five years.

He was also sentenced to three months for possessing unlawful publications. Miss Margaret Mfobo, 36, a Guguletu hairdresser and former co-accused, who faced the same charges, was acquitted.

The charges were: Contravening the Internal Security Act by being members of the ANC and furthering its aims; endangering or attempting to overthrow the security of the State, and unlawfully possessing 34 pamphlets of the ANC. They both pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Evidence was that Miss Mfobo and Ndlakuhlolo went to Botswana last year to visit a relative referred to as Mxtolise who had disappeared after the unrest in 1976.

In Botswana, Ndlakuhlolo spoke to members of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. When he returned to Cape Town he received a stencil from SACTU which advocated a boycott of the tricameral elections.

Ndlakuhlolo and a State witness, who may not be identified by order of the court, were to distribute copies made from the stencil, but did not do so because they were scared of the police.

Mr Y Ebrahim, for Ndlakuhlolo, said in mitigation of sentence that there had been no evidence that his client persuaded any workers to join organizations or that he had carried out any of the "so-called" instructions given to him.

Mr J van Graan was the magistrate. Mr WC Viljoen prosecuted. Mr AM Omar represented both accused. He was instructed by Mr R Vassen, for Miss Mfobo.

6.30:  
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**Students on Tuesday morning had decided to...**

# 'In crisis, whites will turn to gun'

African Affairs  
Correspondent

WITH their aim of making South Africa ungovernable for the National Party, leaders of organisations such as the United Democratic Front, Azapo, the ANC and the PAC would make the country ungovernable for any party.

This was said by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, when he addressed a dinner in Durban attended by members of the Ford Foundation who are visiting South Africa on a fact-finding tour.

Chief Buthelezi said he believed force could only drive white South Africa

to scorched earth policies and not to the conference table.

He said that, whatever the consequences of the declaration of a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts, it was of secondary importance to the State President.

## Emergency

'When any crunch comes, white South Africa will turn to the gun regardless of the diplomatic consequences,' the KwaZulu Chief Minister said.

He said the West was impotent to stop the National Party from using brute force for political

purposes. NM

Chief Buthelezi told a meeting of the businessmen's action committee of Operation Hunger in Johannesburg yesterday that the declaration of a state of emergency meant that President Botha was relying on police and army action. This could only be the concomitant of failing policies.

'The country at large simply does not know where the Government is leading it to, and the inability of any government to make known its medium and long-term plans is surely highly indicative of confusion and lack of concensus about what ought to be done,' he said.

11A

25/1/85

# Leaders back Tutu

THE threat by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, that he would pack his bags and leave the country if blacks continue killing "suspected enemies", received support from prominent black leaders yesterday.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, president of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation, said yesterday Bishop Tutu's concern was genuine as, to some extent, "this bush justice" would in the long run be counter-productive.

"Our revulsion of informers and the acts they perpetrate should not blind us from the fact that, in our revolutionary activities, we cannot afford to lose our integrity," Mr Mkhabela said.

Dr Abu-baker Asvat, Azapo's health secretar-



AZAPO . . . Mr Ishmael Mkhabela.

iat, said it would be a sad day if Bishop Tutu carried out his threat as he had played a vital role in the struggle thus far.

"We still need him to carry on and see us into a free and just country," Dr Asvat said.

The Rev Lebamang Sebidi, one of Soweto's distinguished churchmen, said he supported Bishop Tutu's appeal that people should not be subjected to these

mob killings, whatever the circumstances.

In his address, Bishop Tutu reiterated his abhorrence of violence in all forms. He said he understood that when people were angry or hurt they want to take it out on those suspected to be supporting the system.

"I condemn what happened in Duduza in the strongest terms because our cause is a noble and a just one. Many people in the world support us and when they saw that woman burning on television, they must have said we are not ready for freedom.

"If you do this kind of thing again, I am going to find it difficult to speak for the cause of liberation. I will leave this country I love with my family," he said.

See Page 10.

## HOT TIPS FOR TODAY

|           |   |    |   |    |   |   |   |
|-----------|---|----|---|----|---|---|---|
| Race No.  | 3 | 4  | 5 | 6  | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Horse No. | 4 | 18 | 1 | 13 | 7 | 6 | 1 |

# Disinformation is used to discredit UDF and Azapo

S/af 22/7/85



The work of the DPSC compels us to keep informed about conflict situations in the various townships, since they frequently result in detentions or arrests of government opponents.

A notable aspect of the intensified township conflict has been the increasing difficulty experienced in gathering reliable information. As a result, we have come to rely on first-hand accounts from township residents. We have often been appalled by the discrepancy between these eyewitness accounts and the versions portrayed on radio, TV and the Press. This distortion of information is deliberate.

This "information war" appears to be designed to achieve a number of objectives:

- To play down the extent of opposition to Government policies in the townships;
- To create divisions and confusion among the people in the communities; and to portray political opposition as criminal. Finally
- To deflect attention away from, or justify, various excesses committed by apartheid's agents.

The distortion of information consists not so much in what is said, as in what is *withheld*. A serious development in this regard is the directive that no information or comment about unrest be given by police staff in an affected area. All requests for information have to be channelled through the Pretoria police headquarters.

Because official comment is necessary to avoid breaches of the Police Act, stories of immediate

public interest are often delayed. This is exacerbated by selective reporting of events in the sporadic, so-called "situation reports" issued by the police.

These increasingly propagandistic reports are often uncritically reported in the Press, without comment — thus a distorted view of township conditions is becoming accepted as fact.

We were originally given a distorted picture about the Langa shootings by none less than the Minister of Law and Order.

We were also misinformed about the most recent deaths of detainees, such as trade unionist Andries Raditsela and student leader Siphon Mutsi.

Another, more insidious, form of information abuse is *disinformation*, or the deliberate spreading of false information by unnamed sources. Since April, a disinformation campaign mainly targeted at increasing the differences between the UDF and Azapo has intensified.

For instance after a clash by students at Turfloop University over a venue, pamphlets were scattered on campus purporting to be from Azapo and the UDF,

attacking each other <sup>S/af</sup> SABC radio and TV found these pamphlets extremely newsworthy.

They failed to report that both pamphlets were fakes. The UDF ones purported to be from the "UDF Central Committee", although no such body exists.

If the media are to be believed, the resulting image is that the townships are now divided into two opposing camps, and that the violence is between these two groups rather than against the Government's policies.

Yet the facts show the vast majority of the more than 450 township deaths since September last year have been at the hands of the police, not black-on-black violence.

The disinformation war has been accompanied by sinister attacks on the homes and persons of UDF and Azapo leaders. Despite repeated denials by the organisations of any involvement in these attacks, an atmosphere of fear and suspicion has been created, sometimes leading to direct conflicts, as in the Eastern Cape.

While leaders have acknowledged that some of their members have been involved in these clashes, there is, nonetheless, widespread belief that many of these attacks are being perpetrated by pro-apartheid forces posing as members of anti-apartheid organisations by, for example, wearing T-shirts.

A further alarming trend that developed under the smokescreen of "factual comment" is the disappearance of opponents of apartheid. According to the UDF, 27 activists are missing and there may have been as many as 11 political assassinations since 1977.

When three Port Elizabeth civic leaders went missing in early May, some attributed it to "in-fighting." Both the UDF and Azapo deny this. The more recent disappearance of Cradock leaders, Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata and Sparrow Mkonto, and Oudtshoorn teacher Sicelo Mhlawuli on June 27, and their reappearance as charred, mutilated bodies, led to further suggestions of UDF-Azapo conflict. However, all the parties involved — excluding the police and certain newspapers — have ruled these out.

Recent revelations of hired death squads with hit lists operating in at least two parts of the country have caused committees to fear for their leaders' safety. The existence of mysterious vigilante squads responsible for attacks on activists' houses, and repeated cases of whites being seen in these attacks, has led to a radically different picture from the official version.

There is a growing belief that pro-apartheid forces are prepared to use any method to prevent legitimate opposition to the government from continuing.

Cape Times 20/11/85

# Ten hurt as unrest hits City townships

Staff Reporter

UNREST broke out in parts of Crossroads and Guguletu yesterday after pupils boycotted schools to commemorate the deaths of the four Eastern Cape community leaders.

The dead men, Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, Mr Fort Calata and Mr Sicele Mbiawuli, will be buried in Cradock today.

Police and traffic officials manned all entrances to Crossroads and Guguletu yesterday, turning back cars and buses.

The press was barred from the area.

### 3 women

A police spokesman in Pretoria, Colonel Vic Haynes, last night confirmed that seven men and three women had been injured in Guguletu yesterday afternoon.

He said the people had been injured "by rioters" and "not as a result of police action".

Three police vehicles, four private vehicles and a delivery vehicle had been stoned.

Colonel Haynes said that some 600 people stoned police in Guguletu about 2pm yesterday. Police had used birdshot, rubber bullets and tearsmoke to disperse the stonethrowers.

A driver was injured and at least three heavy vehicles were attacked by groups of stonethrowers when police tried to disperse the crowd. Two of the



A paramedic tends to Mr Trevor Keith, 27, the driver of a truck that was stoned and set alight by crowds at Crossroads yesterday. Cape Times Newscolour Dan Bosman

vehicles were set alight.

The driver of the burnt-out truck, Mr Trevor Keith, 27, was injured by smashed glass when his vehicle was attacked. He was treated at the Guguletu police station, where ambulances and a fire engine — all with mesh-protected windows — were on standby.

"When a unit arrived from the fire brigade to put out the fire, the crowd began to stone it, before being dispersed by the police," Colonel Haynes said. "There was minimal damage to the fire brigade's unit."

At 6pm, the situation was reported to be "quiet".

Thousands of pupils in

Cape primary and secondary schools stayed away yesterday to commemorate the four deaths. Schools in Guguletu, Crossroads and the Worcester/Paarl areas were affected.

An inter-faith choral vigil will be held at St George's Cathedral from 9pm till noon today, to coincide with the start of the funeral in Cradock.

The 2½-hour vigil around a symbolic lighted candle is being offered as a focus for Cape townians to express their sympathy with the bereaved, their concern about escalating violence and their commitment towards achieving justice, reconciliation and peace in South Africa.

### Choirs

Archbishop Stephen Naidoo will preside over the commencement of the vigil.

The Langa Adult Choir and the Princess Square African Choir will lead the singing of Xhosa hymns. There will be short periods of meditation and brief contributions from religious leaders.

Bishop Patrick Motengwe, Dean Edward King and Imam Hassan Solomons will participate in the proceedings.

Messages will be read out from Rabbi Selwyn Franklyn and Bishop Desmond Tutu. There will also be a short reading of poems in English by Sipho Sipamla.

Three whites injured, page 2

## Ten ra

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| Amusement   | 12 |
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| Bridge      | 8  |
| Burger      | 19 |

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| Business   | 6-7   |
| Cinema     | 5     |
| Classified | 11-19 |
| Column     | 4     |
| Comics     | 12    |

|            |    |
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| Crossword  | 8  |
| Editorials | 8  |
| Focus      | 5  |
| Horoscope  | 12 |
| Radio      | 12 |

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| Racing in   |       |
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| Sport       | 21-22 |
| Town Topics | 9     |

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| TV           |  |
| Weather      |  |
| What's On    |  |
| Women's      |  |
| World Report |  |

1:00: Nuus  
 1:08: Karlien en Kamille  
 1:14: Die Huis met die Kokodde: Die Man in die...  
 two sisters, Cora and Louise, are alone in...  
 parents are away on holiday, Victor is a...  
 enjoys reading ghost and thriller stories...  
 man creeping through the house, nob...  
 1:34: Eureka  
 2:04: Buck Rogers: Gelukkige Verjaardag, Buck...  
 2:50: Saterdagolymp: The Light Horse Band p...



# Guguletu violence leaves 11 injured

W/E ARGUS 20/7/85 (11A)

STEPHEN WROTTESELEY  
and GAYE DAVIS  
Weekend Argus Reporters

THE streets of Guguletu lay strewn with rocks and broken glass after violence flared, leaving at least 11 people injured, two seriously, and three vehicles gutted.

Crowds of chanting and shouting youths stood on street corners and open pieces of ground after police clashed with youths leaving a memorial service commemorating the deaths of four Cradock community leaders.

Eight of the injured were taken to Tygerberg Hospital and three to Conradie Hospital.

Police used teargas, shotguns and sjamboks to restore order but a police spokesman in Pretoria said he was not aware of any injuries as a result of police action.

## Petrol tanker

By late yesterday the township was quiet, police said.

Three drivers stopped by stone-throwing youths fled for their lives before their vehicles, including a bus, were set alight.

A petrol tanker was driven to safety by police after its driver also fled.

The violence started soon after 2pm yesterday following the service attended by about 1 500 school pupils.

Police sources said about 600 people gathered in the township and when police arrived, they were stoned. Teargas and sjamboks were used to disperse the crowd which then split up into smaller groups.



Picture: DANA LE ROUX, The Argus

## Firemen battle to extinguish a blaze in the cab of a truck set alight by stone-throwers in NY1 Guguletu.

But one of the organisers of the service said the stoning only started after police tried to disperse the crowd with sjamboks.

"We appealed for people to leave the church quietly and not cause violence. A number of students were walking along singing freedom songs. When they turned a corner the police were waiting and came for them with sjamboks."

A spokesman for City Tramways said the bus driver had not been injured and was safe. Bus services into the township were suspended after the attack.

The driver of a flour company vehicle, stoned and set alight near NY1, escaped with eye and chest injuries.

Speaking from the back of an ambulance, Mr Trevor Keith, 27, said he was driving through the township when a mob attacked him. He tried to drive out of trouble but eventually lost control and the vehicle came to rest on an open piece of ground near a shopping centre.

● Thousands of mourners have poured into the Cradock township of Ilingilehle for the funeral of Matthew Goniwe and three other community leaders.

Large-scale police and army reinforcements were drafted into the town and roadblocks and observation points were set up at several points around the area.



# Peninsula pupils in memorial stayaway

Education Reporter

BLACK schools in the Peninsula were empty today as thousands of pupils stayed away to commemorate the deaths of four Eastern Cape community leaders.

About 1 500 primary and secondary school pupils packed St Gabriel's Church in Guguletu today for a service in memory of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, Mr Fort Calata and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli, led by Father Des Curran.

ARGUS 19/7/85  
A spokesman for the SRC organising committee said the one-day stayaway had been called to commemorate the deaths and to show solidarity with boycotting pupils in the strife-torn Eastern Cape.

Mr Piet Scheepers, Department of Education and Training circuit inspector for the Western Cape, confirmed that schools were empty but said he could not give details as his staff were still collecting information.

The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports that security forces will "remain in the background" at the Cradock funerals tomorrow, according to the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen.

He said security forces would be present in Cradock but would remain in the background, as they had at all similar funerals in the past.

● Police unrest report — Page 3.

# Dilemma of change faces black students — rector

Tygerberg Bureau

BLACK students face the dilemma of whether to concentrate on their studies or devote their time to the liberation movement, says Professor Richard van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape.

Addressing the Tygerberg Chamber of Commerce and Industry yesterday on the choices of students at universities, colleges and high schools in the "current crisis situation", Professor van der Ross said that change was the central issue in South Africa today and the "big question" was whether the change would be orderly or not.

"The student is in the middle of this dilemma," he said.

Professor van der Ross said he lived "from moment to moment" because the atmosphere on the UWC campus was "very inflammable".

He said current events in the black student community were

linked to the emergence of the black-consciousness movement in the early 1970s.

This movement was based on the ideology that the black man should become aware of his own value and not feel "inferior and apologetic".

He said the United Democratic Front (UDF) and its affiliate, the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) had grown out of the movement, as had the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm).

Although there was some antagonism between the UDF and Azapo the groups were based on common ground.

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was another organisation on the student scene, he said.

"Generally students are trying to be part of the 'liberatory movement'," he said. They had to choose a group with which to align themselves.

They had to decide whether to concentrate on their studies or take part in the radical or progressive movements, he said.

Students were radical, idealistic and emotional by nature. Many believed that their personal futures were less important than the future of their nation.

"People cannot be expected to lead normal lives in the kind of set-up that exists in the country today," he said.

"But don't get the idea that our students are placard-carrying revolutionaries. They have a deep desire to see a better country."



Professor van der Ross

*CARE Times 1/17/88*

# Mlambo new PAC chairman

From MICHAEL  
HARTNACK

HARARE. — The Pan Africanist Congress has elected a new chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, 45, to succeed Mr John Nyathi Pokela who died in Harare on June 30.

There was a state funeral here on Saturday for Mr Pokela, 63.

On Monday all but two of the PAC's 18-member central committee attended a meeting at which Mr Mlambo, a former secretary for foreign affairs, was elected.

Born in Pilgrim's Rest in 1940, Mr Mlambo obtained a BSc degree in economics from London University but was prevented while in prison from completing a BComm course.

He spent 20 years on Robben Island.

# ANC takes SA seats at UN conference

By Marika Sboros,  
Women's Page Editor

NAIROBI — The African National Congress is occupying the three seats reserved for the South African delegation at the United Nations International Women's Decade conference which opened in Nairobi yesterday.

ANC delegation leader Mrs Gertrude Shope said the move was a symbolic

gesture. In the unlikely event of a South African Government delegation turning up, the ANC will remain in the seats, Mrs Shope said.

"If anyone speaks for South Africa at the conference, it will be us," said ANC delegate Ms Frene Ginwala.

Commenting on speculation that, despite denials, a government-appointed South African delegation

would attend the conference, Ms Ginwala said: "We would not allow them to speak."

UN conference organisers say that South Africa has not indicated whether or not it will send a delegation.

The ANC delegation will make "Women under Apartheid" a major conference issue.

They will also fight efforts by the United States

delegation, which is headed by President Reagan's daughter, Ms Maureen Reagan, to have issues relating to apartheid excluded from the "forward-looking strategies" document which the conference will consider.

At a joint Press conference held by the ANC and Swapo members at the weekend, Swapo leader Mr Sam Nujoma said the two organisations identified

with the UN meeting's aims of peace, development and equality.

There could be no talk of achieving these aims without destroying the chains of slavery which shackled women and children in South Africa.

The ANC will hold a workshop today at Forum '85, the non-governmental organisations' part of the conference.

● See Page 10.

# Huge trade boycott planned over Hashe

By **MONO BADELA**

A CONSUMER boycott of city traders will be launched by Port Elizabeth township residents on Monday in support of a demand for information about the three missing community leaders.

The proposed boycott, planned to run for two months, is also a protest against the New Zealand rugby tour due in two weeks, and against the continued presence of police and the SA Defence Force in the townships.

On May 8, top PE Black Civic Organisation officials Qaqawuli Godolozzi (president), Siphon Hashe (secretary) and Champion Gabela (organiser) disappeared mysteriously on their way to meet a British Embassy visitor at Port Elizabeth airport.

They have not been seen since, and residents have resolved to boycott city traders until they get information on their whereabouts.

Eastern Cape UDF regional vice-president Henry Fazzie said the United Democratic Front and its affiliates supported the call.

He said the boycott was announced at the funeral service of five unrest victims - attended by more than 20 000 mourners - at Dan Qeqe Stadium last weekend.

● In March this year a call for a "black long weekend" and a work stayaway - made by Pebco, the PE Women's Organisation and supported by UDF-affiliated community organisations and trade unions - was almost 100 percent successful.



**BISHOP NDWANDWE**  
Suspend communion

# TO



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**New Azaso president Billy Ramokgopa and executive member Bhekisizwe Mlangeni.**

**ENDING** violence between rival ideological groupings is the new national Azaso executive's priority.

At the end of the Azaso conference in Durban, new president Billy Ramokgopa told City Press the organisation believes the conflict is "an enemy plot".

He said Azaso called on its members to restrain themselves.

The organisation will hold workshops soon to explain to members how the State is exploiting the present conflict, he said.

Mr Ramokgopa, 23, is a fourth year University of Natal medical student. He takes over from Simphiwe Mgoduso, who guided the organisation through a tough year of unrest.

"The most important development during the last 12 months was the elevation of the struggle, especially the struggle against the new constitution," Mr Mgoduso said after the conference.

He said the other key factor had been the SA Defence Force's occupation of the townships.

Transvaal Azaso executive member Bhekisizwe Mlangeni of Wits said he thought most important issue for Azaso next year would be to show solidarity with the community on issues such as rent increases.

"We will extend the issues we deal with beyond educational problems," he said.

Azaso's first full-time project organiser, Ben

# We'll fight in-fighting, says Azaso

(11A) C. Press 14/7/85

Mazibuko - formerly of Fort Hare - will concentrate on the Education Charter campaign. This means his team will help students countrywide to formulate their educational grievances.

This should take about nine months.

Mr Ramokgopa quoted statistics showing Azaso's growth in the past year. At the 1984 conference only 33 branches were represented, and now that figure has increased to 42.

"What has pleased us most is the development of branches in places where we previously thought it was impossible. Some time ago we thought it was impossible to campaign in Venda, but we now have a strong organisation there.

"In the eastern Transvaal authorities are trying

to uproot Azaso, but they are failing. Last year we had no representatives from the Free State, but this year we have several branches there. We also have branches in Ciskei colleges."

He said all these branches will be involved in the campaigns against this month's All Black rugby tour and back the SA Council on Sport and other ant-apartheid sports bodies.

Is there any sign of hope for the future in the schools themselves?

"Teachers are slowly becoming more politicised. They used to separate themselves from our protests and demands, but now they can see that education is a political issue and they can't keep quiet," said Mr Ramokgopa.

## LOCAL

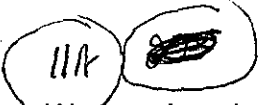
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## UDF rally in Athlone

Staff Reporter

THE United Democratic Front is to hold a commemorative rally at the Athlone Civic Centre at 7.30 tonight to mark the death of four UDF members in the Eastern Cape.

Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Si-

celo Mhlawuli were all found dead more than a week ago.

Mr Wilfred Rhodes, UDF vice president in the Western Cape region, said in a statement yesterday:

"The broad mass of people in our community are in no doubt who lies behind these murders.

"We are demanding an end to these killings and an end to the system of apartheid that is tearing our land apart.

# UDF inquiry into township 'policing'

257  
The United Democratic Front is setting up a commission to investigate the recent conduct of security forces in black townships.

The party's acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said in Johannesburg yesterday the commission would include prominent church leaders and local and international jurists.

"Contact has already been made with international bodies and persons," he said, adding that details of those who had accepted invitations to participate would be released shortly.

Mr Morobe said three factors had prompted the setting up of the inquiry:

- Allegations concerning widespread police and South African Defence Force violence in the townships.

- Numerous requests for investigation from community and church organisations as well as from the families of persons who have died.

- The need for a tribunal of undoubted indepen-

11A  
257 (2) 7/85  
dence to investigate and assess the serious allegations involving organs of the State.

- The Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu) is to hold a Transvaal regional congress on Sunday to discuss the deaths of people in East Rand townships, in the wake of the death of a member of an affiliate union.

The man, identified as Mr Elias Lengoasa, was allegedly shot by police at kwaThema on Monday after attending the mass funeral of four people who died recently in grenade explosions.

- The East Rand regional executive committee of Inkatha has called for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela in order to calm the violent situation in the black township.

In a statement yesterday, the committee said the youths were eager to hear Mandela speak and if he was released, they would listen to him and the violence would stop.



# Azapo denies involvement in UDF deaths

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9/7/95

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation has dismissed claims by the police that it was possibly behind the deaths of the four United Democratic Front supporters in the Eastern Cape.

Eastern Cape vice-president Mr Phambile Ntloko said the deaths were "clearly the work of 'the system'. Azapo would never engage itself in such acts. The 'system' is exploiting the present feud between the UDF and Azapo to remove elements it realises are a danger to them."

The general secretary of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Derrick Swartz, also said Azapo was not involved in the deaths. He said a right-wing death squad was at work in the Eastern Cape, exploiting the friction between the UDF and Azapo.

tary, Mr Imrann Moosa, said that when the murders were discovered Azapo and the UDF condemned them. He said the deaths were the handiwork of "the system" which was trying to create a climate of terror.

"It is playing off groups in the liberation struggle against one another. What the UDF and Azapo should do is consolidate their forces against a common enemy."

## Bodies

The head of the Port Elizabeth Murder and Robbery Squad, Lieutenant-Colonel Eric Strydom, said over the weekend that he believed Azapo sympathisers could be connected with the murder of four UDF members in the Eastern Cape.

The charred and mutilated bodies of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkhonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli were discovered last week between Blue Water Bay and St George's Strand by police and SADF search parties. Earlier Mr Goniwe's burnt-out car had been found on the Grahamstown - Port Elizabeth road.

Azapo publicity secre-

# All Blacks do not care for us blacks'

IIA  
Saw/du 8/7/85

THE Azanian Student Movement believes that the All Blacks' decision to tour South Africa despite mounting international objections, is reflective of their insensitivity to the plight of blacks in this country.

And the Black Consciousness-affiliated student organisation has vowed to

By **SEFAKO NYAKA**

"mobilise the community against the tour" and to ensure — "by all means possible" — that the tour is a failure.

This, and other equally "radical" resolutions were taken at Azasm's annual national student congress at the St Peter's Seminar in Hammanskraal.

### Anger

More than 500 delegates from secondary and tertiary institutions throughout the country attended the congress which in many ways demonstrated the latent anger and impatience of students and pupils in the country today.

Despite the angry tone of the resolutions and discussions at the congress, there is a certain sense of maturity in the final decisions. Azasm addressed itself to the real issues affecting the community — not from an

intellectual we've-got-all-the-answers-and-we-know-better-than-you attitude.

Not that they have not been identifying the real problems in the past — it is only that this time there was more purposefulness and sense of urgency in the whole congress.

### Solidarity

The empty rhetoric and chest-pounding was notably absent and there was instead an earnest and genuine attempt to put into practice the students' motto of "Student — Worker Solidarity."

When the youthful incoming president — fifth year Medunsa medical student, Mr Arthur Rantloana — says "whilst talking of concessions to students demands, the Government has successfully forced tens of thousands of black students into the streets," you cannot for one minute

doubt the sincerity in his voice.

Mr Rantloana's deputy at tertiary institutions is BSc University of Cape Town student Mr Monde Ntwasa. The rest of the executive is:

Vice-president, secondary: Mr Xolisile kaMnyaka (Eastern Cape); national organiser: Mr Stanley Sigotyana (Soweto); publicity secretary: Mr Gomolemo Mokae (University of Natal Medical School).

Minute secretary: Ms Nomonde Nani (Pharmacy student Turfloop); treasurer: Ms Sesì Baloyi (Law student Turfloop); projects director: Mr Phuthi Matlala (Northern Transvaal).

### Plight

As a practical measure Azasm launched the Masangwana Relief Project "to alleviate the plight of Eastern Cape victims of the clashes between Azapo and the UDF."

Azasm accused the "Dirty Tricks Department" of employing all its energy in sowing seeds of enmity between the oppressed people and their organisations."

Azasm also slated the extension of the



Mr **ARTHUR RANTLOANA**, Azasm's president, is medical student at Medunsa.

Mr **MONDE NTWASA**, a BSc student at the University of Cape Town, has been elected Azasm's vice-president (tertiary).

Mr **GOMOLEMO MOKAE**, Azasm's publicity secretary, is a medical student at the University of Natal.

Ms **NOMONDE NANI**, Azasm's minute secretary, is a pharmacy student at the University of the North.

Mr **STANLEY SIGOTYANA**, Azasm's national organiser.

Ms **SESI BALOYI**, Azasm's treasurer, is a Law student at the University of the North.

Mr **THAMI MCERWA**, Azasm's administrative secretary.

Mr **XOLISILE MNYAKA**, Azasm's vice-president (secondary schools).

ban on meetings called by "specific organisations", calling it a covert form of violence by "a fear-ridden minority regime".

The students condemned the policy of forced removals incorporation of land into the homelands, the SADF's raid into Ga-

borone, the violence in the township "perpetrated on our people by the minority regime", and the "stalling of Namibian indepen-

dence by the South African government".

### Pokela

A seminar and several workshops are planned to "look into the whole issue of disinvestment".

They also sent messages of condolence to the bereaved family of Pan Africanist leader, Mr John Nyathi Pokela who died in Zimbabwe recently.

The students promised to "intensify the struggle of the students and the black people at all levels".

"We are going to organise programmes geared towards a system of education that is free, unitary and anti-racist instead of the present education that is racially differentiated in form and capitalist in content."

# Cops suspect Azapo

*11A*  
POLICE believe that Azapo sympathisers could be connected with the murders of the four United Democratic Front members.

The head of Port Elizabeth's Murder and Robbery Squad, Lieutenant-Colonel Eric Strydom, said he had good reason to believe this.

The charred and mutilated bodies of Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli were discovered between Blue Water Bay and St George's Strand after Mr Goniwe's burnt-out car was found on the Grahamstown/Port Elizabeth road.

Police are offering a reward of R1 000 and the UDF a reward of R5 000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderers of the four.

Colonel Strydom said the violent warfare between the UDF and Azapo had by no means been halted. "Supporters kidnap and kill and burn each other's leaders."

He also gave examples of cases, similar to the recent UDF murders, which the Murder and Robbery Squad had been investigating.

Colonel Strydom said that in many of the cases supporters of the UDF or Azapo had been arrested in connection with the deaths of members of the

opposite group. *Sowetan 8/7/85*

• Police recently recovered the charred bodies of two men at the Salt pans outside the Swartkops township. Both men had been beheaded. Nine UDF supporters were arrested in connection with the incident.

• On June 16, the charred bodies of two men were found near the spot where the bodies of two UDF men were found last weekend. They have not been identified.

• The charred bodies of three policemen, a police student, a police constable and municipal constable, were also found recently. Seven people were arrested in connection with the death of the police constable. Nine people were arrested in connection with the death of the municipal constable who was shot dead and set alight in front of his girlfriend.

• Several court cases were in progress involving attacks by one group on the other group.

"We receive daily complaints from members of one of these groups about members of the other group," said Colonel Strydom. "In some instances we have even been asked by one group to protect them against attacks by the other group."

# Azaso vows to unite oppressed

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE AZANIAN Student Organisation has pledged to actively work towards greater unity of the oppressed.

This was one of the resolutions taken at the Azaso's fifth annual conference held at the Alan Taylor residence of the University of Natal (Black Section) next to Durban's coloured township of Wentworth, recently.

According to Azaso's former national secretary, Mr Confidence Moloko, the conference was Azaso's most successful and productive conferences ever held in recent years.

The conference was attended by 352 participants — from 42 institutions all over South Af-

rica. Twenty-five of these are fully recognised and 17 are working groups.

Mr Moloko said delegates left the five-day conference "armed with a general plan of action to face the challenges of the coming year in line with the United Democratic Front's theme of 'Protest to challenge' . . . mobilisation to organisation."

## Plan

He said the plan of action is based on, among other things, discussions and resolutions on the black University Bill, the Education Crisis and the Education Charter campaign.

Delegates also

pledged to take the Freedom Charter to all institutions of learning, to set against "State terror directed upon organisations and the people's leadership and to expose South Africa's programme of the destabilisation of southern Africa."

Azaso also pledged to contribute towards ensuring "working class hegemony in the popular and democratic movement."

According to Mr Moloko, Azaso also resolved to "expose the fallacy of the so-called" UDF-Azapo conflict.

"We will inform the masses and the world that the conflict is not between the UDF and Azapo, but between Azapo and the students

and some youth organisations."

He said the UDF and Azapo are not and can never be equated.

# 'System' killed UDF four Azapo

8/11/85  
110  
The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has dismissed claims by the police that it was possibly behind the deaths of the four United Democratic Front (UDF) supporters in the Eastern Cape.

The Eastern Cape vice-president of Azapo, Mr Pambili Ntloko, said the deaths were "clearly" the work of the 'system'.

"Azapo would never engage itself in such acts. The 'system' is exploiting the present feud between the UDF and Azapo to remove elements it realises are a danger to them."

The general secretary of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Derrick Swartz, also said Azapo was not involved in the deaths.

## EXPLOITING

He said a right-wing death squad was at work in the Eastern Cape exploiting the friction between the UDF and Azapo.

The head of the Port Elizabeth Murder and Robbery Squad, Lieutenant-Colonel Eric Strydom, said at the weekend he believed Azapo sympathisers could be connected with the murder of four men.

The charred and mutilated bodies of Mr Matthew Goniwe, Mr Fort Calata, Mr Sparrow Mkonto and Mr Sicelo Mhlawuli were discovered last week at different places near Port Elizabeth.

Earlier Mr Goniwe's burnt-out car had been found on the Grahams-town-Port Elizabeth road.

# The 'street wisdom' politicised black youth

WENDY FRAENKEL looks at the reasons behind the political insight of young blacks

ALTHOUGH the ordinary African youth does not have the same academic training as his white counterpart, his upbringing has left him with a political insight and awareness beyond his years.

According to leaders in the community and educationists, it is this insight or "street wisdom" as it is often termed, that has resulted in youngsters being at the forefront of the desire for change in South Africa.

Claimed Port Elizabeth educationist, Mr Jock Omond:

"The African child does not live on the same protected island that his white counterpart does.

"Because there usually is a need to bring extra money into the household, many youngsters resort to either becoming caddies, newspaper vendors or take other jobs and this forces them to have to deal with the harsh realities of the world.

"The African child also lives in an environment where politics is a way of life, so by the time he reaches the age of 17 he is politically sophisticated."

However, although the African youth is generally more politically aware than his white counterpart, those who eventually

reached Std 9 or matric are often two to three years older than the average white pupil.

The Rev Michael Mjekula, a minister at St Augustines Church in Walmer Township, saw the heightened political awareness of the African youngster as a direct link with his frustration and dissatisfaction with the status quo.

He said: "Their frustrations also have an educative effect on them.

"They now study every newspaper they can lay their hands on to see how events will effect them directly, be they political, economic or social issues.

"In fact nothing they read, hear on the radio or see on television do they take at face value, but study the media critically, lest it be conveying propaganda in any sort.

"Many are not merely content to listen to local radio stations and tune into radio stations outside the country, like Lusaka."

What had come to the attention of Mr Mkhusele Jack, president of the PE Youth Congress, was that the youth were no longer interested in discussing soccer, rugby or discos, but their conversations centred largely around what was

happening in the country and what they had seen on television.

It was thus not surprising to learn that although African youth did not have much interest in politics before 1976, their interest in this regard changed dramatically after the riots of that year.

Mr Mjekula said the only political organisations of any importance were ANC — which enjoyed primarily adult support — and the South African Students Organisation (Saso).

"Saso unfortunately, consisted solely of student intellectuals," he said.

"Unfortunately, like the majority of student organisations, Saso tended to lose supporters once its members left university and found jobs.

"Suddenly, they lost their radical streak and became law-abiding citizens.

"However, 1977 saw a rethink in student politics and more emphasis was placed on "grass roots" organisations, rather than organisations consisting merely of intellectuals.

"There was now the desire for organisations on other levels and between 1977 and now youth organisations literally mushroomed.



Mr JOCK OMOND  
... 'sophisticated'



Mr MKHUSELE JACK  
... youth look anew

"Cosas (Congress of South African Students), Azanian Students Organisation (PE Youth Congress) and Saso (Azanian Students Organisation) as well as a good many trade unions, women's, civic and church youth groups came into being."

According to Mr Mjekula, it was the high school pupils, more so than the university students, who were more militant and inclined to calls for boycotts. "School pupils saw boy-

cotting classes as a necessary sacrifice, even if it meant missing a year's study, whereas for the university student, missing a year's study could be disastrous," he said.

"Many university-goers already have families and other responsibilities.

"Some also have loans and bursaries which they have to repay."

Nevertheless, boycotting has not been entirely absent from African universities.

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Nevertheless, boycotting has not been entirely absent from African universities.

But it is true to say that the older student needs

more persuasion before he will support action like a boycott.

The university student, after all, has more of a stake in the system and more to lose.

What was apparent from the recent school boycotts is that all pupils seemed to be firmly behind them.

They were not just a handful of so-called "radicals".

Whether all the children, especially those in lower standards, were boycotting classes of their own accord is debatable.

But, according to pupils as well as youth organisers, the decision to boycott is that of the pupils and there is no outside "manipulation"

They admitted, though, that the older and more politicised pupils were possibly the motivators, but they denied emphatically that the influence came from outside.

Claimed some pupils: "We are sufficiently aware of what is going on to grasp the issues at stake, and any decisions to boycott schools are our own."

What had become apparent, speaking to these youngsters, was that they are tired of all the promises made by the Government, who were full of "talk but not action".

According to Mr Mjekula, the older people wanted the change to be slower and less violent, but they too were beginning to wonder if this was the solution.

He said: "In the past there has always been a tendency among the older people who are settled and enjoy home comforts not to want to support their youth.

"Even domestic workers, wanting to please their "madams", said what was expected of them regarding the youth and were quick to say: 'We don't know what our children are doing.'

"The factory worker, on the other hand, who is fighting to improve his lot by putting pressure on management, tends to encourage his children," he said.

However, said Mr Mjekula, the attitude of the parent was changing and many more were beginning to show their support.

Now there is a national parents' committee, which has assisted the student organisations in drafting up a students' representative council constitution, which has been submitted to the Government for approval.

This constitution, which will give the SRC more say in the "un" ag or education, has, however, been met with scepticism by the Government.

# Pokela strove for unity among banned bodies

By Staff Reporter,  
Hannes de Wet

Mr John Nyathi Pokela, leader of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress who died in Harare on Sunday, will be remembered as a man who sought unity in the revolutionary struggle against Pretoria. *Stan 4/7/85*

Within his own movement he tried to bring an end to factional dissent, but he clearly also wished for unity between the PAC and the African National Congress.

Though his efforts to neutralise disagreements within the PAC had a measure of success, his hopes of co-operation with the ANC remained largely unfulfilled.

Mr Pokela (64) died after he was admitted to hospital on Friday. He

was en route from Gaborone to Dar es Salaam where he was living in exile.

His involvement in politics started while he was a member of the African National Congress Youth League. He was among the group which broke away to form the PAC in 1959.

He was elected to the national executive committee under Mr Robert Sobukwe with whom he had taught at Standerton.

When the PAC was banned in 1960 he took over the leadership of the movement in Lesotho and acted as secretary general.

Mr Pokela was allegedly kidnapped from Lesotho by South African agents in 1967 and later charged under the country's

security laws and sentenced to prison. After serving 13 years on Robben Island he went into exile and settled in Dar es Salaam.

In February 1980 he was elected the new chairman of the PAC, and one of his first moves was the unconditional reinstatement of 72 PAC members who were expelled after infighting under the former chairman.

Mr Pokela also announced in February 1981 that the leading figures in the PAC, the ANC and the Black Consciousness Movement had agreed in principle to unite. But the ANC promptly denied there had been any moves for unity between it and the PAC. Mr Pokela later admitted that this rapprochement had not taken place.



# Pokela

From Page 1 <sup>501</sup>

to unite in their struggle for the liberation of South Africa: <sup>IA</sup>

Mr Lawrence Pokela, younger brother to the dead leader, said the family knew he was not in good health "but we did not expect to hear of his death which has been so untimely. This is a blow, not only to the family but to his organisation and the people in this country." The younger Pokela, who stays in Alexandra Township, said the family had not been in touch with his elder brother recently and were not aware his condition had been worse lately.

Mr Ishmael Mkhabela, president of the Azanian People's Organisation yesterday said: "Mr Pokela's death came at a time when persons of his calibre and leadership are needed in this hour of crisis in the national liberation struggle in Azania. The loss of his life should be interpreted as an indictment for those who made it impossible for the like of Pokela, Biko and others to contribute their intellect and energies to the creation of a free, antiracist socialist Azania.

"His death is a loss to the nation and what is disturbing is that he is not easy to replace in the black community. His ideas however, shall live in a vibrant manner among true sons and daughters of the Azanian soil."

The United Democratic Front's spokesman, Mr Murphison Morobe, said: "We regret the death of Mr Pokela, especially when such a death occurs outside of one's country of birth. The death of any South African opposed to apartheid is of special concern to us. We send our condolences to Mr Pokela's family and relatives."

## Post Focus

By KIN BENTLEY

WHILE attempts at rapprochement have recently been made by the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), feuding continues in Port Elizabeth's townships.

The conflict has led to the deaths of several people on both sides. Many houses have also been fire-bombed.

Claims that a "third party" is fomenting the violence have been made by both sides.

Local spokesmen for Azapo and the UDF see little likelihood of any form of alliance between the two organisations.

An Azapo spokesman said their ideological differences were "fundamental".

A UDF spokesman believes Azapo will "die a natural death" in the Eastern Cape.

The Rev Mzwandile Maqina, an executive member of Azapo in the Eastern Cape, has been a central figure in several incidents in the townships during the recent unrest.

Last weekend a hand grenade attack was made on his Kwazakele home in which one person was injured.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Imraan Moosa, has alleged that the UDF was being supported by trained terrorists.

The UDF subsequently rejected as "mischievous and absurd" allegations linking it with the ANC and the grenade attack. Mr Henry Fazzie said he was surprised that Azapo was making similar allegations to those made by Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Maqina said that while both organisations were opposed to apart-

# Azapo, UDF rift widens

11A  
S. Post  
2/7/85



**Rev MZWANDILE  
MAQINA**  
... UDF a multi-  
racial type of  
think-tank.

heid, Azapo's black consciousness standpoint differed vastly from the "non-racial" approach of the UDF.

"Scrapping apartheid is not our basic aim. We are fighting the whole system. The mistakes of history must be put right."

Mr Maqina, who is a founder and leader of the Ibandla likaNtu, an independent church, is a former schoolteacher and a faith-healer.

He said Azapo, which is a political party, differed fundamentally from the UDF-affiliated organisations in that it did not see South Africa today as being "one nation".

Mr Maqina said the

UDF (which includes whites) accepted the divisions which had occurred in South Africa as a result of the system introduced by whites. "They're a multiracial type of think-tank."

"Azapo will accept no white members until after liberation," he said, adding that it was the responsibility of whites who supported the organisation's aims to go to their communities and convert them.

On the violence between the two groups, Mr Maqina said that because of the existing climate, the UDF was "making use of the emotions of people to get a following".

He said young supporters of the UDF had had "implanted in their minds" that there was no difference between the black town councillors and Azapo.

The publicity secretary of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, Mr Stone Sizani, referred the Evening Post to the front's policy document, for an accurate interpretation of their policy.

The document, which came out following the front's first annual national conference at Azaadville, Krugersdorp, in April this year, makes the following demands:

● It calls for the scrapping of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, all Group Areas laws and for an end



**Mr STONE SIZANI**  
... Azapo winning  
the battles, but  
losing the war.

to "any form of forced removals".

● It calls for the dissolution of the bantustans and the ending of the migratory labour system.

● It says the tricameral Parliament "and all other puppet bodies created under the Black Local Authorities Act and other instruments of racist rule" should be scrapped.

● Free trade union rights, the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of banned individuals and organisations as well as the return of exiles and the lifting of restrictions on freedom of speech and assembly, are other demands of the

UDF.

● It calls for the disbanding of the SADF, Koevoet, the SAP "and all other repressive apparatus", including "the scrapping of all 'barbaric security' laws which violate the fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

● It also calls for a "unified and democratic education system", a call not dissimilar to the recommendations of the De Lange Commission on education.

● It calls for the repeal of the pass laws and all other restrictions on freedom of movement — similar to calls made by organised business in recent months.

On the ongoing unrest, Mr Sizani said the UDF had adopted a policy of no longer commenting on allegations by Azapo, because the feuding diverted attention away from the "war against the apartheid system".

He said although Azapo was "winning the battles against the UDF, it is losing the war". The only battle the UDF had, he said, was against apartheid, as a result of which it was winning the "hearts and minds of the people".

"Azapo are trying to get the maximum credibility out of the present conflict situation. However, they are going to die a natural death," he said.

# 30 years of the Charter

and the controversy rages on



Mr OLIVER TAMBO: Leader of the ANC.

LAST week marked the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, a document widely regarded as one of the most important in South African black political history.

According to the Transvaal Freedom Charter Committee, a multiracial "Congress of the People" attended by nearly 3 000 delegates at a football field in Klip-town, near Soweto, comprising members of the African National Congress (ANC), the Coloured People's Party, the South African Indian Congress and the white Congress of Democrats, was held on June 26 1955. About 7 000 observers also attended the occasion.

The Charter resulted from a suggestion by one of the more conser-

vative Congress leaders, Professor Z K Matthews, at an ANC annual conference in 1953. His suggestion of a "People's Parliament" appealed to a Congress leadership casting around for campaigning issues which could exploit the popular momentum set off by the "Defiance (campaign) of unjust laws" a year earlier.

## Apathy

An invitation was sent out to a wide range of organisations to co-sponsor the proposed "Congress of the People" but only the ones mentioned above, which were regarded as the ANC allies, attended. A joint National Action Committee was then formed by eight members from each organisation.

According to an article by Mr Tom Lodge, a lecturer in political studies at Wits University, the National Action Committee began soliciting ideas from the Congress's branches but this "was done in a fairly hapzähard way. The ANC in particular was badly organised and there was a degree of apathy and even hostility to the new campaign among local leaders".

Mr Lodge said of the document: "However, from those suggestions that were received the committee assembled a charter which bore the hallmark of a compromise between the different interests. Then, on June 26 1955 2 000 delegates attended a confer-

*The Freedom Charter was launched 30 years ago. It has been banned and unbanned several times by the Government. Some have claimed it to be the ultimate manifesto for the future of South Africa — while others claim that it is nothing but a means of appeasing white liberals. SOWETAN writer SELLO RABOTHATA (right) takes a look at this controversial document.*



ence held in Kliptown and acclaimed the document presented to them.

"The occasion was also marked by the first of a series of police raids which were to culminate in the great treason trial of 1956-61.

"But within the ranks of the ANC opinion on the merits of the Charter was not unanimous.

"Older conservatives combined with black conscious 'Africanists' have the document rejected at the ANC's annual conference and a special meeting had to be convened in April 1956 before the Charter became Congress policy."

## Moderate

It is now history that the Charter has become the policy document of the ANC. Its contents can hardly be described as revolutionary.

It can best be de-

scribed as a moderate document that seeks to satisfy all races in the country and that is where most hardliners seem to differ with it.

Hardliners do not see how the white minority who have been in power for so long can suddenly come around and say "the people shall govern; every man and woman shall have the right to vote, that all South Africa belongs to those who live in it, black and white; and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people".

Organisations which are affiliated to the National Forum (NF) have always expressed their opposition to the Freedom Charter and have adopted their own policy document — the Azanian Manifesto — which would make South Africa a socialist country.

CAPE TIMES 1/7/81  
11A

# UDF men's bodies found

Own Correspondent

## PORT ELIZABETH

The bodies of two of four community leaders who went missing on Thursday night have been found near the burnt-out shell of their car outside Port Elizabeth. The other two men are still missing.

Mr Fidelo Mhlawuli, an Oudtshoorn teacher, was found in the bush between Bluewater Bay and the sea. He had been stabbed and set alight, and his right hand severed.

Mr Sparrow Mkhonto, a member of the Cradock Residents' Association (Cradora), was found on Friday night, one kilometre from the car. He too had been stabbed and burnt.

Mr Matthew Goniwe and Mr Fort Calata, both Cradock community figures, are still missing.

The men, except for Mr Mhlawuli, were members of Cradora and

members of the United Democratic Front regional committee. They were in Port Elizabeth on Thursday to attend a weekly UDF briefing and were due to return to Cradock the same night.

The UDF yesterday blamed the government for the deaths of the two UDF members.

Speaking in Athlone to about 500 people at a meeting commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, UDF Western Cape secretary Mr Trevor Manuel said Mr Goniwe and Mr Calata could also be presumed dead.

Mr Manuel said that Mr Stone Sinzani, a UDF spokesman who was to have addressed the Athlone meeting, was also missing.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen,

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To page 2



CAPE TIMES 1/7/81  
A From page 1

police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, said yesterday the two dead UDF men had been identified by a nephew of Mr Mhlawuli.

He said the second body was discovered after a fisherman telephoned the police radio branch and told them where to find the body. Colonel Van Rooyen said the man did not wish to be named as he did not want to get involved.

Colonel Van Rooyen said a charge of murder was being investigated.

There are also fears for three other prominent Port Elizabeth activists who went missing on May 8.

They are Mr Qaqawuli Godolozzi, 30, president of the Port Elizabeth Black Community Organization (Pebco), the Pebco secretary, Mr Siphon Hashe, 58, and Pebco organizing secretary Mr Champion Gabela, 37.

All attempts by their families, friends, the police and other community leaders to discover what happened to them have failed. The family of Mr Siphon Hashe, believing that he might have been secretly detained, applied to the Supreme Court for an order ruling that the police produce him.

The application was dismissed.

## Journalist

A report late last night said that an Eastern Province Herald correspondent, Mr Mziwakhe Hlangani, has been missing since Friday. Mr Hlangani left the Herald offices about 7pm on Friday night.

Mrs Hlangani said she had expected her husband home about 8pm on Friday, and it was unlike him not to alert her if he was going to be late. She had contacted friends and relatives, but none had seen him.

The police and Livingstone Hospital had no knowledge of Mr Hlangani's whereabouts yesterday.

## Jobless

● Mr Noel Williams, chairman of the Atlantis Residents' Association, told the UDF meeting in Athlone yesterday that about 3 500 people had lost their jobs in Atlantis this year.

At present 250 Atlantis residents had their water supply cut off, Mr Williams said. People could not pay rents and maintenance accounts. Eviction notices were increasing on a daily basis.

People had been forcibly removed to Atlantis and promises from the government of jobs, homes and security had not been fulfilled.

"After 30 years of the Freedom Charter, our demands have not been met."

UN celebrates  
Freedom Charter

CAPE TOWN 1/7/85  
11A

**Own Correspondent**

NEW YORK — A United Nations celebration of the ANC Freedom Charter turned into a Soviet-run event when senior African diplomats and invited guests stayed away.

Observance of the charter's 30th anniversary was proposed by the ANC to coincide with celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the signing of the UN's own charter, but this hit opposition within the Organization of African Unity, where the Pan Africanist Congress and others were successful

in arguing that it was inappropriate to celebrate one particular movement's manifesto.

The observance went ahead last week as a "special meeting" of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, but without African bloc participation and with a Soviet diplomat in the chair usually occupied by committee chairman Mr Joseph Garba of Nigeria.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson, who had been expected, did not appear.

What remained were two speeches from a Cuban delegate, an Indian speech — India heads the non-aligned movement — and another on behalf of the UN Council for Namibia.

Secretary-General Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar sent a brief message noting that the aims of the Freedom Charter were "fully in conformity with the principles enshrined in the UN Charter".

**'Solidarity'**

That was the theme taken up by acting chairman Mr Guennadi Oudovenko of the Ukraine, who used the link to recall World War II and laud his Soviet compatriots for winning it.

The Freedom Charter had brought "international solidarity" to the South African liberation struggle, he said.

Swapo was on hand to declare close kinship with the ANC and for the ANC there was the unexpected appearance of Mr Denis Goldberg, flown from London for the event.