

BLACK POLITICS

1986 - JANUARY (1st - 31st)

★

STAR
2/11/86
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114

Winnie Mandela resting at 'safe place'

A veil of secrecy shrouds the whereabouts of Mrs Winnie Mandela, banned and banished wife of imprisoned African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Amichand Soman, Mrs Mandela's caretaker lawyer in the absence of Mr Ismael Ayob, said Mrs Mandela was resting at a "safe place" after a Krugersdorp magistrate granted her bail of R500 on Tuesday following her dramatic arrest on a busy Johannesburg highway the previous day.

Mr Soman said bail was granted on condition that Mrs Mandela did not enter the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

A close associate of Mrs Mandela, Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw) said: "Mrs Mandela needs a rest and she is at a place we may not disclose at this stage. She has had a strenuous week and has to prepare herself for the Supreme Court case against the Minister of Law and Order on January 7."

● See Page 6.

UDF, Azapo call for P W to step down 11A

In their New Year messages, the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have called on President Botha to step down and let a majority-rule government take over.

UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said the Botha Government should immediately abdicate power and allow a democratic government to be established. Those sentiments were echoed by Azapo president Mr Saths Cooper.

Mr Morobe said the challenge this year for the UDF would be to strengthen its organisations. The new year would also "see our people resisting with greater intensity and determination".

He said: "The Botha Government is a government of war,

not peace or reform. In the last weeks of 1985, its military escapades into neighbouring countries confirmed this with greater vigour.

"This year will also see no substantial change and Botha's army and police will invade the townships freely. We realise that our enemy will fight more viciously to defend its privilege and power.

"For all democrats 1986 will be the year of unity of all forces opposed to the apartheid regime and of all those who put the aspirations of the op-

pressed people first and not sectarian interests.

"To our fraternal organisations we say that we must strive to cement the unity we have forged. To (US President Mr Ronald) Reagan and (British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret) Thatcher we say that they must support the forces fighting for democracy and isolate the apartheid regime.

"To the white community we say they must ditch Botha and join the democratic movement in our struggle for a just and peaceful South Africa."

Mr Cooper said: "Our message to Botha and his white minority government, which has mismanaged the economy and created strife in our country, is: 'Step down and let the people rule'."

He said he saw the year ahead "fraught with further hardship and suffering for the exploited black majority.

"The state of emergency will become a way of life for black people and the violence which is inherent in our society will not cease.

"We must reject dummy solutions like the national convention and the regional services councils and we must boycott the Johannesburg Centenary which represents a century of exploitation."

Defence argues case for Winnie

2/1/86

West Rand Bureau

Mrs Winnie Mandela's defence team argued earlier this week that her life would be in danger if she returned to her Brandfort house and banning her from the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts would render her homeless.

Mrs Mandela appeared in the Krugersdorp Regional Court on Tuesday on charges of contravening her banning order, in terms of the Internal Security Act, after she was arrested on the M2 highway on Monday afternoon.

Mrs Mandela had flown to Jan Smuts Airport from Cape Town, allegedly defying her banning order to return to her Soweto home.

Regional magistrate Mr Chris Eksteen released Mrs Mandela on R500 bail on condition that she stay away from the two prohibited districts.

CUSTODY

Advocate Mr Gilbert Marcus, for the defence, argued that the State had supplied no legal basis to impose the banning as a condition of bail. He said an interdict would be submitted in the Rand Supreme Court on January 7, challenging the validity of the new banning order.

Mrs Mandela had been restricted to Brandfort in the Orange Free State, but returned to Soweto after her Brandfort house was attacked in August.

"There is no assurance that she is immune from arrest and no guarantee she will not be charged under Acts like the Group Areas Act," Mr Marcus said.

Mr Chris Krause, for the State, said Mrs Mandela's Brandfort house had been repaired and, if she refused to return there, the State would furnish the necessary housing in the form of custody.

Mrs Mandela will appear in the Krugersdorp Regional Court on January 22 on two charges of contravening the banning order.



Chanting youths outside the house Mrs Winnie Mandela visited in Kagiso township.



People scattered in all directions after police fired a teargas canister into the crowd.

Kagiso youths clash with police as Winnie visits

By Rich Mkhondo

A Catholic nun, Sister Bernard Mncube, yesterday intervened in what could have been an explosive situation as chanting and marching youths hurled insults at police who had given them three minutes to disperse in Kagiso, near Krugersdorp.

The youths were chanting in praise of Mrs Winnie Mandela, who, after a brief court appearance in Krugersdorp, visited a friend in Kagiso township.

Police and members of the Press followed her from the court to the house and soon after her arrival almost 1 000 people surrounded the house demanding to see her.

Her lawyer, Mr A Samon, had earlier told the Press they were stopping at the house to discuss the restrictions on Mrs Mandela not to enter the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

After an hour, more people

arrived and scores of others chanting freedom songs emerged from the street corners singing ANC freedom songs and songs in praise of Mrs Mandela.

Police, who kept a low profile and had filmed the proceedings, surrounded the youths and the house.

Using a loudhailer, a police officer said: "Under the Internal Security Act you are now constituting an illegal gathering.

DISPERSE

"I give you three minutes to disperse or action will be taken against you."

Sister Bernard consulted with the police and later told the Press she told them that "there is nothing sinister in what the youths are trying to do. They are just happy that Mrs Mandela is in the area".

Sister Bernard urged the youths to disperse and stop singing freedom songs.

Police then took down names

of all white members of the Press and gave them five minutes to leave the township.

After the Press had left, the police apparently fired teargas into the crowd.

A black television cameraman was briefly arrested as he tried to film the police action.

A British television correspondent argued that the township did not fall under the state of emergency regulations.

A police officer told all members of the media that, in terms of a Government ruling, an officer above the rank of a lieutenant could declare a place an emergency area.

After members of the Press had moved outside the township, police kept a close watch at the house where Mrs Mandela and her lawyers spent the afternoon.

She is due to appear in the Krugersdorp Regional Court on January 22 on a charge of flouting her banning order.

● Mrs Winnie Mandela's fami-

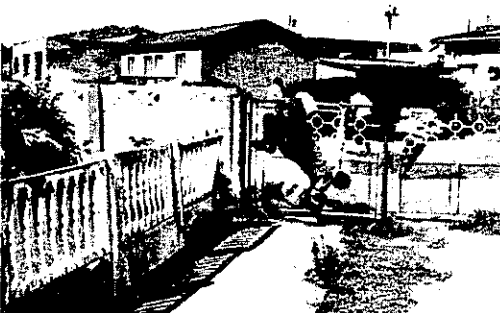
ly did not attend her brief court appearance yesterday, because her grandson Zondwa was ill following an incident during which Security Police arrested his grandmother on a busy motorway.

During a dramatic freeway police swoop on Monday, Zondwa became the centre of attraction when a policewoman forcibly removed him from his grandmother's arms in a bid to arrest her.

JOSTLED

The boy's head was banged against the car door as journalists and police jostled during a heated verbal exchange between Mrs Mandela, the policewoman and the officer who finally arrested her.

His mother, Ms Zinzi Mandela, yesterday said that on Monday night Zondwa "had swollen lips and appeared to have pains all over his body".



A youth tumbles head-first over a locked gate while running away from the teargas.



The same youth on all fours after falling over a gate into the yard next door to the house Mrs Mandela was visiting.



R500 bail on condition that she stay away from the two prohibited districts.

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Country at Ellis Park

A duel is how cowboys sort out their differences and Mr Roland Olivier and Mr Jan van Niekerk are ready to draw. But this is not a real duel — the Ellis Park country festival provided adults with an opportunity to play cowboys-and-crooks again.



Ride 'em cowgirl! The mechanical bull provided some thrills and spills for Miss Gaynor Dearlove at the country music bonanza yesterday.



These country gals, Mrs Ansie May, Mrs Lenie Gouws, Mrs Lenie Human, Mrs Nelie Pistorius and Mrs Toy Kotze would look as at home in any saloon out West as they did at the Ellis Park country festival.



A country and western fan takes a snooze, protected from the sun under her Stetson.

● Pictures by Kevin Carter.

Chaos as 'Fathers' and 'Comrades' clash

Bloody KTC battle kills four

3/1/86
STAR
11A

CAPE TOWN — The main streets bordering the KTC squatter settlement in Cape Town yesterday resembled a war zone after three days of vicious fighting between militant youths and older men that has left at least four people dead, six injured, three people confirmed abducted and hundreds in hiding.

In KTC, roads were littered with burning barricades, overturned bus shelters, broken rocks and debris, and tense groups of youths and adults lined the streets.

Yesterday, a group of more than 300 women from KTC marched on the Guguletu police station to demand an end to alleged police support for the "Fathers" — conservative men supportive of the community councillors who have been hunting militant "Maqabanes" (Comrades) in a feud that began on Christmas Eve.

Police maintained a watch, but did not interfere as a South African Air Force spotter aircraft circled overhead.

The Guguletu/Nyanga/Crossroads Ministers Fraternal today arranged a meeting between the police and factions from New and Old Crossroads. A group from KTC did not arrive at the meeting and representatives from the community said they could not negotiate with the police without a mandate from their people.

Hand-grenade blast

The Rev Mlamli Msenyana, chairman of the Ministers Fraternal, said another meeting was scheduled for noon today.

Late yesterday, KTC residents were called to a mass meeting by representatives of the United Democratic Front.

Six "Fathers" were injured in a hand-grenade blast in KTC on New Year's Eve.

One of those injured, Mr Prince Gobingca (38), a leader of the "Fathers," said:

"More than 300 youths were standing in the road, close to KTC. When they saw us, they came at us with guns and fired at us. We tried to catch them, but they threw stones at us.

"Then they threw a hand-grenade and five of us are in hospital. It dropped next to me, I heard an explosion, my trousers, shoes and shirt were all finished. Police arrived very soon after."

Mr Gobingca warned that if the "Maqabanes" did not listen to the "Fathers", then "we will catch them and take them to the police, but if they fight with us we will kill them".

He also confirmed the "Fathers" had abducted at least three "Comrades", and were holding them in a shipping container in Crossroads. — Sapa.

Shackland refugees returning as Natal faction fight ends

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Peace is slowly returning to the trouble-torn shackland at Umbumbulu on Natal's South Coast with police reporting no further incidents of violence.

Since the outbreak of fighting on Christmas Eve between Zulus and Pondos at least 63 people have been killed and dozens injured.

Police said on New Year's Day there were no incidents and the situation in the shackland was returning to normal.

When fighting broke out last week hundreds of Zulus and Pondos fled the area. Some sought refuge at the Umbumbulu police station and were later sent to the Red Cross headquarters in Durban, while others went to Santa's kwaMakhuta clinic.

The 150 Zulus at the Red Cross headquarters were this week moved to the Prince Mshiyeni Memorial Hospital at Umlazi. A spokesman for the hospital said some of the refugees have returned to their homes.

Although the cause of the fighting has not been established it is believed it is over land rights.

The local Zulu chief, Chief Bhekizithi Makhanya, has ordered all illegal squatters, who he says come from the Transkei, to leave the area. Transkei authorities say he has no authority to do so.

SOWETAN

FRIDAY, JANUARY 3, 1986

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

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Govt ban on political meetings

SEVENTY-FOUR political organisations, including the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation have been barred by the Government from holding meetings in 30 magisterial districts in the country.

The ban was announced by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, in the Government Gazette on New Year's Eve. 31/1/86

The prohibition is from December 31, 1985 to June 30 this year.

The meetings have been prohibited under the Internal Security Act. Such meetings

SOWETAN
Reporter

can only be held if the Minister of Law and Order has authorised them or if a magistrate gives permission.

This week's sweeping ban on gatherings is an extension of the same kind implemented by Mr le Grange last year. Meetings of the UDF and 28 other organisa-

tions in the Eastern Cape were banned from March to June 30 last year.

A ban was imposed on 64 political organisations in 30 magisterial districts in June last year. The clamp-down applied from June 30 to December 31. Almost all the organisations affected by this week's ban were also affected by the same kind of order last year.

Political leaders yesterday condemned the Government's decision and warned that the



PATRICK Molala . . . Azapo's deputy president.

banning of public meetings was a serious violation of democratic rights.

Mr Patrick Molala,

deputy president of Azapo, said: "The ban slapped on the organisation of the oppressed and exploited masses is once more a clear indication of the unChristian and undemocratic system of government in this country.

Stifled

"For, instead of addressing the legitimate demands of the oppressed black masses the Botha government has stifled organisations as it withdraws into the laager."

Father S'mangaliso

Mkhatshwa, patron of the UDF and secretary general of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, said: "It is a very bad beginning to the New Year, especially at a time when we have the state of emergency and we are trying to get solutions."

Father Mkhatshwa, who described this decision as "unfortunate", urged Mr le Grange to rescind the decision "and allow the people their democratic rights".

Professor Willem Kleynhans, political

scientist of the Department of Political Science at the University of South Africa (Unisa), condemned the decision and warned that black trade unions would now mobilise and politicise the black masses. "And there will be an international outcry if the Government dare ban them," he said.

Prof Kleynhans said "a mockery is made of the State President, Mr P W Botha's claim that he wants dialogue with people of all races in South Africa.

BUS DAY 3/1/86 (11A)

Labour Party to work on its image

THE coloured Labour Party's annual congress gets down to business in Goodwood, Cape Town, today with effort expected to concentrate on attempting to restore its severely dented image.

It was officially opened last night by LP leader and Cabinet Minister Allan Hendrickse. Deliberations are likely to be muted.

The run-up to the congress has been characterised by most MPs in the House of Delegates — including Hendrickse and Carter Ebrahim, the LP's Education and Culture Minister — trying to avoid

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

the limelight.

It has also been marked by almost six months of civil unrest in the Western Cape that has polarised the coloured community in the region and reduced the LP's popularity stakes to levels where it is now being lambasted as being a servant of government.

The mood of the community in the Cape flats is such that most political observers — and, indeed, the congress organisers themselves — are expecting conditions outside the conference venue to be

heated.

It was, in fact, for this reason the Goodwood civic centre was chosen for the opening, rather than the Athlone civic centre.

Trouble is expected. Security arrangements at Goodwood showgrounds, where the 1 000-plus delegates are to meet over the next two days, is geared to be extremely tight. The area is covered by the state of emergency regulations.

Given the tough emergency regulations in force in the area prospects of open confrontation and protest seem slim — but precautions are still being taken.

4 killed as 'fathers' battle militants

Cape Times
3/1/86

11A

By TONY WEAVER, JAMES MELLIAR
and CHRIS BATEMAN

THE streets bordering the KTC squatter settlement yesterday looked like a war zone after three days of fighting between militant youths and "fathers" which has left at least four people dead, six injured, three people abducted and hundreds in hiding.

In KTC, Terminus Road and NY78 were littered with burning barricades, the wrecks of two burnt-out cars, overturned bus shelters and broken rocks and debris. Tense groups of youths and adults lined the streets.

At 3.45pm yesterday, a group of more than 300 women from KTC marched on the Guguletu police station to de-

mand an end to alleged police support for the "fathers" — conservative men, supportive of the community councillors, who have been hunting militant "maqabanes" (comrades) in a feud which began on Christmas Eve.

After delivering their message, the crowd of women ran back to KTC singing and chanting freedom slogans. Police maintained a watch, but did not interfere as a South African Air Force Bosbok spotter aircraft circled overhead.

Yesterday afternoon, the Guguletu/Nyanga/Crossroads Ministers Fraternal were trying to convene a meeting between the warring factions and the police to negotiate a truce.

The original initiative for the meeting came from a police officer whom the Cape Times has been asked by police not to name.

The Rev Mlamli Msenyana, chairman of the Ministers Fraternal, said "initial talks" took place between police and factions from New and Old Crossroads.

Another meeting is scheduled for noon today at the Development Board offices.

Six "fathers" were injured in a hand-grenade blast in Jane Noutula Road, KTC, at 4pm on New Year's Eve. At 6.30pm, a second grenade was hurled 100 metres away, but no one was injured.

Yesterday Lieutenant Laubscher said police discovered the battered

bodies of two men whose skulls were smashed in and whose hands were tied behind their backs at the corner of Terminus and Jane Noutula Roads about 6am on Wednesday.

Nine hours later the battered body of a third man was found at No D17, KTC. None has been identified.

Early on Tuesday the charred body of Mr Thothi Nomongo, 60, of NY67, Guguletu, was found by his son in his backyard. Police believe youths poured petrol over Mr Nomongo before setting him alight.

One of those injured in the first hand-grenade blast, Mr Prince Gobingca, 38 — a leader of the "fathers" — said: "The youths were standing in the road, NY3, close to KTC. There were more than 300 of them. When they saw us, they came at us with guns, pistols, they fired at us, we tried to get at them ... but they threw stones at us.

"Then they threw a hand-grenade at us and five of us are in hospital. It dropped next to me, I heard an explosion, my trousers, shoes, shirt were all finished. Police arrived very soon after."

Mr Gobingca also confirmed that "fathers" abducted at least three "comrades", including the chairperson of the United Women's Organization branch in New Crossroads, Mrs Winnie Nkosi, and were holding them prisoner.

● 'Fathers' hurt by grenade, page 9

SPECIAL OFFERS

FREE!

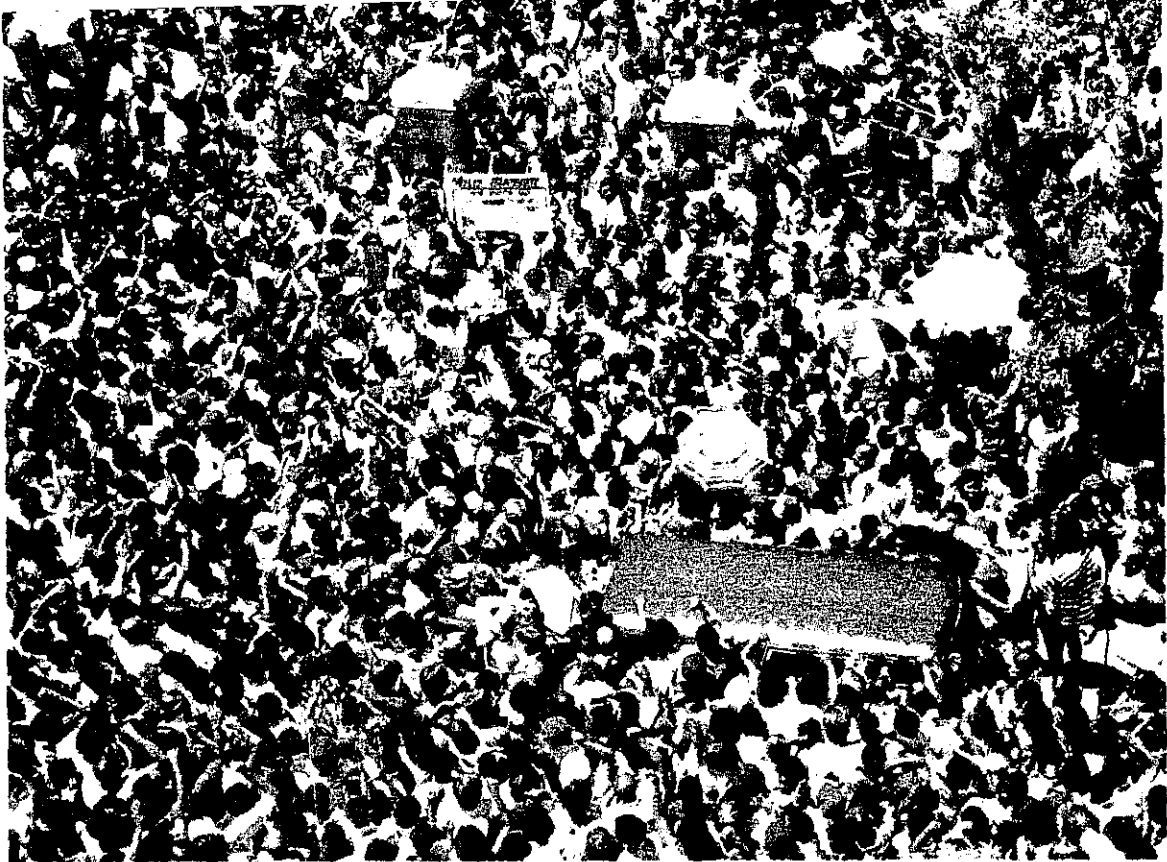
ALBUM



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and best



Some of the crowd of about 20 000 who attended the funeral service for Mrs Molly Blackburn in Port Elizabeth yesterday. Mrs Blackburn died in a car smash on Saturday.

20 000 mourners sing at Blackburn burial

APC Tinks 3/1/86

PORT ELIZABETH. — Close on 20 000 black mourners descended on St John's Church in central Port Elizabeth yesterday to join whites for the funeral of their lost champion, Mrs Molly Blackburn, killed in a car smash on Saturday.

They crammed adjoining streets from pavement to pavement for a radius of 200m from the church and their voices, raised in harmony outside the church, brought tears to the eyes of mourners inside.

Forty-five buses lined the streets. Mourners came from PE townships, Grahamstown, Cradock, Uitenhage and Port Alfred.

Over loudspeakers, the crowd heard Dr Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and patron of the UDF, say of Mrs Blackburn: "Even in death she did what she did all her life — bring us together."

A composed Dr Gavin Blackburn, Mrs Blackburn's husband, and his family sat in the front row of the church.

Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, president of the PE Youth Congress, Dr Alex Boraine of the PFP and Mrs Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash also addressed the interde-



Mrs Molly Blackburn

nominational service.

Dr Boesak said Mrs Blackburn would "remain alive" because she lived and participated in the struggle for justice, peace and humanity.

"She anticipated what this country can and should be. In South Africa there are precious white people who have gained so much credibility and earned so much respect from us."

Mr Jack blamed apartheid for her death, saying Mrs Blackburn had visited Oudtshoorn "to save them (black residents) from the vicious state of emergency".

Mrs Duncan said Mrs Blackburn and Mr Brian Bishop, the leader of the Civil Rights League who died in the same crash, had "changed the course of history and their work will continue".

Dr Boraine said of Mrs Blackburn: "She epitomized the quality of a bridge so desperately needed in our land and, like a bridge, sometimes people walked all over her. But she never minded so long as she could unite black and white."

The PFP MPC for Gardens, Mrs Di Bishop, and Mrs Blackburn's sister, Mrs Judy Chalmers, chairwoman of the Black Sash in PE, who were injured in the accident, both attended the funeral service — Mrs Bishop in a wheelchair.

Mourners included the PE president of the UDF, Mr Edgar Noyi.

● The Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Eastern Province, Brigadier Ernest Schnetler, yesterday issued an order under emergency regulations prohibiting any memorial service for Mrs Blackburn from taking place in the PE magisterial district tomorrow.

A separate order also forbade those without police permission from entering the area of the Feather Market Hall, where the UDF, Black Sash and the Ministers Fraternal had planned to hold the service. — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Cosby show returns to TV4

Staff Reporter

THE popular sitcom "Three's Company", which has dominated as the number one TV1 show and has been top of the combined TV1/TV4 poll for at least three months, is about to be ousted.

From Saturday, January 11, all-time favourite "The Cosby Show", featuring the irrepressible Huxtable clan, will return to the TV4 screen at 9.33pm — and undoubtedly the top slot. The Cosby Show contains its own little "Cliff-hanger" — whether an anti-apartheid poster stuck on one of the children's bedroom door will feature prominently on our screens.

When the first episode of the Huxtable family saga was screened on NBC on December 12 in 1984, American daily newspapers said it was the second highest rated regular episode of a weekly series in American TV history.

It scored a mammoth 36.2 rating, meaning that 36.2 percent of all the TV sets in America were tuned in. This was a 53 percent share of the audience (65-million people) watching TV at

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sion City range from admiration for Trump's brand of entrepreneurial verve and style, to extreme scepticism. Paul Goldberger, the *New York Times* architectural critic, for one, has expressed reservations about Television City's "wildly overreaching qualities."

"Skyscrapers much taller than 100 floors only make sense to the kind of builder who is as concerned with symbolising power as with the specifics of his cash flow," Goldberger says.

But then Trump's showmanship is legend. "What I have done is build the most beautiful buildings in the best locations . . . what good is it if no one knows about it?" is a characteristic Trump remark.

As George Sternlieb, director of the Centre for Urban Policy at Rutgers University puts it, to build that high, on this scale, you have to have tremendous machismo, have no fear of heights and no memory of disaster.

Work on the retail portion is scheduled for 1987 and work on the central tower will start in 1990. Construction will span an estimated 10 years. But before ground-breaking, the project has to survive an environmental impact study and a year of vigorous reviews and approval. Television City will employ an estimated 25 000 people in construction and create an estimated 40 000 permanent jobs, bringing in to NY an estimated \$200m taxes a year.

Neighbourhood critics have, however, already raised opposition to the project, because they contend it is too gargantuan and will strain transport and services. Trump, however, plans to leave nearly half the site as public open space. The waterfront, presently littered with unused derelict piers, will be renovated and extended as a promenade.

If Trump can get his august vision of Television City approved by numerous city, planning and neighbourhood committees, and his legal experts manage to get around the medley of obstacles, he will have proved his legendary mettle in the world's most ambitious real estate project. ■

ALBERTINA SISULU

Wed to the struggle

As one of three UDF national presidents and president of its Transvaal regional branch, Albertina Sisulu has been on something of a political roller-coaster ride over the last two years. It's a relief, she says placidly, that treason charges against her, and 11 fellow UDF leaders, have been dropped.

Sisulu (67) was elected the first UDF president in 1983 soon after the last of her 19 years of banning and house arrest orders were lifted. At the time she was in solitary confinement awaiting trial on charges of furthering the aims of a banned organisation. She's still awaiting the outcome of an appeal against the four-year sentence imposed that time around.

Like Winnie Mandela, Sisulu is a political



Sisulu . . . a political personage in her own right

personage in her own right, as well as consort of Pollsmoor prisoner Walter Sisulu, who was sentenced to life imprisonment more than 20 years ago for sabotage after the Rivonia trial.

It's a role that keeps her under the constant pressure of public scrutiny, she says. "You have to set an example. Fortunately, our men prepared us for what might happen, and provided guidelines for us to carry on." In addition to her political work, Sisulu works as a nurse for a Soweto doctor.

Amid the fog of recent rumours, has Sisulu any solid intimations that top ANC prisoners like her husband will be released? Nothing but hearsay, she says. Meanwhile, there's plenty under way. The present UDF-backed consumer boycott and Black Christmas, she feels, "is succeeding, though it's more potent in some areas than in others — it's not as strong here as in the Cape, for example."

Violence against boycott-breakers has led to charges that the UDF is unable to control the more militant youth. "You do have an element which uses the wrong means, against UDF instructions. But that's why we urge the State to release the many recognised and respected leaders who have been detained — so that they can speak to the people and control wilder elements. Because government has taken so many of our leadership, the youth, unguided, may take the wrong direction," Sisulu explains.

Does she expect intensification or moderation in the coming year of the extensive government action taken against UDF officials? "I expect anything from this government. It's good for our survival that the UDF is not a single organisation, but an umbrella

body," she says. "So even if its executives are taken out of circulation, its grassroots remain."

Sisulu was born in the Transkei, the eldest of an orphaned family of five children who grew up with her mother's family. Educated at a Catholic mission school, she remembers with amusement that her first ambition was to be a nun. "But then I learned that I'd have to give up contact with my brothers and sisters, with whom I wanted to set up a home, since we'd grown up in other people's houses."

After gaining her Junior Certificate in 1939, Sisulu was accepted for nursing training at Johannesburg General hospital. At that time, she laughs, "I had no political ideas. I was devout." But she met Walter Sisulu, the brother of a fellow nurse. In 1944 she married him.

"Walter was already politically involved in the ANC Youth League, with Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. I went with him to political meetings. What I heard there, and from him, combined with my experience of discrimination at the hospital to politicise me, I joined the ANC Women's League, and was later involved in setting up the Federation of SA Women in 1954," Sisulu remembers.

The Fifties were a decade of political upheaval. "There were protests, stayaways and bus boycotts. There was the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the 1956 march of Women on the Union Buildings, the campaign against the introduction of Bantu Education . . . Unlike today, young people were not that political, and Nelson and Walter and their colleagues in the Youth League were concerned to organise them and draw them in."

Along with intense political involvement and caring for her five children, Sisulu also remained a full-time nurse. Then in 1960 came the State of Emergency and the banning of the Congress Alliance. Her husband was in hiding for a time before being caught and jailed.

It wasn't easy. After Rivonia, Sisulu kept a nursing job to support and educate her own five children as well as two orphaned cousins: "I had to be the backbone of the family and play a political role where I could as well."

Then in 1963 she was detained for 90 days. "When they took me away, my children were just back from school. Standing on the stoep, they raised their fists and shouted 'Amandla!'" she says proudly.

The following year she was banned, the first of a series of banning orders: "The first five years weren't so bad. Though I couldn't attend meetings, I could still communicate with colleagues, and wasn't entirely cut off. But after 1969 I was house-arrested, and except for my family was completely isolated."

But the years of arrests, house-searches, and surveillance had their effect: four of the Sisulu children are political activists, two in exile. Judging by their mother's perseverance, it's not a tradition that will end easily. ■

LP wants 'reform, not talk'

CHIT Times 3/1/86
11A

SOUTH AFRICA and its people should be reconciled to one another and build "on the ashes of apartheid and not on the bodies of youths", the leader of the Labour Party of SA and Chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said last night.

Officially opening the annual party conference in Goodwood, Mr Hendrickse said he believed more could be gained "if we start reforming instead of talking about reform".

He said he would recommend that:

- A parliamentary select committee be appointed to examine and report on all legislation containing discrimination with a view of removing it.

- A commission of constitutional experts be appointed to examine the option of a geographic non-racial federal system of government as an alternative to the present system and that they report back to Parliament.

Mr Hendrickse said he believed the West should give greater recognition to responsible black, coloured and Indian leaders.

"I believe the time has come for Western governments to pay more attention to and grant more credibility to those leaders in South Africa who, although opposed to apartheid and the status quo, are willing, in a constructive way, to

work out through negotiation a new constitutional dispensation acceptable to all South Africans."

The Labour Party, he said, remained dedicated to the strategy of non-violence as it pursued its goal of assisting the creation of a new society.

"Therefore I deplore all acts of violence which have become a characteristic of our society.

"This violence has changed what could have been the best of times, into the worst of times.

"I deplore violence perpetrated by misled persons against their own people. I condemn in the strongest terms the violence of the killing of innocent persons such as happened in Amanzimtoti, but I also deplore those acts on the part of the authorities in quelling the disturbances which go beyond the norms of 'minimum force'.

"In these trying times restraints on all sides is essential," Mr Hendrickse said.

He believed a great gesture of goodwill and a big contribution to this year of peace would be to release prisoners like Nelson Mandela.

"I believe that so much good can come from the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and others.

"We must remain dedicated to the proposition that law and liberty are inseparable." — Sapa

AP6 Trent's 3/1/86 (11A)

'Optimism' in UDF message

Political Reporter

THE United Democratic Front yesterday said it entered 1986 with "great optimism and confidence" since the "elimination of the detested apartheid system has never seemed so certain in South Africa's history".

Mr Murphy Morobe, acting UDF national publicity secretary, said in his New Year's message: "In the coming year we must intensify the struggle against the apartheid state.

"We have since the formation of the front through our determined and consistent struggles rendered the constitution and dummy structures unworkable."

He said the democratic movement had made "momentous strides in the march to freedom and democracy" but in

the process the "toll in blood, sweat and tears has been phenomenal".

Mr Morobe called on the white community to "ditch (President) Botha and join the democratic movement in our struggle for a just and peaceful South Africa".

"To the Botha government we say that they must abdicate power and allow a democratic government to be established.

"We pay tribute to our comrades whose blood has watered the tree of freedom, and to our comrades who have been detained, tortured and imprisoned during the struggle.

"We pay tribute to our workers for uniting to form the largest trade union federation in our history — Cosatu," Mr Morobe said.

"To our students, par-

ents and teachers, we salute your brave decision to reoccupy the schools in order to strengthen your organizations and implement a people's education for people's power."

Mr Morobe said the Botha government was "a government of war and not of peace and reform".

"In the last weeks of 1985, its military escapades into neighbouring countries continued with greater vigour.

"We in the democratic movement recognize that our challenges will increase in 1986 and that our enemy will fight more viciously to defend their privileges and power. For all democrats 1986 will be the year of unity of all forces opposed to the apartheid regime."

Labour spells out strategies for 1986

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse last night spelled out his party's 1986 strategies for speeding political and constitutional reform, including the immediate repeal of the Group Areas Act and other remaining discriminatory laws.

He also called for the release of Nelson Mandela.

Addressing more than 1 000 supporters at the opening of this year's Labour Party Conference, at the tightly guarded Goodwood Civic Centre, Mr Hendrickse also endorsed a federal solution for the country's political problems, but insisted that this would have to be on a geographic, non-racial basis.

He would recommend that a commission of constitutional experts representative of all races be appointed to examine the option of a federation.

Mr Hendrickse announced significant concessions and decisions on coloured education:

- The deadline for applications to rewrite last year's examinations is extended to January 14, and pupils need only apply in writing without having to go through the Department or school principals.

- Bursaries are to be granted to

coloured students for study at universities other than at the University of the Western Cape, to encourage students to go to institutions of their choice. (Mr Hendrickse appealed to "white" universities not to bind themselves to quotas).

- Under-qualified teachers are to be upgraded without undergoing higher education. (Mr Hendrickse hinted that this was a move to release more funds for coloured education).

The political participation of blacks in the governing process of the country was essential.

NONSENSE

The Group Areas Act also had to be repealed, because, he said:

"It makes nonsense of reform and the repeal of Acts when a couple now legally married are threatened with prosecution because they live in a particular group area".

The Separate Amenities Act similarly had to go.

"The more people can meet, talk, relax and share amenities the sooner and the better they will be ready to be reconciled with each other."

Other measures which needed to be taken, Mr Hendrickse said, included the repeal of race classification and the release of Nelson Mandela and others who could be regarded as political prisoners.

Visiting US Congress party wants to meet the Mandelas

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The six members of the United States Congress due to leave for Johannesburg on Sunday hope to meet Nelson Mandela and his wife.

The group has appointments with President Botha; the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha; and churchmen such as Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude.

The visitors, who were invited by the South African Council of Churches, will arrive on Monday on an official US Government flight.

The party will meet labour and business leaders and tour Soweto and other black and coloured townships before meeting President Botha in Cape Town.

Labour leaders they will meet include representatives of the newly formed Congress of South African

Trade Unions and the National Mine-workers' Union. The businessmen are expected to include those who accompanied Anglo American chief Mr Gavin Relly for talks with the African National Congress in Lusaka last year.

It is understood that requests for meetings with Nelson Mandela in jail and Mrs Winnie Mandela have not yet been answered.

The visitors include two arch-foes of Pretoria's policies — Representative William Gray of Pennsylvania and Representative Walter Fauntroy of Washington, DC.

Other members of the group are: Representative Edolphus Towns of New York, a minister of the United Holiness Church; Representative Lynn Martin of Illinois; Representative Robert Kastenmeier of Wisconsin; and Representative Charles Hayes of Illinois.

New housing board launched

Pretoria Bureau

The Board for Development and Housing, which takes over the functions of the National Housing Commission and the Community Development Board for white housing, came into operation on January 1.

The new board, chaired by Mr W J van der M Marais, present chairman of the National Housing Commission, will meet for the first time on January 16.

Other members include the vice-chairman, Mr J G M (Boet) van Straten, a Johannesburg property consultant, Mr J N Swart, present vice-chairman of the National Housing Commission, Mr S B Myers, a Cape Town civil engineer and town planner, Mr R B Viljoen, of Durban and member of the Commission of Investigation into township development, and Mr J van Zyl, retired town clerk of Welkom.

State President's Fund needs cash

Pretoria Bureau

Victims of terrorism received almost R2 million in assistance from the State President's Fund in 1985.

The fund, established in June 1983 after the car bomb blast in the centre of Pretoria which killed 19 people, is today battling with a diminishing bank balance.

The fund's secretary, Mr Hannes Mouton, yesterday denied that the fund was exhausted or nearing bankruptcy. The number of terror acts had risen sharply over the past year and this had put strain on the fund, he said.

Last year 138 victims turned to the fund for help. The fund entered the New Year with 150 applications in various stages of being processed. This was without claims which could stem from the latest terror acts in the Northern Transvaal and Natal South Coast.

Money paid out by the fund was to compensate for damage to property, personal possessions, medical expenses and rehabilitation.

Only R131 000 was received last year in public donations, bringing the fund's income for last year to R262 000. Mr Mouton said for every R1 donated, the State pledged R1.

Fathers hurt by grenade in township hunt

By TONY WEAVER and JAMES MELLIAR

A LEADER of the vigilante group of "fathers" hunting militant activists in Cape Town's townships said yesterday the group had been assured police would not interfere with their operations.

Mr Prince Gobingca, 38, of New Crossroads, was injured in a hand-grenade attack on New Year's Eve when a group of activists attacked a group of about 300 "fathers".

Five "fathers" were injured in the blast. Immediately after his discharge from Conradi Hospital, Mr Gobingca, who has extensive shrapnel wounds on his legs, hands, face and torso, spoke at length to the Cape Times.

3 activists 'abducted'

He confirmed that the "fathers" had abducted at least three "maqabanes" (comrades), including a senior member of the United Women's Organization (UWO), and were holding them prisoner in a shipping container in Crossroads.

He said the "fathers" had met police, led by a police officer — whose name the Cape Times has, but which police have asked not be published — who said "it is all right, we can look for the maqabanes, but we must not kill them".

"We said we did not want to kill the maqabanes, we want to stop the maqabanes, we don't want them in our area any more."

"The police said they would not stop us from looking for the maqabanes. We asked one of the police vans to go to KTC to tell the people from KTC with a loudspeaker they must not interfere with us, we are busy fixing our problems in New Crossroads. They did this."

Allegedly killed informer

On Monday night, the "fathers" held a meeting and had "captured" a young girl who confessed to being part of a group who killed an alleged police informer by setting him on fire.

"We walked with her the whole night, from door to door, searching for the killers, but we did not unfortunately get any boys, only got two girls and Mrs (Winnie) Nkosi" (the New Crossroads chairperson of the United Women's Organization who was abducted on New Year's Eve).

"We want to keep all of them until we find the others, then we will take all of them to the police, we want peace in our area, the police officer said he would take any of the comrades we brought to him."

Mr Gobingca said the attitude of the "fathers" was that "we must get our revenge, we cannot leave our children to play with us, we are seriously injured already. The children are being very disrespectful to the fathers".

The "fathers" were "trying to get discipline into the township. If the government, the police, say they have any help for us, they can come and help us. We want to find the guys who have got the hand-grenades".

But he warned that if the "maqabanes" would not listen to the "fathers", then "we do not want a meeting, we want to catch them. When we catch them we will take them to the police, but if they fight with us we will kill them".

Policeman called a meeting

● A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Lieutenant Attie Laubscher, yesterday requested that the Cape Times not publish the name of the police officer concerned.

He said "an experienced member of the police force on his own initiative tried to get the leaders of the two groups together to get them to talk to each other".

This was also confirmed to the Cape Times by leaders of the "comrades" and the "fathers".

"He called a meeting of five people from each group for 12 noon (yesterday) at the Administration Board offices, but no one from KTC arrived. He then extended the meeting to 2pm, but again no one arrived.

"It seems at this stage they do not want to negotiate, they want to fight."

Lieutenant Laubscher appealed to township groups not to take the law into their own hands, but to take their grievances to the police.

He said he "could not confirm" that the police officer had said police would not interfere.

C. 7. 3/01/86

Education 'crisis' LP slated

Political Reporter

THE ruling Labour Party (LP) in the House of Representatives has "embarked on a vengeance trip against all those who do not adhere to its policies", according to Mr Peter Marais, leader of the People's Congress Party (PCP).

Mr Marais, a member of the President's Council, in his assessment after the first year of the tricameral Parliament, yesterday said: "In my view the loss in credibility far exceeds any gains made by any of us who have opted for 'aggressive participation' in the tricameral system."

He attacked the LP for creating a crisis in coloured education.

The prohibitions imposed by the LP on student and teacher activities at schools were issued against the will of the people, he said.

"In essence and in a very vital sense the people have been shackled further than was the case under exclusive white rule."

Entry curbs implemented to counter increase in terrorists, say officials

Govt clamps down on Lesotho border traffic

STAR 9/1/86

11A

MASERU — The South African Government is restricting the number of visitors crossing its border with Lesotho due to fears that the number of terrorists in its neighbouring country was increasing.

The Department of Foreign Affairs this week confirmed it was taking steps to curb the traffic between the two countries, following claims by Lesotho Government officials that South African border officials were barring most Lesotho citizens trying to cross the border.

The move apparently started on Wednesday, with South African immigration officials only allowing through those working in mines in South Africa. No reason was given for the clampdown. Lesotho Government officials said.

Lesotho officials at the Maseru Bridge border post said the South Africans told those barred on Wednesday they would be allowed in the next day, but on Thursday morning they were turned away again.

Suspect vehicles

Reacting to the allegations of a border clampdown, a spokesman of the Department of Foreign Affairs said the South African authorities were forced to take steps regarding the movement of people across the border as a result of confidential information indicating an increase in the number of terrorists in Lesotho.

The measures included restrictions on certain categories of visitors from Lesotho and restrictions on the granting of new border traffic privileges.

Suspect vehicles possibly transporting hidden people or arms were being thoroughly searched, she said.

The Lesotho Information Minister, Mr Desmond Sixishe, said he felt the South African action was a retaliatory move against Lesotho, which this week petitioned the UN Security Council over the killing on December 20 of nine people in Maseru.

Lesotho blamed South Africa for the murders, but Pretoria denied any involvement. Responsibility for the killings was claimed by the Lesotho National Liberation Army. The Security Council unanimously condemned South Africa for the killings. — Sapa-Reuter.

Uneasy truce in Cape after four days of fighting

Mercury Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—An uneasy truce prevailed in KTC and New Crossroads yesterday after four days of vicious fighting which saw four people killed, two hand grenades thrown and small arms fire exchanged as conservative 'fathers' battled with militant 'comrades'.

After a lengthy meeting between the warring factions yesterday afternoon, mediated by the Ministers Fraternal of Guguletu, Crossroads and

Nyanga, it was apparently agreed that a truce would be called and observed by both sides.

Sources close to the meeting said it had been agreed that attacks by the 'fathers' on the 'comrades' and *vice versa* would be suspended.

The establishment of a permanent channel of communication would be investigated, the sources said.

Late yesterday afternoon, police said they were investigating the

kidnapping by 'fathers' of at least two youths and Mrs Winifred Mankosi, chairman of the New Crossroads branch of the United Women's Organisation.

One of the leaders of the 'fathers' said on Thursday Mrs Mankosi and the other abductees were being held in a shipping container in Crossroads 'until we catch more of them; then we will hand them over to the police'.

Two of the organisa-

tions which have been severely affected by the fighting, the Federation of Cape Civic Associations and the United Women's Organisation, yesterday condemned the violence in separate statements.

S A mail

PRETORIA—Norway's Union of Postal Workers has ended its boycott of South African mail and normal dispatches are being resumed. — (Sapa)

Savimbi's trin

Vigilantes assaulted youths

By Mckeed Kotlolo, Pretoria Bureau

The kwaNdebele Minister of the Interior, Mr P M Ntuli, has confirmed that the 27 Mamelodi youths picnicking at Vlaklaagte on Christmas Day were assaulted by the homeland's vigilante group, Mbogodo.

The Minister also confirmed that discussions attended by the Chief Minister, Mr S S Skosana, and other ministers had been held with the parents of the assaulted youths on Sunday.

He could not understand why kwaNdebele citizens and taxi-drivers operating between the homeland and Mamelodi should have been attacked when entering the township "because those children were not assaulted by them but by members of our vigilante group".

Mr Ntuli said trouble started early in December last year when his government got word that

Mamelodi youths were preparing to attack the homeland on December 18 or 19, when everybody would have gone to the annual celebration at the nearby caves. The reason was that "our children were attending school and had written exams when pupils in other black areas in the country were boycotting school".

From then onwards they had started manning roadblocks and patrolling villages. Most had not attended the celebration "to make sure that nobody got a chance to destroy our properties."

"The men on patrol received information about four kombis whose occupants allegedly harassed people in the villages. They were traced and were trapped at a house at Vlaklaagte No 1. The occupants were taken to Kwaggafontein where they were assaulted," said the Minister.

● See Page 4.

Labour poised to show its mettle

STAR 4/11/86 11A

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — The Labour Party annual conference which opened at the Goodwood Showgrounds this week will set the tone and pace of how this party intends using the new parliamentary session to further its twin goals.

On entering the tricameral system in 1984, the party declared it was doing so only because it could use the dispensation as a means to promote its long-term strategy of effective political participation of all South Africans and to bring about social and economic upliftment in the short-term by improving facilities such as education, welfare and housing.

Looking back on 1985, at the first working session of the new Parliament, Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said at the formal opening of the conference he was satisfied.

"We have done our fair share in 1985 and we have played a very important part towards constitutional, social and economic reform. The records of our efforts, contributions, constructive criticism and proposals towards improving conditions can be found in *Hansard* and not in distorted pamphlets which have become a daily phenomenon," he said.

Two principles which so many had forgotten, he added, were: ● For the first time people other than white had become part of a decision-making process.

● For the first time people other than white formed part of the highest echelon of government.

During the past year movement away from discrimination began in earnest, he said, with the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, Section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Prohibition of Political Interference Act and coloured labour preference areas. Forced removals were suspended, freehold rights were granted to blacks and influx control laws relaxed.

"With respect to them, even the blind could see this is progress," Mr Hendrickse declared.

A glance at the conference agenda shows how anxious the party is to maintain if not accelerate this momentum.

The Group Areas Act must be scrapped immediately, say a number of resolutions, because not only is it discriminatory but its repeal would improve human relations.

Other resolutions call for the abolition of race classification and the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

Mr Hendrickse endorsed all these calls in his speech, saying there could be no reconciliation until there was equality.

He would be asking Parliament to appoint a select committee to examine and report on all legislation containing discrimination with a view to repeal.

Mr Hendrickse's speech outlined, in much the same way as does the State President's at the

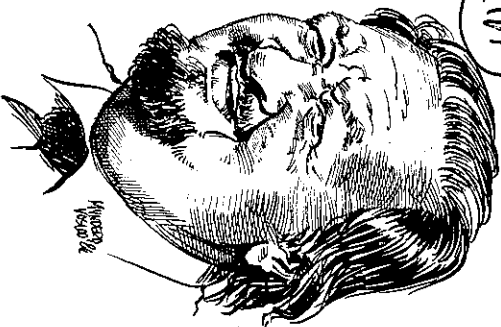
Hendrickse setting the pace in pursuit of twin goals

opening of Parliament, his party's agenda for the coming session.

Top priority is education, the handling of which has brought the Labour Party into increased confrontation with the coloured community during the past year.

"Not of our own doing, we are very far behind whites in the field of education," Mr Hendrickse told the conference delegates. "It is almost unbelievable that, in terms of privilege and as a result of the racist approach to education, so much has been done for so few while so little has been done for so many."

Accordingly, urgent attention



MR HENDRICKSE ... progress.

had to be given to the equalisation of spending on education. The narrowing of the gap, while appreciated, was not enough.

"If one examines the boycott action, one realises educational inequalities are being exploited by ruthless persons for incitement of students and preparation for revolution," Mr Hendrickse said.

In the meantime, the Administration of the House of Representatives has decided, as an act of conciliation, to extend the deadline for applications to rewrite last year's failed school examinations. Pupils need only apply in writing and not through officials. Coloured teachers, particularly

those underqualified but who have experience, are to be automatically graded into higher professional (and salary) brackets, without having first to go to college. In line with this, future promotions may no longer depend purely on length of service and qualifications, but rather on the basis of the best person for the job.

The possibility of large centralised farm schools to which pupils can be sent by bus is being investigated.

Bursaries will in future be given to coloured students to study at any university of their choice, not just to the coloured University of the Western Cape.

Mr Hendrickse was vague about what was to be done in the fields of welfare and housing, but he was adamant that in the economic area there could be upliftment by means of deregulation, particularly with regard to small traders.

His administration was furthermore in the process of acquiring farming land for redistribution to the coloured community, to get the people back to the soil, he said.

In the macro-political sphere, Mr Hendrickse indicated the Labour Party would push for a Bill of Rights "to ensure the rights of minorities are safeguarded and domination of one group over another is eliminated". A start would be made at this conference. In endorsing a federal option,

he emphasised it would have to take the form of a non-racial geographical system which must not be arranged and installed from the top by the central government.

It had to be engineered from the geographical units themselves, with the units first becoming autonomous entities with their own constitutional dispensations.

"What should be emphasised very clearly and also very strongly is that the federal option does not foresee the entrenchment of an apartheid system," he said.

Mr Hendrickse announced he intended recommending the appointment of a multiracial commission to investigate the option of a geographic non-racial federal system of government and report back to Parliament.

Theoretically, the Labour Party is more than just the second-most powerful party in Parliament. It is the governing party in the House of Representatives, the constitutional mechanism for the political participation of the coloured communities.

At a time when the Government has little to show by way of increased co-operation with the black communities, the Labour Party is perhaps in an even more powerful position to push for its goals.

Could 1986 then be another satisfactory year for Mr Hendrickse?

CITY P.
S. 11/1/88

Death on the beach after perm warfare

11A
244

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

AT least one bather was killed and several injured when cops fired birdshot after New Year celebrations in Durban turned into a bloody war between bathers.

Five cop vans and twelve other vehicles were damaged.

The dead bather has not yet been identified.

It's also not known how the person died - whether he or she was assaulted by the crowd, or shot by police.

The fracas began when a group of youths started chasing males who had permed hair, around the beach. According to witnesses, the men were attacked with knives and scissors.

A cop van which appeared on the scene was stoned and burnt and a policeman escaped unhurt. Reinforcements arrived and cops fired teargas and birdshot, preventing bathers from spilling into the nearby North Coast road and Indian beach.

Several of the bathers who had permed hair were

assaulted, and their hair cut. Many were seriously injured.

Bathers and onlookers surged towards the sea to escape the effects of the teargas.

Bathers on the nearby Indian beach scrambled for safety, fearing a renewed outbreak of last week's violence, in which Indian bathers were attacked by black youths.

The attackers ran towards a nearby highway, where they stoned cars. Witnesses said many innocent bystanders lost their belongings after fleeing for safety.

Durban police public relations officer Lieutenant Bob Sanker said cops fired 80 teargas cannisters and 25 rounds of birdshot.

S.T. 5/1/86

SCHOOL GUARDS IN HIGH PAY SHOCK

They're earning more than some teachers

THE Department of Education and Culture is paying unskilled security guards (night watchmen) at schools — some of them illiterate — hundreds of rands more than some qualified teachers.

This has been confirmed by the Minister for the Budget and Auxiliary Services in the House of Representatives, the Rev Andrew Julius.

The starting salary of these security guards is R730 — R100 more than the starting wage of a matriculated teacher and the equivalent of the salary of a matriculated teacher with five years' experience.

In addition, security guards — whom Mr Julius says are all paid the same wage wherever they do duty — are immediately put on the permanent staff and on the same payroll as professional staff, complete with pension benefits.

Emergency

He said this practice (to pay watchmen relatively large salaries) will continue as long as the state of emergency exists and as long as their services were needed.

Mr Julius said: "Consider the risks involved in their 6pm-to-6am jobs and you must agree they are only being fairly compensated."

"The salaries of teachers are another matter and were not determined by me or my department."

view to improving their remuneration, said Mr Julius.

The Director of Education, Mr A J Arendse, said his department dealt only with teacher salaries, and the pay of security guards was determined by the budget department of the House of Representatives. Therefore, he could not comment.

Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association (CTPA), said he "did not begrudge" the comparatively "good" salaries of security guards.

"Rather, it highlights once more how comparatively lowly paid are professional teachers," he said.

The MP for Fish River, Mr Collie Koeberg, confirmed that in his constituency, Graaff-Reinet, security guards were better paid than some teachers.

However, he echoed Mr Julius's views and said they were guarding schools "at great personal risk and worked 12-hour shifts".

No qualifications

The Sunday Times has established that, administratively, these specially-recruited security guards are treated by the Department of Education on a par with qualified staff — even

able to read or write.

Indeed, principals told me many of the guards could neither read nor write.

The guards are paid more, also, than matriculated school secretaries, who start on about R530 per month — and about three times what some general school caretak-

ers earn a month.

For example, a matriculated teacher with three years' service earns R690 a month.

The actual take-home pay of a security guard could be R690 compared with an matriculated teacher with two years' experience getting R660.

A security guard's

gross pay is also R150 more than, for example, a qualified teacher with Std 8 plus two years' experience and whose maximum salary is pegged at R575.

However, the biggest grumble comes from school caretakers, officially known as school "factotum", who earn only R320 a month.

General cleaners, male and female, earn about R240 on average a month.



The Rev Andrew Julius, Minister of the Budget, who says that paying security guards high salaries is justified by the risks involved in their jobs.

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Mr Julies said: "Consider the risks involved in their 6pm-to-6am jobs and you must agree they are only being fairly compensated.

"The salaries of teachers are another matter and were not determined by me or my department.

Caretakers

"However, we are having a serious look at the pay scales of teachers, as announced by the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, at the party congress in Goodwood.

"We are also examining the pay scales of caretakers and cleaners with a

view to improving their remuneration," said Mr Julies.

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However, he echoed Mr Julies's views and said they were guarding schools "at great personal risk and worked 12-hour shifts".

No qualifications

The Sunday Times has established that, administratively, these specially-recruited security guards are treated by the Department of Education on a par with qualified staff — even their pay cheques are identical and their salaries appear on the official school pay sheet.

However, their only duty is to patrol school grounds from 6pm to 6am.

Although they have to fill in formal application forms (or have them completed for them by school secretaries), they have to have no minimum qualifications and they need not have to be

able to read or write. Indeed, principals told me many of the guards could neither read nor write.

The guards are paid more, also, than matriculated school secretaries, who start on about R530 per month — and about three times what some general school caretak-

ers earn. For example, a matriculated teacher with three years' experience earns R660 per month.

The actual pay of a school secretary could be as low as R100 per month, with an experienced teacher earning R300 per month. A section

Report by NORMAN WEST

New 'merit' deal for teachers

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Labour Party is quietly working on a package deal for teachers which will recognise expertise rather than "paper" qualifications for top jobs.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse hinted at the new deal when he opened the party's 20th annual congress in Cape Town on Thursday night — and, further lifted the veil on the issue yesterday.

The Labour Party has been heavily criticised, and even accused of "bungling" the administration of the Department of Education and Culture since it took over the department when the party won the 1983 general elections and was put in charge of the Administration of the House of Representatives.

Vindicating

However, it appears to be on the road to vindicating itself in the eyes of the teacher corps — particularly among the rural contingent of lesser-qualified teachers in the Platteland — from where the party draws most of its support.

Mr Hendrickse said that, up until now, a teacher had to have a minimum of matric, plus three years, to become a primary-school principal or departmental head, with the ensuing financial benefits.

However, he said, the "cold truth" of the matter was that there remained a large untapped reservoir of teachers, whose expertise was being overlooked for promotions on merit.

In harness

Thousands of teachers — some with 30 years' experience, and who qualified in the days when a Std 8, plus two years professional train-

ing certificate, was sufficient — were still in harness today.

However, they were being side-stepped for promotion in favour of newly-qualified recruits who were not, necessarily, the best people for the jobs.

Mr Hendrickse said: "In the past, the person with the best "paper" qualification had to get preference. The result was, in many cases, the best man for the job was not always manning the right post.

"From now on, promotion will be on merit. The old stalwarts, who have always formed the backbone of education and who have the necessary expertise on the basis of experience, will be evaluated by independent inspectors of schools, and promoted on merit.

"We still will recognise higher qualifications for promotion, but only in conjunction with expertise and in competition with experienced peers," he said.

● A meeting will be held in the main hall on the University of the Western Cape campus tomorrow to discuss the student boycott and the supplementary examination issue.

The move follows this week's rejection by a full Bench of the Supreme Court, Cape Town, of an urgent application calling for pupils from Western Cape high schools and training-college students to be allowed to write supplementary examinations this year.



S-15/1/86

Round-table talks held to stop 'faction' fighting

By RENÉ
DU PREEZ

A WAY to end the fighting between two warring factions in the KTC and New Crossroads areas was to be discussed at a round-table confer-

ence at the Holy Cross Church in Nyanga last night.

In the past nine days, the fighting has claimed

four lives and there have been many claims of abduction.

The two factions — the "fathers" and "com-

rades" — have been involved in vicious fighting in which handgrenades and firearms have been used.

A six-hour meeting was held in Guguletu on Friday under the chairmanship of the acting chief director of the Western Cape Development Board, Mr Kobus Olivier.

A halt in the fighting was called, and last night's meeting, at which members of both factions, priests from the Ministers' Fraternal and Mr Kobus Olivier, was expected to arrive at a permanent truce between the two factions.

Trouble between the "fathers" (conservative senior citizens) and the "comrades" (young militants), erupted after the "fathers" decided to counter the tactics used by the "comrades" with force.

Mr Goodwill Botha, chairman of the Guguletu Residents' Association, expressed alarm and disappointment at the present turn of events.

He said: "I would like to see the comrades and

● Continued
on Page 3

A sheepish Peter Collins, daughter Ann

Mandela T-shirts sent to SA

By NORMAN ELLIS: Harare

T-SHIRTS emblazoned with portraits of imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela are being made at a co-operative of ex-guerrilla women in the eastern Zimbabwe border city of Mutare (formerly Umtali).

Two batches of 1 500 T-shirts have already been sent secretly through Mozambique to ANC supporters in South Africa.

They bear the slogans "Support the ANC of South Africa" and "Umnkonto We Sizwe".

The vice-chairman of the co-operative, Mr Wisky Aden, says the order was arranged through the Zimbabwe Project — a private aid agency that helps rehabilitate ex-Zimbabwe guerrillas.

Challenge

"We accepted this offer, which is also a challenge, open-handedly," he said. "This will keep us in business ..."

The co-operative, originally formed in 1982 by seven women who served as guerrillas in the seven-year war for independence, was on the brink of bankruptcy when it won the order last August.

Thanks to Zimbabwe Project and the ANC order, it is now making a profit.

"I foresee business prospering," said Mr Aden.

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Warring squatter groups call truce

By RENEE DU PREEZ: Cape Town

A TRUCE was called this week between warring factions at the KTC and New Crossroads settlements near Cape Town after fierce battles which cost at least four lives.

Representatives of the two factions — known as the "fathers" and "comrades" — were due to meet for peace talks at a church in Nyanga last night.

Firearms and even hand grenades were used in the fighting, which spanned a period of about nine days. Residents in two areas reported at least

four deaths and many abductions.

A six-hour meeting was held in the Guguletu township on Friday under the chairmanship of the acting chief director of the Western Cape Development Board, Mr Kobus Olivier.

A halt was called to the fighting, and last night's meeting — to be attended by representatives of the factions as well as Mr Kobus Olivier and priests from the Ministers' Fraternal — was expected to result in a permanent truce.

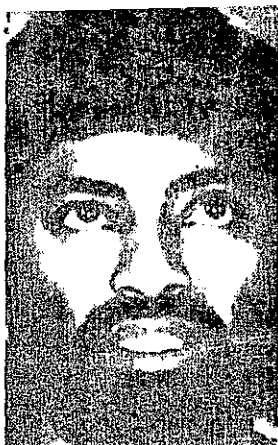
Township sources said trouble erupted between the "fathers" (conservative

senior citizens) and the "comrades" (young militants) after the "fathers" decided to use force to counter the tactics used by the other group.

Mr Goodwill Botha, chairman of the Guguletu Residents' Association, expressed alarm and disappointment over the conflict.

He said: "I would like to see the comrades and the fathers stop this unnecessary fighting."

"Our fight is supposed to be for our rights and those of our children in this country — and not between ourselves."



Azapo's Cooper: Let the people rule

'Abdicate now, Mr Botha!'

By MONO BADELA
SOUTH Africa's extra-parliamentary opposition groups have just one New Year message for President PW Botha: Abdicate.

They have urged Botha to immediately surrender power and hand over the reins to the masses.

In its New Year message, the United Democratic Front said: "To the Botha government we say they must immediately abdicate and allow a democratic government to be established."

And in his New Year message, new Azanian People's Organisation president Saths Cooper told Botha bluntly: "Step down - let the people rule."

He said this was Azapo's sole message to Botha and his "minority government, which has mismanaged the economy and created strife and ungovernability in our country".

The UDF also urged the white community to "ditch Botha and join the democratic movement in our

struggle for a just and peaceful South Africa." The UDF said the democratic movement had made momentous strides in the march to freedom and democracy - but the "toll in blood, sweat and tears had been phenomenal".

★ In his New Year message, Botha said the world demanded more reforms "virtually overnight" from the Government without contemplating the disastrous results for the country. He said "Christian val-

ues and civilised norms" would be upheld "with determination and a strong will", and commended the security forces for their "disciplined and devoted efforts" to maintain law and order.

★ The Release Mandela Committee says in 1986 it will intensify its campaign for the unconditional release of all political prisoners and strive for the unconditional return of all exiles and the complete abolition of all oppressive laws.

★ Associated Chambers of Commerce chief executive Raymond Parson said SA should focus its political, economic and business policies on achieving a much stronger rand this year.

★ The exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said in its New Year message: "We have no interest in reforms, we want a complete destruction of the white minority regime's structure and the establishment of the people's government in its place."

SHE'S FREE - FOR NOW

By HERMAN LETSIE
"HOMELESS" Winnie Mandela faced a painful decision this week - to go to jail or stay in her house in Brandfort in the Orange Free State where she was banished to eight years ago.

This was hours before Krugersdorp magistrate C J Eksteen decided to grant Mrs Mandela R500 bail when she appeared before him on a charge of breaking her banning order. The banning order excludes her from entering the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

Mrs Mandela was arrested on a highway from Jan Smuts airport on Monday after she had been to visit her husband Nelson Mandela in Cape Town.

The courtroom packed with overseas television crews heard Magistrate Eksteen tell of his predicament in granting bail.



Winnie Mandela, welcomed outside by RMC's Aubrey Mokoena.

CITY P. 5/1/86

Advocate Gilbert J Marcus, for Mrs Mandela, pointed out that the banning order effectively made her "homeless". Her house in Brandfort was petrol-bombed in a mysterious attack last year. She broke her banning order and returned to the Mandela home in Soweto.

In opposing the applica-

tion, prosecutor C F Krause said: "If her Brandfort home is not safe, she can be kept in custody."

After her bail was granted, Mrs Mandela was besieged by a huge crowd which included officials from the Release Mandela Committee, members of the foreign Press and well-wishers.

A huge welcome for Ngoyi

CP Correspondent
THERE were chants of "Viva Comrade Ngoyi" from 35 000 singing mourners in Port Elizabeth at the weekend when Eastern Cape UDF president Edgar Ngoyi addressed a public meeting for the first time after seven months in Humansdorp prison.

Mr Ngoyi - released on R500 bail last Friday after being charged with murder - attended the funeral of unrest victims Kula Mvumbi, 26, and Mtutuzeli Kungwayo, 56, at Emmanuel Methodist Church.

By TEBELLO RADEBE
UNCERTAINTY surrounds the planned visit to South Africa next week by seven United States Congress members.

US Administration spokesman in Johannesburg Harvey Leifert said there was "nothing definite or official" on the tour yet. "But the members of Congress are expected to spend the whole of next week in South Africa," he added.

The party, which includes some of the most vocal enemies of apartheid in the US Congress, has been invited by SACC general secretary Beyers Naude.

Several Congressmen have visited South Africa recently.

Leifert said the congressional team was keen to visit SA.

Among the US Congress-

'On-off' visit may be on

men who plan to visit SA is Bill Grey, who is considered the most powerful black politician in the American capital.

He is also the Finance Committee chairman of the House of Representative and took the leading role in moving sanctions measures against South Africa.

Walter Fauntroy, who was recently arrested after staging a sit-in protest at the SA Embassy in Washington, is also among the group which plans to visit SA. He is a prominent anti-apartheid activist.

NEWS PLUS+

★ **LAW and Order Minister Louis le Grange** has prohibited gatherings by 74 organisations in 30 magisterial districts for the next six months.

Most of the magisterial districts are in the Eastern Cape. ★ **THE full bench of the Rand Supreme Court** this week dis-

missed with costs an application for the release of 13 United Democratic Front and Transvaal Indian Congress members held under the emergency regulations in the Johannesburg Prison at Diepkloof and at Modderbee.

Argument in the court, heard on December 20, centered on the powers of the

State President in terms of the Public Safety Act.

Eleven of the detainees have been held since the start of the state of emergency in July, and two since September.

★ **THE release of a 15-year-old pupil** has given substance to claims by Cape Town advocate Dullah Omar that children un-

der 16 were being detained in Western Cape prisons.

The claims were not taken seriously until Nyanga East pupil Poulus Ramacwana was released after seven weeks in detention under the emergency regulations.

★ **A SUSPECTED freedom fighter** was arrested at an Igika Township shebeen near Butter-

worth in the Transkei last week.

City Press learnt the man was arrested by Transkei troops after a tip-off. Two AK47 rifles, grenades and ammunition were seized.

A second man allegedly vanished while a Transkei soldier, the only one at the shebeen at the time, went to call reinforcements.

Printed at the Cape and Eastern Cape Press, 111A P. 5/1/86

S.T.S. 1180

'Faction' fighting

Continued
from Page 4

the fathers stop this unnecessary fighting.

"Our fight is suppose to be for our rights and those of our children in this country — and not between ourselves.

"We fully support the grievances of our children, but we cannot condone what is happening between our own people at present."

Although the start of the present fighting between the "fathers" and the "comrades" seem to be between groups of different political leanings, this was denied by a member of the Federation of Cape Civic Associations.

He said: "It's not a political difference at all.

"It seems some citizens feel the youths have gone too far in making their stand against apartheid.

"But we will not end apartheid by fighting among ourselves."

Mr Olivier could not be contacted for comment.

Hendrickse bucks Cabinet in 'free Mandela' debate

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader and Cabinet Minister, has come out in spirited support of the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.

He has also pledged support to the Government in its quest for a non-racial federation in South Africa.

His stand on Mandela — he rejects the Government's demand that Mandela first renounce violence — puts him in direct opposition to his Cabinet colleagues and President P W Botha.

It also pulls him into the centre of one of the most hotly contested issues in Government: whether, and how, to talk to the ANC.

Mr Hendrickse, re-elected Labour Party leader at its 20th annual congress in Cape Town this week, told the Sunday Times he felt Mr Botha should take the bold step of releasing Mandela.

"He should take it for the sake of the survival of all of South Africa and not hesitate to pacify the few whose philosophy is built on traditional Afrikaner stubbornness and *kragdadigheid*," he said.

In one of his most outspoken interviews since he was appointed Cabinet Minister in his capacity as chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, he said the Government should move away from "gamesmanship towards statemanship on the Mandela issue".

"We cannot hope to achieve a peaceful transition from the present system of government, based on the Population Registration Act and all its related race-based

laws, to a non-racial federal form of government, without Mr Mandela and other political prisoners being freed."

Keeping Mandela and other political prisoners behind bars made it impossible to negotiate, he said.

"I believe Mr Mandela can have a calming effect on the confusion and frustration.

"I call upon the Government to let the man out before the worst tragedy that can ever be imagined is visited upon this country: the

possible death of the people's martyr in jail."

He also called for the establishment of a federal state. Other resolutions accepted by the congress were:

● Condemnation of alleged police harassment of Mrs Winnie Mandela and a call on the Government to lift all restrictions.

● Opposition to the Moutse removals.

● A change of the party's constitution to open it to all races.

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5/1/86 (11A) S-T

Hendrickse calls to release Mandela

By NORMAN WEST — Political Reporter
LABOUR PARTY leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday his party would support the Government in its quest to convert South Africa into a non-racial federal state, subject to the release of banned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Hendrickse was yesterday re-elected leader of the Labour Party at its 20th annual congress in Goodwood, Cape Town.

He said in a special interview with the Sunday Times he felt the State President, Mr P W Botha, should take the bold step, irrespective of the feeling of Nationalist rightists.

"He should take the step for the sake of the survival of all of South Africa, and not hesitate in order to pacify the few whose whole political philosophy is built on traditional Afrikaner

stubbornness and *kragdadigheid*," said Mr Hendrickse.

This week's congress was attended by more than 2 000 delegates from 139 branches throughout the country.

Mr Hendrickse, a Cabinet Minister in his capacity as chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Representatives, said it was "about time" the

Government "moved away from gamesmanship towards statesmanship on the Mandela issue".

"We cannot hope to achieve a peaceful transition from the present system of government based on all its race-based laws to a non-racial federal form without the freedom of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners, whom a large section of the black community regard as their leaders."

The Government has insisted, so far, that Mr Mandela backtracks on

his refusal to accept conditional release.

The Government wants him to sign a declaration renouncing violence as a means to achieving political aims. Mr Mandela insists he should be freed unconditionally after serving almost 25 years in jail for subversion.

This has led to stalemate between the Government — which is believed to be anxious to release Mr Mandela, but

not unless he renounces violence — and Mr Mandela's supporters, who want him set free unconditionally.

Mr Hendrickse said yesterday the continued imprisonment of Mr Mandela caused an "aura of mystique" about him among young blacks, who see him as the symbol of their own oppression and racial prejudices against them.

Mr Hendrickse said that keeping Mr Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees behind bars made it impossible to create an atmosphere to negotiate any alternative to the present system.

"I believe Mr Mandela can have a calming effect on the confusion and frustration generated by the anger of the people over his continued imprisonment.

Stature

"By letting him out, the "reason" for the frustration of most youngsters would be mollified."

Mr Hendrickse said Mr Mandela's imprison-

ment had made him a man of stature among the world's most-feted political prisoners.

Being conscious of that, Mr Mandela would be the last person to encourage violence, said Mr Hendrickse.

The party adopted a motion urging the Government to repeal the Population Registration Act to create a non-racial South Africa.

Alternative

Mr Hendrickse said the country must simply accept that it had — with its past policies of divide and rule, the creation of separate homelands and race-based geographical "reserves" (group areas) — reached the position where it could no longer "unscramble the scrambled egg".

The only alternative, he said, was to find a way

to accommodate the political aspirations of all the people by giving them a free choice to live where they wanted.

This could be achieved in a federal state — a geographical entity of their choice established without racial or ethnic prejudice, he said.

The congress agreed to establish a House of Representative special committee to investigate the feasibility of a geographically-based federal structure.

Bold plan

In KwaZulu, for instance, if a federal plan was to be accepted, Richards Bay and Stanger most probably would fall within that proposed state.

He said: "I am talking about a bold plan demanding major surgery, deep incisions and intricate stitching to bring together geographical areas which would form a viable proposition and add up to a fair distribution of the land and the share of its wealth by all its peoples."

On GOVT

'Are the soldiers colour blind?'

11A
CITY P.
5/1/86.

By STAN MHLONGO

VAAL soldiers mistook the green, gold, black and red colours of a group of Rastafarians for those of the ANC at the weekend - and allegedly disrupted their gig.

The Rastas - members of the Vaal Rastafarian Movement - claim their Boxing Day party in Evaton was disrupted by a group of soldiers who thought the gig was an ANC gathering.

Three Rastas at the party - Asha Tshabalala, Levy Lebusa and Asha Legae - claim the soldiers searched the house for "weapons and banned literature" after disrupting celebrations.

The men said the house was reduced to a "shambles" before the soldiers agreed to talk to them.

"They dismissed the fact that we wear green, gold, red and black for religious purposes and claimed we were ANC sympathisers," said Mr Tshabalala, leader of the Rasta Movement.

Mr Lebusa said he explained to the soldiers that Rastafarians originally adopted these colours from the rainbow.

West Rand Police spokesman Colonel WH Steyn said he was unaware of the incident, but promised to investigate.

'Those wasted years



IN the Gospel according to Thomas, we read: "If you bring forth what is within you, what you bring forth will save you. If you do not bring forth what is within you, what you do not bring forth will destroy you."

The psychological depth of this statement is not difficult to grasp — but what we need in South Africa today is the application of this insight.

Let us start with the situation in 1985. The violence inherent in our society was unleashed, and all saw that we are indeed the violent society that political philosophers always judged us to be.

Events during 1985 emphasised the importance of the 1976 uprisings, when black youths claimed a say for blacks in decision-making processes. These events also revealed the restless mood of blacks and set the tone for politics in the years ahead.

People often ask: why did we experience this intensive and widespread aggressiveness during 1985, when President Botha was busy introducing substantial reforms with regard to the Immorality Act, Mixed Marriages Act, freehold rights to blacks and influx control? And why will this aggressiveness continue even when the Group Areas Act is repealed?

(11A) S.T. 5/11/86. (S.A.P.A) (S.A.P.A) (S.A.P.A)

Three times we have denied black rights. Now we must negotiate — not just reform

By JOHAN DEGENAAR, Professor of Political Philosophy at Stellenbosch

If we limit our view to 1985, it will be difficult to answer these questions. But if we look at our history, the answers come more easily.

There are crucial events in our past when basic mistakes were made because opportunities to accept blacks as South African citizens were misused to entrench the position of the whites.

Fatal

I focus on three constitutionally important events: the formation of Union in 1910, obtaining Republican status in 1961 and the introduction of the New Constitution in 1984. These are all hall-

marks of black exclusion.

The introduction of the New Constitution was not only a mistake, it was a fatal mistake, for it excluded blacks at a decisive stage of our history, when we should have realised we had a second chance to right the wrongs of the past.

The role of verligtes in this disastrous affair, which remains an irrevocable insult to blacks, is now part of our unhappy history. We are busy paying a heavy price for the wrong decision made in 1910, which was so confidently reaffirmed in 1983.

The tragic contradiction of reform-minded verligtes has now become the

legacy of a verligte PW. This tragic contradiction is confirmed by the fact that genuine reforms are made, but are not acknowledged as such.

Counter-productive

It is extremely tragic for a country when right is perceived as wrong. But it is inevitable, for the framework in which the reforms are introduced by the President is unacceptable for those to whom it applies. I refer to the framework of white hegemony, within which the rulers decide unilaterally on concessions they are willing to grant to blacks.

Even a reformist move in 1986 to co-opt blacks into a white-dominated system will be rejected. We have arrived at a stage in our history when reform has become counter-productive. Let us at least realise this in 1986. Blacks will not accept a reform process in which they have no participation.

We are in for a difficult time. It is true that revolution is not around the corner, but it is equally true that blacks are not going to accept piecemeal engineering of reform-minded whites.

They want to be accepted as citizens in a democratic society, and for this they are willing to sacrifice their lives.

Negotiation

The way out of this impasse is negotiation — real negotiation — not sham negotiation. Formulated in extreme terms: what we need in South Africa is not reform but negotiation. Only reform which is the product of negotiation will be acceptable to blacks.

There are various groups which have a stake in the power struggle. The role of Buthelezi, for example, should not be underestimated. But I concentrate only on two of the main powers involved. These are the whites, as represented by the Government, and the blacks, as represented by the African National Congress.

The mistakes made by these two partners are easy to identify.

On the side of the whites: the continual constitutional rejection of blacks and the use of structural violence inherent in the apartheid system.

On the side of the blacks: the introduction of physical violence in strategy and involvement in the crippling of our economy through boycotts and disinvestment, which lead to unemployment, frustration and polarisation.

If we choose polarisation rather than negotiation, we will move inevitably into a Lebanon and Northern Ireland situation of violence and counter-violence, based on the principles of revenge and counter-revenge.

Events in the recent past suggest we are gradually moving into a spiral of violence which is too ghastly to contemplate. All the unnecessary killings are sowing the seeds of hatred. How sad that a black leader has to proclaim on December 16, in reference to the violence caused by the proposed incorporation of the Moutse district into the KwaNdebele homeland: "The Afrikaner does not understand any language but the language of violence."

Traumatic

Let us not think that bargaining for a just constitution will be an easy process. It will be most difficult for all concerned, and especially traumatic for the whites, who will have to accept that the blacks constitute a majority in a democratic South Africa. The bargaining process will be difficult because black and white do not operate in a vacuum. They are actors in history, and history is claiming its due.

Laurens van der Post would call our historical situation "the raw material of our salvation". This is a powerful, positive call to reconciliation. It is a liberating idea, but then there should at least be signs of our willingness to be saved and to take responsibility for a shared future.

Structural and physical violence in the country, continuing political crisis, economic depression and international sanctions against South Africa can contribute to a historical consciousness among South Africans. It is to the advantage of all citizens if we realise South Africa is not merely a geographical unit, but first and foremost a historical reality.

This insight should influence participants to realise what the unfinished business of our history is and to tackle that problem even before we can negotiate reform. The psychological and historical dimensions of our lives are intertwined. No man is an island. The issue is clear. The choice concerns the life and death of a nation and a country. This choice is in our hands.



Winnie Mandela cradling her grandson Zondwa moments before police arrested her in a dramatic swoop on her car on the Johannesburg M2 highway this week. Picture by Gideon Mendel of AFP

Winnie 'not in Soweto'

SECURITY Police are satisfied Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC Leader, is not in hiding in Soweto.

And they have warned they would definitely act against her if she were.

The statement is the latest development in a cat-and-mouse game played by Mrs Mandela with the security forces ever since her banning orders were changed to allow her to go wherever she wants — except Johannesburg and Soweto.

"According to our information Mrs Mandela is definitely not in Soweto," said Brigadier Johan van der Merwe of the Security Police in Pretoria.

"If she were in Soweto we would definitely act against

By HILTON HAMANN

her for contravening her banning order."

Earlier Mrs Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, said he was unable to comment on the rumours.

On Tuesday this week Mrs Mandela was granted R500 bail by Krugersdorp magistrate Mr Chris Eksteen after a dramatic arrest on the M2 motorway in Johannesburg.

She appeared in court on a charge of contravening her banning order in terms of the Internal Security Act.

In terms of her banning order, Mrs Mandela is restricted from entering the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

The drama began after Mrs Mandela and members of her family arrived at Jan

Smuts Airport from Cape Town after visiting Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison.

As the party entered the domestic arrivals area they were met by a large contingent of Press members and Security Police.

There was a commotion as journalists tried to photograph her and ask her if she would defy her banning order.

Convoy

After consultations with her legal representatives, Mr Prakesh Diar, one of her lawyers, announced that the party would be going to Soweto.

Her party then left the airport followed by a convoy of cars belonging to the Press and Security Police.

Mrs Mandela's car was driven by Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Campaign. As the car crossed the Johannesburg-Germiston border it was stopped by police.

It was Mrs Mandela's second arrest in eight days. On December 21 she was taken from her Soweto home and charged with defying her banning order.

* She was informed by the police that she would be re-arrested if she returned to Soweto.

In the meantime Mrs Mandela has brought an urgent application before the Supreme Court challenging the order.

The hearing will take place on Tuesday in the Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg.

Cape Times 6/1/86
LP officially open to all races

114

Political Reporter

THE Labour Party has officially opened its doors to all races following an amendment to the constitution accepted at the party's annual congress, held at Goodwood.

The move, however, is little more than a rubber stamp, as the party's previous policy has been to refuse to ask prospective members their racial classification.

Indian members of the Labour Party contested seats for the House of Delegates in the August 1984 elections, albeit as independents.

With the repeal of the Prohibition of Political Interference Act last year, it was decided to bring the constitution in line with accepted practice.

328 114
2 Cape Times, Monday, January 6, 1986

LP call over Winnie Mandela

Political Reporter

A MOTION calling for an end to police harassment of Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, was adopted by the Labour Party congress on Saturday.

The motion was introduced by Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP for Addo, who said he wished to condemn the recent harassment she suffered at the hands of the police.

The motion condemned detentions without trial, bannings, house arrests and "all other actions which contravene the principles of natural justice".

Another motion calling for the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and all political prisoners was tabled but not adopted.

The party chairman, the Rev Andrew Julies, urged congress to leave the demand "in the capable hands of the leader (the Rev Allan Hendrickse)" who he said would personally pursue the release of Mr Mandela and others with the government.

CAPE TIMES
6/1/86

Bodies of two men^(M) found in Guguletu

Staff Reporter

THE bodies of two men were found in Guguletu at the weekend during the uneasy calm that prevailed in New Crossroads and KTC after four days of violence last week between youthful "comrades" and older, conservative "fathers".

It is believed the bodies, those of "fathers", had been removed by youths from graves where they had recently been buried. The incidents occurred after a funeral service for "comrades" in Guguletu on Saturday afternoon.

According to one source, the "comrades and the community" did not want the bodies buried in the cemetery at Guguletu.

Police have confirmed the discovery of one body, which was found on the municipal dumping grounds at NY108, Guguletu, yesterday.

According to a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, the body had not yet been identified.

He could not confirm the discovery of another body — believed to be that of a Mr Siqaza, a New Crossroads community councillor — in NY5 yesterday morning.

Mr Siqaza was attacked on Christmas Eve by panga-wielding youths and then burnt to death in the boot of a vehicle.

His death sparked off a four-day wave of violence in which at least four people were killed, six injured, three abducted and hundreds of others fled.

One of those killed in the fighting that followed Mr Siqaza's death, Mr Ntsikelelo "Cedric" Zokolo, 50, a leading United Democratic Front member and member of the Federation of Cape Civic Associations, was buried on Saturday.

● Picture, page 7

CARE TIGHT

* 6/1/86

Pledges form ^{NA} bulk of LP funds

Political Staff

THE Labour Party's income for 1985 amounted to R326 361, of which R247 717 was in the form of pledges from party MPs and members of the President's Council.

This was disclosed at the 20th annual congress of the party.

Income during 1984 amounted to R98 370, of which R29 202 was in the form of pledges.

Expenditure during 1985 amounted to R161 958, leaving a balance of R164 403.

The acting treasurer of the party, Mr Vernon Sass, disclosed that R28 718 was due to the party in outstanding pledges, including R2 000 by Transvaal leader Mr Jac Rabie.

Mr Rabie was defeated in his bid to become national vice-chairman by the Chairman of the House of Representatives and Free State Leader, Mr Phillip Saunders.

The leader of the party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, was re-elected, Mr Miley Richards was elected deputy leader, the Rev Andrew Julies national chairman, Mr Fred Peters national secretary and Mr Vernon Sass national treasurer.

Mozambique leader praises ANC ideals

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — President Samora Machel, whose government outlawed ANC military activity in Mozambique under the Nkomati Accord, has described the ANC as the major force in resolving the problems of South Africa.

He praised the "noble ideals" in the Freedom Charter, adopted at Kliptown in 1955, which provides the basis for ANC policy.

MANDELA

Speaking at the Frelimo government's traditional New Year reception for the diplomatic corps, President Machel praised the "courage and determination of the South African people who confront the powerful apartheid war machine with their bare hands".

He said this had won the admiration of the entire world, according to a report of his speech put out by the official news agency, AIM.

President Machel said the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela was the "basic condition" for beginning a process leading to the end of apartheid.

● See Page 4.

SIPA 6/11/86
Six killed in
faction fight

DURBAN — At least six people were killed in faction fighting at Ukuku near Mahlabatine in kwaZulu yesterday.

Security forces arrested two men in possession of hand grenades believed to be of communist origin, said the Deputy Commissioner of kwaZulu Police, Colonel Sipho Mathe.

The clash between the Mbatha and Xulunga clans began at 11 am and lasted almost an hour.

Colonel Mathe said the factions fled into the mountains as soon as kwaZulu police arrived at the scene. — Sapa.

Six die in KwaZulu faction fighting

Mercury

6/11/86

Crime Reporter

AT LEAST six people were killed in faction fighting at Ukuku near Mhlabatini in KwaZulu yesterday.

In a follow-up operation, security forces arrested two men in possession of hand-grenades believed to be of communist origin, the Deputy Commissioner of KwaZulu Police, Col Siphon Mathe, said last night.

The clash between the Mbatha and Xulunga clans began about 11 a.m. and lasted almost an hour.

Col Mathe said the two factions fled into the mountains and bush as soon as KwaZulu police arrived at the scene.

Trackers following their spoor had to give up the chase last night. They will carry on their search for more dead and injured this morning.

The clash took us by surprise. Things have been simmering for quite a while. We had been expecting trouble since before Christmas, but had relaxed our presence in the area on Saturday, Col Mathe said.

Trouble started in the district a while ago when a large group of people were removed from the Msinga area and resettled in the Ukuku district.

Everything was quiet in the area last night.

More soft targets in ANC sights

6/1/86 BUS DAY IIA

Business Day Reporter

THE African National Congress is preparing a new offensive in SA to give direction to township violence.

Peter Goodwin, a London *Sunday Times* reporter, says in a front-page report that the announcement is to be part of Oliver Tambo's address in Lusaka, Zambia, to mark the ANC's 74th anniversary.

Goodwin says Tambo is expected to announce a new strategy for the banned organisation on Wednesday. It will include instructions to attack white civilian targets.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka has denied, however, that Tambo plans to announce a new strategy of attacks on soft white civilian targets.

He said Tambo's announcement on Wednesday would undoubtedly include calls for stepping up the campaign to isolate the SA government, to get mandatory economic sanctions imposed and to intensify the armed struggle.

This follows news of Saturday's blast in which two people were killed and two injured when a landmine exploded under a bakkie on a game farm near Ellisras in the Northern Transvaal.

Sapa reports that that the ANC would not comment on the explosion which killed a white woman, Elize de Beer, 32, and her father-in-law, Hubert de Beer, 55, on Saturday, until they had received reports from combatants inside SA.

De Beer's son, Deon du Plessis de Beer, 34, and the owner of the farm, Daniel Jacobus Venter, 58, of Waverley, Pretoria, were injured in the explosion. Their condition is reported to be satisfactory.

The London *Sunday Times* quotes the ANC as saying that "enemy personnel", including border farmers, will be increasingly favoured as targets.

According to Goodwin's report, Tambo is also expected to announce that the ANC will change its strategy on recruitment. Recruits will be instructed to remain in SA for training using bases in black townships.

ANC spokesmen deny this.

Goodwin's article claims it will be possible to train ANC recruits in SA because of the collapse of government's township informer network after the assassination of alleged informers by angry mobs over the past few months.

Sapa reports the latest blast is the eighth landmine explosion inside SA's borders since November 27.

In a previous incident six people, two women and four children, died in a blast after their bakkie hit a landmine on a game farm in the Messina district last month.

BUS DAY 6/1/86
11A

High attendance pleases LP leader

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

IF THE numbers game were the main criterion the coloured Labour Party annual congress, held in Goodwood, Cape Town, at the weekend, could be termed a success.

Certainly the LP hierarchy sees it that way.

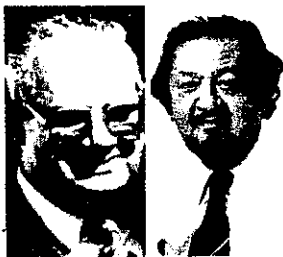
More than 2 500 people turned up on each of the two days, of which about 1 000 were official delegates.

"Attendance was far better than we had expected or even hoped for," declared a delighted LP leader Allan Hendrickse.

The selection of Cape Town as venue for the congress had been done with some trepidation, particularly in the light of recent unrest.

As the authorities cracked down on unruly elements in the coloured townships, LP members became increasingly branded as collaborators and servile instruments of the "oppressive" white regime.

Claims were made that the LP was fast losing what support it had, particularly in the Cape Flats.



● CURRY ● HENDRICKSE

In the event this does not appear to be true, according to LP claims.

A report tabled at the congress by national secretary Fred Peters said that the LP membership jumped 20% last year. Forty-six new branches were established, 10 of which were formed in the Cape Peninsula during September and October — during peak civil strife in the region.

These facts notwithstanding, the LP's various office bearers were at pains to use the congress to persuade delegates further that working within the current political structures remained the best strategy for propagating reform.

More, Hendrickse and his followers in the House of Representatives have been able to achieve some positive changes through their participation in the legislative process in the past year, sources said.

It is a matter of debate as to whether they were able to convince sceptics within the party.

But said Hendrickse: "I am satisfied that we have done our fair share in 1985, and that we have played a very important part towards constitutional, social and economic reform."

"The records of our efforts, contributions, constructive criticism and proposals towards improving conditions can be found in *Hansard*, and not in distorted propaganda pamphlets which have become a daily phenomenon."

Added Peters: "We were criticised, and even labled, by certain newspapers as being the junior partners of the Nationalists."

"This we strongly deny. Much has been achieved through negotiation."

And Hendrickse vowed that the LP had not moved away from its goal of working towards a principle of a "united SA with one citizenship and a universal franchise."

To this end the congress unanimously made a strong call for the immediate abolition of the Population Registration Control and Group Areas Acts.

"The Population Registration Act is one of the most obnoxious Acts on the statute books," said MP David Curry.

"It inflicts untold hardship on many a household of colour. It discriminates, is un-Christian and is dehumanising."

"It is a deliberate exercise to fragment the population, to divide and rule," he added.

Notably, however, he and others in the LP leadership exhorted delegates to keep emotionalism out of their pleadings for constitutional reform.

Said Curry: "When we talk constitutional change, emotional language is out. We must look at the practicalities."

"Members must recognise we cannot expect to build Rome in one day. This must be negotiated."

7 000 flee as volcano spews ash over city

BOGOTA — About 7 000 Colombians have fled their homes in the shadow of the Nevado del Ruiz volcano after warnings of possible avalanches like the one that killed 23 000 people in November.

The government advised the precautionary evacuation of low-lying areas after scientists reported intense new seismic activity in the volcano 170km west of Bogota.

The cone spewed ash over the city of Manizales about 30km away.

Officials in the five towns affected said the evacuation to higher ground was carried out calmly. Most evacuees were camping in tents.

Civil engineer Pablo Medina, coordinator of the scientific team which monitors the volcano 24 hours a day, said there was a serious risk of the volcano's ice cap melting and triggering avalanches like the one which buried the town of Armero on November 13.

Mayor Joe Hartmann, of Mariquita, one of the towns affected, said Mariquita residents were scared.

"Such situations cause anxiety," he said.

The 5 400m volcano has been rumbling since November and fractures were reported last month in glaciers near the source of the Azufrado River.

The evacuation advice affected all residents within 200m of five rivers, including the Azufrado.

Government officials said the emergency was to have ended at noon yesterday.

Medina said the volcano's activity was unpredictable and the state of alert could not be relaxed even if people were told they could return to their homes. — Reuter.

Neighbours warned on harbouring insurgents

Southern Africa 'will pay for terror raids'

6/1/86

~~STAR~~

11A

STAR

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has confirmed the State Security Council sent a statement to South Africa's neighbouring states on December 20 warning if insurgents continued to operate from those countries "all of Southern Africa would have a heavy price to pay".

He was talking after the landmine explosion that killed two people and injured two others near Ellisras, on the Botswana border, on Saturday.

The statement said "terrorist elements" were continuing to operate against South Africa from a number of neigh-

bouring states, including Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho and Swaziland.

It said serious attention was being given to intelligence reports "on the increased violence and terror planned and executed from neighbouring states".

'A DUTY'

The State Security Council had decided these countries should be urged to realise that, if the menace continued, "all of Southern Africa would have a heavy price to pay", the statement added.

It said: "South Africa had a duty to protect its

borders and its peoples by all appropriate means."

●The Conservative Party has demanded the Government, which it said could no longer secure the safety of South Africans, take immediate military and other steps to wipe out terrorist bases in neighbouring states.

A statement by Mr Koos van der Merwe, MP for Jeppe and the CP's chief spokesman on defence matters, said yesterday:

"The terrorist murders point an accusing finger at a clumsy Nationalist Government which can simply no longer secure

the safety of the people of South Africa.

"The Government is creating the false impression with our enemies that South Africa has become a spineless country which only threatens but does not protect its residents.

STRONG ACTION

"The CP demands immediate military and other steps to wipe out terrorist bases in our neighbouring states.

"The continual absence of strong and purposeful action against the terrorists is endangering the lives of innocent South Africans," the statement said. — Sapa.



The mangled remains of the bakkie which detonated a landmine, killing two people.

Continued

abroad of South African companies who could not longer find profitable outlets in the monopolistic local market.

Where is the capital to come from, that is required to finance the creation of sufficient jobs for South Africa's growing population? Unable in the past to do without foreign capital, South Africa is unlikely to grow without it in the future. It is true that the savings ratio has improved in recent months, but this is a common feature of a recession and will not be sufficient to meet the demand.

The Star 6/1/86

Troops seal off landmine blast area

South African troops sealed off the remote farming area north of the border town of Ellisras today after a landmine ripped apart a farmer's bakkie, killing his wife and father at the weekend.

One of the vehicle's front wheels detonated the mine and Mr Hubert du Plessis and his daughter-in-law, Elise, died in the resulting explosion.

The front of the vehicle was completely destroyed in the huge blast and mangled pieces of wreckage were scattered into the bush for many metres around the scene of the explosion.

The landmine, which left a huge crater in the dirt road, exploded with such force that it hurled the rear of the bakkie on to a wire fence next to the road.

It also ripped the engine from the chassis and hurled it into the bush.

Mr Hubert du Plessis and Mrs du Plessis were sitting in the cab of the bakkie at the time of the attack.

Mrs Du Plessis's husband, Deon, and a visitor from Pretoria, Mr Daniel Jacobus Venter, who were in the

back of the vehicle, were thrown from the wreck and injured.

From his hospital bed, Mr Venter, his head wrapped in bandages and his face peppered with wounds from the blast, told how the tragedy occurred.

He said the bakkie had stalled a few minutes before the blast and the driver had to use extra low gear to get over a rise.

"From then on I just can't remember much," he said.

"After the blast I had a look round and I saw there was no sign of life and that everything was in pieces."

Mr Deon du Plessis, whose hand was badly injured, was able to talk after the attack and told Mr Venter where to go for help.

"I ran three or four kilometres back down the road," said Mr Venter.

When he got to a farmhouse he found two neighbours and eventually managed to call for help, he said. — Sapa.

Mine 'like the others'

By Dirk Nel
Northern
Transvaal Bureau

ELLISRAS — The landmine which claimed the lives of two more people in the Northern Transvaal at the weekend was similar to the devices which exploded in the Messina area recently.

A military spokesman said it was possible that diplomatic pressure on the Zimbabwean Government had brought tighter security north of the Limpopo, resulting in a shift by infiltrators to the Botswana border.

In a statement yesterday Brigadier J Fourie, a senior staff officer of Far North Military Command, said Saturday's

fatal explosion at Stockpoort, near Ellisras, occurred at 3.20 pm.

Mrs Elize de Beer (32) and her father-in-law Mr Hubert de Beer were killed. Her husband and the owner of the farm, Mr Deon de Beer, and a friend, Mr L Venter of Pretoria were injured.

The landmine was planted on a remote farm road about 200 m from the Botswana border.

Brig Fourie said a single set of footprints seemed to indicate that only one person crossed to the farm, laid the mine, then returned to Botswana.

He added that the device was probably planted early on Saturday.

Northern Transvaal
Bureau

ELLISRAS — Saturday's landmine blast involving the well-liked De Beer couple has shocked the Ellisras farming community.

"I still can't believe that Elize has died," said Mr W A Lewis, chairman of the local farmers' association.

"We got to know and love them — the tragedy has come as a big shock," said a Defence Force officer sadly.

Many farmers in the district feel strong military action is necessary to eliminate the insurgent threat.

Others point out that strong diplomatic pressure on Zimbabwe after the Messina blast brought the desired effect.

Local commando chief, Commandant

Blast shocks people of Ellisras

Koos Erasmus, said commando units had been alerted and everything possible would be done to make the area safe for normal farming activities.

Yesterday Defence Force units were still busy with mine-sweeping operations in the area and newsmen wishing to visit the scene had to travel in military vehicles.

Security was strict and road blocks were set up on several roads.

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The Star 6/01/86

(11A)

ANC 'stronger than ever before'

banned African National Congress (ANC) enters its 75th year in a stronger position than ever before, political analysts

They said the guerilla movement had bounced back since signing of a non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique in 1984 deprived it of some of its key bases and threatened to seriously weaken the organisation.

The ANC marks its 74th anniversary on January 8.

Almost two years of racial tension and the Government's refusal to cede real political power to the black majority fuelled the popularity of the ANC, which blacks still see as the most credible nationalist movement, the analysts said.

The ANC's popularity is growing stronger by the day. Following is increasingly organised, increasingly able to mobilise people through (other) organisations," said Dr Tom

Lodge, a senior lecturer in politics at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Professor Robert Schrire, professor of politics at Cape Town University, said the longer the Government delayed in dealing with the issue of black rights the more important the ANC would become.

He said the non-aggression pact signed by South Africa and Mozambique in March 1984 had forced the ANC to grow tougher and more diplomatically sophisticated.

ENEMIES

Under the Nkomati Accord, both countries agreed to stop supporting each other's guerilla enemies.

The end of last year saw a sharp increase in the number

and severity of guerilla attacks and a rise in the number of white casualties. The attacks were made against a backdrop of racial unrest in black townships which has claimed well over 1 000 lives since February 1984.

South Africans have been stunned by three guerilla attacks in the past month which killed 13 whites.

Six were killed in a landmine blast near the border with Zimbabwe on December 15, two by a landmine on Saturday night near the Botswana border and five in a bomb explosion at a holiday resort near Durban on December 23.

The ANC claimed responsibility for the first landmine attack but said it had no information on the blast at a crowded

shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban. It said yesterday it had no immediate comment on Saturday night's blast.

The attacks appear to indicate that the ANC is moving from a strategy of attacking strategic targets like fuel dumps towards a policy of more indiscriminate killing.

The ANC decided at a national consultative conference in Zambia last June that it would in future make no distinction between "hard" and "soft" targets, and said that civilians could be caught in the crossfire.

TOUGHER

Dr Lodge said the conference had brought younger men into an ANC leadership, which was dominated by men of the gen-

eration of Mr Oliver Tambo, the 68-year-old ANC president. These men had a "much tougher approach to the way the war should be conducted".

However, analysts said the ANC leaders in exile in Lusaka probably had little control over militants within the country and had probably not sanctioned the Amanzimtoti blast.

The South African Native National Congress, later renamed the ANC, was founded on January 8 1912, in Bloemfontein, by several hundred of South Africa's most prominent black people.

Originally committed to change within the system, the ANC turned to more militant methods in 1960 when it was banned by the South African Government. The ANC went

underground, forming a sabotage group, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). It moved closer to the South African Communist Party.

ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for sabotage, while many others went into exile.

FOLLOWING

The ANC's organised network in South Africa is small but the movement has a vast informal following, say analysts.

Dr Lodge said the number of activists in touch with the organisation numbered about 2 000 to 3 000 at the end of 1984 but had grown rapidly since then.

The Star Monday

The ANC's prestige has grown in the last year as a steady stream of white politicians, businessmen and clergymen crossed the border for talks in Zambia and Zimbabwe. "The ANC is beginning to play a leadership role almost like that of a Government," Dr Lodge said.

He predicted no great change in ANC tactics during 1986. It would patiently build its underground network, try to infiltrate the labour movement in South Africa and increase diplomatic contacts with Western countries, he said.

Professor Schrire said the ANC's tactic would be to increase the cost to whites of maintaining apartheid race laws. Whites were beginning to recognise the costs but these were not yet high enough to force them to the negotiating table, he said.

Sapa-Reuter

Case 7/1/86
Necklace
victim
found

Crime Reporter

POLICE yesterday found the still-smouldering body of a township "necklace" victim in Nyanga East — the fourth reported killing of an alleged collaborator in the Peninsula since November.

Captain Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer for the Western Cape, said the man's body, found in Terminus Road, was charred beyond recognition.

The killing took place near to where the charred body of Mr Thothi Nomungu was found on New Year's Eve after fighting between "fathers" and "maqabane" (comrades).

The remains of a car tyre were found around the victim's neck.

Police appealed to anyone with information to contact Detective Warrant Officer J Engelbrecht at ☎ 63-75948.

Captain Calitz said all information would be treated "in the strictest confidence".

● A township "necklace" consists of a petrol-filled car tyre which is placed around the neck and set alight.



Mr Chris Heunis

Heunis orders inquiry into 'shocking' killings

AKG's
7/1/86

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By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said today it was a "shocking and very worrying phenomenon" that youths, among them schoolchildren, were allegedly responsible for gruesome murders in some of the Peninsula's black areas.

As a result of recent violence the Minister had requested his department to investigate the events.

Mr Heunis said that according to the report the following incidents had occurred from December 24 to January 4:

- Seven black adult men were murdered "in a most repulsive and barbaric manner";
- Eleven huts and a temporary creche (in the KTC squatter camp) were burnt down and six adults were injured.

HAND-GRENADES THROWN

The incidents occurred during battles between adults and youths in which two hand-grenades were used. Isolated stone-throwing also took place in Peninsula townships.

Mr Heunis said that according to available information youths were responsible for all seven murders and were also prominently involved in all the other incidents.

"These murders, and especially the shocking manner in which they were committed, have aroused repugnance and abhorrence from all just-minded people. The fact that youths, among whom there were school-going children, are allegedly responsible for the murders is, to say the least, a shocking and very worrying phenomenon," Mr Heunis said.

On behalf of the Government he expressed his sympathy with the families of the victims, as well as with the black communities involved.

"The Government is aware of the sincere endeavour of the majority of black parents to take part in a meaningful way, in accordance with accepted civilised norms, in the process of upliftment in the social, economic, educational and political terrain.

"This process must be set in motion as soon as possible to ensure that black communities can assume their rightful place in South African society."

During the past few days negotiations between the black communities had taken place regarding methods which they themselves could employ in disciplining the "licentious element" among the youth.

Mr Heunis said he welcomed this initiative.

Diplomatic pressure or raids. . .

Who will pay for Ellisras mine killings?

STAR 7/1/86
11A

By Gerald L'Ange,
The Star's Africa News Service

The Ellisras landmine blast has sharply increased pressure on the Government to hit back across South Africa's borders at the ANC or its supporters — but it is far from clear where, how and against whom Pretoria would retaliate.

Theoretically, South African military forces could end up striking as far north as Zambia or even Angola.

Coping with the international anger that would be aroused by attacks into other countries is one problem. Another would be to define ANC targets in these countries.

According to the SADF, the Ellisras mine was laid by insurgents who came from and returned to Botswana, about 100 km away. The planters of the Messina mines were said to have come from Zimbabwe but they, too, could have come first through Botswana.

Both countries have denied the ANC has bases on their soil. This accepted, the question is whether there are any they do not know about — and, if so, whether South Africa knows where they are and can locate

them accurately enough to attack them.

If no bases exist in these countries the SADF will be looking at a different problem — of ANC operatives bringing mines through Botswana or Zimbabwe from bases in more distant countries such as Zambia.

The Zambian border is about 700 km, as the crow flies, from Messina and a little further from Ellisras — not an impossible distance over which to smuggle landmines without the Botswanan or Zimbabwean authorities detecting them.

If Pretoria believes this has happened it can do several things. It can put pressure on Botswana and/or Zimbabwe to try harder to stop the ANC traffic. This could be done by putting a clamp on their foreign trade passing through the Republic or by raiding or threatening to raid perceived ANC targets within their borders, as has already been done in Botswana.

Pressure

Alternatively, it could try to squeeze off the ANC traffic at source. If Pretoria believes this lies in Zambia it could restrict Zambia's export and import traffic to persuade it to expel the ANC, which now has its headquarters in Lusaka.

Or it could raid the ANC bases in Zambia, if their positions are known. Logistically, this would be no problem from airfields in Namibia.

However, South Africa's ability to keep up such raids against possibly shifting targets is questionable, especially if more sophisticated air defence systems were installed with outside help.

It is more likely that Pretoria will choose to put pressure on its immediate neighbours to counter the ANC incursions, especially if it is true that the mines laid in the Transvaal border were taken from old caches laid up in Matabeleland by the Zipra guerrillas during the Rhodesian war, when Zipra and the ANC had close links.

It looks, therefore, as though relations between South Africa and her neighbours are in for a hammering.

Botswana denies allowing attacks

GABORONE — Botswana yesterday denied it allowed operations against neighbouring states.

In a statement issued by the Office of the President, the Botswana Government said that, if any such actions had taken place, they would have been illegal and without the government's permission.

It added: "Botswana categorically rejects any suggestion that security forces here have cooperated with individuals engaged in operations against neighbouring states."

Meanwhile, travellers from Francistown and other parts of north-eastern Botswana reported there was a large Botswana Defence Force presence in the area, together with a number of roadblocks. — The Star's Africa News Service.

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Botswana 'is not' ANC springboard

PETER HONEY

11A
7/1/86

AS SECURITY forces scoured the north-western Transvaal border region yesterday for landmines, Botswana denied SA claims that ANC insurgents were operating from its territory.

The statement came after day-long consultations between senior Botswana government officials after SA's threat to strike against alleged ANC operatives in Botswana and other neighbouring states.

Any insurgent crossings would have been illegal and without Botswana's knowledge, the statement said.

"Consequently, we categorically reject any suggestion by South Africa that our security forces co-operate with any individual or group of individuals, or connive at any illegal activity against any neighbouring state."

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina yesterday said ANC president Oliver Tambo would provide more details of ANC activities within SA at a press conference in Lusaka tomorrow where the organisation will be holding a conference to celebrate its 74th anniversary.

The ANC has claimed responsibility for the seven landmine blasts in the Messina/Alldays district which killed seven people and injured 14.

□ In London, The British government was last night preparing an urgent diplomatic intervention to prevent a South African attack across the Botswana border.

Foreign office sources indicated that representations were imminent to urge Pretoria to exercise "urgent restraint" in considering its response to the latest landmine attack.

● See Comment Page 4

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Botswana gets new message on ANC

7/1/86
Mercury
11A

PRETORIA—The Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday urged Botswana to take effective measures against the 'menace of terrorism' and said South Africa reserved the right to take appropriate measures to protect the lives of its citizens.

The telexed message, sent yesterday afternoon to the Botswana Government, was released to Sapa by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

It drew attention to evidence that terrorists, who had planted a landmine at Ellisras killing two people and injuring two others, had come from and had returned to Botswana.

Unsatisfactory

'The Botswana Government is aware that South Africa has over the years, in the interests of promoting peaceful and good neighbourly relations, proposed that effective measures be introduced to control terrorist activities,' the message said.

'The unsatisfactory response of certain neighbouring countries, including Botswana, to these proposals led the State Security Council to express its grave concern at its meeting of December 20, 1985.

The views of the South African Government were conveyed to the Govern-

ment of Botswana on that date.

'In view of the use of Botswana territory in the case of the Ellisras attack the South African Government again seriously urges the Government of Botswana to institute effective measures to eliminate the menace of terrorism.

'While the South African Government is always prepared to engage in discussions in order to promote peace and harmony in the region, it at the same time reserves its rights in terms of established international legal principals to take appropriate measures to protect the lives of its citizens.'

Our London Bureau reported meanwhile that the British Government was preparing an urgent diplomatic intervention to prevent a possible retaliatory attack across the Botswana border.

Foreign Office sources indicated that representations were imminent to urge South Africa to exercise 'urgent restraint'.

Nicole 'stable'

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The condition of liver transplant baby Nicole Hohowsky was late last night reported to be stable. She underwent a liver transplant in Los Angeles at the weekend.

CAT TINKS 7/1/86 (11A) ~~228~~

'Fathers' free 4 prisoners

By MALCOLM FRIED
and JAMES MELLIAR

FOUR people imprisoned by "fathers" in Old Crossroads were released on Friday, but a community leader has warned that the "fathers" would "act against the people again" if they thought it necessary.

The four are Mrs Winnie Mankosi, a member of the United Women's Organization, an unidentified woman and two teenage girls.

They were abducted last Tuesday at the height of the fighting between "fathers" and "maqabane" (comrades).

For the past two weeks, maqabane — the name for young township militants — have allegedly been hunted down, beaten and abducted by "fa-



Mrs Winnie Mankosi waits to be treated at the Crossroads Clinic yesterday.

thers" in the townships.

The community leader, Mr Sam Ndima, said yesterday that the four had been held for three days in the Crossroads "prison", an informal jail run by "fathers" in the area.

He said: "Mrs Mankosi and the others were helping the comrades to cause trouble and to fight the 'fathers'. They were trouble-makers. The 'fathers' wanted to punish them for a while."

He said they were treated well. They were arrested by "fathers" from New Crossroads but "held here so that the maqabane would not be able to help them".

He had asked that the prisoners be released "because I thought they had been here long enough, but they must not make trouble any more.

"Unless the maqabane cool down, the people of Old Crossroads will hunt them down and beat them again. I released the people, but they must be careful.

"The maqabane have to stop making petrol bombs and holding 'kangaroo courts'. We will not allow them to beat and punish their own people."

Mrs Mankosi was yesterday being treated at the Crossroads Clinic for a cold which had worsened while she was being held in the prison.

She said she had been arrested because "fathers" on the New Crossroads Committee had suspected her of having a part in the murder of another "father".

'Flare up again'

"But I have had nothing to do with violence," said Mrs Mankosi. "The members of the New Crossroads Committee said I had been involved with the maqabane but they do not have any proof of that.

"I am scared of being taken again. The real reason why I was taken is that the 'fathers' are scared of the organizations in the townships. They are trying to keep us quiet.

"The trouble is going to flare up again. Our children are not involved in 'kangaroo courts' and are against the beating of others, but the 'fathers' still accuse them."

Mrs Mankosi said she had requested a meeting with the committee, and expected it to be held on Sunday.

LP to ^{11A} focus on race laws

By **EBRAHIM MOOSA**
Political Reporter

THE Labour Party's annual congress held in Goodwood at the weekend has set the agenda in the House of Representatives for the second session of the tri-cameral Parliament which will begin on January 31.

Congress has indicated that the LP will attempt to dismantle some of the major cornerstones of apartheid during this session. This attempt is certain to focus on the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the race classification provisions in the Population Registration Act.

At another level, the party is set to adopt a hardline attitude in a bid to solve the education crisis which has affected thousands of pupils and students and was the major cause of last year's unrest in the Peninsula and other parts of the Cape.

Much of the three-day congress was devoted to constitutional planning along the lines of a geographic, non-racial federal system.

Support

Party leadership viewed the unexpected turnout of nearly 2 500 people who attended as a much-needed shot in the arm, interpreting it as an indication of growing support for Labour and its existing leadership.

Senior Labour MPs are pinning their hopes on major reforms expected to be announced in Mr P W Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament.

The LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said "much good" was expected from it.

While there were clear signs of party unanimity in terms of dismantling apartheid laws, several Labour MPs privately confided their dissen- sion at the manner in which the education portfolio was handled by the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim.

Vindicated

Mr Ebrahim now occupies an unimpeachable position within the party. The recent court rulings in his favour have vindicated his handling of the crisis.

This clearly signals confrontation between the education authorities and large sections of the community who are opposed to the tri-cameral system.

Mr Hendrickse later qualified Mr Ebrahim's disciplinary measures. This, he said, would not mean a repeat of last year's use of the police force to quell unrest at schools.

However, observers find it difficult to see how order and discipline would be restored at schools without the use of force when none of the pupils' demands has to date been met.

National Convention Movement ^{STAR} goes 'public' _{7/11/86}

By Gary van Staden, Political Reporter

The National Convention Movement (NCM), launched last year by various political parties, interest groups, churches and black organisations to promote peace and dialogue in South Africa, has gone "public" with an appeal for mass support.

In a letter to newspaper editors, public figures and influential people across the spectrum in South Africa the NCM asks for the promotion of the movement via mass support from the general public.

"The NCM is not a political party and indications of support in no way compromise

political beliefs and attitudes," states the NCM manifesto which is included with the letter.

According to the manifesto the NCM is a vehicle through which all peoples and organisations can express their determination to try and arrive at a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems by negotiation.

"The prime objective of the NCM is the calling of a national convention by the Government of the day, at which representatives of all the people of South Africa will thrash out an agreed constitution," the manifesto states.

It adds that to achieve its objectives the NCM needs massive support at all levels and

reaches out to all concerned persons in our country irrespective of their political affiliations to support the movement".

The manifesto states further that the NCM does not and will not seek political power.

"When all preconditions have been met and when a national convention has been called, the movement will have fulfilled its task and will cease to exist."

The NCM have asked that all interested people, parties and organisations come forward and support the movement.

The movement can be contacted by phoning (011) 23-3442 or 23-3440.

11A

Development must speed up — farm chief

Idle farms get blame for mines

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

ELLISRAS — The terrorist incursion near Ellisras at the weekend was not completely unexpected, a leading farmer has told *The Star*.

Mr WA Lewies, chairman of the Ellisras Farmers' Association, believed the Stockpoort area was an obvious target because of its remoteness and the fact that several farms were unoccupied.

It had proved to be a popular access route for illegal immigrants and terrorists would naturally take advantage of this, he said.

He hoped a more effective infrastructure would soon be developed to combat the threat of infiltration.

Mr Lewies acknowledged that Government financial aid during the last five years had helped to keep most established border farmers on the land but had not attracted many new farmers.

Unoccupied land

"There are enough farmers here to consolidate existing farms into economically viable units — our main worry is the unoccupied land in between which is owned by people who live elsewhere", he said.

At current land prices it was simply impossible for border farmers to buy up the unoccupied farms, he added.

The advent of Escom electricity over a wide area, the improvement of roads and the development of Ellisras as a commercial centre were all to be welcomed but development would have to be accelerated.

● No more landmines have been found in the Stockpoort area, where a blast claimed the lives of Mrs Elize de Beer (32) and Mr Hubert de Beer (63) on Saturday, a senior Defence Force spokesman said.

Colonel J van der Walt confirmed in Ellisras that strict security measures would remain in force.

Many untarred roads were still being patrolled and mine-sweeping operations were continuing.

● The security situation in the border farming areas of the Transvaal is expected to get top priority at a meeting in Nylstroom on Thursday.

The meeting, convened by the Transvaal Agricultural Union, is to be attended by MPs and provincial councillors.

Pik urges Botswana to take measures against terrorism

The Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday urged Botswana to take measures against terrorism and said South Africa reserved its right to take appropriate measures to protect its citizens.

The text of the message, sent to the Botswana Government, was released by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha. It said evidence had been found indicating those responsible for the Ellisras landmine murders came from, and returned to, Botswana.

"The Botswana Government is aware that South Africa has over the years, in the interests of promoting peaceful and good neighbourly relations, proposed that effective measures be introduced to control terrorist activities," says the message.

"In view of the use of Botswana territory in the case of the Ellisras attack the South African Government again seriously urges the Government of Botswana to institute effective measures to eliminate the menace of terrorism." — Sapa.

● The Star's Africa News Service in Gaborone reports that Botswana today acknowledged receipt of the warning.

Radio Botswana today repeated yesterday's statement from the Botswana Government that it did not allow anybody to use its territory for operations against neighbouring states.

The Botswana Defence Force is maintaining a highly visible presence in the north-east. There is growing public anxiety that South Africa will cross the border for a retaliatory attack.

● See Page 11.

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 "People see the... and are...
 ... a considerable profit and that the inland...
 ... See Page 11. ... vincial council.

SWATF kills four Swapo in Angola

By Sheryl Raine

The Star's Africa News Service

WINDHOEK — A military spokesman in Windhoek has confirmed that units of the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF) have returned to the country after a short follow-up operation into Southern Angola.

He said four Swapo insurgents were killed and three AK rifles, a 60 mm mortar and uniforms had been seized.

The security forces suffered no casualties during the mission, which took place over the weekend.

Military spokesmen have also dismissed Swapo claims that the organisation was planning a big offensive in Northern Namibia this rainy season and had opened up a "military corridor" to the south of the territory.

A Swapo spokesman said recently Swapo would be able to strike deep into the territory, including in Windhoek.

A SWATF officer said during 1985 security forces in Namibia had killed 599 Swapo insurgents for a ratio of one member of the security forces to 19 Swapo fighters.

About 200 workers from the Post Office's Lewisham engineering yard, near Krugersdorp, walked out yesterday morning in protest against poor wages and alleged unfair dismissals.

The General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu) said labourers and technical assistants were involved.

"Most of the workers are being paid R216 a month," said Mr Samon Ndou, Gawu president.

A spokesman for the Post Office in Pretoria confirmed the walkout but said some employees had returned to work. "The department has taken note that some people are unhappy about their salaries and is investigating," the spokesman said.

"For several months the workers have tried to talk to management, but without success. They then walked out in protest," said Mr Ndou. "Officials have said the Post Office regarded the matter as a domestic affair and did not wish to talk to the union."

The Post Office spokesman said workers could present their grievances through labour committees.

"Toti victims still in hospital"

Five victims of the Amanzimtoti bomb blast in December are still being treated in Durban's Addington Hospital, but all are in a satisfactory condition.

They are: Mr J L Elliot (60), who owns a gift shop in the shopping arcade which was bombed; the Bothma brothers from Benoni, Gavin (13) and John (22); and Mrs Anna Hogan (45) and her daughter, Sarah (9), of Amanzimtoti.

The hospital's deputy medical superintendant, Dr R McCarter, said another victim, Mrs Lynnett Latt, was being treated as an outpatient.

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capc. Times 2/1/86
'DWP to join PFP' claim

By JAMES MELLIAR

THE leader of the Democratic Workers Party in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, claimed last night

that the DWP was planning to amalgamate with the Progressive Federal Party.

"We are poised to join forces with the official Opposition party in the House of Assembly, the PFP, and the opposition party in the House of Delegates, Solidarity, which will be the beginning of the end of the tricameral Party system," Mr De la Cruz said.

The PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said: "This is the first I have heard of it.

"I have no intention of responding to the statement by the leader of the DWP until he has approached me personally."

Mr De la Cruz said the leader of Solidarity, Mr J N R Reddy, had verbally agreed to the proposed fusion.

Mr Reddy was not available for comment last night.

The DWP would hold a conference on January 19 by which time Mr De la Cruz hoped to have all details formalized.

Dr Slabbert said last night he had not yet received an invitation.

CAPE TOWN 8/11/86 (11A) ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

ANC suspect shot

PRETORIA. — Police shot dead a suspected ANC member near East London on Monday and seized a large quantity of arms of Russian origin, police said yesterday.

A statement released in Pretoria said the incident occurred between Mount Ruth and Fort Jackson after two security branch members stopped a vehicle with one occupant on the old East London King William's Town highway.

The driver threw a handgrenade at the policemen after getting out of the car, then fled. The policemen fired shots at the man but he ran into dense bush, the statement said.

The body of the man was found later after a search of the area.

One policeman received shrapnel wounds in one shoulder but his condition is not serious.

The arms were found in the car.

Police also reported yesterday that one person had been killed and four others wounded when police fired on a mob who stoned a police vehicle at Munsieville on the West Rand on Monday night.

Police dispersed the group with shotgun fire, a spokesman in Pretoria said.

"At that stage it appeared that no-

one was injured. About an hour later, at 11.30pm, it was discovered that four people had been wounded, one of them fatally," he said.

However, an eyewitness to the shooting, Mr Desmond Selro, claimed on Monday night that police began shooting "at some people sitting in an open space in the township". He said he had seen no provocation for the shooting.

Mr Selro said the people had been sitting in the clearing, which is being converted to a park, when four uniformed white policemen arrived in two cars.

"They just fired teargas at the people," he alleged. "The people ran away, and the policemen started shooting at them with birdshot."

He said a passerby, 45-year-old Mr Lennox Matrose, had been killed and several others — who had been sitting in the clearing — had been wounded. He named four of the injured as Mr Chassium Matsasu, Mr Johannes Moiloa, Mr Moses Phadi and Mr Paper Sebegu.

The chief superintendent of Lera-tong Hospital, Dr B Broughton, confirmed yesterday four men had been treated at the hospital for shotgun wounds, and that one, Mr Sebegu, had been admitted. — Sapa

Tambo denies 'Toti blast

From Page 1

against the dangers of the law designating these areas into military zones," said Mr Tambo, adding: "We are therefore puzzled that we are being criticised for using them as areas of our operations."

Mr Tambo denied South African charges that ANC guerillas operated from Zimbabwe, Botswana and other black neighbours of South Africa and said raids on these countries would not affect the ANC's operations.

"We have experienced these cross-border raids over the past six years into African independent and sovereign states and they have not helped to resolve the problems of South Africa or subdue

these states," said Mr Tambo.

South Africa has mounted commando raids on Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique in pursuit of alleged ANC guerilla and has threatened similar raids on Zimbabwe.

Bomb

Mr Tambo denied that the ANC was involved in the bomb blast at Amanzimtoti, south of Durban, shortly before Christmas in which five white people died.

There was nothing in the ANC policy, he said, "which calls for attacks on civilians in supermarkets, schools and cinemas unless these are regarded as military installations".

"Even so, the ANC will not attack children even if they are in mili-

tary zones . . . therefore there could have been no orders for the Amanzimtoti attack from the ANC," he said.

But he did not rule out that an ANC unit might have planted the shopping centre bomb without orders.

Faced with almost two years of racial violence "some of them resolve to face being disciplined by the organisation. We therefore expected there to be more Amanzimtotis in the future".

Troops

South African troops were killing children, he alleged. "... the army is there, actually shooting, fighting and killing children. Hundreds of people have been killed, massacres have been perpetrated inside and

outside the country."

The army has been called in to support police in the battle to control racial violence in South Africa's teeming townships. Since February 1984 more than 1 000 people have died in the violence.

The ANC was ready to talk to the South African Government, he said, but first it would have to free Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who has served more than 20 years of a life sentence for plotting the overthrow of white rule.

"We can stop our armed struggle anytime. But it has to be a two-way affair — unless the regime stops the violent system of apartheid, there is nothing we can do," he said. — Sapa-
Reuter.

SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

The Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) has demanded that June 16 officially be declared a national students' day to commemorate the students who died in the 1976 uprisings.

This was decided at Azaso's fifth annual council meeting attended by about 200 delegates at the Medical University of South Africa in Ga-Rankuwa, near Pretoria, last month.

The students and high school pupils also resolved to mark the 10th anniversary of the 1976 unrest by intensifying the struggle against "gutter education".

It was also decided the student group would abide by the resolutions taken at the black education crisis conference held at Wits University 10 days ago. These included calls for the return of pupils to school on January 28, the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all student detainees and the unbanning of the Congress of South African Students.

STAR 8/1/82
11A

THE celebration of the African National Congress's 74th anniversary this week highlights the long struggle South Africa's black leaders have waged for equal rights.

The scope of that struggle was vividly captured by a left-wing British journalist who interviewed the legendary black leader, Mr Solomon Plaatje (better known as Sol T Plaatje), for the *Labour Leader* way back in December, 1919.

Signed simply AFB, the article was written by Archibald Fenner Brockway, socialist, pacifist and controversial Labour politician who became Lord Brockway in 1964. Despite his 98 years, Lord Brockway remains a fierce opponent of apartheid and can still be seen at anti-apartheid movement rallies in London.

Mr Plaatje came to London as leader of a South African Native National Congress (the predecessor of the ANC) delegation which pleaded with the British Government to keep its 1909 pledge that black and brown rights would be safe in the new Union of South Africa.

'Tyranny'

The facts of white "tyranny" in South Africa, as set out by Mr Plaatje, "dumbfounded" AFB — "I could find no words to express my astonishment and indignation. I am afraid Mr Plaatje must have considered me a most heartless person."

In the interview (during which "native" and "coloured" appeared to have been used interchangeably) Mr Plaatje recalled that, when the details of the Union's new constitution were published, the SANNC sent a delegation to London, accompanied by former Cape Prime Minister W P Schreiner, to protest.

"We argued that it would not be safe to leave the voteless natives in the care of the white colonists.

"The Imperial Government replied that it had the assurance from the statesmen of South Africa that they intended to be absolutely

11A 8/1/86 BUCTAN

Are we still slaves in SA?



INTERNATIONAL support for the ANC.

Seven decades of ANC

just to the natives and it promised to keep an eye on events and to insist upon the assurance being observed."

However, neither the South African promise, nor the Imperial Government's undertaking were honoured and, 10 years after, the SANNC was back in London to protest.

DRC

Mr Plaatje spoke of the beginnings of South

Africa's apartheid legislation:

- An Act excluding coloured people outside the Cape from membership rights in the Dutch Reformed Church;
- A Workmen's Compensation Act which excluded coloured people from benefits;
- Mines and Machinery Acts which "made it an offence to employ natives at skilled work in the industrial centres";

- A Defence Forces Act which excluded coloured people from participation in the South African territorial force.

And then, of course, there was the Native (At this point the pacifist Brockway interjected: "Happy people," but Mr Plaatje explained this was merely an expression of the contempt in which coloured people were held in South Africa).

Lands Act of 1913, which Mr Plaatje described as "the most cruel and abominable law ever conceived since the introduction of white rule in South Africa" and Mr Brockway labelled the "most infamous of the disabilities imposed on the natives".

The articulate Mr Plaatje described the Act:

Legislation

"To appreciate the effects of this legislation, you must understand that the coloured people in South Africa have almost entirely gained their livelihood from working on the land, principally in the rearing of cattle.

"Under this Act, no coloured man is permitted to lease (or buy) land, except from another coloured person — and only a mere handful of coloured people have land to lease.

"Thus, if I had 50 cows and you allowed me to graze them on your farm, you would be sent to jail for six months and fined 100 pounds sterling and be compelled to forfeit five pounds sterling a day until the cows were removed or until they ceased to be the property of a coloured person."

The Act made masses of coloured people homeless and landless. Their cattle began to die of disease and their only course was to sell out to the white man at "ruinous prices".

Then they had either to cross into British protectorates or flock to the towns. The only condition under which a native could remain on a "white" farm was as a servant.

"But, what was the purpose of such cruel legislation?" asked Mr Brockway.

Labour

"The object," replied Mr Plaatje, "was to get cheap labour for the farmers, but it did not have that effect. Instead, it drove the coloured people into the cities and out of the country."

And then there were the so-called pass laws which, Mr Plaatje explained, practically held coloured labourers in "perpetual industrial bondage."

To this exposition, Mr Brockway responded: "Why, you are literally slaves."

Six-point plan to end chaos in SA

THE setting up of a provisional government of all parties in which the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress would be represented to draw a new constitution, could help end racial discrimination and bloodshed in South Africa.

This was part of a six-point proposal made at the two-day Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council (Satucc) consultative council meeting held in Lusaka, Zambia, at the weekend. The outgoing chairman of Satucc, Mr B C Nthune, told the meeting that the apartheid system in South Africa could not be reformed by any other means.

The other points proposed are:

- The release from jail or detention of all political and trade union leaders and others "unjustly held" in captivity by the apartheid regime;
- The setting up of a timetable for the holding of free and fair elections based on adult suffrage to be supervised by the United Nations and Commonwealth observers;
- The lifting of the state of emergency;
- The unbanning of exiled political parties without conditions; and
- The sending of a UN peace keeping force comprising of Canada, Australia, India, Nigeria, Egypt, the

Republic of Ireland, Norway, Greece and two countries from the Frontline States before elections.

Mr Nthune said: "Apartheid is brutal violence and can only be transformed by a similar act of violence. The six-point proposal would ensure that violence would be stopped from taking place on a larger scale in the country. The UN peace keeping force would also help to restructure the South African security forces to intergrate the liberation forces of the ANC and the PAC.

He said the six-points, if implemented, would calm the mood of the people of South Africa "which at the moment is fraught with insecurity, helplessness, terror and anger. The threat of a civil war hangs over their heads like the sword of Damocles".

He put the number of people killed in racial violence in South Africa at 1 000 and over 2'500 incarcerated under the "infamous" state of emergency regulations.

Mr Nthune said the Pretoria regime was trying to match the people's anger with a "brutal counter insurgency programme", resulting in military abuses and other acts of genocide. In such an abnormal situation, peaceful reform cannot be achieved unless the six-points are met.

11A
SOUTHERN AFRICAN
8/1/86

ANC suspect shot

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Coalition likely in House of Delegates

CAPE Times 9/1/86 11A
Political Reporter

SOLIDARITY, the opposition party in the House of Delegates, would enter into a coalition with the ruling National People's Party (NPP) pending the approval of the party's caucus, Dr J N Reddy, Solidarity leader, said yesterday.

But the move is expected to spark a major row and split the party's parliamentary caucus — dashing hopes for a Solidarity takeover in the House of Delegates.

Dr Reddy said yesterday's round of talks with NPP leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi concluded with an agreement by both parties to enter into a coalition when the parliamentary session begins on January 31. Both would "maintain their identities", he said.

Opposition is minimal

The deal also signals a victory for Mr Rajbansi, who has since the inception of the tricameral Parliament tried to reach a deal with his opposition. The House of Delegates will now be in a position similar to that of the House of Representatives, where opposition is minimal.

Dr Reddy said it was premature to speculate on his own position in the new coalition deal.

The line-up in the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates will probably also be changed. Dr Reddy is likely to be appointed to the vacant Minister of the Budget portfolio.

'ANC member' shot dead

CVE TANK 9/1/86 (1/1) (2/1)
PRETORIA. — An alleged member of the African National Congress was shot dead by a policeman as he tried to remove the safety pin of a handgrenade in Soweto on Tuesday afternoon.

A variety of weaponry was found in the dead man's possession, police said in a statement yesterday.

Several people were arrested in Soweto on Tuesday and police took possession of a large amount of weapons of Soviet origin.

● A mini-limpet mine exploded in Weavind Park, Pretoria, early yesterday damaging a transformer at a sub-station, but no one was injured. The mine exploded at 3am and the fire was extinguished by the Fire Department, police said. — Sapa

Mbekweni residents in township peace move

Staff Reporter
AFTER weeks of fighting in Paarl's Mbekweni township between supporters of rival political groups, peace feelers are being sent out to leaders of the United Democratic Front and the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) by a group of "concerned residents".

The group, who have asked not to be identified for fear of jeopardizing peace moves, said yester-

day that Mbekweni residents were "tired and dissatisfied" with the situation.

"Nobody can approve of the killings, petrol-bombings and assaults, and we believe that a peace settlement can be achieved because there are more important things than faction fighting," a spokesman said.

He appealed to the rival UDF and Azanyu factions to come together

to "reach a peaceful settlement".

Sources in the township said yesterday that Mbekweni was geographically divided into bitterly opposing factions, with the majority northern section largely owing affiliation to the UDF, and the minority southern section supporting Azanyu.

The group of "concerned residents" stressed yesterday that they had no affiliation to

either grouping, but were simply "sick and tired" of the violence, which has also seen a large number of houses being burnt to the ground.

Members of Azanyu, a nationwide pro-black consciousness youth organization which is not as yet affiliated to the mainstream black consciousness organization, the Azanian Peoples' Organization (Azapo), have

clashed repeatedly with UDF supporters.

On November 23, a three-year-old child was burnt to death when the home of her aunt, Mrs Baba Madubula, a former secretary of the Mbekweni Residents' Association and an Azanyu supporter, was torched.

On November 24, UDF member Mr Abraham Mokoena was stabbed and beaten to death in fighting with Azanyu

members.

On December 15, two members of Azanyu were kidnapped and attacked with pangas by unidentified assailants. Mr ISijaj escaped, but Mr Loyiso Ntshamba was killed.

On December 26 Mr Ntemi Phike, 19, son of detained Food and Canning Workers' Union organizer Ms Lizzie Phike, Mr Mongezi Linzi, 15, son of detained FCWU member Ms Lucy Linzi, Mr Zwandle Sogwagwa and

a fourth man were killed in a clash with Azanyu members.

The next day, a Mr Maliwa was abducted and burnt to death when a petrol-filled tyre "necklace" was placed around his neck and set alight. His affiliations have not been established.

On Saturday an Azanyu supporter, Mr Papatjile Ngogela, 17, was hospitalized after being attacked by a group of panga-wielding men.

Later that day a group which allegedly included some UDF supporters marched to the southern Azanyu stronghold armed with pangas and guns. Police arrived and when they opened fire with teargas, members of the group opened fire on them, forcing the police to retreat.

Church ministers have tried to negotiate a peace treaty between the warring factions, but without success.



Chief Buthelezi



Dr Allan Boesak

Don't take sides in SA, US team told

ARGUS 9/1/86 (11M) [scribble]

By PETER FABRICIUS, Staff Reporter

KWAZULU Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi today appealed to United States congressmen visiting the country not to take sides in the "internecine" black-against-black conflict in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi told the team, led by Mr William Gray, the author of the sanctions Bill against South Africa, that supporting the "politics of violence" would "annihilate democracy".

The Kwazulu leader met the congressmen at a Cape Town hotel for a working breakfast described by Mr Gray as "very productive, very positive and very helpful".

The delegation is visiting the country to monitor the effect of the limited sanctions imposed by the United States and to consider the possibility of more stringent sanctions.

After the talk the delegation met Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

They then left on a tour of Crossroads, after which they planned to meet Cape community leaders and then attend a service in Dr Boesak's Bellville South NGK Sendingkerk before leaving for Johannesburg.

"Disastrous"

Chief Buthelezi said he was satisfied with the partial sanctions initiated by Mr Gray and implemented by President Ronald Reagan because, he said, Mr Reagan had had no option but to impose them.

But he reiterated his "total opposition" to complete sanctions. The threat of sanctions had "given impetus to the politics of negotiation".

However, if sanctions were carried out it would be "disastrous for the country".

"I ask you as representatives of Congress of the United States to recognise that the international community should allow black South Africans to do what they want to do.

Political scales

"There are some who are appealing to the international community to tip the black South African political scales in one way or another.

"Let that be the prerogative of the people of South Africa. It is ordinary South Africans who will eradicate apartheid."

Chief Buthelezi appealed to the congressmen not to support in South Africa "that which they would not tolerate in their own country".

"Above all, in every possible respect, support humanitarian projects here. Desperate poverty saps political vitality in the democratic process.

Humanitarian

"The upward mobility of black South Africans creates driving forces of change.

"The education of blacks, their on-job and off-job training and the development of self-help schemes, are all urgently needed."

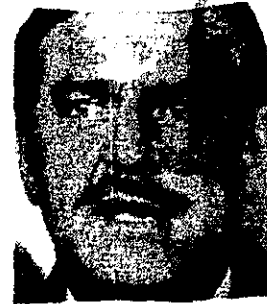
Dr Boesak, who emerged smiling from his meeting with the congressmen, said the talks "have been very good so far".

He told a large group of reporters that a Press conference would probably be held this afternoon, or after tonight's service at his Bellville South church.

Dr Boesak was expected to lead the delegation on the tour of Crossroads.

Relations 'bad' after landmine blast

Botswana asks West to prevent SA raid



● BOTHA

BOTSWANA has appealed to Western governments to help prevent Pretoria from launching anti-guerrilla raids in its territory.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha threatened on Tuesday to "take the necessary action" against African National Congress targets in Botswana.

Botswana's Foreign Minister Gao-sitwe Chiepe confirmed in a radio interview yesterday that she summoned envoys from Britain, the United States and West Germany to tell them of the "deteriorating" relations between Botswana and SA after last Saturday's landmine blast that killed two whites.

Pretoria accused the ANC of planting the landmine after crossing from Botswana — an accusation denied by Botswana.

Britain, the United States and West Germany are the largest foreign investors in SA. Chiepe said she hoped

Business Day Reporter and Staff

these countries would have some restraining influence on SA.

Diplomatic sources said Chiepe told the envoys Botswana did not have any ANC bases and had honoured its long-standing commitment to prevent its territory being used by forces opposed to its neighbours, including SA.

"She made clear her government's real fears about SA raiding Botswana, as happened last year," one source added, referring to the June 14 raid in which SA forces killed 12 people in Gaborone.

Pretoria said the incursion was aimed at the ANC, but Gaborone said all those killed were civilians.

Britain yesterday sent a plea to SA not to take action against Botswana, the British government said in London.

Chiepe also briefed African and Eastern bloc ambassadors on SA's

threat. Yesterday she told state-run Radio Botswana her government still hoped the problem could be resolved peacefully, but added: "The warning shows an intention by the South Africans to invade Botswana."

She noted that SA had taken two days to inform her government of the circumstances surrounding the landmine blast and said: "If SA had alerted Botswana early enough some action could have been taken and those responsible possibly apprehended, as has happened before."

Botswana's independent *Daily Gazette* newspaper said yesterday: "SA's ultimatum is a harsh reminder that we stand on the thin end of the wedge in our relationship with our giant neighbour."

"In the mood Pretoria is in currently, and given the volatile situation facing SA, it seems the South Africans are not taking Botswana's assurances as genuine."

Winnie met by excited crowd

not seat everyone and the side aisles were lined with observers.

Mandela brought an urgent application against Minister of Law and Order Louis Le Grange and Commissioner of Police General Johan Coetzee for a declaration that the amendment to her banning order, prohibiting her from being in Johannesburg and Roodepoort, was invalid.

The notice was issued on December 21 last year and Mandela has twice been dramatically arrested and twice appeared in court for contravening its terms.

Since August, when her house in Brandfort, in the Free State, was extensively damaged in an arson attack, Mandela has lived in Soweto.

"The attack on my house left me in no doubt that my life was endangered by unknown assailants. I decided to remain in Soweto for my own safety and for those in my care," she said in an affidavit.

The amendment was null and void, Ketrledge said, because it was so "grossly unreasonable, arbitrary and capricious" to tell someone to leave her only home forthwith that Parliament could not have intended such an order.

She should at least have been given an opportunity to make alternative arrangements for herself and her two

grandchildren who lived with her.

The validity of the notice is being attacked mainly on the ground that Le Grange did not give Mandela the reasons for radically altering the terms of her banishment order, even though they were relaxed.

He must have had specific reasons for deciding that she should not be in Johannesburg and Roodepoort in particular, Ketrledge argued, adding that the minister was legally obliged — insofar as it was in the public interest to do so — to inform Mandela why he had made the change.

Because the minister did not give his reasons, Mandela was robbed of her right to make meaningful representations to him.

Mandela openly lived in Soweto for five months without the authorities taking action against her, and Ketrledge said this was a tacit acknowledgement that the original order of 1983 was no longer in force and effect.

"You cannot amend a nullity," he said, adding that the 1983 order was in any case invalid as the minister had not provided adequate reasons for imposing it.

The case for the minister and the commissioner begins today.

11A 9/1/86 From page 1

ebb.

ANC member shot

POLICE shot dead a member of the African National Congress in Soweto on Tuesday, the South African Police public relations division in Pretoria said yesterday.

The SAP statement said a man was shot while trying to remove the safety pin from a handgrenade.

Several other people were also arrested in Soweto on Tuesday and police took possession of a large amount of weapons of Russian origin.

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Sats plans to cash in on its properties

Bus Day 9/11/86

CHRIS CAIRCROSS

CASH-STRAPPED SA Transport Services (Sats) plans to sell off or lease thousands of hectares of property to the private sector.

And yesterday several of the country's leading property developers expressed considerable interest in Sats' plans.

"A lot of innovative things can be done, say, on Johannesburg station and on wide concourses, which are for the most part largely empty," one said.

"It is not before time. Sats has a lot of prime land that can be made better use of," another developer said.

A Sats spokesman told *Business Day* a special property division had been set up to oversee the sale or lease of 32 000ha of property. The division was expected to be fully operational by the end of the month.

He said the decision was spurred by the promulgation of the State Property Rating Act, which comes into effect this year and requires the state for the first time to pay assessment rates on all its properties.

"By leasing some of our properties we can at least recoup part of what we have

to pay in terms of rates," he said.

The new property division will fall under Sats' technical department and is to be headquartered in Johannesburg.

Sub-committees are also being established in each main centre to handle and identify specific property developments peculiar to the region.

The idea of making better use of Sats' vast property holdings had been mooted for some time, the spokesman told *Business Day*. Property to be placed on the market included some farms.

Apart from unused land, Sats also has ambitious plans to lease out space in its stations, harbours and subways.

Ideas go as far as the leasing out of "air space" alongside railway lines and on railway bridges.

"We are also prepared to consider ideas for decking over certain sunken railway lines," the spokesman said.

One of the main tasks of the new property development division would be to look at all potential uses for Sats land and buildings, he said.

Big crowd greets Winnie

Bus Day 9/11/86

LINDA ENSOR

AFTER her first "legal" day in Johannesburg yesterday, Winnie Mandela was escorted from the Rand Supreme Court by a throng of enthusiastic, fist-clenching and ululating supporters.

TV cameramen and clicking photographers, who had waited all day to catch her image in their frames, were part of the dense crowd.

Mandela, looking stunning in a purple batik caftan and a mauve turban and

accompanied by friends and her family — including daughters Zeni and Zinzi — was present in court while her counsel, Sydney Kentridge SC, attacked the validity of her recently amended banning order.

The overcrowded court gallery could

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By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AN academic, Dr Tom Lodge, said yesterday that the government would be taking the initiative if it legalized the African National Congress and would be giving the ANC problematic organizational issues to deal with.

A senior lecturer in political science at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr Lodge said in an interview that he did not believe the ANC would enter into meaningful negotiations

New call to legalize ANC

with the government.

This was because the ANC did not have the bargaining power to extract the kind of gains from negotiations that it and its constituency would find acceptable.

The implications for the ANC were that the military struggle must be escalated and their internal organization become much more exten-

sive.

Dr Lodge said he believed that the military had increased its influence in recent months and was "not disposed to any form of negotiation, or even the pretence of negotiation that may have taken place in Lusaka".

Asked what he would advise the government to do, he said: "Legalize the

ANC — simply because by legalising the ANC they would be taking the initiative and providing the ANC with opportunities for organization that cannot be resisted while at the same time being inherently problematic.

"Once they are legalized and above ground they would have to start making strategic and tactical choices which at

present they don't have to do," he said.

At present, the ANC did not have to define itself very precisely in ideological terms.

"Once they are competing with the legal methods of politics, with organizations on the one hand like Inkatha and on the other with more ephemeral bodies, such

as Azapo, they will have to make the implications of their programmes rather clearer.

"Thrashing the ANC in a military hard-hat option will be politically expensive, will never provide any resolution of the conflict and will continue to be economically damaging as well."

Dr Lodge said that "the

sooner the government sets in motion a process of transition the more likely it is that elements of the existing social and economic landscape will survive in a post liberation context".

The ANC had a fairly flexible attitude towards contacts with non-government South Africans and might not be opposed to exploratory talks with white politicians from the National Party if these were discreet and private, Dr Lodge said.

Let Winnie stay in or we stay out — residents

By SEFAKO NYAKA

THE consumer boycott in Krugersdorp will go on until the government allows Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, to stay at her Orlando West home in Soweto.

This is one of the demands made by the Krugersdorp Residents' and Consumer Boycott committees.

Mrs Mandela was recently issued with an amended banning order prohibiting her from entering the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

She is scheduled to appear in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court later this month charged with having broken her banning order.

The Krugersdorp Consumer Boycott Committee is also demanding the release of community leader Issac Genu.

There are indications that the boycott in other areas will also be resumed soon — for different reasons.

The Soweto Consumer Boycott Committee (SCBC) has threatened to resume the boycott of white shops if boycott leader Jabu Ngwenya is not



Unfazed by her recent brushes with officialdom ... Winnie Mandela outside court

Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuter

released "soon".

The month-long boycott of Johannesburg shops ended at the end of last month — a few weeks after the arrest of several leaders of the boycott committee.

The boycott has already been

resumed in Queenstown in East London.

In Witbank boycott leader Jackson Mthembu has been detained.

The Vaal Triangle, Pietersburg and East Rand boycott committees are

expected to make announcements early next week regarding the resumption of the boycott.

Included in boycott committee demands are the withdrawal of the SA Defence Force and the police from the

townships, the lifting of the State of Emergency and the release of all detainees and political prisoners.

"The grievances and demands of the people have not been met by the authorities," a boycott leader said.

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STAR

~~SOFA~~
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All parties condemn new ANC threats

By David Braun, Political Correspondent

Cape Town

All South African political parties have condemned the latest threats by the African National Congress to expand its activities into a full-scale "people's war".

ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday announced plans to take the conflict from the borders of townships into white areas and to continue attacks on the white farming community.

He said civilians would be caught in the cross-fire, especially if "over-zealous" cadres attacked such soft targets as schools, supermarkets and shopping centres.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange today accused Mr Tambo of trying to detach himself from responsibility for the latest series of terror attacks which had cost the lives of innocent women and children of all races.

He said the ANC had in three years declared repeatedly that it was going to concentrate on hard and soft targets and that white areas in the towns and countryside would be objectives.

Mr Le Grange said: "The ANC has proved that it attacks regardless of who its victims will be — whether they be black or white women and children."

Mr Colin Eglin, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said his party rejected the ANC's campaign of violence. A deliberate campaign of bloodshed and death, apart from the human suffering it would cause, would prove counter-productive.

"It will harden race attitudes, strengthen the right-wingers, invite repression and, I have no doubt, prolong and not shorten the life of apartheid."

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP law and order spokesman, said Mr Tambo's threats augured ill for 1986 as a year of negotiation.

"I wonder if the ANC realises the ferocity of the counter-attack which is going to come from the Government?" she said.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the UN and all the countries which supported and recognized the ANC should take cognisance of Mr Tambo's statement in view of the fact that the UN had declared 1986 to be the year of peace.

"I don't think these threats are going to contribute to the finding of a solution in South Africa," he said.

"I would say Mr Tambo is hoping that, particularly, the white community will react to this threat by becoming even more aggressive, which in turn would give the ANC more standing in terms of South Africa being made the aggressor."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National Peoples Party, said: "There will be no winners and no losers. Violence not only brutalises the victims, but also the perpetrators."

Tambo predicts more Toti-type bomb attacks

STAR
10/11/86

~~SOFA~~

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo yesterday predicted more bomb attacks similar to that at an Amanzimtoti shopping centre in which five white civilians died just before Christmas.

But Mr Tambo has refused to state clearly whether or not an ANC unit was responsible for the attack.

At a news conference in Lusaka, Mr Tambo said that the bomb attack at the seaside resort was against ANC policy.

The ANC did not direct its attacks specifically against civilians although civilians "will get caught in the crossfire".

Border area farmers, often involved in Government security networks, were legitimate targets for the ANC, he said, when referring to recent landmine deaths in the Northern Transvaal.

Well-placed observers are in no doubt that an ANC unit was responsible for the Amanzimtoti attack.

Referring to that incident, Mr Tambo said: "There will be more of these things in a situation of generalised violence. It is the development of the crisis in South Africa."

Personally, he did not rejoice when he heard of the explosion in Amanzimtoti.

"But there were celebrations inside South Africa among black people," he said.

This attitude did not surprise him after the deaths of more than 1 000 blacks in the past 18 months, mainly as a result of clashes with the police and the army.

AMANZIMTOTI ATTACK NOT CONDEMNED

Mr Tambo indicated clearly that he was unhappy about the attack but he stopped short of condemning it.

The responsibility for the current political and economic crisis and the violence inside the country lay at the door of the Government, he argued.

"We are beginning to move into stormy times in South Africa. It is all because there is a fundamental problem caused by the apartheid system," he said.

"You can understand the circumstances in which this kind of thing (the Amanzimtoti bomb) happens," he added.

He denied that ANC guerrilla units were operating from countries bordering South Africa.

"The whole of South Africa is beginning to bleed in the face of the persistence of the apartheid system."

The substantial planned increase in the ANC's armed struggle would mean "more than this", he said.

The ANC was convinced that the Botha Government had "no intention whatsoever of acceding to the demands of the majority of the people of South Africa and the rest of the world. For this reason the ANC was working towards a "rapid and extensive escalation of our military offensive", Mr Tambo said.

The ANC would take this campaign into all areas of the country, he added.



●FRASER

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BUS DAY 12/1/86
Commonwealth group
might visit Mandela

LONDON — The Commonwealth Mission on South Africa has been given an indication it would be allowed to visit jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

The seven-member mission — known as the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) — has received what it regards as an encouraging response to a letter asking to visit South Africa and to be allowed to visit Mandela in prison.

According to sources close to the Commonwealth — the text of the letter is being kept a closely guarded secret — the EPG has been given the go-ahead to visit South Africa and the door has been left ajar over its request to see Mandela.

The EPG is expected to have its second meeting in London later this month to decide the logistics of its South African visit.

JOHN BATTERSBY

The Commonwealth team, led by former Australian prime minister Malcolm Fraser and General Olusegun Obasanjo, a former military ruler of Nigeria, is working secretly and members are banned from making any public remarks about South Africa.

It is not yet clear whether the group will travel to South Africa as a whole or whether it will send a smaller delegation.

There is extreme sensitivity within the Commonwealth and the EPG over the British role in the initiative.

The Commonwealth is upset about recent remarks made by Dr Allan Boesak, patron of the United Democratic Front (UDF), advising blacks to be wary of the EPG.

Surge in terror activity sees 136 incidents last year

PETER HONEY

GUERRILLA activity has surged dramatically in SA, with 136 incidents recorded last year. This figure comprises 34% of all incidents noted over the 10 years.

The East Rand and Western Province have been revived as areas of operation, rivalling Port Natal, where 28 cases of guerrilla activity or violence were recorded last year. The 25 incidents in the Western Province were the first recorded since 1982, while incidents on the East Rand rose from none in 1984 to 28 last year.

Statistics for the period following the 1976 Soweto uprising were disclosed to *Business Day* by researcher Wim Booyse of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies (ISS) yesterday.

Booyse drew on newspapers and own sources for the study, and said his figures of recent years tallied closely with claims by the banned African National Congress.

He accounted for 398 cases of guerrilla incidents since 1976 — 136 of them last year. These included handgrenade, limpet mine and rocket attacks, car bombings, sabotage, murder or attempted murder, landmines and skirmishes with security forces.

The 1985 figures amount to a 309% increase over 1984. Nearly half of last year's incidents involved handgrenades and 37 cases,

GUERRILLA INCIDENTS — 1985 (Showing sectors of major increase)	
Attacks on police stations	4
Attacks on SADF buildings	2
Murder/attempted murder on police (major increase)	34
Murder/attempted murder on civilians (major increase)	40
Murder/attempted murder on SADF or commandos	6
SABOTAGE/ATTEMPTED SABOTAGE ON:	
Rail installations	2
Government/public buildings	11
Power installations	7
Fuel/bus depots	4
Telecommunications	1
Business property (major increase)	19
Private property	3
Water pipelines	3
Total (34 percent of incidents since 1976)	136
GEOGRAPHIC AREAS MOST HEAVILY AFFECTED	
Port Natal	28
East Rand (No incidents recorded 1984)	26
Western Province (No incidents recorded since 1982)	25

limpet mines.

Booyse said there was evidence that ANC trainees at weekend camps were being given weapons with the directive to use them at their own discretion.

Booyse noted a significant shift in guerrilla activity towards murder or attempted murder of civilians, police or legal witnesses, as well as a dramatic increase in bombings of business premises. There were 19 business attacks last year compared with only one the previous year, or 12 since 1976.

While the ANC had not claimed responsibility for many attacks, figures bore out the banned organisation's intention of moving from the theme of armed propaganda to one of furthering unacceptability and confrontation with

security forces, Booyse said.

He said the surge in guerrilla activity in the Transvaal and Western Cape supported the theory that Botswana had become a primary infiltration route for ANC insurgents from their main training bases in Angola and transit camps in Zambia.

ISS director Prof Mike Hough said it appeared the ANC was trying to exploit the unrest situation of the past 16 to 18 months by maintaining a pattern of sabotage.

Serious negotiations between government and the ANC were unlikely at this stage because "the ANC does not see negotiation as an alternative to violence, but rather violence as a way of putting itself in a better negotiating position".

Hough said there was evidence to suggest that several acts of terrorism — such as the limpet mine attack on a minibus in Durban last month — could have been carried out without ANC authorisation.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka told *Business Day* last week that his organisation was unable to claim responsibility for the minibus bombing, nor for the Amanzimtoti bomb blast, because "we don't always know what some of the people there are going to do".

Cape Town University political scientist Professor Robert Schirer supported this view, saying that much of the guerrilla violence in SA was not being instigated by the ANC.

ANC threat to step up attacks

11A

10/1/86 DISPATCH

LUSAKA — The African National Congress said yesterday it would intensify guerilla attacks in South Africa but would not deliberately attack civilians.

"We are now calling for a rapid, extensive escalation of our military offensive," the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, told a press conference to mark the organisation's 74th anniversary on Wednesday.

Mr Tambo said the ANC was stepping up the guerilla war because President P. W. Botha "has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the people. He is playing around with the idea of reforms."

"We say the apartheid system cannot be reformed. It must be abolished in its entirety."

ANC attacks would continue to be "directed and aimed at enemy personnel and strategic installations," he said, but "in the course of the spread of the people's war against apartheid, civilians will be caught in the crossfire."

"We do not derive any pleasure from this but it will have to be accepted as part and parcel of a war situation."

Mr Tambo said the use of landmines in white farming areas along South Africa's borders was justified because the government had made them military zones.

White farmers in the

law to be part of the state security system and were therefore provided with the tools of war, he said.

"We at the ANC were among the few people to warn against the dangers of the law designating these areas into military zones," said Mr Tambo, adding: "We are therefore puzzled that we are being criticised for using them as areas of our operations."

Mr Tambo denied South African charges that ANC guerillas operated from Zimbabwe, Botswana and other black neighbours of South Africa and said raids on these countries would not affect the ANC's operations.

"We have experienced these cross-border raids over the past six years into African independent and sovereign states and they have not helped to resolve the problems of South Africa, or subdue these states."

Mr Tambo denied the ANC was involved in the bomb blast at Amanzimtoti shortly before Christmas in which five white people died.

There was nothing in the ANC policy, he said, "which calls for attacks on civilians in supermarkets, schools, and cinemas, unless these are regarded as military installations."

"Even if the ANC will not attack children even in military zones before there has been no order from Amanzimtoti from the d.

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African troops, including children, he said. "The army is actually shooting, maiming and killing children. Hundreds of people have been killed. massacres have been perpetrated inside and outside the country."

The ANC was ready to talk to the South African Government, he said, but first it would have to free Nelson Mandela.

"We can stop our armed struggle anytime. But it has to be a two-way affair — unless the regime stops the violent system of apartheid, there is nothing we can do," he said.

● In Pretoria, a spokesman for the police directorate of public relations said Mr Tambo was trying to throw up a smokescreen to cover ruthless ANC attacks on innocent people.

The ANC had in the past claimed responsibility for most of the attacks on civilians. Blaming such attacks on indiscipline among the fighting wings could only be described as trying to "beg the issue," the spokesman said. — Sapa-RNS.

NEWS FOCUS

BUSINESS DAY 10/1/86

(KA) ~~SA~~

Landmines blast out a new frontier among the baobabs

Reporter FRED STIGLINGH and photographer TONY NAIDOO took a walk on the wild side of the Northern Transvaal border between Messina and Ellisras. Their report and pictures reflect the way the lives of the farming community have been affected by recent landmine blasts.

THE peaceful routines of farmers on the Northern Transvaal border have been shattered by the incongruous sounds of eight landmine blasts amid the stillness of gnarled baobab trees.

Suddenly they find themselves thinking in terms of security fences, handgrenade guards on windows and anti-mine vehicles.

A routine occurrence, taking children to school, becomes an ordeal, and neighbours never drop in for a visit after dark.

At Ellisras, where Saturday's blast killed two people on the farm Stockpoort, the community wants action. Says Gys Vlok, cattle farmer at

Mogol, near the Limpopo on the Botswana border: "The farmers and people of the town want the defence force to destroy African National Congress positions; they want something done."

He says, however, there is "no panic or pessimism" among farmers, and they do not yet regard the border farming area as a new frontier.

But the signs are there. Local commando units are on the alert and are working with the defence force on safety measures which include the possibility of landmine resistant vehicles for farmers. More immediately, radio systems have been installed at most farms for direct contact with the military, and high-security fences are being erected.

The picture at Messina is much the same as at Ellisras, with heavy military presence, and farm roads patrolled and swept for mines daily.

"We have all expected this," says vegetable farmer Filip Nel, "but not so soon."

Long before the first blast, farmers were issued with military R1 rifles and rounds of ammunition, and organised in commando units. Radio systems for communication were installed as a matter of course.

Nel, his mother, his wife Jeanie

and their three young children are part of a group of five isolated farms in the northernmost Soutpansberg district, west of Beit Bridge.

But Nel says he is not thinking of moving. "Also, if farmers had to move, it would only push the border deeper inland."

In addition, a recent agreement with the government compels farmers to stay for at least 10 years if they bought their property on state loan. It also stipulates they may not be away from their farms for longer than three months a year.

Willie Esterhuyse, cotton and wheat farmer, commands about 60 farmers in the Dongola Commando unit.

The landmine blasts, he says, have had a binding effect on the farming community, including the black farm workers. "Landmines are not selective, they kill whoever goes over them, and our workers are on our side."

One of the many security problems is the danger of intimidation of labourers' families and friends from across the Zimbabwe border by members of the ANC, to the extent that people are forced to take mines into SA, Esterhuyse says.

A ride along the border security

fence reveals several gaps — breaks in the fence or gates left open — which would make hopping across undetected easier than it may sound.

Already a phenomenon — described by one farmer as "people are only people" — is establishing itself: the frontier farmers are getting used to this way of life.

Seun de Swardt is a game-farm owner, businessman, and chairman of the Messina Afrikaanse Sakekamer.

He estimates that 40% of land owned in the area is dedicated to game farming.

Even though game farms tend to be further from the border he fears the stigma of landmines would bring a slump in foreign business.

Solutions to the problems, he feels, are political, and lie in change.

Relations with Zimbabwe are good, says De Swardt, to the extent that Zimbabwe police go to the trouble of locating and returning cattle stolen from South African farmers.

And the townsfolk forget quicker than the farmers.

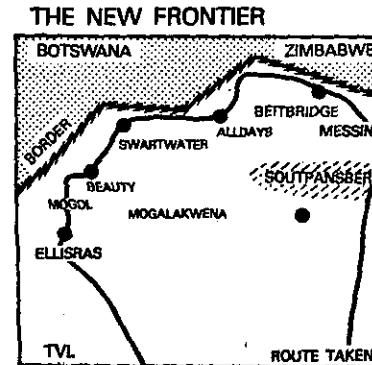
Says a young local, sipping his brandy-and-coke during a break in a pub darts game: "Landmines? Let me rather tell you about something far more interesting. Let's talk about Messina's women."



● Commander of the Dongola area farmer commando Willie Esterhuyse.



● Members of the South African Defence Force patrolling Messina's streets.



● Reporter Fred Stiglingh at a double security fence gate and no-man's-land.



● Workers weeding no-man's-land between South Africa and Zimbabwe.

ANC 'plans raids, but not on public'

11A 10/1/88
E. Post

LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) said yesterday it would intensify guerilla attacks in South Africa, but would not deliberately attack civilians.

"We are now calling for a rapid, extensive escalation of our military offensive," the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, told a Press conference to mark the nationalist group's 74th anniversary.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, has given permission for Mr Tambo's remarks to be published in South Africa.

Mr Tambo said the ANC was stepping up the guerilla war because "(President P W) Botha has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the people. He is playing around with the idea of reforms".

"We say the apartheid system cannot be reformed. It must be abolished in its entirety."

ANC attacks would continue to be "directed and aimed at enemy personnel and strategic installations," he said, but "in the course of the spread of the peoples' war against apartheid, civilians will be caught in the crossfire".

Mr Tambo said the use of landmines in white farming areas along SA's borders was justified, "because the Government had made them military zones".

White farmers in the zones were obliged by law to be part of the State security system and were therefore provided with the tools of war, he said.

"We at the ANC were among the few people to warn against the dangers of the law designating these areas into military zones," said Mr Tambo.

"We are therefore puzzled that we are

being criticised for using them as areas of our operations."

Mr Tambo denied SA charges that ANC guerillas operated from Zimbabwe, Botswana and other black neighbours of SA, and said raids on these countries would not affect the ANC's operations.

He also denied the ANC was involved in the bomb blast at Amanzimtoti.

There was nothing in the ANC policy, he said, "which calls for attacks on civilians in supermarkets, schools, and cinemas, unless these are regarded as military installations".

"Even so, the ANC will not attack children even if they are in military zones... therefore there could have been no orders for the Amanzimtoti attack from the ANC," he said.

But he did not rule out that an ANC unit might have planted the shopping centre bomb, without orders.

SA troops were killing children, he alleged. "... The army is there, actually shooting, fighting and killing children. Hundreds of people have been killed, massacres have been perpetrated inside and outside the country."

The ANC was ready to talk to the SA Government, he said, but first it would have to free Nelson Mandela.

"We can stop our armed struggle anytime. But it has to be a two-way affair — unless the regime stops the violent system of apartheid, there is nothing we can do," he said.

● In Pretoria, a spokesman for the police Directorate of Public Relations said Mr Tambo was trying to "throw up a smokescreen to cover ruthless ANC attacks on innocent people". — Sapa-Reuter



Mr O TAMBO: "... the apartheid system cannot be reformed. It must be abolished."

□ □ □ BUS DAY 10/1/82

PRESIDENT of the Azanian People's Organisation, Saths Cooper, has arrived in the Cape Peninsula to try to negotiate peace between warring groups of the Azanian Youth Union and the United Democratic Front in Mbekweni, near Paarl.

Clashes between the groups in the Eastern Cape and Mbekweni have resulted in several deaths.

□ □ □

Since the state of emergency was declared last July, trade unions have made claims of police harassment and death threats to their leaders.

And at least 10 trade unionists spent Christmas Day in detention.

Miss Mapule Makwela, a trade unionist employed as a typist by the African Allied Workers Union (AAWU), who was released from detention this week told of the miserable time she spent in jail. She said:

"I missed township life in the cells. I missed my family and friends. It was boring and frustrating. I felt worse because I knew I had done nothing to deserve this. None of my family and friends came to see me. Only my mother was allowed to visit me.

"I was mainly lonely because I wanted to do some work for the exploited and oppressed people. My detention has not dampened by spirit to work for the liberation of the masses," she said.

Perturbed

She was perturbed that her general secretary, Mr Cunningham Nqucukana, who was detained with her, was still in detention.

"I will not forget the day the police came to our office, searched and confiscated union documents. We were taken to Protea and later to Diepkloof prison. It was a nasty experience".

Her mother, Mrs Elizabeth Makwela said: "No mother can enjoy any occasion without one child. Mapule's absence at home worried us as we did not know when she would be released.

"During the time she was in jail we prayed to God that she be re-

A bad year for unionists

FOCUS

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

leased. We held prayers every night. We were happy to see her in the New Year," she said.

Mrs Catherine Nqucukana, whose son Cunningham was detained in September, said: "I pray for the release of my son and other detainees in this country.

"We enjoyed every Christmas together praying to God to help us in the New Year. I hope he will be released one day.

Those who are still in detention are: Mr Mahlomola Skhosana, assistant general secretary of the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa); Mr Elijah Masinga of the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu); Mr Cunningham Nqucukana, general secretary of AAWU and executive member of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (Azactu); Mr Sam Ntuli, Mr Paul Maseko, and Mr Ezekial Kubheka, all of the United Mining Metal and Allied Workers Union (Umma-wusa); Mr Sehole Neer, Mr Samson Mtombeni and Mr Mdulela Mali of Motor Assemblies, Components and Allied Workers Union (Macwusa). Mr Samson Masondo of the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawusa) and Ms

Thembi Bango of Food Canning Workers Union (FCWU).

More than 20 trade unionists were detained under emergency regulations since July, but most have been released. Among them were, Mr Piroshaw Camay, the general secretary of Cusa and Mr Chris Dlamini second vice-president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Four — Mr Sam Kikine Mr Sisa Njikelana, Mr Isaac Ngcobo and Mr Thozamile Gqwetha, all of Saawu — are to face charges of treason in the Maritzburg Supreme Court.

Passports

The following trade unionists were refused passports in 1985: Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe of the Black Mining Construction and Allied Workers Union (Bamcwu), Mr Joe Thloloe of the Media Workers Association of South Africa, Mr Moses Mayekiso of the Metal and Allied Workers Union; Mr Phillip Dladla of Mawu, Mr Thembinkosi Mkhali of the Chemical Industrial Workers Union, Mr Mfikisi Seneke of the National Union of Textile Workers, Mr Nqcu-



Miss MAPULE MAKWELA . . . released on New Year's Day.

kana of AAWU and Mr Phillip Dlamini of the SA Black Municipal Workers Union.

No reasons were given for the refusals

Mr Dlamini of Cosatu and Mr James Mndaweni, president of Cusa, who both live in Springs, have received death threats from unknown callers. Their homes have been searched during what police described as a "routine check-up."

The detention of trade unionists, alleged harassment and arrests, have raised concern both here and internationally.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) accused South Africa of creating an impression of normal labour relations while it uses security and other

non-labour legislation to harass trade unions and their members. It has cited a number of laws under which trade unionists have been detained in South Africa.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has added its voice of protest against the detention of trade unionists. It called on the South African Government to release all political detainees and prisoners.

While the unionists are in detention thousands of workers will be back at the factory floors after the festive season.

Workers will return to face an even gloomier economy, more retrenchments in the air, and rising labour tension.

Arrest fuelled bus boycott, - claim

THE arrest of Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women has fuelled the bus boycott in Kagiso township, Krugersdorp, one of the organisers said yesterday.

Sister Ncube was arrested with Sister Christine Obotseng when police allegedly raided a mass meeting at the local NG Kerk on Wednesday night.

Sources said Sister Ncube, who was a Kagiso township delegate at the education consultative conference organised by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee at the University of the Witwatersrand a few weeks ago, was giving a report back to the local residents who attended the meeting on Wednesday night.

Eye-witnesses said police in several vehicles, stormed the meeting and arrested her and Sister Obotseng and a man known only as

By **MANDLA NDLAZI**

"Gordon".

A spokesman for the SAP's Public Relations Division yesterday said: "According to our present records, the per-

sons mentioned in your telex are not being detained in terms of either the security legislation or the emergency regulations."

SOWETOAN 10/1/86



Azapo to hold meetings

AZAPO will hold several meetings this weekend to explain the resolutions adopted at the SPCC consultative conference

10/1/80 (11A) SOWETAN
on the crisis in education.

Among the issues to be discussed will be:

- School attendance on

January 28;

- School fees and school books;
- Other resolutions of the national consultative conference; and
- The Department of Education and Training's response to the SPCC's demands.

Top-ranking black consciousness leaders will address three meetings to be held on the following venues. The Roman Catholic Church in Rathanda at 2 pm on Saturday; the Anglican Church in Bekkersdal at 2 pm on Saturday and at the Khulangolwazi Higher Primary School in Diepkloof, Zone 5, on Sunday at 2 pm.

Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's publicity secretary said: "Azapo has a large following and we have to engage in very intensive and extensive briefings with them".

"It is with this object in mind that we feel we should work towards popularising the decisions of the national consultative committee," he said.

OLIVER TAMBO, president of the African National Congress, has spelled out the details of its plans to intensify its campaign of violence in 1986 as it tries to turn sporadic guerrilla activity into a fullscale "people's war".

The campaign includes plans to widen the conflict beyond the borders of the townships into white areas, to continue attacks on the white farming community and to enlist the support of various groups within SA.

Throughout a Press conference yesterday lasting nearly two hours, Tambo reaffirmed and elaborated the contents of a belliscose 18-page statement issued by the ANC, and broadcast by Tambo himself, on Wednesday night.

He gave no sign of a softening of the ANC's position, and no indication that he regarded negotiations with SA as more than a theoretical possibility.

Civilians, Tambo said bluntly, will be caught in the crossfire as the ANC steps up its attacks, and although the ANC itself will not deliberately attack such "soft targets" as schools, supermarkets and shopping centres, he does not rule out the possibility that over-zealous cadres will do so.

Tambo suggested, but did not actually say, that this was the explanation for the Amanzimtoti bomb attack on the eve of Christmas. He burst out laughing when a questioner suggested that the unit which had carried out the attack should be disciplined for exceeding ANC policy.

The Press conference was held before about 150 people, many of them members of the diplomatic corps, at the UN's Namibia Institute in Lusaka.

Foreign journalists, including South Africans, were cleared without fuss or formality through Zambian immigration, provided their names were on a list compiled by the ANC.

Their bags were closely searched as they entered the building, but they were not subjected to body searches. There were no arms or uniformed men in evidence.

Tambo, flanked by top ANC leaders and watched closely by security guards, sat before rows of bookshelves that contained, among other things, 45 volumes of the complete works of Lenin.

Tambo talks of fullscale ANC 'people's war' into white and farming areas

BUS DAY 10/11/86

11A



□ TAMBO TALKS ... a pensive Oliver Tambo (left) at yesterday's ANC 74th anniversary Press conference in Lusaka. Centre is ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki, with the secretary general of the ANC Alfred Nzo

alternative. The ANC views the SA government as able only to react to events, not to direct them.

As a result, the ANC leadership clearly believes it has the initiative, and it is trying to step up the pressure.

Tambo explained that it was the aim of the ANC not only to step up its own attacks, in keeping with the Kabwe decision to send all resources to the front line, but also to organise support by so-called "mass units" — military groups of varying size drawn from the local populace.

Parallel with the armed campaign the ANC plans an intense political effort to widen the base of the ANC by incorporating other opponents of apartheid into the struggle.

Apparently anxious that P W Botha's reform programme will co-opt potential ANC allies, the ANC loses no opportunity to attack or denigrate any attempt by government to reform apartheid.

Repeating (apparently deliberately) the words of the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Tambo said apartheid cannot be reformed, only abolished.

Indeed, Tambo took credit for destroying the community council system by insisting that all councillors resign. Inevitably, he conceded, some of those who did not resign were killed.

Now the ANC hopes to take the matter farther by establishing its own "democratic councils" for each community, elected on the basis of one man-one vote, without regard to race.

Tambo spoke warmly, both in the broadcast statement and at his Press conference, of those people, including whites, who oppose apartheid even if they do not support the ANC.

His most conciliatory comments appeared to be directed to these factions and parties, and he went out of his way to say that the Freedom Charter permits a "mixed economy," that SA after liberation would be multi-racial and that it would be a democracy in which he expected a variety of parties to emerge.

Neither labour nor big business, neither white conscripts nor liberal opponents of apartheid — nor, indeed, students at Stellenbosch — were excluded from his appeal for support to overthrow apartheid.

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However, the occasion was free of any show of Left-wing or revolutionary symbols. The ANC leaders, neatly dressed in business suits and ties, resembled members of a Western business convention more than revolutionaries intent on launching and pursuing a fullscale war.

Tambo's comments — though delivered in a slow, schoolmasterish tone and phrased with care — confirmed in detail the uncompromising stance taken when the leaders of the banned organisation met at Kabwe in Zambia for an historic policy-making session last June.

Permission to quote Tambo was granted last night by Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange.

At Kabwe, the ANC leaders determined to concentrate their resources on the "front line" — inside SA itself — and to attack military and strategic targets without regard to the risk towards civilians.



□ TAMBO TALKS... a pensive Oliver Tambo (left) at yesterday's ANC 74th anniversary Press conference in Lusaka. Centre is ANC publicity secretary Thabo Mbeki, with the secretary general of the ANC Alfred Nzo

KEN OWEN reports from Lusaka

Closely questioned on this point, Tambo predicted increasing civilian casualties, saying they were unavoidable in a situation of escalating warfare.

At one stage, as foreign journalists tried to determine the implications of the policy, he burst out: "I don't see why I need to be cross-questioned like this."

Some observers have seen the new policies adopted at Kabwe as a victory of a younger, more radical faction over older moderates, but neither Tambo nor any of the leaders flanking him showed the slightest doubt about widening the war.

On his left sat the rising young star Thabo Mbeki — son of Govan Mbeki, who has shared prison with Nelson Mandela for more than 20 years — and the veteran secretary general Alfred Nzo.

On his right were long-time

leaders Thomas Nkobi and Dan Toome, and in the watching crowd was the young Palo Jordan, a close associate of the assassinated communist intellectual Ruth First.

All these men, and a goodly section of the spectators, applauded talk of increasing violence and wider warfare. They joined Tambo in laughing at the man who suggested disciplining cadres that deliberately attacked "soft" targets.

Similarly, Tambo gave scant respect to a suggestion that farmers and their families — such as the victims of recent landmines laid on the borders of the Transvaal — should be regarded as non-combatants.

On the contrary, he said, the

farming community as a whole was a prime target for attack because it had been drawn into the SA security system.

Nor did negotiation receive serious attention. Negotiations, Tambo emphasised, need not await the cessation of violence — they could begin whenever the SA government chose.

His comments left a firm impression that the gap between the ANC and the SA government is simply too wide to be bridgeable. President Botha's minimum demand that the ANC forswear violence before negotiations begin is

clearly unacceptable to the ANC leadership, old and young.

At the same time, the ANC's first and minimum condition for talks to begin is the release of Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki and other leaders.

Further conditions, Tambo pointed out, would in any event follow even if the first condition were met.

This hardline stance rests upon a perception of Nationalist policy as being bankrupt. The ideological platform of apartheid has collapsed and the Nationalist government has found no coherent

struggle. Apparently anxious that P W Botha's reform programme will co-opt potential ANC allies, the ANC loses no opportunity to attack or denigrate any attempt by government to reform apartheid.

Repeating (apparently deliberately) the words of the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Tambo said apartheid cannot be reformed, only abolished.

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His most conciliatory comments appeared to be directed to these factions and parties, and he went out of his way to say that the Freedom Charter permits a "mixed economy," that SA after liberation would be multi-racial and that it would be a democracy in which he expected a variety of parties to emerge.

Neither labour nor big business, neither white conscripts nor liberal opponents of apartheid — nor, indeed, students at Stellenbosch — were excluded from his appeal for support to overthrow apartheid.

In pursuing its aim of making "apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable" the ANC is broadcasting specific instructions for a new campaign against the pass laws, and is asking the unions — especially the mineworkers — to live up to their "revolutionary tradition".

However, Tambo left no doubt that, in this Year of Umkhonto, the keynote is violence and the slogan is "attack". Tambo says bluntly that the ANC will give no quarter and will demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

□ SIMON BARBER'S
Washington column
will appear in Monday's
Business Day

Earn up to

100%

ANC to step up attacks

IT'S WAR, SAYS TAMBO



ANC CHIEF ... Mr Oliver Tambo.

11A
SOWETAN
10/1/86

"S-H-H-NI
DON'T TELL ANYONE
WE ARE SO CHEAP!"

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LUSAKA — The African National Congress said yesterday it would intensify guerrilla attacks in South Africa but would not deliberately attack civilians.

SA Press Association and Reuter

"We are now calling for a rapid, extensive escalation of our military offensive," the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, told a Press conference to mark the nationalist group's 74th anniversary on Wednesday.

was stepping up the guerrilla war because "President P W Botha has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the people. He is playing around with the idea of reforms."

"We say the apartheid system cannot be reformed. It must be abolished in its entirety."

ANC attacks would continue to be "directed and aimed at enemy personnel and strategic installations", he said, but "in the course of the spread of the peoples' war against apartheid, civilians will be caught in the crossfire."

"We do not derive any pleasure from this but it will have to be accepted as part and parcel of a war situation."

There has been a noticeable increase in guerrilla attacks in South Africa over the past month, not all of them claimed by the ANC.

Thirteen white people and one black have died in landmine explosions near the Zimbabwe and Botswana borders and in a bomb blast at a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti near Durban.

Mr Tambo said the use of landmines in white farming areas along South Africa's borders was justified because the government has made them military zones.

White farmers in the zones were obliged by law to be part of the State security system and were therefore provided with the tools or war, he said.

"We at the ANC were among the few people to warn

Tambo denies 'Toti blast

From Page 1

against the dangers of the law designating these areas into military zones," said Mr Tambo, adding: "We are therefore puzzled that we are being criticised for using them as areas of our operations."

Mr Tambo denied South African charges that ANC guerillas operated from Zimbabwe, Botswana and other black neighbours of South Africa and said raids on these countries would not affect the ANC's operations.

"We have experienced these cross-border raids over the past six years into African independent and sovereign states and they have not helped to resolve the problems of South Africa or subdue

these states," said Mr Tambo.

South Africa has mounted commando raids on Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique in pursuit of alleged ANC guerilla and has threatened similar raids on Zimbabwe.

Bomb

Mr Tambo denied that the ANC was involved in the bomb blast at Amanzimtoti, south of Durban, shortly before Christmas in which five white people died.

There was nothing in the ANC policy, he said, "which calls for attacks on civilians in supermarkets, schools and cinemas unless these are regarded as military installations".

"Even so, the ANC will not attack children even if they are in mili-

tary zones . . . therefore there could have been no orders for the Amanzimtoti attack from the ANC," he said.

But he did not rule out that an ANC unit might have planted the shopping centre bomb without orders.

Faced with almost two years of racial violence "some of them resolve to face being disciplined by the organisation. We therefore expected there to be more Amanzimtotis in the future".

Troops

South African troops were killing children, he alleged. "... the army is there, actually shooting, fighting and killing children. Hundreds of people have been killed, massacres have been perpetrated inside and

outside the country."

The army has been called in to support police in the battle to control racial violence in South Africa's teeming townships. Since February 1984 more than 1 000 people have died in the violence.

The ANC was ready to talk to the South African Government, he said, but first it would have to free Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who has served more than 20 years of a life sentence for plotting the overthrow of white rule.

"We can stop our armed struggle anytime. But it has to be a two-way affair — unless the regime stops the violent system of apartheid, there is nothing we can do," he said. — Sapa-
Reuter.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

SA leaders hit at new ANC threat

E Post
10/1/86
11A

By DIRK VAN ZYL
Political Correspondent

A WIDE spectrum of South African political leaders today strongly condemned the statement by ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in Lusaka yesterday that his organisation intended stepping up its strategy of violence this year.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, accused Mr Tambo of trying to detach himself from responsibility for the latest series of terror attacks that had cost the lives of innocent women and children.

The ANC had in the past three years repeatedly said that it would concentrate on hard and soft targets and that "white" areas in the

towns and the countryside would be targets, he said.

"The ANC has proved that it attacks regardless of who its victims will be — whether they be black or white women and children."

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, described the ANC's threats to expand its campaign as "depressing but predictable".

Dr Slabbert said South Africa was moving increasingly into a situation where both sides were trying to resolve matters through violence rather than negotiation.

He believed South Africans should concern themselves with providing appropriate conditions for negotiation.

The only way to avoid the escalation of violence now was to try to talk.

Commenting on the Government granting permission for the banned ANC leader to be quoted, the PFP leader said it was clear it suited the Government's purpose to allow publication.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said that the United Nations and all the countries that supported the ANC and gave them recognition should take note of Mr Tambo's statement in view of the fact that the UN had declared 1986 to be the year of peace.

"I don't think that these threats are going to contribute to the finding of a solution in South Africa.

"On the other hand, I would say that Mr Tambo is hoping that the white community in particular will react to this threat by becoming even more aggressive, which in turn would give the ANC more standing in terms of South Africa being made the aggressor," Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party, said he did not think the logistics and history of the region and structures of the neighbouring states would allow anyone win an armed struggle.

● Oliver Tambo outlines the ANC's future plans — Page 4.

● Editorial comment — Page 8.

We'll go for white areas, says Tambo

IIA ~~Mercury~~ Mercury 10/1/86

Mercury Special Correspondent

LUSAKA—The president of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, yesterday detailed its plans to intensify a campaign of violence in 1986 to turn sporadic terrorist activity into a full-scale 'people's war'.

The campaign included plans to widen the conflict beyond the borders of the townships into white areas, to continue attacks on white farming communities and to enlist the support of various groups within South Africa.

In the crossfire

Throughout a Press conference lasting nearly two hours, Mr Tambo reaffirmed and elaborated the contents of a bellicose 18-page statement issued by the ANC, and broadcast by Mr Tambo himself, on Wednesday night.

He gave no sign of a softening of the ANC's position and no indication that he regarded negotiations with South Africa as more than a theoretical possibility.

Civilians, Mr Tambo said bluntly, would be caught in the crossfire as the ANC stepped up its attacks and although the ANC itself would not deliberately attack such 'soft targets' as schools, supermarkets and shopping centres, he did not rule out the possibility that over-zealous cadres would do so.

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tually say, that this was the explanation for the Amanzimtoti bomb attack just before Christmas.

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organisation met at Kabwe in Zambia for an historic policy-making session last June.

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At Kabwe the ANC leaders had determined to concentrate their resources on the 'front line' — inside South Africa itself — and to attack military and strategic targets without regard to the risk towards civilians.

Escalating warfare

Closely questioned on this point yesterday, Mr Tambo predicted increasing civilian casualties, saying they were unavoidable in a situation of escalating warfare.

At one stage, as foreign journalists tried to determine the implications of the policy, he burst out: 'I don't see why I need to be cross-questioned like this.'

On Mr Tambo's left during the conference sat the rising young star, Thabo Mbeki, son of Govan Mbeki who has shared prison with Nelson Mandela for more than 20 years, and the veteran secretary general, Alfred Nzo.

On his right were long-time leaders Thomas Nkobi and Dan Tloome and in the watching crowd was the young Palo Jordan, a close associate of the assassinated communist, Ruth First.

All these men and a large section of the spectators applauded talk of increasing violence and wider warfare.

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the man who suggested disciplining cadres that deliberately attacked 'soft' targets.

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On the contrary, he said, the farming community as a whole was a prime target for attack because it had been drawn into the South African security system.

Nor did negotiation receive serious attention. Negotiations, Mr Tambo emphasised, need not await the cessation of violence. They could begin whenever the South African Government chose.

His comments left a firm impression that the gap between the ANC and the South African Government is simply too wide to be bridgeable.

Mr Botha's minimum demand that the ANC forswear violence before negotiations begin is clearly unacceptable to the ANC leadership, old and young.

At the same time, the ANC's first and minimum condition for talks to begin is the release of Mandela, Mbeki and others.

Further conditions, Mr Tambo pointed out, would in any event follow even if the first condition were met.

This hardline stance rests upon a perception of Nationalist policy as being bankrupt. The ANC views the

South African Government as able only to react to events, not to direct them.

As a result, the ANC leadership clearly believes it has the initiative and it is trying to step up the pressure.

Mr Tambo explained that it was the aim of the ANC not only to step up its own attacks, in keeping with the Kabwe decision to send all resources to the front line, but also to organise support by so-called 'mass units' — military groups of varying size drawn from the local populace.

Reform programme

Parallel with the armed campaign the ANC plans an intense political effort to widen the base of the ANC by incorporating other opponents of apartheid into the struggle.

Apparently anxious that President Botha's reform programme will co-opt potential ANC allies, the ANC loses no opportunity to attack or denigrate any attempt by the Government to reform apartheid.

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Neither labour nor big business, white conscripts nor liberal opponents of apartheid, nor indeed, students at Stellenbosch, were excluded from his appeal for support to overthrow apartheid.

In pursuing its aim of making 'apartheid unworkable and the country un-governable' the ANC is broadcasting specific instructions for a new campaign against the pass laws, and is asking the unions — especially the mine-workers — to live up to their 'revolutionary tradition'.

However, Mr Tambo left no doubt that in this year of Umkhonto, the keynote was violence and the slogan was 'attack'.

He said bluntly that the ANC would give no quarter and would demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

In Pretoria, a police spokesman said last night that Mr Tambo was trying to throw up a smokescreen to cover ruthless ANC attacks on innocent people.

The ANC had in the past admitted responsibility for most of the attacks on civilians but blaming such attacks on undisciplined terrorists could only be described as trying to beg the question, Sapa reported.

Court acknowledges violence allegations

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10/1/86

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

A SUPREME Court yesterday for the first time acknowledged allegations that community councillors were involved in violent vigilante actions and were being protected by members of the South African Police.

The Eastern Cape Supreme Court in East London yesterday issued orders against three Fort Beaufort community councillors and an SAP sergeant.

The councillors were restrained from assaulting two children and the policeman, a Sergeant Sijila of the Fort Beaufort police station, was ordered to stop preventing the lodging of assault complaints or prejudicing investigations.

An application to force the station commander to investigate the assault complaints was turned down.

The applicants were the parents of the two children, aged 11 and 12 respectively.

Nolwandle Mathe, mother of an 11-year-old boy, said late one night she had heard her child screaming from a neighbour's house.

She saw the three community

councillors — Taya Nzima, Sithombo Mbewu and Makwezi Gabashe — emerge from the house. She found her son lying on the floor, crying loudly and bleeding from his stomach.

Her son told her the men had entered a bedroom where he was sleeping and hit him with sjamboks and sticks.

When she attempted to report the matter, Sgt Sijila had told a junior policeman not to take the statement and had said her children would continue to be beaten.

He had threatened to tell people she was working for the police.

She said her son, who had been threatened again since the incident by one of the councillors, still suffered from severe chest pains and recurring nightmares.

The second applicant, William Rangule, told a similar story of the assault of his son, aged 12.

And, in another case in the same court yesterday, an application to

● To PAGE 2

receptions are pupils will be a very big problem



Home-made revolver tucked in his belt, a Pondo leader waits for his Zulu foe to return.

WEEKLY N. 10/11/86.

Picture: BILLY PARDOCK

Grenades in faction war

By CARMEL RICKARD

KWAZULU police confiscated two hand grenades in arrests after faction fighting which left at least six dead at the weekend.

Deputy Commissioner of Police for KwaZulu, Colonel Sipho Mathe, said the discovery of the grenades — rusty and full of sand — in the pockets of two men during follow-up operations after the fight was "a very worrying development".

Fighting between the Mbatha and Qulunga clans in the remote Okhukhu area of Mahlabatini district in northern KwaZulu broke out on Sunday morning and lasted about an hour. Mathe, who is heading investigations into the fighting, said tension had been simmering between the groups since both were moved from Msinga and resettled in Okhukhu. He believed the fighting was over "land issues".

Police had been warned of a possible outbreak of fighting scheduled for Christmas or New Year's Day, but after reinforcements were brought in, nothing happened.

"Then, when we no longer expected any trouble, they began to fight," he said. The proximity of the fighting to Ulundi and the high death toll were also causes for alarm.

The bodies all had bullet or knife wounds and none of the dead found so far had been killed by grenades.

Most of the "warriors" had fled into the hills or left for their workplaces in Johannesburg or other centres, Mathe said, but 100 police were tracking down those still in the area; a helicopter was used to search the mountains near Okhukhu. By mid-week 20 people from the Mbatha clan had been arrested.

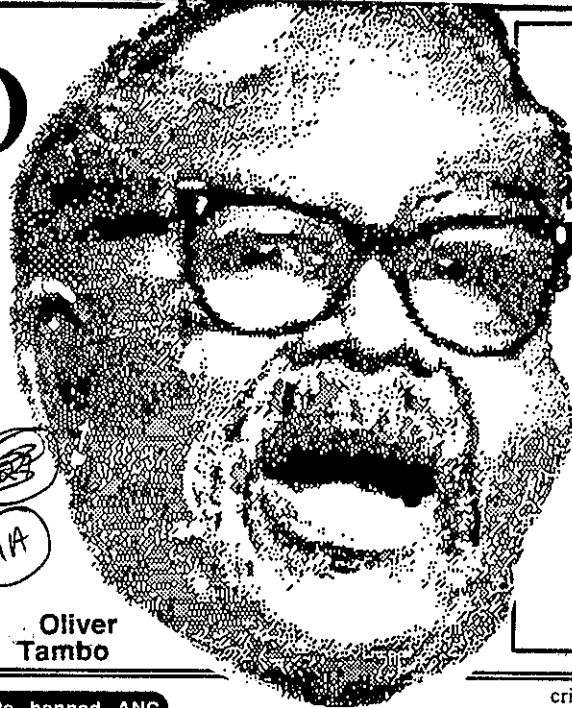
Mathe said he hoped to initiate "peace talks" involving the local indunas, the chief and the magistrate as soon as police had completed their investigations.

Brenda in the

SIPHO MABUSE, Brenda and the Big Dudes, Tribe After Tribe and Steve Kekana are among the 10-hour "Concert In The Park" line-up at Ellis Park tomorrow.

Not to be confused with last year's "Concert In The Park", the proceeds of which went to Operation Hunger coffers, "Concert In The Park" 1986 style has become a (Pty) Ltd company fronted by Martin Locke.

Tambo in his own words



Oliver
Tambo

Words that can be heard

THE words of ANC president, Oliver Tambo, printed with permission for the first time:

"We are now calling for a rapid, extensive escalation of our military offensive ... because (President P W) Botha has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the people. He is playing around with the idea of reforms.

"We say the apartheid system cannot be reformed. It must be abolished in its entirety,"

ANC attacks would continue to be "directed and aimed at enemy personnel and strategic installations ... but in the course of the spread of the people's war against apartheid, civilians will be caught in the crossfire.

"We do not derive any pleasure from this, but it will have to be accepted as part and parcel of a war situation,"

IN an unprecedented move last night, the Minister of Law and Order, Louis le Grange, gave permission for the press to quote the speech of African National Congress leader, Oliver Tambo, on the occasion of the organisation's 74th anniversary.

Normally, the press would be forbidden to print the words of Tambo, who is a "listed communist". The editor of the Cape Times, Tony Heard, is currently facing charges carrying a heavy prison sentence for quoting Tambo.

In Tambo's speech, delivered in Lusaka yesterday, he signalled the ANC's intention to step up its armed struggle massively this year and to involve as broad a spread of people as possible in political violence against apartheid.

However, he said the ANC was ready to talk to the South African government, but first the government

Le Grange lets banned ANC boss be quoted — for the first time in decades

would have to release Nelson Mandela, the jailed ANC leader.

"We can stop our armed struggle anytime. But it has to be a two-way affair — unless the regime stops the violent system of apartheid, there is nothing we can do," he said.

Tambo clearly distanced himself from the recent Amanzimtoti bomb attack, which killed five whites. He said it was not ANC policy to attack civilian targets, but civilians would be caught in the crossfire during attacks on military targets.

Talking about the Amanzimtoti attack, he said there was nothing in the ANC policy "which calls for attacks on civilians in supermarkets, schools and cinemas unless these are regarded as military installations.

"Even so, the ANC will not attack children even if they are in military zones ... therefore there could have been no orders for the Amanzimtoti attack from the ANC."

However, he did not rule out the possibility that the attack came from ANC units acting without orders. "Some of them resolve to face being disciplined by the organisation. We therefore expect there to be more Amanzimtotis in the future," he said.

He justified the recent landmine attacks in border areas, saying these had been made into military areas by the South African government.

"We at the ANC were among the few people to warn against the dangers of the law designating these areas into military zones. We are therefore puzzled that we are being

criticised for using them as areas of our operations," he said.

South African troops were killing children, he alleged. "The army is there, actually shooting, fighting and killing children. Hundreds of people have been killed, massacres have been perpetrated inside and outside the country.

He denied that ANC guerrillas operated from South Africa's neighbouring states and said raids on these countries would not affect the ANC's operations.

HOWARD BARRELL reports from Lusaka that the ANC has declared 1986 "The year of the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe", under the slogan "Every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot".

But, according to sources, it was still concerned to build the broadest

SEE STORIES ON PAGE 7

● To PAGE 2

ARGUS 10/1/88 11A

Tambo: More bombings

Mr Oliver Tambo, leader of the African National Congress, says border farmers are legitimate targets for the organisation. The Argus African News Service reports from Lusaka

AFRICAN National Congress president Oliver Tambo has predicted that there will be more bomb attacks similar to the explosion at a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti just before Christmas in which five white civilians died.

But Mr Tambo has refused to state clearly whether or not an ANC unit in fact mounted the attack.

Addressing a news conference in Lusaka attended by about 60 journalists, Mr Tambo said the bomb attack in the seaside resort went against ANC policy. The ANC did not direct its attacks against civilians specifically, though civilians "will get caught in the crossfire".

Farmers

Border area farmers, often involved in government security networks, were legitimate targets for the ANC, he said in reference to recent landmine deaths in the Northern Transvaal.

Well-placed observers are in no doubt whatsoever that an ANC unit mounted the Amanzimtoti attack.

Referring to the Amanzimtoti incident, Mr Tambo said: "There are going to be more of these things in a situation of generalised violence. It is the development of the crisis in South Africa."

Responsibility for this escalation in violence and death tolls lay with the South African Government, he said.

He personally did "not rejoice" when he heard the news of Amanzimtoti.

'Celebrations'

"But there were celebrations inside South Africa among black people," he said. This attitude did not surprise him after the deaths of more than 1 000 blacks over the past 18 months, mainly as a result of clashes with the police and the army, he said.

Mr Tambo clearly indicated that he was unhapopy about the attack, but he stopped short of condemning it.

The responsibility for the current political and economic crisis and the violence inside the country lay at the door of the Government, he argued.

"We are beginning to move into stormy times in South Africa. It is all because there is a fundamental problem caused by the apartheid system," he said.

'Disciplined'

"You can understand the circumstances in which this kind of thing (the Amanzimtoti bomb) happens," he added.

He indicated that it was possible that an ANC unit which carried out an Amanzimtoti-type attack could be disciplined by the ANC.

"When units are confronted with what is happening around them, they might decide: 'Well, I am going to have to face being disciplined,'" Mr Tambo said.

He denied that ANC guerrilla units were operating from neighbouring countries.

"We have no armed units based in neighbouring states conducting cross-border raids," he said.

"The whole of South Africa is beginning to bleed in the face of the persistence of the apartheid system," said Mr Tambo.

Escalation

The substantial escalation in the ANC's armed struggle which was planned would mean "more than this", he said.

The ANC was convinced that the Botha Government had "no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the majority of the people of South Africa and the rest of the world".

For this reason, the ANC was working at a "rapid and extensive escalation of our military offensive," said Mr Tambo.

The ANC would take this campaign into all areas of the country, he added.

Ovation as Fauntroy cries, sings

CAPE TOWN'S
10/11/86

11A

By TONY WEAVER

THE visiting US Congressional team was given a rapturous welcome and repeated standing ovations by a jam-packed congregation at Dr Allan Boesak's Bellville South Ned Geref Sendingkerk last night.

More than 1 000 people heard Mr Walter Fauntroy, non-voting congressional delegate from the District of Columbia — and Baptist preacher and co-leader of the Free South Africa Movement, vow to intensify the battle for all-out sanctions against South Africa.

But at a press conference after the church service, the leader of the delegation, Mr William Gray, said the group would decide on its final recommendations only once they had returned to the US.

The lively, 2½-hour church service was frequently interrupted as the congregation chanted "viva, viva" (long live) and "amandla" and sang freedom songs, and most of the congressional group gave clenched-fist salutes as they were introduced to the congregation by Mr Gray.

Mr Fauntroy was given a rapturous, standing ovation when he said he brought greetings to the congregation from the US senators and congressmen who support the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

'My heart bled'

"The people of America are saying we will not cooperate with this evil system. They are saying to South Africa, until you let our people go, we will not send you the lifeblood of apartheid which is foreign investment."

Mr Fauntroy wept when he described how "my heart bled when I talked to your President", and he had the congregation on its feet as he launched into an impassioned solo rendition of "To Dream The Impossible Dream".

Dr Boesak, who criticized the state of emergency as being "an excuse for legalized murder", said the people of South Africa did not want their battle fought for them by the people of America and Britain.

"We just want to say to them, we are marching to our freedom, so don't put anything in our way."

He said the South African Government refused to give him his passport because it was scared that if he spoke abroad, "the value of the rand will go down, but I want to say that if P W (Botha) wants the rand to continue going up, he must not speak at the end of the month (at the opening of Parliament)".

● Squatters 'shock' US visitors, page 2

SOUTHERN AFRICA

(11A) FM 10/1/86

ANC talks crucial

"Talking to the African National Congress (ANC) will have to come — not because of capitulation to growing violent pressure, but because of the ANC's internal support. It is an important actor on the SA scene."

This view, which is increasingly being heard across a wide spectrum of South African society, was expressed by SA Institute of International Affairs director, John Barratt. It comes in the wake of the latest ANC bomb attacks — at Amanzimtoti and landmines in the northern Transvaal which killed 14 civilians (black and white), and which has raised regional tension as the prospect of SA over-border reprisal strikes loomed.

The more terror attacks there are, the harder it becomes for government to move because of local (white) pressure not to be seen to be capitulating. "So the sooner government moves, the better," advises Barratt.

Simple retaliation, which has not succeeded in stemming ANC attacks or infiltration, further causes wider adverse international repercussions. Indeed, both Britain and America were quick to express concern in order to head off a possible retaliatory strike by the SADF again into Botswana, from whence, Pretoria maintains, the ANC cadres responsible for the Ellisras landmine blast came. From Lusaka, the ANC tells the *FM* that its units *inside* SA were responsible.

In view of the location of the recent landmines, Barratt says, there can be little doubt that there is infiltration from Botswana, Zimbabwe and even Mozambique.

The big question, however, is how to stop it. For even if they were to deny refuge to South African exiles, the infiltration and/or terror strikes are unlikely to stop, says Barratt. For one thing, their security forces are clearly much smaller and less capable than ours. This is a major problem. After all, he observes, "our security forces can't control the South African side of the border (a point Botswana made after the Gaborone raid last June) so how can you expect the neighbouring states to succeed? It seems to me that both our security forces theirs are unable to seal off the borders."

However, despite repeated government

tion is discernible.

According to Barratt, it has to be accepted that SA's neighbours do not allow ANC bases in their countries — which is clearly not in their interests.

In the meantime, the stalemate (and the cycle of terror) persists and is highly inflammable, Barratt points out. This is especially so when there are political groups at home demanding retaliatory action against the ANC. He adds that there is a "tendency" among some to view the matter rather simplistically. Yet, "we know from past experience that such raids have not stopped ANC infiltration."

The situation is getting worse, says Barratt, who sees "no way out of this dilemma short of a political settlement in SA itself. We have to have a political situation in which there is no support for violent acts."

The point is perhaps underlined by the fact that, to mark the ANC's 74th anniversary this Wednesday, ANC president Oliver Tambo was expected to declare 1986 "the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe." This refers to the "Spear of the Nation," the ANC's armed wing, and obviously means an escalation of the guerrilla war. The *FM* was told that Tambo would make direct calls to all South Africans for apartheid to go *or it will be put to the torch*.

To save the country from the spiral of violence, said an ANC spokesman, it is only the government that can take the initiative, otherwise, he warned, "the struggle" would continue until it is violently resolved. The "Year of Umkhonto," reckons the ANC, will include the formation of more "units" inside SA to "take the war to the enemy." It will include increasing Umkhonto cadres' military strength, the political struggle (demands and boycotts), and "armed propaganda." Further, it plans to take the fight into the rural areas, including the homelands.

The ANC spokesman denies that the organisation has adopted a deliberate resolution to hit "soft targets" such as schools, cinemas and supermarkets, even though it is aware that "in any war civilians are going to die." He claimed that South African security forces, not the ANC, were responsible for hitting soft targets. Asked about the Amanzimtoti bomb which exploded outside a supermarket on Christmas Eve, the spokesman said it was difficult for them to comment as none of their units had, as is usual, contacted them to confirm the attack as theirs. ■

ANC calls for rapid and extensive escalation of its military offensive

AKGAS 10/11/86 (1174)

ABBE MAINE of Sapa-Reuter reports from Lusaka on the ANC press conference

THE African National Congress (ANC) has said it will intensify guerrilla attacks in South Africa but will not deliberately attack civilians.

"We are now calling for a rapid, extensive escalation of our military offensive," the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, told a press conference to mark the nationalist group's 74th anniversary.

Mr Tambo said the ANC was stepping up the guerrilla war because "(President P W) Botha has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the people. He is playing around with the idea of reforms."

"We say the apartheid system cannot be reformed. It must be abolished in its entirety."

ANC attacks would continue to be "directed and aimed at enemy personnel and strategic installations," he said, but "in the course of the spread of the people's war against apartheid, civilians will be caught in the crossfire."

"We do not derive any pleasure from this but it will have to be accepted as part and parcel of a war situation."

There has been a noticeable increase in guerrilla attacks in South Africa over the past month, not all of them claimed by the ANC.

Thirteen white people and one black have died in landmine explosions near the Zimbabwe and Botswana borders and in a bomb blast at a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti near Durban.

military zones," said Mr Tambo, adding: "We are therefore puzzled that we are being criticised for using them as areas of our operations."

Mr Tambo denied South African charges that ANC guerrillas operated from Zimbabwe, Botswana and other black neighbours of South Africa and said raids on these countries would not affect the ANC's operations.

"We have experienced these cross-border raids over the past six years into African independent and sovereign states and they have not helped to resolve the problems of South Africa or subdue these states," said Mr Tambo.

South Africa has mounted commando raids on Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique in pursuit of alleged ANC guerrillas and has threatened similar raids on Zimbabwe.

'Installations'

Mr Tambo denied that the ANC was involved in the bomb blast at Amanzimtoti, south of Durban on the Indian Ocean shortly before Christmas.

There was nothing in the ANC policy, he said, "which calls for attacks on civilians in supermarkets, schools and cinemas unless these are regarded as military installations."

"Even so, the ANC will not attack children even if they are in military zones ... therefore there could have

"We can stop our armed struggle anytime. But it has to be a two-way affair — unless the regime stops the violent system of apartheid, there is nothing we can do," he said.

In Pretoria, a spokesman

for the police directorate of public relations said Mr Tambo was trying to throw up a smokescreen to cover ruthless ANC attacks on innocent people.

The ANC had in the past

claimed responsibility for most of the attacks on civilians. Blaming such attacks on indiscipline among the fighting wings could only be described as trying to "beg the issue."

Mr Tambo said the use of landmines in white farming areas along South Africa's borders was justified because the government had made them military zones.

White farmers in the zones were obliged by law to be part of the state security system and were therefore provided with the tools of war, he said.

"We at the ANC were among the few people to warn against the dangers of the law designating these areas into

been no orders for the Amanzimtoti attack from the ANC," he said.

But he did not rule out that an ANC unit might have planted the shopping centre bomb without orders.

The ANC was ready to talk to the South African Government, he said, but first it would have to free Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader who has served more than 20 years of a life sentence for plotting the overthrow of white rule.

Tambo's speech warns of 'more Amanzimtotis'

ANC vows to step up attacks in SA



● TAMBO

BUS DAY 10/11/86

11A

LUSAKA — The African National Congress (ANC) yesterday said it would intensify guerrilla attacks in South Africa, but would not deliberately attack civilians.

"We are now calling for a rapid, extensive increase of our military offensive," ANC President Oliver Tambo told a Press conference to mark the group's 74th anniversary yesterday.

Tambo warned that the ANC expected "more Amanzimtotis in the future".

Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange last night gave permission to the media to quote Tambo, who is banned.

Tambo said the ANC was stepping up the guerrilla war in South Africa because "(President P W) Botha has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the people. He is playing around with the idea of reforms".

"We say apartheid cannot be reformed. It must be abolished in its entirety."

ANC attacks would continue to be "directed and aimed at enemy personnel and strategic installations," he said, but "in the course of the spread of the peoples' war against apartheid, civilians will be caught in the crossfire."

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The full Tambo Press conference: Associate Editor Ken Owen reports from Lusaka — See Page 4.

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"We at the ANC were among the few people to warn against the dangers of the law designating these areas into military zones," Tambo said, adding: "We are therefore puzzled that we are being criticised for using them as areas of our operations".

Tambo denied South African charges that ANC guerrillas operated from Zimbabwe, Botswana and other neighbouring states of Southern Africa and said raids on these countries would not affect the ANC's operations.

"We have experienced these cross-border raids over the past six years into

● To Page 2 →

ANC to intensify fight

independent and sovereign African states and they have not helped to resolve the problems of South Africa or subdue these states," Tambo said.

South Africa has mounted commando raids on Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique in pursuit of alleged ANC guerrillas and recently threatened similar raids into Zimbabwe.

Tambo denied the ANC was involved in the bomb blast at Amanzimtoti shortly before Christmas in which five whites died.

He said there was nothing in the ANC policy "which calls for attacks on civilians in supermarkets, schools, and cinemas, unless these are regarded as military installations".

"Even so, the ANC will not attack children even if they are in military zones... therefore there could have been no orders for the Amanzimtoti attack from the ANC," he said.

But he did not rule out that an ANC unit might have planted the shopping centre bomb without orders.

Faced with almost two years of violence "some of them resolve to face be-

11A

ing disciplined by the organisation. We therefore expect there to be more Amanzimtotis in the future", Tambo said.

He alleged South African troops were killing children. "The army is there, actually shooting, fighting and killing children."

"Hundreds of people have been killed, massacres have been perpetrated inside and outside the country."

Since February 1984, more than 1 000 people have died in SA violence.

Tambo said the ANC was ready to talk to government, but imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela — who has served more than 20 years of a life sentence — would first have to be freed.

"We can stop our armed struggle anytime."

"But it has to be a two-way affair — unless the regime stops the violent system of apartheid, there is nothing we can do," Tambo said. — Sapa-Reuter.

● From page 1

BUS DAY 10/11/86

We have to step up war — ANC

STAR 10/1/86

11A

West's failure to apply pressure leaves us no choice, say top men

Reshuffle may not please SA

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The resignation of Mr Michael Heseltine may be bad news for South Africa.

The ripple of promotions caused by his going has taken Mr Malcolm Rifkind into the Cabinet as the new Scottish Secretary.

Mr Rifkind was Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office charged with dealing with South Africa. It is largely he who has been responsible for the continued friendliness Britain displays towards SA.

His successor has not yet been announced, but before Mrs Thatcher's Cabinet reshuffle earlier this year there was talk that Mr Rifkind would be promoted and replaced by Mr John Selwyn Gummer, then chairman of the Tory Party.

Mr Rifkind, who is only 39, has a razor-sharp intellect and was highly regarded at the Foreign Office and by South African diplomats.

By contrast it was hard to find anyone who had a good word to say about Mr Gummer.



Mr Michael Heseltine sitting pretty in the passenger seat of a Westland helicopter in 1973. The present controversy over Westland makes him feel a bit of a sitting duck.

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress is mobilising its military resources for a substantial upsurge in its armed struggle this year.

The outlawed movement plans to involve as broad a spread of people as possible in its own and related military activities, and to take its actions into all corners of the country.

The ANC has declared 1986 "The Year of the People's Army Umkhonto we Sizwe" and will be mobilising under the slogan "Every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot".

Top-level ANC sources said in Lusaka this week, where they were gathered for the organisation's 74th anniversary, that they believed they had no option now but to step up the armed struggle significantly.

The ANC is now believed to have substantially more than the 7 000 fighters it was reliably estimated to have at the beginning of the year.

This follows a massive exodus of young black militants over the past 18 months. The outflow is said by ANC sources

to have been larger than that in 1976.

The failure of South Africa's main trading partners in the West to impose sanctions as a way to bring about change meant the ANC had no choice but to step up anti-apartheid political violence, these sources argued.

They said the events of the past 18 months had created a situation in which vast numbers of black people had gained some experience in paramilitary-type activity.

Landmines

The ANC now intended to increase its links with these people and draw them into a disciplined relationship with it.

Landmine and other attacks in recent weeks, which have exacted a relatively high toll in white lives, were the opening shots in the new armed phase, these sources said.

They refused to confirm or deny whether the ANC was responsible for the Amanzimtoti bombing two days before Christmas in which five white civilians died, but well-placed observers are in no doubt whatsoever that the ANC mounted the action.

These observers believe the

Amanzimtoti bombing was carried out by one of a number of "quick response units" enraged by the killing of six ANC members in Lesotho a few days earlier. These units are based inside the country.

ANC sources make much of the fact that weapons equipped with silencers were used by the killers in Lesotho, adding that this constitutes "dirty tactics".

The new slogan under which the ANC will be mobilising is seen by observers as consistent with its aim to mount a "people's war" in which every one of its members and supporters has a combat role.

In recent years, the ANC has said it has been satisfied with progress in forming and strengthening legal, political, union, youth and other organisations.

But it has been dissatisfied with the intensity of its armed struggle.

"We are now in the process of correcting that imbalance," one senior ANC source said.

He added that a good deal of the ANC's past restraint in its armed struggle would fall away, but said the ANC, as a matter of policy, would still not direct its attacks at civilian targets, though civilians would get "caught in the crossfire".

Heseltine quit rather than

AFTER NEW YEAR SALE

Star 10/11/86

Child asleep in home during shoot-out

By Rich Mkhondo

A Soweto mother yesterday described the agony of knowing that her child lay asleep in her home during a shoot-out between a suspected member of the African National Congress and security forces.

The unidentified man was killed instantly.

The child's mother, Miss Shiela Ndlela (25) of Zola North, who was out visiting a friend, said she was alerted that her home was surrounded by members of the security forces.

"I had left Nompumelelo asleep in the main bedroom.

"I tried to run back home, but a police officer using a loudhailer ordered me to keep away and neighbours to stay indoors."

Miss Ndlela said she watched the "hair-raising scene" from the opposite house, wondering what would happen to her child.

"I was petrified during the two hours that the police took to finish the operation.

"I was relieved when I saw a policeman emerge from the house and hand over my child to a neighbour," she said.

The owner of the house, Mrs Esline Ndlela, was at work when the shooting took place.

She said: "I was suprised and angry when I found that my chairs and walls were bullet-riddled and that there was blood in the dining room.

"The Security Police left a note which demanded that I report to the Jabulani police station.

"At the police station, I told them I did not know who the man was."

Residents in the area, who were ordered to stay indoors when police conducted the operation, said they were terrified when the area "was turned into a battleground".

"We only witness such scenes in films and it was hair-raising when we witnessed them live."

Three policemen escaped death when the ANC suspect allegedly hurled a hand-grenade at them.

To Kim and Jade Ashleigh, daughter Jade Ashleigh.

miss n...

Order extended rights, court told

STAR 10/1/86

(11A)

Winnie Mandela restrictions not harsh — Minister

By Estelle Trengove
and Jenni Tennant

The Minister of Law and Order denied treating Mrs Winnie Mandela harshly when he imposed recent restrictions on her, the Rand Supreme Court heard yesterday.

In an urgent application contesting the validity of the order barring her from entering the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort, Mrs Mandela claimed it was unreasonable to remove her from her Soweto home without giving her time to make alternative arrangements.

Mr Johann Smit SC, for the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police, denied this claim.

He said the State had offered to accommodate Mrs Mandela in a hotel for seven days or to pay her air fare to Cape Town.

Mrs Mandela submitted that the previous order, issued in 1983 and banishing her to Brandfort, had lapsed after her house was burned last August and she had moved to Soweto.

Mr Smit disputed this: "The Minister gave the Commissioner instructions to investigate the matter with a view to criminal prosecution when he became aware that she had left the area."

The fact that the Minister had taken these steps showed that he had not allowed the order to lapse, Mr Smit said.

He also submitted that none of Mrs Mandela's existing civil rights had been taken from her. On the contrary, her rights had been extended, he said.

Mrs Mandela was banished to Brandfort in 1977 and the amended order of last December lifted all restrictions except those barring her from entering Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

Mr Sydney Kentridge SC, for Mrs Mandela, argued that the Minister must have had reasons for changing the order and that Mrs Mandela was entitled to reply to these reasons.

STATUTE

"We are dealing with a statute (the Internal Security Act) which infringes the common law rights of individuals.

"The court must interpret statutes in order to assist the rights of a subject; to extend these rights and not to cut them down," he said.

Even if the amendment was an alleviation, Mrs Mandela still had a right to know why she was being kept out of Johannesburg and Roodepoort so that she could make effective representations in an attempt to have the notice withdrawn, Mr Kentridge said.

Mr Justice Louis le Grange reserved judgment.

Mr Johann Smit SC, assisted by Mr Manie Meyer, appeared for the Minister and the Commissioner. Mr Sydney Kentridge SC, assisted by Mr Gilbert Marcus, appeared for Mrs Mandela.

FILES

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Passtoors docket sent to AG

By PAT SIDLEY

SECURITY POLICE have completed their investigation into the alleged activity of Helene Passtoors, who has been held under the Internal Security Act since June last year.

This was confirmed by the Attorney General for the Transvaal, Klaus von Lieres, who said the docket was being studied at present.

Passtoors is the former wife of the Dutch fugitive Klaas de Jonge.

Security police have informed Passtoors' lawyer, Kathleen Satchwell, of the status of the investigation but have once again refused to allow her access to her client, who has been in solitary confinement in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act since her arrest in June.

Von Lieres said he expected to have made a decision on prosecution in two to three weeks.

Asked if prosecution depended on the course of negotiations on De Jonge's future, Von Lieres said the case would be decided according to the "laws of the land". His decision would not be concerned with diplomatic or political considerations.

He said it was not possible to say whether Passtoors and De Jonge would stand trial

together. "It may be possible that she could stand trial on her own. One has to consider both convenience and evidence," he said, but added that the evidence and the cases of both were so closely linked it may prove to be a "waste of time and effort" to run separate trials.

Asked if De Jonge's docket was also before him, he said as far as he knew the police had not yet completed their investigation into his case. "But it would not be true to say that Passtoors' docket dealt only with her, as they were arrested together and the cases are linked up."

Von Lieres said Passtoors would remain in Section 29 detention until a decision whether or not to prosecute had been taken. At that stage she would either be released or accorded awaiting trial status, if she were to be charged.

Passtoors has now been in solitary confinement in detention longer than most of the detainees in South Africa.

Police have refused to confirm that others are being held in connection with two cases. However, both security sources and other sources close to De Jonge have said people connected with the case are currently in detention.

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Cape 'fathers' beat up opposition

By MOIRA LEVY,
Cape Town

THE violence which characterised Cape Town's townships for much of last year has broken out anew — only this time, police-community clashes have given way to hostilities between local vigilantes, dubbed "the fathers", and militant youths.

A prominent member of the UDF-affiliated United Women's Organisation (UWO) and Western Cape Civic Association (WCCA) has attributed the clash to a bid by the "fathers", allegedly with the backing of community councillors, to drive United Democratic Front activists from the area.

Winifred Nkosi, who was abducted by the "fathers" during the height of the clash and held up for six days in a self-styled "prison", said a vigilante group of "less than 30" men had

threatened to "crush the progressive organisations" in the new Crossroads-KTC-Nyanga complex.

The violence between the "fathers" and the *maqabanes* or "comrades" has left a toll of at least four dead and six injured. Hundreds of activists have fled in fear, many seeking refuge in the surrounding bush.

"There are no mothers here any more. Some were beaten in their homes and they ran away. Most are still in hiding," Nkosi said. She alleged that some community councillors, many of whom had resigned because of pressure from residents, were part of the vigilante group, and that their

vehicles were being used by the "fathers" for patrolling the townships.

The "fathers" have acted as an unofficial police force since they came to New Crossroads in 1982, Nkosi said. "Before they worked with the youth. Now they work with the community councillors."

The violence erupted on New Year's Day after the killing of a new Crossroads community councillor, a Mr Siquaza, who was hacked to death with pangas and then burnt in his own

car.

The "fathers", apparently bent on revenge, allegedly swept through the townships, conducting house-to-house searches for members of the UWO and Cape Youth Congress. Residents claimed they assaulted many members they found, and abducted others.

A leading UDF member, Cedric Ntsikelelo, was taken from his house, stabbed and beaten by "fathers", residents claimed. His home was burnt down, as was the home of UWO executive member Mrs Sybil Dwangu.

Nkosi said she was taken from her home on the night of December 31.

"Six men came in, with three girls

(who were also abducted). They said they had some questions to ask me, and took me to an open field where a court was in progress. There were more than 200 men. The fathers asked me about an empty container (used to hold petrol) in connection with the murder of Mr Siquaza.

"I explained that I sell liquor and coldrinks and have many bottles packed in my yard. A youth took it without asking me."

The women were allegedly held in a shipping container in Crossroads.

During one clash, youths threw hand grenades at a group of about 300 "fathers", injuring several.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis, has asked his department to investigate the events.

Back to school (but how long can it last?)

A crucial national conference at Wits University made March 31 the decision day for black education. GAVIN EVANS reports.

BLACK school students will return to classes on January 28 — but for how long remains to be seen.

At a major national education conference at the University of the Witwatersrand on December 29 and 30, representatives from 161 organisations unanimously resolved to give the government until the end of March to meet a series of educational and political demands.

They also resolved to implement a boycott of school fees this year.

The conference was organised by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC), a group formed four months ago to coordinate the activities of teachers, parents and students in South Africa's largest township.

Representatives from the major Black Consciousness groupings, about 100 UDF affiliates and several unaffiliated organisations attended the gathering.

The 312 delegates were drawn from student, parent and education organisations as well as some of the larger union and political groups including the UDF, Azapo, CUSA and COSATU. Over 300 observers from a wide range of community, youth, women's and resource organisations also attended.

It was decided to give the government until the end of March to:

- Open schools on January 28 rather than January 8 in order to allow time for conference representatives to communicate the decision to return to classes.

- To re-schedule examination dates to a time agreed on by students, parents and teachers.

- To lift the State of Emergency in all areas.

- To unban the Congress of South African Students (Cosas).

- To re-instate all dismissed teachers and release all detained students.

- To allow democratic Student Representative Councils to be established.

It was also resolved that schools should ensure that corporal punishment and sexual harassment of female students were stopped.

If all the demands are not met a second national consultative conference will be called for the end of March to decide what action should be taken. A nationally co-ordinated boycott would be a likely response, delegates said.

So far the government has agreed to give students until January 28 to register, although schools officially opened on Wednesday.

The Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Sam de Beer, said the other resolutions adopted at the conference were being studied and would be dealt with in due course.

The question of whether to return to classes was one which caused divisions between students and their teachers and

parents in some areas.

With 1986 being the 10th anniversary of the Soweto student uprising many students were calling for a year-long boycott of classes. Using slogans like "Liberation before education" they argued that students should devote all their efforts to fighting apartheid.

Parents and teachers responded by saying that the struggle could best be carried out from within school and that a liberated South Africa needed people with skills and training. They were also concerned about some of the side effects of the boycotts such as the increase in teenage pregnancies.

The tone for the final decision was set in a keynote address by the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu.

Arguing that students needed "education for liberation", he called for a return to classes subject to conditions.

If the government did not meet all these demands by the end of March, "the whole community — parents, workers, professionals, church leaders and students — should lay down tools," he said.

And he added: "I will be one of those who will immediately call for punitive economic sanctions against the government if these demands are not met.

"If you go back with these conditions and you have a strict timetable you will have the whole community behind you, because you are being reasonable," he said.

The conference also decided:

- There should be a total boycott of school fees and payment for school books.

- Parents should boycott all statutory school bodies and instead should work with teachers in setting up "progressive parent-teacher associations".

- To set up a committee with one representative from each region and three from the SPCC to facilitate this process.

- Teachers should assist students in setting up democratic SRCs which should liaise with the PTAs.

- Existing progressive teachers organisations should merge to form a single national teachers' organisation.

- A committee with representatives from all regions should devise and coordinate programmes of "people's education" as an alternative to "apartheid education".

The logistics of these programmes — whose purpose is to educate students for "people's power" — will be worked out by this committee.

A few days before the event an SPCC delegation travelled to Lusaka to meet with executive members of the African National Congress.

One of the key conference organisers, SPCC secretary, Vusi Khanyile, said the ANC had stressed it supported the conference and would abide by any decisions it made.

Other key speakers at the conference were South African Catholic Bishops Conference secretary, Father Smangalis Mkhathshwa, Soweto Civic Association chairman, Dr Nthatho Motlana, and former UDF treason trialist, Rev Frank Chikane.

'Toti blast: an ambivalent silence

ALL the recent landmine and limpet attacks are usually regarded as part and parcel of the African National Congress' co-ordinated military offensive.

Does the Amanzimtoti explosion imply — indeed illustrate — a victory by the so-called young lions of the ANC over the veteran leaders?

Does it mark the beginning of a campaign of indiscriminate urban violence, so long eschewed by the veterans?

The answer, like the reaction of the ANC itself to the Toti blast, appears ambivalent.

One day after the blast, Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange clearly thought the ANC was

responsible. He said the attack was not unexpected, as the ANC had warned in June that it would not shrink from "soft targets".

A police representative pointed out the ANC had not accepted responsibility for the explosion. "It appears they have a communication problem," he said. "We are waiting for a reaction from them."

After three days of silence, an ANC official in Lusaka announced the organisation was not claiming responsibility for the bomb.

This, of course, is not the same as denying responsibility: the obvious

implication is that while it may have been the work of ANC cadres in South Africa, it was not done with the knowledge of the national executive committee. A report from London on January 6 quotes "two senior ANC officials" denying knowledge of ANC involvement in the Toti blast.

It took three days for the ANC to respond to the Amanzimtoti bomb, and even then it was ambivalent. **SHAUN JOHNSON** reports

The ANC reactions suggest very strongly that the Amanzimtoti bomb was not planned or sanctioned by the leadership of the organisation, either in Lusaka or in London. Their reticence in claiming responsibility stands in sharp contrast to the landmine incidents.

What conclusions can we reasonably draw from this sequence of events?

Dr Tom Lodge of the political studies department at Wits University has convincingly suggested the Amanzimtoti bombing took the ANC leadership by surprise, hence the delayed official reaction. Unrestricted

attacks of this type are inconsistent with the organisation's history and stated policy. Importantly, however, Lodge notes this does not mean there will not be several more such attacks.

ANC information secretary in Lusaka Tom Sebina commented recently that the intensification of the organisation's struggle necessarily implied that the question of hard and soft targets would become a grey area.

Thus while the Amanzimtoti blast should be seen as an aberration in terms of official ANC policy, this does not rule out the possibility of it becoming an attractive modus operandi for militants operating within the country, and without the aegis of the national leadership.

Enter the year of landmines and grenades

EVENTS of the last six weeks have all the appearance of the inception of a new and ferocious era in the country's history:

On November 25, Edward Maluba was driving a load of cement on his employer's farm near Messina on the Zimbabwe border. His truck detonated a landmine. He later had a leg amputated.

This was the first of a series of incidents which have served to bring South Africa's civil conflict several stages closer to the hearts and minds of most white South Africans.

A second landmine explosion the same day was succeeded by four more on the following day in the same vicinity — one causing the death of a black farmworker and another injuring four soldiers.

Then on the 28th, three guerrillas attempted a rocket attack on the Sasol

1986 has been designated the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe by the African National Congress, an indication, writes **TOM LODGE**, that the advent of the new year marks more than a change in the calendar.

under their kombi in a Durban street on the afternoon of the 21st. And then in Amanzimtoti a limpet mine left in a rubbish bin outside a shopping arcade killed five, all white holiday-makers, including three children.

ANC representatives hesitated and then eventually declined to claim responsibility for the Amanzimtoti affair.

Finally, on January 4, two more people were killed by a landmine, a farmer and his son on their land at Stockpoort, adjacent to the Botswana



Aftermath of the Stockpoort landmine blast ... a wrecked truck **Picture: WENDY SCHWEGMANN, Reuters**

to see it as the work of local cadres acting on their own impulses, reacting perhaps to the Maseru raid.

The landmine offensive is more useful in providing an insight into current ANC strategic thinking

local commandos — an obligation not universally popular among them, as it interferes very considerably with their agricultural activity. A programme for their protection, including security fences, repatriation

both in South Africa and elsewhere, have been set by much more powerful forces than the ANC.

The main object of mining the border areas may not have been the psychological one of

...at Messina and were subsequently killed by police near the Swazi border.

On November 30, the ANC claimed responsibility for the landmines but contested the SA Defence Force allegation that the devices had been planted by men operating from Zimbabwe. A unit based inside South Africa was responsible, the official said.

On Sunday, December 8, an explosion at a Durban post office hurt eight passers-by. Then, one week later, six white people were killed by a landmine, again in the Messina area. Two of the victims were small children.

In apparent retaliation nine people, six of them ANC members, were killed in Maseru on the night of December 19. The SADF disclaimed responsibility.

ANC representatives announced in response that the armed struggle would be "stepped up".

In the space of four days two attacks had been mounted in Natal. The De Jongh family narrowly escaped death when a youth threw a hand grenade

border and 200km south-west of Messina.

The offensive has sent shock waves through white South Africa. Until the landmines ANC attacks, for the most part, were either located in black areas or were directed at institutional targets rather than people.

These recent actions seemed calculated to undermine the white republic's sense of security and to reduce the comfortable distance from which hitherto they could contemplate their country's political agonies. The ANC seemed to be living up to its promise to bring the war directly into the lives of white South Africans.

Politicians and editorialists had no hesitation in interpreting the Christmas season offensive as the reflection of a calculated terrorist strategy aimed essentially at the white civilian public. The evidence, however, suggests that the truth is more complicated.

The Amanzimtoti tragedy does not appear to have been sanctioned or welcomed by ANC leaders. (See Johnson's article elsewhere on this page.) The simplest explanation is

current ANC strategic thinking.

The mines were sown in two areas of border farmland, one fairly prosperous, the other less so, but both areas in which there is a high rate of absentee landholding. Both regions are characterised by frequent illegal traffic across the frontier, mainly of workseekers. Messina and Stockpoort are both in the north-western Transvaal, which provides the terrain for the ANC's main external lines of communications.

In the wake of the Kabwe conference, ANC officials said that in future it would not always be possible to make distinctions between "hard" and "soft" targets. Though the organisation would still eschew hitting supermarkets or places of entertainment, certain types of civilian target would now be considered legitimate. They specifically mentioned farmers who were, they said, integrated into a system of civil defence directed by the SADF.

Messina is part of the Soutpansberg military area established in 1980. Most farmers are members of the

including security fences, repatriation of illegal immigrants, radio communications, and so forth has been in progress since 1980.

The ANC claims the area has been subject to a heavy military build-up pre-dating their offensive. The SADF denies this, but the border is tightly guarded, and it is the case that a soldier is stationed on most farms.

In the Stockpoort area, government financial aid helps to maintain the occupancy of those farms which are still cultivated.

The ANC's argument, therefore, that these border farms constitute strategic areas of vital importance is not one which the authorities can convincingly debate. Whether this is sufficient justification for the deaths of children on a game-watching trip is the kind of ethical issue which, sadly, has never held up the progress of any war for very long.

Up until recently the ANC's reluctance to cause non-combatant deaths (apart from "collaborators") made it exceptional among military organisations anywhere. But the standards for the conduct of the war,

psychological one of stimulating white fears and insecurity. Rather, the ANC could be attempting to wrest control of crucial geographical locations from the South African authorities.

Notwithstanding "people's war" and the efforts of the teenage armies in the townships, if the ANC is going to constitute a serious military and administrative challenge, then its external organisation must be able to contest effectively the South African government's control over the country's frontiers. The ANC views the military constituent of the struggle as being of great importance — hence the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The army it hopes to build inside the republic cannot be through smuggled handfuls of grenades or the munitions captured from the security forces.

The landmine attacks were carefully prepared. Whether or not they were carried out by internally- or externally-based groups does not matter: the ANC has the capacity to employ either of these two options.

According to farmers, the Messina unit seems to have been in contact with the local black farmworker population and circulated warnings. It seems to have had an accurate and extensive knowledge of the area. This was no hit and run mission of opportunist terrorism, but a planned and discriminating military operation with a serious strategic purpose.

To explain the events is not to offer moral justifications for them. All wars, including revolutionary ones, have their uglier dimensions. Nobody should try to make a virtue of the killing of children — as an ANC representative interviewed on the BBC on December 28 came perilously close to doing.

Better to accept that in certain situations brutal and reprehensible things happen. Better that the people who support the cause should remain silent if they cannot express regret.

To defend the deaths of Messina, Amanzimtoti or Stockpoort in moral terms is to celebrate the degradation of war. The victims of these events should be mourned — along with the hundreds and hundreds of other South Africans killed last year in the struggle for freedom.

A militant mood reigns in Lusaka

THE ANC's "phoney war" of warnings, posture and propaganda, remarked one exile last week, is coming to an end.

The African National Congress view is that years of warnings — that it would strike hard at white supremacist life, profit and privilege if there was no fundamental change — are now being translated into action.

There is widespread feeling within the ANC that its 74 years of restraint have given it moral and political advantages — but now is the time to pursue in unmitigated fashion the objective with which every revolutionary movement is ultimately concerned: state power.

Above all, the outlawed movement is working to escalate its armed struggle.

Although the ANC has not said if it

HOWARD BARRELL reports on the mood in Lusaka, scene of the ANC's 74th birthday conference.

carried out the Amanzimtoti bombing attack, well-placed observers are in no doubt whatsoever that it was the work of an ANC unit inside the country.

It has been clear to these observers for some time that Umkhonto we Sizwe has quite a number of "quick response units" inside the country — units on whom the state security establishment has few, if any, leads.

These observers believe the action in Amanzimtoti was the work of one such unit, primarily in response to the raid on Lesotho in which nine people, among them six ANC members, were killed a few days earlier.

They see the use of weapons

equipped with silencers against these refugees as a serious escalation in the cycle of violence. This is a view shared by people in the ANC and Zimbabwean ex-guerrillas.

"A silencer is an instrument for murder, not war," remarked a former Zimbabwean guerilla.

Socialist bloc countries have in the past resolutely refused to supply silencers in the past to those African liberation movements they support. Their outlook may now be different.

These observers consider the message from the ANC unit believed responsible for the Amanzimtoti attack was: "We have the capacity to escalate the spiral of terror and violence still further, so step down."

The action does not fall within the

ambit of ANC guerrilla policy, which still insists that civilians should not be the specific targets of guerilla actions though they could get "caught in the crossfire".

But one listens in vain in ANC circles for a condemnation of the action.

The ANC has, probably more than any other comparable movement, been sensitive to the moral issues involved in revolutionary violence.

"Perhaps the time has come for us no longer to be so damned right, but rather a bit wrong and effective," said one ANC source.

"What do we have to fear from the moral equation after the past 300 years and the deaths in Soweto in 1976 and the more than 1 000 deaths over the past 18 months?" he asked

just about the same rate.

In stark contrast, wholesalers who supply many small black retailers are looking good.

Macro Cash and Carry, with around 17% of marketshare, is a case in point. Sales figures for 1985 are 20% up on 1984, "which is much better than we anticipated," says MD Doug Catto. November itself saw sales leap 23% and December sales in the Transvaal alone are 40% higher than December 1984.

The Trador group, which includes Score, says November and December sales are 50% above the previous year. MD Joe Sagor says the group's aggressiveness last year has paid off. It entered the market only four years ago and has been determined to make up market share, now standing at 10%-15%.

Buoyancy is sustained by Trador's concentration on groceries and essential lines rather than non-food items. The success of this policy is borne out, says retail analyst Eric Levine, by the poor results of traders dealing in clothes, footwear and textiles.

Kirsh's Metro, the largest wholesaler in the business, is coy about growth figures, although Levine says it, too, has had a very good year. It seems the group is nervous about the black boycott spilling over to wholesalers.

However, Macro's Catto reasons that the political situation has only partly contributed to the sector's growth. "Wholesalers will always wear better than other businesses during a recession," he says.

Smaller retailers strapped for cash for large stocks turned to cash-and-carry operators for more frequent shelf refills, he explains. In addition, suppliers are reluctant to carry small traders' growing, but traditionally high-risk, debts.

Nevertheless, Catto admits the consumer boycotts and township troubles which hamper manufacturers' and distributors' safe delivery of supplies, have added to the sector's success. Most cash-and-carry outlets are near township boundaries and accessible to both suppliers and traders.

"The sector has grown and matured this year," adds Levine. He expects it to be largely untouched by the economic downturn. As he says, cash-and-carry wholesalers have become vital to small traders, black and white. ■

10/1/86 FM
TRADE BOYCOTT

One man's meat. . .

It's an ill wind which blows no good. Black activists seeking wealth redistribution have, ironically, simply shifted much of the benefit of the year-end sales boom from the retail sector to cash-and-carry wholesalers.

Retail sales figures for last year have been doubly hit by depressed consumer spending and by black consumer boycotts. Of all of SA's larger retailers, only Pick 'n Pay (P 'n P) apparently managed to show growth above the inflation rate last year.

The group's November and December sales were about 18% above the 1984 level, says MD Raymond Ackerman. He says the sales figures for the financial year to end-February are about 19% up on the previous year.

Checkers and OK Bazaars are reluctant to disclose figures but it is known that sales have been running well below the inflation rate during 1985. They did, however, benefit from the pre-Christmas run-up.

Even Woolworths, which normally boasts stable sales, has been able to increase sales by only 11% — well below the inflation rate — over the previous year. And even November and December sales shuffled along at

Tambo spells it out

ANC plan to extend 'war'

CAPT TINGE 10/1/86

(11A) (222)

From KEN OWEN

LUSAKA. — The president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, yesterday spelt out details of ANC plans to intensify its campaign of violence in 1986 as it tries to turn sporadic guerilla activity into a fullscale "people's war".

The campaign includes plans to widen the conflict beyond the borders of the townships into white areas, to continue attacks on the white farming community and to enlist the support of various groups within South Africa.

Throughout a press conference lasting nearly two hours, Mr Tambo reaffirmed and elaborated the contents of an 18-page statement issued by the ANC, and broadcast by Mr Tambo himself, on Wednesday night. He gave no sign of a softening of the ANC's position, and no indication that he regarded negotiations with South Africa as more than a theoretical possibility.

Laughing

Civilians, Mr Tambo said bluntly, will be caught in the crossfire as the ANC steps up its attacks and although the ANC itself will not deliberately attack such "soft targets" as schools, supermarkets and shopping centres, he does not rule out the possibility that over-zealous cadres will do so.

Mr Tambo suggested, but did not actually say, that this was the explanation for the Amanzimtoti bomb attack on the eve of Christmas. He burst out laughing when a questioner suggested that the unit which had carried out the attack should be disciplined for exceeding ANC policy.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, gave permission for the publication of Mr Tambo's speech.

The press conference was held before about 150 people, many of them members of the diplomatic corps, at the

UN's Namibia Institute in Lusaka.

Foreign journalists, including South Africans, were cleared without fuss or formality through Zambian immigration provided their names were on a list compiled by the ANC. Their bags were closely

tone and phrased with care, confirmed in detail the uncompromising stance taken when the leaders of the banned organization met at Kabwe in Zambia for a historic policy-making session last June.

At Kabwe, the ANC leaders determined to

questioned like this."

Some observers have seen the new policies adopted at Kabwe as a victory of a younger, more radical faction over older moderates but neither Mr Tambo nor any of the leaders flanking him showed the slightest doubt about widening the war.

On one side the rising young star, Mr Thabo Mbeki, son of Mr Govan Mbeki, who has shared prison with Mr Nelson Mandela for more than 20 years, and the veteran secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo.

Farmers

On the other were long-time leaders Mr Thomas Nkobi and Mr Dan Tloome, and in the watching crowd was the young Mr Palo Jordan, a close associate of the assassinated communist intellectual Ms Ruth First.

Mr Tambo gave scant respect to a suggestion that farmers and their families, like the victims of recent landmines laid on the borders of the Transvaal, should be regarded as non-combatants. On the contrary, he said, the farming community as a whole was a prime target for attack because it had been drawn into the South African security system.

Negotiations, Mr Tambo emphasized, need not await the cessation of violence — they could begin whenever the South African Government chose.

His comments left a firm impression that the gap between the ANC and the South African Government is simply



Mr Oliver Tambo at the ANC's conference in Lusaka yesterday. With him are Mr Thabo Mbeki (centre) and Mr Alfred Nzo.

searched as they entered the building, but they were not subjected to body searches. There were no arms or uniformed men in evidence.

The occasion was free of any show of left-wing or revolutionary symbols. The ANC leaders, neatly dressed in business suits and ties, resembled members of a Western business convention more than revolutionaries intent on launching and pursuing a fullscale war.

Mr Tambo's comments, though delivered in a slow, schoolmasterish

concentrate their resources on the "front line" — inside South Africa itself — and to attack military and strategic targets without regard to the risk towards civilians.

Closely questioned on this point yesterday, Mr Tambo predicted increasing civilian casualties, saying they were unavoidable in a situation of escalating warfare. At one stage, as foreign journalists tried to determine the implications of the policy, he burst out: "I don't see why I need to be cross-



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too wide to be bridged. Mr Botha's minimum demand that the ANC forswear violence before negotiations begin is clearly unacceptable to the ANC leadership, old and young.

At the same time, the ANC's first and minimum condition for talks to begin is the release of Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki and other leaders.

Further conditions, Mr Tambo pointed out, would in any event follow even if the first condition were met.

This hardline stance rests upon a perception of Nationalist policy as being bankrupt. The ideological platform of apartheid has collapsed and the Nationalist government has found no coherent alternative. The ANC views the South African Government as able only to react to events, not to direct them.

'Mass units'

As a result, the ANC leadership clearly believes it has the initiative, and it is trying to step up the pressure.

Mr Tambo explained that it was also the aim of the ANC to organize support by so-called "mass units" — military groups drawn from the local populace.

Parallel with the armed campaign the ANC plans an intense political effort to widen the base of the ANC by incorporating other opponents of apartheid into the struggle.

Repeating (apparently deliberately) the words of the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Mr Tambo said apartheid cannot be reformed, only abolished.

Warmly

Indeed, Mr Tambo took credit for destroying the community-council system by insisting that all councillors resign. Inevitably, he conceded, some of those who did not resign were killed. Now the ANC hopes to establish its own "democratic councils" for each community, elected on the basis of one man, one vote, without regard to race.

Mr Tambo spoke warmly, both in the broadcast statement and at his press conference, of those people who oppose apartheid even if they do not support the ANC. His most conciliatory comments appeared to be directed to these factions and parties, and he went out of his way to say that the Freedom Charter permits a "mixed economy", that South Africa after liberation would be multi-racial, and that it would be a democracy in which he expected a variety of parties to emerge.

Pass laws

Neither labour nor big business, neither white conscripts nor liberal opponents of apartheid — nor indeed, students at Stellenbosch — were excluded from his appeal for support to overthrow apartheid.

In pursuing its aim of making "apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable", the ANC is broadcasting specific instructions for a new campaign against the pass laws, and is asking the unions — especially the mineworkers — to live up to their "revolutionary tradition".

However, Mr Tambo left no doubt that in this "Year of Umkhonto", the keynote is violence and the slogan is "attack". Mr Tambo says bluntly that the ANC will give no quarter and will demand an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

Court acknowledges violence allegations

WEEKLY M -

10/1/86

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER

A SUPREME Court yesterday for the first time acknowledged allegations that community councillors were involved in violent vigilante actions and were being protected by members of the South African Police.

The Eastern Cape Supreme Court in East London yesterday issued orders against three Fort Beaufort community councillors and an SAP sergeant.

The councillors were restrained from assaulting two children and the policeman, a Sergeant Sijila of the Fort Beaufort police station, was ordered to stop preventing the lodging of assault complaints or prejudicing investigations.

An application to force the station commander to investigate the assault complaints was turned down.

The applicants were the parents of the two children, aged 11 and 12 respectively.

Nolwandle Mathe, mother of an 11-year-old boy, said late one night she had heard her child screaming from a neighbour's house.

She saw the three community

councillors — Taya Nzima, Sithombo Mbewu and Makwezi Gabashe — emerge from the house. She found her son lying on the floor, crying loudly and bleeding from his stomach.

Her son told her the men had entered a bedroom where he was sleeping and hit him with sjamboks and sticks.

When she attempted to report the matter, Sgt Sijila had told a junior policeman not to take the statement and had said her children would continue to be beaten.

He had threatened to tell people she was working for the police.

She said her son, who had been threatened again since the incident by one of the councillors, still suffered from severe chest pains and recurring nightmares.

The second applicant, William Rangule, told a similar story of the assault of his son, aged 12.

And, in another case in the same court yesterday, an application to

● To PAGE 2

Court told of violence

● From PAGE 1

restrain police from assaulting the leader of the Fort Beaufort consumer boycott was postponed for further argument.

The application was backed by dozens of affidavits, alleging that the assault of Nomonde Gqina and others began when they were arrested in front of a number of other people.

However, the detainees had been moved to Port Elizabeth on the day legal papers were served for the case.

The judge argued that this made the plea for restraint in Fort Beaufort unnecessary and the matter was postponed.

Meeting told of 'street committees'

WEEKLY H.

12/11/86

THE existence of street committees, which have sprung up in Eastern Cape townships since the State of Emergency, was publicly revealed last month at a prayer meeting in Port Elizabeth.

Township residents elected area committee members — all church and civic leaders — from the ranks of the street committees at the December 16 meeting, which was attended by more than 1 000 people.

Such street committees have a precedent. In the late 1950s, Nelson

By MIKE LOEWE, Port Elizabeth

Mandela devised a system, known as the M-plan, to organise townships in a multi-tiered system, from households upwards. They were quickly suppressed by police, but in Port Elizabeth they persisted longer than elsewhere.

Black leaders say new street committees emerged this year as a groundswell of resistance in Port Elizabeth, Cradock, Queenstown and other Eastern Cape communities

following the mass detention of leaders under the Emergency powers. At the height of the Emergency, more leaders were detained in the Eastern Cape than in any other area in the country.

Former ANC member and ex-Ibaya town councillor, A Peter, told the prayer meeting each street would be represented by five elected members.

He said the committees would take action to wipe out criminals and vandals who were terrorising residents.

10/18/86
WEEKLY M
11/11

Christmas bloody Christmas in Durban

By MIKE ROBERTSON,
Durban

HOLIDAYS in Durban were once reasonably pleasant affairs.

Sure, the beaches were crowded and reeked of coconut oil, the ice-creams cost a small fortune and the surfers were aggro, but you could still have a good time.

Things have changed.

This Christmas 66 people were killed and scores were injured in political violence in Durban. There were stonings, shootings, faction fights, bomb blasts and a riot on the beachfront.

It might well be termed Christmas, bloody Christmas.

The first inkling of things to come was on Sunday, December 15 when the United Democratic Front held a rally at Curries Fountain as part of the Free Mandela Campaign.

Several times during the meeting youths confronted security policemen trying to videotape the proceedings.

Afterwards about 500 youths ran out of the stadium chanting "I'm a soldier". They spotted two police vans and gave chase, hurling objects at the fast-receding vehicles.

Motorists heading off the Western Freeway were stoned. So was a nearby shopping complex.

Youths then turned on plainclothes police waiting in cars opposite the shops and started throwing stones.

UDF marshalls from the rally arrived and persuaded the crowd to stop and return to the busses waiting to take people home.

Police and soldiers arrived, waded into the crowd with sjamboks and fired teargas. At least two people were injured.

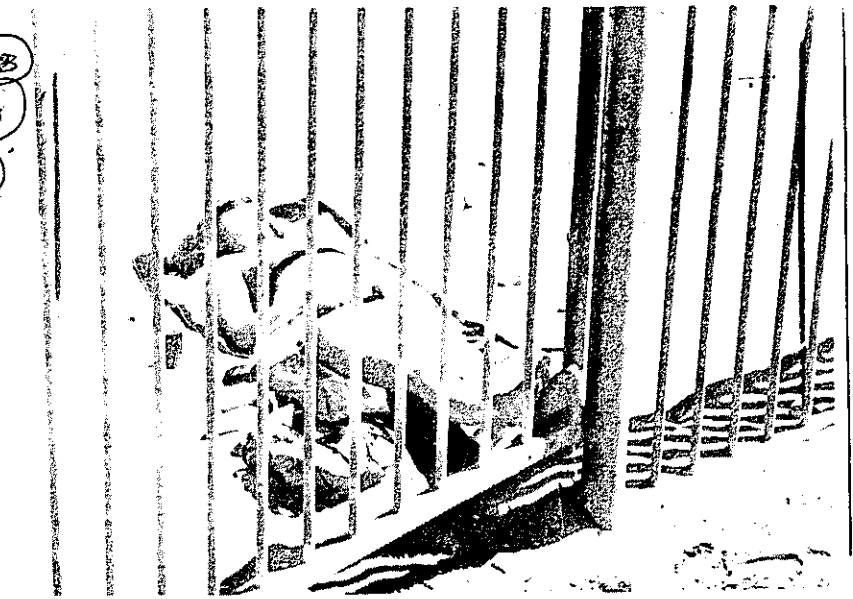
The violence that was endemic in the townships around the city had come to central Durban.

A week later as thousands of people were taking advantage of extended shopping hours, a bomb went off in Pine Street, in the central city.

Thirteen people were injured.

Bombs are nothing new in Durban, but it was the timing of this one and the apparently arbitrary choice of victims that sent shockwaves through the city.

Then passers-by saw a black youth throw something which resembled a can under a parked mini-bus in the



MEANWHILE IN CAPE TOWN: At Seapoint, authorities had a different approach to mixed beaches. Here a sun-lover relaxes against the metal bars which fence in the fee-paying integrated zone

Picture: ERIC MILLER, Afrapix

central city.

In the mini-bus at the time were Ina de Jong and her two daughters, Vanessa, 9, and Delmarie, 4. They miraculously survived the blast.

Worse was still to come.

The following Monday, just two days before Christmas, a bomb exploded in a crowded shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, on the south coast.

Without doubt it was the worst bomb blast Natal had ever experienced. A total of five people were killed and 41 injured.

Even as people sat down to their Christmas lunches two days later, the violence continued.

A bloody faction fight in Section Five of Kwamakutha, a township near Durban, claimed the lives of 59 people. Many more were injured and thousands more were forced to flee the area to escape the violence.

Exactly what caused the fighting is not clear, but it is likely that it resulted from competition for scarce resources, the settling of scores of an earlier faction fight in Malakazi and a powerplay by Zulu chief Bhekizetha Makhanya, who felt that Pondoos, by settling in his territory and establishing their own chiefs and indunas were undermining his authority.

On Boxing Day, as heavily armed

groups of men patrolled, military style, in Section Five, violence came to Durban's beachfront.

What started as a group of black people pilfering goods on the adjoining Indian Beach developed into a racial incident when attempts were made to stop them.

In the ensuing fracas, two people were stabbed, one of them apparently with an umbrella pole.

The following day there was more violence when a group gathered on the African beach. They began to head for the Indian beach but were intercepted by beach officials.

The group moved into a nearby parking lot, stoning cars. Eventually City Police moved in and the crowd returned to the beach.

On Sunday, December 29, a pamphlet bomb was found in a bin outside Addington Hospital.

New Year's Day started as one of those typically humid Durban midsummer's days. Thousands thronged to the beaches.

By the time the day had drawn to a close, one man lay dead, 10 others were injured and a full-scale riot had taken place on the beachfront.

Police initially reported the rioting as Indian-African clashes, but this has since been denied by Durban's beach authorities.

They say the trouble started when a

group of youths went around shaving the heads of women with permed hair on the African beach.

Later a shop belonging to an Indian woman, S Maharaj, was stoned. She called in the SA Police who, when they arrived on the scene, fired teargas and birdshot.

As the crowds scattered in all directions, numerous vehicles were stoned. A City Police vehicle was set light.

Lifeguards said they had seen men with loudhailers exhorting people to stone cars on the Marine Parade which had to be sealed off for a period.

Some Durban councillors criticised the actions of the SAP, whose presence on the scene, they believed, provoked the rioting.

They believe that in future the City Police and beach authorities, should be given a chance to try and control trouble first. The SAP should be called in only as a last resort.

Now Durban's management committee members are discussing the rioting and considering the city's future options.

The words of Chris De Jong, whose family was injured in the Pine Street blast, will probably be high up in their thoughts.

He said: "We will continue our holiday in Margate, but we will never come to Durban again."

Cape Times 10/1/86

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'Don't alienate SA' appeal to US congressmen



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and members of the US congressional party visiting South Africa, Ms Lynn Martin, Republican, and leader of the group Mr William Gray.

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, yesterday told the visiting United States congressmen there was "no need to support the politics of violence, which will in the end annihilate democracy" in South Africa.

He said in a statement after a two-hour meeting in the City that there was insufficient recognition in the world "that South Africa is now on the move and that we are

capable of keeping it that way".

He appealed to Western governments "not to support that in our society which they would not tolerate in their own".

"Do not alienate South Africa from the positive influences which are being brought to bear on the South African Government."

Chief Buthelezi said these governments should demand change, the release of political

prisoners, the unbanning of organizations and people "and above all, in every possible respect, support humanitarian projects" here.

The upward mobility of black South Africans created "driving forces of change".

It was foolhardy in the extreme for forces of liberation to attempt to cripple the economy and make the country ungovernable.

"History teaches me that countries made un-

governable remain ungovernable for a considerable period of time thereafter," Chief Buthelezi said.

Unless millions of black South Africans were rapidly integrated into a vigorously expanding economic growth pattern, the fruits of political victory for the masses would have a bitter taste.

The South African economy had made blacks and whites totally interdependent and the

real challenge was to translate this economic interdependence into political interdependence.

This was the stumbling block that the State President seemed incapable of surmounting.

"He is but one man and history will force him to give way to another if he does not succeed."

Chief Buthelezi said there were some who were appealing to the international community to "tip the black South

African political scales in one way or another".

"Let that be the prerogative of the people of South Africa," he said. "It is ordinary South Africans here on the ground in this country who ultimately will bring about the eradication of apartheid."

He said these were the sentiments of members of Inkatha, which he described as "the largest black political organization ever to have emerged in the history of

this country".

Pennsylvania Democrat Mr William Gray, leading the group, said afterwards that he found Chief Buthelezi "very candid" and was impressed by his staunch opposition to apartheid.

He surprised the delegation with his commitment to negotiating for change, Mr Gray said.

Chief Buthelezi's views were "productive, positive, and helpful in our fact-finding mission", the Americans said. — Sapa and UPI

'No talks with ANC' is message from Nylstroom district meeting

STAR

10/1/86

(B)

(S)

(11A)

Farmers, army unite against terror

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

NYLSTROOM — All aspects of security on the northern borders were discussed in a closed meeting here yesterday.

Present were military, police, agricultural and political representatives from all parts of the Northern Transvaal. After the meeting General Charles Lloyd, Commanding Officer for the Far Northern Transvaal military area, said joint strategies between the Defence Force and the civilian population had been devised to combat terrorist incursions.

Asked to elaborate, General Lloyd said: "That would be giving away secrets to the enemy."

The Northern Transvaal regional chairman of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, Mr Dries Bruwer, said border farmers fully understood Defence Force methods because of their involvement in commandos, which worked closely with army units.

Districts represented

Also at the meeting were the Far North Divisional Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Gert van Rensburg, Northern Transvaal Security Police Chief Colonel Willem van der Merwe, MPs Dr Andries Treurnicht (Waterberg), Dr Willie Snyman (Pietersburg) and Mr Tom Langley (Soutpansberg), several provincial councillors and representatives of 10 district agricultural unions.

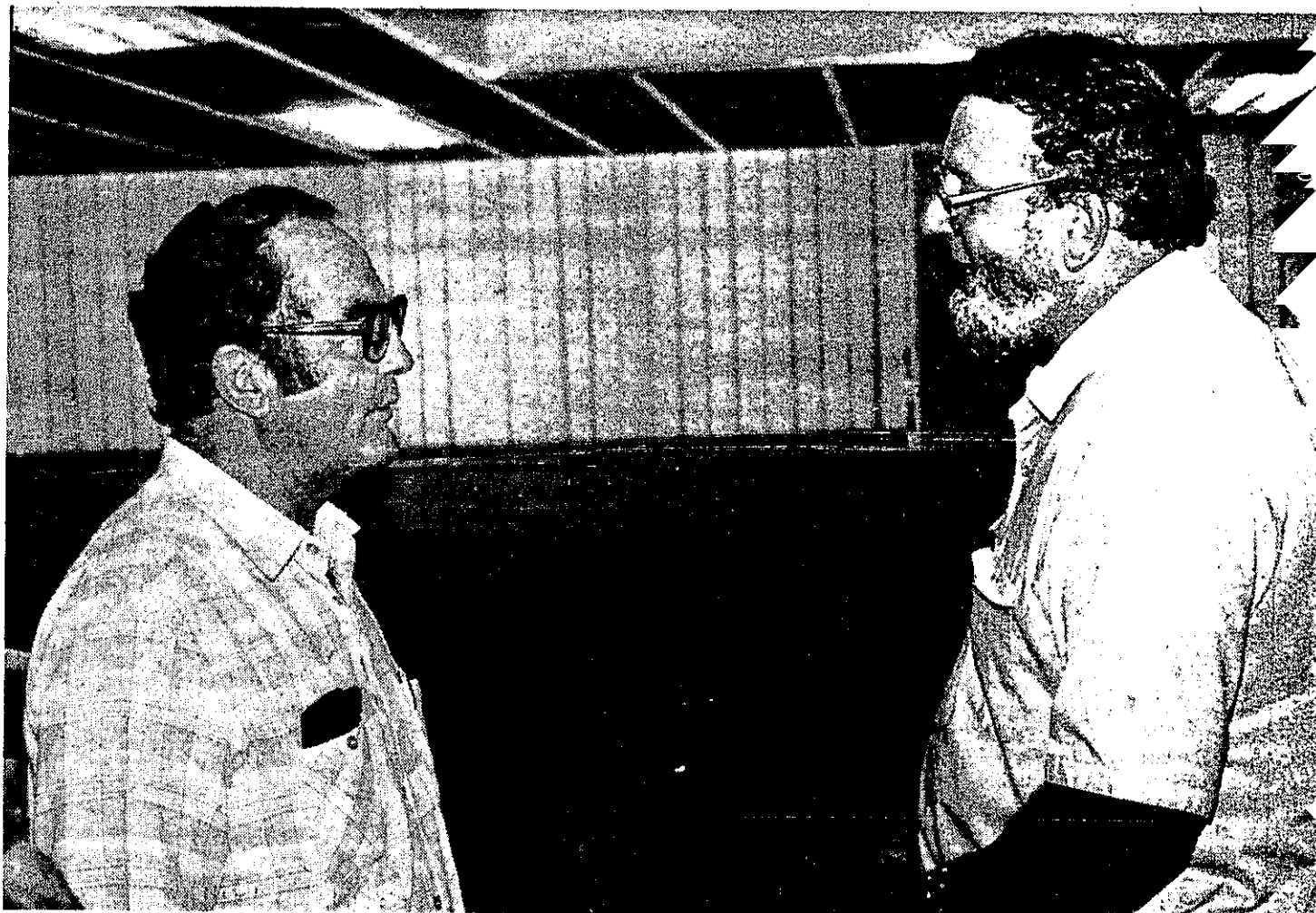
The agricultural districts represented were Thabazimbi, Waterberg, Ellisras, Koedoesrand, Pietersburg, Soutpansberg, Letaba, Hoedspruit, Potgietersrus and Vaalwater.

A statement after the meeting said organised agriculture in the region fully supported the country's security forces in its efforts to combat all forms of terrorism.

The meeting also opposed any negotiations with the ANC and urged the authorities to maintain strong action inside and outside the country against terrorism at all levels.

It was noted that prosperity and security went hand in hand and that a strong infrastructure in the region was essential.

The meeting felt close co-operation between security forces and local communities should be promoted and economic development in the Northern Transvaal should be accelerated to help keep farmers on the land.



Mr Johan de Villiers (left), of Messina, in conversation with Mr Willie Lewies, of Ellisras, before the start of yesterday's Nylstroom meeting. Both men have been intimately involved with the security situation since the recent landmine blasts in their farming areas.

'Fathers' clash with militants

Cape Times 11/1/86

11A

Staff Reporter

VIOUS skirmishes were reported in Nyanga East and KTC late last night as a large group of conservative "fathers", armed with pangas, knobkieries and axes, attacked young "comrades" backed by adults.

A number of township sources said the group of "fathers", estimated to number between 200 and 300, were from Site C in Khayelitsha.

At least eight and as many as 12 people were reported by various sources as having been wounded in the fighting, with two people reported to have received serious wounds after being attacked by axe-wielding "fathers".

At 10pm, a group of close to 1 000 "maqabane" (comrades), including a large number of adults from KTC, were said to be moving in on the group of "fathers", who township residents said enjoyed police protection.

'No sleep tonight'

"The Casspirs are standing by and watching as these fathers move through here beating up people, and the Casspirs have already fired three shots in the air," one KTC resident said.

Another KTC resident said: "A big bunch of comrades and their parents are now moving up towards where the fathers are, and they have already stoned them once, forcing them to retreat.

"There are going to be big battles here through the night, we are not going to sleep tonight."

A resident of Nyanga East said the fighting began when the "fathers" attacked a "people's court" being held at the Zolani Centre in Nyanga East.

"They burst in there, this whole crowd, and they injured eight people." This figure was confirmed by three other residents. Another four injuries were reported to have taken place in later skirmishes.

Transkeian migrant workers

"The police are with them, we saw the Casspirs, they should have dispersed the fathers like they always disperse people, but they are just standing by and escorting them around the place," she said.

Another source said the "fathers" were mainly migrant workers who had returned from Transkei recently after renewing their contracts, and had been "lied to" that a large group of "comrades", chased out of Site C last month, were gathering in KTC to attack conservative elements in Site C.

Although none of the residents spoken to were prepared to be identified for fear of victimization, all have in the past proved to be reliable sources.

A police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said last night that the police were patrolling the area and that there were people in the street, but everything was "dead quiet".

"If the people were fighting, then we know nothing of it. It has not been brought to our attention."

A spokesman for the ambulance service said last night that no cases of attacks on residents in the affected areas had been reported yesterday.

'Unban ANC' says PFP

CAPE TOWN

11/1/86

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By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Progressive Federal Party last night called on the government to unban the ANC as a way of breaking the growing cycle of violence engulfing South Africa.

The call came in response to the threat by ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo to intensify his organization's sporadic guerilla campaign into a full-blown "people's war" in which civilians would become increasingly vulnerable.

PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, who met ANC officials in Zambia last year, said the government could deny the ANC's justification for resorting to armed struggle by unbanning the organization and introducing a package of fundamental reforms.

By following this strategy President P W Botha could both seize the initiative and improve the opportunity for negotiations instead of the current bloody confrontation.

'In from the cold'

Mrs Helen Suzman, the PFP's veteran civil rights campaigner, said that as long as the ANC remained a banned organization it was bound to resort to "underground methods".

She called on the government to "bring the ANC in from the cold" and let it canvass support like other political parties inside the country.

"A head-on clash between the government's ferocious repression and institutionalized violence on the one hand and the ANC's terror tactics on the other will never produce a climate for negotiations," she said.

Mrs Suzman noted that the ANC had indicated last year it was prepared to call a truce if unbanned.

"If the government does not do something dramatic to break the stalemate between itself and the ANC the country could degenerate into another Northern Ireland."

The government and its partners in the tricameral Parliament, the Labour Party and the National People's Party, condemned the Tambo announcement but extra-parliamentary political groups were not surprised by the shift in ANC strategy.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr

Louis le Grange, accused Mr Tambo of trying to distance himself from recent attacks in which civilians were killed.

"The ANC has proved that it attacks regardless of who its victims will be, whether they be black or white, women or children," he said.

The LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said he did not think the ANC threats would contribute to finding a solution to the country's problems.

'Violence brutalizes'

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the NPP, said an armed struggle in South Africa could not be won and that "violence not only brutalizes the victims but also the perpetrators".

UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak said the ANC's plans to extend the scope of its military operations were not surprising. "Revolutionary violence is a response to a situation in which violence is included in the laws and structure of the society."

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza described the ANC's "people's war" strategy as a result of the government's refusal to allow blacks to decide their own destiny.

'Reflects current mood'

Nusas said the ANC announcement of a drastic escalation in its armed struggle was predictable in view of the current mood in South Africa's townships.

Nusas president Mr Brendan Barry issued a statement in Cape Town saying: "While no concerned citizen will greet the prospect of increased political violence with enthusiasm, it would be short-sighted not to recognize that the ANC's decision is reflective of the current mood in black townships throughout South Africa."

"The past 18 months have witnessed a series of pitched battles between township residents with legitimate grievances and armed security forces, resulting in the unnecessary deaths of more than 1 000 civilians."

sunrise news

Blacks urge Government to negotiate

'Talk to ANC to avoid bloodshed'

By Rich Mkhondo and Michael Tissong

While all white political parties condemned African National Congress plans to take the conflict from the borders of townships into white areas, black spokesmen and organisations had varied reactions.

Most called for talks between the South African Government and the ANC and for peace in the country.

The Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg East, the Rt Rev Simeon Nkoane, said: "The future of the country lies in all our people realising that they have a common destiny. It is regretted that the escalation of violence seems inevitable.

"I hate violence but at the same time it is difficult to contemplate the suffering of all our people. I strongly appeal to the Government to stop disregarding the approaches of peace-loving groups.

The publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Muntu Myeza, said the declaration to escalate the armed struggle "is a result of the unwillingness of the South African Government to give

black people the right to be part of the process of change in South Africa.

Katlehong's mayor, Mr Thami Siluma, said: "Mr Tambo's militia should be directed to the South African Defence Force. Violence will not lead us anywhere. The ANC blames the Government for being violent and the Government blames the ANC. The two should put down arms and sit down and solve the country's problems."

FORCED

The Release Mandela Campaign (RMC)'s publicity secretary, Mr Aubrey Mokoena, said: "We wish to remind the Botha regime that the ANC is not bent on violence because it wants to be, but it is the South African regime with its racist and exploitative policies that forced the ANC to adopt a violent stance.

"Until the Government releases Mandela and all political prisoners unconditionally and unbans all liberation movements, violence will escalate to unprecedented levels and the same Government will be blamed for loss of many lives."

"Clearly, Oliver Tambo is

saying South Africans need to forget their differences as a matter of very great urgency to come together to bring out the non-racial country we have all been dreaming about.

"To avoid any further deaths from the system, and possibly from the ANC, let us talk. If we do not talk, there is going to be bloodshed."

The president of Nusas, Mr Brendan Barry, said yesterday "While no concerned citizen will greet the prospect of increased political violence with enthusiasm, it would be short-sighted not to recognise that the ANC's decision is reflective of the current mood in black townships throughout South Africa.

"When P W Botha decided to send in the SADF to occupy the black townships in September '83, many South Africans pointed out that it was a provocative and dangerous statement of intent on the part of the Government, in the face of legitimate grievances.

"It remains clear that the source of violence in South Africa is the inequality and injustice of apartheid and the Government's intransigence in the face of reasonable demands."

Affidavits claim assaults by police

By Jo-Anne Richards

More than 30 claims of brutality by police, including allegations of the beating of a 12-year-old epileptic and a sjambok and baton assault on a 70-year-old man, were made in the Grahamstown Supreme Court this week.

The allegations were contained in 34 affidavits in support of an application to restrain Fort Beaufort police from assaulting two detainees. They contained complaints of physical abuse from community members of all ages.

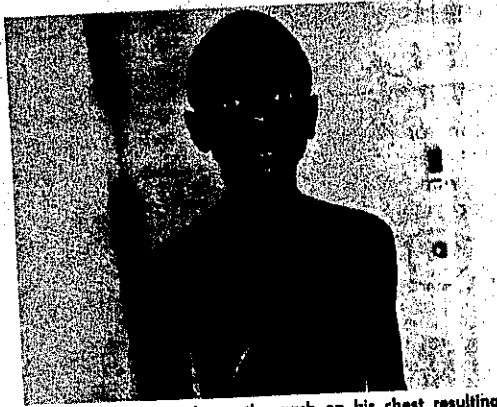
Counsel for the police, Mr L Harmse, submitted that he did not have to address these allegations — many of them concerning events last March — as they should not be accepted as admissible evidence.

They were filed in court to support an application to restrain police from assaulting Mr Mtunzi Qhina and Mr Mfundo Mdiza, who were detained under emergency regulations on January 4.

In a replying affidavit, a Fort Beaufort station commander, Captain Grobbler, said he was investigating the allegations.

The District Commandant, Major Herselman, said he was satisfied that unnecessary force had not been used on the occasions to which many allegations referred.

"The morale of the police force can very easily be destroyed by unfounded allegations of misconduct directed against members of the police force who have to act under severe provocation under the present state of emergency," he said. In one affidavit, Mrs Julia



Thembe Mathe (11) shows the gash on his chest resulting from an alleged sjambokking by community councillors.

Masiza alleged she was woken by police who broke her door open last July.

"They began assaulting my 12-year-old son Pumzile by hitting him with sjamboks. I pleaded with the policemen not to assault my son because he is an epileptic and I was concerned that the shock of such a surprise assault would induce a fit in him. A black policeman hit me with a sjambok."

A 16-year-old scholar alleged he was awoken at 1 am last July. He heard police shouting the words "consumer boycott" before he was slapped, he said.

"(He) then hit me with the back of his long gun. I still have the scar on the right-hand side of my nose from this blow."

Mrs Ester Toni said that during August her son had returned from a shop with provisions when members of the police ar-

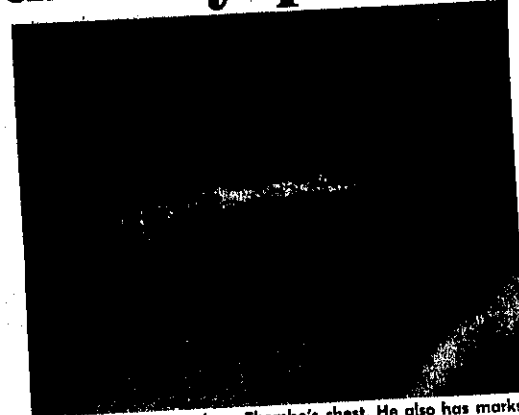
rived and asked where he had gone with the "petrol bomb" they claimed he was carrying.

"Grobler (the local station commander) was carrying a rifle and he began to hit my son with the butt of the gun. I rushed to the corner where my son was screaming with pain and put myself between him and the policeman. We both fell to the floor as Grobber repeatedly hit us both with the rifle."

Mr Edward Rangule (73) claimed his son was assaulted at his work during July. A policeman "grabbed him by the shoulders and bashed him against the wall."

Mr Rangule claimed his son was "forced to the ground, kicked and beaten with the butts of the long guns of the police."

Mr Julius Mathondolo (70) described an alleged assault with sjamboks and batons. "I tried to



A close-up of the gash on Thembe's chest. He also has marks on his arms and shoulders.

protect myself. However, I am an old man and these policemen were far stronger and thus easily able to overpower and thrash me."

A young woman, Mrs Gloria Mathondolo, alleges she was beaten without provocation after police broke down her door early one morning.

"My left ear started to bleed and I was also kicked in my stomach so that I fell to the floor, whereupon I was further thrashed by policemen wielding sjamboks."

Mr Nkosana Makaka (18) said he was followed home during September by police who accused him of throwing stones. Despite his denial, he was taken to their parked Hippo, where he was kicked and hit, he said.

"I was forced to eat 11 oranges with their skins on. They forced me to eat these in a great

hurry and, although I felt very sick, I ate the oranges. The policemen screamed with laughter while this was taking place.

The affidavits were originally compiled at the request of the former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, Dr Alan Maker, the Federation of Trade Unions, and members of the Fort Beaufort community.

The final 34 affidavits had been sent by Dr Maker to Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange.

He brought the matter to Mr Le Grange's attention so that an investigation could be carried out which would "deal with" any members of the police found guilty of offences, bring to an end the "alleged pattern of abuse" by certain policemen, and illustrate to the community that the police were "not above the law".

'Councillors hit my son'

STAR 11/1/86 (11A)

An 11-year-old Fort Beaufort boy was sjambokked by a group of local community councillors, until he lay bleeding and crying from pain, it has been claimed in affidavits before the Grahamstown Supreme Court.

The court this week granted a temporary order restraining three community councillors — Mr Taya Nzima, Mr Sithombo Mbewu and Mr Makwezil Gabashe — from assaulting two children, Thembe Mathe (11) and Xolane Rangule (12).

In papers, Mrs Nowandle Mathe said Thembe was staying with his friend, Xolane, on December 21 last year when she heard the sound of screaming from across the street.

She rushed to investigate and saw Mr Nzima, Mr Mbewu and Mr Gabashe run away. She saw her son bleeding and "crying loudly" from the pain and ran to him.

PAIN KILLERS

"He seemed quite hysterical with pain and, as I gathered him in my arms, I could see blood dripping through his white vest."

After carrying him home, she found a deep gash on his chest and sjambok marks on his shoulder and back.

"I gave him the only pain killers in the house, which were headache powders," she said.

Thembe said a group of men, among them the three councillors, had entered Xolane's bedroom and hit Xolane and him with sjamboks and sticks.

"I made a dash for the dining room... and ran into some other men who immediately started to hit me with a sjambok."

"I fell to the ground screaming from pain." In his affidavit, Xolane said the men had accused him of throwing stones, although he was innocent.

The three councillors did not defend the charges in court.

CP Correspondent: Lusaka

THE AFRICAN National Congress has signalled its intention to massively step up its armed struggle and has declared 1986 "The Year Of The People's Army, Umkhonto we-Sizwe".

The announcement came on Wednesday when ANC supporters celebrated the 74th anniversary of the founding of the ANC on January 8, 1912.

The ANC has pinned a new slogan to its mast: "Every Patriot a Combatant, Every Combatant a Patriot" - a slogan which, observers believe, confirms the ANC's apparent desire to involve as broad a spread of people as possible in the armed struggle.

In the past two months, there have been signs of a larger ANC guerilla presence inside the country than ever before. ANC guerillas have also exacted a relatively high toll in white lives in recent weeks.

Although the ANC has declined to say if one of its guerilla units carried out the Amanzimtoti shopping centre bombing just before Christmas in which five whites were killed, well-placed observers are in no doubt at all that the outlawed movement carried out the attack.

These observers believe the bombing was the work of one of a number of "quick response units" based inside the country who were enraged by the events of the past 18 months and, more immediately, the killing of nine people in Lesotho a few days earlier. Six ANC refugees died in the Lesotho raid.

ANC sources have said they regard the use of weapons equipped with silencers in the attack on refugees as a serious escalation in the cycle of terror and violence.

Although the Amanzimtoti bombing falls outside ANC guerilla policy, ANC spokesmen and sources have not criticised it - ANC policy is that it will not direct guerilla attacks specifically against civilians, though civilians will get "caught in the crossfire".

The five ANC Radio Freedom stations have meanwhile been carrying a lengthy New Year statement from the ANC National Executive Committee since Wednesday. Read by ANC president Oliver Tambo, it reviews the past year and outlines the ANC's intentions for 1986.

Last year, the ANC's emphasis fell on the need it experienced to strengthen the underground machinery inside the country.

ANC sources in Lusaka say their movement still has much work to do in this area, but they feel the stress must now fall on developing an increasingly self-reliant and broadly-based armed struggle inside SA.

The ANC has also come out in full support of the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the United Democratic Front.

The ANC has said it will continue to meet and talk with a broad spread of South Africans, including white business and political leaders, in order to build what it called "the broadest possible democratic offensive against the apartheid regime" with the black working class as the leading social force.

★ The ANC has also declared June 16, the anniversary of the student's revolt, "SA Youth Day".

★ December 16 this year will also mark the formation of Umkhonto weSizwe 25 years ago in 1961.

ARMED STRUGGLE UPDATES SIV SIV

CIT-1 P. 12/1/86

Movement declares 1986 "The Year of MK"

Cops shoot ANC man in E Cape

POLICE shot dead a suspected ANC member near East London this week and seized a large quantity of arms of Russian origin, the police said.

A police statement said the incident happened be-

tween Mount Ruth and Fort Jackson after two security cops stopped a vehicle with one occupant on the old East London/King Williams Town highway.

The driver threw a grenade at the security cops

CITY P. 2/11/86. after getting out of his vehicle, then ran away.

The cops fired shots at him but he fled into dense bush.

The man's body was found later after a search of the area.

A black cop received shrapnel wounds in one shoulder but his condition was not serious, the statement said.

The arms were found in the vehicle in which the man was travelling.

Guns still

out in Section Five

CITY P
10/1/86

11A



AIMING over the barrel of a home-made gun, a Pondo man guards an entrance to KwaMakutha between Pondos and Zulus.

THE Christmas war between Pondos and Zulus in the Umbogintwini area is still smouldering.

While KwaZulu and Transkei representatives clash over attempts to restore the peace, 59 people have already died.

The fighting began on Christmas Eve.

Many victims died in a bloody battle on Christmas Day between over 5 000 Zulus and Pondos.

The next day heavily armed Pondo men patrolled Section Five of KwaMakutha, the heart of the battle-zone.

Split into three units, the men - armed with sticks, pangas, assegais and crudely-made firearms - guarded the entrances to the shack settlement.

Others waited on lookout in trees while one man stood on the highest hill in the settlement scouring the surrounding areas with a pair of powerful binoculars.

One group stopped taxis passing on the road from Isipingo to KwaMakutha.

They accused taxi drivers of abducting their womenfolk and of siding with the Zulus.

When one taxi refused to stop, they fired on it.

But there were no other reported incidents of violence that day.

The next morning talks to bring an end to the fighting began at the instigation of KwaZulu MP for Umlazi, Winnington Sabelo.

But the talks broke down when Zulu Chief Bheki-

CP Correspondent
Durban

zetha Makhanya demanded that all Pondos living in Section Five without his permission leave immediately.

Sabelo said most of the Pondos in the area were refugees from earlier fighting in Malakazi.

Zulus from Malakazi had followed the people to Section Five, where the trouble erupted.

Sabelo said Chief Makhanya maintained the Pondos had come into his territory without his permission.

"They pushed themselves into his area by force

and created their own Chief and Indunas in the area.

"Under these circumstances he wanted them to leave immediately," Sabelo said.

There was no direct threat of more trouble if the Pondos did not leave but Sabelo said: "If they don't move, Zulus will re-

turn from their holidays to find their people have been killed here - and there will definitely be more bloodshed."

He also said: "We don't want them to come to Umlazi or KwaMakutha. They must go elsewhere."

To date Pondos have steadfastly refused to leave Section Five - they say

many of them are employed in the greater Durban industrial complex and have nowhere else to go.

Transkei's Consul in Durban, BB Sekeleni backs their refusal to move.

Sekeleni, who attended the unsuccessful peace talks, believes Chief Makhanya is being unreasonable.

He said "deep-rooted economic conflict is demanding a change in the area." "We are bringing about hope we can be seen



Armed Pondo warriors on patrol in Section Five, KwaMakutha ... the heart of the battle zone.



After the fighting broke out on Christmas Eve, women and children sought refuge at an Umbogintwini clinic.

Grenades found after KwaZulu

CP Correspondent

KWAZULU police have found two grenades during arrests after fighting in the Okbukhu area left six dead at the weekend.

Colonel Sipho Mathe said the discovery of the rusty, sand-filled

grenades was "a very worrying development".

Col Mathe said his men had been warned about the possibility of fighting between the Mbatha and Qulunga clans. They had been "tipped off" that Christmas or

New Year were the likely times. They brought in reinforcements over the holiday season - but nothing happened.

"Then, when we thought the danger was over, fighting suddenly started on Sunday at about

noon," he said. The grenades in police possession were "We were high death toll of the fighting," Col Mathe.



AIMING over the barrel of a home-made gun, a Pondo man guards an entrance to KwaMakutha, the scene of a bloody Christmas war between Pondos and Zulus.



Armed Pondo warriors on patrol in Section Five, KwaMakutha ... the heart of the battle zone.



After the fighting broke out on Christmas Eve, women and children sought refuge at an Umbogintwini shantytown KwaMakutha - accusing the drivers of abducting their women and siding with the Zulus.



A group of Pondos stopped all taxis passing through a shantytown KwaMakutha - accusing the drivers of abducting their women and siding with the Zulus.

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... Pondos and Zulus in
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Transkei's Consul in Durban, BB Sekeleni backs their refusal to move.
Sekeleni, who attended the unsuccessful peace talks, believes Chief Makhanya is being unreasonable.

He said there were "deep-rooted socio-economic causes" for the fighting and the arbitrary demand that Pondos leave the area was not justified.
"We attended the talks because we hoped we could bring about peace. We still hope we can do so."
"But there is no way we can be seen to be in agree-

ment with Chief Makhanya," said Sekeleni.
Since the talks collapsed cops have maintained a strong presence in the area.
Scores of Zulus living close to Section Five have left, taking their belongings.
Many women and children still spend nights at a nearby sanatorium.

Grenades found after KwaZulu clan fights

CP Correspondent
KWAZULU police have found two grenades during arrests after fighting in the Okbukhu area left six dead at the weekend.

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New Year were the likely times. They brought in reinforcements over the holiday season - but nothing happened.
"Then, when we thought the danger was over, fighting suddenly started on Sunday at about

noon," he said.
The grenades were discovered in police follow-up operations.
"We were also worried by the high death toll and the closeness of the fighting to Ulundi," said Col Mathe.

He didn't believe there would be more fighting, as most "warriors" had left for their workplaces.
He said he wanted to start "peace talks" between the local chief, indunas and the magistrate as soon as police had completed their investigations.

Shots fired at home of former Island inmate

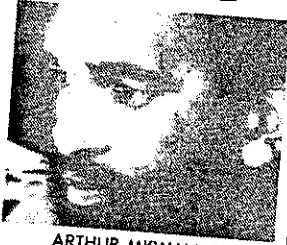
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By MONO BADELA

THE family of top Pretoria United Democratic Front activist and former Robben Island political prisoner, Arthur Mkwanazi, are living in fear of their lives after four bullets were pumped into their Atteridgeville home at the weekend.



ARTHUR MKWANAZI
Assassins' target

Mkwanazi, who serves on the UDF's Transvaal executive and works for the Detainees Parents Support Committee, said he was certain his life was in danger and that the unknown assailants who attacked his home were out to kill him.

Mkwanazi's mother, Mutile Serote (55), said early on Saturday morning she was woken by at least four loud bangs and went to check through a window. She thought the noise was caused by a hailstorm, but the following morning dis-

covered three bullets lying in the house.

Mkwanazi, who was not at home at the time, said when he arrived the next day he discovered another bullet in his mother's room.

Mkwanazi said several black cops recently threatened they would kill him.

Some weeks ago Mkwanazi's friend and UDF co-worker, Titus Mafolo, had a miraculous escape after the car he was driving was fired at by black cops. The cops later confiscated the car.

ODAF

By MUDINI MAIVHA

THE National Convention Movement - hit by resignations of some notable founder figures and the refusal of black organisations to join hands - will meet in Johannesburg tomorrow to draw up a plan of action for 1986.

According to the movement's spokesman - top advocate Jules Browde - plans for seminars, discussion groups and mass meetings on the topic of the preconditions for the convention will be drawn up.

Preconditions set by the NCM for a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict include the repeal by the Government of all discriminatory legislation, the unbanning of banned organisations, the unconditional release of political prisoners and political detainees and the freedom of political association and activity.

"The eventual objective is the calling of a national convention by the government of the day at which representatives of all the people of South Africa will thrash out an agreed constitution," reads the NCM manifesto.

The NCM was founded late last year with members of Inkatha and the Progressive Federal Party

NCM plans action for 1986

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taking a leading role.

The Azanian People's Organization and the United Democratic Front refused to participate in the movement because they rejected the idea of a national convention.

According to Browde, the English Teachers Association and Women for Peace have pledged their unanimous support for the movement.

"We have drawn support mostly from the centre of the South African population, no support from the right and very little from the left, despite the fact that influential people in that camp have said the convention was a marvellous idea," he said.

But he could not say how many organisations and individuals have come out in support of the NCM. This will need some analysis, he said.

Founder members who have resigned from the management committee are Inkatha's Oscar Dlomo and the Methodist Church's Rev Stanley Mogoba.

the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights:

● Article 3: "Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person."

● Article 9: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile."

- JUDGE P T ALLAN of Australia.

★ THE struggle must continue. Away with the Bothas and Le Granges of Pretoria.

Forward with the UDF, the "Comrades", and Azapo. We are tired of those self-elected leaders, while our natural leaders are in prison or in exile.

Botha gave his troops and the police license to kill black people and banned the press because "they wanted to kill us without being watched".

They are afraid of black people. They attack us with

★ A SWAZI man with his nose shot off and a badly injured cop are both in hospital after the cop was called to quell a disturbance at Ngogolo.

Thokowakhe Dlamini allegedly attacked the cop, who allegedly fired a shot that sliced off Mr Dlamini's nose. The crowd then allegedly beat the policeman unconscious with sticks.

By MONO BADELA

AS the African National Congress entered its 75th year on Wednesday, SA Council of Churches general secretary Beyers Naude this week urged President PW Botha to lift the ban on the African National Congress - which he described as "the people's movement".

Naude said: "That the ANC is now in existence for 74 years clearly shows it is a movement which has been fully accepted in the hearts of millions of people."

He said despite all the "suppressive and vindictive" actions taken against the movement and its leaders, its support was growing all the time.

"Any government displaying political wisdom would immediately lift the ban on such a movement and face its demands in public political forums," he said.

Dr Naude said the fact that the ban had not been lifted proved the Government was afraid to face the legitimate aspirations and challenges of the ANC.

He said most South Africans could clearly perceive the strength and following of the organisation within the country.

United Democratic Front Transvaal president Albertina Sisulu this week supported Naude's call.

Sisulu, 67, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Walter Sisulu, said there would continue to be conflict in SA unless the "people's movement" was given its "rightful place".

Sisulu, who married Walter in 1944, also called upon the Government to unconditionally release all detainees and political prisoners and to allow all exiles to return to their "fatherland".

Political analysts all agree the ANC is much stronger than it was when it was banned in 1960. Witwatersrand University politics lecturer Tom



SISULU
'A rightful place'



NAUDE
'Government is afraid'



FAZZIE
'People's movement will stay'



LE GRANGE
'ANC is everywhere'

Lodge said on the eve of the ANC's 74th anniversary: "The ANC's popularity is growing by the day. Its following is increasingly organised, increasingly able to control people through other organisations."

Cape Town University politics professor Robert Schrire said the longer the Government delayed dealing with the issue of black rights the more important the ANC would become.

Hundreds of former ANC lieutenants who spent years on Robben Island for ANC activities have completed their sentences, and many of them are now playing leading roles in their communities, and especially in the UDF.

Eastern Cape UDF vice-president Henry Fazzie, who spent 22 years on Robben Island, also strongly feels it's time the movement is unbanned.

"Whether they like it or not, the movement will function freely one day in South Africa. It is the people's movement and will remain so whether (President PW) Botha likes it or not," he said.

The SA Native National Congress, later renamed the ANC, was established on January 8, 1912 in Bloemfontein, by several hundred of SA's most prominent black people.

For almost 50 years the ANC followed a strategy of non-violent resistance. This climaxed in the now-

historic Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws launched on June 26, 1952, in which some 8 500 people of all races passively defied SA racial laws.

In 1956, 156 leaders of the Congress Alliance were charged with high treason in a marathon five-year trial. All were eventually acquitted.

In 1960, the organisation, along with the Pan-Africanist Congress, was banned and a state of emergency was declared. More than 12 000 activists were detained, and thousands fled the country.

Shortly before the banning of the ANC, Oliver Tambo left SA to set up an external structure of the movement.

In 1961, the ANC accepted the "armed struggle" - carried out by its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) - as part of its strategy to overthrow the Government.

In 1964, the movement's top leadership, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Mntsoali, Raymond Mhlaba, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg and Andrew Mlangeni were sentenced to life imprisonment after being found guilty of sabotage and high treason.

The ANC's program of demands is contained in the Freedom Charter adopted by various organisations belonging to the Congress Alliance in Klipfontein in 1955 and formally adopted by the ANC in 1956.

The Charter basically calls for a democratic and a non-racial South Africa in which "the people shall govern, and the land and wealth of the country shall be controlled by all the people." The Charter also calls for the redistribution of land among all who live

in it, and promises work and security for all.

Today the ANC is the leading force in the "national liberation" struggle in South Africa.

Based on a broad non-racial alliance, the ANC's stated aim is to forge a broad non-racial movement of all democratic elements committed to the overthrow of the apartheid state.

Within this alliance, the ANC recognises the "special role" of the working class - it believes this "special role" will ensure that the form of "national liberation" achieved in SA will be a democratic state with the wealth and basic resources "at the disposal of the people as a whole."

The ANC's prestige has grown in the last year as a steady stream of white politicians, leading businessmen and clergymen crossed the border for talks with President Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders in Lusaka and Harare.

"The ANC is beginning to play a leadership role almost like that of the Government," Lodge said this week.

The last five years have seen a rapid upsurge of ANC activity inside SA, both at the military and mass levels - leading Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange to lament: "The ANC is everywhere."

The ANC 74 YEARS ON

12/1/86
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Jan. 1986

Seven groups appeal for couple's release

SEVEN organisations yesterday called on authorities to release banned community leader Johnny Yacob Issel, his wife, Zubeida Jaffer, and all other detainees.

Issel and Jaffer were detained on December 16 under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The Churches Urban Planning

Commission, the Muslim Judicial Council, the Clothing Workers' Union, Friends and Families of Detainees, the Western Cape Traders' Organisation, Chamber of Muslim League Traders and the UDF held a joint Press conference at the home of Jaffer's mother in Wynberg.

The Concerned People and Organisations on Detention (CPOD) expressed alarm at continuing detentions.

Adam Jaffer, Jaffer's brother, said his family did not even know where his sister or her husband were being detained. — Sapa.

15/11/86
BUS DAY
11/4
Uphill work
for Mandela
street name

WASHINGTON — The name of a two-block stretch of street in front of the South African Embassy in Washington DC may be changed to Nelson and Winnie Mandela Avenue if Mayor Marion Barry has his way.

Ranged against him are the British Embassy, the State Department, which reportedly objects, and some neighbouring residents. It is furthermore against the law in the District of Columbia to name a street after a living person.

The British and South African embassies share the same stretch of Massachusetts Avenue.

The British Embassy opposes the change because of possible administrative confusion.

Although the State Department has not voiced its official position on the issue, the city's inter-governmental relations office has received a call from the department to say "they had a problem with it".

The area's elected advisory neighbourhood commission has misgivings.

Barry proposed the change last year, and renewed his plea for it last week. "Every time they get a letter at the (South African) embassy, it will have to come to Nelson and Winnie Mandela Avenue," he told a cheering group of anti-apartheid protesters. — Sapa-AP.



The family of slain Leandra community leader Ampie Mayisa display a panga and a pick used by the chief's killers. Picture: TONY NAIDOO

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Mayisa's family say police saw slaying

SIPHO NGCOBO

THE family of slain Leandra community leader Chief Ampie Mayisa claim police watched from about 500m while he was being hacked to death on Saturday.

A spokesman for the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria said the allegation was "a very serious one" and urged the family to file affidavits with the district's commandant of police.

Mayisa was killed a day before he was due to meet US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker.

The family also claim the killers are Inkatha supporters.

A spokesman for the Inkatha office in Ulundi said his organisation would respond only by telex.

Mayisa's family claim police were told about the attack but watched from a distance. They then left and came back the next day.

During the attack, four motor-vehicles were stoned and set alight. A family friend, Friedman Mahlangu, was also attacked and injured.

Another Leandra community leader, Abel Nkabinde, is in hiding after his house was attacked and destroyed by fire-bombs.

CITY P.

Help us stop these vigilantes

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

LEANDRA, Tumahole and Huhudi activists are to apply to the Supreme Court for an interdict to stop community councillors, cops and vigilantes from "assaulting and harassing" them.

Johannesburg lawyer Richard Spoor said vigilantes were becoming a menace and it seemed the cops and community councillors were collaborating with them.

"We are determined to put an end to this. We know who the vigilantes are and we have numerous affidavits from witnesses and victims of the attacks," said Spoor.

There have been reports of attacks on activists by vigilantes at Lebohang township, Leandra, where an unruly mob assaulted activists and threatened to burn and destroy the homes of Chief Ampie Mayisa and that of Leandra Action Committee chairman Abel Nkabinde.

Nkabinde said his family had been living in fear because of terrorism by the vigilantes since Christmas Day. "When our homes were raided I phoned Leandra's police boss, a Lieutenant De Vries, who promised to send police to protect us, but never did.

"I told him our lives were in danger from people armed with assegais, pangas, hammers, garden forks and all sorts of weapons, and that among them were members of the police force," said Nkabinde.

Spoor confirmed Nkabinde's allegations and said he had also phoned Lt De Vries and explained to him that there was a mob outside the homes of Mayisa and Nkabinde.

"I explained the situation to Lieut. De Vries and told him Mr Nkabinde had seen police among the vigilantes. I understand no police arrived to calm the situation," said Spoor.

Jan 1986

'In spirit of Martin Luther King'

Tutu to receive non-violence prize

STAR 13/1/86 11A

ATLANTA — The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, was last night named as the 1986 recipient of the Martin Luther King Jr Non-violent Peace Prize.

Bishop Tutu, who received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984 and is currently on a tour of the US, will receive the award during a service at the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta on January 20.

"We are honoured to present this award to Bishop Tutu," Mrs Coretta Scott King, the widow of the slain civil rights leader, said in a statement yesterday.

Mrs King praised Bishop Tutu for his rejection of "violence, hatred and revenge as methods of delivering his people from oppression".

The peace prize, first awarded in 1973, is given to "that person who most effectively uses the techniques and methods of non-violence in the spirit and tradition of Martin Luther King Jr", said Mrs King.

Earlier Bishop Tutu told a meeting in Newark that if the South African Government did not act to end apartheid by April, he would risk being

charged with treason by calling for economic sanctions against his country.

He also urged non-violence in the struggle against apartheid.

"We have a glorious cause, a noble cause, which we should not discredit by doing something we'll be ashamed of in the future," he said.

Bishop Tutu's tour coincides with a memorial campaign to honour Martin Luther King.

At the meeting Bishop Tutu recalled King's words: "Racism anywhere threatens freedom everywhere."

He harshly criticised the Reagan Administration's rejection of economic sanctions against South Africa in favour of "constructive engagement," which he said had done nothing to end racial discrimination.

"If the victims were white, would you in the White House be sitting with your equanimity and be talking about constructive engagement?" he asked.

"We have no doubt that we will be free," he said, to thunderous applause.

The bishop was to continue to New York City late last night. — Sapa-AP.

UDF man murdered before Crocker talks

CAPE TOWN 13/1/86 (119) 248 274

UNITED STATES Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker flew into Cape Town last night hours after a prominent Transvaal United Democratic Front community leader he was due to meet was murdered.

On arrival at D F Malan Airport at 11pm, Dr Crocker said he would be seeing "all the top people in the South African Government" and may include President P W Botha.

He would also hold meetings with political leaders from extra-parliamentary groups — but he would not disclose any details of these meetings.

Dr Crocker arrived in Johannesburg early yesterday and his first visit was to Duduza on the East Rand.

But his planned meeting in Leandra, near Leslie in the Eastern Transvaal, with UDF leader Mr Ampie Mayisa, 58, was cancelled after Mr Mayisa went missing following a petrol-bomb attack on his home on Saturday night.

He was chairperson of the Leandra Action Committee, a UDF affiliate.

Police last night confirmed his body had been found. He had been stabbed to death and the body was then apparently set alight. An unidentified village elder was also killed.

The Anglican Suffragan Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, who helped to arrange the meeting with Mr Mayisa as well as other community leaders, claimed the group which attacked the Mayisa house were members of Inkatha.

According to sources in the area, rival groups of black armed youths were still patrolling the township yesterday afternoon.

In Duduza, Dr Crocker was mobbed by blacks who shook his hand.

As he continued his tour of the area, reporters and photographers were chased out of Duduza by troops in armoured personnel carriers.

Last major obstacle

Our political correspondent, Anthony Johnson, reports that one of Dr Crocker's aims in Cape Town will be a bid to refloat the SWA/Namibian independence issue.

In talks with the South African Government, State Department officials are expected to propose a new plan for getting the estimated 30 000 Cubans out of Angola — supposedly the last major obstacle, in the view of the US and South African governments, in the way of implementing UN Resolution 435 for independence.

However, repeated invasion of Angolan territory by SADF troops — the most recent reportedly last week — have reduced Luanda's receptiveness to negotiations over the withdrawal, as have recent moves by President Ronald Reagan and the US Congress to join South Africa in aiding the rebels. — Political Staff, Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa-Reuter

● 'Mixed' troops in Angola, says Angop, page 7

Tanker fire

CAPR Times
13/1/86

(11A)
**'Paradise'
if Zulu
hand
taken**

Staff Reporter

PRESIDENT P W Botha could create a "paradise" in South Africa if he accepted the hand of friendship extended to him by the Zulus, according to the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a letter distributed among leading Afrikaans "opinion-makers", Chief Buthelezi also said Mr Botha would become a statesman without equal if he could solve the problem of black political participation.

In his presidential address to the Inkatha central committee at Ulundi at the weekend, Chief Buthelezi accused Mr Botha of sitting in the driver's seat and behaving as if he was the only one who could drive.

He also warned Inkatha to be ready to a "simple declaration of war" from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

One possible way to counter the Cosatu threat was for Inkatha to organize workers.

Inkatha's central committee decided to commission an artist to design a plaque, to be known as the Plaque of Hope, which will show Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi smiling at each other.

The decision comes after the disclosure that the jailed ANC leader had written Chief Buthelezi a "comradely" letter.

Posted from Pollsmoor Prison on December 10, the letter expressed warm appreciation of the good wishes received from Chief Buthelezi during Mr Mandela's recent illness.

The central committee of Inkatha paid tribute to Chief Buthelezi (himself a member of the ANC before it was banned) for continuing to believe in "the African brotherhood which binds him to Nelson Mandela" and hoped his frequent representations for the ANC leader's release would bear fruit.

ANC ^{990E T/15}
^{13/1186}
decision
'no ^{11A}
surprise'

JOHANNESBURG. — The decision by the African National Congress to escalate its armed struggle against the South African regime was no surprise and the government had only itself to blame for any worsening of the situation, the United Democratic front said at the weekend.

"We have always warned that unless the government meets the legitimate demands of all the people violence will escalate and peace shall remain an illusion," a spokesman said.

The Nationalist government had for many years been trying to dupe the white community into believing that it had the upper hand, that the ANC was a non-factor in the country and that its policy of dealing with stooges in the bantustans and in the community councils was the only correct one.

"But the reality has finally caught up with them."

The government seemed to be deliberately closing all available avenues for popular expression, it said.

"What alternatives are our people left with?" — Sapa

ANC calls for stepped-up drive during Jo'burg year

WEDNESDAY 13/11/86

11A

THE African National Congress plans to use Johannesburg's centenary as an occasion for the most determined offensive to ensure political change.

In a recent speech in Lusaka, ANC president Oliver Tambo said white South Africans felt they had every right to celebrate the centenary.

Tambo said: "We on the other hand, confined in black ghettos on the periphery of the city, have nothing to celebrate.

"We can no longer tolerate the situation in which we have no control over this city which we have built with our

Business Day reporter

bare hands for a century.

"After a century of exclusion, let us begin a new era of democratic control of Johannesburg and all other urban areas of our country."

He said blacks could no longer accept an urban-township existence as suppliers of labour, with no access to the wealth they created which was used to improve white areas of towns and cities.

He said 1986 would also be the 40th anniversary of the great mineworkers' strike of 1946.

ANC 74 years old and still growing

IIA DISPATCH 13/1/86

The banned African National Congress (ANC) enters its 75th year in a stronger position than ever before in its fight to overthrow white minority rule in South Africa, political analysts say.

They said that it had bounced back since the signing of a non-aggression pact between South Africa and Mozambique in 1984, deprived it of some of its key bases and threatened to seriously weaken it.

The ANC marked its 74th anniversary on January 8.

Almost two years of racial violence and the government's refusal to cede real political power to the black majority has fuelled the popularity of the ANC, which blacks still see as the most credible nationalist movement, the analysts said.

"The ANC's popularity is growing stronger by the day. Its following is increasingly organised, increasingly able to control people through (other) organisations," said Dr Tom Lodge, a senior lecturer in politics at Witwatersrand University.

Robert Schrire, politics professor at Cape Town University, said: "No longer the government's delayed in dealing with the issue of black

rights the more important the ANC would become. He said the non-aggression pact signed by South Africa and Mozambique in March 1984 had forced the ANC to grow tougher and more diplomatically sophisticated.

Under the Nkomati Accord, both countries agreed to stop supporting each other's guerilla enemies.

"The ANC has become stronger because of adversity," Professor Schrire said in an interview.

The end of last year saw a sharp increase in the number and severity of terrorist attacks and a rise in the number of white casualties. The attacks were made against a backdrop of racial unrest in black townships which has claimed well over 1 000 lives since February 1984.

South Africans have been stunned by three attacks in the past month which have killed 13 whites.

Six were killed in a landmine blast near South Africa's border with Zimbabwe on December 15, two by a landmine near the Botswana border, and five in a bomb explosion at a

hundred of South Africa's most prominent blacks.

Dr Lodge said the conference had brought younger men into an ANC leadership domi-

From ADRIAN CROFT in Johannesburg

holiday resort near Durban on December 23.

The ANC claimed responsibility for the first land mine attack but said it had no information on the blast at a crowded shopping centre in Amanzimtoti, near Durban.

The attacks appear to indicate that the ANC is moving from a strategy of attacking strategic targets like fuel dumps towards a policy of more indiscriminate killing.

The ANC decided at a conference in Zambia last June that it would in future make no distinc-

tion between "hard" and "soft" targets and civilians could be caught in the crossfire.

However, analysts said the ANC leaders in exile in Lusaka probably had little control over militants within the country and they had probably not sanctioned the Amanzimtoti blast.

The South African Native National Congress, later renamed the ANC, was founded on January 8, 1912, in Bloemfontein by several

2 000 to 3 000 at the end of 1984 but had grown rapidly since then.

The ANC's prestige has grown in the last year as a steady stream of white politicians, businessmen and clergymen crossed the border for talks in Zambia and Zimbabwe.

"The ANC is beginning to play a leadership role almost like that of a government," Dr Lodge said.

He predicted no great change in ANC tactics in 1986. It would patiently build its underground network, try to infiltrate the labour movement in South Africa and increase diplomatic contacts with Western countries.

Prof Schrire said the ANC's tactics would be to increase the cost to whites of maintaining apartheid race laws. Whites were beginning to recognise the costs but they were not yet high enough to force them to the negotiating table, he said.

"The lesson one could draw from Africa in general is that whites have negotiated too little and too late," he added. Sapa-RNS

Originally committed to change within the system, the ANC turned to more militant methods in 1960 when it was banned by the South African Government. The ANC went underground, forming a sabotage group, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). It moved closer to the South African Communist Party. ANC leaders Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 for sabotage, while many others went into exile.

The ANC's organised network in South Africa is small but it has a vast informal following, according to analysts.

Dr Lodge said the number of activists in touch with the organisation numbered about

Azasm: dignity comes first

JOHANNESBURG —

The Azanian Students Movement (Azasm) has condemned last week's decision by the Department of Education and Training to bring forward final internal examinations in Soweto and Alexandra high schools.

In a statement issued here, an Azasm spokesman said it was "pure arrogance and gross insensitivity to black feeling" for the DET regional office to have scheduled the examinations to start today, a week earlier than originally planned. The examinations involve standards six, seven, eight and nine.

"We urge black peoples in Soweto and Alexandra to boycott these examinations."

The statement said though Azasm wanted education, it was not prepared to have it at the expense of dignity.

"We are not pawns to be tossed around according to the whims and wishes of the white settler educational authorities," the statement added. — Sapa 12/186

DISPATCH

Discard

Azapo hold talks

on education

SOWETAN

11A



13/1/80
THE Azanian People's Organisation meeting on education, which was banned at the weekend, is to be held tonight at Khulangolwazi Primary School in Zone 5 Diepkloof at 6pm.

Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's publicity secretary, said on Friday they received a notice from Soweto's Divisional Commissioner, Brigadier Jan Coetzee, banning the gatherings. Reasons given were that it could endanger public safety. The ban was due

to end at 6pm today. Mr Myeza said, among other things, the meeting would discuss resolutions adopted at the SPCC's conference on the education crisis, the DET's response to the resolutions, school attendance on January 28 and the issue of school fees and books.

According to Mr Myeza, Azapo has also arranged meetings countrywide this week. The meetings would brief the supporters on the same subjects.

Have important political and other leaders in South Africa become so hopelessly conditioned that they are not able to consider talking to people with opposing views without listing a

series of conditions? This question involuntarily arises when one looks at why there was no meaningful dialogue during last year. HANNES DE WET analyses the issue.

If only — but the national debate always bogs down

STAR 13/1/86 (3) (11A)

As the unrest situation in South Africa deteriorated during the past year, the possibility of talks between leaders on different sides of the fence arose on more than one occasion.

But hopes of real dialogue invariably bogged down in a mire of conditions. Time and again a series of ifs were stipulated — either by one or both sides — which ended the prospect of talks there and then.

Examples are not difficult to find:

● The first significant flicker of hope last year that an important discussion could get going was before the announcement of the state of emergency. That was with the apparent easing of tensions between the State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

After four years of bitter acrimony between them the two leaders met in May for the second time in six months.

But a sudden chill developed in relations after President Botha's end-of-session speech in Parliament on June 19 in which he again rejected a one-man-one-vote unitary state.

According to Chief Buthelezi Mr Botha had also ruled out the possibility of a unitary state structured along either union or federal lines.

Softened

Because of that, he said, it was no longer possible for him to negotiate with the Government.

Chief Buthelezi later softened his stand, but still insisted on a declaration of intent from the State President that negotiations between them would be about a federation or the sharing of power.

Mr Botha refused, saying that such a declaration would boil down to prejudicing the issue. He preferred an open agenda, Mr Botha said.

And that was the end of talks between Chief Buthelezi and the State President.

● In July news headlines about the worsening unrest situation were briefly replaced by ones mooted the possibility of a meeting between the State President and Bishop Desmond Tutu.

This followed a British TV interview during which the Bishop said he was willing to meet Mr Botha to discuss ways of resolving the unrest.

After initial positive signals about such a meeting, the State President refused to see the Bishop alone, saying that he could join an Anglican church delegation which had an appointment with Mr Botha.

Bishop Tutu didn't want to meet Mr Botha as part of a delegation, saying talks between groups tended to end up in nothing more than posturing which prevented "real dialogue".

And that was the end of talks between Bishop Tutu and the State President.



Mr Botha: I will talk only if . . .



Bishop Tutu: I will talk only if . . .



Dr Boesak: I will talk only if . . .



Chief Buthelezi: I will talk only if . . .

● A more recent raising of hopes for dialogue between two extreme sides was sparked by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller.

During a speech in Johannesburg he referred to United Democratic Front patron Dr Allan Boesak and Bishop Tutu as "men of influence" who did have a constituency.

He added that the Government would be prepared to talk to them if these discussions were not on a one-to-one basis.

Dr Boesak responded by expressing his surprise at the positive tone of these remarks, but then proceeded to give a long list of conditions.

He would talk to the Government only, he said, if, among other things, the state of emergency was called off and people arrested in terms of the emergency regulations were freed.

The Government did not respond to these demands.

And that was the end of possible talks between Dr Boesak and the Government.

Bishop Tutu's reaction to Mr Miller's statements deviated from

the usual pattern. He set only one, very mild, condition for talks with the Government, namely that the delegations participating in the discussions shouldn't be too large.

But there has apparently been no attempt by the Government to take the matter further.

Disappeared

And so another opportunity for dialogue disappeared into thin air.

● The African National Congress set anything but mild conditions for talks between itself and the Government.

Although there is no real possibility at present of talks between the Government and the ANC, the two parties have at least communicated — albeit through the media — about their respective conditions for talks.

Taking an official stand on the matter, the ANC set out the following conditions in which it would consider talking to the Government:

The release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency, the withdrawal of troops and "repressive machinery" from the

townships, the lifting of the ban on the ANC and the creation of conditions in which free political activity can take place.

The State President responded by reiterating that the ANC "must first lay down its arms, cease its terrorism and the murder of innocent people and free itself of its international connections with the Communist Party".

Reports that the Government was putting out feelers on negotiations to the ANC, were quickly dismissed by the Government as "devoid of all truth".

Once again, all that remained were two lists of conditions.

The real story behind the multitude of conditions is, of course, that all the central figures are thinking about their own constituencies. To agree too readily to talks with the other side could erode credibility with their own supporters.

But the question remains: Isn't the condition in which the country finds itself a serious enough reason for all the leaders involved to think again? Have all the parties involved not become captives of traditional patterns and perceptions?

CAPC Time
13/1/86



Two killed in township burnings

Own Correspondent
QUEENSTOWN. — Two people have been burned to death in Mlungisi township.

The charred body of a prominent former community councillor was found on Thursday and the 19-year-old daughter of another ex-councillor died in hospital on Friday after being set alight.

The body of Mrs Blanche Mdudu was found by police after her home had been petrol-bombed.

Police found her body in the township about

10.30pm on Thursday. They said she died after tyres, doused with petrol, had been piled on her.

Miss Lungelwa Madubedube, daughter of former councillor Mr G M Madubedube, died at the Frontier Hospital here on Friday morning after having been admitted on Thursday night with 100 percent burns. Police in Pretoria said she had been stoned before being set alight.

No arrests have yet been made and murder dockets have been

opened.

Shortly before her death, Mrs Mdudu strongly denied in a letter to the Queenstown weekly newspaper, the Representative, what she called an "evil, blatant and contemptible lie" that she was an informer who went around the township in a military vehicle pointing out people to be arrested.

The letter was published on Friday, after she had already been killed.

"This is a very serious matter and I know the

identity of the member of the (Mlungisi) residents' committee who is spreading this evil, blatant and contemptible lie," she wrote.

"It is also said that the improvements I am doing to the house I live in are being financed by the chamber of commerce. This is another lie.

"It suits me well enough to have been expelled from the committee, but I shall continue to serve my community to the best of my ability."

Mrs Mdudu was a regular letter-writer to the

editor of the Daily Dispatch, and her last letter to the newspaper, headlined "Mistakes", was published last Monday.

In it, she had appealed for all the mistakes of 1985 to be buried and for everyone to enter 1986 with a "clean sheet by asking the good Lord for guidance".

She had said that those who went about killing others and destroying places with "weapons of Russia are doing Mr Nelson Mandela a great injustice".

Mrs Mdudu, 77, was a well-known personality in the Queenstown community. She had served on the community council from November 1983 to June 1985, and was councillor for Ward Four in Mlungisi during that time, a spokesman at the East Cape Development Board said.

Mrs Mdudu also served on the Mlungisi Residents' Committee for some time before her expulsion. She had been a teacher at Aliwal North for 37 years before moving to Whittlesea.

UDF man murdered before Crocker talks

CAPE TIMES 13/1/86 114

UNITED STATES Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Dr Chester Crocker flew into Cape Town last night hours after a prominent Transvaal United Democratic Front community leader he was due to meet was murdered.

On arrival at D F Malan Airport at 11pm, Dr Crocker said he would be seeing "all the top people in the South African Government" and may include President P W Botha.

He would also hold meetings with political leaders from extra-parliamentary groups — but he would not disclose any details of these meetings.

Dr Crocker arrived in Johannesburg early yesterday and his first visit was to Duduza on the East Rand.

But his planned meeting in Leandra, near Leslie in the Eastern Transvaal, with UDF leader Mr Ampie Mayisa, 58, was cancelled after Mr Mayisa went missing following a petrol-bomb attack on his home on Saturday night.

He was chairperson of the Leandra Action Committee, a UDF affiliate.

Police last night confirmed his body had been found. He had been stabbed to death and the body was then apparently set alight. An unidentified village elder was also killed.

The Anglican Suffragan Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, who helped to arrange the meeting with Mr Mayisa as well as other community leaders, claimed the group which attacked the Mayisa house were members of Inkatha.

According to sources in the area, rival groups of black armed youths were still patrolling the township yesterday afternoon.

In Duduza, Dr Crocker was mobbed by blacks who shook his hand.

As he continued his tour of the area, reporters and photographers were chased out of Duduza by troops in armoured personnel carriers.

Last major obstacle

Our political correspondent, Anthony Johnson, reports that one of Dr Crocker's aims in Cape Town will be a bid to refloat the SWA/Namibian independence issue.

In talks with the South African Government, State Department officials are expected to propose a new plan for getting the estimated 30,000 Cubans out of Angola — supposedly the last major obstacle, in the view of the US and South African governments, in the way of implementing UN Resolution 435 for independence.

However, repeated invasion of Angolan territory by SADF troops — the most recent reportedly last week — have reduced Luanda's receptiveness to negotiations over the withdrawal, as have recent moves by President Ronald Reagan and the US Congress to join South Africa in aiding the rebels. — Political Staff, Own Correspondent, UPI and Sapa-Reuter

● 'Mixed' troops in Angola, says Angop, page 7

De Beer, Slabbert back talks with ANC

(11A) PETER HONEY (2306/11A)
BUS DAY 13/11/86

THE ANC's recommitment to armed confrontation in SA was no reason to break contact with the organisation, two prominent South Africans, who met separately with the ANC in Lusaka last year, said yesterday.

Anglo American executive director Zac de Beer and Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said they would be prepared to talk to the banned movement's leadership again if necessary.

De Beer said the spate of ANC landmine attacks near Messina in November and December "were to be expected in terms of several published ANC statements to the effect that what they call the armed struggle was to be intensified".

Last week's statements by ANC president Oliver Tambo, that civilians could continue to become unfortunate victims of attacks, did not reflect a policy essentially different from what he had been saying for some time.

"Sooner or later it will become necessary to talk again simply because the ANC is an important political reality.

"Just how such talks could contribute to a reduction in tension would depend, inter alia, on the progress of the reform programme and the attitude of black South Africans generally," De Beer said.

De Beer was a prominent member of the group of seven businessmen and journalists who met the ANC in Zambia in September and agreed tentatively to repeat the contact.

De Beer said he did not see any reason to resume this contact "at this moment".

Slabbert, who led a PFP delegation to Lusaka in October, said yesterday he would have "absolutely no problem with talking to them again".

He added: "Of course, I would not want to talk just for the sake of talking. I would want to see if we could find a way to get them to give up the armed struggle and to begin negotiating."

Violence was a problem, but it was also a fact in the situation.

"What can we do? We can either shout and kill one another or we can try to work out a solution to the country's problems," Slabbert said.

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Slabbert 'for' ANC alliance

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said last night he would welcome an African National Congress-led alliance of organizations opposed to apartheid if this would promote negotiation and a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

"But I will have to find out more about it before

I can commit the party to anything," Dr Slabbert said.

He was responding to reports that the ANC was planning a "grand alliance" of organizations similar to the National Convention Movement initiated by the PFP and Inkatha last year. Its prime objective, weekend reports said, would be to create a cli-

mate conducive to a negotiated settlement of

South Africa's problems. It would include the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the SA Council of Churches, the National Convention Movement itself and even sympathetic homeland leaders.

Dr Slabbert said neither he nor the PFP had been approached by the ANC to join.

He said he would not be against the ANC leading such an alliance.

"I am not interested in who leads such an alliance. I am interested in people committing themselves to such an alliance because it means they prefer negotiation to confrontation.

"If it is in the interests of avoiding violence and promoting negotiation, then I certainly will have no hesitation in talking to anybody."

Opposed

Dr Slabbert would not be drawn to comment on speculation that such an alliance would place the PFP itself under severe strain, with its left wing clashing with conservatives opposed to formal links with the ANC.

He agreed that formal links with the banned organizations in such an alliance could cause problems.

Azapo threatens legal action over ban on meetings

By SY
MAKARINGE

THE Azanian People's Organisation has threatened to take legal action following the banning yesterday of a public meeting called by the Vosloorus Parents' Committee.

The meeting was to have been held at the Vosloorus Civic Centre.

An Azapo spokesman yesterday said the banning of meetings was a calculated act to bring disarray in the black community.

"Children need direction whether they are in school or not. We will not take this lying down.

Order

"We feel very strongly about this. We'll contest all banings of meetings in future because they are unjustifiable and in bad faith," the spokesman said.

The Vosloorus meet-

ing was planned to discuss resolutions taken at the "Education Summit" attended by more than 160 organisations at the University of the Witwatersrand recently.

The order was signed by Mr John Cornelius M Roots, magistrate of Boksburg.

More than 400 people arrived at the Civic Centre shortly before the meeting was to start, but the gates were locked.

This meeting will now be held at the Methodist Church in Vosloorus, Boksburg, a few minutes after 6pm, when the ban ends.

Another meeting banned at the weekend which was to be at the Lenasia Civic Centre will also be held tonight. A spokesman for the organisers said hundreds of people turned up for

the Friday night meeting at this venue. It was to discuss the schools issue.

This meeting will also

start shortly after 6pm when the weekend ban ends.

• See Page 3.

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111A
SOWETAN

**Inkatha to mark
Mandela 'bond'**

ULUNDI — Inkatha is to commission an artist to design a plaque, to be known as the Plaque of Hope, which will show Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi smiling at each other.

Inkatha's central committee decided this yesterday after the disclosure that the jailed former ANC leader had written Chief Buthelezi a comradely letter on December 10.

The letter indicated that Chief Buthelezi's good wishes and support had given Mandela strength and had contributed greatly to his recovery from a recent illness.

The central committee paid tribute to Chief Buthelezi for continuing to believe in "the African brotherhood which binds him to Nelson Mandela" — Sapa.

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Change in ANC military policy 'could be devastating'

13/1/86 By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

STAR

The African National Congress has recently moved into a "mass militarisation phase" and has subtly changed its military policy in a move which could have devastating effects, says a leading Unisa academic who has made a study of revolutionary organisations.

She was commenting on reports from Lusaka that the ANC was stepping up the military offensive and that more civilians could die in Amanzimtoti-type attacks.

The ANC, she said, had not moved its sights from military to civilian targets yet and would still be aiming for military or strategic installations.

But it would not be so concerned in future about how many civilians were caught in the crossfire.

11A
She said that South Africa could expect to see many more blasts similar to that in Church Street, Pretoria, on May 20 1983 which left 19 people dead and hundreds injured. The ANC said the bomb was aimed at the South African Air Force headquarters in Nedbank Centre.

GREAT INCENTIVE

The political scientist said she believed the ANC had great incentive to establish itself as the organisation controlling opposition violence.

This would involve mass militarisation — recruiting more people, giving them a less rigorous training and sending them back across South Africa's borders to work internally.

More emphasis would be placed on these internal

units in future and they would be given access to important arms caches.

She said new emphasis would also be placed on "cost-effective" attacks. The ANC was learning that one hand-grenade — which only needed one operative — was as effective in propaganda terms as a large bomb attack, which was far more labour-intensive.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria, said the ANC would use the township unrest and foreign pressure on South Africa as justification for increasing attacks.

He added that the ANC's claims that it did not attack civilians indiscriminately were "becoming increasingly thin" as recent attacks on border farmers had proved.

Cape Times 14/1/86 (11A)

Bishop tells of 'brazen violence'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Anglican Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg East, the Right Reverend Simeon Nkoane, said yesterday he had never before seen the brazen violence displayed by the vigilantes who allegedly stabbed Chief Ampie Mayisa to death on Saturday.

"For me it was a most depressing incident," said Bishop Nkoane, who

rushed to Leandra in the Eastern Transvaal when he heard of the attacks.

Mr Mayisa, leader of the Leandra Action Committee, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front, was killed before he could keep an appointment with the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, on Sunday.

Bishop Nkoane last

night said he was told a gang arrived at Mr Mayisa's house and ordered his wife and children out of the house.

Chief Mayisa tried to escape.

"They chased and caught him and hacked him with pangas and pierced him with a sharp instrument," Bishop Nkoane said.

The group then removed the body in a bak-

kie, Bishop Nkoane was told.

The family seemed to know who the people were.

Some people alleged they saw blood being washed from the bakkie, he said.

When the bishop arrived, the body had not been found and the family had alerted the police.

After praying with the

family, Bishop Nkaone went to the home of another community leader, Mr Abel Nkabinde.

"While we were there, the vigilantes, at least half a dozen of them, with dangerous looking weapons, were going to attack three people who were with me."

They all got into the bishop's car and escaped.

— Sana

Leave to appeal granted as . . .

Court upholds restriction on Mrs Winnie Mandela

By Jenni Tennant

Mrs Winnie Mandela's application to have a notice barring her from entering Johannesburg and Roodepoort declared invalid was dismissed with costs in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

The wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela last week brought an urgent application against the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of Police, contesting the validity of the order barring her from Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

Mrs Mandela was not in court to hear the outcome of the application, which lasted two days.

Mr Gilbert Marcus, counsel for Mrs Mandela, applied for leave to appeal.

In response Mr Justice L le Grange said: "The matter in issue is a matter of personal freedom of an individual and is an important principle. I am inclined to give you leave to appeal."

Mrs Mandela was granted leave to

appeal to a Full Bench.

In a judgment which lasted more than an hour, Mr Justice le Grange said he had to determine how a notice issued in 1983 by the Minister of Law and Order — which prohibited her from leaving Brandfort, in the Free State — affected Mrs Mandela's rights prior to the issuing of a notice last year.

On December 21 last year Mrs Mandela was served with an order prohibiting her from being in the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.

"This finding may have an important and far-reaching effect on the fate of the application," Mr Justice le Grange said.

He found that the court was precluded from adjudicating on the matter in terms of section 42 of the Internal Security Act.

In terms of the Act no proceedings could be instituted after 14 days of the issuing and serving of an order, and

a court could not decide on the validity of an order after a 12-month period.

It was argued in court that the notice issued in 1983 had lapsed or been withdrawn after her house in Brandfort was burned last August and she had moved to Soweto.

On this question Mr Justice le Grange said: "It seems to me the only way the Minister can withdraw any prohibition or restriction is to issue a written notice in terms of section 24 of the Internal Security Act."

Mrs Mandela had failed to show she was entitled to relief against either the commissioner or the Minister, he said.



Mr Ismail Ayob, Mrs Winnie Mandela's attorney, leaves the Rand Supreme Court yesterday after hearing the judgment on her application.



WINNIE MANDELA: Application dismissed with costs.

WINNIE

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SOULETAN 14/11/86

LOSES CASE

THE urgent application brought before the Rand Supreme Court by Mrs Winnie Mandela to have her banning order declared invalid and having no force in law was yesterday dismissed with costs by Mr Justice L le Grange.

The order imposed late last year — described by the Government as a relaxation of a previous set of restrictions — allowed Mrs Mandela to enter most areas of South Africa, except the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

Mrs Mandela has a home in Soweto, which falls in the Johannesburg magisterial district.

Mr Justice le Grange granted Mrs Mandela leave to appeal before a full bench.

"The personal freedom of an individual is an important principle and I am therefore inclined to grant you leave to appeal," he said.

Giving judgment, Mr Justice le Grange submitted that it was common cause that Mrs Mandela was issued with an order by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, on July 2, 1983, which prohibited her, among others, from leaving the municipal area of Brändfort, Free State. The order was effective until June 30, 1988.

Mr Justice le Grange said that the 1985 amended order was issued under Section 24, which referred to a "like notice". This suggested that the Minister regarded the 1983 notice as still being operative at the time.

He concluded that Mrs Mandela has failed to show that the 1983 notice had been withdrawn or lapsed and that the police had acted unlawfully when they arrested her in December

with costs.

Mrs Mandela was not present in court yesterday. Her lawyer, Mr

Ismail Ayob, said outside the court building that he did not know what she intended doing

now. He would not disclose where Mrs Mandela was staying now. — Sapa.

1985.

He therefore dismissed the application.

APC Times 14/1/86

KTC exodus amid rumours of 'war'

By TONY WEAVER
HUNDREDS of women and children were said to be fleeing the KTC squatter camp in the early hours of this morning as a large group of armed men from Site C in Khayelitsha moved in to "destroy KTC".

Three groups of armed men from KTC, totalling over 600, were said to be moving into strategic po-

sitions around the squatter camp and preparing to defend the camp against attack.

Rumours that an attack on KTC was imminent began circulating early yesterday afternoon, following vicious clashes between men from Site C and resi-

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C.F. 14/1/86 (114)

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From page 1

dents of KTC at the weekend which saw at least eight people wounded.

Residents of areas bordering KTC said early this morning they were hurriedly preparing beds for scores of refugees from the area.

"People are terrified. There are no women and children left in KTC, and the men are angry, they have armed themselves with sticks, pangas, axes, anything they can get," one resident said.

Another resident said there were two reasons for the attack.

The first was that conservative Site C residents believed that militant "comrades" were grouping in KTC in preparation for an attack on Site C.

The second reason, the resident said, was that conservative leadership in Khayelitsha want to see KTC destroyed in an attempt to force more people to move to the controversial "controlled squatting" area at Site C.

● Police liaison officer for the Western Cape, Captain Jan Calitz, said early this morning that "no large-scale exodus of KTC people as claimed" could be detected.

"Police are constantly patrolling the area, and law-abiding citizens have nothing to fear."

Winnie Mandela loses court battle

BUS DAY 14/1/86 (11/4)

WINNIE Mandela yesterday lost her Rand Supreme Court application to have the amended banning notice issued last month declared invalid.

Facing a rain-soaked crowd of TV cameramen and journalists, Mandela's attorney, Ismail Ayob, said he was disappointed with the outcome.

He said he had thought it better for Mandela not to come to court yesterday, though this was not because he was worried about her being arrested.

A large gathering waited in the rain outside court to be informed of the court's decision.

Mr Justice Louis le Grange granted Mandela leave to appeal against his judgment, and this will be heard before a

LINDA ENSOR

full bench of either the Witwatersrand Local Division or the Transvaal Provincial Division as soon as possible.

In dismissing with costs the application which Mandela brought against Law and Order Minister Louis Le Grange, and Commissioner of Police General Johan Coetzee, the judge said Section 42(1) of the Internal Security Act precluded him from passing judgment on the validity of a banning order after the lapse of 12 months from the date of issue.

Thus he was powerless to judge on the validity of either the 1983 order, which banished Mandela to Brandfort, or the amendment which prevented her enter-

ing Johannesburg and Roodepoort

This legal bar had "serious" effects on all the other claims made by Mandela, except for her argument that the 1983 order had lapsed or been withdrawn before the amendment was issued on December 20.

He dismissed Mandela's claim that the 1983 order had lapsed or had been withdrawn after the arson attack on her Brandfort home. Le Grange, on learning of the fact that she was living in Soweto, said he had ordered an investigation with a view to a criminal prosecution.

"I find that the applicant has failed to show that she is entitled to any relief against either of the respondents," the judge concluded.

Chief Ampie Mayisa was 'a lion among men'

STAR 14/1/86

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Ampie Mayisa is remembered by his associates as an Ndebele chief who elected to live as a man of the people and played this role with conviction right to his life's end.

That he should have been murdered by a mob in the streets of his home town of Leandra is seen as a bitter irony — and many questions are being asked about the attack on the 53-year-old chief, an executive member of the UDF-affiliated Leandra Action Committee (LAC).

Already residents in the shanty settlement are saying "we will suffer much more heavily now that the chief is dead", reports Anglican Church field worker and acting publicity secretary of the Soweto Civic Association Mr Canzi Liso, who visited Leandra yesterday.

The man on whom residents came to rely for protection and help in their daily lives moved about the township with a slow, slightly stiff gait. From a distance he seemed an ageing figure. But close-up he would wipe away that impression with a youthful smile and an inexhaustible will to tackle problems.

"People respected him for the immediate response he made to grassroots issues such as residence permits, unemployment, the threat of removal. He was a humble man who listened and had the energy to respond to their problems," recalls Mr Liso, who came to know the chief closely in his work for the church.

"The LAC could never have vibrated as it did without Chief Mayisa. He was the muscle which set it going. He couldn't be ignored — he was the rallying point for the youth and the parents."

BLACK SASH TRIBUTE

A similar tribute is paid by the Black Sash: "Chief Mayisa was known as a lion among men — an Ndebele chief who categorically rejected Skosana's kwaNdebele and took responsibility for representing every grievance of the ordinary people in Leandra and especially the farmworkers in the district.

"Chief Mayisa fought for and alongside his community. His involvement in the fight against removal was militant and ceaseless."

Mr Liso said he last saw the chief a day before the murder. Two attempts had already been made on Chief Mayisa's life and he and LAC chairman Mr Abel Nkabinde were aware that forces were being rallied against them.

In this climate of tension "the chief was a relaxed man. It seemed to me he could be this way because he had a greater

understanding of South Africa's problems. He was a very brave man".

What strikes many observers of the LAC and its leaders is that they combine uncompromising resistance to the problems of apartheid with a never-failing preparedness to talk to those in authority.

On questions such as the threatened removal of residents, unsatisfactory housing in the urban renewal scheme, educational shortcomings and relations with the local police the LAC would shout its grievances to the world. But it would turn to the nearest person in authority to begin to wrestle with solving the problem.

Other civic associations admired this organisation which won the right for all residents — not only those with legal urban qualifications — to stay on in the redeveloped township; and which fought successfully for the reduction of rents in the new houses.

SPACIOUS HOME NOW A WRECK

If the LAC had headquarters they were at the spacious zinc home of Ampie Mayisa — now a folded and burnt wreck, but once a place for the LAC to meet the township's youth, its business elite and its most needy or troubled residents.

The Mayisa home was also a regular port of call for journalists who found curious chickens or young goats poking their noses into interviews — and being firmly dealt with by committee members.

Mr Liso described the chief as more prone to be surrounded by young people than by elders as tradition would have chiefs act. Perhaps Chief Mayisa's standing among the youth was most dramatically illustrated last year when police arrested him at the scene of an eviction of one of the township's pioneers.

Hundreds of youths had gathered at the eviction, creating tension but refraining from violence. The chief's arrest allegedly broke the peace and brought forth a salvo of stones — and police reportedly withdrew in their Hippo without even attempting to face the angry mob.

What drove a section of the youth to turn against Ampie Mayisa may never be fully known. But it is certain many will not turn their backs on the memory of this chief.

"We in the Black Sash remember him with love and affection. It is almost too hard to comprehend that such a vibrant, vital person is dead.

"We can only hope that his death will serve to expose and help destroy the vigilante scourge that is sweeping our country and murdering our people," the Sash's tribute says.



WINNIE MANDELA: Application dismissed with costs.

WINNIE LOSES CASE

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[scribble]

SOULETAN 14/1/86

THE urgent application brought before the Rand Supreme Court by Mrs Winnie Mandela to have her banning order declared invalid and having no force in law was yesterday dismissed with costs by Mr Justice L le Grange.

The order imposed late last year — described by the Government as a relaxation of a previous set of restrictions — allowed Mrs Mandela to enter most areas of South Africa, except the magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Rodepoort.

Mrs Mandela has a home in Soweto, which falls in the Johannesburg magisterial district.

Mr Justice le Grange granted Mrs Mandela leave to appeal before a full bench.

"The personal freedom of an individual is an important principle and I am therefore inclined to grant you leave to appeal," he said.

Giving judgment, Mr Justice le Grange submitted that it was common cause that Mrs Mandela was issued with an order by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, on July 2, 1983, which prohibited her, among others, from leaving the municipal area of Brandfort, Free State. The order was effective until June 30, 1988.

Mr Justice le Grange said that the 1985 amended order was issued under Section 24, which referred to a "like notice". This suggested that the Minister regarded the 1983 notice as still being operative at the time.

He concluded that Mrs Mandela has failed to show that the 1983 notice had been withdrawn or lapsed and that the police had acted unlawfully when they arrested her in December 1985.

He therefore dismissed the application

with costs.

Mrs Mandela was not present in court yesterday. Her lawyer, Mr

Ismail Ayob, said outside the court building that he did not know what she intended doing

now. He would not disclose where Mrs Mandela was staying now. — Sapa.



WILHEMINA MBATHA, sister-in-law to the late Chief Ample Mayisa, wiping a tear from her face yesterday. In the background are youngsters from the chief's neighbourhood giving a hand to clear up the rubble caused by the burning down of the chief's house.

LEXINGTON PGA



Mandela loses case

← From Page 1

yesterday said no arrests have been made in connection with Chief Mayisa's death.

Meanwhile black political organisations have condemned the cold-blooded killing of Chief Mayisa (53).

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) urged people not to resort to violence whatever their differences.

The UDF said it was deeply saddened and angered by the killing of Mr Mayisa.

"Such reactionary and anti-liberation deeds are indicative of the desperation that the system finds itself in at the time when the forces

of liberation are gaining more and more ground."

Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said: "We deplore the killing of Chief Mayisa. Our enemies rejoice when they see us at each

other's throats.

"We as black people must learn to accept that in any community there will be differences of opinion and approach. However, these differences must not be transformed into violence."

NEWS IN BRIEF

Hlongwane in court

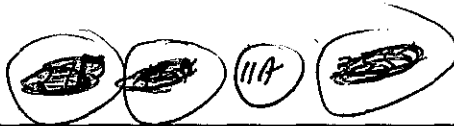
A 38-YEAR-OLD former bank teller who allegedly stole nearly a million rand from a building society appeared briefly in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Mr Solomon Hlongwane of Atteridgeville appeared before Mr F J Poolman. He was not asked to plead and the case was postponed to Thursday. Mr Hlongwane is presently in custody and bail has been set at R20 000.

Traders to meet

THE Tembisa Industrial Association is to hold a meeting at the Rabasotho Hall today to discuss various issues.

An executive member of the association, Mr F M Namane, said their application for an industrial park has been approved by the Tembisa Town Council.



The Christmas that went uncelebrated

By CHRIS BATEMAN

SOLE breadwinner for a family of seven, Mrs Dorothy M leaves her Nyanga shack at 4.30am, walks through the dark to the edge of the township and catches a bus to the plush Constantia home where she works. The buses no longer stop in her street — a legacy of six months of intermittent "unrest" — even though relative calm has returned since Christmas.

Most summer days she returns home in time to prepare a meal before darkness falls. In winter however, daylight hours at home are a weekend-only pleasure.

Dorothy earns R150 per month.

But, along with thousands of blacks throughout the Peninsula, she recently found an unexpected way of saving money...

Defiance

She has paid no rent since November — an act of almost unanimous black defiance aimed at removing troops from the townships and securing better housing and lower rentals.

Many residents, like Mrs M, who support the "cause" but avoid serious involvement, told a Cape Times investigative team how groups of "maqabane" (comrades or young activists) paid house-to-house visits during early December, instructing them not to pay rentals "until further notice".

"How can I refuse? I agree with what they are trying to achieve. If I did try to sneak a payment, my house would be burnt down for sure," one out-of-work housewife said.

Mrs M's seven children, who are aged be-

tween 12 and 25, spend their days cleaning the house, listening to the radio and chatting.

The two eldest daughters, whom we shall call Thembi, 25, and Gloria, 23, tell of how they lost their jobs at a Woodstock factory which, they said had "inexplicably" paid-off most black employees last July.

Residents of local black townships talked to Cape Times Crime Reporter Chris Bateman this week of the struggle to feed large families, of the consumer boycott, Christmas and black defiance.

Their younger brothers and sisters, primary and high school pupils, have yet to return to school in spite of the official "opening" of the Peninsula's black schools on January 8.

The two daughters told of township feelings and how they had celebrated Christmas.

"So many people have died and are in detention that if we had celebrated Christmas their relatives would have become very angry. It would have been very insensitive of us. So we stayed home.

"Some crowds did go in the streets but they were either attacked by relatives or dispersed with teargas by the police," they said.

Gloria described Christmas as "just about the same as 1976". One out-of-work Guguletu woman who is supported by her 25-year-old son spoke of how the consumer boycott had taken hold in the townships. Many other families echoed her sentiments.

She said that the "comrades" were no longer stopping shoppers at railway stations and bus termini, searching par-

cels and destroying all goods purchased from white shops.

"There is no need," the elderly woman explained. "The people all buy in Rylands or Manenberg now. The maqabane keep a watch, but now they only have to warn people once... they listen after that. Also the people realize

this is one thing that can work," she said.

The Guguletu woman also has an older son who is a policeman stationed at Khayelitsha.

She said she only saw him once in every three months.

Changed?

"He dare not visit me without taking a taxi. He lives in Khayelitsha where the people are not so angry any more. Even when he comes here in a taxi it's expensive and still dangerous," she said.

Had her policeman son changed in any way since joining the force? "No, he's still the same. He supports the people but can't stand the robbing and things," she said.

Township taxi drivers feel particularly hard done by at present. In recent months they have started coming face to face with what became a daily fear for bus drivers — stone throwers.

"It happens mostly in Site C, where the people are stoning us — they say we are overcharging and that we always want cash," said taxi-owner Mr Mx.

On average, taxi driv-

ers were charging about 10c more than City Tramways, residents said.

"The taxis want cash. With the buses we can buy coupons," one said. Khayelitsha is the only township into which buses run after the service into other townships was withdrawn in late November last year. Temporary termini are now set up outside township borders.

Most residents spoken to viewed the security forces' presence in the townships with anger and resentment.

An outspoken offal seller in Nyanga East said: "They come in here and shoot our children and teargas us. Things are bad enough without them. They must get out. Look around you. Do you see any trouble here today?"

The word "viva" has become a township catchphrase, even to the very young, with the names Tambo, Mandela, and Boesak tagged on afterwards, depending on the situation.

Members of every household visited appeared to the Cape Times to help them find jobs.

Monthly home rentals in Nyanga and Guguletu are R16,75 and R18,67 respectively.

When residents need a household fixture repaired, they have to pay in advance at the rent offices and produce a receipt when the council workers arrive.

Many complained that "exorbitant" electricity tariffs were levied without their meters ever being read.

"How can they charge my next door neighbour different rates if they never read our meters?" one asked.



A typical KTC home near a long-unused bus stop.



Washday on the pavement for a KTC township family.



Under starter's orders in their milk-crate specials, these Guguletu children are unperturbed by the recent township strife.

Pictures by Obed Zilwa

UDF denies issuing 'return to school' leaflets found in Soweto

14/1/86
11A
STAR

Thousands of pamphlets urging pupils and students not to boycott schools this year were distributed in Soweto at the weekend.

The pamphlets, bearing United Democratic Front (UDF) slogans, said the organisation's stand on the commemoration of 1976 had been misunderstood.

But UDF publicity secretary Mr Murphy Morobe said the pamphlet was not issued by the UDF. "We dismiss it with the contempt it deserves. Our position is the same as that arrived at during the national conference called by the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee at Wits.

"We agree and go along with the decision that schools reopen on January 28, not on January 8 as the Department of Education and Training had wanted. The leaflet is purely and simply the work of mischievous elements whose sole aim is

to sow division in the community," he said.

The pamphlet reads: "We have been misunderstood. 1986 is not a schools boycott year. We shall be remembering 1976 in peace, mourning the loss of lives and educational opportunities during 1976/7. Therefore, all schools shall go on as normal."

'AWAY WITH BOTHA'

The people who issued the pamphlet also said if they needed to send any messages to the schools they would come in person. "Many loose elements are calling themselves 'freedom fighters' and very much misrepresent us.

"We say education and freedom at the same time. 1986 is a year of education. There shall be houses, security and comfort. Away with loose elements. Away with Botha," the pamphlet ends.

114 (0100)

Times, Wednesday, January 15, 1986 3

ANC 'cards on table'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — African National Congress president Oliver Tambo had "done very well" in laying his cards on the table and allowing South Africans to choose which side they stood for, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

He was reacting to the ANC's decision, announced at a press conference in Lusaka last week, to escalate its armed struggle into a

full scale "people's war" and to take the conflict out of the townships and into white areas.

"The only people I pity because of Mr Oliver Tambo's statement," the chief added, "are those clerics and other influential white South Africans who have been trying to give the external mission of the ANC some plastic surgery by pretending that they are not such violent ogres as they are made out to be."

ANC denies support for 'grand alliance'

LUSAKA — A spokesman for the African National Congress denied yesterday that his organisation was backing the formation of a formalised "grand alliance" of anti-apartheid forces in South Africa.

In a telephone interview yesterday, Mr Tom Sebina said that the ANC believed in greater unity, in

closer co-operation and in effective co-ordination between the organisations and individuals in South Africa who were opposed to the present system.

"But we do not like the word 'alliance' and we do not have in mind involvement in a formalised body . . . we are not talking of an organised entity but of greater unity of purpose and action and greater collaboration."

Meetings

Commenting on reports that the ANC was backing a "grand alian-

It expected organisations like the United Democratic Front, trade unions, student organisations, churches and others to work more closely.

"We proceed from the fact that there should be greater unity and greater co-ordination between all those who serve the real interests of the people of South Africa.

"Because the ANC is an illegal organisation in South Africa, it cannot participate in the process, but we remain available for consultation here in Lusaka . . ."

SOWETAN Correspondent

ce", that this alliance already had the backing of the National Convention Movement in South Africa and that further meetings would be held here, Mr Sebina said the ANC expected wider consultation between the opponents of apartheid in South Africa.

SOWETAN 15/1/86

11A

Chief 'not invited' to join ANC alliance

15/11/86 Mercury

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says he does not expect to be invited to take part in the proposed national convention movement, details of which were outlined by the African National Congress this week.

The ANC announced

that it would extend the armed struggle into white areas. At the same time the organisation was full of praise for anti-apartheid groups in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said yesterday that the first time he heard about the development was when he read about it in the Press.

'No one has approached me and, judging

from the manner in which the external mission of the ANC sabotaged the convention alliance Inkatha initiated with Dr F van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, and the hostility of the external mission and their surrogates inside the country, I do not expect to be invited,' he said.

Dr Slabbert said this week that he would welcome an ANC alliance of organisations opposed to apartheid if this would promote negotiation and a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

But he would have to find out more about it before he could commit the party to anything, he added.

Reports at the weekend said the main objective of the new alliance would be to create a cli-

mate conducive to a negotiated settlement of South Africa's problems.

They said the new alignment would include the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the South African Council of Churches, the national convention movement itself and even sympathetic homeland leaders.

In October last year the PFP and Inkatha withdrew from the management committee of the national convention movement, formerly known as the convention alliance, which was launched at Ulundi in July last year.

The move was made in an attempt to encourage the UDF to lend its support to the call for a national convention.

UDF cancels meeting, attacks US policy on SA

CAPE TOWN — The United Democratic Front yesterday refused to meet the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker, and criticised American policy towards South Africa as "misleading".

It has been confirmed that attempts by US officials to set up a meeting between Dr Crocker, who left Cape Town yesterday afternoon, and top UDF executive members during the last two days had failed.

A US Embassy official confirmed that a tentatively scheduled meeting with UDF office-bearers was cancelled.

In a statement issued yesterday, Mr Naseegh Jaffer, UDF interim publicity secretary, attacked the existing US policy of "constructive

engagement" towards South Africa.

In terms of a national general council resolution adopted last year, he said, the UDF considered constructive engagement to "provide misleading and political support to the apartheid regime and has sought to undermine the people's forces struggling for liberation."

"As Chester Crocker is the author of the policy of constructive engagement there is very little reason why we should meet him," he said.

"The reactionary foreign policy of the Reagan Administration is aimed at subverting progressive states and movements and it continues to support reactionary states and movements." — Sapa.

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NUM criticizes use of 'catch-phrases'

By BARRY STREEK

THOSE who use catch-phrases like "liberation before education" do not understand the struggle and are creating "anarchy", according to the New Unity Movement.

In a statement issued by its president, Mr R O Dudley, NUM also said: "We must not imagine that the economy is about to collapse. We must not make that mistake."

Claims that the economy was about to collapse and that freedom was "around the corner" in 1986 had been "used by opportunists to mislead students and to spread

chaos in schools and colleges in an endless boycott".

The statement said students, teachers and parents "have acted resolutely" against the whole segregated school system.

"They have courageously resisted the vicious assaults upon our schools by a ruling class and its henchmen determined to bully everyone into accepting the segregated school systems.

"But it is clear that a continued boycott of the schools until various demands are met can only prove disastrous for the political movement as a whole."

This was because the struggle of

workers in trade unions and in the broad liberatory movement was the basic priority in the struggle for freedom.

"All other movements must take their cue from that struggle and buttress that struggle in every way they can.

"Students alone cannot lead a struggle. Still less can a struggle be led from schools."

The boycott as a weapon of protest was powerful but it had to be used with full political understanding.

"If it sows disunity, if it leads to a damaging war of attrition between

parent-teacher-student bodies on the one side and the state on the other, it does more harm than good.

"No good can come to the political movement by having hundreds of thousands of students idling on the streets or at home.

"Those who use catch-phrases like 'liberation before education' do not understand the struggle. In fact, they mislead and misdirect the vital struggle in the schools and create anarchy.

"Our task is to transform education day-by-day into education for liberation. For that purpose, the

children of the oppressed have to be in classrooms.

"They and the teachers need not only occupy the schools. They must work together to acquire basic skills which all people in modern society need.

"The principal aims in education — a modern, unsegregated non-racial open system — cannot be realized through a struggle in schools alone.

"Only a national struggle conducted on all fronts under the leadership of the working class and its allies can accomplish real changes in the schools," the statement said.

Anti-apartheid unity call as . . .

ANC denies 'grand alliance' reports

11A

Boles DAY 15/1/86

THE ANC said yesterday it supported the principle of a broad, unified movement against apartheid, but it rejected as speculation a report that it was trying to construct a grand political alliance in SA.

"We are calling for a wider unity of our people; for all organisations against apartheid to work together," ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said from Lusaka.

But he denied a Sunday newspaper report that the ANC intended to play a leading role in establishing or taking part in a structured alliance.

PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday he was "completely unaware" of any attempt by the ANC to form an alliance, though he would welcome such a move if it contributed to negotiation.

Sebina said the ANC maintained its opposition to the political alliance proposed by the National Convention Movement (NCM) in spite of the withdrawal of the PFP and Inkatha from its steering committee.

But observers believe this opposition might not be immutable because the ANC's principle objection to the NCM, apart from Inkatha's involvement, appears to be its failure to embrace organisations within the "democratic movement" — the UDF, black labour organisations, student movements and the major churches.

PETER HONEY

Inclusion of these organisations is a primary goal of the NCM, and is the reason the PFP and Inkatha withdrew from its steering committee.

Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said he regarded the alliance suggestion as speculation, and declined to comment on his party's stand.

Sebina said the ANC did not intend laying down a blueprint for a political alliance. It did not believe there was a necessity for a formal grouping.

Besides, the ANC remained outlawed in SA and there were no indications of government softening its approach towards the organisation.

The only way homeland leaders could be considered part of the anti-apartheid movement would be for them to renounce the system and pledge to work outside the homeland structure, he said.

Slabbert, one of four PFP office-bearers who met ANC officials in Lusaka last October, said while the PFP supported the principle of a political alliance for a negotiated solution to SA's problems, he was not prepared to commit his party to an alliance with any group until he could study concrete proposals.

PFP office-bearer Alex Borraine said the important factor was that the ANC appeared to be giving its blessing to co-operation between all internal groups opposed to apartheid.

ANC denies ^{STAT} 'grand ^{15/1/86} alliance'

(11A)

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — A spokesman for the African National Congress denied yesterday that his organisation was backing the formation of a formalised "grand alliance" of anti-apartheid forces in South Africa.

In a telephone interview yesterday, Mr Tom Sebina said that the ANC believed in greater unity and closer co-operation between the organisations and individuals in South Africa who were opposed to the present system.

"But we do not like the word 'alliance' and we do not have in mind involvement in a formalised body ... we are not talking of an organised entity but of greater unity of purpose and action".

Mr Sebina said the ANC expected wider consultation between the opponents of apartheid in South Africa.

It expected organisations like the UDF, trade unions, student organisations, churches and others to work more closely.

"Because the ANC is an illegal organisation in South Africa, it cannot participate in the process, but we remain available for consultation here in Lusaka."

ANC and NP the 'true victims of apartheid'

The ANC and the National Party were the true victims of apartheid because both believed they could not share power, using brutal force against opponents. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

Addressing the central committee of Inkatha at Ujundu, he said 1986 would be a watershed year for the organisation. Inkatha had a multi-strategy approach and commitment to reconciliation while the NP did not believe in such an approach.

The State President acted as though he was the only person able to wield power in South Africa and his Cabinet were terrorised by the thought of power-sharing.

STAK 15/11/86
The ANC, on the other hand, also could not share the power it believed it had. "They talk about themselves as the vanguard movement. They strut up and down the corridors of the international community as members of government-in-exile. They loudly and insistently proclaim themselves to be the sole representatives of the people of South Africa.

"They tolerate no opposition. They say that blacks must not enter town council politics and, when they do, they murder them brutally by hacking them to pieces or incinerating them alive. That is democracy for the ANC mission-in-exile." — Sapa.

South Africa gets tough and the world sees Lesotho's vulnerability

Two weeks and Maseru toes line

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Lesotho's decision this week to enter into negotiations on security matters with South Africa demonstrates just how vulnerable the minuscule country is to economic pressure from its giant neighbour.

For it was only two weeks of tough border restrictions by South Africa that caused the Lesotho Cabinet to meet in crisis and finally agree to sit at the negotiating table on a matter it has desperately tried to avoid — its alleged support for the ANC, the use of its territory to launch attacks on South Africa, and the question of signing a security pact with South Africa.

Delays in the delivery of fresh food, petrol and medical supplies, caused by the thorough searching of all vehicles entering and leaving South Africa since January 1, ultimately had more impact than any of Pretoria's threats.

These included the possible cancellation of a giant joint water project considered essential for the development of the Lesotho economy.

Relations between South Africa and Lesotho reached a low point after Maseru recently called for a meeting of the United Nations Security Council to blame South Africa for the killing of six South Africans and three Basotho in Maseru on December 19.

At Lesotho's instigation, the Security Council adopted a resolution condemning South Africa for the killing of the nine, six of whom have since been confirmed as being ANC members.

DENIED

South Africa has denied responsibility for the killings, and has instead used Lesotho's allegations to support its actions on the border.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said the most urgent reason for restricting border traffic was the South African Government's responsibility to ensure the security of its citizens by cutting the access of terrorists to its territory.

South Africa has periodically claimed that Lesotho not only gives sanctuary to ANC guerillas, but that the organisation uses Lesotho to train its personnel and plan its operations.

Use is allegedly also made of the weekly flight between Maseru and Maputo in Mozambique to send ANC recruits for extensive terror training before being returned to Lesotho for infiltration back into South Africa.

South African sources say they are increasingly edgy about what is perceived to be growing Soviet influence over the Lesotho Government. They say there are more Soviet diplomatic personnel in Maseru than there are American diplomats in the whole of South Africa.

Lesotho has always insisted that it gives sanctuary to political refugees only, and that it does not permit people to use the country to plan and launch attacks on South Africa.

On the contrary, it accuses South Africa of supporting destabilisation of Lesotho, and claims that the Lesotho National Liberation Army, which has claimed responsibility for acts of violence in Lesotho, is no more than an extension of the SA Defence Force.

Lesotho has rejected the assertion that the clampdown on the border between the two countries was prompted by the threat of ANC terrorism from its soil.

It claims that South Africa has failed to respond to its request for detailed information about alleged ANC activities to enable it to make appropriate investigations.

The clampdown is instead a retaliation for Lesotho's refusal to hand over political refugees and for the Security Council resolution, it says.

Mr Botha denies that there is any retaliation, or that South Africa is boycotting or blockading Lesotho.

According to a source in his department, the border restrictions will remain in force until the two countries sit down to thrash out their differences on security problems.

RELAXATION

The Minister said yesterday that a decision on the relaxation of the restrictions would be taken after he had consulted with the President and his colleagues.

He admitted yesterday that the South Africa Government had no hard evidence that there were any ANC activists still in Lesotho or that there was any evidence of complicity of the Lesotho Government with the ANC.

Buthelezi receives warm letter from Mandela

A LETTER from imprisoned ANC father-figure Nelson Mandela, extending warm greetings to Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his family, has surprised several political observers attuned to the simmering feud between the ANC and Inkatha.

Mandela's message, posted from Pollsmoor Prison before Christmas, expressed warm appreciation for good wishes received during his recent illness.

It said Buthelezi's goodwill

PETER HONEY

and support had contributed to his speedy and complete recovery and had given him "much strength and joy".

The letter added: "I shake your hands very warmly", and was signed in Mandela's clan name, "Madiba".

A Prisons Service spokesman said yesterday he would not comment on the letter because such matters were regarded as private.

According to their classification, prisoners were allowed to receive visits from relatives and write and receive letters from relatives and friends, he said.

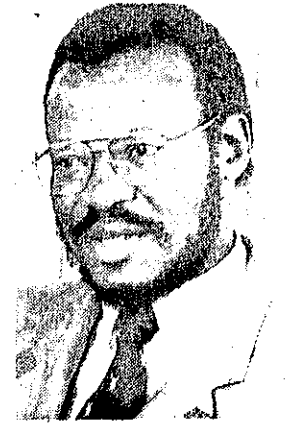
News of the letter surfaced at the weekend when an Inkatha central committee meeting adopted a resolution expressing appreciation for Mandela's continued friendship with Buthelezi.

Inkatha general secretary Oscar Dhlomo said yesterday Mandela and Buthelezi had

exchanged several letters during the ANC leader's imprisonment on Robben Island in the 1970s.

Dhlomo said the friendship developed during the 1950s and early '60s when Mandela acted as lawyer for Buthelezi's royal in-laws, and both had been members of the ANC.

"He (Mandela) has the integrity not to sell his friendship because of temporary animosity between Inkatha and the ANC," Dhlomo said.



● BUTHELEZI

AKUS 18/1/86 (11A)

'Last-minute' developments delay coalition

Political Staff

THE signing of a coalition agreement between the ruling National Peoples' Party and the opposition Solidarity in the House of Delegates scheduled for this afternoon has been postponed.

A spokesman for Mr Amichand Rajbansi, NPP leader and Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, said today last-minute developments had meant the signing ceremony, which was supposed to take place in Durban at 3pm, would be delayed.

It was not possible to say when the coalition agreement would be completed and further negotiations may take place in Cape Town next week when the Indian Affairs Administration relocates for the coming session of Parliament, he said.

UNANIMOUSLY AGREED

This week Mr Rajbansi said the NPP had unanimously agreed to proceed with the coalition. All that was required was the completion of a unity document (meant to be signed today), the reallocation of seats on the Ministers' Council on a proportional basis and the appointment of a joint structure to co-ordinate parliamentary action.

It was not clear what developments caused the delay, although it is believed there are still policy differences between the parties.

116.45 26/7/86

Teacher in court after 'police spy' incident

Staff Reporter

A MITCHELL'S Plain teacher pleaded not guilty in Athlone Magistrate's Court to a charge of robbing and assaulting a City Tramways radio technician accused of being a police spy at a meeting of teachers in Gatesville.

Mr Zunaid Dharsey, 25, a teacher at Spine Road Secondary School, allegedly slapped police reservist Mr J Lodewyk of Gatesville and robbed him of a firearm during a meeting at the Samaj Centre on August 20 last year.

In a statement read in court yesterday Mr Dharsey denied assaulting Mr Lodewyk and taking his 0.38 revolver.

He had addressed the meeting as a member of the organising committee, while Mr Lodewyk had stood in a doorway taking notes.

Mr Dharsey said he challenged him and others in the audience accused Mr Lodewyk, who was walking away, of being a police spy.

He followed Mr Lodewyk, who was dragged back to the meeting by four men. Mr Dharsey said he saw Mr Lodewyk

trying to draw a firearm. Acting in self-defence, he grabbed Mr Lodewyk's hand.

People in the crowd said he should be disarmed and a man put the revolver on a table on the stage, Mr Dharsey said.

Mr Lodewyk was released after being searched. He said stink-bombs were found on him but he did not take part in the search.

Mr Lodewyk later obtained help from police and when he left the firearm remained at the hall.

In evidence Mr Lodewyk — who said he is a police reservist — denied drawing his revolver. He said he had made notes for his own interest.

Mr Dharsey and eight other people had shouted accusations at him, a woman took his notes and Mr Dharsey carried him to the stage.

Mr Lodewyk said Mr Dharsey had slapped him in the face, breaking his spectacles, and took away his revolver.

Mr Lodewyk said the firearm belonged to him and he had the right to carry it.

(Proceeding)

Wide reaction to Tambo threat

ARC 10/11/86 11A

Political Staff

WIDESPREAD reaction poured in today to a threat by African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo that the ANC's guerrilla action in South Africa was to be turned into a full-scale "people's war".

The reaction ranged from outright condemnation by parliamentary political parties to claims by other organisations that they were not surprised by ANC strategy.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, accused Mr Tambo of trying to detach himself from responsibility for the latest series of terror attacks which had cost the lives of innocent women and children.

"The ANC has proved that it attacks regardless of who its victims will be — whether they be black or white women and children."

Rejected

Mr Colin Eglin, national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, said the PFP rejected "totally and absolutely" the ANC's campaign of violence.

"It will harden race attitudes, strengthen the right-wingers, invite repression and prolong and not shorten the life of apartheid."

Mrs Helen Suzman, Law and Order spokesman for the PFP, said Mr Tambo's threats augured ill for 1986 as a year of negotiation.

"I wonder if the ANC realises the ferocity of the counter-attack which is going to come from the Government."

Patron of the United Democratic Front, Dr Allan Boesak said the ANC plan to expand guerrilla activity into a full-scale "people's war", should not come as a surprise.

"Revolutionary violence is a response to a situation in which violence is included in the laws and structure of society," he said.

"Unless we get rid of the present Government our country will be drawn into a kind of Lebanon situation instead of a Zimbabwe bush war."

Sadness

"There is an indescribable sadness in me when I read Oliver Tambo's message."

"It is not as if the Government did not know the needs of the people — but people who have told them have been threatened, exiled, jailed or beaten in the streets and silenced."

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the United Nations and all countries which supported the ANC should take cognisance of Mr Tambo's statement as the UN had declared 1986 the year of peace.

"I don't think these threats are going to contribute to finding a solution in South Africa."

"I hope the reaction will not be too quick or too emotional."

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, leader of the National People's Party, said he did not think the logistics and history of the region would make anyone win an armed struggle.

"There will be no winners and no losers. Violence not only brutalises the victims but also the perpetrators."

(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

● Tambo: More bombings — Page 9.

BUS DAY 16/1/86

UK actors join ANC, Swapo in anti-SA rally

(11A)

IAN HOBBS

(11A)

LONDON — Well-known British show-business personalities have joined forces with the ANC and Swapo in calls for a total cultural boycott of SA.

A group within the Equity actors' union, known as Performers Against Racism, will join the ANC, Swapo, the Anti-Apartheid Movement and representatives of the SA Council of Churches at a rally in London on January 26.

The rally aims to influence an Equity referendum which could lead to a lifting of the limited ban on visits to SA by actors and the sale of British TV films to SA.

Change of heart needed



THE CRISIS in black education would not go away unless the Government had a radical change of heart, the Sowetan said in a leader-page article.

But in an editorial it warned that although the decision in the education crisis at the University of Witwatersrand that children should go back to school would be welcomed by parents, the tone of the conference 'for reasons that are perfectly understandable, was somewhat confrontationist'.

'We would have thought that all those intelligent people who attended the conference have a knowledge of this government's skittish response to confrontation.

'We would have thought most of us are aware that the ruling people will rather destroy themselves, and us, than be seen to be bowing to justifiable demands from blacks,' the Sowetan said.

□ □ □

THE Cape Herald said 'fewer than half of the eligible pupils may have passed in one of the worst coloured Senior Certificate results ever' and that these results had been described by educationists as 'a tragedy' and 'very disappointing'.

In an editorial it explained why it had refused to publish the coloured Senior Certificate results, itself a significant decision for a paper with predominantly black readership.

'Some, fearing victimisation, suggest that publishing pupils' names could make things worse. But we say this is rubbish. That is the same sort of logic behind banning newsmen from so-called areas of unrest.

'Those who have written exams cannot wish it away. It would make little difference if the names were published or not.

'But whatever the rights and wrongs of actually taking part in the exams there are certain indisputable facts:

'Fact Number 1: Class boycotts made a joke of schooling in 1985.

'Fact Number 2: Pupils were writing end-of-year exams without having done the necessary work.

'Fact Number 3: Exams were taking place with armed police and troops standing by.

'Fact Number 4: Many teachers — and pupils — were and still are in detention.

'Exams are ideally supposed to be a test not only of knowledge but of understanding. In a way they prove the candidate's worth.

'What exactly did the 1985 Senior Certificate exams prove?' the Cape Herald asked.

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THE Sowetan felt the demands of the people in regard to schooling were 'totally justifiable'. 'On the other hand the Government, even if it did wish to meet some of these, is caught in a trap of its own making — a tough, almost authoritarian, disregard for the voices of those who are, or seem to be, helpless.

'That being the case we believe, because they are ruling the country, it is in the interests of all of us for the Government to take some courageous and bold decisions.

'These should not be a reversion (sic) to the stock stiffening of verkrampte backs. There is too much at stake.

'We cannot afford to have violence and mayhem increase in the next year because we simply do not have the money to sustain that. We cannot afford to have so many black children out of school. That is the fastest route to trouble and even disaster.

'It is in the final analysis the business of government, not the people, to bring back stability. The people will do whatever is in their minds if they feel the Government is not addressing itself to problems that are so clear to them.

'Once again, too, black people cannot seem to avoid the temptation of scoring party or ideological mileage out of something that should transcend this.

'The crisis committee that we had put our faith in should not be used to split the people.

'It is such a petty and silly political ploy for people to get all the way to Wits University — we also wonder why a black crisis should be solved at a white university, but let that pass — to beat political drums that must surely have their place elsewhere.

'We would have loved to see this conference as representative, but we are afraid that some sectors of the community are not too happy with it. That is

The Black Press by Barry Streek



the way to black division and weakness,' the Sowetan said.

□ □ □

NINETEEN-EIGHTY-FIVE had been a year of trial and anguish for the entire South African nation but, Ilanga said, one did not have to be a prophet about 1986 to 'point out that there can be little hope of political stability if the Government fails to do the fundamental things, namely the inclusion of blacks in Parliament and doing away with the obnoxious discriminatory laws which are the root cause of black grievances.

'There can also be no hope of an economic upswing if the Government does not do away with apartheid, which has made this country a polecat of the international community.

'Very few people will deny that the South African situation is a complex one but in order to build a stable and peaceful nation, the new year will need men of vision who will have to work hard to bring a new order in the country,' Ilanga said.

□ □ □

THE Sowetan regretted that 1985 went out with a 'bloody bang' that typified events during the year.

After referring to the landmine deaths in the Northern Transvaal, the shopping-centre blast in Amamzimboti, the 'crazy' killings in Lesotho and the 'extraordinary fight between tribal factions in Natal, it said: 'The truth is that the modern person, in a rather cowardly fashion, believes it is easier to dispatch those he disagrees with through the barrel of a gun.

'We can obviously not throw our hands up in despair. The reason is that there have been Dark Ages throughout history and man has managed to come through them, if not much wiser then perhaps better equipped to deal with the streak of irrationality that makes up our united personality.

'In other words, while it would be obviously facile to speak of a better year ahead we can hang on to hope. We can believe that there is light at the end of the tunnel. We can tell ourselves, with a certain resignation, that we will perhaps never live in peace with one another, but that the cycle of such fierce violence must be broken at some point.

'We hope 1986 will be the point at which the cycle takes a turn to the better,' the Sowetan said.

ONE OF the complaints voiced by ANC members in Lusaka last week was that liberal whites in SA constantly try to soften their message. A week after listening to that message from ANC president Oliver Tambo, I can understand their frustration.

The distortion of the ANC position is so severe that it amounts to caricature, and public debate on a matter of vital national interest therefore proceeds largely on false premises.

Tambo's comments were less wildly threatening than government media pretend, but the commitment to "armed struggle" — to violence — is also more implacable than most liberals might care to admit.

The best remedy is to let the ANC speak for itself. The following quotations have been taken directly from the ANC statement of January 8, and from my tape-recording of Tambo's Press conference the following day. As far as space allows, they are in context.

ON STRATEGY: "Our strategy therefore is one that must combine a heightened mass political advance on all fronts and an escalated and resolute military offensive . . .

We must continue to make SA ungovernable and apartheid unworkable . . . we must build our forces into an ever more formidable mass army of liberation.

"Let us mount a determined mass political and military offensive . . . let us turn every corner of our country into a battlefield . . . every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot".

'Every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot'

Bus Day. 16/1/86



KEN OWEN reports on other aspects of ANC president Oliver Tambo's Press conference in Lusaka last week

ON VIOLENCE: "We have declared 1986 the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the People's Army — and have called for a rapid and extensive escalation of our military offensive . . .

"Our military operations will continue to be directed against armed enemy personnel as well as strategic installations."

ON WAR: "The charge we give to Umkhonto we Sizwe and to the masses of our people is: attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter — an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

"The South African situation is one of violence. There is a war going on there; it's limited, but a war all the same."

ON CIVILIAN CASUALTIES: "In the course of the spread of People's War, civilians will be caught in the crossfire. We do not derive any pleasure from this, but we have to accept it as an inevitable consequence of any war.

"There is nothing in the ANC policy or strategy which calls for

attacks on civilians — supermarkets, schools, cinemas — unless these can in some way be regarded as military installations or establishments.

"Even so, the ANC would not attack children if they were in a military zone or establishment. Therefore there would have been no orders from above certain levels of the ANC for the Amanzimtoti attack . . ."

ON AMANZIMTOTI: "Why must I be subjected to cross-examination about Amanzimtoti? Why? Why?"

Why is this more important than the hundreds of people who have been just shot down . . . (by security forces)?

"What more do you want me to say? I mean, the question whether we have investigated, and who it is (who is responsible), it's a detail; it's not important.

"A little thing like that, that happened in a situation of gener-

alised violence on the part of the regime . . .

"There's going to be more of these things. In a situation of generalised conflict there is going to be more of it . . . more people are going to die, and some of them very regrettably, as regrettably as the 43 people massacred on March 21 (at Langa)."

ON BLACK VERSUS BLACK: "We have been calling for the abolition of community councils, calling on councillors to resign.

"The majority resigned and those that refused to resign were attacked and this is the element of black versus black; but it was unavoidable.

"It was never our policy that there should be black versus black. That is incidental. And black versus black also involves black policemen shooting innocent kids, children, on the orders of their bosses . . ."

ON WHITE AREAS: "We are beginning to see South Africans of all races going to bury their loved ones. South Africa is beginning to

bleed in the face of the persistence of the apartheid system. That situation is beginning to drift out of the townships.

"People are dying for a peaceful, happy South Africa. We are saying that if South Africans must bleed and die for the salvation of their country, let all of them do it . . ."

ON LANDMINES: "The use of landmines in the white farming areas does not constitute a change in policy . . . these areas on the borders of our country have long been proclaimed and treated by the Pretoria regime as military zones.

There are laws on statute books which oblige farmers in these areas to be part of the so-called security system . . ."

ON REFORM: "We are convinced that the Botha regime has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the majority of the people . . . we must not be misled by the enemy's promise to abolish influx control . . . nor must we be taken in by promises of a so-called common citizenship."

ON NEGOTIATION: "We have always been ready to negotiate a just solution of the South African

question. "We have said that all political prisoners must be released unconditionally so that they should participate in any discussions there may be about the question of negotiations . . .

The response of the Pretoria regime is that it will continue to imprison our leaders . . . therefore this has destroyed any prospects of negotiation as far as our people are concerned, as far as the ANC is concerned.

"The first step towards negotiation is that Nelson Mandela and other leaders should come out . . . any others (preconditions) depend on the satisfaction of this condition."

ON NELSON MANDELA: "Nelson Mandela would never say — nor would any of the others — 'let the struggle be abandoned so that we can come out'. The demand for their release is independent of the on-going struggle."

ON "NUREMBURG TRIALS": "When peace comes to our country, we should like to see that peace has come.

"We would hope that there will be little need to bring people before our courts, before people's courts. But I don't want to anticipate the decision of the people."

CAPK Temp 16/1/86

11A



The **KEN OWEN COLUMN**

Let the ANC speak for itself

ONE of the complaints voiced by ANC members in Lusaka is that liberal whites in South Africa constantly try to soften their message. A week after listening to that message from ANC president Oliver Tambo I can understand their frustration.

The distortion of the ANC position is so severe that it amounts to caricature, and public debate on a matter of vital national interest therefore proceeds largely on false premises. Mr Tambo's comments were less wildly threatening than government media pretend, but the commitment to "armed struggle" — to violence — is also more implacable than most liberals might care to admit.

The best remedy is to let the ANC speak for itself. The following quotations have been taken directly from the ANC statement of January 8, and from my tape-recording of Mr Tambo's press conference the following day. As far as space allows, they are in context.

□ **On strategy:** "Our strategy therefore is one that must combine a heightened mass political advance on all fronts and an escalated and resolute military offensive ... we must continue to make South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable ... we must build our forces into an ever more formidable mass army of liberation.

"Let us mount a determined mass political and military offensive ... let us turn every corner of our country into a battlefield ... every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot."

□ **On violence:** "We have declared 1986 the year of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the People's Army, and have called for a rapid and extensive escalation of our military offensive ... our military operations will continue to be directed against armed enemy personnel as well as strategic installations."

□ **On war:** "The charge we give to Umkhonto we Sizwe and to the masses of our people is: attack, advance, give the enemy no quarter — an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.

"The South African situation is one of violence. There is a war going on there, it's limited, but a war all the same."

□ **On civilian casualties:** "In the course of the spread of people's war, civilians will be caught in the crossfire. We do not derive any pleasure from this but we have to accept it as an inevitable consequence of any war. There is nothing in the ANC policy or strategy which calls for attacks on civilians — supermarkets, schools, cinemas — unless these can in some way be regarded as military installations or establishments.

"Even so, the ANC would not attack children if they were in a military zone or establishment. Therefore there would have been no orders from above certain levels of the ANC for the Amanzimtoti attack ..."



Mr Oliver Tambo

□ **On Amanzimtoti:** "Why must I be subjected to cross-examination about Amanzimtoti? Why? Why? "Why is this more important than the hundreds of people who have been just shot down ... (by security forces)?"

"What more do you want me to say? I mean, the question whether we have investigated, and who it is (who is responsible), it's a detail, it's not important.

"A little thing like that that happened in a situation of generalized violence on the part of the regime ... There's going to be more of these things. In a situation of generalized conflict there is going to be more of it ... more people are going to die, and some of them very regrettably, as regrettably as the 43 people massacred on March 21 (at Langa)."

□ **On black versus black:** "We have been calling for the abolition of community councils, calling on councillors to resign. The majority resigned and those that refused to resign were attacked and this is the element of black versus black but it was unavoidable.

"It was never our policy that there should be black versus black. That is incidental. And black versus black also involves black policemen shooting innocent kids, children, on the orders of their bosses ..."

□ **On white areas:** "We are beginning to see South Africans of all races going to bury their loved ones. South Africa is beginning to bleed in the face of the persistence of the apartheid system.

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□ **On reform:** "We are convinced that the Botha regime has no intention whatsoever to accede to the demands of the majority of the people ... we must not be misled by the enemy's promise to abolish influx control ... nor must we be taken in by promises of a so-called common citizenship."

□ **On negotiation:** "We have always been ready to negotiate a just solution of the South African question. We have said that all political prisoners must be released unconditionally so that they should participate in any discussions there may be about the question of negotiations ... the response of the Pretoria regime is that it will continue to imprison our leaders ... therefore this has destroyed any prospects of negotiation as far as our people are concerned, as far as the ANC is concerned.

"The first step towards negotiation is that Nelson Mandela and other leaders should come out ... any others (preconditions) depend on the satisfaction of this condition."

□ **On Nelson Mandela:** "Nelson Mandela would never say — nor would any of the others — 'Let the struggle be abandoned so that we can come out.' The demand for their release is independent of the ongoing struggle."

□ **On "Nuremberg trials":** "When peace comes to our country, we should like to see that peace has come. We would hope that there will be little need to bring people before our courts, before people's courts, but I don't want to anticipate the decision of the people."

NPP and ^{STAR} Solidarity ^(11A) signing ^{17/1/86} merger today

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The two major parties in the House of Delegates were planning to sign a formal coalition agreement at a ceremony in Durban today.

The leader of the National Peoples' Party (NPP) and chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said the negotiations with Solidarity had been concluded successfully and that the "unity document", stating common policy principles and policies, could now be ratified.

"All that is left is for me to decide on the composition of the Ministers' Council, the setting up of a joint caucus committee of five members from each party, and to finalise our joint arrangement on the parliamentary standing committees.

SNIPING

"We will also have joint meetings of our various study groups," Mr Rajbansi said.

Solidarity and the NPP have decided to form a coalition to "unite against apartheid".

Much of the debate in the House of Delegates during the last session of Parliament was taken up by sniping at each other.

It is not clear how the coalition will affect the composition of the Ministers' Council, the highest executive in Indian affairs.

Mr Rajbansi said earlier this week that he had been mandated to reallocate seats on the council on a proportional basis. Solidarity leader Mr J N Reddy is widely expected to be appointed as Minister of the Budget.

Businessmen from Natal lobby in UK

Jan 1986

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A high-powered delegation of Natal businessmen has arrived in Britain on a fact-finding mission.

The delegation attended a dinner in honour of the KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, given at the weekend by the South Africa Foundation.

They have made a presentation to the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) and are due to hold further meetings with British businessmen and the media later this week.

The delegation is headed by Mr Alex Hamilton, president of the Natal Chamber of Industry.

Its other members are Mr P G Gumede, president of the Inyanda Chamber of Commerce, Mr C Mouton, president of the Durban Afrikaanse Sakekamer, and Mr B Forssman, president of the Durban Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce.

Their visit takes place against the background of a boycott of South African goods by leading British chain stores.

'Exploitative businessmen' blamed

● Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi said yesterday that political victories against apartheid would become meaningful to ordinary people only if they were accompanied by industrial development in South Africa.

Addressing bankers after giving evidence to the House of Commons African Affairs Committee, he said the present crisis in South Africa was caused by "exploitative businessmen" who had in the past been more interested in profits than social justice.

This was why the ANC "mission in exile" saw capitalism, and transnational corporations in particular, as the root of the problem.

"They and the organizations doing their fetching and carrying argue very fiercely that the country's economy must be destroyed and brought under the control of a future government by nationalizing major undertakings.

"I argue, very differently, that whether we like it or not, the free enterprise system is the most efficient system mankind has devised ... to translate the kind of wealth with which South Africa is blessed into benefits for the people."

19-year-old found guilty of terrorism in PE

PORT ELIZABETH — Sentence was postponed in the Regional Court yesterday on a 19-year-old self-confessed guerilla, found guilty of terrorism, furthering the aims of the African National Congress and illegal possession of ANC literature and hand-grenades.

When the trial entered its fourth day yesterday, Mr N Willis, defending, said Zamile Elliot Mazantsana, of kwaZakhele, Port Elizabeth, wanted to change his plea of not guilty to guilty.

Mazantsana pleaded guilty to:

- Throwing hand-grenades at Rev EM Maqina in Ferguson Road, New Brighton, on June 16 and at his Masangwana Street home on June 23 last year.
- Receiving training in Lesotho in June last year.
- Crossing the border into Lesotho and returning to

South Africa near Wepener.

- Bringing eight RGD5 hand-grenades made in the Soviet Union into South Africa and possessing six hand-grenades during his arrest on June 23 last year.
- Illegal possession of seven ANC publications.

Mr G Steyn, the President of the Regional Court, said the court was satisfied Mazantsana was guilty of the four charges against him.

Mazantsana was found not guilty of two counts of attempting to murder Rev Maqina on June 16 and Mr Tololo Klaas on June 23.

He was also acquitted on two counts of malicious damage to property.

The case was postponed until January 21 for evidence in mitigation of sentence. — Sapa.

17/11/86 STAR 11A

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Diplomacy plus terrorism

The ANC's rhetoric of violence on its 74th anniversary — intensification of the "people's war" and "turning every corner of our country into a battlefield" — has obscured the fact that it remains committed, as a first priority, to its "political and diplomatic offensive." Or so the organisation was at pains to demonstrate.

Journalists at last week's Lusaka conference were surprised that, in the heat and fervour of the celebrations, leader Oliver Tambo, as well as other senior ANC leaders in private conversation, emphasised that the organisation's main objective is not a military victory or seizure of power, but to force Pretoria to the negotiating table.

The ANC's strategy this year will be to encourage increased white support for what

come with us."

But business leaders can now expect more pressure from the ANC for "positive action," as one leader put it. Said Tambo: "Of late, the white business community has also been very loud in demanding change. We call on them to join this mighty anti-pass campaign. They themselves must stop demanding passes from the African workers. Neither should they take advantage of the migrant labour system to victimise workers. Rather they should work for the immediate abolition of this criminal system. Words are no longer sufficient. Now is the time for action."

Tambo also warned businesses doing work for Armscor to stop doing so or face possible military action.

Strategically, explained ANC leaders in



ANC leaders (l to r) . . . Alfred Nzo, Tambo, Thabo Mbeki in Lusaka

it calls the "democratic movement against apartheid." Leaders indicated that they are keen to meet with white student and church groups, for example, and that they will henceforth take the initiative to put their dialogue with business leaders on a more productive footing, whatever that may mean.

Anglo American chief executive, Zac de Beer, who was part of a businessmen's delegation which met Tambo in Lusaka late last year, and also Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, have said the banned organisation's unsurprising reaffirmation of the violent option did not mean they would refuse talking to the ANC again. Said De Beer: "Sooner or later it will become necessary to talk again, simply because the ANC is an important political reality."

Tambo made several appeals to his "white compatriots" also to stand up against apartheid. "There is a growing movement against apartheid among whites. More and more people realise that apartheid is a disaster and a mistake. But their problem is, how do they go about disbanding apartheid. We say:

private discussions, their campaign of violence is meant to raise the temperature and the pressure to create a climate for white willingness to negotiate. They privately concede that the Amanzimtoti blast was a tactical mistake, and say that a most important consideration will always be that the violent actions should not be politically counter-productive as far as whites are concerned, "because that will just chase them back in Botha's arms."

The ANC also has high hopes of a "grand alliance" of anti-apartheid forces. Members of such an alliance would hopefully include the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), the churches, certain homeland leaders, "progressive" businessmen and academics, and elements of the white Left in organisations such as the PFP and the Black Sash.

Looking for other signs of "moderation" it may have been reassuring to hear Tambo mention the possibility of a moratorium on all violence to pave the way for negotiations; that he forecast a "mixed economy" for an "ANC-ruled" SA; that he resisted, even un-

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1190
UDF, Azapo call

truce in Paarl

Staff Reporter
17/1/86

THE United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have agreed to call a truce in Mbekweni, Paarl, where the supporters of the organisations have had several clashes.

A third organisation, the Azanian Youth Union (Azanyu), was not present at peace talks yesterday in Cape Town.

A spokesman for the UDF and Azapo said they hoped to persuade Azanyu, which had been present at previous talks, to "underwrite" the agreement reached yesterday.

The organisations said in a joint statement afterwards: "Those present agreed that there shall be a ceasefire between the parties with immediate effect.

"There shall be an end to all violence between members of the respective organisations pending further possible meetings to resolve problems."

Nat bungles boost ANC image

(11A)

SMR

14/88

Seldom in history has any band of activists been handed on a plate so much international influence as the expatriates of the African National Congress.

They are often credited with the strength of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the cunning of the Kremlin, and the righteousness of Abraham Lincoln.

These ridiculous claims are not of the ANC's making. Indeed, Mr Oliver Tambo and his colleagues must be surprised at the success they have had, after doing relatively little in the past two years.

The Nationalist Government has done nearly everything for them.

There are, of course, contributory causes for the distorted picture of white South Africa being pure and powerful champion of the oppressed.

One reason is the 20th century phenomenon of tension between North and South or First and Third Worlds. Apartheid affords a safety valve for these tensions.

Another is the fact that any significant reform releases all kinds of suppressed forces.

A third is the belated (20 years, perhaps) world revision at apartheid and the self-indulgent internationalism that this engendered.

Apartheid, quite rightly, is as emotive a target in the civilised world today as slavery was 100 years ago.

Yet all these causes for anti-South African condemnation are insignificant next to the Nationalist Government's own actions. It has done more to build the antagonism to its "reform" policies — and to South Africa as we once knew it — than the ANC, the anti-apartheid lobby, and the "leftists, liberals and Marxists" combined.

Had Mr P W Botha's Government behaved with decorum, discipline and commonsense in the past 24 months, the wave of illogical and woolly anti-South African sentiment that is battering the nation and its economy might now be receding before a strong backwash.

The *Tribune*, a hardnosed left-wing newspaper in Britain, emphasised the danger of a backlash recently when it described Bangladesh's boycott of the England B and a threat to the anti-apartheid cause. It saw the Bangladesh action, with consequences for Zimbabwe and West Indian cricket, as "gesture politics of the worst kind, meaningless and futile; its targets wrongly chosen and ill-defined".

Indeed, the politics of sanctions

have often been so sanctimonious, hypocritical and wildly illogical that the campaign should have been laughed off the world stage by now.

Ludicrous examples are legion. In only the past seven days we were served a rich menu of them, ranging from the Dilemma of the women cricketers who will joust with harmless Springboks) to the Threat of Nationalist Nuclear Devastation (an "overkill" accusation by Bishop Tutu in drumming up non-trade with South Africa in the United States).

But whenever the wild woolly-mess and weird wisdom of the boycott campaign (designed to create violence in order to end violence) become apparent, our own Government blunders in, and thus shores up the anti-South African cause.

Again, there were several examples in the past few days: ● Police action. South Africa was identified in the media abroad

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS BY HARVEY TYSON



this week with a small band of authoritarian nations accused of torturing prisoners. Such an accusation, which should never have been possible in our country, is not easily challenged these days.

And almost any acquaintance from overseas who has watched TV out of the corner of his eye in that the sight of SAP spamboks (or whips or quirts or batons) on the small screen, and the scenes of mobs fleeing from shotguns and teargas, have done South Africa immense injury. Police force has hurt the nation's reputation, and race relations, possibly as much as the combined efforts of apartheid's declared enemies.

● The Lesotho border dispute. This exercise may look like a comforting and triumphant show of strength when seen from the outside world the overreaction confirms what the wildest

and woolliest critics of South Africa are saying about us.

● The Leutwiler visit. The voluntary mediator has expressed optimism about President Botha's plans for the future, and is now selling the message to some of the bankers who "pulled the plug" on the South African economy after August. Dr Leutwiler's activities remind us of how great was the blunder of that Durban speech five long months ago.

There is some comfort to be found in all this.

First, the ANC is not as big a bogymen as it and the Government will have everyone believe. Second, it would be hard for any government to persist in being as insensitive and stupid as ours has been in the first few years of its reformist stage.

Third, the actions and attitudes that require changing in order to alter the nation's image are fairly easily defined.

Some humility, some democracy, some discipline, and some genuine self-confidence might put the nation back on track. (Mr Chester Crocker, the American in the middle of the South African situation who is disliked by both extremes, offered the right tone this week.)

The first change must be in police and security methods. It requires a public commitment by the Commissioner, the Cabinet and the Police and Defence Departments. We need a stronger better-equipped police force than is deployed sagaciously and under the strictest discipline. The military should be withdrawn from civilian policing.

Second, we need to change policy in our relationships with the rest of the sub-continent. Nkomati brought benefits, and can be made to work. Raids on Gaborone and Maseru had short-term security advantages, possibly, but they have done immense harm in the long-term. Perhaps, in this regard, we need most of all a change in the attitude, the stricture, and the public accountability of the secretive National Security Council.

Third, the Government has to take cognisance of the world. The nation's public image is decided not by vicious propagandists as the politicians fondly believe, but by their own public words and actions.

Which brings us to apartheid self, and to the pending "Rubio 2" speech by the State President to Parliament this month. But that is the subject of another column...

Buthelezi to ^(11A)
address Commons
committee on SA

^{STAR 18/1/86}
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is to give evidence to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Select Committee gathering evidence on South Africa.

The precise date and time of his appearance before the Select Committee were not being disclosed yesterday for security reasons.

But Chief Buthelezi was to address a private dinner in London organised by the South African Foundation tonight — meaning that he will probably give evidence early in the week.

His evidence follows that given by the President of the ANC Mr Oliver Tambo and by the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr van Zyl Slabbert.

Court told of firearms in Mdleleni's Alice garden

18/11/86. DISPATCH

(RDA) (KOS) (IIA)

Dispatch Reporter ZWELITSHA — The regional court here was told yesterday that spades, a tractor and a metal detector were used to unearth four firearms and ammunition in the garden of the suspended Director-General for Health, Mr Mandisile Mdleleni, last month.

This evidence was given during the trial of Mr Mdleleni and his wife, Mrs Phumla Mdleleni.

Both have been charged with possessing a South African Communist Party publication, Umsebenzi. In addition, Mrs Mdleleni is charged with possessing four pistols and 39 rounds of ammunition.

They have pleaded not guilty to all the charges.

Sgt Mzayifani Mncono of the Ciskei security police told the court that on December 30 last year while Mrs Mdleleni was in detention he questioned her about firearms.

He said she told him the firearms were given to her by Miss Lulama Nondumo for safekeeping. She was taken to her house in Alice and she pointed out several places in the garden where she thought the firearms were buried.

The police dug until late, and, when they found nothing, they borrowed a tractor to dig up the garden but still found nothing.

The following day, police asked the East London police for a metal detector.

Warrant Officer Andre Boisat of the riot unit of the South African Police

told the court he and other members of the SAP and the Ciskei Police went to Alice to search for the arms on December 31. He had a metal detector and after sweeping the area for about 20 minutes he found the firearms.

Miss Nondumo, who was warned as an accomplice, told the court that after her brother, Zamide, had been detained, Mrs Mdleleni asked her where her brother's revolver was. She said she did not know. Mrs Mdleleni told her to look for it and bring it to her.

Miss Nondumo said she found four revolvers and magazines, which she gave to Mrs Mdleleni. Mrs Mdleleni put them in her safe.

Major Attwell Gazo of the Ciskei security police told the court that on November 11 the police searched Mr Mdleleni's house in Alice. He said he found the publication, Umsebenzi, in the drawer pedestal of a bed in the guest room. Mr Mdleleni denied knowledge of it.

On December 13, he asked Mrs Mdleleni about the publication, and she also denied knowledge of it.

Major Gazo said the contents of the publications furthered the aims of the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress.

The trial was postponed to Monday.

Mr J. Kotze was on the bench. Mr Barry Nel appeared for the state. Mr David Gordon, SC and Mr Pius Langa, instructed by Smith, Tabata and Van Heerden, appeared for Mrs Mdleleni. Mr Jonathan Clark, of Barnes and Ross, appeared for Mr Mdleleni.

W/Lt Argus 18/1/86 (114) (10/1/86) (10/1/86)

'Get rid of AN

Weekend Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa has made it quite clear to Lesotho that the root cause of "abnormal" relations between the two countries is the presence of African National Congress activists in the mountain kingdom.

At talks in Pretoria yesterday, a delegation of high-ranking Lesotho officials was told the relationship between the two countries could not return to normal until South Africa was satisfied the ANC presence in Lesotho would be eliminated.

"That was the bottom line," Mr Neil van Heerden, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs and head of its Africa section, told media representatives afterwards.

While the two delegations were holding discussions, reports of violence between Lesotho security forces and the ruling party's radical youth wing added to the confusion over the situation in the kingdom.

Triggered confrontation

The South African security action on the border apparently triggered a confrontation between hardliners who wanted an international airlift to Lesotho — with all the attendant anti-South African publicity — and moderates who wanted a compromise. It seems the hardliners' attitude prevailed.

On Wednesday members of the Lesotho Paramilitary Force (LPF) surrounded Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonathan's home to "protect" him from the Youth League.

At the same time, it is believed, LPF commander Major-General JM Lekhanya went into the house and told Chief Jonathan the security forces were unhappy with the situation and the planned Lesotho approach.

He also warned that the Youth League was dangerous and undisciplined and would have to be brought under control.

Special sub-committee

After yesterday's meeting in Pretoria, a joint Press statement was issued. Later Mr van Heerden said both governments had agreed to the creation of a special sub-committee on security.

Chief Jonathan yesterday appeared in public for the first time since reports of a coup on Wednesday. He denied there had been any changes in the Government.

He told a Press conference — closed to foreign journalists — that rumours of a coup were the work of foreign media.

Reliable sources said there had been fresh clashes between units of the LPF and members of the Youth League outside Maseru, but a Government spokesman said the city had been calm all day.

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CAPE TIMES 18/1/56

LP denial on Ebrahim

11A

Staff Reporter

THE chairman of the Ministers' Council and leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has denied that the future of his controversial Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim, is in the balance.

Pressure

Speculation arose as to the political future of Mr Ebrahim after Mr Hendrickse intervened in the Cape education crisis and announced that sus-

pending teachers in schools falling under the Department of Education and Culture would be allowed to return to their posts.

It was reported this week that Mr Hendrickse has been under pressure from within his party to sack Mr Ebrahim because of his hardline attitude on the schools boycott and towards the role of certain teachers in the crisis.

But Mr Hendrickse, according to reports, yesterday denied he had been under any pressure to intervene or to sack Mr Ebrahim.

He also denied that Mr Ebrahim's sudden departure for Johannesburg meant he had "gone into hiding" and had not been involved in the decision to lift the suspension of teachers.

All present

The decision to lift the suspension had been taken at a meeting at which all members of the Ministers' Council were present, Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Hendrickse was at a social function last night and could not be reached for comment.

9/16-10/16 19/16

Bomb on Biko statue — claim

RANDEFONTEIN. — Youths in Mohlakeng township near here alleged yesterday that soldiers patrolling the area had strapped a "time bomb" to a statue of Steve Biko and "attacked" a plaque in honour of Nelson Mandela.

A member of the Mohlakeng Youth Congress (Moyco) steering committee said the youths had seen soldiers jumping out of an armoured vehicle at the two squares in the township on Thursday.

"Soldiers tried to destroy the statue of Steve Biko," the Moyco member said in a telephone call.

"This morning, comrades went to clean the park and found the time bomb fastened to the statue with string. They removed it and took it for themselves."

'Hammers'

The lifesize impression of the black-consciousness leader who died in detention was placed in the square last week.

At Nelson Mandela Park, not far from the square containing the Biko statue, soldiers on Thursday attacked the Mandela plaque with hammers, the youth claimed.

The alleged incidents were not reported to the police.

● A spokesman at the police public relations division said unless charges were made concerning the alleged incidents, further investigation would be "fruitless".

"We certainly do not condone malicious injury to property but without a criminal charge we cannot investigate the matter," he said, adding that the youths could lay charges without visiting a police station through a lawyer. — Sapa

Ibhayi's mayor now

CP Correspondent

IBHAYI mayor Tamsanqa Linda has absconded from his office in New Brighton and is now believed to be in self-exile – operating a pirate taxi in the Transkei.

And Linda – the man who asked President PW Botha in August last year to bring more SADF troops into the townships – has left a R14 000 hotel bill unpaid before he disappeared.

His disappearance – according to the acting chairman of the executive committee of the Ibhayi council JG Nazo – has resulted in the council not being able to function because of the lack of a quorum.

Linda has not attended council meetings for three months.

The council – which started out with 21 members – now only has 10 members. In order to function, it must have 11 members.

“We cannot take important decisions now, because Linda has

operating pirate taxi

CITY
Press
19/11/86

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IIA




LINDA
R14 000 hotel bill

simply vanished. We cannot find him anywhere,” said Nazo.

Linda's family moved into a beachfront hotel last August after their Veeplaas mansion was gutted by fire. City Press learnt that, at the time of his disappearance, he faced being unseated as town council chairman.

The move to unseat him apparently originated at an executive meeting in October.

Linda appeared on SABQ-TV in August with President PW Botha when he asked for

more security forces in PE's townships and for the extension of the state of emergency in the area.

His R250 000 house was the target of several attacks before it was gutted. His shop was also boycotted for several months.

Peyco president and Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee spokesman Mkhusele Jack said Linda disappeared during the festive season: “We believe he is operating a five-seater pirate taxi.

“I sympathise with him because he refused to heed the warnings of the masses.”

Jack warned that “others greedy for his position” would suffer the same fate.

Meanwhile, City Press learnt this week that tenants of Motherwell, near Port Elizabeth, had decided not to pay rent.

Their complaints include the small size of their stands, cracks on the walls and poor roofing. The homes were built early last year.



'No UDF trials for some courts'

191186
CP Correspondent
CIN P.
MAGISTRATES who attended secret talks with police in Durban last November have been told not to preside over "unrest" trials because they have been "seriously compromised" by the meetings.

This decision follows an investigation by Natal Judge President John Milne after a public outcry when details of the meeting were made public.

A report by three Natal Supreme Court judges - prepared for the Judge President - said the talks dealt with the current political violence in SA and named organisations believed by the police to be responsible for the unrest.

The 30 magistrates - who attended the talks with the city's prosecutors - also saw a video of "political violence".

The judges said what concerned them was not the video or the talks, but the fact that the police had arranged them for the magistrates.

They were also worried that what the police told the magistrates as established fact "would be in dispute" and have to be "proved in political" trials presided over by the magistrates to whom they were speaking.

In their view the magistrates had been "seriously compromised" by going to the talks and the judges believe that none of them should preside in any trial where the accused is charged with a "political" offence or in any trial involving the ANC, the UDF or any other organisation identified in the lectures as being responsible for such offences.

● Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee opposes police briefings of magistrates, according to a spokesman for his office, Lt DJ de Villiers.

A Democratic Lawyers' Association official said he hoped the judges' "decision would teach the police a lesson so that they did not try to influence the courts again".

He hoped the police would immediately scrap any plan for similar meetings elsewhere in the country, he said.

Azapo expels PE 'leader' Maqina

CITY P.
19/11/86



'Rev' MAQINA
Kicked out (114)

THE MAN who was directly responsible for last year's Azanian People's Organisation-United Democratic Front clashes has been expelled from Azapo.

**By MOND
BADELA**

And, says Azapo president Saths Cooper, self-styled priest, "reverend" Mzwandile Maqina - expelled for breaching Azapo's code of conduct - was never even an official of the organisation.

Maqina, head of the Port Elizabeth vigilante group Roots, led Azapo members in their bloody clashes with UDF supporters in PE townships last year in which more than a dozen people died - clashes which led to confrontations between the two organisations throughout the country.

And on Wednesday - just days after his expulsion - Maqina gave evidence for the State in a case involving a UDF activist who allegedly threw a hand grenade at Maqina's New Brighton home.

The decision to expel Maqina was taken by Azapo's Eastern Cape executive, Cooper told City Press. And he said that, although Maqina had acted as PE leader and spokesman for Azapo, he had never been an office-bearer.

He said Maqina's expulsion would be discussed at an Azapo central committee to be held soon.

An ex-teacher, playwright and former political detainee, Maqina shot into prominence when he founded the iBandla LikaNtu Church in New Brighton and Roots.

As self-proclaimed "Azapo leader" in PE, he vehemently opposed PE's highly-successful March 15-18 Black Weekend stayaway and school boycott. This action started the UDF-Azapo confrontations - the UDF-affiliated PE Civic Association and the now-banned Congress of SA Students had organised the Black Weekend.

Unconfirmed reports from PE say Maqina is blaming a group of "young Indians" in Azapo for his expulsion, and has told colleagues "the power struggle in Azapo" had forced him out. Maqina was not available for comment this week.

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By BOB
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Khutsong funerals banned

By HERMAN LETSIE

THE TWO funeral services scheduled for this weekend in Khutsong near Carletonville, have been banned by Oberholzer Chief Magistrate RH Barnes.

The services were to have been held for Badirile High School student Shadrack Muzi Goliath, 21, and Jerry Malatji, 13, a Std 3 pupil at Kamohelo Combined School.

Malatji died last week when a white trader fired at youths during unrest. Cops are alleged to have shot dead Goliath.

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

DURBAN lawyer Richard Lyster is living in fear of his life after receiving threatening phone calls from someone who accused him of being "an ANC spy".

And in Cape Town Lyster's colleague Lee Bozalek - both lawyers work for the Legal Resources Centre - had his house burnt to the ground this week.

Lyster said he received a call on Wednesday afternoon from a man who identified himself as "Alfred Mzobe". But Lyster said he did not have a client by that name.

The caller told Lyster: "You are a disgrace to your profession. We have

Durban lawyer told: 'We'll get you, ANC spy'

identified you as an ANC spy and we now know where you live."

The caller also reminded him of the Amanzimtoti bomb blast, and said "the same" would happen to him.

Lyster - who usually acts as the legal representative of Natal's trade unions - received several calls, apparently from the same person.

Since the declaration of

the state of emergency, Lyster has acted in a number of political trials too.

Among his clients have been KwaMashu and Umhlanga residents with UDF affiliations, who have been attacked and had their houses burnt down by an impi "hit squad".

The cause of the fire which destroyed Cape Town LRC director Bozalek's home has not yet been established.

By DAN DHLAMINI

KANANA - the Western Transvaal township near Orkney - turned out not to be the "land of milk and honey" for the town's only black lawyer.

Lawyer Jimmy Makgalo's posh house was attacked by "comrades" chanting freedom songs and demanding the release of Nelson Mandela.

Lettie Makgalo told City Press she was at home with her daughters, Mbali and Nomsa, when the attack took place.

She heard people chanting freedom songs and shouting for the release of Mandela before they attacked her house, she said.

Jealous people who earlier threatened to damage

Lawyer's home attacked by 'comrades'

her house may have incited the youth, she said.

She added that there was no way that Kanana youths - of whom many have received bursaries from her - could have attacked her home without a motive.

Makgalo said: "We are operating a bursary scheme and many Kanana students have received bursaries from us.

"I have also defended

many youths and adults in the Western Transvaal. I will not be deterred in my support of the Kanana community."

Meanwhile, the homes of council chairman Shadrack Moselele and councillors Dirk Marumo and Matsie Matsie were the targets of Saturday's unrest.

Police confirmed the arrest of 20 youths in connection with the incidents.

Cape Times 20/1/86



De la Cruz: 'Remove Carter Ebrahim now'

Political Staff

THE leader of the Democratic Workers Party, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, yesterday called for the "immediate removal" of the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahim.

And, he said, all examinations should be postponed with all students being allowed to rewrite in March; the SADF and SAP should be removed from schools, and the state of emergency lifted.

Addressing the party's first annual congress, attended by about 500 people, Mr De la Cruz said he wished to ask the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, "whether

he is satisfied with the way Mr Ebrahim has handled the portfolio".

He said the government had given the minister a stick "with which he is beating my children and your children".

Mr De la Cruz said the removal of the army and police from schools necessarily involved the lifting of the emergency.

Mr De la Cruz appealed to parents to support teachers and principals in their bid to end the boycotts and strife and "restore peace at our educational institutions".

The DWP, he said, supported the rejection of separate education and separate educational facilities and

called for education to be "freed from the shackles of apartheid".

He said the tri-cameral system had proved to be unsuccessful because the government was still dominated by the National Party. The all-white cabinet with token representation of two other ministers without portfolio was "absolutely meaningless".

The DWP leader said the root cause of all the suffering in South Africa was the continued retention of the "evil system of segregation on the grounds of colour".

"Never before in our country have relations between blacks and whites been at such a low ebb. 1985 has seen an unprecedented social explosion be-

tween the white ruling class and the oppressed people of South Africa."

He said the repeal of Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act were not achievements of the tri-cameral system but concessions made by the government because the laws were redundant. "The abolition has done nothing to end the polarization or frustration, fears and hatred which still exist in our country," he said.

Attacking the majority Labour Party, Mr De la Cruz said the LP had become "the collaborating party with the government" and could "no longer be viewed as opponents of the government".

8 die in Natal
faction fights

Own Correspondent
MARITZBURG - 20/1/86

Eight men have been killed in the Shongweni and Hammarsdale areas in what are thought to have been tribal revenge killings.

In the latest raid at Shongweni on Saturday five men were gunned down and on Friday night three Gwala tribesmen were hacked to death in the Hammarsdale area in three separate attacks.

Other companies tell you... but... I feel to...
I feel to... but... Other companies tell you...
I feel to... but... Other companies tell you...

Tambo talks about SA Govt

African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo has been interviewed in Lusaka on the key political question of his attitude to talks with the South African Government.

STAR 20/1/84

Robin Drew, of the Star's Africa News Service, reports from Harare that Mr Tambo was interviewed by the main

Zimbabwe newspaper, *The Herald*.

11A

X Report restricted

Mr Tambo is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act and may not be quoted in South Africa.

MINERS KILLED

TIA



Ⓢ SOWETAN 20/11/86.

AT LEAST seven black mineworkers were killed and 45 seriously injured in faction fights between tribesmen at Gold Field's Kloof Gold Mine near Westonaria at the weekend.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

A spokesman for the Police Directorate in Pretoria yesterday confirmed the incident and said four miners were injured when police used shotguns and tear-smoke to disperse about 1 000 Zulus and Pondos.

The mine employs about 13 000 black miners.

Publicity secretary of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union, Mr Motsomi Mokhine, yesterday said clashes between black workers in the mines

have a history of being inspired by management in its efforts to make "super profits and effective control of its united white force".

He said mine managements have designed strategies bent on heightening language differences between black miners. It was "indeed sad that such happenings will continue".

He pleaded with miners to exercise vigilance against these tactics of the mine managements.

A mine spokesman

yesterday said the fighting broke out because Pondos claimed a gang of Zulu miners called the "Soul Brothers" molested them while they visited Pondo shebeens. The groups were armed with sticks and iron bars, the spokesman said.

Shotguns

A police spokesman said after midnight on Saturday, faction fights started among the Pondos and Zulus and was later joined by Xhosas and Shangaans.

The SAP used tear-smoke and shotguns. Four men were wounded and arrested.

The situation was under control on the mine by late yesterday and police were still patrolling the area.

A mine spokesman said the names of the dead and injured have not yet been released because the next of kin have not been informed. The injured were taken to the Lebanon hospital.

Meanwhile management of Phalaborwa Mining Corporation has reported that one black miner was killed and 18 were injured in violence which erupted during a strike-related clash. The situation at the mine was reported to be normal yesterday.

7 die in mine faction fight

11A
20/11/86
DISPATCH

Transvaal Bureau
JOHANNESBURG — Delegations of Zulu and Pondo miners met under the auspices of the management at the Kloof goldmine near Westonaria yesterday in a bid to restore calm at the mine where seven miners were killed on Saturday night.

A further 45 were injured as faction fighting erupted between the two groups as well as between Xhosas and Shangaans, and after police used shotguns to quell the conflict.

The fighting came after months of tension between the two groups. The tension supposedly centred around a Zulu gang known as the Soul Brothers who had been harassing Pondos in recent months.

A spokesman for Gold Fields of South Africa, which controls the mine, said he knew of no con-

nection between the Kloof incidents and the faction fighting which broke out between Zulus and Pondos at Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast recently.

He said delegations of Zulus and Pondos met yesterday and following the meeting, the situation became calmer though it remained tense.

A thousand Zulus and 1 000 Pondo miners were involved in the fighting.

A spokesman for the Police public relations division in Pretoria said tearsmoke and shotguns had been used. Four men were injured and arrested.

Meanwhile five men were shot dead in the Shongweni area in what police suspect was a revenge attack in a faction dispute.

It was not known to which factions the dead belonged.

Seven killed as faction fight flares on mine

STAR
20/1/86

11A

~~By Sheryl Raine~~

By Sheryl Raine

~~By Sheryl Raine~~

Seven miners were killed and 73 injured, two critically, when a faction fight flared at Gold Fields' Kloof gold mine in Westonaria yesterday.

A Gold Fields spokesman said today that about 45 people were admitted to hospital after the fight in which sticks and iron rods were used as weapons.

"The fight, which started in the early hours, involved about 2 000 Zulu and Pondo workers out of the mine's 14 048 workforce. The police were called at about 1.30 am to restore order."

The regular unrest report from police headquarters in Pretoria said police had used tearsmoke and shotguns to bring the situation under control. Four people were wounded and arrested.

"Management held talks with Zulu and Pondo delegations yesterday. It was established that a Zulu gang called the Soul Brothers had been harassing Pondo workers, who retaliated," the Gold Fields spokesman said.

"All shifts went down normally last night and production was not affected by the fighting."

Sapa reports that a source at Libanon Hospital, where 45 of the injured were admitted, said 19 miners had been released and 26 were still in hospital, two of them in the intensive care unit.

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PLO has trained ANC members, claims expert on terrorism

11A
STATE
20/1/88

The African National Congress has sent members to Lebanon to be trained by the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, says Mrs Jillian Becker, author of a comprehensive book on the PLO.

She said at a public lecture in Johannesburg last night that the PLO had trained tens of thousands of terrorists from all parts of the world in camps in Lebanon, and then sent them back to their countries with arms, ammunitions and know-how.

The arms were supplied by Russia, which was quite happy to destabilise the West by helping to train terrorists and by supporting liberation movements.

"Of all the liberation movements, the ANC is closest to Russia," she said.

Mrs Becker is in South Africa for a conference on revolution and its implication for South Africa. The conference is being held by the Institute for Strategic Studies.

ARAFAT LEADS ONLY MINORITY FACTION

She is the author of "Hitler's Children", a book about the Baader-Meinhof gang, and "The PLO and the Rise and Fall of the Palestine Liberation Organisation".

She defined terrorism as a method directed at innocent bystanders, as opposed to freedom fighting, which is action against an army of occupation.

The PLO was committed to an armed struggle, and would not negotiate because it existed to destroy the state of Israel, she said.

Mr Yasser Arafat was given the status of PLO leader by the Western Press and Western powers, but he led a minority faction in the organisation, she said. "The PLO is not a unified organisation — it consists of all kinds of factions. But it presents a united front to the world."

She said Mr Abu Nidal — the Arab leader suspected of the bombings at Rome and Vienna airports — and Mr Arafat were deadly enemies. Mr Nidal is apparently supported by Libyan lead-



Mrs Jillian Becker . . . "of all the liberation movements, the African National Congress is closest to Russia."

er Colonel Muammar Gaddafi.

Mrs Becker ended her talk by telling a story of a child born to a desert sheik and a Jewish maiden. The child, she said, had grown up to rule his country. His name was Muammar Gaddafi.

The audience of about 200 were visibly uncomfortable at the appearance during Mrs Becker's talk of a group of Muslims, wearing topis and Arab shawls. The audience craned their necks to look at the group of three men and two women, who sat quietly listening at the back of the hall.

During the question and answer session there was some controversy when a young man argued that the ANC could not be compared to the PLO because they had turned to terrorism only after all other doors had been closed to them.

Mrs Becker answered that the history of the ANC did not matter — it was what they were now that counted.

CAPE TOWN 21/1/86

11A

Court told of Chief Mayisa's murder

PRETORIA. — Some of the facts behind the frenzy of violence in which the leader of the Leandra Action Committee (LAC), Chief Ampie Mayisa, was hacked and burnt to death a week ago, have been made public in papers placed before the Supreme Court here at the weekend.

The court granted temporary protection to a group of residents, in-

cluding the LAC chairman, Mr Abel Nkabinde, against assault or harassment by 23 members of the vigilante gang which murdered the chief.

From the papers it emerges that the chief made an SOS call to the Leandra police station hours before he died.

An attorney's clerk, Mr Richard Spoor, said according to police records, a Sergeant Ras of

the uniform branch had gone to investigate after Mr Mayisa reported at 7.50pm that his house was under attack. But Sergeant Ras had reported to a Lieutenant Slabbert, of the riot squad, who had instructed him not to enter the township but to maintain observation.

By 10pm, according to other affidavits, the chief was dead.

Mr Nkabinde described in papers how he had watched from the shadows as his house was also set alight.

He claimed that after he and the chief had received death threats from the vigilantes, known as "Inkatha", but not the official Inkatha movement, his attorney had contacted a Lieutenant De Vries at Leandra to request protection.

The next day a crowd had descended on Mr Nkabinde's house but was driven off by an LAC supporter.

Mr Nkabinde said he had phoned the police again and spoken to a policeman who refused to identify himself. The policeman had told him the police were aware that "Inkatha" wanted to burn down his house and

kill him, and had added: "Let them, we won't interfere".

Mr Nkabinde claimed he and Mr Mayisa had fallen foul of the "Inkatha" group because of political differences.

The LAC and the Mpu-melede Youth Movement, with which he and the chief were linked, were both United Democratic Front affiliates.

They had opposed attempts to remove residents from the township and perceived the community council as having helped impose resettlement policies on the people.

The "Inkatha" or "Concerned Residents" group supported the council and opposed those who resisted removal or favoured the UDF, he added. — Sapa

ARBUS 21/1/86 (11A)

'Fathers' apologise for assaults

Staff Reporter

REPRESENTATIVES of the older faction in New Crossroads — the "fathers" — have agreed to stop assaulting younger activists, the "comrades".

At a weekend meeting in New Crossroads they also undertook to stop patrolling the township's streets and apologised for their actions which have resulted in several clashes between the "fathers" and "comrades".

"Furthermore, they said youngsters who fled from the township could return," said the Rev Desmond Curren on behalf of the Western Province Council of Churches, which convened the meeting.

He said that initially no "fathers" were at the meeting.

However, some members of the 400-strong audience went to look for them and returned with a Mr Bengo, a key figure in the groups, and a second unnamed person.

"They were literally put in the dock," he said.

The "comrades" at first refused to accept the apologies offered by the "fathers".

"But the Right Rev Patrick Matolengwe (Anglican Bishop Suffragan of Cape Town), the Rev Wesley Mabuse and

Professor Gabriel Setiloane, professor of African studies at the University of Cape Town, spoke to them at length and persuaded them to accept the offer."

Mr Curren praised Bishop Matolengwe for his role in the peace talks.

STYL
11A

Top Lesotho officials due in SA for talks on ANC

A top-level Lesotho delegation is due in South Africa today to continue the crucial discussions on the presence of the ANC in the mountain kingdom.

South Africa has said to Lesotho that its intensified border security measures will not be eased significantly until it is satisfied that effective action will be taken against ANC activists in Lesotho.

The talks started in Pretoria on Friday and it is believed they were continued by a South African delegation, headed by Mr Neil van Heerden, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs and head of the Department's Africa section, in Lesotho yesterday.

While no official statement has been made, it is understood a delegation of senior Lesotho officials is due in Cape Town this afternoon for further talks on a situation which is throttling Lesotho economically and which may have helped trigger the weekend military coup.

It is understood the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, will attend the discussions.

Major-General Justin Lekhanye, the commander of the Lesotho Paramilitary Force, which toppled Chief Leabua Jonathan, was a member of the delegation to Pretoria on Friday.

He will not attend today's meeting, but will be represented by a senior military officer.

South Africa introduced the security measures on the Lesotho border because, it claimed, the Jonathan Government had allowed itself to be used by the ANC.

Today Zimbabwe's main newspaper, *The Herald*, reported that a South African military delegation was in Maseru yesterday.

However, the report almost certainly refers to the delegation headed by Mr van Heerden which would have included military, police and intelligence officers, as did both the Lesotho and South African delegations at the talks on Friday.

It is understood the South Africans have eased the border controls as a gesture to the new government in Maseru.

Buthelezi gives ANC no chance

11A

Mercury 2/11/80

LONDON—The ANC campaign of violence in South Africa did not stand 'a snowball's chance in hell' of toppling the Government, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee here last night.

Urging the path of negotiation to solve the country's problems, he warned the all-party gathering: 'The whites are still secure. We haven't seen a fraction of the power they could unleash if they are pushed.

If they are pushed to the wall, they will squash the blacks.'

The Kwazulu Chief Minister had urged the British Government to recognise that the ANC's 'mission in exile' now feared the accumulating strength of Inkatha and its strategic position in South African politics.

'Success in Inkatha's tactics and strategies will downgrade the importance of the politics of violence.

'For violence to succeed, Inkatha must be made to fail.

'The vehemence with which the ANC mission in exile attacks Inkatha must be traced to this truth,' he told the 12-member committee.

Potent

But he said he supported the campaign for the release of the jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, and he considered it unreasonable for the Government to continue to refuse to free him.

Asked how he reconciled this view with his opposition to violence, he told the committee: 'What can he do? The ANC's violence doesn't stand a snowball's chance in hell.'

In a 40-page memorandum delivered to the committee before he addressed its members, Chief Buthelezi said: 'If there is no hope of succeeding, I would not be doing what I am doing.

'I do what I do because the politics of negotiation are in all reality far more potent as a force for change than the politics of violence.

'I do what I do because it can succeed.'

Chief Buthelezi said the task facing the committee of reassessing British attitudes to South Africa was a formidable one.

'I find all too frequently that decision-makers in the West pause too seldom to delve into the underlying realities which make black South African politics so very complex,' he said.

Objected

Foreign observers, he said, were not aware of what the 'real mood' of black South Africa was. Neither were they aware of who were accepted as national leaders.

'Myths which are woven around heroes and martyrs created by the South African State could be misleading,' he said.

The chief again rejected disinvestment. He did not want to reduce South Africa to ungovernability and this is what mass poverty would do some time in the future if the country's economic growth was damaged now.

He objected strongly to being called a 'stooge of the South African Gov-

ernment' and a 'black sell-out' and said what he was aiming for was a regional approach to South Africa's problem of apartheid.

'There have been negotiations between the Natal Provincial Council and KwaZulu and there is a new consensus between ourselves and the white administrators of Natal about the necessity of multiracial local and regional government,' said Chief Buthelezi.

'Negotiations have reached an advanced stage and we are now in a position where we can make a concrete joint proposal to the Government.

'What we are doing in the Natal/KwaZulu region amounts to taking effective and realistic steps towards normalising South Africa as an industrialised democracy.' — (Sapa)

Buthelezi attacks ANC in Commons report

'Street violence will not free SA'

111A
SPAR 2/11/86

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has told Britons that a democratic and free South Africa will not be authored through street-corner violence.

"It will be authored by men and women in black and white society who accept that apartheid has to go and that it has to be replaced with a social and political system which gives both black and white a meaningful stake in the government of their country," he said yesterday in a written submission to the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee.

"What we are doing in the kwaZulu/Natal region amounts to taking effective and realistic steps towards normalising South Africa as an industrialised democracy. There is vast support for the kind of things we are doing.

"South Africa is not a society beyond the pale. Black and white are prepared to work together to find new solutions."

The chief said there was now consensus between Inkatha and the white administrators of Natal on the necessity of multiracial local and regional government. Negotiations had reached an advanced stage and the parties were in a position to make a concrete black/white proposal to the Government.

Breakthrough

"If the South African Government accepts the proposals we are making, it would represent a major breakthrough in South African politics."

The chief made a stinging attack on the ANC, saying: "I know of no society in the world where the kind of violence em-

ployed by the ANC mission in exile has produced an open, democratic society.

"I have again and again said bluntly that if the ANC mission in exile is allowed to continue much further along the road it has chosen to walk, white South Africa will adopt a scorched earth policy and unleash the kind of State violence which we have not yet begun to see."

He said it was important for British parliamentarians to understand that if the ANC mission in exile ceased to exist the demand for reform inside South Africa would assume an ever-increasing urgency.

He also defended himself against verbal attacks from the ANC by quoting a letter sent to him by Nelson Mandela, in which the ANC leader thanked him for a message of goodwill and support. It ended: "I shake your hand and very warmly."

● See Page 13.

State witness fears for life — claim

Treason trial waits for decision on in-camera plea

2/11/86
STAR
IIA

By Kym Hamilton,
Pretoria Bureau

The treason trial of the 22 Vaal Triangle activists will enter its second day today behind closed doors as the judge deliberates on whether to hear the testimony of the first State witness in camera.

The first day of the trial in the Delmas Circuit Court yesterday, on the State's own admission, got off to a bad start when the counsel for the State, Mr P B Jacobs announced the first witness he intended to call feared for his life and he asked the evidence be heard in camera.

Mr Jacobs, after naming the witness, described him as a former member of the African National Congress and said his testimony could endanger his life.

Defence counsel, Mr A Chaskalson (SC), opposed the application on the grounds that the State had named the witness in an open court and his identity could therefore no longer be protected.

CHARGES

After a lengthy adjournment, the case was postponed for a day to give the State the opportunity to prepare its application in terms of Section 65 of the Internal Security Act for an in-camera ruling. The application will also be behind closed doors and witnesses are likely to be called.

The 22 men yesterday pleaded not guilty to the main charge of high treason and the alternative charges of murder, terrorism and subversion,

denying they conspired with the African National Congress or among themselves or with any other party to overthrow the South African government with violence.

Many of the accused are prominent United Democratic Front executive members and members of the Vaal Civic Association.

The trial is expected to last for about a year, with the men having to defend a 300-page indictment of their activities and the list of possible State witnesses containing more than 200 names.

Most of the men have been in jail for more than a year, both as detainees in terms of the Internal Security Act and since June as awaiting-trial prisoners.

Pondos flee burning, looting Zulu impis

11A
DISPATCH
01/1/86

Dispatch Correspondent
DURBAN — More than 20 houses were burned and looted after Pondos were driven out of a small settlement by a band of angry Zulus in Msahweni near Adams Mission at the weekend.

A car belonging to a Pondo was burned and destroyed by the Zulu gang who were still roaming the area yesterday.

Msahweni settlement is about 15 km from Malakazi's No Five shack settlement which was the scene of faction fighting between Zulus and Pondos last month. Sixty five people died

and several were injured.

The recent clash in Msahweni is believed to be the continuation of Malakazi faction fighting.

Zulus in the area were apparently angry about the "hacking" of unarmed Zulus by Pondos at Umbongintwini Railway Station last week. One man died in that clash and three were injured.

"Pondos were asked to vacate this place on Friday and to make sure that they were not going to come back, their houses were burned down," one impi said yesterday.

Some Zulus stayed on guard at their houses fearing that the impis might mistake them for Pondos and either burn or loot the houses.

A spokesman for police yesterday confirmed the incident and said police were keeping a close look there.

British storm kills five

LONDON — Hurricane-force winds swept across much of Britain at the weekend, killing three women in a car crushed by a falling tree in Wiltshire county and drowning two anglers on a boat trip in raging seas off Wales. — Sapa-RNS

Indian parties unite for battle against apartheid

21/1/86 STAR

By David Braun, The Star's Political Correspondent, reporting from Cape Town

11A

The formation of a coalition between the two major parties in the House of Delegates last week was in marked contrast to the bitter rivalry and fighting between them during the first year or so of the new parliamentary system.

The ruling National Peoples' Party (which has 23 of the 45 seats in the Indian House of Parliament) and the Official Opposition Solidarity (18 seats) have agreed to "unite against apartheid" after protracted negotiations and a series of meetings.

In terms of the coalition the Ministers' Council, which presides like a Cabinet over the Indian own affairs administration, will be allocated proportionately (two seats for each party with the NPP retaining the chairmanship and representation in President Botha's general affairs Cabinet), and the parties will work in tandem in the various parliamentary committees where legislation is thrashed out and in the debates.

Composed

The arrangements effectively mean that Parliament now has two Houses which are composed of virtually one party.

The Labour Party in the House of Representatives, the coloured chamber, holds 81 of the 85 seats.

The development in the House of Delegates is intended to give impetus to what has been set as the priority for both the NPP and Solidarity — the swift removal of the remaining laws of apartheid.

"Until now we have been engaged in a lot of shadow boxing with each other," NPP leader and Ministers' Council chairman Mr Amichand Rajbansi said in a recent interview.

"We want to make our main function fighting apartheid, not each other."

This is a far cry from the last days of August 1984 when Solidarity and the NPP were at each other's throats after the first Indian parliamentary elections.

Neither could claim a parliamentary majority (NPP had



Mr Amichand Rajbansi



Mr J N Reddy

18 seats and Solidarity 17) and there was much wheeling and dealing to woo the independents and smaller parties, as well as MPs from each other.

"Carrots of up to R40 000 are being dangled by people who are not members of any political party," Mr Rajbansi said.

As the deadline for the State President to call upon the leader of the majority party to be chairman of the Ministers' Council and the country's first Indian Cabinet Minister drew near, the power struggle became frantic.

Portfolio

First Solidarity, then the NPP was said to have the edge. One MP claimed to have been offered the portfolio of education by both sides.

An attempt by Mr Rajbansi and Solidarity leader Mr J N Reddy to form a coalition came to naught.

Eventually, after much confusion and reports of defections back and forth, the NPP emerged with a slender overall majority to form the government in the House of Delegates.

When the new tricameral Parliament sat for its first working session in 1985, Solidarity appeared to be divided as to whether it should concentrate on attacking the NPP or the National Party Government.

It intended taking the NPP to task for having no coherent plan for the upliftment of the Indian community, while it said it would

co-operate with any party on issues on which they had common ground.

But much of the session was taken up with sniping and allegations of corruption, fraud and cover-ups on the part of the NPP.

The former Minister of the Budget, Mr Boetie Abramjee, particularly was singled out for the state of his own financial affairs.

Solidarity MP Mr Pat Poovalingham was ordered out of the House after refusing to apologise for accusing Mr Rajbansi of taking bribes, and at one stage all but two Solidarity MPs stormed out of the chamber because an NPP member was making his speech in Afrikaans.

Contribute

For all its bickering, the House of Delegates did contribute to the reform process last year, and there were a couple of occasions when it seemed as if this junior partner in the triracial system would precipitate the first constitutional deadlock.

On some issues the parties dug in their heels, such as refusing to legalise formal secret funds for the police and on the matter of equal pension increases for all races.

If the coalition succeeds, Solidarity and the NPP should be able to leave much of their petty rivalry behind, and get on with the business of eliminating apartheid.

'PAC bases in SA'

HARARE — The PAC is establishing military bases with the people inside South Africa, according to its chairman, Mr Johnson Mlambo, quoted by the Botswana daily *Gazette*.

The Zimbabwe semi-official news agency, Ziana, said the *Gazette* quoted him as saying whites had a bright future in Africa if they were not oppressors. Mr Mlambo said whites who accepted the establishment of an Africanist, socialist, democratic society would be welcome in a free Azania. — The Star's Africa News Service.

Democratic Workers' Party calls for end to race laws

STAL
21/1/86
11A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Workers' Party has called for the scrapping of discriminatory laws including the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Separate Amenities Act.

At its first annual congress, held at a hotel in Cape Town yesterday, the party also adopted resolutions calling for the unconditional release of the jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and for an immediate declaration of intent from the Government.

Other resolutions adopted by the congress include a call for equal pensions for people of all races, a uniform education system for all races, and a commission to investigate the housing crisis.

More than 500 people, including party delegates from various parts of the country, attended the congress.

Mr Dennis de la Cruz, leader of the party and leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, said his party would not only be the voice of the opposition in Parliament this year, but also the voice of the opposition outside Parliament.

Attack on Labour Party

He accused the Labour Party of becoming a "collaborator and prisoner" of the Government as a result of the presence of its leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, in the Cabinet.

The Labour Party was no longer an opponent of the Government, but an instrument for the implementation of Government policy. It was a coalition partner of the Government.

Mr de la Cruz also called for the dismissal of Mr Carter Ebrahim as Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives. The Government had given Mr Ebrahim a "stick with which he was beating his own people", Mr de la Cruz said.

His party, he added, supported the call for postponing all examinations to enable pupils to write examinations in March.

The Defence Force and the police should keep away from schools.

The national chairman of the party, Mr Abdul Tiry, reported to the congress that there had been an 80 percent growth in the party's membership since it was formed a year ago.

Doors of the DWP open to all opposition groups, says Dennis de la Cruz

The DWP aims to keep opposition alive inside and outside Parliament. FRANS ESTERHUYSE of the Political Staff speaks to Mr Dennis de la Cruz

THE Democratic Workers' Party (DWP) in the House of Representatives sees an important role for itself in moves to keep opposition alive inside and outside Parliament.

The party's aims were outlined by its leader, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, at the DWP's first annual congress held in Cape Town at the weekend.

He said in a subsequent interview that the new coalition between the two major parties in the House of Delegates was a blow to opposition in Parliament.

"I extend an invitation to what is left of the opposition to get together with us for urgent talks," he said.

His party's doors were also open to opposition groups outside Parliament.

Mr de la Cruz said his party would intensify its fight this year for the removal of the remaining discriminatory laws in South Africa.

The DWP also believed South Africa needed a new constitution and the party would work towards this goal.

The party was prepared to speak to any of the extra-parliamentary opposition groups which opposed apartheid.

"But we will definitely retain our very strong stance against the use of violence to bring about social and political change," Mr de la Cruz said.

"We support the national convention concept which will give leaders of all race groups and political affiliations an opportunity to get together around the negotiating table to work

out a blueprint for a new constitution for a united democratic South Africa."

Because of the exclusion of black people from the highest level of decision-making under the present constitution, the tricameral system had to be seen as a temporary measure.

"And because apartheid is firmly entrenched in the present constitution we cannot ignore the tremendous call from people of colour who reject the new deal. A new constitution must be worked on immediately."

Mr de la Cruz said the Labour Party could no longer be seen as opposition to the Government. This was shown by the LP's performance during last year's session of Parliament.

NP policy

Certain Bills against which strong opposition had been expected, were simply allowed by the Labour Party to go through. The Bills included such measures as the Police Amendment Bill, the Local Government Training Bill, the Coal Resources Bill and the Regional Service Councils Bill.

This proved that the LP was instrumental in the implementation of National Party policy.

The appointment of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse to the Cabinet as a Minister without portfolio was "token representation" which had made the LP vulnerable.

Mr de la Cruz said his party would continue to reject separate education as an "own affair" and challenged the



Mr de la Cruz . . . party will intensify its fight for the removal of discriminatory laws

Labour Party on the question of whether Minister Carter Ebrahim was the best man in that party's ranks to handle education policy.

"We support the call for his resignation because of the way he has bungled this delicate situation at the height of the unrest," Mr de la Cruz said.

The Government, after a recent spate of lobbying and talks with Western governments, still had to convince the world that it was tackling the fundamental issues of black political rights and the total abandonment of the concept of apartheid.

Effective action to begin urgent internal dialogue had to be initiated by the Government.

"We must move away from this consensus democracy to a more competitive democracy, because the consensus democracy of the Government is a conformist democracy.

"We repeat our call for the release of all political detainees, including Mr Nelson Mandela, and for the lifting of the state of emergency to ease the tension throughout the country.

"We will continue to oppose detention without trial. We abhor the fact that so many of our young people who have been detained are wasting away behind bars. We call on the Government again to bring them before a court of law or to release them," Mr de la Cruz said.

In his address to the DWP congress, Mr de la Cruz said:

"We have just emerged from one of the blackest years in the history of our country . . . The time has come for the people of South Africa to come together and get to know one another."

Through the years the apartheid policies had been rigidly implemented through the white Parliament. This had polarised the South African people and had contributed to hatred and mistrust and even to open conflict in the form of boycotts, plundering, looting, murder and arson.

Such acts could not be tolerated.

Those who had remained silent because they were not represented in Parliament but who wanted a peaceful future free from oppression should now get together, Mr de la Cruz said.



Bishop Desmond Tutu gives the Sunday morning service at the Atlanta Ebenezer Baptist Church of slain civil rights leader the Rev Martin Luther King, while his widow Coretta (left) listens. Bishop Tutu returned to the church yesterday to get his award. Picture: Reuter/UPI

Tutu's ANC call at King ceremony

From SIMON BARBER
 WASHINGTON. — Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday in his acceptance speech for the 1986 Martin Luther King Non-Violent Peace Prize called on Western nations to support the African National Congress.

“We hope to hear leaders of the Western

world saying ‘We side with the ANC,’” Bishop Tutu told a packed congregation at the Rev Mr King’s Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta.

The nationally televised ceremony was the centrepiece of the first public holiday marking Mr King’s birth.

Speaker after speaker praised Bishop Tutu as

the slain civil-rights leader’s successor as an exponent of non-violent protest against racial oppression.

Invoking “the God of Exodus, the God of liberation” in his address, Bishop Tutu said he was accepting the award of those who said “we have tried everything ... so we will fight”.

Later in the service

the US Vice-President, Mr George Bush, said: “On behalf of the American people in this sacred place I call again for an end to apartheid.”

Mr Bush also said he prayed that South African leaders like Bishop Tutu “remain steadfastly loyal to the ideals of non-violence ... and democracy”.

CALL TIME 21/1/86

11/1/86

Free Mandela, says Buthelezi

CAPL TINTC 21/1/86 (114)

From JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, the KwaZulu leader, said yesterday that he would be prepared to serve under Mr Nelson Mandela as Head of State if he won a one-man-one-vote election.

He said Inkatha would put itself forward as a political party in such an election.

Addressing the House of Commons Committee on Foreign Affairs under the leadership of Tory MP Sir Anthony Kershaw, Chief Buthelezi made an "urgent plea" for Mr Mandela's release and for the lifting of the ban on the African National Congress.

But he was strongly critical of the role of the exiled ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, "the ANC-in-exile" and the United Democratic Front, which he said was instigating the killing of "my people".

He also said the ANC's campaign of violence did not stand "a snowball's chance in hell" of overthrowing the government.

Whites still secure

Urging negotiation to solve the country's problems, he told the all-party committee: "The whites are still secure. We haven't seen a fraction of the power they could unleash if they are pushed.

"If they are pushed to the wall, they will squash the blacks."

The KwaZulu leader said he had always respected Mr Mandela because of his patriotism and realism and because he remained in touch with the aspirations of ordinary people.

He said he thought it was unreasonable for the government to refuse to release Mr Mandela unless he renounced violence. His release, Chief Buthelezi said, would help to defuse an increasingly violent situation. But he would be opposed to Mr Mandela's leadership being imposed on him by a revolutionary organization.

Chief Buthelezi said he had suggested to President P W Botha after Mr

Mandela's operation last year that his illness provided a good "excuse" for his release.

He said the level of violence during 1986 would depend largely on what Mr Botha had to say when he opens Parliament next week.

"He just hasn't got the boldness which would enable him to go down in history as a statesman," Chief Buthelezi said.

Chief Buthelezi hit out at what he called "UDF-inspired violence".

He said Inkatha did not believe that the point had been reached where all peaceful options had been exhausted and violence against the State was justified.

But he warned: "We are prepared to lay down our lives in defence of our democratic right to pursue our non-violent struggle."

Sentenced to death

Stressing the non-ethnic nature of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi said he had always accepted that other groups and organizations had just as important a role to play in the liberation struggle. He said members of the ANC-in-exile had already "sentenced me to death because of my growing power in South Africa".

He denied that recent clashes between Zulus and Pondos had an ethnic origin and insisted that many of the Pondos involved were also members of Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi said the time had come for Britain to play its role as an "honest broker" in South Africa.

He said blacks were unable to exploit fully their industrial power against the government because of divisions within black ranks.

"If we were more united we could force whites to the negotiating table."

Chief Buthelezi said he was opposed to sanctions because they would exacerbate black poverty and because they did not work.

"For liberation to have any meaning to the ordinary people it must improve their quality of life."

ANC in Maseru wait for reprisals

BUS DAY 22/11/86

11A
16

MASERU — Alarmed African National Congress activists were yesterday awaiting reprisal action as pressure for their expulsion from Lesotho mounted.

Yesterday in London the opposition Basotho Congress Party, whose military wing is the Lesotho Liberation Army, called for the expulsion of ANC guerrillas from Lesotho and the restoration of diplomatic relations and "mutual security" with SA.

Reports from Maseru say there are about 11 000 SA refugees in Lesotho, but only a small number of them are considered to be ANC activists.

The bottom line in negotiations between SA and Lesotho about the lifting of the border blockade is the handing over to SA of ANC activists and other refugees that the SA government requests. Deposed Chief Leabua Jonathan consistently refused to accede to Pretoria's demands.

ANC sources said yesterday they were "extremely worried about the situation

ALAN RUDDOCK and
PETER HONEY

in Maseru". They confirmed that high profile ANC members in Maseru were airlifted out of the country before Monday's coup. Those left behind are reported to be increasingly nervous of their status in Maseru.

Unconfirmed reports yesterday said some ANC activists had already been detained.

In other developments yesterday:

- Foreign Minister Pik Botha met a delegation from the Lesotho military council in Cape Town headed by former Minister of Planning and Economic Affairs Evaristus Sekhonyana, who was sacked by Jonathan in 1984. Both "emphasised the need to work actively for the promotion of good neighbourliness," a foreign affairs spokesman said.
- The Soviet ambassador to Lesotho

● To Page 2 →

Pressure on ANC mounts

BUS DAY 22/11/86

16

11A

twice held talks with Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca in a Lesotho hotel yesterday. Both men refused to comment on the exchanges.

A SADF spokesman confirmed that members of the security forces had accompanied a SA delegation, headed by deputy director general of Foreign Affairs, Neil van Heerden, to Lesotho on Monday.

Sweden, one of the largest aid donors to Lesotho, said it would reduce aid if the new government aligns itself too closely with SA.

The Organisation of African Unity said it was following events in Lesotho with deep concern and said it feared that the

new Lesotho government may be pressured by SA into expelling refugees.

SA's stranglehold on Lesotho's border continued to loosen, with another goods train allowed through the blockade and border traffic reported to be moving slightly faster.

Foreign Minister Botha said there had never been a blockade of Lesotho and denied the borders had been closed.

Coup leader General Justin Lekhanya was not in when *Business Day* was permitted, under military escort, to visit his office at the para-military force barracks south of the capital yesterday.

● From page 1 ←

Lesotho coup underlined ANC dominance in SA

SOWETAN Foreign Correspondent

COUP in Lesotho has heavily underlined the degree to which the African National Congress dominates regional relationships in southern Africa.

Ever since Uhuru spread to the sub-continent, South Africa's relations with its neighbours have been tempered by their attitude to the ANC (in Angola's case its attitude to the South West African People's Organisation and, to a much lesser extent, the ANC).

In Mozambique, South Africa assisted the rebel Mozambique resistance movement in a successful attempt to force the Samora Machel government into the Nkomati mutual non-aggression pact.

MNR

While South Africa agreed to cease all help to the Mozambique National Movement (MNR), Mozambique agreed to expel ANC activists and to prevent the ANC from ever again using Mozambique as a springboard for attacks on South Africa.

Following a series of accusations from Mozambique that South Africa was continuing its aid to the MNR, the vaunted Nkomati Accord appears to exist in name only.

Had it not been for the prospect that the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) would help Swapo, South Africa would have been less eager to help Dr Jonas Savimbi's bid for power in Angola in 1975. And had the MPLA Government in Luanda not given massive facilities to Swapo, Dr Savimbi would have been much leaner militarily than he now is.

It is also possible that the Namibian issue may have been settled.

The Lusaka Agreement of 1984 laid down that Angola would keep Swapo out of a specified area in southern Angola while the South Africans agreed to pull their troops out of the same area.

Ironically, despite all the propaganda from Angola, the Lusaka Agreement is more adhered to than breached.

South Africa has few problems with Swaziland, which does everything within its limited powers (as much for its own political purposes



CHIEF JONATHAN

as for South Africa's) to keep ANC activists from using facilities in the country.

Botswana has claimed repeatedly that it does not allow the ANC to use its territory to plan or launch attacks on South Africa, but the South African Defence Force, nevertheless, crossed the border on June 14 last year for a raid on Gaborone in which 12 people were killed and six were injured.

Tension between the two countries has flared over the last few weeks following the land-mine



Pres MACHEL

explosions in the northern Transvaal and Mr Pik Botha's warning that South Africa would exercise its right to take whatever action it deemed necessary to protect its citizens' lives and property.

The less than warm relationship with Zimbabwe also cooled dramatically over the same issue.

While both Botswana and Zimbabwe denied that they had encouraged the ANC or allowed the ANC to cross their territory to lay the mines in the northern Transvaal, the South

African Government remains suspicious — and, with every landmine explosion, it comes under increasing pressure to strike back.

The real problem, however, developed in Lesotho where Chief Leabua Jonathan's Government allegedly looked the other way while the ANC effectively transferred its main operations base against South Africa from Maputo to Maseru.

In December, 1982 South Africa had sent its defence force into Maseru to clean out what South Africa believed to be an ANC strong-hold. A total of 43 people were killed and a number injured.

Now, towards the end of 1985, South Africa was ready to act again.

When the Jonathan Government failed to "address South African concerns" over the ANC presence in the country, South Africa intensified its security measures on the common border — and reduced the flow of goods into and out of Lesotho to a trickle.

And this triggered the military coup.

Ruling on treason evidence by ex-ANC member is due today

By Kym Hamilton
Pretoria Bureau



The family of some of the 22 men on trial in the Delmas Circuit Court for high treason yesterday waited patiently outside the courtroom for a chance to see their husbands, sons and fathers as the State continued with its in-camera application.

At lunchtime, they were allowed down to the cells to see them and hand over food parcels.

Most of the men have been in jail since September 1984. Bail was refused by a full bench of the Pretoria Supreme Court last year. All 22 pleaded not guilty to the main charge of high treason and alternative charges of subversion, murder and terrorism. Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst is on the Bench with two assessors.

On the high treason count, the men are accused of orchestrating a "bloody revolution" and of allying themselves with the African National Congress and South African Communist Party.

In the Vaal Triangle context, the State alleges the United Democratic Front was actively involved in the murders of five township residents, including community councillors, and the destruction of homes and shops, a massive stayaway action in November, school boycotts and unrest, intimidating black community councillors to resign and of indoctrinating the youth and women.

● Judgment on whether the evidence of a former ANC member will be heard in camera is expected to be given today. It is not yet known if the Press and public will be admitted to the courtroom for the judgment. Yesterday they were barred from the trial when the State called three witnesses, all believed to be policemen, in support of an application for the first State witness's testimony to be behind closed doors to protect his life.

The 22 accused are: UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota (37), of Claremont, Durban; UDF general secretary Mr Popo Simon Molefe (53), of Soweto; Anglican priest and Azapo member, the Rev Tebogo Geoffrey Moselane (38), of Sharpeville; former UDF secretary for the Transvaal Mr Moses Chikane (37), of Mamelodi; Mr Patrick Mabuya Baleka (25), of Soweto; Azapo member Mr Oupa Hlomoka (32), of Sebokeng; Mr Mohapi Lazarus More (25) of Sebokeng; Vaal Information Service member and Rhodes Black Student Society member Mr Thabiso Andrew Ratsomo (27), of Sebokeng; Vaal Civic Association member Mr Gcinunuzi Petrus Malindi (25), of Sebokeng; secretary of the Evaton Ratepayers Association Mr Petrus Mokoena (47), of Evaton; executive member of the Vaal Civic Association Mr Tsietsi David Mphuthi (48), of Sebokeng; Mr Naphtali Mbuti Mkopane (40), of Sebokeng; Mr Tebello Ephraim Ramakula (35), of Sebokeng; educator with the Urban Training Project Mr Bavumile Herbert Vilakazi (30), of Sebokeng; Vaal Civic Association executive member Mr Sekwati John Mokoena (33), of Boipatong, Vanderbijlpark; Congress of South African Students (Cosas) member Mr Mkhambi Amos Malindi (20), of Sebokeng; former Cosas leader and now Institute of Race Relations worker Mr Simon Tseko Nkodi (25), of Sebokeng; Mr Pelamotse Jerry Tlhophane (27), of Sebokeng; Mr Serame Jacob Hlanyane (37), of Sebokeng; Soweto Civic Association member and worker for the South African Council of Churches, Mr Thomas Madikwe Manthata (45), of Soweto; Vaal Civic Association executive member Mr Hlabeng Sam Matlole (61), of Sebokeng; and Mr Maxala Simon Vilakazi (24), of Sebokeng.

FCI talked to ANC after drafting charter

11A 22/1/86 STAR

By Sue Dobson

The Federated Chamber of Industries had informal talks with the African National Congress, the Government, and various organisations after drafting its business charter of social, economic and political rights and its accompanying action programme.

This was disclosed by members of the FCI at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

The representatives were reluctant to give details of their meetings with the ANC.

They declined to name other organisations and leaders involved in the consultations.

However, they said that they had held discussions with various Cabinet Ministers including the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and his Cabinet committee.

The FCI representatives said that they had received a favourable response from the Government towards the documents, which had the full support of all FCI members.

"We saw our negotiations with the various parties as talks about talks and have not carried out formal discussions with any party as we believe this would expose them too much and break confidences," said the executive director of the FCI, Dr Johan van Zyl.

"The documents are based on trust and formal discussions with any particular party might jeopardise the charter and the outcome of events.

"We cannot prescribe preconditions for effective negotiation in South Africa.

"It is not our job to decide what are essential issues for the negotiating parties.

"At this stage we are trying to facilitate the getting together of all those parties concerned," he added.

NEW AVENUE

The FCI stressed that the charter and the informal talks already held should be viewed as a new point of departure for negotiation and an effort to bypass the current stalemate over political reform.

The FCI says it has offered the charter as a statement of fundamental human rights underpinning democratic government and the market economy.

The FCI's constitutional and legal advisor, Dr Marinus Wiechers, described the Chamber's charter as being similar to the ANC Freedom Charter.

"Although the two charters differ in strategy and detail they share similar principles," he said.

"We believe that our charter and the Freedom Charter have a similar core of values and that these form common ground from which negotiations can take place," said FCI director of economic affairs, Mr Arthur Hammond Tooke.

The American Chamber of Commerce (ACC) in South Africa has welcomed the charter and its action programme and has urged all businesses to give their commitment to the initiatives.

The ACC added that it would ask its entire membership to support the charter and to give it wide distribution in the United States.

Govt shock at Tutu's call to aid ANC



Jan 1986

PRETORIA — The South African Government was shocked by the reported call by Bishop Desmond Tutu on Western nations to support the African National Congress, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Mr Heunis said the State President, Mr P W Botha, had repeatedly called on all South Africans who renounced violence to enter into discussions on South Africa's constitutional future on the basis of an open agenda.

"This invitation also included non-elected leaders who enjoy a high public profile," he said.

"If he was correctly reported by the media, Bishop Desmond Tutu has called upon Western nations to support the African National Congress.

"In view of this call for sympathy with the ANC, I am not surprised by the bishop's reluctance to actively support peaceful negotiations with the South African Government.

"The South African Government is shocked by this call by the bishop, who has been internationally honoured for his contribution to peace. For a man of the cloth, his backing of a terrorist organisation can only be described as deplorable.

"The ANC has been responsible for numerous acts of terrorism in which many people, mostly black South Africans, had died.

"This organisation, by its own statements, is openly committed to violence and revolution.

"A terrorist is not identified by his cause, but by his methods. An organisation is not a terrorist organisation because of its political aims, but because of its acts to achieve those aims." — Sapa

Jan. 1986

Pretoria rejects Maseru's protestations of innocence, maintaining:

'Lesotho is main ANC base'

By John D'Oliveira,
Editor of The Star's
Africa News Service

Behind South Africa's contentious "blockade" of Lesotho lies Pretoria's unshakable belief that the mountain kingdom has become the African National Congress's main operations base against South Africa.

Lesotho has repeatedly and vigorously denied this.

It has also repeatedly claimed that it does not allow its territory to be used against its powerful neighbour or that it looks the other way while ANC activists conspire at death and destruction in South Africa.

Clearly, Pretoria has rejected Lesotho's protestations.

It will continue to reject them until Lesotho agrees to a joint security mechanism which satisfies — at the very least — the major demands set by South Africa's security chiefs.

Campaign

While South Africa has accused Lesotho of failing to act against the ANC, Lesotho has claimed that South Africa funds, trains and encourages the Lesotho Liberation Army (LLA) in its bloody campaign against the Leabua Jonathan government.

Despite Maseru's protestations, Pretoria believes that the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984 forced the ANC to abandon Maputo as a springboard for actions in South Africa — and that the ANC moved this element of its operations to Lesotho.

Pretoria operates in the firm belief that the presence of the ANC in Lesotho is so pervasive and so blatant that the only explanation for the Jonathan government's failure to act is that

Coup bid described as defence force exercise

By Gary van Staden,
The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — An apparent uprising among members of the youth wing in Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's party led to yesterday's flurry of military activity in the city and rumours of a coup, sources here have claimed.

People fled panic-stricken from the area around Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's offices in the city yesterday morning as about 150 to 200 defence force personnel sealed off the building.

Amid speculation of a coup attempt the Minister of Information, Mr Desmond Sixishe, called a Press conference yesterday at which he described the day's happenings as a defence force exercise.

He said that there was no question of a coup or attempted coup. Mr Sixishe said that there had been no changes in the government, "that I am aware of".

It has allowed itself to be used by the ANC.

Apart from anything else, there is a deep conviction among South African security officers that when South Africa sends Lesotho information on ANC activities in the country, this information is passed on to the ANC.

Partly as a result of the international reaction to its military raids into Mozambique, Lesotho and Gaborone and the difficulty of demonstrating that it had used the military only as a final option, the South African Government has recently kept both the United States and Great Britain informed of its contacts with Lesotho on security affairs.

Both countries were asked to use their good offices to convey the seriousness of the situation to the Jonathan government.

The latest chapter in Lesotho/South African relations opened in mid-August last year when Mr Pik Botha, the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, visited Maseru to warn the Jonathan government — again — about the activities of the ANC.

At the meeting, Mr Botha provided Mr Desmond Sixishe,

Minister of Information and Broadcasting, and the Lesotho officials who attended the discussions, with detailed information about alleged African National Congress activities in Lesotho.

Mr Botha told Mr Sixishe that South Africa had overwhelming and irrefutable evidence that facilities in Lesotho were being used by the ANC to give its South African supporters crash courses in the handling of weapons and explosives.

ANC commanders stationed in Lesotho provided the instruction to activists from South Africa who came into Lesotho as "tourists".

After two or three days of instruction, the "tourists" were briefed on the South African targets to be attacked.

Mr Botha referred to specific hotel rooms and to other specific facilities in Lesotho which were being used by ANC activists.

He told Mr Sixishe that the National Bank of Lesotho had provided banking facilities for use by the ANC.

He gave the names and the functions of some of the ANC officials concerned and said the

A check on police stations, the radio station and other government buildings in the city revealed no sign of troops and it appeared as if only the Prime Minister's offices had been involved.

Despite the official line taken on yesterday's incident, rumours persist — backed up by some close government confidants — that the defence force had moved in to cut off a threatened uprising by the youth wing of the ruling party.

While it is not clear what may have led to the alleged uprising observers here believe it could be linked either to the Government's handling of the present border crisis with South Africa or anger over speculation that all South African refugees would be expelled, or handed over to the South Africans.

The Lesotho Government said yesterday that it was determined to stand by its obligations to South African refugees and that no action would be taken against them.

By mid-afternoon yesterday the city was tense but quiet and most of the troops had left the Prime Minister's offices.

information was only a small part of what it had collected.

On October 11, Mr Botha and Mr Sixishe met again, this time in Pretoria.

Once again, Mr Botha covered the area of complaint and said that the Lesotho Government was not addressing South Africa's concerns.

Once again, Mr Sixishe raised Lesotho's complaints about South African involvement in the LLA's cross-border activities.

Both men denied the other's allegations.

Mr Botha said the situation pointed to a clear need for an uninhibited joint security mechanism.

Mr Botha said the creation of a joint security commission was particularly important because Lesotho and South Africa did not have formal diplomatic relations.

The Lesotho/South African liaison committee worked well, but it was not equipped to deal with security.

Mr Sixishe said he would consult his government, but there was no response to Mr Botha's suggestion.

In the middle of December, the South African security ser-

VICES received information of a build-up of trained ANC guerrillas in Lesotho. The information suggested that the guerrillas had flown into Lesotho, mainly from Maputo.

South Africa sent Lesotho an urgent telex asking it to investigate and to respond.

The Lesotho Government replied that it did not allow its territory to be used to mount attacks against South Africa. It said that, unless it had more specific information, it could not deal with the South African complaint.

South Africa replied that it had reason to believe the Lesotho Government did not need further information — and that it found the Lesotho response unsatisfactory.

Shortly after this — on December 21 — nine people were assassinated in Maseru. The dead included six ANC members and three Lesotho citizens. The killers used silenced weapons.

The LLA claimed "credit" for the killings, South Africa denied any involvement and Lesotho put the blame squarely on its neighbour.

Against this background of

tension came the bomb in the vehicle in Durban, followed by the Amanzimtoti bomb.

Although the bombers were not traced back to Lesotho, both incidents reinforced the South African belief that Lesotho had become a springboard for the ANC — and that something would have to be done to neutralise this source of danger.

When it was clear that the South African Department of Foreign Affairs could not resolve the situation diplomatically, the South African Government took a decision to intensify security at the border posts which ringed Lesotho.

Mandates

The new security measures took effect at the beginning of last week and, within days, Lesotho suggested joint security matters should be dealt with by a sub-committee of the liaison committee.

South Africa agreed, but told Lesotho that its representatives on the sub-committee should have full mandates to negotiate and to act.

On Monday Lesotho contacted South Africa and said it had designated the membership of a high-ranking committee which was standing by to travel to South Africa for talks.

South Africa said it would schedule the meeting as soon as possible — and it reminded the Lesotho Government that its representatives should be "fully mandated".

The meeting will probably be held in Pretoria early next week.

Sources close to the South African Government say it is unlikely that border security arrangements will be relaxed until negotiations with Lesotho yield tangible results.

Azapo reaches

out to UDF

DISPATCH

IIA

20/11/86

Dispatch Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has decided to "stretch out the hand of friendship" to the United Democratic Front in the hope of ending the bitter feud which has split the community in Port Elizabeth's strife-torn townships.

This was disclosed here yesterday by Mr Muntu Myeza, Azapo's Johannesburg-based national publicity secretary.

He told a press conference that Azapo had expelled "a few" members, including the Rev Mzwini Maqina, because of "serious disciplinary infractions".

He said: "We will not have members who testify in racist courts of law against fellow blacks, nor will we

accept members wishing to see fellow blacks incarcerated for financial gain. We will also not accept anyone not prepared to adhere to our code of conduct."

Azapo had been "painfully aware" of the tense situation between its supporters and those supporting the UDF in the Eastern Cape, and in Port Elizabeth in particular, Mr Myeza said.

"We have decided this situation cannot continue indefinitely and we are determined to do all we can to resolve these problems."

Mr Henry Fazzie, vice-president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, said yesterday that the organisation had not yet received Azapo's invitation.

"Beyond saying the unity of the people is important, I cannot comment further."

By nationalising Anglo American, Barlow Rand and Sanlam, the ANC could gain control of 75% of the economy . . .

THE AIR is filled with talk — despite the efforts of Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange to suppress it — of an “alliance” to be led by the African National Congress. So we might as well try to ascertain what it means.

Le Grange, having permitted some reporting of Oliver Tambo's recent statements, now says that he didn't intend to approve more than one South African Press Association report, and he has warned that further disclosures of the truth will be punishable.

This hampers debate, but does not kill it.

One can safely say that the ANC has indeed addressed itself to a variety of groups, among them the trade unions and the mineworkers, the white business community, white conscripts and all white opponents of apartheid.

One can say, too, that the tone of its comments was ingratiating. Tambo's words on this subject can no longer be quoted. But, fortunately, we have available from an expert on the inner workings of the ANC an explanation of what the organisation is trying to achieve by wooing non-ANC members.

The expert is Howard Barrell, whose views have been reported in an excellent publication called “Work in Progress”.

Since Le Grange will not let the ANC speak for itself, let me say that Barrell's account of ANC thinking accords precisely with

To the ANC, ‘big capital’ in SA is part of the ‘enemy forces’

Bus Day 23/11/86 # 117A

my own understanding of Tambo's recent comments.

Barrell says five principles underlie the ANC's overtures to various potential partners in an “alliance”.

The first is “the need to build maximum unity between all sections and formations of the oppressed, other democrats and progressives and, quite literally, to bring these forces, equipped and prepared as well as possible, to the battle-front.”

The second is to win over to its basic outlook as many whites as possible and thereby “to isolate politically the die-hard defenders of what it sees as a racist and exploitative state power.”

The third principle stated by Barrell is that a revolutionary organisation does not go to war in order to hold talks; but the fourth principle is that it must always be willing to talk in order to re-

duce the suffering of the people in achieving state power.

Underlying this fourth principle, says Barrell, is the insistence that “talks of any kind should never be allowed to demobilise the liberation movement's forces” unless an explicit cease-fire occurs.

The fifth principle is that the ANC will not allow talks with the government to remain secret from its members — including, presumably, all the people whom the ANC claims as supporters within SA.

In the light of these principles, Barrell puts on the meetings between the ANC and the SA business community an interpretation quite different from those usually heard in SA.

The ANC, he says, has determined that “big capital” (like most of the Left, he takes an anthropomorphic view of capital) is part of the “enemy forces”.

He speculates that the ANC could, by nationalising the Anglo American Corporation, Barlow Rand and Sanlam, gain control of 75% of the economy, and that it would allow smaller businesses to continue in a mixed economy beneath these “commanding heights”.

He observes, however, that the SA Communist Party (which provides about half the ANC executive) has a more ambitious programme of nationalisation.

Referring to the recent ANC meeting with a business delegation led by Gavin Relly, of the Anglo American Corporation, Barrell says:

“These relatively enlightened sections of the business community appear to recognise that SA is moving towards a scale and kind of struggle which could result in a successful quasi-Bolshevik insurrection, rather than a traditional black nationalist takeover.”

It is sensible to conclude that one of capital's intentions at the meeting was to establish the potential for, in one or other sense, ‘buying out’ some portion of the ANC leadership or exercising the ‘Lourho option’.

“The latter is a political insurance policy, paid for by favours to the liberation movement or selected members of its leadership during the period of struggle . . . ‘Capital's prospects of succeeding with this tactic in the

case of the ANC look very dim indeed.”

Barrell says the nature of the talks between SA business and the ANC in Zambia indicated a “deep concern that (President P W) Botha is incapable of delivering timeous options that can safeguard capital”.

For the ANC, says Barrell, the issue is the transfer of power to the people, to smash or dismantle apartheid totally. “The issue is not a national convention.”

The talks with big business leaders or other non-governmental elements “from the white bloc” are part of the “thrust to isolate politically the Botha government”.

The struggle is between “Botha and the ANC,” Barrell writes, quoting an unnamed ANC source as saying: “There is no middle road.”

Those are almost precisely the words used by another expert on the ANC, Tom Lodge, who told an audience at Wits late last year: “There is no middle ground.”

The prospect for negotiations between the ANC and the government are, understandably, even bleaker. Barrell says a whole range of preconditions apply.

The only subject on the agenda would be the “modality for the transfer of power” and this transfer would demand a change (unspecified) in the character of the army and the police.

The ANC would not discuss reform. “The central precondition is that such talks must be premised on an agreement among participants that the objective of the talks is to totally dismantle apartheid and to arrive at a modality for a united, democratic and non-racial country.”

For reforms, whether to the Separate Amenities Act or the Group Areas Act or the pass laws, the ANC has only scorn.

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the ANC opposes any amelioration of apartheid that might reduce the ferocity of the revolutionary struggle into which it is now trying to draw prospective allies.

None of this implies that nobody should talk to the ANC, but it is as well to recognise what the ANC wants to talk about.

The middle ground offers no place to hide.



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Winnie goes into hiding after court hearing

WEDNESDAY 23/11/84

WINNIE MANDELA left for an undisclosed location yesterday after a Krugersdorp Regional Court magistrate added a proviso to bail conditions prohibiting her from entering Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

Her attorney, Ismail Ayob, refused to say where Mandela was going after the hearing.

"She is in hiding from the Press," he joked.

About 150 cameramen and chanting wellwishers surrounded the wife of jailed African

National Congress leader Nelson Mandela as she left court.

Police urged the crowd, which spilled on to the streets outside the court building, to disperse.

Motorists and passersby watched as Mandela exchanged a clenched fist salute with bystanders before leaving by car.

During the hearing, magistrate C J Eksteen granted an application that the words "unless she is lawfully in that area" be added to bail conditions prohibiting Mandela from entering the

magisterial districts of Johannesburg and Roodepoort.

Prosecutor G Thiar said the magistrate at Brandfort, Free State, was the only person who could give Mandela permission to enter a prohibited area.

Ayob later explained that the amendment meant Mandela could return to Soweto without being constrained by the bail condition if a forthcoming appeal overturned a Rand Supreme Court decision to uphold her amended banning order.

Mandela was arrested at her home in Soweto on December 22 after the amended banning order, refusing her permission to enter the two areas, was imposed on December 21.

The hearing was postponed to February 19.

Mandela was not asked to plead to charges, in terms of the Internal Security Act, of failing to comply with the provisions of her banning order.

Bail of R500 was extended. — Sapa.

NEW YORK — Sharply lower

to \$20 — in the past two days had

Report on Zululand clash

Inquiry blames SAP for five deaths during campus riots

STAR 23/1/86

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The South African Police could have helped avert the violent student-Inkatha clash at the University of Zululand in 1983 which left five dead and more than 100 people injured, a Government-appointed commission of inquiry has found.

The commissioner, Professor John Middleton of the department of criminal law at the University of South Africa, said the violence on October 29 1983 was the culmination of a series of events on the campus beginning with the booking of the Bhokuzulu Hall by the Inkatha Cultural Society for a ceremony to commemorate the centenary of the death of King Cetshwayo. The clash occurred on the morning of the ceremony.

Pamphlet war

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, president of Inkatha and chancellor of the university, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was to speak.

Immediately the booking was approved by the university authorities, a pamphlet war — including hints of violence — was waged between anonymous groups.

Early on the day of the ceremony "a group of several hundred members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, amongst whom were included many young girls and some very young children, proceeded from the Bhokuzulu Hall eastwards to the interior of the campus in order to escort certain female students, who had spent the night in the Bhokuzulu Hall, to the women's hostels, where they wished to bathe and change".

A group of male students was encountered and fighting broke out. Violence then grew out of control.

Four students and one visitor to the campus died in the subsequent skirmish.

Professor Middleton criticised the South African Police for failure to ensure that those attending the Inkatha ceremony stayed near the hall.

"Much of the responsibility for what subsequently occurred rests on their shoulders," he said.

Cape Times 23/1/86

University blamed for deaths

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The main cause of the tragedy on the campus of the University of Zululand on October 29, 1983, in which six people died in disturbances, appeared to be the failure of the university authorities to confine the crowd to the immediate vicinity of the Bhekuzulu Hall on the campus.

This is the finding of Professor A J Middleton, head of Criminal Law at the University of South Africa, whose one-man commission investigated the deaths.

His report says evidence suggested that acts since 1980 by radical students, backed by certain staff members, were aimed at demonstrating that "in the heartland of KwaZulu", Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of the homeland, was rejected by a university of which he is the chancellor.

"The ceremony commemorating the centenary of the death of King Cetswayo appears to have been regarded by these students as a further opportunity to denigrate Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha movement and to stage a demonstration of their views."

Disruptive of academic activities

Professor Middleton said there had been no conclusive evidence of a clash between supporters of Inkatha and the United Democratic Front.

The commission recommended:

- The expulsion of students guilty of "wrongful conduct which is disruptive of the academic activities of the university and infringes the rights of others on the campus".

- That public gatherings be confined to the immediate vicinity of the Bhekuzulu Hall and that the university's chief security officer be charged with taking the necessary steps.

- That students and staff be prevented from making "irresponsible statements to the media concerning the official affairs of the university".

- Election of a "responsible Students' Representative Council".

CAPE TIMES 23/1/86

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Leaflets attack workers, UDF

Staff Reporter

PAMPHLETS attacking the United Democratic Front and community workers have been distributed in Zwelethemba, outside Worcester, and police have raided the community workers' offices.

Mr Gesini Dlikilili, chairman of the Western Cape Civic Association, said thousands of the anonymous pamphlets were distributed yesterday morning.

A WCCA worker, Miss

Irene Mfulo, said that in the afternoon police entered the offices of the Worcester Advice Office, where the WCCA is based, and confiscated a typewriter and a roneo machine.

The police had not asked any questions and had said nothing about the pamphlets, she said.

Mr Dlikilili said the pamphlets blamed the UDF and the WCCA for the presence of troops in the township because, the pamphlets alleged,

these organizations had been causing the unrest in the area.

"The pamphlets name me and two other WCCA workers, Mrs Miriam Moleleki and Mrs Elizabeth Bushaana, as being involved in unrest and school and consumer boycotts. They are unsigned and provide no evidence for these allegations, which are absolutely untrue."

Mr Dlikilili said the pamphlets encouraged pupils to go to school and

black consumers to buy at white-owned shops.

"I don't know what the response to this will be ... but I am sure that not many will be taken in by this pro-government propaganda."

Mrs Di Bishop, vice-chairman of the Black Sash in the Western Cape and a civil-rights worker in the Boland, said the pamphlets were "obviously an effort to discredit the UDF."

"I am sure they were produced by some dirty tricks department ..."

9886 Times 23/1/86

Tutu's call 'deplorable'

Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday condemned the reported call by Bishop Desmond Tutu for Western nations to support the African National Congress.

Bishop Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, is currently on a speaking tour of the United States.

"The South African Government is shocked by this call by the Bishop, who had been internationally honoured for his contribution to peace," the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said in a statement yesterday.

"For a man of the cloth, his backing for a

terrorist organization can only be described as deplorable."

Mr Heunis said the ANC was a terrorist organization, "similar to the IRA and the PLO, both of which are condemned as such by Western nations".

"As for the South African Government, it remains committed to peaceful change through negotiation, change by which racial injustice is being eliminated ... by which a system is being developed in which there will be no domination by any group over another and in which full political power sharing, up to the highest level, will be effected," Mr Heunis said.

CARE Link 23/1/86
2 die in
faction
fighting

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Two men, one a tribal chief, were killed and four others seriously injured in continued faction fighting in Natal yesterday.

Chief Nkanyana Majozi, 60, of Section R6 Shongweni Location, and Mr Mhlangano Mthembu, 30, from a nearby township, were stabbed to death in the Shongweni area.

Five men were shot dead there at the weekend and last week three were hacked to death at the nearby Hammarsdale township.

At Isipingo railway station on the South Coast yesterday four people, believed to be Pondos, were seriously injured when a fight broke out between about 20 people thought to be Zulus and Pondos.

One victim was badly burnt when he was set alight.

At Malakazi's No 5 shack settlement, several cars were slightly damaged when Pondos blocked the main road near the settlement yesterday afternoon.

Relationships: the ANC factor

11A

By John D'Oliveira, Editor of
The Star's Africa News Service

STAR 23/1/86

The military coup in Lesotho has heavily underlined the degree to which the African National Congress dominates regional relationships in Southern Africa.

Ever since uhuru spread to the subcontinent, South Africa's relations with its neighbours have been tempered by their attitude to the ANC (although in Angola's case, more by their attitude to Swapo).

In Mozambique, South Africa assisted the rebel Mozambique National Resistance movement in a successful attempt to force the Samora Machel Government into the Nkomati mutual non-aggression pact.

While South Africa agreed to cease all help to the MNR, Mozambique agreed to expel ANC activists and to prevent the ANC from ever again using Mozambique as a springboard for attacks on South Africa.

Following a series of accusations from Mozambique that South Africa was continuing its aid to the MNR (including the broadside from President Samora Machel at the weekend), the vaunted Nkomati Accord appears to exist in name only — and there are mutterings in Pretoria about a continued ANC presence in Maputo.

Had it not been for the prospect that the MPLA would help Swapo, South Africa would have been less eager to help Dr Jonas Savimbi's bid for power in Angola in 1975. And had the MPLA Government in Luanda not given massive facilities to

Swapo, Dr Savimbi would have been much leaner militarily than he now is.

It is also possible that the Namibian issue may have been settled.

The Lusaka Agreement of 1984 laid down that Angola would keep Swapo out of a specified area in Southern Angola while the South Africans agreed to pull their troops out of the same area.

Ironically, despite all the propaganda from Angola, the Lusaka Agreement is more adhered to than breached.

South Africa has few problems with Swaziland, which does everything within its limited powers (as much for its own political purposes as for South Africa's) to keep ANC activists from using facilities in the country.

Crossed border

Botswana has claimed repeatedly that it does not allow the ANC to use its territory to plan or launch attacks on South Africa, but the South African Defence Force, nevertheless, crossed the border on June 14 last year for a raid on Gaborone in which 2 people were killed and six were injured.

Tension between the two countries has flared over the last few weeks following the landmine explosions in the Northern Transvaal and Mr Pi-

Botha's warning that South Africa would exercise its right to take whatever action it deemed necessary to protect its citizens' lives and property.

The less than warm relationship with Zimbabwe also cooled dramatically over the same issue.

While both Botswana and Zimbabwe denied that they had encouraged the ANC or allowed the ANC to cross their territory to lay the mines in the Northern Transvaal, the South African Government remains suspicious — and, with every landmine explosion, it comes under increasing pressure to strike back.

The real problem, however, developed in Lesotho where Chief Leabua Jonathan's Government allegedly looked the other way while the ANC effectively transferred its main operations base against South Africa from Maputo to Maseru.

In December 1982 South Africa had sent its Defence Force into Maseru to clean out what South Africa believed to be an ANC stronghold. A total of 43 people were killed and a number injured.

Towards the end of 1985 South Africa was ready to act again.

When the Jonathan Government failed to "address South African concerns" over the ANC presence in the country, South Africa intensified its security measures on the common border — and reduced the

flow of goods into and out of Lesotho to a trickle.

And this triggered the military coup.

There have been reports over the past few days that ANC members have been leaving Lesotho for Zambia and Tanzania (many travelling via Maputo) and there are firm indications that the new government in Lesotho will do what it can to satisfy South African demands.

Whatever it does, it knows that its relationship with its powerful neighbour will be determined by its own relationship with the ANC.

Where does this leave the region?

Assess tactics

About the only certain fact is that if the Lesotho coup proves to be a setback, the ANC will regroup, reassess its tactics and then seek to intensify the "war" against the South African Government and its supporters.

As a formality, the ANC claims that its attacks come from within South Africa.

The South African Government says it assesses the situation differently and it has made clear that it will act against any country it believes offers an operations base to the ANC — or is less than vigilant about the ANC's use of its territory and its facilities.

So, any increase in ANC activity in South Africa will almost certainly lead to increased tension between South Africa and its neighbours — and the ANC knows this well.

'Smear' pamphlets: 3 live in fear

AA6. U.S. 23/1/86 (11A) 2/3
Staff Reporter

THREE Zwelethemba community workers are in fear of their lives after pamphlets accusing them of being responsible for the state of emergency, the schools boycott and the presence of troops were distributed in the Worcester township this week.

Mr Abel Dlikilili, chairman of the Zwelethemba branch of the Western Cape Civic Association, said the pamphlets were part of a smear campaign against him, Ms Elizabeth Bushaana and Ms Miriam Moleleki.

"What puzzles us is that no one has claimed responsibility for

the printing or distribution of the hundreds of pamphlets," Mr Dlikilili said.

He has not reported the matter to the Worcester police, "but that does not mean that we are not worried about our safety".

The pamphlets, he said, were printed in Xhosa.

According to Mr Dlikilili the pamphlets said "Able, Miriam and Elizabeth" had caused the school boycott, the imposition of the state of emergency on the township, the presence of troops in Zwelethemba and the bus boycott.

The pamphlets called on resi-

dents to use buses, to buy at white shops in Worcester and called on pupils to return to school.

"It also said many children were behind bars while we are free. But we were the ones to call on pupils to return to school before we were arrested in July last year," Mr Dlikilili said.

"I was held for a month under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. So were Miriam, James Issel, Matthew Kapa, Donovan Petersen and Juan Karriem. And we were the ones who were trying to get the pupils back to school."

ARGUS 23/1/86

Hands off Tutu, PFP warns Govt

Political Staff

IN the growing storm surrounding Bishop Desmond Tutu the Government was warned today by the Progressive Federal Party not to take executive action against the Anglican churchman but rather to unban the African National Congress.

Bishop Tutu's statements on his current tour of the United States, including his call for support of the African National Congress, were likely to have been the subject of discussion at yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

In a statement after the the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said the Government was shocked by the call of support for the ANC, saying that Bishop Tutu's backing of a terrorist organisation "can only be described as deplorable".

But it is unlikely that the Government will take action against the bishop as it believes his recent statements could discredit him in the eyes of his overseas audience.

Vice-President George Bush's criticism of Bishop Tutu's statements yesterday was seen as a step in this direction.

Division

In a statement that is likely to cause division in the ranks of the PFP, the chairman of the party's Federal Council, Dr Alex Boraine, warned the Government not to take executive action against Bishop Tutu, "as this would only be interpreted as a vindictive step against the messenger who brings the bad news".

Dr Boraine, a former Moderator of the Methodist Church of South Africa, continued: "There are no elected black leaders in the normal sense of the

word and inevitably church and labour leaders have to assume a more direct role."

Dr Boraine said to call for the support of the ANC was to risk a statutory offence and charges of aiding and abetting a banned organisation.

"Rather than bringing into play legal machinery, it would be much wiser to unban the ANC because it enjoys considerable support among black South Africans and sooner or later we will have to deal with it and it will be better to do so around a table than over the barrel of a gun."

"Terrorism"

In his statement Mr Hennis said the Government remained committed to peaceful change and that support of the ANC could only impede that process.

"The ANC has been responsible for numerous acts of terrorism in which many people, mostly black South Africans, have died. This organisation, by its own statements, is openly committed to violence and revolution."

● The Argus Foreign Service reports from Washington that Bishop Tutu has so far raised almost R1-million in his coast-to-coast campaign for political support and money for his financially ailing diocese.

With three days to go to the end of his highly successful tour of more than 18 cities and 40 speeches the churchman has collected at least R913 000 — double the target set by the foundation behind his tour.

Bishop Tutu ends his tour on Saturday with a dinner at the Santa Monica home of actress Jane Fonda and her husband Tom Hayden.

● Tutu's image in the US, Page 16.

23/1/86 STAR

ANC worried about refugees in Lesotho

LUSAKA — The African National Congress is extremely worried about the fate of South African refugees in Lesotho, according to diplomats.

The sources said about 700 anti-apartheid refugees were in Lesotho when the government of Chief Leabua Jonathan was overthrown on Monday.

Chief Jonathan denied South African claims that he allowed ANC guerillas to operate from Lesotho, but said he offered sanctuary to those he considered refugees.

The ANC has made no public comment on the Lesotho coup.

Diplomats in Lusaka also believe that the numbers killed in Lesotho in the run-up to the coup were substantially greater than has been acknowledged in Maseru.

Shortly before the coup Jonathan's government said five people had died, four of them paramilitary mutineers.

The secretary-general of Zambia's ruling United National Independence Party, Mr Grey Zulu, said the fall of Chief Jonathan was a clear sign of the destabilisation of independent states in the region by the South African Government — Sapa-Reuter.

Refugees' future in the balance

EXILED political organisations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Lesotho are concerned about the future of political refugees in the country after Sunday night's coup.

The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said they had refugees in Lesotho and were watching the situation.

The concern for political refugees comes after the South African Government asked Lesotho to hand over such people to it.

Reports say there are about 11 000 refugees in Lesotho. No figures could be given for the two banned parties.

An ANC spokesman in Lusaka yesterday said they could not comment yet as the Lesotho Government's position was not clear. He said the ANC would have to study Lesotho's reaction to Pretoria's call.

Wary

The PAC in Botswana said it had no information about the hand over call and whether it affected their members.

By SELLO RABOTHATA

A representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr K Doherty, said: "We have not been in touch with the new government and the condition as we see it will remain as it was before the take-over. We do not think their position would be affected."

Meanwhile the South African Government is reported to be wary of being seen to rush in to welcome the new regime openly.

The Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha declined to deal with the question of South Africa's formal recognition of the new government.

Meanwhile executive and legislative powers have been given to King Moshoeshoe II by the military leaders who ousted former prime minister Leabua Jonathan in last week's coup in Lesotho, the SOWETAN Africa News Service reports.

In an announcement broadcast by the State Radio on Tuesday the Lesotho Military Council (LMC) said the king would act on its advice in exercising these powers.

The announcement made it clear that the LMC reserved the right to cancel the executive order at any time, thereon withdrawing the powers given to the king.

He could, however, exercise them directly or through officers of the government.

The vesting of powers in the king was promulgated in the first executive order issued by the LMC.

11A
SOWETAN
03/1/86

Azapo issues terse warning

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation yesterday warned that it will take strong action against members who "testify in courts of law against fellow blacks".

It also warned members, particularly those in the eastern Cape, who are continuing the strife between them and the United Democratic Front.

Publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said this after a Press conference held in Port Elizabeth yesterday where he was giving the organisation reasons for sacking the Reverend Mzwandile Maqina.

Mr Maqina, who was an executive member of



MR Muntu Myeza

the organisation in the eastern Cape, was sacked this weekend for "serious disciplinary infractions," according to Mr Myeza.

Mr Myeza did not specify.

He said Azapo was worried about the situation in the Eastern Cape between Azapo and the UDF, and "shall not tolerate those who do not adhere to the organisation's code of conduct.

'Strife'

"Azapo is going to do everything in its power to resolve the situation. We cannot afford to have the strife between our organisations," Mr Myeza said.

He said Azapo is presently engaged in efforts to meet with the local eastern Cape UDF leadership where the following points shall be discussed:

- To work together on points where there is agreements.
- Where there is disagreement to work towards solving the disagreement.

He said Azapo was extending its hand of friendship to the UDF and "this must not be taken as a sign of weakness but as a sign of concern".

SPAC 23/11/86
11/11/86

Govt deplores Tutu's reported ANC appeal

The South African Government was shocked by the reported call by Bishop Desmond Tutu on Western nations to support the African National Congress, the Minister of Constitutional Development, and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday.

Mr Heunis said in a statement the State President, Mr P.W. Botha, had repeatedly called on all South Africans who renounced violence to enter into discussions on South Africa's constitutional future on the basis of an open agenda.

"This invitation also included non-elected leaders who enjoy a high public profile.

"If he was correctly reported by the media, Bishop Desmond Tutu has called upon Western nations to support the African National Congress.

"In view of this call for sympathy with the ANC, I am not surprised by the bishop's reluctance to actively support peaceful negotiations with the South African Government," Mr Heunis said.

"The South African Government is shocked by this call by the bishop, who has been internationally honoured for his contribution to peace. For a man of the cloth, his backing of a terrorist organisation can only be described as deplorable," he said.

"The ANC has been responsible for numerous acts of terrorism in which many people, mostly black South Africans, had died. This organisation, by its own statements, is openly committed to violence and revolution."

Support of the ANC can only impede the process of peaceful change, Mr Heunis said. — Sapa.

Unban ANC, PFP urges

23/1/86

Political Staff

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STAR

11A

CAPE TOWN — In the growing storm surrounding Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Government was warned today by the Progressive Federal Party not to take executive action against him but rather to unban the African National Congress.

Bishop Tutu's statements on his current tour of the United States, including his call for support of the ANC, were likely to have been discussed at yesterday's Cabinet meeting.

In a statement after the meeting, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said the Government was shocked by the bishop's reported call of support for the ANC, saying his backing of a terrorist organisation "can only be described as deplorable".

But it is understood that it is unlikely the Government will take action against Bishop Tutu as it believes his recent statements could discredit him in the eyes of his overseas audience.

US Vice-President George Bush's criticism of Bishop Tutu's statements was seen as a first step in this direction.

In a statement likely to cause division in the ranks of the PFP, the chairman of the party's

federal council, Dr Alex Boraine, strongly warned the Government not to take executive action against Bishop Tutu "as this would only be interpreted as a vindictive step against the messenger who brings the bad news".

Dr Boraine continued: "The controversy surrounding Bishop Tutu flows directly from the abnormal political system. There are no elected black leaders in the normal sense of the word and inevitably church and labour leaders assume a more direct role.

"Unfortunately, Bishop Tutu is blamed for drawing Government attention to the deep sense of anger in the black community."

Dr Boraine said to call for the support of the ANC was to risk a statutory offence.

"It would be much wiser to unban the ANC because it enjoys considerable support among black South Africans and sooner or later we will have to deal with it. It will be better to do so around a table than over the barrel of a gun".

In his statement, Mr Heunis said the Government remained committed to peaceful change through negotiation. Support of the ANC could only impede the process of peaceful change.

Security Police detain top UDF organisers

SECURITY POLICE detained United Democratic Front acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe and West Cape administrative secretary Cheryl Carolus in Johannesburg early yesterday.

The detentions came a day after Carolus had returned from Sweden with a UDF delegation which held talks with the ANC and Swedish government and labour officials in Stockholm.

Carolus was taken into custody in an early-morning raid on the home of UDF national treasurer Azhar Cachalia.

It could not be established yesterday where or under which law Morobe was

PETER HONEY

being held.

A UDF spokesman condemned the detentions and called for their immediate release, as well as that of UDF northern Cape organiser Hoffman Galeng who was detained outside his lawyer's office in Johannesburg on Tuesday.

The spokesman said he knew nothing to connect Carolus' arrest with her week-long visit to Sweden in a four-member delegation led by UDF Border vice-president A Stofile.

UDF Transvaal general secretary Mo-

hamed Valli and University of the Witwatersrand law lecturer Raymond Suttner, a Transvaal executive member, were part of the delegation.

The five-member ANC delegation in Stockholm was led by secretary-general Alfred Nzo. The talks with the UDF dealt with the socio-political crisis in SA, the spokesman said.

He described the discussions as fruitful and beneficial.

The UDF delegation met members of Sweden's ruling Social Democratic Party, the foreign and development aid ministers and union leaders.

BUS DAY

24/1/86

(11A) (25)

(27)

Business Day

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THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER FOR DECISION MAKERS

Zulu clashes with Pondos leave an estimated 30 dead

AT least 30 men and women were hacked and burned to death and scores injured in bloody clashes involving about 3 000 Zulus and Pondos in the shack settlement at Malakazi, south of Durban, yesterday.

Police arrested more than 480 men and seized truckloads of weapons, including home-made guns, after moving into the No 5 settlement, a predominantly Pondo shackland yesterday.

By late last night police confirmed

Own Correspondent

they had discovered 30 bodies, but said the figure could rise because they were still combing the densely wooded area.

Since faction-fighting erupted in the shanty town on Christmas Eve last year, the official number of dead has risen to 83.

Hundreds have been injured and scores of shacks burned down.

Yesterday's clash started soon after Sam when more than 500 Pondos moved into KwaMakhiutha township, close to Malakazi.

They were retreating against an attack by Zulus at Isipingo railway station where a Pondo was set alight the previous night and died in hospital.

An impi of about 1 000 angry Zulus struck back and the Pondos retreated. But on the way back to their shackland

they attacked the home and looted the shops and bottlestore of KwaZulu MP for Umbumbulu, Roy Mbongwe.

Three people were killed when Mbongwe's son drove the attackers away with a shotgun.

The retreating Pondos were followed by Zulus, who later fled when Pondos fired shots at them.

A strong contingent of police in Caspirs arrived on the scene early yesterday

and took control of the area, surrounding the armed Pondos.

Teargas was used and the Pondos were disarmed before being arrested and taken to the Isipingo police station where they were charged with public violence.

Police spokesman Captain Winston Heunis said yesterday police would

● To Page 2

At least 30 die in Natal clashes

main on stand-by to prevent further clashes.

Soon after the Pondo men were arrested their shackland was engulfed in flames.

Hundreds of women were seen salvaging belongings as make-shift plastic and ply-wood shelters burned furiously.

Women and children fled the township in tears, claiming they did not know where they were going to live without their menfolk and money.

Thick smoke and flames were seen as

far away as Amanzimtoti and Durban.

Ismail Mansor, an Isipingo businessman, said scores of dead and injured people were brought to the local police station.

"The injured were treated by paramedics and later taken to hospital," he said. He said that bodies were scattered all over the police station.

Fifteen ambulances and a disaster bus were used to ferry the injured to hospital.

11A

From page 1

BUS DAY 24/1/86

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CAP/ Tim-2 24/1/86

Lesotho won't return refugees

NAIROBI. — Lesotho's new military rulers said yesterday that refugees from South Africa would be flown out of the country as quickly as possible and would not be handed over to the South African authorities.

The statement, from the military council which seized power on Monday, was broadcast by state run Radio Lesotho monitored by the BBC.

It was the first announcement of the new government's policy in the dispute with South Africa over the presence of anti-apartheid South Africans — regarded by Lesotho as refugees and by Pretoria as terrorists.

The military council's statement said the African National Congress and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees were helping to speed up the airlift of ANC refugees.

Radio Lesotho said the council "has categorically refuted speculation that Lesotho might hand over her refugees to South Africa".

In Maseru, political sources said yesterday that the new military leaders appeared to have crushed opposition from some factions in the armed forces which were against their seizure of power.

Major-General Justin Lekhanya, leader of the coup that overthrew the civilian government of

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To page 2

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CAF Tim-2
24/1/86

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From page

Chief Leabua Jonathan on Monday, is firmly in charge of the country — but only after differences with some senior officers of Lesotho's 1 500-man paramilitary force, the sources said.

No details were available, but the sources said those opposed to the new military council seemed to have been demoted.

Radio Lesotho yesterday reported that governors of three northern districts — Butha, Leribe and Berea — had welcomed the new administration, pledged their support and said they hoped it would normalize the strained relations with South Africa.

The new Lesotho Government has already moved to normalize ties during talks between officials of the two countries in the past four days.

Lifting of 'blockade' expected

Pretoria's crippling security crackdown on Lesotho's borders has now been relaxed and train services carrying vital petrol into Lesotho were resumed on Monday.

Lesotho officials expect the "blockade" to be finally lifted after conclusion of talks.

Radio Lesotho has been publicizing the new government's moves to ease tension. Political sources said it seemed to be drumming up support for greater co-operation with South Africa, which completely surrounds Lesotho.

'Not under house arrest'

Chief Jonathan and his ministers were apparently still at their homes yesterday after being told by the new rulers to remain there until further notice.

The government denies they are under house arrest.

Sources said the government, which said it was giving the figurehead monarch, King Moshoeshoe II, legislative and executive powers to govern Lesotho on the advice of the military council, was expected to announce its policies soon.

General Lekhanya, described by diplomats as non-communist, a Roman Catholic and widely respected within the armed forces, was likely to steer Lesotho towards good relations with Pretoria and downgrade Chief Jonathan's close ties with East Bloc nations.

ANC 'deaths' discounted

Western diplomats yesterday dismissed reports that ANC members had been killed since the military takeover on Monday.

They said reports on Wednesday from Lusaka, suggesting that "hundreds" of ANC members had been killed in clashes between the army and Chief Jonathan's youth followers, were "absolute rubbish and disinformation".

According to some sources in Lusaka, there were about 700 South African refugees in Lesotho at the time of the coup. — Sapa-Reuter

ONE - Times 21/1/86
ANC
deported

Own Correspondent

MBABANE. — Twenty-eight African National Congress refugees were deported from Swaziland and flown to African countries of their choice this week.

The Times of Swaziland reported yesterday that the Commissioner of Police, Mr Saandile Mdziniso, had confirmed the deportations, which had been handled by the Ministry of the Interior and Immigration in conjunction with the police.

The commissioner said the refugees had reported to the local office of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and had asked to be flown out.

Mamelodi shootings: Report issued

ATTORNEYS responsible for collecting statements from Mamelodi residents this week submitted a summary of their findings.

The attorneys are in a fact-finding committee of the Pretoria Council of Churches into the incidents that led to a mass shoot-out in Mame-

lodi last year. The commission is headed by Mr Arthur Chaskalson, who is assisted by Mr E Mose-neke and Bishop Ndwandwe as an assessor.

The terms of reference of the commission are:

- To investigate incidents that led to the march;

- To investigate the march itself; and its aftermath; to draw up a report of the conclusion based on the facts disclosed in accordance with the above.

The commission has decided to proceed with the inquiry which will be held from February 3 until February 14 at the Mamelodi YMCA.

Invitations have been extended to organisations both in Mamelodi and in Pretoria as well as to the SAP to give evidence before the commission.

Opportunity will be given for witnesses to testify in camera, and anyone who wishes to forward evidence may contact the attorneys at 365 Struben Street, first floor, Sidend Building off Prinsloo Street, Pretoria.

24/1/86 S.P.R. Volatile townships a boon to ANC, (11A) prof tells congress

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

There were 136 terrorist attacks in South Africa last year — the highest annual occurrence of such incidents so far in the 1980s.

Professor Mike Hough, of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria (ISSUP), told a congress on "Revolution and Revolutionaries" this morning that the increase was at least partially due to the current unrest "which created a more favourable environment for ANC military and political activities".

In 1980, he said, there had been 19 such attacks, in 1981 there were 55, in 1982 a total of 39, in 1983 there had been 55 incidents and in 1984 a total of 44.

Professor Hough said 1985 had seen a major increase in murders or attempted murders of policemen — there were 34 such incidents during the year — and murders or attempts on the lives of civilians (40 attacks). There had also been a significant increase in attacks on business premises, with 19 such incidents being recorded during the year.

In June last year the organisation had indicated that it now saw certain civilians — including prominent Government supporters, border farmers, civil defence workers and State witnesses — as "legitimate targets".

And there was evidence of a "general authorisation" by ANC leaders, whereby weapons were made available to ANC "cadres" who picked their own targets.

Another innovation was weekend training of ANC supporters, who were returned immediately to "continue the struggle".

Professor Hough said the ANC's broad plan for the 1980s included further "guerilla war" followed ultimately by a "general offensive".

By this latter stage, the ANC expected that South Africa would be internationally isolated, the economy exhausted and the security forces demoralised. "Liberated zones would then be established in the rural areas and the cities encircled."

The recent landmine incidents in the Northern Transvaal, and Mr Oliver Tambo's recent reference to the operation of "bigger units", reflected an attempt to create the impression of an increase.

"It is, however, highly dubious whether direct attacks on 'hard' military targets or ambushes are within the ANC's reach. The same applies to 'liberated zones', although the ANC has tried to create the impression that a form of 'liberated zone' has been created in some black townships."

'Soviets train insurgents in chemical war'

ANC operatives sent for Soviet training are apparently receiving training in the use of chemical weapons, according to British author and lecturer Miss Jillian Becker.

Miss Becker told delegates at today's conference on "Revolution and Revolutionaries" that there was some evidence of this in spite of the Soviet Union's official renunciation of this type of warfare.

She knew of a mixed group of African and Palestinian recruits which had undergone such training together in the late 1970s.

Miss Becker said such specialist training was indicative of the extremely close working relationship between the ANC and the Soviet Communist Party.

Miss Becker said that as early as 1928 the ANC had been chosen by the Comintern as "the sole representative of the oppressed masses in South Africa".

But, she said, the ANC's co-operation had not been easily come by.

Nevertheless, the organisation had finally been "wooded out of nationalism and into Marxist-Leninist internationalism". — Pretoria Bureau.



...e star of the show in the 1986 ton model, and said that, in his had done. King Kong is so large long does not just look real — his to touch him, his skin feels real

● Picture by Dale Yudelman.

'Politics of negotiation still possible in SA'

STAR 24/1/86



By Susan Fleming

The possibility of negotiation in South Africa still exists despite the apparent political deadlock between black and white in the country.

This is the opinion of Mr Steven Friedman, a special research fellow at the South African Institute of Race Relations, who recently completed a research paper entitled "Black Politics at the Crossroads".

"Possibilities exist for creating negotiation politics in the townships, which offers some hope of breaking out of the spiral of random militancy and repression which has plagued them since 1976.

"Only if these possibilities are realised will the present impasse create a new atmosphere in the townships, which will see some power pass from whites to blacks, in a way which ensures that change will occur in an orderly way and not in response to either the petrol bomb or the gun," Mr Friedman said.

Referring to the banned African National Congress, Mr Friedman said negotiation could not take place without this group.

It was significant that opin-

ion surveys of black attitudes had found the ANC had more support than any of the legal organisations.

"Even groups which have profound doubts about its politics, such as Inkatha and the unions, are forced by this climate to pay some homage to the ANC tradition," he said.

Although the potential for negotiation between black and white existed, Mr Friedman said powerful forces worked against this negotiation.

FREE ACTIVITY

Negotiation would not work unless free political activity was allowed in the townships, he said.

He added that the state of emergency would have to be lifted, banned political movements allowed to operate freely and political prisoners released. Police in the townships would also have to return to their normal role of preventing and detecting crime.

Mr Friedman described the unrest in 1984 and 1985 as a "sharp departure" from the upheavals in 1976. The plight of the economy was far more severe now than in 1976 and this

limited the Government's ability to cool township unrest by introducing material improvements.

The nature of black political activity was also different and the formation of civic, youth and student groups had given it a new focus.

Another key change was the emergence of the black labour movement which had brought a new force to community politics.

"In particular they have stressed that the style of organisation they favour in the factories, in which leaders act only on a firm mandate from their constituents, be followed in community politics as well," said Mr Friedman.

But, Mr Friedman added, organisation in some townships was still weak. In some areas such as the East Rand militancy seemed to be running out of steam, while in others there were signs of a community backlash against the coercion used by some activists to enforce control over township action.

In addition to this, the youths who had led the township action lacked political sophistication and their militancy often alienated potential township allies, he said.

Whites 'blind' to what is happening to blacks

There is an ancient Indian parable about blind men who felt an elephant's leg, tail and ear respectively, and concluded that the objects they had touched were a log, a rope and a fan, respectively.

Conscious only of the part, they drew totally erroneous conclusions about the nature of the whole.

In South Africa today, the whites are like those blind men in their perceptions of what is happening in the black community.

This was brought home to me again with brutal force when a highly intelligent and articulate community leader from one of the Vaal Triangle townships came to see me last week.

"Whites have no conception of how terrible life has become for us," he said.

"The radical elements — UDF and Azapo — conduct a reign of terror and commit such unspeakable atrocities against anyone who opposes them that moderates have been struck dumb with fear.

Political

"To speak out against them, to refuse to participate in political action organised by them, especially to attempt to organise in any way to resist them, is to invite them to pour petrol over you, or your family, and leave you to die in agony.

"Even if the police and the security forces are present by day, radical terror rules by night.

"Contrary to what you hear, most blacks are relieved to have the security forces patrolling and bringing some peace into their lives during daylight hours. Yet even Afrikaner organisations like the AHI play the radicals' game by joining in cries for withdrawal of the security forces.

"We feel completely abandoned by the State, by the Afrikaner, by the English liberals, by all those who have a moral or political responsibility to stand by us."

I asked him why blacks did not form vigilante groups to resist radical terror, as would certainly happen in white communities if the authorities failed to maintain law and order.

He replied that vigilante groups were illegal, and the Government had made it plain that any such

MY VIEW



Martin Spring

groups formed by blacks would be suppressed.

I asked him why black "children" (many of them adults, incidentally, as they are 18 or older) were beyond the control and restraining influence of their parents.

His reply was that several years ago the traditional vehicle used for exercising such control, the makgotla, was outlawed by the Government and black parents warned that if they conducted such "courts" and applied corporal punishment, the victims would be able to sue them before the white courts for assault, and would win their cases.

Surrogate

Another traditional means, especially important to single-parent households headed by a woman, was the use of the schoolteacher as a surrogate father to administer corporal punishment in case of bad behaviour reported by the parent.

A coalition of radical blacks, white liberals and bleeding-hearts in the State education authorities put a stop to that.

From this visit, and other information I have received from black friends, it is clear that the radicals not only dominate many of the townships, but they are steadily expanding their influence, especially into smaller communities outside districts covered by the state of emergency, and into rural areas such as Lebowa.

The State seems powerless to prevent this, to maintain law and order, or to protect its natural allies in the black community.

Most whites are unaware of what is happening because the media

(including the Afrikaans media) depend almost exclusively on black journalists who are either UDF or Azapo supporters, or are too intimidated to write anything other than the radical line.

Nearly all the few white journalists who specialise in reporting on black events were drawn into doing so out of political sympathy for the views of radical groups like the ANC.

It is understandable if regrettable that in this age of advocacy journalism, they should largely tend to ignore unpleasant facts that contradict their beliefs or cast a bad light on the behaviour of their friends.

The tragedy of moderate blacks — and they must number many millions — is that they have no voice and few defenders.

Killing

The Afrikaner-dominated State, unconsciously racists, seems to assume that it is of little importance if blacks go on killing one another so long as the killing does not spill into white areas.

The Englikaner-dominated liberal establishment, preoccupied with its tribal jihad against the Afrikaner State, seems reluctant to admit to the ugly side of the radical forces it is trying to court into an anti-Afrikaner alliance.

Eight months ago I pointed out in this column that the wave of intimidation unleashed on black moderates was clearly following the pattern of Algeria, where French rule was destroyed not by attacking the French but by using terror to beat Arabs into zombie-like unity, so polarising the country that it became ungovernable.

The total failure of the State to act since then in any effective way to protect the lives, property and freedom of expression of black moderates, means that we have drifted further towards a revolutionary confrontation that would be disastrous for us all.

The Government must act now, even if this involves a switch to a more typically African legal system. And the Press must accept its moral responsibility to report fairly on what is happening in the townships.

Ex-ANC man testifies at Delmas treason trial

UDF members 'had arms crash course in Lesotho'

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — Members of the Cape branch of the United Democratic Front underwent an African National Congress crash course in the use of arms and explosives in Lesotho in December 1984, it was testified at the Delmas treason trial yesterday.

This was alleged by a former member of the ANC who testified behind closed doors against the 22 Vaal Triangle treason trialists facing a charge of conspiring to overthrow the South African Government with violence. All have pleaded not guilty.

The man, who gave evidence in camera to protect his identity, told the court that four people, of whom at least two were UDF members, received the training in Lesotho.

The purpose of the courses, which were part of the ANC's 1985 strategy to step up its military activity inside South Africa, was to teach people how to use automatic rifles, limpet mines, hand-grenades and other weapons against "soft targets" he said.

The four had also brought back pamphlets on forced removals at a time when KTC and Crossroads squatters were being moved to Khayelitsha, he said.

The witness alleged that pamphlets written by the ANC on issues such as forced removals, rent in-

creases, school boycotts, homeland policies, community councils, job reservation and police harassment, were smuggled into South Africa from Lesotho and distributed under the banner of various internal organisations.

Organisations which the ANC had provided with these pamphlets included the Vaal Youth Congress, the Vaal Civic Association, the Youth Congress of Queenstown, the African Food and Canning Workers' Union, the UDF and Congress of South African Students, he said.

The witness alleged that the UDF was known by ANC cadres at camps outside South Africa as the "internal mission of the ANC".

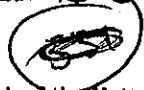
The head of the Security Police in Vereeniging, Major Theunis Steyn, yesterday denied under cross-examination that one of the accused, Rev Tebogo Geoffrey Moselane, was called to his office for interrogation and threats. He said he was only seeking the minister's help in calling off a planned protest march on September 3 1984.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and two assessors are on the Bench.

The hearing continues.

STAR 24/1/86

11A



SILK HAMAD



Smoke billows from burning shacks as police, one armed with a riot gun, stand by in case of further clashes between Pondos and Zulus at a shack settlement east of Durban yesterday.

30 killed as thousands join Zulu, Pondo clash

DURBAN — At least 30 people were killed and scores injured in clashes involving thousands of Zulus and Pondos in a shack settlement south of Durban yesterday.

And although almost 100 people have died since fighting first started two months ago, there is still confusion as to the causes.

Police arrested more than 480 men and seized truck-loads of weapons after moving into the settlement, a predominantly Pondo shackland.

Police confirmed they had discovered the bodies of 29 men and a woman and said the toll could rise.

Since fighting first erupted between Zulus and Pondos in the shanty town, the official number of dead has risen to 96. Hundreds have been injured and scores of shacks have been destroyed by flames.

Yesterday's clash started shortly after 3 am when more than 500 Pondos moved into kwaMakhutha township close to Malakazi.

An "impi" of about 1 000 angry Zulus met them and after a battle the Pondos retreated. On their way back to their shacks they attacked the home and looted the shops and a bottle store of the kwaZulu MP for Umbumbulu, a Mr Mbongwe.

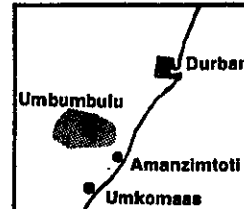
The retreating Pondos were followed by Zulus, who later fled when the Pondos fired shots at them.

Police have remained on stand-by for further clashes.

Soon after the Pondos were arrested yesterday, several shacks were engulfed in flames. It is believed Pondos fired their own homes rather than let them



Women and children flee kwaMakhutha after fierce clashes between Pondos and Zulus had resulted in the deaths of 30 people.



fall into the hands of Zulus.

None of the fighters interviewed seemed to know the cause of the battle.

"These Pondos are causing trouble and they must get out of here. They have attacked and

killed most of our people without reason," was the answer from one Zulu.

The same question put to a Pondo drew a different answer.

"The Zulus are just attacking us and we are trying to defend ourselves. They want to kill us because we are in the minority," he said.

The Pondos involved come mostly from Umbogintwini No 5 Shackland while the Zulus come from various parts of Umbumbulu.

The Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, attributed the cause of the fight to competition for land, water and jobs.

The fact that Pondos had come to the area in large numbers meant they had become identifiable as a group when previously they had been treated as individuals.

Chief Bhekizitha Makhanya, of Umbumbulu, said there had been no fighting until the Pondos attacked the Zulus.

He has ordered all Pondo squatters to leave the area. Own Correspondent, Sapa.

SABC steps in to resolve Mellor/Fortune radio clash

The SABC has resolved the dispute, heard by Radio South Africa listeners, between Charles Fortune and Peter Mellor.

Although the two broadcasters have not seen or spoken to each other since the incident last Saturday, the head of Radio SA, Mr Leon Shirley, has spoken to both men.

An SABC spokesman said no further action would be taken and the case was now closed.

The incident took place when Mr Mellor, the presenter of the sports programme, crossed over to the golf during Mr Fortune's commentary on the cricket test at Wanderers.

The report on the golf lasted a few minutes before Mr Mellor said that he was crossing back to "old Charles Fortune" after "cutting him off in his prime".

Mr Fortune was not impressed.

Listeners who are used to the calm way in which he commentates heard him reply harshly: "I object to being called old, I object to being cut off in my prime, and I object to the way in which you, Mr Mellor, conduct this programme."

Mr Fortune said: "I've handled this up for a long time now and I'm

Meat mountain has been reduced

Pretoria Bureau

The Meat Board's frozen "meat mountain" has been reduced from 38 000 tons to 17 000 tons as a result of the board's sale of frozen meat direct to the public, the President of the South African Agricultural Union, Mr Kobus Jooste, said yesterday.

Last year, *The Star* revealed that the board was keeping more than 100 000 frozen carcasses in costly storage while the price of fresh meat soared.

The Meat Board started its sale soon afterwards.

Mr Jooste told the Natal Beef Producers congress yesterday that the sale had worked out well and had not had any ad-

Piano competition winners

By Margaret Nabarro

The prizewinners of the Third International Piano Forte Competition, held in Pretoria last night, were:

The first prize, the Adcock-Ingram prize of R25 000 and a gold medal, went to Orazio Maione of Italy.

Second prize of R10 000 and a silver medal, went to Douglas Iuri of Brazil.

Third prize of R6 000 and a bronze medal went to Italian Paola Bruni.

The fourth prize of R4 000 went to West German Matthias Kirchner.

Fifth prize of R3 000 was awarded to Malcolm Nay of South Africa.

The Cobus Robinson Award of R1 600 was divided equally between Liora Ziv-Il of Israel and Malcolm Nay for the best interpretation of the toccata by Stephan Grové.

The Norman Nossel Music Scholarship of R5 000 per year for two years was awarded to John Rindel of South Africa.

The Oude Meester Grant — a round-trip air ticket for participation in an overseas piano competition — went to Malcolm Nay.

● A full report of the final round of the competition will appear in Monday's edition of *Tonight!*

Top motorsport man to resign

Pretoria Bureau

The managing director of Kyalami Entertainment Enterprises (KEE), Mr Bobby Hartslief, has announced his intention of quitting his post, although he will retain a financial interest.

Mr Hartslief said today that KEE would be involved only in Formula 1 Grands Prix and this did not warrant his staying with the company.

He would remain involved in international motor racing and would also pursue other business interests.

Mr Hartslief's involvement in motor racing has made headlines many times in recent years.

Lesotho to
fly out ANC
members

SJAR
24/11/56

(WA)

The Star's Africa News Service

MASERU — About 60 political refugees from South Africa are expected to be flown out of Lesotho today at the start of a crackdown on the African National Congress (ANC) by the new military rulers.

Large numbers are expected to follow in a major airlift aimed at persuading South Africa to lift the border blockade that threatens to cripple Lesotho's economy.

Those flown out today are expected to be taken to Lusaka in an aircraft sent by the Zambian Government. The ANC's headquarters are in Lusaka.

Today's flight came immediately after an announcement by the Lesotho Military Council (LMC) last night that arrangements were being made with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and with the ANC to speed up the repatriation of ANC refugees to other countries.

At the same time it was announced in New York that Lesotho has asked the United Nations for help in finding second countries of asylum for the refugees.

The LMC has given an assurance that, despite the crackdown on the ANC, it will refuse to return any political refugee to South Africa.

ANC TOLD: GET OUT

LEADER of coup: General Lekhanya.

AFRICAN National Congress refugees have been given until today to get out of Lesotho, sources in that country have said.

People telephoning The SOWETAN last night alleged that:

- The Lesotho Military Council, which toppled Chief Leabua Jonathan's Government in a coup last weekend, had given the ANC an ultimatum to leave Lesotho by today;

- Whites were manning roadblocks on the approaches to Maseru, the capital, from the National University of Lesotho in Roma;

- On Wednesday Radio Lesotho reported that a list of names of refugees that the South African Government wanted out of Lesotho had been given to the military council.

Last night about 60 ANC members were believed to have left Lesotho following the ultimatum to leave by today.

There has been speculation about the fate of the refugees in Lesotho since South Africa's blockade of the border earlier this month.

Fears

At the time South Africa demanded that the ANC members be sent back here to stand trial.

The fears of refugees — both the followers of the African National Congress and those of the Pan Africanist Congress — were worsened by the coup last Sunday.

A spokesman for the ANC in Lusaka last night said they had been getting different reports from Lesotho, so they could not comment. He said there were more than 700 refugees in Lesotho as people were arriving there daily because of the unrest in South Africa.

- Other sources in Lesotho said the South African Government had demanded that six refugees be handed back so they could face trial here.

This could not be confirmed last night.



ARCHBISHOP Dennis Hurley (right), president of the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference, with Archbishop George Daniel (left) Archbishop of Pretoria, and Cardinal Owen McCann of Cape Town during the opening of the SACBC conference in Pretoria this week. Archbishop Hurley told delegates, some from as far as Italy and Belgium, that 1985 was a tragic year of protests, demonstrations and violent police reaction that resulted in many deaths and injuries in the country.

Morobe detained

THE ACTING national publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, Mr Murphy Morobe, has been detained under the state of emergency regulations.

Also held in Johannesburg yesterday morning was Miss Cheryl Carolis, the UDF's regional organiser in the western Cape, and Mr Hoffman Galeng, an official of the northern Cape.

Miss Carolis is also being detained in terms of the emergency regulations.

Miss Carolis was part of a UDF delegation which arrived home recently from a week long overseas trip, during which they had met top officials of the African National Congress and the Swedish Government.

But a police telex to Sapa confirming the detentions of Miss Carolis and Mr Morobe said present police records showed the official was not being detained under either emergency or security legislation.

In a statement yesterday the UDF said the detention of Mr Morobe, Miss Carolis and Mr Galeng is "a cowardly act on the part of the apartheid regime".

"These detentions should indicate

to all that despite all the draconian laws, the emergency and long scale detentions and bannings of UDF activists, the State has failed to paralise the Front. We declare that we will continue waging relentless battle against repression and exploitation."

It called for the unconditional release of the three.

In London, anti-apartheid organisations have expressed fear for the safety of the two UDF leaders.

A range of British organisations have sent telegrams to President P W Botha protesting against the detentions of Mr Morobe and Miss Carolis.

There is great interest in Britain in the fate of Mr Morobe who was a member of the UDF delegation which travelled to Britain during the occupation of the Durban offices of the British consulate by six UDF men.

Mr Geoffrey Bindman, chairman of the UDF treason trial committee, said: "Every detainee is at risk. But these two face particular dangers and we appeal to the British Government to intervene on their behalf." — SOWETAN Foreign Service.

• See Page 2

OK TAKES THE LEAD WITH LOWER PRICES!

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OK

White ANC man will serve 7 years

STAR

24/2/86

[Handwritten scribble]

11A

By Gavin Engelbrecht
Eric William Pelser (21), who underwent military training with the banned African National Congress after fleeing South Africa to avoid conscription, was today sentenced in the Rand Supreme Court to an effective seven years' jail for treason and possessing banned literature.

In passing sentence, Mr Justice L F Weyers said: "It is lamentable that a young man on the threshold of his life should destroy his chances to this extent."

Based on his own admissions, Pelser, the first white believed to be charged with undergoing military training with the ANC, was yesterday convicted of treason, possessing LSD and banned literature.

Pelser pleaded not guilty to treason but guilty to an alternative charge of contravening section 54 of the Internal Security

Act and to the possession of LSD. He pleaded not guilty to possessing banned literature.

Pelser admitted that he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe — the military wing of the ANC — and had been trained to use weapons and explosives.

Raided flat

He was arrested last July when security police raided his Hillbrow flat and found an AK-47 rifle, ammunition, hand grenades and several banned publications.

Pelser said he had fled South Africa because he did not want to join the army. He joined the ANC in Botswana after it had offered to help him further his studies overseas.

He said he joined Umkhonto we Sizwe after being told he would have to complete a three-month course in explosives and

ammunition. Then he returned to South Africa with the weapons and ammunition and established himself under an alias.

Summing up, Mr Justice Weyers dwelt on Pelser's failure to give evidence. He said in the light of that, the court could not be certain that Pelser would not have committed sabotage if he was still an active ANC member and whether the weaponry he brought back was for ornamental or macho image purposes.

Pelser was sentenced to nine years' jail for treason of which three years was suspended for four years. For the possession of LSD, he was sentenced to 12 months suspended for four years. He was sentenced to two years, of which one year was suspended for four years, for possessing banned literature. A R200 fine (or two months) was also imposed for possession of banned literature.



An artist's impression of Eric Pelser awaiting sentence.

I was afraid the sentence would be heavier — mother

By Jo-Anne Richards

A tense hush hung over the packed courtroom as sentence was passed today on Eric Pelser, convicted of treason.

"So, Mr Pelser, your effective sentence is seven years'," concluded Mr Justice L F Weyers.

Pelser, standing quietly in his light gray suit, showed no sign or change in expression. His parents sat unmoving.

As the court adjourned, the tension broke and a small crowd of well-wishers clustered around Pelser, chatting and laughing.

"I think I am relieved," said Pelser's mother, Mrs Ellen Pelser. Calmly, but with tears in her eyes, she said: "I was scared the sentence might be heavier".

Mr Henry Pelser said he also felt relief following the long period of waiting since July last year. Describing Eric as "always a rebel" and a "maverick" Mr Pelser said: "He knows he must go to jail. It is just a question of how long. He has already signed up to finish his degree."

Strengths, weaknesses and a way

Any immediate prospects for meaningful negotiation between mass black political organisations and government are remote. So argues a research paper commissioned by the SA Institute of Race Relations, *Black politics at the crossroads*, released this week. But in a conclusion likely to be viewed as highly controversial among those organisations, the writer — journalist Steven Friedman — suggests a start can be made with intensive negotiations at the local level.

A key feature of the spiral of township violence which began in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 has been the attacks by militants on councillors, policemen and others seen to be collaborators, as well as conflict between rival political organisations. Where such violence has been most intense, it has been carried out largely by groups of the young unemployed, motivated by "a nihilism born more out of economic frustration than clear political goals." They usually have no formal allegiance to political organisations, although they tend to identify with either the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) or Inkatha.

This violence has led to resentment from many township residents who otherwise share their frustrations. It has also led to counter-violence from the security forces, which has "fuelled anger among relatively apolitical township dwellers." Although whites have generally been unaffected directly by the violence, the simultaneous international pressures have led to increasingly vo-

cal calls for reform from businessmen.

Friedman dismisses the two opposing notions that the revolution is around the corner, or that the unrest will soon die down as was the case after 1976. Instead, he argues that the truth lies somewhere in between.

On the one hand, the economy is in a far worse state than it was in 1976, and will be unable to cool the unrest through the introduction of material improvements to the lives of blacks. On the other, the state of black political organisation is fragile. With a few exceptions, it is dominated by a small number of activists and little progress has been made in creating purposeful direction or enduring organisation — as evidenced by the random violence. Although black anger and frustration will remain strong, a serious challenge to apartheid will not arise unless these circumstances change.

Examining the strengths and weaknesses of the major national political organisations in more detail, Friedman says the UDF won influence "by projecting itself as the standard-bearer of the resistance tradition." But its campaign has, with a few exceptions, been characterised by a high media profile and a failure to build grassroots political organisation.

Friedman says the UDF's main rival — Inkatha — has a strong membership base in KwaZulu and claims a following among migrant workers in the Transvaal. But its ability to mobilise its 1m members is unproven, he argues. Inkatha has endorsed consumer boycotts and strikes as legitimate weapons

against apartheid, but has only supported them on a few occasions and with limited effect. Nevertheless, Inkatha has the support of powerful sections of the Natal business community, and the possible emergence of the "Natal option" could increase its dominance in the province.

The black consciousness movement as exemplified by Azapo and its allies has little popular support outside a few towns in the northern Transvaal and parts of the western Cape, and is dominated by intellectuals with rigid policy programmes, says Friedman.

Two other groupings — the churches and the trade union movement — have a clear though limited constituency, he argues. There are some churchmen (like Bishop Desmond Tutu and Allan Boesak) with a high media profile and others, less prominent, who actively participate in politics. But in this they are limited primarily to playing a supportive rather than a leading role.

The leading emerging trade unions, according to Friedman, are the bodies that have most successfully built grassroots organisation. They have done so by concentrating on making demands which have produced tangible results in the factories. Where they have involved themselves in community politics, they have "injected a degree of realism and strategic sophistication."

Nevertheless, says Friedman, the political role of unions is limited. While they can have a major influence on political direction in society, they are not the most appropriate

forward

organisations to lead it. People join unions to make gains in the work situation and have a wide variety of political allegiances. And the unions' insistence on slow, democratic decision-making means they have not been well-placed to respond to township militancy.

So, while all these groupings have potential influence in South African politics, none can now claim to be predominant, concludes Friedman. Hence any attempt to negotiate a national political settlement with only one of them, or even all, is doomed to fail.

The African National Congress (ANC), he says, is the grouping with the most widespread support and would be a vital ingredient in any national negotiations. Any deal with the ANC would not only have credibility among blacks, it would also be recognised internationally. But while acknowledging the difficulty of assessing the strength of an organisation forced to operate covertly, Friedman argues that the ANC's support is symbolic rather than organised. He also warns that the mystique surrounding the ANC would probably dissipate if it began to operate as a lawful political party.

In any event, because its support is largely symbolic, the ANC does not have the strength to force a deal. Prospects for negotiations in the near future depend on factors outside the ANC's control: pressures emanating from the international community and from local businessmen. Despite the depth of these pressures now, Friedman says they could weaken as quickly as they grew. Only a significant escalation of township

violence is likely to ensure continued high-level international interest in SA politics. Business pressure, he predicts, may taper off as stability returns and foreign pressure eases.

But, he argues, if the climate is not ripe for national negotiations, perhaps it is for talks on the local or regional level. Drawing on industrial relations experiences and the benefits factory negotiations have brought, Friedman suggests the same could apply on the political front.

The official UDF and Azapo line is that "the time for talking is past." But Friedman argues that black political activity "is likely to produce a long-term impetus for change only if it translates itself into relatively permanent local organisation."

He notes that some local community and student organisations have begun to realise the importance of consolidating through "winning concrete concessions through negotiations." There have, for example, been negotiations over local issues between militant organisations and businessmen or development boards in townships near Parys, Uitenhage, Port Alfred and Cradock. This came about, he quotes one observer as saying, because "neither side was powerful enough to destroy the other." Once this realisation dawns all round, both sides will have incentive to talk.

But, says Friedman, there are serious obstacles in the way of attempts to begin widespread local negotiations in earnest. A major one is determining the support organisations

enjoy in a repressive climate in which they cannot even hold public meetings, let alone openly recruit members. A further problem is the "non-collaborationist" tradition in political organisations. This is partly due to "government's insistence that local government rights are a substitute for national political representation." Negotiations with freely elected local black leaders would be ideal.

But the absence of an ideal climate does not mean that businessmen and others should refuse to talk to black organisations. Friedman suggests that reformists should indicate a readiness to talk to any group willing to respond, and agree to act as "a conduit to the authorities, taking up demands on their behalf provided they are aimed at creating a freer political climate for all groups, not at strengthening the hold of a particular one."

Note demands

And, he says, the process could begin even before groups are willing to respond — by noting demands emanating from township organisations and acting upon them where appropriate.

In conclusion, says Friedman, "only if (these) possibilities are realised will the present impasse create a new atmosphere in the townships, which will see some power pass from whites to blacks, but in a way which ensures that change will occur in an orderly way and not in response to either the petrol bomb or the gun."

I say 'unban the ANC'

Bus DAY 24/11/88 11/4

THE ANC decision to extend the "armed struggle" into white areas — or any area of SA for that matter — is indefensible.

How any political movement imagines it can justify the indiscriminate killing and maiming of civilians is beyond me. Yet, I still believe that continued contact with the ANC remains the only way to change the hideous pattern of violence that threatens this country.

This will no doubt surprise those who believe the radical shift in ANC circles towards more violence has caused deep embarrassment and regret among those involved in last year's Zambian meeting with Oliver Tambo and his closest advisers.

I cannot speak for the others who attended, but I personally am deeply dismayed at the ANC's approach to 1988. It is completely contrary to the mood that prevailed earlier.

In a number of private meetings with leading figures in the ANC over the past two years or so, I was given a firm indication that certain influential members of the organisation were looking for ways and means to de-escalate the violence and create a



HUGH MURRAY

Hugh Murray, one of the organisers of last year's contact between SA businessmen and the ANC, looks back in the light of the ANC's renewed commitment to violence. Murray is publisher of *Leadership*, a quarterly journal that covers the political economy

suitable climate for their return to SA. There was, they said, reason to talk about it.

Exploratory

And it was against this background that businessmen led by Gavin Relly met the ANC leaders in the Luangwa Valley on September 13 last year.

It is important to note that the ANC did not agree at this meeting to move in the direction private talks had indicated they might.

But it should also be borne in mind that this was to have been purely an exploratory, familiarisation contact. There was no question of negotiation.

The ANC stressed, however, that they had no deliberate plan to move the violence into white areas. They had been misunderstood, they claimed, and any harm to whites would only result from the "overflow" factor.

Thus, the attitude of some that the new policy has discredited the talks is understandable. Moreover, I am sure it has caused a great deal of heart-searching

among those who went to Zambia.

Superficially at least, it may even appear that the contact was a mistake.

If it was "wrong," however, I must add that, given better timing than the present, I am prepared to be "wrong" again.

As everyone who went knew, there were grave risks attached to the visit — not least the justifiable concern about giving the ANC excessive credibility. But I would be surprised if anyone who attended the meeting actively regrets having gone.

Polarised

It was, after all, a genuine attempt at important dialogue, and if anyone feels the participants now have egg on their faces, I would suggest it's high time these detractors accepted that some discomfort and personal disquiet is an inevitable consequence of

dealing with such a polarised group as the ANC.

I accept that the more militant approach of the ANC, which most who know the organisation anticipate will build up to an explosive 10th anniversary of June 16, 1976 (Soweto), has made contact with the organisation at the moment almost impossible for most people to consider.

And I am as horrified as anyone over ANC tactics. As recently as December 1985 I had a top ANC official in Lusaka tell me that this year (1986) "the people will put SA to the torch".

Still, I cannot believe that anyone who tries actively to dissuade the ANC from this course is wrong.

Granted the odds of success at this stage are miniscule. It may not be possible to change their direction, bearing in mind the apparently increased influence of the communists.

Nor do I believe the hardline Marxists will ever shift away

from their absurdly rationalised policy of nationalisation of industry and the major financial institutions.

The ANC image now is one of political and economic tyranny and I know few people, black or white, who would support an organisation which sought votes from the masses, in free and fair elections, using such a platform.

What's more, I am reasonably certain that fundamental differences would emerge and many nationalists in the ANC would eventually find the communist direction intolerable.

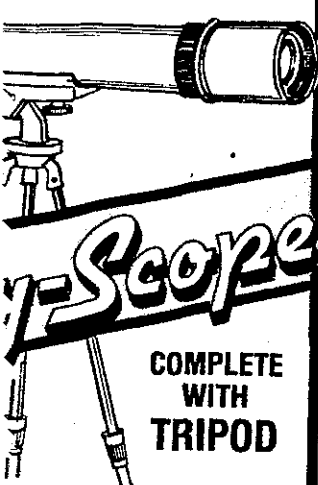
Unified

Keeping the ANC out of the political marketplace, and its leaders banned or in jail, has caused it to become perhaps the most successful and currently unified political grouping in SA.

For this reason I believe the ANC should be unbanned and subjected to the scrutiny of the people.

Much of its mystique and appeal would dissipate as its leaders sought to compete, warts and all, with the land's other bona fide political representatives.

EW
FROM
raland



7-SCOPE

COMPLETE WITH TRIPOD

ronomy & to sea OUR PRICE

CAPL Times 24/1/86 11A

UDF leader detained after trip to Sweden

By RONNIE MORRIS

TWO executive members of the United Democratic Front, Ms Cheryl Carolus and Mr Murphy Morobe, were detained in Johannesburg yesterday under the emergency regulations.

This was confirmed by the police directorate of public relations in Pretoria.

Ms Carolus had just returned from a week-long visit to Sweden.

A third member of the UDF executive is also believed to have been detained but because this could not be confirmed by police, publication of the name is not allowed under the emergency regulations.

Mr Samson Ndou, vice-president of the UDF, Transvaal Region, said four members, the Rev A Stofile, Mr Mohammed Vallie, Mr Raymond Suttner and Ms Carolus, had returned yesterday from Sweden.

They had been invited by the International Centre of the Swedish Labour Movement.

They met officials of the ruling So-

cial Democratic Party, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Development Aid.

At the request of the ANC, the UDF leaders also met members of the ANC national executive led by Mr Alfred Nzo and including Thomas Nkobi, Mac Maharaj, Thabo Mbeki and Lindiwe Mabuza for an exchange of views, Mr Ndou said.

He condemned the detentions as a "cowardly act of terror" and demanded the detainees' unconditional release.

Mr Ndou said State action had failed to cripple the UDF and the Front would "continue waging relentless battle against oppression and exploitation".

Dr Allan Boesak, UDF patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, condemned the "arbitrary act of detention" and said the detentions came at a time when everyone was expecting the government to free all detainees and lift the state of emergency.

WY7

CAPE TIMES 24/1/86

30 killed as Zulus, Pondos clash again

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — At least 30 people were hacked or burned to death yesterday and scores more injured in bloody clashes involving about 3 000 Zulus and Pondos in Durban's shack settlement at Malakazi south.

Fifteen ambulances and a disaster bus were used to ferry the injured to hospital.

The fighting broke out when Pondos retaliated for the death of a Pondo who was set alight during an attack by Zulus at Isipingo railway station on Wednesday.

A section of the settlement was set alight and the blaze quickly spread through the shanty town. Hundreds of women salvaged their belongings as their make-shift plastic and ply-wood shelters burned.

Police arrested more than 480 men and seized truck-loads of weapons, including home-made guns, after moving into the No 5 settlement, a predominantly Pondo shackland.

Police confirmed late yesterday that they had found the bodies of 29 men and a woman, but they feared the toll could rise even higher.

Since faction fighting erupted between Zulus and Pondos in the shanty town on Christmas Eve last year, the official number of dead has risen to 96. Hundreds have been injured and scores of shacks burned down.

Yesterday's clash started soon after 3am when more than 500 Pondos moved into KwaMakhutha township close to Malakazi and were met by an impi of about 1 000 angry Zulus.

Pondos attacked home of MP

As the Pondos retreated after yesterday's battle they attacked the home of the KwaZulu MP for Umbumbulu, Mr Roy Mbongwe, and looted his shops and bottlestore.

Three people were killed when Mr Mbongwe's son drove the attackers off with a shotgun.

The retreating Pondos were followed by Zulus, who later fled when the Pondos fired shots at them.

Police in Casspirs arrived on the scene early yesterday.

Teargas was used and the Pondos were disarmed before being arrested and taken to the Isipingo police station and charged with public violence.

Soon after the Pondo men were taken away yesterday their shackland was engulfed in flames. It is believed Pondos set their own homes alight rather than let them fall into the hands of Zulus. The smoke and flames were seen as far as Amanzimtoti.

A police spokesman, Captain Winston Heunis, yesterday said the police would remain on stand-by to prevent further clashes.

CAC
Cape Times
24/1/86

UDF suspend W Cape boycott

Staff Reporter
THE Consumer Action Committee (Western Cape), supported by the United Democratic Front, has suspended the consumer boycott in the Western Cape.

In a statement released yesterday, the CAC said the suspension would take effect from today.

"This decision was arrived at after a careful evaluation of the gains and lessons of the boycott and rigorous consultations, despite the state of emergency.

"The decision to suspend the boycott is in line with similar decisions already taken elsewhere in the country.

"The boycott can be reinvoked after discussion if our demands are not met. The demands remain: An end to the state of emergency, troops out of the townships, and the immediate and unconditional release of detainees.

"To the people who so courageously and loyally supported the boycott, we extend our appreciation. The struggle for our demands continues."

'No time limit'

A UDF spokesman said the suspension did not mean the boycott could not be reinvoked "at any time".

"There has been no time limit set on the meeting of these demands, but the boycott will not be reimposed without a national decision being taken.

"Our decision to end the boycott is in line with a nationwide trend and we are reorganizing the co-ordination of our tactics on a nationwide level," he said.

Other organizations which supported the suspension are the Thornhill Residents' Association, the New Unity Movement, the Western Cape Traders' Association and the Western Province Council of Churches.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions did not underwrite the call, but "agreed completely with the sentiments it expressed", said the UDF spokesman.

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- (1) Whether, since the signing of the Nkomati Accord, any member of the South African Government has visited a certain organisation in Mozambique, the name of which has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, what is the name of this organization;
- (2) Whether he (a) was informed or (b) had prior knowledge of any member of the Government planning such visits; if not, (i) why not and (ii) when did he first hear of these visits; if so,
- (3) (a)(i) when and (ii) by whom was he so informed, (b) who was involved in these visits and (c) what was the nature of the information furnished to him concerning these visits;
- (4) whether any South African Defence Force (a) personnel and (b) equipment was involved in these visits; if so, (i) on whose orders, (ii) what specified (aa) personnel and (bb) equipment and (iii) what was the nature of this involvement;
- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) to (5) I have already stated in my speech on 4 February this year in this House that the hon the Deputy Minister of Information, in his then capacity as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and the South African Chairman of the Joint Security Committee, which was established in terms of the Nkomati Accord, was not responsible to me for his actions in connection with the implementation of the said Accord. With regard to this task, he had Government approval and the full support of the SA Defence Force in the execution thereof. He exercised his own discretion in the use of the means which the SA Defence Force could place at his disposal.

Messina: landmine explosion

*4. Dr W J Snyman asked the Minister of Defence:†

- (1) Whether, with regard to the landmine explosion in the Messina district on or about 15 December 1985, the South African Defence Force was responsible for the transportation of the injured persons to the Pietersburg hospital; if not, who was responsible; if so, how long after the explosion did the injured persons reach this hospital;
- (2) whether the injured persons were transported to hospital by helicopter; if not, (a) why not and (b) in what manner were they transported?

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) The evacuation of civilian casualties as a result of enemy action is the responsibility of the appropriate civilian infrastructure, e.g. the local ambulance service, civil defence organisation, etc. In emergencies, such as in this case, where the SA Defence Force was first on the scene with the means to evacuate the casualties, the task is undertaken by them. It is the policy of the SA Defence Force to render all the assistance it can at accidents, disasters, etc, to save human life or relieve suffering, irrespective of whose responsibility it is. Concerning the case in question the injured were admitted to the Messina Mine Hospital about 2 hours and 45 minutes after the incident and about 4 hours later to the Pietersburg Hospital.
- (2) No.
- (a) There was no suitable helicopter available in the vicinity at that time.
- (b) The injured persons were transported from the place of the incident by mine resistant ambulance to Messina Mine Hospital

and from there to Pietersburg Hospital by an ambulance aircraft of the SA Air Force.

Northern Transvaal: acts of terrorism
HANSAR 11/2/86
*5. Dr W J Snyman asked the Minister of Defence:†

- (1) Whether the recent acts of terrorism in the Northern Transvaal were initiated from bases outside the borders of the Republic; if so,
- (2) Whether the South African Defence Force has any information regarding the location of these bases; if so,
- (3) whether the Defence Force is considering taking any steps in this regard; if not, why not;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) Investigations undertaken and information received indicate that the deeds of terror were in fact initiated from outside the RSA.
- (2) and (3) It will be unwise to divulge information which the SA Defence Force may have at its disposal or steps being contemplated in this regard. It can only benefit our enemies. I, therefore, wish to refer the hon member to what I have said in my speech on 4 February this year in this House about terrorist actions from our neighbouring countries and to my standpoint on the need-to-know-principle, as stated in my statement at question number 2 of today.
- (4) No.
- Mamelodi: march
HANSAR 11/2/86
*6. Mr P G Soal asked the Minister of Law and Order:
- (1) Whether members of the South African Police were present during a

march in Mamelodi on or about 21 November 1985; if so, (a) when were the police first informed of the proposed march, (b) what steps were taken by the police in preparation for this march, (c) what specified equipment was issued to members of the Police Force on duty in the vicinity of the march and (d) what was the rank of each of the officers in charge of these policemen;

- (2) whether the marchers were stopped by the police at a certain bridge in the Mamelodi area prior to reaching the local administration offices; if so, where is this bridge situated;
- (3) whether an agreement was reached between these policemen and the marchers; if so, what was this agreement;
- (4) whether the march proceeded to the administration offices; if not, why not; if so,
- (5) whether any order to disperse was given to the marchers; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) by what means was the order to disperse given;
- (6) whether any tear-gas or tear-smoke was fired at the marchers; if so, when;
- (7) whether the police opened fire on the marchers; if so, (a) why, (b) from where, (c) who gave the order to open fire and (d) how long after the tear-gas or tear-smoke had been fired was the order given;
- (8) whether any persons were (a) killed and (b) injured as a result of police action on this occasion; if so, how many in each case;
- (9) whether an investigation has been held into this incident; if not, why not; if so, (a)(i) what was the nature and (ii) who was in charge of the investigation and (b) what were the findings;

Lesotho expels 60 supporters of ANC

CAF 6
25/1/86

114

MASERU. — Lesotho's new Military Council was sworn in at the Royal Palace yesterday and the tiny kingdom deported at least 60 supporters of the African National Congress (ANC) guerilla group in a bid to remove strains with South Africa.

Major-General Justin Lekhanya, head of Lesotho's 1500-man paramilitary force and the man who overthrew the autocratic prime minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan on Monday, took the oath of office as chairman of the new council.

The brief ceremony took place before King Moshoeshoe II and Chief Justice Tofik Cotran.

First batch

The swearing-in took place as about 60 refugees of the ANC were flown out of Lesotho to Zambia, according to government sources.

The refugees are apparently the first batch of some 140 people whom South Africa has demanded be expelled.

Most of the refugees flown out yesterday were believed to be sympathisers of the ANC, although they may have included some from the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The new military rulers have also released five prominent opposition leaders detained by Chief Jonathan after holding talks with South Africa's Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha.

In a nationwide broadcast over Radio Lesotho last night, General Lekhanya said the aim of the new rulers was to normalize relations between Lesotho and South Africa.

In his first address to the Basotho nation, General Lekhanya said he believed in the policy of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness.

"Over a long period the Basotho nation has been plunged into a quagmire of politics by politicians whose activities did not serve the best interests of the people."

'Country's economy destroyed'

He said the activities of politicians in Lesotho had damaged relations between Lesotho and South Africa and this had led to the destruction of the economy of the country.

General Lekhanya also warned his opponents to stop resisting the new government, to "avoid bloodshed involving innocent people".

Anthony Johnson reports that a message denying that South Africa had closed its border with Lesotho was sent to the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, by Mr Pik Botha yesterday.

The message from Mr Botha said that traffic — both people and goods — was being allowed to pass between the two countries.

"Special arrangements are in force for perishable goods, medical supplies and persons who wish to come to South Africa for medical treatment," Mr Botha said.

"However, South Africa was constrained to introduce stricter border control measures as a result of the confirmed presence of the ANC terrorists in Lesotho and the threat they pose to internal security in South Africa." — Sapa-Reuter

Beyers is named in trial

Indictment tells of loan to 'terrorist'

By Kym Hamilton
Pretoria Bureau

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), Dr Beyers Naude, was named yesterday in the Delmas treason trial as an alleged co-conspirator.

An application by the State for an amendment to the indictment to include Dr Naude's name was allowed. It came after an earlier ruling that evidence concerning Dr Naude was inadmissible.

Apart from adding his name to a long list of alleged co-conspirators, a second amendment was made to the further particulars which read:

"Assistance was given by the United Democratic Front and an organisation which actively supported the UDF, namely the SACC, during May 1985 by means of a UDF official, Mr Samson Ndou, who referred an ANC trained terrorist who sought help at the UDF headquarters at Khotso House in Johannesburg to Dr Beyers Naude, an official of the SACC, who gave the terrorist financial help. The help given was for the carrying out of ANC activities in the country".

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst ruled that the evidence given by a former ANC member that he received R60 from Dr Naude during last May was inadmissible on the indictment as it stood, before the amendments were granted.

The 22 men, mostly from the Vaal Triangle, have all pleaded not guilty to a charge of high treason and of conspiring with the ANC to overthrow the Government by violence.

They are also accused of murder, subversion and terrorism.

Details of an ANC plan to lead the South African masses away from capitalism also emerged during the trial yesterday.

An ANC deserter, whose identity may not be revealed, told the court that the plan was known as the "M-plan" and covered five groups of people — the youth, students, workers, residents and women. These groups were represented on the national executive.

Early on in the struggle these groups would be involved in their own separate causes, such as boycotts by workers. However, during the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) stage, the five groups would work together to overthrow the South African Government.

Only after the machinery of the State had been broken by these people, working together, would the national reconstruction stage be entered. This represented the transition from capitalism to socialism.

For example, the State would take control of transport, defence and the media, he said.

This was where the present education system — which made people aspire towards capitalism — would be changed to make workers realise they were the actual leaders of the struggle.

The ANC would guide them politically until, step by step, the revolution of workers occurred and the communism stage was reached.

The Freedom Charter also formed part of the M-plan, and was used by the ANC as a guide to leaders for policy and decision-making.

The witness said that, although the ANC was banned in South Africa, it continued to live on internally in the vanguard movement.

PFP clash with Govt over call to unban the ANC

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN 25/11/86 A row has blown up between the Government and the Progressive Federal Party over Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu's support for the African National Congress.

Senior members of the Cabinet have reacted strongly to Thursday's call by PFP federal executive chairman, Dr Alex Boraine, not to take action against Bishop Tutu but to rather unban the ANC.

In the interview he said he did not necessarily agree with everything Bishop Tutu said but he felt it was better to deal with the ANC now over a table than over the barrel of a gun.

Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, said in reaction Dr Boraine's statements showed the PFP was prepared to deal with people who supported violence.

He did not believe this was the policy of the PFP and felt it reflected the opinion of only a restricted section of the PFP.

In reply Dr Boraine hit back saying the response of the Government, particularly speculation of splits in the PFP, was hysterical. It was a transparent exercise to discredit the PFP and draw attention away from the disastrous failure of its own policy, he said.

PRIORITY

"The PFP has stated repeatedly its unequivocal opposition to all forms of violence either to maintain the status quo or to bring about change.

"The PFP has also consistently urged negotiation must receive the highest priority. While it may be enjoyable to negotiate merely with those with whom we are in agreement, if we are to resolve the conflict in South Africa we have to negotiate with all the parties," he said.

"The PFP is totally committed to saving lives, reducing violence and bringing about a peaceful resolution to the tragic divisions in South Africa."

Dr Boraine said the PFP would not be intimidated by slurs and innuendo.

"The Government reaction was a clear signal of the kind of smear politics they are going to use during the forthcoming session of Parliament," Dr Boraine said.

● See Page 9.

STAR 25/1/88

Expert explains bloodshed

11A

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The conflict and bloodshed in the townships to the south of Durban were mainly concerned with access to meagre resources, a University of Natal lecturer who has conducted important research into the squatter settlements around Durban, Mr Errol Haarhoff, said yesterday.

Mr Haarhoff said his research into the areas of Malakazi and kwaMakhutha had shown that the Zulus, who had settled the area first, believed they had the right to the resources of the area ahead of the Pondos who

arrived later.

He said that the Zulus believed they had the right to use the few water taps of the area and that the Pondos should have to look elsewhere for their water.

Similarly the Zulus were inevitably favoured over the Pondos, who were mainly Xhosa speaking, when applying for work-seeker permits.

He pointed out that the strip of land inland of Umbogintwini between Umlazi and Amanzimtoti was subject to communal tenure and was very heavily populated.

"With the enormous influx of people to the area the traditional controls over the occupation of land broke down. One person might have been originally given the right to squat, and he might have brought in 10 or twelve tenants who might in turn have brought in more sub-tenants.

"Inevitably the tribal controls broke down causing tremendous social pressures which have led to the current violence."

Mr Haarhoff said that strict tribal divisions as such could not be discounted, but were not the main cause of the violence.

No solution to ^{STAR} ~~Klaas~~ De Jonge affair ^{11A}

THE HAGUE — Holland has admitted that it sees "no solution for the moment" to the Mr Klaas de Jonge affair. ^{11A}

The admission came last night from Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, who said his Government's "margin for manoeuvring" was now "quite small".

Mr van den Broek said that a political solution should still be sought. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

Evidence about woman disputed by defence counsel

11A

25/2/86 STAR

MARITZBURG — Defence counsel for the four treason trialists alleged today that the woman whom a secret witness claimed to have interviewed in Lesotho for ANC membership, never left South Africa during the time in question.

The woman the witness has alleged to have interviewed in Lesotho appears on a photograph with two of the treason accused, Mr Thozamile Gqweta and Mr Sisa Njikelana.

Defence counsel for the four accused brought a woman into court whom they allege is the woman in the photograph, and said she was a student in the Ciskei and had not left South Africa at all during the relevant time.

The secret ANC witness was giving evidence in the treason trial of Mr Gqweta, Mr Njikelana, Mr Samuel Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo. They are all leaders of the South African Allied Workers Union.

The witness, who alleged the ANC had personal files of "contact persons" Mr Gqweta and Mr Njikelana amongst its security documents in Lesotho, denied that the woman in the photograph was the one who appeared in court.

Defence advocates Mr Clifford Mailer and Mr Marino Moerane said the witness, whom they accused of lying when the need arose, took the only way left open by disputing the identity. — Sapa.

Proceeding

● Photograph: Alf Kumalo.



ay — but, yes, it is Springbok
e isn't running on land. Sonja
year and she has found the best
aggravating the injury is to don a
and "run" in the water.

ANC point of debate for PFP

CAPE TOWN — Division is mounting in the Progressive Federal Party over the role of the banned African National Congress after remarks attributed to Bishop Tutu. The issue could dominate the party's caucus meeting next week.

Last night party members were publicly at pains to say that there was no split in the party ranks. At this stage a serious split does not seem likely.

Not only is the unbanning of the ANC likely to be an issue at the PFP caucus meeting next week, but now seems likely to be a major subject in the No Confidence Debate in parliament.

● See Page 8.



Bishop Tutu

What Tutu told US

W/B ARGUES 25/1/86 (114)

Controversial talk sparked fiery reaction

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Bishop Desmond Tutu leaves for home this weekend after a hectic three weeks in the United States where he created considerable impact and greater enthusiasm for the anti-apartheid cause.

His comments on South Africa were often strong. From scores of talks and interviews he gave, it is possible to assemble a patchwork of his present policy:

On violence

Bishop Tutu said he was a "peace-lover", not a pacifist. He said there were circumstances where violence could be justified.

"I believe that the strategy of non-violence succeeds where there is a minimum moral stan-

dard," he said. No such standard existed in South Africa. "Your struggle (for the rights of black people in the US) was one for civil liberties guaranteed by your constitution. Whereas in South Africa, we are fighting for basic human rights where the constitution is against the people..."

On an earlier occasion, he suggested his patience was wearing thin: "You may find that even placid, quiet people like us have suddenly picked up stones and we are fighting."

In a television interview, he said: "At present, I want to hold on to my position that I am opposed to all forms of violence, whatever the source of that violence."

"I am a peace lover and could get to a point

where I would agree with the church's tradition that if you have two evils, a repressive system such as Nazism was and the possibility of overthrowing it, then I would say there comes a time when it is justifiable to overthrow an unjust system by violence."

The churchman said of the African National Congress some days later that he hoped one day to hear the leaders of the West side with the ANC "which sought to change an unjust system peacefully, non-violently, and they were sent into the arms of the struggle through violence because the West abandoned us."

He accepted the Dr Martin Luther King Jr Peace Award for Nonviolent Change on behalf of black people separat-

ed by migrant labour laws, children "mown down by the brutality of apartheid", those in exile and those in jail because they had had the audacity to say that they too were human.

"I receive it on behalf of the Nelson Mandelas, the Walter Sisulus, the Govan Mbekis, the Winnie Mandelas, the Albertina Sisulus."

On disinvestment

Bishop Tutu said he would at the end of March be "courting arrest by saying openly I advocate punitive sanctions" if the government did not meet his deadline to show it was serious about reform.

He said in New York: "We South Africans are very good at semantics.

I have not yet called for sanctions, I have called for pressure."

In a recent survey 70 percent of blacks had said: "Please, if you want to help us change, do apply sanctions," the cleric said.

"Then they (the Reagan administration) tell us they cannot apply sanctions because it will hurt blacks most of all."

He added: "A policy which defends an unjust, immoral, evil and unchristian policy is itself equally unjust, evil, immoral and unchristian. I think it is racist."

In other cities, Bishop Tutu thanked and praised those United States institutions which had divested themselves of their South African-linked holdings: "You were the first to put into reality your rhetoric

when you were claiming that you abhor apartheid," he told Temple University in Philadelphia.

On South Africa's future

Bishop Tutu said prospects were "quite horrendous" and sketched what was perceived in America to be an "apocalyptic" scenario.

Some of his toughest statements were made in a talk to Washington Post editorial staff: "I myself actually fear that in the end, because they (the SA government) are so irrational, they seem to have a Samson complex... They are going to pull down the pillars and everybody must go under with them... If, as most of us believe, they do have nuclear capability,

I don't put it past them to have their own version of a scorched earth policy," he said.

Enlarging on this latter, he said in a full-scale civil war in South Africa, this might happen.

"Many actions of this government have no basis in rationality. If the hawks believe they have had it, it is just possible that they will say: 'If we can't have it, then no one can have it.'"

Remarks on black servants poisoning their employers were also made to the Washington Post: "Most white households still have their morning coffee brought to them by black servants. Supposing the ANC, or whoever is behind all this, were able to (reach) even just a quarter of those servants and say: 'Look, here is something that we want you to slip into their early morning coffee'."

Winnie Mandela gets award in SA 2 months after US ceremony

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By Michael Tissong

Mrs Nomzamo Winnie Mandela was awarded the Robert F Kennedy Human Rights Award in Sandton yesterday, two months after the R135 000 award was made to her and two other South Africans in Washington.

Former Republican Congressman Mr John Buchanan presented a bust of Robert Kennedy to Mrs Mandela at a Press conference attended by about 30 members of the local and international media. Also present were the American Consul-General based in Johannesburg, Mr Kenneth Brown, and the American Ambassador to Kenya, Mr Gerald Thomas.

Mrs Mandela, the wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, could not attend the presentation ceremony in Washington on November 20 last year because of a Government order which banished her to Brandfort in the Free State.

The other recipients of the award were Dr Beyers Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Dr Alan Boesak, presi-

dent of the World Council of Reformed Churches.

Mr Buchanan said Dr Naude received his share of the award in Washington, but "Dr Boesak was under house arrest at the time and could not attend. His wife, Mrs Dorothy Boesak, received the award on his behalf. Bishop Desmond Tutu's daughter, Mpho, represented Mrs Mandela."

Television pressmen jostled for position when Mrs Mandela arrived. They followed her to the conference room where several microphones belonging to radio and television crews were taped to the rostrum.

Mr Buchanan said it was the second time the human rights award had been made. The first went to the El Salvador Mothers' Committee in 1984.

GUIDING STAR

Sister Bernard Ncube who thanked the presenters of the award on behalf of Mrs Mandela said the women of South Africa looked upon Mrs Mandela as their "guiding star".

"We are encouraged to follow in her footsteps."

Father buried alive with stepson

By Abel Mabelane

A Katlehong man, Mr Themba Tikwayo, has told how he saw his father, Mr Matthews Tikwayo (60), fiercely fight a group of men who buried him alive at the Katlehong cemetery on Sunday.

Mr Tikwayo died after he was buried in the same grave with his stepson, Mr Vuyisile Patrick Tikwayo (22), who died on February 2.

His son, Themba, described the assault on his father.

"After the coffin was lowered into the grave, a group of men who were among the mourners, grabbed my father and dragged him towards the grave. They were asking him to tell them how Vuyisile died.

"He fought fiercely for his life and when I saw what was happening, I rushed to the police to report the incident.

OVERPOWERED

"I later learnt from some of my relatives that my father was finally overpowered, thrown into the grave and buried alive," Themba said.

The undertaker, Mr Ernerst Sukazi, said that after Mr Tikwayo was thrown into his stepson's grave, he was stoned and beaten with planks.

He said when Mr Tikwayo tried to climb out of the grave, he was beaten on the hands and continuously assaulted until he lost consciousness. He was then buried.

Themba said when he returned to the graveyard with police, the mourners had dispersed.

He could not identify the grave because there were many fresh graves and he did not know the grave number.

Ex-ANC man's ^{COPE Tents} 25/1/86 evidence ^(11/1) rejected ^(11/1)

DELMAS. — The judge in the treason trial of 22 UDF members yesterday rejected the evidence by a "Mr X", a former member of the ANC, that Dr Beyers Naude, of the South African Council of Churches, had given him money last year to carry out work for the ANC.

Mr Justice K von Dijkhorst ruled the evidence inadmissible.

He said the State could amend its indictment to include allegations that Dr Naude gave money to a member of the ANC and that Mr Samson Ndou, a United Democratic Front official, had referred Mr X to Dr Naude.

Mr X, who may not be identified, yesterday told the court that he knew of the ANC's master strategy — known as the "M-plan" — to overthrow the South African Government.

He said: "According to the ANC's 'M-plan' there are five groups of people in South Africa: Youths, students, workers, (township) residents and women."

To get to the first stage of the "M-plan", also known as the national democratic revolution (NDR), all these groups must come together to overthrow the government.

"After the NDR, there follows a period of national reconstruction, followed by a transition stage and then a stage of working away from capitalism towards socialism.

"During these stages there are many barriers to be broken down and certain laws changed. Small enterprises are kept by the people but transport, defence and the media are controlled by the State," said Mr X.

He said the Freedom Charter was a working document which played a role in the ANC's "M-plan". The leaders of the ANC used it to guide them, he said.

According to Mr X, the ANC was also dissatisfied with the education system in South Africa because "it made the people aspire to become capitalists." — Sapa

January 26th, 1986

CITY P.

11A

11A

FOS

26/1/86

'WE'RE WATCHING'



Cosatu's NAIDOO

CP Correspondent

INKATHA'S threat to set up unions opposing the Congress of South African Trade Unions has taken a step forward with the announcement of plans for a new labour federation.

This development follows a bitter attack on Cosatu by Inkatha president Gatsha Buthelezi and his request to Inkatha's central com-

mittee to investigate the feasibility of setting up Inkatha branches in factories.

Cosatu - who is taking this development very seriously - have already organised special shop steward council meetings to discuss "the activities of certain people who are setting up new unions in opposition to Cosatu".

The driving force behind the rival union - as yet unnamed - is Esikhawini councillor and Inkatha chairman Philemon Gumede.

He is also a former member of Fosatu.

Gumede said his co-ordinating committee - which was investigating setting up a pro-investment union federation - held a rally in Empangeni last weekend. They were given a mandate to go ahead with their plans.

He told City Press they planned to set up a union in each major industry, linked by a federation which would aim to unite workers who believed in "free enterprise and who

opposed disinvestment".

There would obviously be a close relationship with Inkatha, Gumede said: "Our objectives are the same - we both favour foreign investment and capitalism."

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the new union was "contacting bosses before organising workers.

"Bosses sponsored buses to take people to a meeting in Esikhawini - where there was uncritical support for an exploitative free enterprise system".

He said the new unions seemed likely to be a "sweetheart union" and warned bosses they were creating serious problems for themselves if they supported it.

Cosatu is also calling a series of congresses to investigate Inkatha's attacks, he said.

The coup was an SA operation, says ex-Minister

26/1/76 11A 107 B CITYP.

CP Correspondent

THE Zimbabwe Herald has quoted an unnamed former Lesotho government Minister as saying this week's military coup was "entirely an SA operation".

The former Cabinet Minister also told The Herald this week that members of the ANC in Lesotho were being prosecuted and that some of them were being arrested by SA soldiers.

He said that Major-General Justin Lekhanya, the para-military force commander who was reported to have led the coup, had told deposed Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan that he had nothing to do with the coup.

The newspaper charged that two brothers with the surname Lethie, one of whom is said to be a colonel in the para-military force, were being used by SA to run Lesotho.

The Lethie brothers were in touch with SA and appeared "to have allowed the racist forces freely to hunt down refugee members of the ANC", said the report.

The Herald added that Cuban Foreign Minister Isiodoro Malmierca, who was visiting Lesotho at the time of the coup, was still stranded in Maseru late this week.

● SA has denied involvement in the coup.

CITY.P.

11A 26/1/88

By MONO BADELA

EVIDENCE to the Delmas Circuit Court this week that United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick Lekota committed acts of violence by throwing stones after a funeral in Kroonstad was ruled inadmissible by Judge Van Dijkhorst.

Mr Lekota and 21 others - most from the Vaal Triangle - earlier this week pleaded not guilty to a charge of high treason and alternative charges of terrorism, subversion and murder, arising from the unrest in September 1984 on the Vaal.

Security cop Sergeant Adolf Branders described to the court a series of violence in February last year in Kroonstad townships. He said he saw mourners off-load bottles which he thought were petrol bombs from a car boot.

The evidence against Mr Lekota was rejected because it was not contained in the actual indictment.

Sgt Branders said at one of the funerals he saw men wearing UDF T-shirts throwing stones at police vehicles.

Earlier the court ruled that at least three former African National Congress members would give evidence for the State behind closed doors. The ruling followed an application by the State for evidence of a former State witness to be heard in camera "as his life would be in danger if his identity was revealed."

Transvaal Deputy Attorney-General Flip Jacobs, who leads the State's case, will decide whether the Press will be allowed to be present when the former ANC members give evi-

LEKOTA THREW STONES — COP



Martha Chikane, wife of UDF leader Moss Chikane, and Martha Mahlangu, mother of executed ANC guerilla Solomon Mahlangu, were present at the Delmas Circuit Court where 22 men accused of treason are standing trial.

dence.

The public and members of the accused's families were barred from the trial when the State called three witnesses in support of an application to have evidence by a former ANC member heard in camera.

The trial, which started on Monday at the Delmas Circuit Court, was plagued during the first three days by several adjournments, with the defence calling for further particulars of the indictment from the State.

The accused - who include UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, UDF Transvaal secretary Moses

Chikane and Sharpeville Anglican priest and Azapo member Rev Tebogo Geofrey Moselane - looked very cheerful and were smartly dressed.

The defence team include senior counsels Arthur Chaskalson and George Bizos and Durban advocate Zak Yacoob.

The trial is expected to last for about a year, with the men having to defend a 300-page indictment. There may be more than 200 State witnesses.

Some of the accused have been in jail for over a year - some were detained in September 1984.

(11A)

BUS DAY 27/1/86

UDF badge: worker reinstated

MOST SA companies overlook the bright political badges and sloganed helmets which black workers sport in the workplace.

But the Industrial Court recently ordered Atlantis Diesel Engines in Cape Town to reinstate Isaac Phoko, an employee who was fired for refusing to remove a United Democratic Front badge from his overall.

The ruling was made on condition that Phoko refrain from displaying any political badges or slogans on the premises.

Lawyers believe the case did not revolve around whether workers could wear politically-orientated clothing to work, but whether petty infringements could warrant dismissal.

Phoko, who was represented by the Legal Resources Centre, resumed work at Atlantis Diesel Engines last week.

An intriguing precedent to this incident was a decision by Barclays Bank in Durban to dismiss an employee in 1982 for wearing an Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) T-shirt to work.

However, Barclays reinstated

*Business Day reporter
CLAIRE PICKARD-CAM-
BRIDGE looks at topical is-
sues in a weekly round-up of
events on the labour front*

him after an uproar from both Azapo and the the SA Society of Bank Officials.

□□□

A SETTLEMENT was reached between striking employees and management at Chesebrough-Ponds in Wadeville, Germiston, late on Friday after workers staged a "sit in" at the factory for two days and three nights.

The strike began last Wednesday when 250 Chesebrough Ponds workers downed tools following a deadlock in wage negotiations.

After meetings with the Chemical Workers Industrial Union (CWIU), management agreed to May Day as a paid holiday, a one month annual bonus and an increase in the hourly wage from R2,70 to R3,25.

Working hours were reduced to 44 hours a week and demands for extended compassionate

leave and changes in other service conditions were dropped.

The factory came to a standstill during the strike and relatives of workers brought food and clothing to them on a daily basis.

The union said it had provided meat for a braai after the second night workers had spent at the factory.

□□□

AFTER an unusually long delay, Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis appointed a conciliation board last week to deal with an alleged unfair labour practice by Gencor's Marievale mine.

The National Union of Mineworkers applied for the board on September 9, 1985, after the company dismissed nearly 1 000 legally-striking workers on September 3.

The appointment of a board is significant because a party cannot apply for a final determination in the Industrial Court before conciliation board proceedings have been exhausted.

The union was previously able

to apply for only temporary reinstatement for the workers, which was granted by the Industrial Court in November on grounds that the dismissals were unfair.

Manpower Director-General P J van der Merwe denied on Friday that the minister had been waiting for the outcome of a Supreme Court review of the Industrial Court's order.

He said there had been "no purposeful delay", and timing of the board's appointment was coincidental.

The minister had needed to consult with his department and study the application carefully because it concerned an alleged unfair labour practice.

He said care was required because the decision to appoint a conciliation board could be taken on appeal to the Supreme Court.

"We get a large number of conciliation board applications and process them in the order we receive them. The minister was also on an overseas visit and there was the normal Christmas delay," Van der Merwe said.



Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley addresses the congregation of more than 1 500 during a Mass for peace held in Mamelodi yesterday.

Cape Times 27/1/86 *NA*
Church 'has to relate to' ANC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Roman Catholic Church is to pay more attention to black liberation movements in South Africa, including the African National Congress, Archbishop Denis Hurley said in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, yesterday.

Archbishop Hurley was speaking at a press conference after a Mass for peace at St Peter Claver Church in Mamelodi, which was attended by more than 1 500 people, including bishops from Canada and Belgium.

"We are about to introduce a change of attitude in answer to what is happening in South Africa," Archbishop Hurley said in reply to a question on

the future political attitude of the church. "We have to relate to the liberation movements."

He said these included the ANC, who took note of everything the church said.

"The Kairos document (drawn up by theologians in response to the crisis in South Africa) calls for us to address black people who have taken the struggle into their own hands. Since September 1984 this has shown no sign of abating," he said.

Archbishop Hurley said the Roman Catholic Church would respond to the Kairos challenge. The document was imperfect but most of it was still relevant.

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Youth hacked to death after chief's funeral

LEANDRA. — Mourners at the funeral of murdered Leandra community leader Chief Ampie Mayisa at the weekend killed a youth who they alleged was part of the vigilante group responsible for the murder.

At least four people were injured as mourners and conservative youths attacked each other after the funeral, witnesses said. Some residents said up to eight people had been injured.

Witnesses said there

was chaos in the township as residents fled from mobs of youths. Large numbers of police moved into the township to try to restore order, they said.

Journalists saw a crowd of 50 chanting "He's a dog, he's a dog, we're going to kill the dog" chase a youth into the back garden of his house where they hacked him to death with knives and axes.

Residents named the youth as Petrus Maha-

mutse, 17, and accused him of joining a crowd of conservative blacks who they claim stabbed and burnt to death Chief Mayisa, the day before the chief was due to meet visiting US envoy Mr Chester Crocker.

Knife-wielding mourners stabbed and injured another conservative, witnesses said.

Groups of conservative youths, known as vigilantes, took revenge by attacking mourners as they returned to Chief Mayi-

sa's house, the witnesses said.

A middle-aged man was shot in the stomach and badly injured. A young woman and another man received serious knife wounds.

The Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Simeon Nkoane, who conducted the funeral, was given police protection.

On the way to the graveyard, two men were seriously injured when a truck packed with sing-

ing and chanting mourners overturned.

Minutes before the youth was murdered, speakers at Chief Mayisa's funeral had called on some 3 000 mourners and activists to work for peace in the township.

At the funeral a speaker from the Black Sash urged the police to solve Chief Mayisa's murder, which happened two weeks ago, saying that police had already arrested and charged 11 men over the deaths of

two white policemen last week.

Some Leandra residents have filed urgent papers before the Supreme Court, Pretoria, showing that Chief Mayisa appealed to police for help hours before his death.

The court documents say that police decided not to enter the township in response to the chief's claim that his house was under attack, but to keep the area under observation. — Sapa-Reuter

Anti-Tutu demos recruited?

JOHANNESBURG. — A group of Kagiso schoolchildren have claimed they were recruited to join in an anti-Bishop Desmond Tutu demonstration on his arrival at Jan Smuts, the Sunday Star said yesterday.

Sister Bernard Ncube, head of the Transvaal Federation of Women and a Roman Catholic nun at St Mary's in Kagiso on the West Rand, told the newspaper she had seen groups of children in the township on Friday accompanied by armed police and a mysterious white woman doctor, later identified as a Dr Swart.

She said children came to St Mary's to tell her of the recruitment campaign, apparently organized by the doctor with the knowledge of the accompanying police. The doctor allegedly told the children they would be taken to Jan Smuts to await Bishop Tutu and told them to make anti-Tutu placards reading "Tutu — no jobs, no food", "Tutu — we want our jobs back" and "Tutu — down with the ANC".

A police spokesman in Pretoria said yesterday: "The police just do not do those sort of things. It is not their job. I also don't know what a doctor was doing in that area anyway.

"But, if these people feel that the police acted wrongly, then they should report the incident to their nearest police station and the matter will be investigated." — Sapa

● Bishop Tutu returns to controversy, page 9



BISHOP Desmond Tutu.

DESMOND TUTU TO FACE STORM

SOWETAN
27/11/88.
TIA

JOHANNESBURG
Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu flies into the country today to face a storm on his utterances while on a visit to the United States.

By late yesterday, it could not be established what time he would arrive in the country.

Many whites have condemned the speeches he made on the visit overseas. Bishop Tutu said at the weekend in Chicago that he did not fear Government action against him when he returns.

Government sources have indicated that there were no moves to prosecute him.

During his tour, Bishop Tutu:

- Warned that white school buses could be attacked;

SOWETAN REPORTER

- Warned that black servants could poison their employers' coffee;
- Predicted South Africa would use nuclear weapons in a scorched earth policy;
- Called on Western governments to support the African National Congress (ANC);
- Said he would call for sanctions against South Africa unless certain reforms were made by March, and;
- Opposed the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt unless the Government abdicated.

His call on Western governments to support the banned ANC is the first time he has gone on record as supporting the movement.

According to weekend reports, the black

consciousness Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) said Bishop Tutu now addresses United Democratic Front (UDF) meetings more frequently.

"This has finally destroyed his ability to act as a mediator between the UDF and Azapo," Azapo is quoted as say-

ing.

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports that Bishop Tutu said at the weekend his tour of the US had been an exhilarating success and he praised the American people for their idealism.

The tour was sponsored by the National Adelpia Foundation.

27/1/80 S. STAR
(11A)

'Whites turning to UDF'

More and more whites are turning to the United Democratic Front (UDF) for solutions to South Africa's present crisis, said Mr Tom Waspé, a spokesman for a national workshop of UDF affiliates and area committees in the white community.

Mr Waspé said 80 delegates at the workshop, held in Johannesburg at the weekend, representing six UDF regions, condemned the recent detentions of the UDF acting publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, and other UDF members.

Delegates at the workshop called on the PFP and businessmen to demand the immediate release of the detainees.

A UDF delegation had been overseas at the invitation of the Swedish labour movement and, while there, had met the ANC at the ANC's request, he said.

"We find it strange that businessmen and the PFP can meet the ANC with impunity, but UDF leaders are detained immediately on returning from such a meeting," he said.

Mr Waspé said the aim of the workshop was to discuss how to strengthen the presence of the UDF in the white community.

Dilemma for the Labour Party

CAPE TIMES 27/1/86 11A
By PATRICK CULL, Political Staff

"We want to be there where we should be — but at the same time we want to solve the housing problem" — David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives.

THIS is the kernel of the problem facing the Labour Party as it prepares for the second full session of the tricameral Parliament — how to reconcile the drive for a non-racial society with a programme of upliftment for its own people which can only be achieved by playing the racial game.

It is the kind of problem that forces an ominous silence on the party over the question of the Kabah township in Uitenhage — wanted by a section of the coloured community, but involving the removal of African families.

It is also reflected in the situation in which the party's Transvaal leadership on the one hand wants a group area for coloured people declared while pressing for the scrapping of the Group Areas Act on the other.

But it is not the real problem — in fact it only reflects the deep-seated division which exists within the party and which have yet to be displayed.

Historically, the Labour Party has been committed to a non-racial society and in the '60s and '70s its members suffered heavily at the hands of the government.

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, was detained for two months in 1976, as were other leading members of the party. And teachers who displayed public allegiance to the party were often subjected to victimization by the then Department of Coloured Affairs.

But that, in the words of one senior Labour Party MP, was "the old Labour Party".

Participation in the tricameral Parliament has brought a degree of government acceptance which the party never had and with it the



Rev Allan Hendrickse

tag of "collaborator" and "sell-out".

It would be wrong to dismiss the party leadership's decision to enter the tricameral Parliament as mere opportunism — I believe it was anything but that.

The decision to participate was taken with the qualification that the Labour Party was involving itself in a system, which it regarded as unquestionably flawed, with the sole aim of dismantling apartheid — a qualification which is so often conveniently forgotten.

Whether, in view of the scant progress that has been made so far — the real foundations of apartheid, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act remained as entrenched as ever — Mr Hendrickse still believes it is possible to dismantle apartheid from within is open to question.

However, since then the situation has changed dramatically.

Participation has brought about a situation where the Labour Party, far from being an opposition party, now finds itself in a position of "minority power-sharing" with its former arch-enemy, the National Party.



Mr Pieter Marais

Consequently it was somewhat incongruous to hear delegates to the party's annual congress earlier this month condemning the actions and standpoints of a government of which it is part.

Such condemnation comes from a small but vociferous group within the party which is utterly committed to a non-racial society and which finds itself increasingly embarrassed by the proximity of its National Party bedfellow.

Particularly embarrassing are the antics of the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Carter Ebrahim, whose strong-arm approach to dissident elements at schools and colleges prompted one MP to suggest he was better suited to being Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Mr Ebrahim's statement that the disruption in the schools was "part of the strategy of the enemies of this country" could have come from any National Party cabinet minister.

However, the majority of the MPs and the bulk of the rank and file support within the Labour Party have been sucked into the tricameral trap and are now far more concerned with the upliftment of their own group than they are with bringing about a non-racial society.

As such, the majority of the Labour Party is now far more in line with the "coloured nationalism" thinking of the leader of the People's Congress Party, Mr Peter Marais, than they are with that of either Mr Hendrickse or the minority group within the party.

During the 1984 August elections for the House of Representatives, the charismatic Mr Marais repeatedly adopted the theme of "plugging into where the power is" in order to provide a better life for "my people".

Certainly he expressed himself totally opposed to apartheid — but this was a distant objective and little more. His aim was a "group" aim and as such fitted neatly in the parameters of National Party philosophy.

He even went so far as to express opposition to the repeal of the Immorality Act because it would open the door to white exploitation of coloured women.

If the bulk of the Labour Party — and that includes the majority of his five-man Minister's Council — belongs with Mr Marais, where does that leave Mr Hendrickse and the other "non-racialists".

Ironically it leaves them with the ultimate *bête noir*, the United Democratic Front (UDF), with whom they have far more in common philosophically than they have with the majority of their own party.

UDF supporters, however loosely they may be tied, are bound by their common commitment to a non-racial society and a strategy of non-collaboration with the government.

One cannot help but believe that Mr Hendrickse and those who share his thinking and determination to bring about a non-racial society would be far happier within that organization than they are couched upon the plush red seats of the very Senate chamber where their rights were finally removed in the 1950s.

CAPE Times
27/1/86

(LIA)

Bishop Tutu returns home to controversy

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, returns to South Africa today amidst a storm of controversy about his tour of the United States.

Bishop Tutu's tour has been covered by the press and the SABC and government ministers have criticized his statements on violence and the African National Congress.

Yesterday the Anglican Bishop of Pretoria, Bishop Richard Kraft, said he would like to see the full text of Bishop Tutu's speeches before commenting.

"I am aware of the selective nature of quotations," he said.

"For fifteen years the bishop has been warning us of what could come about if certain changes did not happen, and indeed it has come about," Bishop Kraft said.

"What he is trying to say is very important. He knows what the young people are saying in the townships and he is aware that if significant things do not happen, matters will go from bad to worse."

Yesterday, Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley said he was unhappy with remarks attributed to him on SABC television news over the past week.

SABC claimed that he "distanced himself" from Bishop Tutu's call to Western nations to support the ANC.

"I stressed in the interview that I

was endeavouring to understand and interpret what he was reported to have said and still show my close appreciation of his stance in the past," Archbishop Hurley said.

"It is upsetting that people are getting the wrong idea of what I said."

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from Los Angeles that Bishop Tutu told 1 000 people at a Studio City breakfast gathering at the weekend that his US tour had been an exhilarating success. He praised American people for their idealism and love.

Earlier in Chicago, Bishop Tutu said he did not fear government reprisals when he returned home.

"Almost anything can happen at home," he said, according to a Sapa-Reuter report.

"Most times I have gone out they have been upset by what I have said. But I don't say anything, usually, abroad that I don't say inside. They're just annoyed, I think, at the attention I get.

"If they stop me from leaving South Africa then I still get attention. People say: 'You see, this is the government where there isn't freedom of speech, even'."

Government sources said Pretoria was not likely to prosecute the bishop for his remarks about the banned African National Congress, although it is illegal to support the ANC. They said it was more likely Pretoria would confine itself to public condemnation.

I do not support the ANC's violent methods says Tutu



Tutu welcomed back at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday where there was a bustle of journalists and television crews.
 Photographer: Dan Simon

BISHOP Desmond Tutu said yesterday he supported the non-racial and democratic objectives of the banned ANC but not its violent methods.

His rejection as evil of all violence marked him as a conservative in Church circles, the 54-year-old Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg told a horde of local and foreign journalists in an Anglican priory garden in Rosettenville.

The Christian Church believed there could be a time when violence was necessary, otherwise there would have been no justification for the Church to have fought Hitler and his Nazis.

PETER HONEY

"I am not a pacifist, I am a peace-lover," he said.

"The primary violence and terrorism in South Africa comes from apartheid and its supporters."

Asked if he feared for his life, Bishop Tutu said he had received "death threats galore" but he did not consider himself "indispensable".

Tutu's calm manner contrasted sharply with the hectic bustle of journalists and television crews at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday as he stepped into a gale-force domestic controversy over his pro-ANC re-

marks and reference to "soft targets" during his three-week US tour.

Plain cloths and uniformed policemen were at the airport.

Tutu said apartheid was not something to be reformed — "we want to see it dismantled and destroyed before it destroys our country."

"You don't reform a Frankenstein, you destroy it."

The Bishop said when he pointed to the vulnerability of "soft targets" in SA during his US tour he was not encouraging terrorism.

It was meant to point out the horrifying prospects of violence and civil war which faced the country unless

those in power acted to resolve problems peacefully.

Tutu clarified his reported remarks about the ANC in the US. He said he could not understand the US logic in offering help to Unita in Angola and the Contras in Nicaragua but not the ANC.

He said organisations like the ANC and PAC had only opted for violent protest after being forced away from peaceful policies by government. He did not believe the lot of blacks had improved since 1948 because be-

ANC and NCM to hold further talks

FURTHER talks between leaders of the African National Congress and National Convention Movement convenor Jules Browde will take place in a month's time to "clear certain ideological problems" between the two organisations.

The ideological differences, which arose from the NCM's manifesto during the last week's meeting between the ANC leaders and Browde, are the cause of further talks.

Possible alliance

This was disclosed yesterday by Browde, a Johannesburg advocate, who met ANC president Oliver Tambo and other ANC leaders in Lusaka last week to discuss the ANC's proposal of a possible alliance of co-ordinated bodies "to dismantle apartheid".

Browde also urged the National Par-

SIPHO NGCOBO

ty to be part of the proposed alliance and called on government to unban the ANC and other organisations "to create a platform of negotiation".

"The ANC listened carefully to what the NCM aimed to do in bringing about the collapse of the apartheid policies in South Africa. In fact the ANC leadership showed interest in the NCM and I got a very warm reception," said Browde.

The NCM is a moderate body formed jointly by the PFP and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha.

However, much remains to be seen, as Inkatha is strongly opposed to the ANC while Buthelezi has complained that the ANC is out to eliminate him.

Browde said the ANC had problems

with some of the contents of the NCM's manifesto.

"Because of the cordial atmosphere under which the discussions took place and the frankness of the ANC regarding the problems they had with the contents of our manifesto, I aim to hold further talks with the organisation. And this must be in a month's time," he said.

No details

Browde, however, could not disclose details of his discussions with the ANC.

"I feel it will be wrong for me to disclose any information on my meeting with the African National Congress until I consult with my committee," he said.

Browde's visit had the blessing of the two PFP leaders, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and Alex Boraine, chairman of the Federal Executive.

Government will not, or more probably cannot control its own... Any shortfall will be made up...

Tutu slams violence

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11A

fore then they all were considered SA citizens.

"It's no good saying things are getting better. The world will only believe it when we, the victims, say: Yes apartheid is disappearing."

Significant developments in this direction would include the lifting of emergency restrictions, withdrawal of troops from the townships, an end to the creation of "independent bantustans" and forced removals, the release of political prisoners, an amnesty for exiles and negotiations with authentic leaders on black representation in government.

Tutu reiterated his intention to call for punitive economic sanctions against SA if by March government had made no significant moves in these directions.

He said he did not pretend to hold much personal influence over Western leaders, "but it will be symbolic action on my part because I will be deliberately breaking an unjust law".

Tutu said his American tour, during which he received several awards and honours, had been a "resounding success" in achieving its three objectives:
 To thank the American people for their support for justice, peace and

reconciliation in SA;

To intensify international attention on SA because of the official clampdown on audio-visual media coverage of the townships;

To raise funds for his diocese and for his refugee fund.

The Bishop said his visit had helped raise almost \$1m for the Anglican Church. The money would help provide aid for families of political prisoners, detainees and other apartheid victims.

During his 12 city tour Tutu met the US Vice President George Bush; Senators Garry Hart, Ted Kennedy, and Jesse Jackson, and personalities such as Jane Fonda, Bill Cosby and Coretta King, wife of assassinated human rights leader Martin Luther King.

Tutu said that while there had been much publicity given to those who criticised him, "many of my flock (who are white) are most supportive. It is mischievous in the extreme for newspapers and television to exacerbate racial tension when we are seeking to work together."

Gold at new highs on JSE

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rand gold price trades at about R800/ounce.

Yesterday's surge on the gold board was led by the Anglo American Free State mines, before today's shareholders' vote to approve the merger of these mines.

"The US gold funds expect today's vote to be very close," says Myers.

President Steyn featured with a 775c or 13.1% jump to R66,75.

With the Continent still an aggressive buyer of gold stocks and the local institutions buying quality stocks, bellwether Vaal Reefs moved up R13 or 6% to a new high of R245, with R3,3m worth of shares changing hands.

Dealers warn that the market is extremely volatile.

ANC 'not' in Botswana

BU'S DAY 28/1/86. (11A)

GABORONE — Botswana has again rejected SA claims that its territory is being used as a route by African National Congress insurgents infiltrating SA.

"We have always said that if anyone knows of any base or infiltration routes in Botswana, he is free to come and show them to us," the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said yesterday.

The latest denial follows a statement attributed to Foreign Minister Pik Botha, given to a Johannesburg Sunday newspaper, after an agreement reached with the new Lesotho regime.

Botha is reported to have said Botswana was still being used as an infiltration route by the ANC, and that the route would have to be closed, or the

SA Defence Force would take "appropriate action".

The Botswana Ministry of Foreign Affairs said: "The government of Botswana unreservedly rejects Mr Botha's insinuation that Botswana says one thing in public and does something else in private.

"We deny categorically that we allow our territory to be used as a transit route to infiltrate into South Africa.

"Mr Botha's threat to send the South African Defence Force to Botswana is completely unwarranted. It's a stark reminder of the raid on Gaborone by the South African Defence Force on June 14, 1985, in which many innocent lives were lost," the statement added.

— Sapa.

Capt. Tom's 28/1/86
Bizos
questions
witness

DELMAS. — The trial of 22 members of the United Democratic Front on charges of treason continued in the Circuit Court here yesterday with counsel for the defence cross-examining a State witness who was formerly a member of the African National Congress.

The witness, who may not be identified in terms of a court order, last week gave evidence that he had been given R60 by the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Dr. Beyers Naude, to use in completing an ANC mission.

Cross-examined by Mr George Bizos SC, the witness said this mission was to establish a dead-letter box, near Crown station in Johannesburg, to be used for storage of weapons.

Mr Bizos told the court that Dr Naude would deny having given money to an ANC member, and would say that, had he been approached in this regard, he would have shown the man the door.

Questioned about the date on which the witness had seen Dr Naude at the SACC offices in Khotso House, Johannesburg, the witness replied that it was on a Monday in May last year, no earlier than the 11th of the month.

When Mr Bizos put it to him that Dr Naude had left for an overseas trip on May 10, the witness replied that he was not prepared to name a specific date. — Sapa

UDF internal mission of ANC, court told

By NKOPANE
MAKOBANE

A FORMER African National Congress member told a Delmas Circuit Court judge yesterday that the United Democratic Front was known at training camps outside South Africa as the internal mission of the ANC.

Mr X, who gave evidence behind closed doors and may not be identified, was testifying in the treason trial of 22 people, mostly from the Vaal, before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst and two assessors.

The accused include UDF publicity secretary Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota; UDF general secretary, Mr Popo Simon Molefe and the Rev Tebogo Geoffrey Moselane, a Sharpeville Anglican priest.

They have all pleaded not guilty to a charge of high treason and of conspiring with the ANC to overthrow the South African Government by violence.

They are also accused of murder, subversion and terrorism.

Questioned by Mr George Bizos, SC, for the defence, Mr X said he knew at the time of his training, the UDF was helping themselves.

He said any ANC member could talk him anything about the UDF.

The witness also told the court that during May last year he had gone to Khotso House, Johannesburg.

He went to the UDF offices where he met an official, Mr Samson Ndou.

He told him he was an ANC member and needed money to carry out missions for the organisation.

Mr Ndou, he said, told him he could not help but sent him to the South African Council of Churches' offices downstairs.

Mr X said he then went to see Dr Beyers Naude, the secretary-general of the SACC who gave him money.

During cross examination, Mr Bizos put it to Mr X that Dr Naude, if called by the court, would say if anyone came to him and said he was from the ANC and needed financial assistance, he would show him the door.

Mr Bizos said the incident described by Mr X had never happened.

Proceeding.

BLUES DAY
28/1/86

Union talks on white miners' decline

IMPALA SILENT OVER FIRED 20 000

IMPALA PLATINUM yesterday declined to say how many of the 20 000 workers dismissed this month from three Gencor mines in Bophuthatswana would be re-engaged.

Impala Platinum Holdings MD Don Island said he "did not believe it would be meaningful" to supply

figures. Most of the Impala Platinum workforce was dismissed on January 6 after mass strikes.

In a brief statement appearing as a Press advertisement yesterday, company chairman Ted Pavitt said recruitment of replacement labour was proceeding satisfactorily.

ELIMINATION of the white mineworker is the chief subject at this week's annual congress of the rightwing Mineworkers' Union (MWU), says an article in the union's official journal.

About 80 delegates attended the two-day congress in Johannesburg. It ends today.

The congress has not been open to the Press but an article in the union's weekly newspaper "Die Mynwerker", said the issue of job security for white mineworkers would be high on the agenda.

Job reservation

Government announced last week that parties involved in talks for the scrapping of job reservation in the mining industry had thus far failed to reach agreement, and that there could be a delay of several months before government imposed change.

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

Government previously set last December 31 as the target date for the scrapping of job reservation and has indicated that laws promulgating this would be passed in the forthcoming parliamentary session.

The article, written by MWU general secretary Arrie Paulus, said other issues to be discussed at the congress included the attitude of employers towards forced integration, job reservation and equal pay for equal work.

Wage negotiations would also be discussed, as well as debate on the merits of an industrial council for the mining industry.

Paulus said in the article that an industrial council for negotiations in the mining industry had been recommended by the Wiehahn Commission.

He said such a system had both

advantages and disadvantages, such as the cost of maintaining a council.

The Niewenhuizen Report on occupational diseases would also be discussed.

Paulus said the report was published about four years ago but draft legislation was still awaited.

Many representatives from other industries, to which the MWU extended its influence for the first time last year, attended the conference.

Employers confirm that agreement has not yet been reached with white unions and that talks are continuing.

● A total of 571 workers have been fired from the Randfontein Estates gold mine in Westonia where the processing of dismissals was completed yesterday. Last Tuesday, nine people, including two policemen, were killed in violent clashes near mine property.

Church to heed ANC Hurley

THE Roman Catholic Church is to pay more attention to black liberation movements in SA, Archbishop Dennis Hurley said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press conference after a Mass-for-Peace service at St Peter Claver Church in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, he said: "We are about to introduce a change of attitude, in answer to what is happening in South Africa. We have to relate to the liberation movements."

28/1/86 (114) BUS DAY
Own Correspondent

He said he included in his reference to liberation movements the African National Congress (ANC) which took note of everything the Catholic Church said.

More than 1 500 people, including 40 bishops, attended the service, which was held to remember 13 people killed in unrest on November 21.

11A
Cape Times 28/11/85

ANC trainee found guilty of terrorism

Staff Reporter

PAARL Regional Court yesterday rang with the sounds of political slogans as a 24-year-old Paarl man, found guilty of terrorism for training with the African National Congress in Angola in 1983, gave the crowded public gallery the "Amandla" salute.

Michael Mkuseli Matakata, of Mbekweni, Paarl, was convicted of terrorism for contravening the Internal Security Act by undergoing military training — including training in the use of firearms, ammunition and explosive devices — at the Caxito training camp in Angola between March and May 1983.

Sketches of weapons

Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel le Roux, of the Paarl security police, said that Matakata voluntarily signed a statement in April 1985, saying that he had attended the training camp in Angola. This statement was handed in to the court.

Lieutenant-Colonel Le Roux said he asked Matakata to make sketches of the weapons on which he had been trained, which Matakata did.

In reply to questions from Mr A M Omar, for Matakata, Lieutenant-Colonel Le Roux said Matakata had been held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act from the time of his arrest until his first court appearance in July 1985. During that period he had had no access to his lawyers or to members of his family, he said.

Asked about Matakata's allegations that he was assaulted at various times while he was in custody, Lieutenant-Colonel Le Roux said a docket had been opened in December 1984 and had been investigated, but the Attorney-General had decided not to prosecute.

Evidence in camera

The magistrate, Mr J Lemmer, said Matakata's statement had said he left South Africa in 1982 to further his studies. He came into contact with ANC members in Botswana and Zambia. He returned to South Africa over the Botswana border in October 1984.

He said a witness who gave evidence in camera so as to protect her identity had told the court she met Matakata in the Caxito training camp.

The case continues today.

Police searched each person in the gallery before allowing them into the court, both before proceedings began and after lunch. There was room for only a part of the crowd who wished to attend the trial.

Mr A de V la Grange, of the Cape Town Attorney-General's office, appeared for the State. Mr Omar was instructed by R Vassen and Co.

Nats differ on action against Bishop Tutu

AR663
28/1/86

114
~~3014~~

Political Staff

THE Government was keeping a low profile today on Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg.

There are differences of opinion within the National Party over what action should be taken against him about his call for Western support for the African National Congress.

Bishop Tutu returned to South Africa yesterday from his tour of the United States, saying he stood by what he had said there.

ATTACK

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, who last week made a stinging attack on the bishop's call, had no comment to make today.

Mr Louis le Grange, the Minister of Law and Order, also had no comment today.

The issue is likely to be discussed by the Cabinet tomorrow or at next week's meeting of the State Security Council, according to Government spokesmen.

Some Nationalists would like charges to be laid against Bishop Tutu for supporting the ANC, or to have his passport taken away.

However, others argue that Bishop Tutu is fast discrediting himself. This became evident, they say, when United States Vice-President, Mr George Bush, publicly questioned the bishop's objectives.

If action were taken it would make a martyr of him and increase his credibility.

The Argus Correspondent reports from Johannesburg that Bishop Tutu, said he did not support the ANC's violent methods, although he subscribed to its objectives.

He said that in the church his anti-violence position was a conservative one. The church taught that the time could come when there was justification in overthrowing a tyrannical government by violence.

"NON-RACIAL"

But a position justifying a "just war" had not yet been reached.

"I have said many times before that I support the ANC in its objectives of a unified, non-racial and democratic country, but I do not support its methods of violence."

The bishop said he had raised nearly R2,5-million, including scholarships in America worth more than R500 000.

SOWETAN

TUESDAY, JANUARY 28, 1986

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Bishop Tutu explains his stand

11A

SOWETAN 28/1/86



BISHOP Desmond Tutu, sporting a sailor's cap, is met by well-wishers, including Father David Nkwe (bespectacled right) and a host of other clergymen at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

WESTERN governments should support the outlawed African National Congress the same way they do other liberation movements elsewhere in the world, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, said on his return from his three-week US tour yesterday.

Bishop Tutu said he met leaders of the ANC while abroad and also held discussions with Dr Ebrahim Gora, vice-chairman of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) central committee.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg he said: "I cannot understand the logic of Western governments. For instance, the US Government openly supports Unita in Angola. Why can't it support the ANC and other liberation groups in South Africa?"

Bishop Tutu, however, said he repeated his stand against violence and added that the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress

were forced to take the option of "the armed struggle" in the 1960s.

"I have said before that I support the ANC in its objectives and not its violent cause."

Bishop Tutu described his fund-raising tour as a huge success. He said he was able to raise nearly R1-million for his diocese and that the money would be used for the benefit of the church in general.

He also said that the Americans now understood South Af-

To Page 2

Bishop Tutu's stand

From Page 1

rica and would intensify their focus on the country.

Bishop Tutu also said he still stood by his intention to call for punitive sanctions against South Africa if no positive action to dismantle apartheid within the next three months was evident.

He said apartheid had to go because "an evil system cannot be reformed".

Faceless

Meanwhile, the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has denied a weekend report that Bishop Tutu "has finally destroyed his ability to act as a mediator between the United Democratic Front and Azapo".

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, who conveyed the organisation's message of support to Bishop Tutu on his arrival yesterday said:

"We express our appreciation of the efforts the Bishop made in our struggle for liberation.

"Our investigations have revealed that the report and statements in the *Sunday Star* were unfounded and were uttered by a faceless person. We reject the statement," Mr Myeza said.

Tutu backs ANC aim, not methods

DAILY DISPATCH
28 JAN '86

11A

Transvaal Bureau

JOHANNESBURG — The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said yesterday he supported the African National Congress in its objectives of working for a non-racial, democratic and just society.

Bishop Tutu was speaking at a press conference after a chaotic reception at Jan Smuts airport yesterday when he was mobbed by a large crowd of journalists and supporters. A large number of plain clothes and uniformed policemen were at the airport when he arrived at about 1.30 pm.

The bishop, who has been widely criticised for statements he is reported to have made about the ANC while on a three week tour of the United States, stressed he did not support the methods of the ANC.

"I reject all violence," Bishop Tutu said. "I reject the violence of a repressive system and the violence of those who try to overthrow it. I am not a pacifist. I am a peace-lover," he said.

He said the scriptures say that there is a time when the concept of "just war" can become necessary.

He said that if significant change had not come about by the end of March he would call for punitive sanctions to be imposed on South Africa.

Bishop Tutu said his visit had helped raise almost one million dollars for the Anglican church. The money would help provide aid for families of political prisoners, detainees and other victims of apartheid and to train more priests.

At the press conference he said he could

not understand the United States' logic in offering help to Unita in Angola and the Contras in Nicaragua, but not the ANC.

Bishop Tutu said organisations like the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress had only opted for violent protest after being forced away from peaceful policies by the government.

Questioned about his own safety Bishop Tutu said if he "were to be liquidated" it would not change the position in South Africa at all.

He said he received a very good reception in America and received four honorary degrees, three gold medallions and the honorary citizenship of Baltimore in recognition of his work.

Bishop Tutu said while there had been much publicity given to those who criticised him, "many of my flock, who are white, are most supportive. It is mischievous in the extreme for newspapers and television to exacerbate racial tension when we are seeking to work together."

"I said hardly anything in the US that I have not said here. The government must show that I am lying about apartheid, they must show that children are not detained, that 4 year old children are not killed with rubber bullets," he said.

'My anti-violence position is conservative'

'Soft targets': Bishop explains

STAK
28/1/86
11A

By Estelle Trengove
and Andrew Beattie

Bishop Desmond Tutu, who returned from campaigning in the United States yesterday, said he did not support the violent methods of the banned African National Congress, although he subscribed to its objectives.

His controversial statements regarding "soft targets", Bishop Tutu said, had been meant as warnings. He did not wish for those things to happen, he said.

During a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Bishop Tutu sought to clear up controversy surrounding his statements in America.

In the Church, he said, his anti-violence position was a conservative one to hold. The Church taught that the time could come when it was justified to overthrow a tyrannical government through violence.

But the "just war" situation had not yet been reached in this country, he said.

He warned that unless apartheid was dismantled it would lead to further bloodshed in South Africa.

"Until apartheid goes, more South Africans are going to be killed, if not by the ANC then by apartheid perpetrators," the Bishop said.

During his three-week campaigning and fund-raising tour,

Bishop Tutu reportedly called on the Western nations to support the ANC. This gave rise to conjecture that, by implication, he supported violence.

Addressing this issue yesterday, Bishop Tutu said:

"I have said many times before that I support the ANC in its objectives of a unified, non-racial and democratic country, but I do not support its methods of violence."

Primary violence

If it were not for the church's doctrine of the just war, it would, for example, have been impossible for Christians to fight in the war against Nazism, the Bishop said.

"But," he said, "the primary violence and terrorism comes from apartheid and its supporters."

He asked why it was right for Afrikaners to fight for their freedom, but not right for blacks to do so.

He said his call for support for the ANC — "and other liberation groups" — did not align him with any specific group, and it did not affect his role as mediator.

Turning to another of his statements which caused an outcry, Bishop Tutu said that when he spoke about "soft targets" it had been meant as a warning.

Bishop Tutu was reported to have said that whites who still

had their morning coffee brought to them were soft targets as the servant could slip something into the coffee.

He said that just because he warned that something could happen did not mean he wanted it to happen.

Expanding on the point, he said it was like seeing a cup and saucer balancing on the edge of a table and warning that they were about to fall off, only to be blamed when they did fall.

He did not wish for those things to happen, he said.

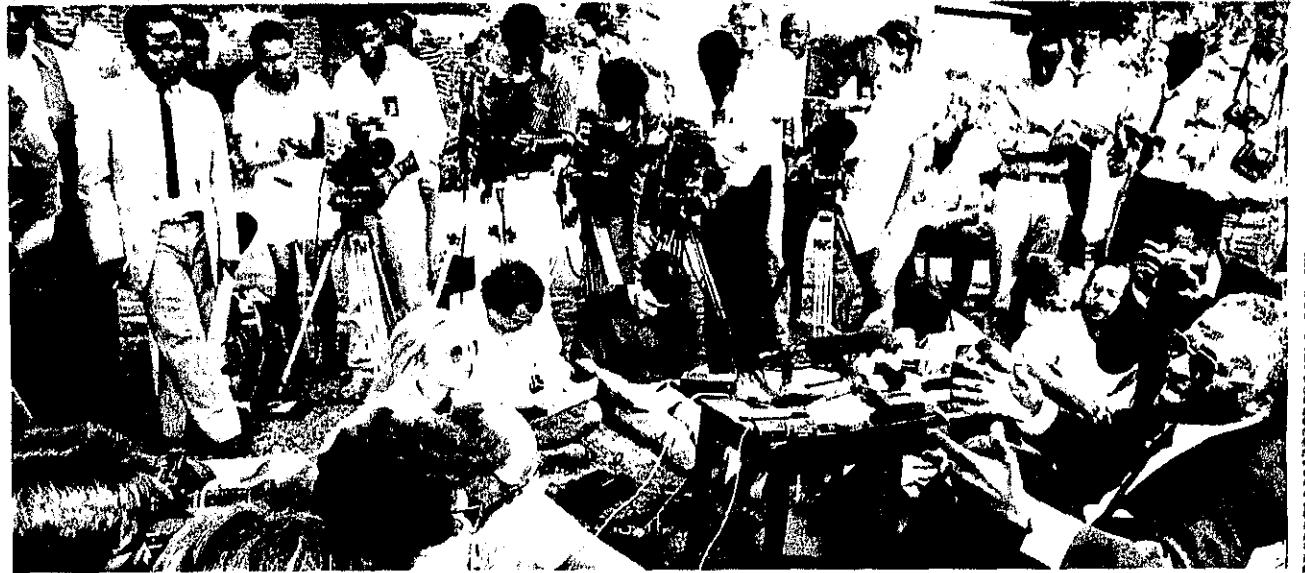
Bishop Tutu said that during his trip to the US he had raised funds amounting to almost \$1 million (about R2.2 million), including scholarships in America worth more than \$200 000 (about R450 000).

Some of the money would go into the South African Council of Churches' emergency fund, which was used to help the families of political detainees and prisoners.

Bishop Tutu said he hoped that some of the money would be used to increase priests' stipends and for training clergy.

"I will seek to use it for the good of my country, for I believe I am truly patriotic."

Criticising the SABC and a "certain" Government-supporting newspaper, the Bishop refused to speak to the SABC "until they learn to apologise for (their) quite scandalous behaviour".



Bishop Desmond Tutu addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday on his return from America.

SA urged to heed call

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The text of the Hart-Mathias commendation proposal for Bishop Desmond Tutu reads:

"Whereas Desmond Tutu has committed himself to non-violent change in South Africa;

"Whereas Desmond Tutu has advocated direct dialogue between blacks and whites as the central need for the future of South Africa;

"Whereas Desmond Tutu has personally rescued victims of mob violence from certain injury or death" at great risk to himself;

"Whereas Desmond Tutu has advocated economic sanctions against South Africa as a

means to peacefully encourage Pretoria to dismantle the apartheid system of racial separation;

"Whereas Desmond Tutu has repeatedly turned to the United States for assistance in his quest for peaceful change in his native country, and

"Whereas Desmond Tutu received the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize for his moral leadership in South Africa, now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring); that Congress commends Bishop Desmond Tutu for his courageous work for peace and freedom in South Africa, and that Congress encourages all South Africans to heed Bishop Tutu's call for a peaceful end to apartheid."

Senators call for praise of Tutu

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Two United States senators have initiated a move in Congress to praise Bishop Desmond Tutu for his role in South Africa, including "advocating economic sanctions" against the country.

But the bishop denied early in his three-week visit to the US that he had ever done so. He claimed he would be courting arrest by openly advocating punitive sanctions at the end of March — a deadline he had set the South African Government to show it was serious about reform.

Speaking to reporters at the United Nations in New York, Bishop Tutu said: "We South Africans are very good at semantics. I have not yet called for sanctions, I have called for pressure."

Last week, 10 days after this statement, Senators Gary Hart and Charles Mathias proposed to Congress that the churchman be commended for "his courageous work for peace and freedom in South Africa".

Both Senator Mathias, a liberal Republican

from Maryland, and Senator Hart, a Colorado Democrat and aspirant for the US presidency, are known opponents of Pretoria and advocate economic sanctions against the South African Government.

Motivating the proposal, Senator Hart said: "Thanks to the work of Bishop Tutu and thousands of other committed, yet unheralded activists, the seeds of victory in South African have been sown."

Senator Mathias said the proposed commendation, which has now to go before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was a salute to moral leadership and a moral leader.

In an extended series of talks throughout the US, Bishop Tutu was reported as thanking the American people and institutions for applying sanctions against South Africa and cutting business links with the country.

"In 1984, people would have called you crazy if you had said Congress would even be debating sanctions against South Africa by 1985. But because the people of this great country decided to demonstrate, the moral climate in this land has been transformed," he said.

Faction fights spread

STAR 28/1/88 *11A*
DURBAN — A nursing sister was stabbed to death and several houses were burnt down or stoned as faction fighting between Zulus and Pondos spread to Magabheni township near Umkomaas yesterday.

Five people were killed at Amahlongwa in the Umkomaas district at the weekend, and police said two more bodies were found yesterday.

The number killed in faction fighting since December has now reached 113.

Animosity between the two factions has been simmering in Magabheni township since January 16 when Mr Khonde Mthethwa was allegedly thrown out of the window of a moving train by Pondos. He died instantly. After the incident, youths ordered the Pondos to leave the township.

The matter came to a head on Saturday after the funeral of Mr Mthethwa, when armed youths attacked houses believed to belong to Pondos. They attacked Sister Maggie Mnenbe's house, stabbing her to death and seriously injuring her young child. Her husband escaped uninjured.

Petrol bombs were thrown at the home of township councillor Mr Colbert Mncwango, but did not explode. — Sapa.

ANC defector's evidence on Naude challenged

28/1/86 STARZ

By Kym Hamilton
Pretoria Bureau

(114) Evidence in the Delmas treason trial took a new twist yesterday when it emerged that Beyers Naude could have been overseas at the time he was alleged to have helped a detained African National Congress terror-

(787) An ANC defector, who gave evidence in camera, was in the witness stand for the third time yesterday in the trial in which 22 men face charges of high treason, murder, terrorism and subversion. All have pleaded not guilty.

According to evidence lead earlier, Dr Naude, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and a United

Democratic Front (UDF) official, Mr Samson Ndou, gave the witness money and helped him, knowing he was from the ANC and that they were assisting his mission.

During cross examination by Mr G Bizos, SC, the witness said he had gone to Khotso House in Johannesburg in May last year as he, like ANC cadres in any of the camps, knew they could turn to the UDF

It emerged that the witness must have seen Dr Naude at Khotso House on Monday May 13.

When Mr Bizos put it to him that Dr Naude was out of the country at the time, having left on May 10, the witness replied he was not prepared to bind himself to specific dates.

Mr Bizos added that Dr Naude would tell the court that he recalled no such incident as the one described by the witness and that if someone had come to his office saying he wanted money and he was from the ANC, Dr Naude would have immediately shown him the door.

The witness also told the court he had never met Mr Ndou before going to the UDF offices for help. He said he needed the money for transport to complete his mission, to plan a dead-letter box in which to hide arms.

He told the court he had entered into an agreement with unnamed police and state representatives which granted him indemnity. The trial continues today.

Tutu speaks on ANC violence

Mercury 11A
28/1/86

JOHANNESBURG—The political situation in South Africa was such that violence could justifiably be met with violence, hence the violent actions of the ANC in its endeavour to overthrow the South African Government, said Bishop Desmond Tutu on his return here yesterday, Sapa reported.

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg told a Press conference shortly after his arrival from the United States that while he did not subscribe to the ANC's methods of overthrowing South Africa's apartheid regime he did agree with its principles.

Because the South African Government had become violent in suppressing black aspirations the ANC, after fruitlessly pursuing non-violent methods for many years, had circumstantially become violent.

The bishop, who has been widely criticised for statements he is reported to have made about the ANC while on a three-week tour of the U.S, emphasised that he did not support the methods of the movement.

Peace-lover

'I reject all violence. I reject the violence of a repressive system and the violence of those who try to overthrow it. I am not a pacifist. I am a peace-lover,' he said.

Our Johannesburg correspondent said Bishop Tutu restated his warning that if significant change had not come about by the end of March he would call for punitive sanctions on South Africa.

'This will be symbolic on my part. I will be deliberately breaking an unjust law,' Bishop Tutu said. Security laws make it an offence to actively support economic sanctions.

The bishop said his visit to the U.S had helped raise almost R2 000 000 for his church which would aid families of political prisoners, detainees and other victims of apartheid as well as training more priests.

Surprising

During his 12-city tour he had met leading political and entertainment figures as well as representatives of a number of large companies.

Chiding the U.S Government for criticising the violent methods of the ANC, Bishop Tutu said: 'It is surprising that

the United States Government should support Unita in Angola but reject the ANC.' Both groups were committed to overthrowing lawful governments by violent means.

'If it is proper for Unita to overthrow the Luanda Government, why is it wrong for the ANC to overthrow the apartheid Government by the same means,' he asked.

Questioned about his own safety, Bishop Tutu said if he 'were to be liquidated' it would not change the position in South Africa at all.

Threatened

He had been threatened many times but did not feel his life was in danger.

'I have told this Government and its supporters many times that I am not afraid of them. They are not God.

'If I am liquidated it will not help anybody at all for I am not indispensible. They can arrest me if they like.'

He said a greater part of the world community was aware of what he termed South Africa's procrastination in creating a just society.

'We are on the brink of a catastrophe. But we can be pulled back from it if

the outside world can exert pressure on the South African Government,' he added.

Moffat Zungu released



FORMER World and Weekend World chief photographer, Mr Moffat Zungu, was released yesterday after spending more than eight years in jail. He spent two years in detention awaiting trial and the rest on Robben Island. He is held aloft by SOWETAN staff members.

MOFFAT Zungu, former chief photographer of the *World and Weekend World*, who spent close to seven years on Robben Island after he was found guilty under the Terrorism Act in the Bethal Trial, was freed yesterday.

Hours after Zungu was released from Central Prison, Pretoria, and put into a train at Pretoria station by jail warders, he found his way to the offices of **The SOWETAN**, the successor to

his former and now banned newspaper.

A man with a delightful sense of humour, Zungu has assumed a calmness and solid understanding after almost seven years on the Island.

He speaks quietly and has the lines of experience around his eyes but that irrepresible laughter keeps bubbling from under the new mask.

With a merry twinkle and a chuckle, the day tends to brighten ever so slightly around

any company that Moffat has. It has not been taken away by the years in jail.

In the train his attention was caught by a lone man reading **The SOWETAN** and drinking quietly from a bottle of beer.

Friends

Soon after the man had finished reading the paper and without so much as a thought handed it to Moffat. He also offered him a shot of the beer. Moffat refused politely.

They soon became friends and the man was impressed no end by this long-term prisoner of conscience just let loose.

At Johannesburg station, Moffat could not believe his eyes. So many people. He was afraid of them. He was afraid of being arrested. The new friend reassured him but had to dash off to work.

They left Moffat's luggage in a cloakroom and he took a look around town.

He walked around the streets near the station, his jaw fell open at every other sight. The men and their new hairstyles. The briefcases they carry. The way everybody seems so relaxed, so happy. This cannot be South Africa. This is America. He spends time lapping it up until he finally decided he had to get to Soweto. He did not know how.

Eventually instinct led him to a shop, and how he managed to get them call the editor of **The SOWETAN** is a story all on its own.

In jail Moffat managed to study and did his Junior Certificate, got his matric and is now into theology.

ANC activists detained as Moshoeshoe takes over

MORE African National Congress activists were reported to have been detained in Lesotho yesterday.

ANC sources in Lusaka added last night that the organisation had not yet held discussions with the new rulers in Lesotho and "were not sure" whether discussions would take place in the near future.

The newly-established military council yesterday handed over executive and legislative power to King Moshoeshoe.

The hand-over was announced on Radio Lesotho yesterday morning, confirming speculation that coup leader Major-General Justin Lekhanya has no desire to exercise political power longer than necessary.

The king will rule with the advice of the military council. Moshoeshoe will appoint a council of ministers from "time to time".

ANC sources said they had more confidence in Moshoeshoe than they did in paramilitary leader Lekhanya.

The British government said yesterday it has dropped consideration of a request for material aid for Lesotho, because of the blockade of the border by SA,

Business Day Reporter

which had been made by deposed Chief Leabua Jonathan.

A spokesman at the British embassy in Cape Town said the request fell away because Chief Jonathan was deposed while the British government was still in the process of considering the request.

However, he hoped the border dispute would "sort itself out quickly now that a new regime has taken over the government of Lesotho".

An editorial in yesterday's *Times* of London said that "Chief Jonathan's calls for sanctions against South Africa have rebounded against him with all the force of a returning boomerang. President P W Botha and his government in Pretoria have proved to everyone else's satisfaction that sanctions can work."

In Gaborone yesterday, Lesotho refugees living in Botswana said there would be no change in government style because coup-leader Lekhanya had been "moulded by Chief Jonathan".

They said they did not foresee any radical political change.



● MOSHOESHOE

THE 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, this week told about 50 local and foreign journalists that what he had said abroad was not new and he would repeat it anywhere.

On his most recent, three-week visit to the United States of America, Bishop Tutu:

- Called on Western governments to support the banned African National Congress (ANC).

- Warned that he would call for sanctions against South Africa if the process of dismantling apartheid had not started by March.

There was an angry reaction to these and other remarks in the South African media and many believed that the Government would react strongly against him on his return.

He was not whisked away in a police car nor did he face rioting demonstrations as "expected."

Instead, Bishop Tutu repeated his remarks on the ANC, other liberation movements and the dismantling of apartheid — and blamed the Government media for distorting what he actually said.

"I am not lying when I say apartheid is evil. You do not reform a Frankenstein. You destroy it. Haven't I said that before?"

"Haven't I said before that I support the objectives of the ANC but not its violent methods? I have said it so many times it is almost a jingle."

A Sunday newspaper said at the weekend that Bishop Tutu had failed in his crucial role as a neutral mediator in black politics.

Away with apartheid

FOCUS

SOUSTAN 29/1/86

By THEMBA MOLEFE

as mediator in the chronic violence by blacks on blacks in the townships.

This would indirectly fan the flames of violence between Azapo and the United Democratic Front which inclines to the ANC, the newspaper reported an Azapo spokesman as saying.

At Monday's Press conference Azapo's Mr

It said that by openly siding with the ANC he had antagonised the black consciousness Azanian People's Organisation and finally destroyed his ability to act



BISHOP Tutu . . . "I am not a pacifist, I am a peace lover".

Munti Myeza said the report was incorrect and the spokesman quoted "was faceless" he said. Azapo in fact appreciated the role Bishop Tutu had played in the liberation struggle.

Bishop Tutu said: "What I said in the US is that I cannot understand the logic of Western governments. My remarks were directed at the Reagan Administration in particular.

"Since the US administration supported the revolutionary Unita movement (of Dr Jonas Savimbi) and the Contras rebels in South America, why does it not support the ANC?"

"I am looking forward to the day when they support the ANC and other groups in South Africa."

Bishop Tutu said the Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC had opted for the armed struggle only after being outlawed and being forced away from peaceful policies by the Government.

"I am not a pacifist, I am a peace-lover," said Bishop Tutu. "The primary violence and terrorism in South Africa comes from apartheid and its supporters."

On his trip abroad Bishop Tutu said: "Our visit to the US was intended to achieve a three-fold goal: to thank the American people for their support for our struggle; to help intensify the focus on South

Africa because of the clampdown on TV and other coverage and to look for funds.

"People care enormously about what is going on here in South Africa and they wanted us to be, as it were, conduits to convey to all South Africans, black and white, that they care; they are not anti-white, they are not anti-South Africa but they are firmly anti-injustice, anti-oppressor and anti-apartheid."

Bishop Tutu said: "I am ashamed of nothing I have done or said on my trip. What supreme irony: The world keeps honouring us. — I do not know why — and it welcomes our ministry in South Africa as being work for justice and peace and reconciliation.

"One of the awards I received was the Martin Luther King Peace Award and they do not give that to people who are advocates of violence or anything of that kind or to people who are formentors of trouble.

"Yet in our home country, the Government and most of its white supporters regard us as the devil incarnate and its agents in the Press and radio and television go to extreme lengths to vilify and discredit us.

"But we still say to the Government that there is the outside chance of things being resolved, if it declares that it intends to abolish apartheid, to dismantle apartheid, to lift the emergency, to withdraw the troops, abolish the pass laws and to end the forced population removals.

"You know that litany: 'release political prisoners; release detainees and let exiles return; talk with authentic representatives'."



NCM to continue unity talks with ANC

29/1/86 STAR
The National Convention Movement's convener, Mr Jules Browde, and the outlawed African National Congress are to have further talks in about a month's time.

Advocate Mr Browde said that certain "ideological problems" had to be cleared up between the two organisations.

These resulted from the wording of the NCM's manifesto.

He added that he hoped to have further talks with the ANC next month "if

all goes well".

The differences arose during talks between Mr Browde and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo last week in Lusaka, on the ANC's proposal of a possible alliance of co-ordinated bodies to dismantle apartheid.

The NCM is a moderate body which was originally formed jointly by the Progressive Federal Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, although they later withdrew.

Azapo call to pupils



THE Azanian People's Organisation has called on black parents and pupils to unite and urged pupils to return to school.

The call was made at a meeting held at the Khulungolwazi primary school in Diepkloof Zone 5 on Monday night.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said: "Unless pupils are at school, they cannot organise properly."

He said: "We have achieved victory by having schools reopen on a date set by us. We have made our mark in the history of our land — a mark that future generations will find hard to surpass."

Mr George Wauchope, Azapo's general secretary, called upon pupils to stamp out "thuggery" in the struggle.

AG-45 30/1/86 (11A) ~~11A~~

Church sacks Hendrickse and Julies as preachers

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, leader of the Labour Party, and the party's chairman, the Rev Andrew Julies, have been told their accreditation as ministers of the United Congregational Church of South Africa has been terminated because they occupy party-political posts.

They were told in letters from the general secretary of the church, the Rev Joseph Wing.

Mr Hendrickse is chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives and Mr Julies, also a member of the council, is Minister of the Budget.

Mr Julies said today legal advice was being obtained with a view to challenging the church's move in court.

Continue serving

He said he could not speak on behalf of Mr Hendrickse, but as far as he was concerned the church's decision was a political move.

Mr Hendrickse has so far declined to comment, but a spokesman in his office said today he may issue a statement later.

Mr Julies said he intended to continue serving his congregation as a minister for as long as his congregation wanted him to do so.

The practice in the United Congregational Church had always been that ministers were called by individual congregations and not by the assembly or synod.

His own congregation of the Alexander Stewart Congregational Church at Keimoes had expressed itself as being overwhelmingly in favour of his staying on as minister.

Mr Julies said the decision to terminate his and Mr Hendrickse's accreditation as ministers had arisen from a change in the church's constitution, brought about at its assembly last year.

The change was clearly designed to "get at us" for holding party-political office.

The constitutional provisions for the accreditation of ministers had been changed by the addition of a clause in terms of which a minister who held party-political office could not be acknowledged as an accredited minister of the church.

CAPE TOWN
30/1/86



Tutu met Joe Slovo, court told

Own Correspondent

DELMAS. — Bishop Desmond Tutu met Mr Joe Slovo, African National Congress commander of special operations, in Zambia in 1984, a Delmas Circuit Court heard yesterday.

A former Zambian-trained cadre of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, made this allegation during the trial of 22 United Democratic Front members charged with high treason.

The witness, who may

not be identified, said Mr Slovo had met Bishop Tutu and his wife Leah at the Zambian International Airport.

Mr George Bizos, SC, who is defending the UDF members, sounded a note of caution about this evidence as Bishop Tutu's name was not included in the list of about 800 co-conspirators attached to the indictment.

The witness said his mission had been to train people, including UDF members, in the use of AK rifles, hand-

grenades and the planting of limpet mines so that they "could fight like us and forget about such things as stone-throwing".

He was arrested two days after his arrival in South Africa.

"The UDF is on the same line as the ANC. We were told that if we had any problems we must contact the UDF," he said.

The 22 accused all pleaded not guilty at the start of the trial which is expected to last over a year.

The Star Bureau

Slovo awarded R80 000 damages

LONDON — A British judge has awarded damages of about R80 000 (£25 000) and costs against the Argus Printing and Publishing Company over a report in *The Star* alleging that senior ANC activist Joe Slovo orchestrated the murder of his wife, Ruth First.

The court was told that the report, written by Russell Gault and published in *The Star* on July 14 1984, described Mr Slovo as a man "wildly believed to be capable of extreme ruthlessness and suggested he had engineered his estranged wife's killing for political reasons".

UK judge rules against Argus Company in defamation action

to be an appalling libel — that a man was prepared to murder his wife as a matter of political expedience.

The judge said *The Star's* subsequent report, intended as an apology, was "not an apology and not a retraction and in my view it reinforces and reasserts the allegations in the article that had gone before".

This brings to an end an action for damages instituted by Mr Slovo in December 1984 initially against both the reporter, Gault, and the Argus Company.

A writ was served for an injunction and damages, but neither Gault nor the Argus Company acknowledged it. In July last year, the proceeding for an injunction was abandoned and judgment was obtained for damages against the Argus Company alone.

The Argus Company was not represented at Wednesday's hearing. The court was told *The Star's* report in December 1984 presented a version of events leading up to her death which suggested Mr Slovo was estranged from his wife.

was involved with a secretary, was a KGB colonel, and engineered his wife's murder.

Mr Slovo's counsel Michael Bloch said: "There was no attempt to apologise for the article or suggest how it came to be written. A further report was published, but it was not an apology at all."

It is important that reference is made (in *The Star's* published retraction to the fact that he may not be quoted and has no legal redress — because it is plain they published the first article in the belief that they could say anything about Mr Slovo they wished with impunity."

Mr Bloch said the Argus Company, which had a subsidiary in London, was aware of the court proceedings and was entitled to appear to "cross examine Mr Slovo, make submissions or indeed to give evidence in mitigation of damages or explain how the article came to be written and what steps have been taken to put the matter right — but that's something they have chosen not to do."

Dressed in grey trousers, a dark blue jacket and blue and red striped tie, Mr Slovo, of 13 Lyme Street, NW1, told the court that he was now employed full-time by the ANC after being the first white South African to be elected to its national executive committee last year. He spent much of his travelling on ANC business.

He had married Ruth First, a journalist, in 1949. After a 3½-month term in solitary confinement in South Africa after his departure, she joined him in England with their three children, now all living in London.

"When I was first told about the report of July 14 1984 and the allegations it contained, it came as a shock to me. I had never heard of this allegation that I murdered my wife."

"The allegation about being a KGB colonel I had heard. That's part of the misinformation campaign by the South African security services and it certainly gets taken up."

Asked how he had reacted to the suggestion that he had engineered the murder of his wife, Mr Slovo said: "I was outraged by the"

Mr Justice Tucker said: "This is rightly said

to be an appalling libel — that a man was prepared to murder his wife as a matter of political expedience."

The judge said *The Star's* subsequent report, intended as an apology, was "not an apology and not a retraction and in my view it reinforces and reasserts the allegations in the article that had gone before".

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was involved with a secretary, was a KGB colonel, and engineered his wife's murder.

Slovo awarded R80 000 damages

From Page 4

cruel and cowardly nature of the allegation because I could not answer it.

"We were living together - we always had a warm and stimulating companionship. I would say it was a wonderful marriage and continued to be until her death.

"There is no truth in the allegation that I was involved with another woman."

He said the allegations in *The Star* report were widely circulated by the African, British and American media; but, unlike reports in South Africa, many foreign reports included his denial.

He said the South African media had to seek ministerial permission to quote him. "I belong to that category of people who may not be quoted in any context."

Summing up, Mr Justice Tucker said he accepted that Mr Slovo was not party to his wife's murder and that in the absence of any attempt to justify the libel he would infer that it was no more than a "cynical allegation and there was no indication that the defendant could possibly have believed it was true".

"Finally, I have to remind myself that I have to make an attempt to vindicate Mr Slovo in the eyes of those who have read the allegations so that he can point to it as vindication of his position. I award the sum of R80 000 (£25 000) as compensation for the hurt which Mr Slovo has undeniably suffered."

The Editor of *The Star*, Mr Harvey Tyson, said today: "Our legal advice was that we should not submit to the jurisdiction of the English courts, and for that reason we did not oppose the proceedings.

"We recognised a long time ago that we had

erred, and failed to meet our own code of standards, but our difficulty in making a retraction was that we did not wish to repeat the libel.

"Our retraction stated that we wished to withdraw any allegations against any individual, but that what would remain on the record was the accusation (from American and British sources) that the KGB murdered Ruth First. The motives given were that she was a Trotskyist ideologist who disagreed with Marxism.

"Our retraction added: 'Our error came about because *The Star* originally published the allegations that Ruth First was killed by a bomb planted in Maputo by a South African unit. We believed it was necessary to publish the counter-accusation, internationally sourced, that she was not killed by South Africans — but by people directed by Moscow.'

"What the British Court may not have been told is that, in addition to our necessarily vague retraction we offered make good our error to Mr Slovo.

"Because the British Court had no jurisdiction here, we offered to pay damages; to pay his legal costs; and to publish at our expense an agreed apology in newspapers in four countries: Britain, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Asked how he had reacted to the suggestion that he had engineered the murder of his wife, Mr Slovo said: "I was outraged by the"

To Page 6, Col 5

It's now the democratic process versus violence

30/1/86 STAR

The real clash in South African politics is that between those who rely on violence and those who insist on remaining involved in the democratic process.

Because blacks have been excluded from the parliamentary process, it does not mean that they do not have democratic rights.

It is blacks' democratic rights (including the employment of non-violent strategies) which are threatened. They are threatened not only by actions of the State, but also by some who are involved in the struggle for liberation.

Apartheid survives only because it is maintained by State violence. Apartheid would long since have ceased to be, had the State not clothed itself with Draconian powers and used them to combat popular democratic opposition to apartheid.

When, therefore, I speak about the undesirability of violence in the politics of South Africa, I refer to violence from the State and violence used by the ANC to make South Africa ungovernable.

Those who have opted to use violence to bring about change in South Africa defend their choice by saying that there is nothing left to do. That this is just not true is shown by the fact that Inkatha has made massive gains for black politics during the last 10 years.

Equal rights

It, more than any other organisation, has played a role which has brought the South African Government to the point where it is beginning to recognise that apartheid must go and that South Africa is one country, with one people, who should all have equal democratic rights.

Even if the State President has not taken a single significant step to move the country towards power-sharing between black and white, and even if he still hopes to entrench white interests, the fact remains that the South African Government today recognises that classical apartheid cannot be implemented.

I do not say this to indicate any kind of faith in the National Party's ability to govern more wisely now than it has done in the past. Nor am I in any way to be heard as saying that the struggle for liberation has been won.

We face an intensely difficult situation in South Africa, because now that there are real prospects of change, the National Party has shown a lamentable inability to bring it about.

Instead of moving towards a popular national government, the State President and his Cabinet colleagues are desperately fighting a rearguard action against the forces of change, and continue to attempt to keep South African politics revolving around National Party interests, as it has done ever since 1948.

When I talk about the prospects of change I am not talking about a change of heart in the National Party. If the National Party could find a way of perpetuating apartheid, it should do so even now, and if it could find a way of entrenching white decision-making as central to the political process, it would most certainly do so.

I say there are prospects of change which we have never had before because harsh economic, demographic, political and diplomatic realities are combining to militate against the perpetuation

This is an edited version of an address by Mr David Willers, the South Africa Foundation's London director, on the occasion of a dinner he hosted for a delegation of Natal businessmen led by Mr A Hamilton, president of the Natal Chamber of Industries, selected British journalists and members of the Royal Overseas League in London on January 18.

of racism based on Afrikaner ideologies.

Apartheid is not a policy that can now be supported by the country's economy. Big business in South Africa has for the first time in the country's history defined a political role for itself.

Organised commerce, industry and mining have condemned apartheid and are now insistently arguing the need for real reform. They are doing so not because they have suddenly found a new ideological motivation. They do so because they perceive that their medium and long-term vested interests are deeply threatened by apartheid.

Only those who reject capitalism and the free enterprise system do not welcome the shift of big business towards the political arena.

That shift is very clear and it is real.

I want to advance the argument today that in our South African circumstances, we cannot eliminate violence by violence.

More State violence to deal with counter-violence simply produces more counter-violence. South Africa is now finding to its cost that the upward spiralling of violence is becoming unmanageable. It is clear that the State can no longer manage violence and it is clear that those who oppose it can only use it and not manage it.

In our circumstances, violence can be eradicated only by violence if there will be a violent victory by one side over the other.

A violent victory by the State will doom South Africa, and a violent victory by those opposing the State will do the same.

No prospects

There are no prospects in my opinion of a violent overthrow of the State leading to a fair and just South Africa. The State will be overthrown by violence only after both sides have adopted scorched-earth policies which will destroy everything we value.

It is my constant argument that we can de-escalate violence and break its ugly upward spiralling only if there are meaningful democratic gains which the ordinary people recognise as gains.

We need democratic opposition to apartheid now and we need non-violent tactics and strategies which go with it now. It is now that we need to curb that excessive use of violence both on the part of the State and those who oppose it — or it will lay waste everything before it.

Those who argue for the isolation of South Africa are arguing for the isolation of the country from the positive influences which can be brought to bear on South Africa by the international community.

Those who are arguing for disinvestment are arguing for the reduction of the potency in the forces of democratic, non-violent opposition to apartheid. It is the

purveyors of violence who ask most vehemently for the isolation of South Africa and for economic sanctions against it.

Their primary objective now is to reduce South Africa to ungovernability and they have to destroy the economy to do so.

They are blinded by their violent aspirations. They simply do not see, or decide to ignore, the fact that economies cannot be switched on or off at will, nor can a crushed economy be resuscitated overnight.

Over 50 percent of all black South Africans are 15 and younger. There is a huge population bulge moving towards the market place.

If the South African economy is damaged, hunger which is now already endemic will be turned into mass starvation, and the millions already unemployed in South Africa will be greatly added to, producing a situation in which whatever political victories are achieved, there will be no real gains for ordinary people.

Quite beyond the ultimate outcome of a destroyed economy, those who favour violence are vehemently arguing for disinvestment because democratic non-violent opposition to apartheid is stronger at times of economic growth than it is of economic depression.

Powerful elite

Black South Africans know that the viability of democratic opposition to apartheid threatens those who are forsworn to bring about change through violence.

Successful democratic opposition will prove them wrong and remove them from any prospects of becoming the country's powerful elite. Individual aspirations and party political interests among those who use violence, demand that they undermine democratic opposition.

Whereas before, the ANC mission in exile sought to use violence against the State, it has now committed itself in word and deed to extend its violent programmes in such a way that a people's war is started.

The violence once used against the State is now being freely used, not only against the State, but against all those who oppose violence as the primary means of bringing about change in South Africa.

Those who are attempting to make South Africa ungovernable now through violence, have not learnt the lessons of history that if they succeed, the country will remain ungovernable for them and for anybody else.

You cannot create a decent, modern, democratic society through violence. Whatever else we do, the process of liberating our country must culminate in a government of national reconciliation.

This will not happen if violence wins the day, because the country will have been economically and

politically isolated and left to the fate of violent forces.

Increased violence will result in increased polarisation and will reach such magnitudes that it will take generations to overcome its aftermath and to produce a national government working within the framework of democratic consensus.

Blacks and whites are now totally interdependent in the economic field. It is the total dependence of whites on blacks which is firing democratic opposition to apartheid and deepening black negotiating advantages.

Negotiations are at their best when both sides have got too much to lose unless negotiation succeeds. That is the position in which we are now in South Africa.

The negotiating advantages blacks are reduced during times of economic depression. It is the vertical mobility of blacks through society during times of economic growth which adds to black bargaining power.

Vast backlogs

Whether South Africans like not, a stable future, under what government, will depend economic prosperity. There is no stability in the future unless the country moves to overcome the backlogs there are in housing, education and health and welfare services.

An electorate of millions of starving people who have gained nothing from political victories in the eradication of apartheid, will present unmanageable political problems.

The destruction of the South African economy in the process of liberating the country will present future governments with an impossible situation, and in those circumstances, we will witness the inability of any government to rely on democracy and consensus politics.

Whether South Africa likes it or not, our ability in future to maintain an open democracy in South Africa, will depend upon the country having a viable achievement-oriented economy.

And whether we like it or not, it is only the free enterprise system which in our circumstances and for as far as we can see ahead, will make the South African economy efficient.

Need access

For as far as we can see ahead, we will remain dependent on the inflow of capital, technology, and managerial skills, and we will for the foreseeable future need access to international markets which will come only if South Africa remains in the Western industrial sphere of interest.

However hideous apartheid is, and however much the West sympathises with those who protest against it violently, all reality demands that the West now moves to strengthen the forces of democratic opposition and moves to minimise the forces of violent opposition to apartheid.

I have had to face the hard truth that until now the threat of violence and the threat of the isolation of South Africa exerted positive influences on the country, but that the actuality of that violence, and the actuality of that isolation, would do irreparable damage to the kind of reforms which the West actually demands.

Defector 'loaded guns into car'

De Jonge brought ANC arms to SA — treason witness

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — An African National Congress defector yesterday told during the Delmas Treason Trial that he had packed firearms into a vehicle for an African National Congress operative, Mr Klaas de Jonge.

He appeared to be referring to the Dutch fugitive at present hiding in the old Netherlands Embassy in Pretoria.

The witness was the second former ANC member to be called by the State to testify on the nature of the United Democratic Front/ANC "conspiracy". His evidence is being given in camera.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst told him in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act that if he answered all questions to the satisfaction of the court, he would be granted indemnity from prosecution.

The witness said he loaded Mr de Jonge's car with firearms in Lusaka in 1984. He described Mr de Jonge as an ANC member who worked inside South Africa. He said Mr de Jonge was responsible for bringing the firearms into the country.

He added that he had seen several South African trade union representa-

tives at a meeting in Lusaka with the South African Council of Trade Unions (Sactu) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO).

During cross-examination, however, the witness said he was not aware that South African trade unions were obliged to work through Sactu in their dealings with the ILO, but described Sactu as falling under the umbrella of the ANC.

He said he did not know Sactu had never been banned, but said ANC members were officials of Sactu.

The witness further told the court the ANC regularly told its recruits that the revolution in South Africa was just around the corner. He described this as "our daily bread" and related an incident in a camp in Angola when trouble broke out among recruits over this.

The witness also told the court that the UDF worked hand-in-hand with the ANC and if ANC operatives inside South Africa needed help they could turn to the UDF, but that they should approach the organisation through the general membership and not go directly to the top structures.

The trial continues today, still behind closed doors.

STAR 30/1/86

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BISHOP Desmond Tutu is a much misunderstood man. He so abhors violence that he has vowed to emigrate — "pack my bags, collect my family and leave this land that I love" — unless the killing in the townships stops. But almost nobody believes he will leave, no matter that the killing goes on and on.

Similarly, when he says "I deplore all forms of violence," many people disbelieve him. Some perceive in his frequent talk of violence no more than an attempt to titillate rich Americans into supporting his cause.

But many, whites especially, discern an implicit menace. The language of violence rolls so smoothly off his tongue, as though he savours the words. Somehow, he seems to be saying more than he says.

In fact, it requires no more than a glance at the record to see how much Tutu differs from the ANC. His promise to emigrate, wrung from him by the public burning of Miss Maki Skosana last July, is an example.

Skosana was savagely murdered, on the grounds that she was a "sell-out, a collaborator," after the ANC had broadcast instructions to its cadres to "eliminate" such people.

Afterwards, in a broadcast from Addis Ababa last October 7, the ANC commented with satisfaction: "We have managed to inflict some casualties on the side of the enemy by eliminating stooges and sell-outs..."

Tutu's response was utterly different. "The pictures of that woman being burned were shown around the world. There are many people around the world who 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," he added, "spoil things by such methods."
The ANC, whose method it was, responded in its broadcast: "Let us not be misled by those who are screaming about blacks killing fellow blacks."

In that same broadcast, the ANC issued instructions to domestic servants which, in the interests of general sanity in this country, I am not prepared to repeat. Tutu, in contrast, has warned of the vulnerability of

When killing ceases to be an absolute sin

BUS DAY 30/11/86

11A

whites to the domestic servants who bring them tea in the morning.

The ANC on October 7 broadcast instructions for "the war" to be carried into white residential areas, and for attacks on whites "at their homes and holiday resorts" — an injunction that was evidently fulfilled by the bomb attack at Amanzimtoti a day or two before Christmas.

Tutu has merely warned that it may well become necessary to overthrow government by force.



KEN OWEN

The ANC has admitted that, while it will not deliberately attack such "soft targets" as busloads of children, it will no longer be deterred from attacking military or strategic targets by the possibility that "civilians" may get hurt.

Tutu simply warns that children are at risk.

Such are the plain differences between the Bishop and the revolutionaries.

Matters become more clouded when it comes to the question of a "just war" — which would, presumably, require Tutu to approve of the methods of the ANC.

In America, according to the Associated Press, he said: "Unless international communities, especially America, pressure SA so that we can negotiate, the only way forward is to overthrow (government) by force."

Back in SA he explained: "I hold a conservative position in the church. The church teaches us there can come a time when it will be justifiable to overthrow an unjust government by violence. That's not my position."

The 151 theologians who signed the Kairos Document last September

made the same point from the opposite side: "The church is divided and its day of judgement has come... There will be no place to hide and no way of pretending to be what we are not in fact."

The Kairos Document questions the church's blanket condemnation of violence, as expressed by Tutu.

"Is it legitimate, especially in our circumstances, to use the same word violence in a blanket condemnation to cover the ruthless and repressive activities of the state and the desperate attempts of the people to defend themselves?"

The document complains that "the state and the media have chosen to call violence what some people are doing in the townships as they struggle for their liberation — i.e., throwing stones, burning cars and buildings, and sometimes killing collaborators."



□ TUTU... "conservative position"

Throughout the Bible," it says, "the word violence is used to describe everything that is done by a wicked oppressor. It is never used to describe the activities of Israel's armies in attempting to liberate themselves... there is a long and consistent Christian tradition about the use of physical force to defend oneself against aggressors and tyrants."

Nor can there be negotiation or reconciliation when one side is right, the other wrong.

"We are supposed to do away with evil, injustice, oppression and sin — not come to terms with them," says the Kairos theology. Liberation is a duty, and the church is not called to be a bastion of moderation.

It is easy to see where this argument leads. When Skosana, or anybody judged by a kangaroo court to be a sell-out, is killed, it is not violence, but liberation.

Killing ceases to be an absolute sin; its legitimacy depends on one's per-

ception of the struggle, and life itself becomes conditional.

So more killing is certain. It is commanded by the ANC, which uses methods that Tutu rejects, and it is legitimised by a theology that he does not share.

It pits police against children, Zulus against Pondos, mayors against schoolgirls, liberators against vigilantes. Some of it is evil, and some of it is liberation, some is violence, some is force. Sin is a matter of politics.

Truly, there is no place to hide — as the children of Leandra township found when they fled last week to the highway to beg pitifully for lifts to anywhere, anywhere away from the latest killing ground.

The Kairos people have a theology to deal with all this; Tutu the conciliator does not. Sooner or later he will have to collect his family and leave the country that he loves, as he has vowed to do.

Slovo wins R80 000 damages

GAZETTE Own Correspondent 30/1/86 ~~11/1/86~~

LONDON. — African National Congress activist Mr Joe Slovo won £25 000 (R80 000) libel damages in the High Court in London yesterday over allegations linking him to the killing of his wife, Ruth First.

But the 59-year-old former South African Supreme Court advocate, who now lives in North London, may never see a penny of the award because the South African "Star" newspaper refused to recognize the English court action.

Mr Justice Tucker said they were guilty of an "appalling libel" and should compensate Mr Slovo for the damage to his reputation and the hurt caused.

The article in July 1984, under the heading "Who killed Ruth First?", repeated allegations that Mr Slovo was a terrorist and KGB colonel who might have organized the 1982 killing by letter-bomb.

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Buthelezi
on 'reforms'

ULUNDI. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday he and the vast majority of people would continue to reject any racially divided parliament which included black MPs or Cabinet Ministers.

The Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president told former United States ambassador Mr Don McHenry and a party of businessmen visiting Ulundi that he could well believe this to be one of the "reform" moves President P W Botha would announce when opening Parliament tomorrow.

He said blacks would not accept a parliament in which white South Africans controlled virtually everything at national level. — Sapa

Cape Times 30/1/86 (11)

New Mandela biography

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A new biography of Mr Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the African National Congress, is being published simultaneously by Penguin in Britain, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, and by another publisher in the United States.

At an official launch of the book in London yesterday, Penguin's reviews editor, Ms Jacqueline Warner, said the initial print order of 30 000 was unusually high.

The book, by exiled South African author Mary Benson, features the historic photograph of him and his colleague Mr Walter Sisulu on Robben Island. Another photograph shows Mr Mandela outside Westminster Parlia-

ment during his visit in 1962.

At an official launch of the new biography at the headquarters of the International Defence and Aid Fund, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM), who knew Mr Mandela personally for 20 years, described the book as "of major historical importance".

It quotes from Mr Mandela's writings, letters and statements from the dock and documents Mr Mandela's recent interviews with Tory peer Lord Nicholas Bethell and Professor Samuel Dash, an American jurist.

It also quotes verbatim President P W Botha's conditional offer to release Mr Mandela if he renounced violence, and the full text of his reply.



● SLOVO

30/1/86 BUS DAY
Slovo wins case

Own Correspondent

LONDON — African National Congress activist Joe Slovo won £25 000 libel damages in the High Court in London yesterday over allegations linking him to the killing of his wife, Ruth First.

The 59-year-old former SA Supreme Court barrister, who now lives in North London, might never see a penny of the award because the Johannesburg *Star* refused to recognise the English court action.

In the *Star's* absence, Mr Justice Tucker said the newspaper was guilty of an "appalling libel" and must compensate Slovo for

the damage to his reputation and the hurt caused.

The article in July, 1984, under the heading: Who killed Ruth First?, repeated allegations that Slovo was a wanted terrorist and KGB colonel who might have organised the assassination of his wife by letter-bomb in 1982.

Slovo hotly denied the allegations but was not allowed to answer them in SA because, as banned person, he may not be quoted.

Insurgent shouts slogans in court

11A
P. SPATCA
3/11/86

PORT ELIZABETH — A trained African National Congress insurgent was led from the docks shouting freedom slogans after being sentenced to an effective 12 years' imprisonment under the Internal Security Act by the Port Regional Court yesterday.

The president of the court, Mr G. Steyn, sentenced Elliott Zamile Mazantsana, 19, of Kwazakele, to 10 years for terrorism, 18 months for possession of banned literature, five years for furthering the aims of the ANC and five years of illegal possession of

eight hand-grenades.

The sentences on the first three counts were ordered to run concurrently and three years of the five for possession of grenades concurrently with the sentences on the other charges.

There was stunned silence after Mazantsana's voice rang out: "Amandla, we will fight till the end. South Africa will be free. Down with the racists."

Passing sentence, Mr Steyn said it was significant that the first of two grenade attacks on a former Azapo member, the Rev M. E. Maqina, took place on the historic

June 16.

The picture the court was left with was a bleak one of a youth of considerable intelligence joining a violent organisation, receiving military training and returning with weapons, using them with reckless disregard to innocent bystanders, Mr Steyn said.

Motives, especially where the state authority and inhabitants of the country were concerned, could not justify criminal conduct, he said.

Mazantsana has a brother who is a policeman. — Sapa

STAMP
31/1/86 (11A)

Claims of violence denied by Inkatha

Inkatha was not involved in the violence at Leandra, and allegations to the contrary needed to be nailed as false, Mr JS Mavuso, speaking on behalf of Inkatha, said today.

"We call on the people who make such accusations to identify the actual culprits. Our members are registered, and if any has been involved in the violence at Leandra we will then know it, and we will deal with them.

"These vague allegations about a group calling itself 'Inkatha' are mischievous and dangerous if they are aimed at causing greater disruption. We are appealing to the media to check their facts and help us dispel rumours," said Mr Mavuso.

SADCC states
3/11/86
STATC
AIA

hampered by 'SA aggression'

The Star's Africa News Service

HARARE — Most of the nine black independent states linked to the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference had suffered from South Africa's naked aggression, the Zimbabwean Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, said yesterday.

Opening the annual SADCC meeting before hundreds of delegates and observers from Africa, Europe, the US, Canada and socialist countries, Mr Mugabe said the first five years of the SADCC's existence had not been ones of peace.

He referred to the recent blockade of Lesotho, events in Angola and Mozambique and dissident actions in Matabeleland, and said South Africa was using bandits as extensions of its armed forces.

The destabilisation of SADCC coun-

tries was done in defence of white supremacy and in pursuit of "the pipe-dream of a constellation of states", he said.

"We need the support of the international community not only in our developmental efforts but in seeking a solution to the problem of apartheid."

SUPPORT FOR ANC

Mr Mugabe called for the redoubling of support for the ANC, the PAC and the democratic forces within South Africa, as well as for Swapo.

"We in SADCC agree that comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa should be applied," he said.

The vice-president of Botswana, Mr Peter Mmusi, said the political freedom won by black Southern African states must be matched with economic liberation.

He said it was not known how much it was costing South Africa to inflict damage on SADCC countries which had lost \$10 billion because of Pretoria's destabilisation efforts.

But South Africa was being underpinned by other states and he called for effective measures to create hardships for the South African economy.

'Amandla!' cry as ANC man jailed

PORT ELIZABETH — A trained African National Congress insurgent was led from the docks shouting freedom slogans and giving Black Power salutes after being sentenced to an effective 12 years' imprisonment under the Internal Security Act by the Port Regional Court yesterday.

The president of the court, Mr G Steyn, sentenced Elliott Zamile Mazantsana (19), of Kwazakele, to 10 years for terrorism, 18 months for possession of banned literature, five years for furthering the aims of the ANC and five years for illegal possession of eight Soviet hand-grenades.

The sentences on the first three counts are to run concurrently, as are three years of the five for possession of grenades.

There was stunned silence in the court after Mazantsana's voice rang out angrily: "Amandla! We will fight till the end. South Africa will be free. Down with the racists!"

Passing sentence, Mr Steyn said it was significant

that the first of two grenade attacks on a former Azapo member, the Rev ME Magina, took place on the historic June 16.

The inflammatory activist literature submitted as evidence showed that the ANC regarded the Rev Magina as an *agent provocateur* who had to face the revolutionary anger of the masses.

A psychological report showed that Mazantsana, a former Fort Hare science student, had been a perfectly normal child brought up in circumstances of poverty. It also revealed that he accepted violence and killing as means to an end and showed no remorse for his actions.

The picture the court was left with was a bleak one of a youth of considerable intelligence joining a violent organisation, receiving military training and returning with fearful weapons, using them with reckless disregard for innocent bystanders, Mr Steyn said.

Mazantsana has a brother who is a policeman. — Sapa

transportation needs and not

Witness describes meeting on rents

Treason trial told of moves to 'get rid of' councillors

STAR

3/1/86

ZBQ
11A

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A Sebokeng interpreter told the Delmas treason trial yesterday that he had heard three of the accused address a rent meeting in August 1984 where there was talk of "getting rid of" community councillors and destroying their homes.

Mr Lesibane John Masenya of Zone 7, Sebokeng, said that a week later — on September 3 1984 — he had seen the corpse of a person he took to be community counsellor Mr Caesar Motjeane in Sebokeng.

SELL-OUTS

A placard on the body read: "Assassinate the sell-outs, asinamali, away with rents."

Twenty-two leading members of the UDF and the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) are in the Delmas dock charged with treason, terrorism, subversion and murder as well as furthering the aims of the ANC.

The charges arise from the unrest which erupted in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984. All the men have pleaded not guilty.

Mr Masenya told the court that on August 26 1984, he had attended a rent meeting at a Roman Catholic church in Eyaton near Sebokeng.

He identified four of the accused, Mr Petrus Malindi, Mr Naphtali Nkopane, Mr Ephrain Ramakgula and Mr Sam Matlole, all of Sebokeng, as having been present.

Mr Nkopane, who had been chairman, had spoken of high rents and that the community councillors were not listening to the community. He said they (the councillors) were

not trustworthy and that they were sell-outs. He added they would have to be gotten rid of, but did not say how.

Mr Masenya said Mr Matlole had told the crowd to visit the homes of community councillors on September 3 and then to proceed to the headquarters of the Sebokeng Development Board in Houtkop to ask about rent increases.

A woman who said she was from the VCA then told the meeting that councillors must be destroyed — "I understood her to mean that they must be killed," he said.

Mr Malindi told the crowd not to pay their rents and undertook to answer questions from the floor.

"I asked what would happen to those children whose parents did not pay and were arrested, and he said the VCA would make arrangements for them.

"There was some talk that those who paid rent would end up in trouble — they would be killed. I was told to sit down and was accused of being a councillor and told I would be killed."

FREEDOM SONGS

Mr Masenya said he then went outside, where he saw a woman heading for the hall followed by a group of people.

She was wearing a cap with the letters UDF and when her group got inside he heard the people singing freedom songs.

"I heard a conversation coming from the stage, they were saying that councillors' property must be burned."

The hearing continues.

Swallows

Death sentence

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Treason trial expected to last over a year

Day after day families of 22 wait outside . . .

STAR

(11A)



10/2/86

By Kym Hamilton

DELMAS — Each day a small cluster of women, men and children carrying an assortment of clothes and food gather outside the local courts of a small out-of-the-way Eastern Transvaal town which has shot to some prominence in recent weeks.

Inside the building, a group of security policemen, members of the riot squad, and legal men have converged to do battle with thousands of pages of exhibits and evidence — and to come to grips with one of the largest treason trials since the 1950s.

The place is Delmas, and the town and its farming community continue with their day-to-day business virtually unaware of any unusual activity.

The roads around the courthouse are blocked off from the public and all but one entrance are locked as young men, dressed in the blue of the riot squad unit, keep watch over who enters and leaves the building.

The trial of 22 men, mostly from the Vaal Triangle and leading United Democratic Front officials, finally got under way on Monday January 20 when they all pleaded not guilty to a charge of high treason and to alternative charges of murder, subversion and terrorism.

FORMATION OF UDF

Each day they are bused in from the Modderbee prison in Benoni as the State attempts to prove that they, with the banned African National Congress, masterminded a conspiracy to make South African ungovernable and overthrow its Government through violence.

The indictment and further particulars run to well

over 700 pages and read like a who's who list of anti-apartheid activists — from internationally known leaders to the local men of the townships.

Their crime is alleged to have started with the formation of the UDF in August 1983, and continues virtually until the present. The trial is expected to last more than a year.

As the day gets under way, the accused, dressed neatly in pressed suits, or slacks and jackets, sit grim and unsmiling in the dock as they listen intently to the parade of witnesses, two of whom have described the UDF as the internal wing of the ANC.

Most of the trial so far has been behind closed doors, to protect the names and identities of witnesses who fear for their lives.

Each day the small knot of women, men and children gather in the passages of the courthouse to wait until 1.45 pm when they are allowed a few moments with their loved ones in the dock.

Washed and ironed clothing and food parcels are passed across the wooden wall separating the dock from the public gallery.

Toddlers and children are held and hugged by their fathers, some of whom have been in jail for almost 18 months.

And as the court prepares to resume for the afternoon session, the families are ushered out to return to their homes as far afield as Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Mamelodi, Soweto, Evaton and Boipatong.

In the town itself, houses have been rented for the State's team, all from the Transvaal Attorney-General's office in Pretoria, and members of the security police investigating team.

Other court officials travel each day from Johannesburg or Pretoria.

launched for fraud accused

Police have launched an intensive manhunt for three members of an alleged fraud syndicate who failed to appear in the Hillbrow Magistrate's Court yesterday to face fraud charges involving millions of rands.

They are Mr Dean Earl van Staden (24), Mr Anton Welsh (28) and Mr Deon Olivier (25).

The men, regarded as dangerous, were to have appeared along with Mr David Benjamin van Rensburg (50), Mr Hermanus Pieter van Rensburg (46), Mr Raymond Isaac Friedland (39), Mr Lindsey Jonathan Leigh (32), Mr Manfred Udo Erlebenach (44), Mr Johannes Petrus Jansen van Vuuren (40) and Mr Gerhardus Marthinus Steenkamp (57).

The men have not been asked to plead and the charge sheet has yet to be formulated.

The court case is a sequel to an intensive investigation into a multi-million cheque forgery racket.

Bail of R5 000 granted to the three men at their first appearance on January 20 was estreated and warrants issued.

Bail amounts ranging from R1 000 to R10 000 were extended for the other men.

The case was postponed to February 26.

Machine-gun: man charged

A man has sued Checkers Pty Ltd for more than R7 000 on behalf of his wife who, he claims, was maliciously charged for shoplifting.

Mr Vassillis Gabriellides claimed before a Johannesburg magistrate that the South Hills, Johannesburg branch of Checkers, without any reasonable case, instituted criminal proceedings against his wife, Mrs Frango Gabriellides (54), on October 4 1984.

A Booysens magistrate acquitted her later that month.

He is demanding R1 361 for legal costs

Springs man rapes girl (9)

East Rand Bureau

A railway welder was yesterday found guilty of raping a nine-year-old Springs girl.

Jacobus Daniel Johannes Wentzel (26) of Railway Houses, New Era, Springs, pleaded guilty in the Springs Regional Court.

The incident took place after Wentzel had been watching TV with the girl's family on Monday.

Her mother asked him to fetch bread from a shop and the child went with him.

"On the way home something in me just snapped and I stopped near a park. I undressed her and asked if I could climb on top of her. She nodded her head."

Wentzel told the court in detail what happened next and said that after raping the girl he realised he had done wrong.

Wentzel took the girl home to her parents and returned to his parents' home, where he stays.

The case was postponed to February 18.

incurred during the criminal trial, R3 000 for injury to his wife's character and R3 000 for a nervous breakdown she suffered.

According to counsel for Checkers, Mr Neil Lazarus, Mrs Gabriellides was seen by a security guard, Mr B Silwane, going through a pay point without having some items rung up.

When confronted she left the premises and ran down an alleyway, he said.

The cashier, Mrs Anasta Mayekiso, was also charged and subsequently acquitted.

Mrs Gabriellides denied running away

but said she had left to contact the police when her daughter, who was pushing the trolley, was confronted by Mr Silwane.

She was taken to the police station in the back of a police truck along with the cashier.

Mrs Anasta Mayekiso said Mr Silwane and herself were "not on speaking terms" at the time — after she had spurned his romantic advances.

The hearing will continue at a date yet to be set.

'State witness saw different murder' Defence challenges account of killing

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A State witness at the treason trial here of 22 political figures yesterday described the death of a person he thought was a community councillor in Sebokeng during troubles there on September 3 1984.

The witness, dubbed Mr X, is a member of Azapo who was detained that year. He may not be identified.

The accused, some of whom have been in detention for up to 17 months, pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason, terrorism and six counts of murder.

They are all members of the United Democratic Front, the Azanian Peoples Organisation or the Vaal Civic Association (VCA).

Early in yesterday's proceedings, Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst ruled inadmissible a question by Mr George Bizos SC, for the defence, about where Mr X had been detained and assaulted.

Mr X had said that he did not remember at which police station it had occurred.

Mr X said he saw a man whom he thought was a community councillor, Mr Caesar Motjeane, being killed by a group of people who were on a protest march in Sebokeng.

The man had been dragged out of Mr Motjeane's house, he said, adding that he had seen three of the accused, Mr Simon Nkodi, Mr Gcinumuzi Petrus Malindi and Mr Oupa Thlomoka, among the people in the vicinity of the house.

Mr Bizos said it had in fact been the death of one of Mr Motjeane's bodyguards that Mr X had witnessed.

He told Mr X he was "putting forward a version that had been suggested to him during four months in detention". The accused would deny that they had been there, he said.

Mr X said he had assumed from what Mr Esau Raditsela, an executive member of the VCA, had said at a meeting earlier, that they should kill the community councillors and destroy their property.

Although he said he would "never kill a soul" he went along to see what would happen.

As the crowd approached Mr Motjeane's house, someone shouted: "There's the dog."

Mr X said he assumed the person was speaking about one of the community councillors and therefore that the dead person he later saw was Mr Motjeane.

Proceeding.

Doctor to be tried over death

The Transvaal Attorney-General has instructed that Dr Charles John van der Westhuizen, who was found by a Johannesburg inquest magistrate to be criminally responsible for the death of a patient, stand trial for culpable homicide.

Dr van der Westhuizen of Willow Road, Wetkop, made a brief appearance in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday. He was not asked to plead to the charge of culpable homicide relating to the death of Mrs Elaine Berrange (38) in South Rand Hospital on December 22 1984.

Mrs Berrange died of excessive bleeding caused by a rupture in the uterus.

At an inquest last August, it was found that Mrs Berrange's life could have been saved if Dr van der Westhuizen, who attended to her, had given her plasma.

Her death was caused by his negligence, the inquest magistrate found.

The hearing will continue on February 26.

Police need scapegoat - defence

Treason trial told of 'call to kill'

STAR 14/2/86

716A
231

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A policeman giving evidence at the treason trial here said he saw Mr Tom Manthata, a member of the Soweto Civic Association and worker with the South African Council of Churches, tell an audience "it is time to kill the town councillors because they don't want to resign".

Sergeant Thulo Ronald Koaho, of the Vereeniging Security Branch, said he went to a meeting at the Sharpeville Anglican Church on August 19 1984. He said he saw accused Reverend Tebego Geoffrey Moselane (whose church it was), Mr Tom Manthata, Mr Patrick Mabuya Baleka and Mr Lazarus Mohapi More address the meeting.

The accused, 22 members of the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Vaal Civic Association, have all pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason, subversion and six counts of murder.

Sergeant Koaho said he saw banners on the stage saying "Away with councillors" and "No more rent hikes".

Mr Moselane drew a comparison between the oppression the Jews were put through by the Egyptians and "the oppression of black people by town councillors", said Sergeant Koaho.

He then introduced Mr Manthata, who started off telling the packed hall black people oppressed each other.

Mr Manthata told the people they

had the power to make the councillors resign, but they did not know how to use it, said the policeman.

He then held up a piece of paper, which Sergeant Koaho said was a notice of rental increase, and then tore it up, saying that he "might as well burn it".

After telling the people not to buy any goods from businesses owned by the councillors, he said: "Now it's time to kill the councillors, because they don't want to resign. Attack them with stones and then burn them", Sergeant Koaho said.

Mr George Bizos (SC), for the defence, denied Mr Manthata had said such a thing and said Sergeant Koaho had deliberately been trying to discredit Mr Manthata and the associations with which he was linked. He pointed out that Mr Manthata had only been arrested six months after the statements attributed to him by Sergeant Koaho, who only signed a statement about what Mr Manthata said two months later on October 20.

Mr Bizos said Sergeant Koaho's story had been conceived and elaborated only after he knew about the "unfortunate deaths that took place in the area after September 3" and he, or his superiors, had to look for a scapegoat.

The trial, before Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst and two assessors, will resume on Tuesday.

Allegations added to indictment

'Serious' charges against Delmas 22

STAR (11A)
26/2/86

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A number of new and "serious" allegations have been added to the already lengthy indictment against the 22 accused in the Delmas treason trial.

The men on trial include leaders of the United Democratic Front and Vaal Civic Association and members of the Azanian People's Organisation.

They pleaded not guilty to 12 charges of treason, terrorism, subversion, murder and furthering the aims of an unlawful organisation, in a trial which has already run for more than a month. Now, the State has extended the indictment, alleging that the 22 men actively contributed to spreading unrest nationwide and introducing averments of two murders, riots and arson.

Another of the new allegations is that Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota taught people at Tumahole to manufacture and use petrol bombs and that he actively participated in a stoning incident.

Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst yesterday ruled that the amendments to the indictment were granted.

Before this ruling, Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC opposed the amendments, arguing that they called on the accused to reply to "new and serious allegations" which made it a different case to

the one they prepared for over a period of seven months before the hearing started.

He said the amendments would delay and prolong the trial.

The Rev Lord McCamel, a former chairman of the Vaal Civic Association (VCA), was yesterday called by the State to testify about the formation and aims of the VCA.

The Rev McCamel gave evidence about the VCA's campaign against the election of local councillors. He said it became clear how effective the VCA was on election day, when few people voted.

The idea was not that the VCA would take over power, but rather that the councillor system should fail, so the central government would be forced to speak directly to the community about their problems.

Asked by the judge why the VCA did not simply "take over" the community councils by electing their own candidates, the Rev McCamel said: "We did not want that system. The whole system had to be done away with." The community wanted to make its own decision on the type of body which was to represent it at the highest level.

He said the VCA was affiliated to the UDF.

The trial continues.

Lekota did not attend funeral, defence claims

1985/28/2/86 (11A) (333)
STAR

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — The publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF), Mr "Terror" Lekota, was not present at a funeral where the police claim he participated in a stone-throwing incident.

This was said yesterday at the Delmas trial, where Mr Lekota is one of 22 accused of treason.

A security policeman, Mr Adolf Branders, testified that on February 21 last year he was keeping watch on a funeral in Kroonstad.

When it was over and people began dispersing an incident erupted and policemen on the scene fired tearsmoke.

Mr Branders said he was watching the crowd with binoculars from a distance of about 200 m.

People began throwing stones. He saw Mr Lekota bend down to pick up a stone.

He said he was absolutely certain he saw Mr Lekota throw stones that day. It was not possible that he could be mistaken about the date.

He said he saw Mr Lekota again later that day, when he was brought to the police station by uniformed policemen.

But during cross-examination, counsel for the defence, Mr George Bizos, SC, said Mr Lekota had

been at only one funeral at Kroonstad in February last year — and that was on February 18.

He showed Mr Branders a report which was published in *The Star* on February 19 1985.

The report said Mr Lekota had been arrested the previous day during a funeral where "scores" of people were injured.

Earlier yesterday, the Rev Lord-Eldorado Righteousness McCamel testified that the events of September 3 1984 in the Vaal Triangle, in which people were killed and property damaged, would never have taken place if the police had not confronted people participating in a protest march.

He said the march was meant to be a peaceful one and the news of killings and damage to property came as a shock and a surprise to him.

From the start he had been reluctant to participate in the march, because he had feared that there might be a confrontation with the police.

"What I had in mind was that in most cases the people walk peacefully, like at a funeral, and when they meet policemen the police provoke them and there is a confrontation," said Mr McCamel.

The case continues today.

Court told of blacks' grievances

'Violence was not aim of civic body'

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — It was never the policy of the United Democratic Front or the Vaal Civic Association to overthrow the Government through violence, a former VCA chairman, the Rev Lord McCamel, said.

Mr McCamel was giving evidence in the Circuit Court in Delmas, where 22 men, including leaders of the UDF and VCA and members of Azapo, are accused of participating in a conspiracy to commit treason.

They have pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, subversion and murder.

Mr McCamel said during his time as its chairman, the VCA never received financial assistance or instructions from the African National Congress.

There was never any communication between the two organisations, Mr McCamel said during cross-examination by counsel for the defence, Mr Arthur Chaskalson SC.

It would be untrue to say the mass meetings and house meetings organised by the VCA were aimed at stirring up violence in the Vaal triangle.

The VCA was established in late 1983, at the time of the referendum, when there was great dissatisfaction in the black community, because theirs was to be the only community which would have no representation at the highest level of the government.

The local authorities system made provision only for town councils, which would be powerless to do anything about the grievances of the black people, Mr McCamel said.

Their grievances included the pass laws, land ownership laws, the education system, laws dealing with black citizenship and the laws that excluded blacks from the right to vote for parliamentary representation.

"The law excluding blacks from the right to vote for Parliament is very bad, because this is our land and we are not permitted to have a say. If we had a say, some of those laws would be changed," Mr McCamel said.

The VCA campaign for a boycott of the town council elections was aimed at making the strongest objection to the new local authorities system, he said.

The trial continues today.

CAP TINTS

3/1/86

114

Star

won't pay Slovo

JOHANNESBURG. — The editor of The Star newspaper has responded to the finding by a British High Court that The Star was guilty of "appalling libel" against African National Congress executive member Mr Joe Slovo and should pay him damages of £25 000 (about R80 000).

The Star does not intend to pay.

Mr Harvey Tyson said yesterday: "Our legal advice was that we should not submit to the jurisdiction of the English courts, and for that reason we did not oppose the proceedings."

Mr Slovo sued The Star over an article printed in July 1984 which linked Mr Slovo to the murder of his wife, Ms Ruth First, by a letter-bomb in Maputo.

The Star article, under the heading "Who killed Ruth First?", repeated allegations that Mr Slovo was a KGB colonel who might have organized the murder.

"We recognized a long time ago that we had erred, and failed to meet our own code of standards, but our difficulty in making a retraction was that we did not wish to repeat the libel," Mr Tyson said.

'Offer'

"Our retraction stated that we wished to withdraw any allegations against any individual, but that what would remain on the record was the accusation that the KGB murdered Ruth First.

"The motives given were that she was a Trotskyist ideologist who disagreed with Marxism."

Mr Tyson said The Star had offered to pay Mr Slovo damages and legal costs and to publish "an agreed apology" in newspapers in Britain, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. The offer was rejected.

"In the event, and as our side of the case was not presented in court, we do not intend to pay.

"But we do indeed retract all the allegations published about him and apologize again."

● Mr Slovo is a "listed person" and it is illegal to quote him in South Africa. — Sapa

BLACK POLITICS

1986

FEBRUARY MONTH

CAFT 1/2/86
**Slovo determined
to get R80 750**

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Joe Slovo, deputy commander of the banned ANC's military wing, is determined to extract a libel award of R80 750 (£25 000) from the Argus Printing and Publishing company of South Africa, his solicitors in London said on Thursday.

A judge awarded the damages to Mr Slovo in the High Court here on Wednesday when the Argus group failed to appear in court to defend the libel action.

Mr Slovo, often described as the most wanted man in South Africa, has now instructed solicitors to pursue all means of obtaining the R80 750.

"Our instructions are that all means of enforcing the judgment must be pursued in South Africa and Britain," said a spokesman for the legal firm representing Mr Slovo.

He said that could involve an investigation of

any Argus assets in Britain.

They had been instructed to secure the damages and place the money in the Ruth First Trust, established by Mr Slovo in memory of his murdered wife, to aid ANC and other South African exiles.

In Wednesday's action Mr Justice Tucker said an allegation in the Star of Johannesburg in July 1984 that Mr Slovo was a wanted terrorist and KGB colonel who may have assassinated his own wife, Ruth First, by letter bomb in 1982, was "an appalling libel".

Determining damages, the judge said he bore in mind the conduct of Argus newspapers in failing to appear in court.

Mr Justice Tucker said he was satisfied on evidence that Mr Slovo played no part in the murder of his wife and should be compensated for the allegation, which the publishers had made no attempt to support.

MR 307
 1/2/86



Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture in the House of Representatives, and his wife, Leticia.



Miss Rosanne Botha (left), daughter of the State President Mr PW Botha, with her sister, Mrs Eianza Maritz (right), and her husband, Dr Jan Maritz, attending the opening of Parliament yesterday.



Mr Kassipershad Ramduth, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, and his wife, Sheila.



A "gentle touch" as soldiers, providing security for yesterday's parade, dig into their pockets as a glib-tongued urchin spins a convincing yarn of his needs.

Promises 'will not impress' Stand over Mandela 'disappoints' parties

JOHANNESBURG. — The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, yesterday said blacks would be unimpressed by promises made by President P W Botha in his opening speech in Parliament.

These included abolishing pass laws and influx control, granting blacks South African citizenship and establishing a statutory council in which blacks would participate.

"What is the point of giving citizenship to voiceless people?" Bishop Tutu asked, adding that Mr Botha promised one South Africa but was "preparing to grant independence to another homeland".

"Which blacks are going to be in his statutory council? ... Recognized black leaders are either in jail or in exile."

Citing the replacement of passes with "harsher" reference books, the bishop said: "We expect the identity cards they are planning to give us instead of the reference books to contain harsher laws."

He said Mr Botha was afraid to come out boldly against apartheid for fear of losing votes, but by doing so would win the support of blacks and the international community. — Sapa

By EBRAHIM MOOSA
 Political Reporter

PARLIAMENTARY and extra-parliamentary groups as well as businessmen were disappointed yesterday at the failure of President P W Botha to free the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

They were reacting to Mr Botha's linking of Mr Mandela's release to that of Soviet dissidents during the opening of Parliament yesterday.

Mr Pat Poovalingam, Solidarity MP for Reservoir Hills, said Mr Botha was entering into a "schoolboy type of debate with the Soviet Union" over the release of Mr Mandela.

'Heroes or traitors'

Mr Poovalingam said there were many people who had perpetrated violence, rape and other crimes who had been released by the government. Mr Botha would have been well advised to release Mr Mandela unconditionally, he said.

"What about those guerillas who fought the Boer Wars against the British — were they heroes or traitors?" he asked.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, Anglican Archbishop of Johannesburg, said: "What has Nelson's release to do with (Dr Andrei) Sakharov? I can't see why they are linked!"

"It looks like a ploy thought up by a clever politician that it would sound good to ears in the West that he (President Botha) is concerned with prisoners of conscience abroad when he has got so many of them at home."

In its response the United Democratic Front (UDF) said Mr Botha's "attempt to equate Mandela's position with Soviet dissidents and a SADF saboteur caught in Angola is nonsensical".

"Mandela is a national figure of incomparable magnitude and our demand including the world's pressure is inseparable from the call for the release of all political prisoners," the UDF said.

'Climate of goodwill'

Dr J N Reddy, Solidarity leader, said the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and other political prisoners would have created a climate of goodwill which was much needed during an era of reform.

The leader of the Labour Party and Cabinet Minister without Portfolio, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said he would have preferred to hear that Mr Mandela would be released.

Mr Hendrickse said he wished to "appeal to the international community to pressurize the relevant states to meet the State President's offer if they are serious about his (Mandela's) release".

Mr Arthur Booysen, leader of the Freedom Party and MP for Bosmont, also said Mr Botha should have unconditionally released Mr Mandela.

'Mandela used as a pawn'

The Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) said: "As regards the position of Nelson Mandela, no indication or assurance has been given regarding his release. In fact he is being used as a pawn in a bargaining exercise between West and East and this will just add to the deep anger of the black community."

Dr Andries Treurnicht, Conservative Party leader, said that to "consider Mandela's freedom for humanitarian reasons while he refuses to renounce violence is irresponsible and can create an uncontrollable situation".

w/c ARG. 1/2/86

Way open to free Mandela

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE way has been opened for the release into exile of Mr Nelson Mandela.

This is the interpretation being put on President P W Botha's remarks during his opening speech to Parliament yesterday which appear to show a change in his formerly more rigid stand on the issue.

Mr Botha previously insisted on Mr Mandela renouncing violence before he would be released. And when the offer was first made in January last year the intention was apparently that he would not be allowed to leave the country.

Possibility of a swop

Yesterday Mr Botha created the possibility of a swop involving Mr Mandela and a South African captive in Angola, Captain Wynand du Toit, and two Russian dissidents, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky.

Mr Botha now appears to have moved away from the insistence that Mr Mandela should formally renounce violence.

Instead, he emphasised that he would, in principle, be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds and he asked whether, if he were to release Mr Mandela on such grounds, Captain du Toit and the Russian dissidents could then not also be released on similar grounds.

He then opened the way to negotiations with Russia and through it with Angola, but possibly also involving the United States, with the remark that a positive response to his question "could certainly form the basis of negotiations between interested governments".

Dying in prison

According to some Nationalist politicians the Government wants to avoid the possibility of 67-year-old Mr Mandela dying in prison.

On the other hand it is now apprehensive about releasing him to stay in South Africa because his political activities might then expose him to being re-arrested — with the danger of uproar in the black community.

Mr Botha now apparently believes that Mr Mandela could do less 'harm' if he went into exile.

Mr Mandela has rejected Mr Botha's initial offer and he is apparently not keen to leave the country.

Several black countries, especially Zambia, would be willing to give him refuge. President Samora Machel of Mozambique has apparently also expressed an interest in talking to him.

There have also been calls from the major Western powers for his release and France, especially, is prepared to give him refuge.

Negotiate with ANC — Hurley

STAR
2/1/86
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It had to be admitted that the ANC was "the most powerful factor in regard to the pursuit of black liberation in South Africa," the president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, Archbishop Denis Hurley, said yesterday.

He was replying to a question at a Press conference on the plenary session of the SACBC which ended in Pretoria on Thursday.

Archbishop Hurley said he believed the ANC had "powerful support within South Africa".

Consequently, the ANC "will play a very important role in any change of government in South Africa, and therefore must be spoken to, must be negotiated with," he said.

The whole politicised sector of the black community, apart from Inkatha, seemed to be "crying out" for disinvestment, Archbishop Hurley said.

The SACBC is to reach a final decision on the church's attitude toward the controversial issue of disinvestment in May this year, the Archbishop said at the Press conference.

During the plenary session held in Pretoria this week, the bishops met trade union representatives, one of the organisers of the Port Elisabeth consumer boycott, Mr Mkhusile Jack, and others to gain a better understanding of the situation in South Africa.

Archbishop Hurley expressed surprise at the strong and vigorous line the trade unions took in favour of disinvestment during these sessions. One would have expected the opposite reaction, since large numbers of union members stood to lose their jobs through disinvestment.

"We have reached the point where black people in South Africa are going to press forward for full participation in the country's politics and economy. There is no turning back for them," he said.

BURNING ISSUES

At the end of the plenary session, however, the bishops felt they did not have enough information to make a statement about issues like disinvestment, economic sanctions and civil disobedience yet. The SACBC wanted to get expert advice that would enable them to bring out a "complete and substantial document" in May on the Church's attitude to these issues.

In the present situation of escalating violence, people concerned about South Africa's future would have to think about ways of promoting non-violent alternatives — methods which would make a point clearly and exert pressure, he said.

Archbishop Hurley also said the problem of military chaplaincy was "a huge dilemma."

The Archbishop said the Roman Catholic Church was working with other churches in South Africa through a body called the Inter Church Committee on Chaplaincy (ICCM).

"This committee is working on proposals that there should be a distinctive dress for chaplains, a non-military but distinctive dress ... that their salary should be paid by the church, and not by the armed forces and that they should get the proper training from the church for the role they have to play." — Sapa-Staff Reporter.

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t yesterday.

HOUSE OF DELEGATES, and
Mrs wife, Sheila. 11/7/86

Stand over Mandela 'disappoints' parties

By **EBRAHIM MOOSA**
Political Reporter

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APF Times
11/2/86
1101

Black rights 'top of agenda'

ULUNDI. — The government has given the issue of black political rights "the highest of national priorities", says Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwa-Zulu and president of Inkatha.

Commenting on the address of the State President, Mr P W Botha, at the opening of Parliament yesterday, Chief Buthelezi paid tribute to Mr Botha's courage at moving into "the hottest chair of all in political and constitutional development".

"The fact that the State President has elected to chair the national statutory advisory council he has now proposed encourages me to believe that the government has given the question of black political rights the highest of national priorities.

"The State President has created for himself the circumstances in which he must now either be seen to be a statesman or seen to be an Afrikaner politician incapable of rising to meet the demands of history."

If there was any prospect of Mr Botha bringing about meaningful change, the chief would "certainly not be the one who undermines what he is doing".

But the chief withheld his backing for the proposed advisory council until he had "assessed the prospects of this council succeeding".

"If the council's deliberations are going to be behind closed doors and if it is the intention to persuade blacks to indulge in political horse-trading behind the scenes, out of sight of the black masses, then I would predict a sterile

end to the council as I quite rightly predicted would be the case with the special cabinet committee and with the non-statutory negotiating forum."

The chief urged the scrapping of the new Constitution introduced in 1983 as "the most intricate system of white domination yet devised in this country".

In this hour of crisis whites could not prescribe to blacks about how South Africa should be governed.

Spiralling violence and the economic crisis could lead to a holocaust, he warned.

"South Africa stands at the crossroads of having to decide now to take the kind of steps which will lead to a stable and prosperous future, or to tolerate the ineptitude of a government which talks of reform but which forces continued white social, political and economic oppression on blacks."

The chief said he was encouraged by the State President's commitment to improve the quality of life for blacks and welcomed his "courageous" rejection of apartheid as outdated.

But he said Mr Botha would have to give content to his commitment to joint decision-making to "harness black goodwill".

"If the State President's national statutory advisory council is to be used as a vehicle to normalize our country as a modern, democratic, industrialized state, then I believe black leaders would find it possible to participate fully in it."

He said he was "deeply disappointed" that Mr Botha did not announce the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, jailed ANC leader.

"He could quite easily have done so on humanitarian grounds.

"It is my opinion that the work of the proposed national statutory advisory council, if it ever really gets off the ground, will be marred by criticisms of whatever it does on the grounds that Mr Nelson Mandela was not given the opportunity of making his point."

'Basic demands not addressed'

Staff Reporter

THE State President had failed to address the very basic demands of people in South Africa in his speech to Parliament yesterday, said Dr Allan Boesak last night.

Dr Boesak was addressing about 2 000 people at an ecumenical service in the AME Church in Hazel-dal, Athlone. The service was also addressed by Dean Farisani, of the Lutheran Church.

Dr Boesak said of Mr Botha's speech: "How can you have freedom of religion when the police disrupt a church service by firing teargas? When you have detention without trial? He doesn't know what he is talking about."

"Our demands are clear: The lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all detainees, the release of political prisoners, the scrapping of the home-lands policy."

'Incapable of making changes'

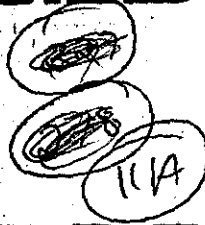
"When one listens to the State President, when one sees the action of Brigadier Swart, right up to Louis le Grange and we see how incompetent they are, then we must conclude that the South African Government is incapable of making changes in this country. We have to say this government cannot do what history demands of it," he said.

He said Bishop Tutu had been vilified in the "famous manner" of the South African press. He had said things in America and the "whole of white South Africa had risen in indignation".

"What Tutu had said was no different to what the vast majority of South Africans had been saying all along. They are accusing him of instigating the very things he had warned against," he said.

EIGHT CHARGED OVER RED FLAG

City P 2/2/86



By **MONO BADELA**

MAMELODI resident Johannes Maisha Bopape appeared with seven others in the Cradock Magistrate's Court this week, provisionally charged with helping to make the Communist Partyred flag displayed at a Cradock funeral last year.

They are charged with contravening sections of the Internal Security Act for allegedly being members of and furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress.

The seven other accused are Temba Basini, Mpumelelo Faxi, Luyanda Maseti, Mtutuzeli Ntombela, Vulindlela Puwanc, Lwandi Nquru and a Madolo.

Magistrate E Botha postponed the case to February 17. None of the eight were asked to plead.

Mr Bopape, 24, arrested

on January 9, was granted R2 000 bail.

The other seven - some were arrested in September last year - were refused bail.

Two of the accused were Cradock pupils when they were arrested.

The eight allegedly helped to make a huge red flag emblazoned with the hammer and sickle. They are also accused of having the flag in their possession after the funeral.

The charges arose out of incidents on July 20 last year, when an ANC banner, a Red Flag and an SACP banner were hoisted at the funeral of slain Cradock community leaders Matthew Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto, and Oudtshoorn school principal Sicelo Mhlauli.

Meanwhile, Cradock Residents' Association president Gladwell Makaula told City Press that seven Cradora and Cradock members and officials, including 63-year-old Elizabeth Sibanda, former Congress of SA Students leaders Madoda Jacobs and Tsotsi Mhlabei, and Mbulelo Goniwe were still being held in terms of the emergency regulations.

They were held on July 22 last year - barely 48 hours after Goniwe's funeral. They are being held at St Albans Prison and Northern Jail near Port Elizabeth.

Makaula also said Linge-lihle pupils who had been boycotting classes since February 4 1984 returned to school on Tuesday.



Court reinstates man sacked for UDF badge

11A

CP Correspondent
ISAAC Phooko - who was sacked from Atlantic Diesel Engines on May 3 last year for refusing to remove a UDF lapel badge from his overall - has been reinstated by the Industrial Court.

Phooko applied for reinstatement soon after being dismissed for refusing to

heed company warnings on the "abuse and misuse of company property", refusing to obey a legitimate instruction and refusing to accept a disciplinary procedure prohibiting employees from advancing and/or promoting political organisations "within the confines of the ADE".

City P. 2/2/86

Phooko's reinstatement was made known in a letter to the Legal Resources Centre from the presiding officer, PE Roux, SC.

The letter said Phooko's reinstatement would become effective when he starts working after the ADE reopens in January, and on condition he starts

work within 21 days of such a date.

It will be a specific term of his employment that he refrains from displaying political support or affiliating to any political organisation.

★ FREE State UDF official Dennis Bloem is considering alternative action against three Seeisoville residents, whom he claims are "harassing" him.

This follows the rejection of his Supreme Court application to stop Seeisoville mayor Caswell Koekoe, his deputy Moleme Phakoe and councillor Samuel Seakgale from "interfering" with him.

2177 27/96

Cops hold Charles Nqakula's daughter

11A

COPS have confirmed that they are holding Phumla Nqakula, daughter of ex-Border UDF publicity secretary Charles Nqakula, under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

But cops would not say where Nqakula, 21, a second-year B Admin student at Lesotho's Roma University, is being held.

She was detained at Ladybrand in December.

Her father, who went into exile because of alleged police harassment, is a former president of the Media Workers' Association of SA.

Two shot dead in ^(11A) clan fight

CITY P.
2/2/86

CP Correspondent

FIGHTING between rival Zulu clans broke out on the Natal South Coast this week.

Early Wednesday morning about 50 armed men approached a small group of people waiting at a bus stop at Komoya, about 5km from Umbumbulu police station.

They attacked them with lethal home-made firearms. Cops said three were shot dead and two injured.

Bongani Ndimande was rushed to King Edward VIII Hospital and operated on for a bullet in his abdomen.

By the time cops arrived at the scene everyone had fled and no arrests were made.

3/2/84 BUS DAY ~~2014~~ U/A

Angola rejects Botha's offer on Mandela's release

LISBON — Angola yesterday flatly rejected a South African offer to free black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela in exchange for a captured SA commando. But the Marxist government said it was prepared to swap the commando for Angolans and a Cuban allegedly held in SA.

Angola also accused the SA-backed rebel movement Unita of slaughtering more than 150 civilians in a southern Angolan village last week and condemned a visit by rebel leader Jonas Savimbi to Washington.

The Angolan news agency Angop said in a report monitored in Lisbon that the

Angolan Foreign Ministry categorically rejected Botha's proposal to free Mandela on humanitarian grounds if Angola released Captain Wynand du Toit, who was seized last year during a failed SA commando raid on US-Angolan oil installations in the northern Angolan enclave of Cabinda.

The Angolan Foreign Ministry said it was prepared to release Du Toit, and return the bodies of two SA soldiers killed in the raid, in return for the release of an unspecified number of Angolans and a Cuban soldier it said were captured in Angola by SA troops and Unita

rebels, Angop reported.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Union has made no mention of Botha's offer to swap Nelson Mandela for imprisoned dissident Anatoly Shcharansky and exiled Nobel Peace Prize laureate Dr Andrei Sakharov.

The official Soviet view is that Shcharansky, convicted on charges of anti-state activities in 1978 and given a 13-year sentence, was a criminal who must serve out his prison term.

Sakharov, who was sent to the closed city of Gorky in 1980, has never been formally accused of any crime, nor tried.

The official Soviet news agency Tass published brief reaction from the African National Congress to Botha's speech. Neither report mentioned Botha's offer.

While Botha's suggestion of a swap involving the Russians for Nelson Mandela's release was widely scoffed at at the weekend, it comes after many months of serious rumour.

Reliable sources in London claimed there was also high-level diplomatic contact shortly before Christmas and earlier last year in efforts to involve Mandela and the jailed Simonstown spy Dieter Gerhard in a swap. — Sapa-AP

Biko film
will now
be shot in
Zimbabwe

NAIROBI — Universal Pictures said it has decided to shoot a film on Steve Biko, the South African Black Consciousness leader who died in police custody in 1977, in Zimbabwe because the Kenyan Government had not co-operated in an earlier film venture in Kenya.

Mr Terry Clegg, co-producer of "Out of Africa", a hit in the United States shot on location in Kenya, criticised the Kenyan Government for its lack of interest in what he said had been an important contribution to the Kenyan economy.

"We were left to our own devices when faced with very serious difficulties," he said.

Apart from the "tremendous free publicity" "Out of Africa" would give Kenya, about 33 per cent of the \$28.6-million (about R63.5 million) budget was spent locally, a spokesman said.

"Out of Africa" a Sidney Pollack film starring Robert Redford and Meryl Streep, is based on a book of the same title about the life of Baroness Karen Blixen (Isak Dinesen), a Danish settler and coffee farmer in Kenya at the beginning of the century.

Mr Clegg said Universal Pictures, owners of the film, had chosen Zimbabwe as a location for the planned film on Biko's life. — Sapa-Reuter.

Talks to focus on sanctions

Frontliners ask Europe to help squeeze SA

LUSAKA — Africa's Frontline states and the European Community (EC) will meet in the Zambian capital, Lusaka, today to discuss ways of putting pressure on South Africa to end apartheid.

Foreign Ministers of the six Southern African countries will hold two days of talks with their European counterparts or deputies at which sanctions against South Africa will be a central topic.

The European team will be led by the Netherlands Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek, and will include the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, whose government so far has firmly opposed the imposition of sanctions against Pretoria.

Maintaining pressure

All six Foreign Ministers of the "Frontline" states — Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe — are expected to attend.

The talks will be the first of their kind between the two groups.

The meeting follows one last September when EC Foreign Ministers resolved to maintain pressure on Pretoria and to try to chart a joint strategy of action to influence political change in South Africa.

The talks, to be opened by Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda, come only three days after South African State President Mr Botha, announced plans to amend race laws.

The announcement has been branded as disappointing by black nationalist leaders outside the country and anti-apartheid activists inside South Africa.

ANC and PAC

Among those expected to attend are representatives of the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress and the South West Africa People's Organisation.

Since the September meeting, a number of EC countries have unilaterally taken some measures to cut links with South Africa, such as the withdrawal of military attaches. — Sapa-Reuter.

UNREST LATEST

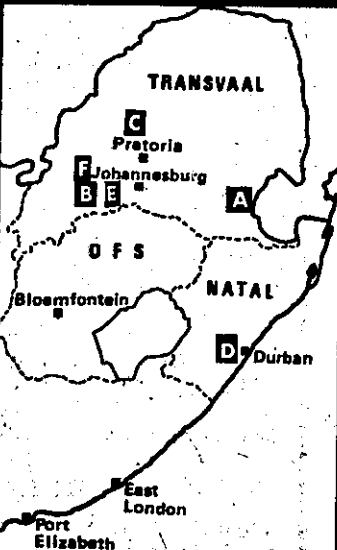
The unrest report issued in Pretoria at the weekend included the following incidents:

A — A man was shot dead when a police patrol was attacked in Brayton in the Eastern Transvaal. The patrol fired birdshot and tear smoke into the crowd.

B — A woman was killed in Mohlakeng, near Randfontein, when police opened fire on a group of stone-throwers.

C — Another woman died in Mamelodi, near Pretoria, when police fired birdshot at a mob attacking a police patrol.

D — In Lamontville, Natal a policeman was injured by shrapnel when a handgrenade



of unknown origin was thrown at a police patrol.

E — Nineteen people were arrested in Soweto on charges of public violence.

F — Two black nuns were arrested in Munsieville. — Sapa.

Botha's swop deal a 'flop'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Political Correspondent
THE government's latest plan to release Mr Nelson Mandela in exchange for two Soviet dissidents and a captured South African commando appears to have flopped.

At the weekend Angola, and apparently the Soviet Union as well, rejected President P W Botha's proposal to free the jailed African National Congress leader "on humanitarian grounds" on condition that Moscow release Jewish dissidents Andre Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharanski and that Luanda free Captain Wynand du Toit.

However, the Angolan Government has indicated that it may swop Captain Du Toit for Angolans and a Cuban allegedly held in the Republic. Captain Du Toit was seized last year during a botched South African commando raid on United States-Angolan oil installations in the northern Angolan enclave of Cabinda.

According to the Angolan news agency Angop, the Angolan Foreign Ministry said it was prepared to release Captain Du Toit and return the bodies of two South African soldiers killed in the raid in return for the release of an unspecified number of Angolans and a Cuban it said were cap-

tured in Angola by South African troops and Unita rebels.

A spokesman for the Soviet mission at the United Nations has reportedly said Moscow is not interested in an exchange of Mr Mandela for Jewish dissidents.

But according to Sapa-AP, a Foreign Ministry press official said at the weekend that he had no information on Mr Botha's offer and no statement to make about whether it might be accepted.

And a reliable source has dismissed as "outlandish mystification" suggestions that the South African and US governments might have struck a deal on the swop proposed by Mr Botha in Parliament on Friday.

However, the subject was apparently broached during recent talks between the government and the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

It is reliably understood that the unsuccessful swop deal originally involved a more ambitious plan aimed at luring President Ronald Reagan into a meeting with Mr Botha.

According to this South African-sponsored scheme, Mr Botha would agree to a plea by Mr Reagan unconditionally to release Mr Mandela in exchange for the lifting of the US president's executive order imposing limited sanctions on the Republic.

In addition, Mr Reagan would allow the US Federal Reserve bank to make money available to the Republic and induce US banks to roll over South Africa's short-term debts.

The final condition for the unconditional release of Mr Mandela was to be the freeing of two Soviet dissidents.

Criticism

If the scheme worked, it would provide Mr Botha with a good excuse for backing down on his "non-negotiable" demand that Mr Mandela renounce violence before his release.

In the government's view, Mr Mandela's release would take the sting out of much international criticism directed at South Africa.

And despite the considerable government nervousness about the possible risks entailed in releasing the ANC leader, some members of the cabinet believe Mr Mandela may lose some of his symbolic power and mystique once he is subjected to the full glare of media publicity.

The considerably scaled-down proposal mooted by Mr Botha at the opening of Parliament was seen in Western diplomatic circles as a public relations exercise — especially since "not even a hint of a deal" had been achieved between the US and South Africa in recent discussions.

CAPE TOWN 3/2/86 11A

Shcharansky in East-West swop

BONN. — Anatoly Shcharansky, the jailed Soviet dissident, whose release the South African State President, Mr P W Botha, sought as part of a deal for the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, will be included in a swop of East-bloc and Western agents, the West German Bild newspaper said yesterday.

The swop, described as the biggest exchange of East-bloc and Western agents in post-war history, has been arranged between Bonn, Washington, Moscow and East Berlin and will take place in the next few days, it said.

It will include 12 West German counter-intelligence agents imprisoned in the East, Bild said.

President Botha said on Friday: "If I were to release Mr Nelson Mandela, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not be released on humanitarian grounds?"

Shcharansky, 37, one of the leading Soviet human-rights campaigners of the 1970s, was given a 13-year sentence on charges of spying for the United States in 1978.

Bild said Bonn and Washington had also tried to include exiled Soviet dissident Dr An-

drei Sakharov in the planned swop but Moscow had refused.

The newspaper said its information came from "high Soviet sources". The exchange would take place on the Glienicke Bridge, a border crossing between West Berlin and East Germany, and the scene of several previous swops.

The offer by President Botha to free Mr Mandela in return for the release of two leading Russian dissidents and an army officer held by Angola was being seen as "impractical" in Western capitals yesterday.

Officials at the Soviet Foreign Ministry in Mos-

cow said there was no information available about their government's reaction to the offer.

Campaigners for Russian dissidents in London and Jerusalem countered this by saying they hoped the Russian leadership would be persuaded to give serious consideration to the move to free Dr Sakharov from internal exile and Mr Shcharansky, who has up to now been held in a labour camp.

Meanwhile, in editorial comment the New York Times said that "he surely didn't intend it, but South Africa's Presi-

dent P W Botha now grants at least some resemblance between his and the Soviet Union's taking of political prisoners ...

"If he has moved at all, Mr Botha has moved an inch. Under the pressure of violence in black townships and sanctions by banks and the United States, he has abandoned the truculence of last August."

Senegal President Abdou Diouf, current head of the Organization of African Unity, called on all nations to reject the South African proposals. — Own Correspondent, Sapa-Renter-AP and UPI

STAR 3/2/86

'No hope for ANC armed struggle'

ULUNDI — The continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and the banning of the African National Congress had given the ANC's mission in exile an illusory popularity, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told visiting American dignitaries at the weekend. He told the US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. James Kelly, and other officials that there was no hope of the ANC's armed struggle succeeding in the foreseeable future.

The conditions necessary for revolution did not exist, he said. There would be no demobilisation of the army and were no places which could be turned into "no-go areas" for the army and police. Chief Buthelezi said sympathy for the ANC resulted from the "vibrant anger" over the apartheid suffering which the draconian powers used to crush opposition to it.

DIVISIVE

With the armed struggle having failed against insurmountable odds, the ANC had switched tactics and was now trying to ride on the back of mob violence, he said. About one in three blacks who had died violently in 1985 had died at the hands of fellow blacks. Violence was divisive, and if it continued, would delay liberation.

Chief Buthelezi said that the people who shouted the loudest for change through revolution were also the most vociferous in urging the economic isolation of South Africa. Appeals for economic sanctions envisaged the destruction of the economy, the eradication of apartheid, and the establishment of a one-party dictatorship, he said.

Sapa.

'Detainee injury possibly community-inflicted'

PORT ELIZABETH — A top-ranking Eastern Cape policeman has said many injuries of detainees could have been from sentences imposed by township kangaroo courts".

Divisional Commissioner of Police for the Eastern Cape Brigadier E S Schnetler was replying in an affidavit before the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday to allegations by former district surgeon Dr Wendy Orr and others of brutal assault on detainees.

"I am not trying to say that all the injuries referred to by the applicants were the result of sentences imposed by the 'people's court,' but the possibility cannot be discounted. Injuries could also have been received during unrest and arrests," he said.

"The impression was given that the police were waging a war of unbridled force against residents of black and coloured townships in the East Cape.

"This is unjustified. The police try to carry out their duties, often under difficult circumstances. I do not suggest that single cases of transgression do not occur, but this is no reason for unfounded, general-

ised allegations to be made against the police.

"The applicants tried to give the impression the security forces, and particularly the police, acted as if the state of emergency allowed them to ignore the rights of others, and were protected by the emergency regulations."

There might have been instances when members of the force overstepped the mark but, when such cases were brought to the attention of those in command, investigations were undertaken and action was taken.

"Allegations of assaults have been made from time to time but, in most cases, they were unfounded."

He said the impression Dr Orr had tried to create — that the police had taken the law into their own hands — was untrue.

After describing the background to the state of emergency, Brigadier Schnetler said it was stressed that force should be used only in cases of emergencies, such as resisting arrest, where it was necessary to disperse trouble-makers and to protect lives and property. — Sapa.

Chief Buthelezi tells Americans

THE ANC HAS NO CHANCE

11A
Sewetan
3/2/88

THE continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and the banning of the ANC produced sympathy which allowed the ANC's mission in exile to bask in the illusion of popularity, according to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He told the US Assistant Secretary of State, Mr James Kelly, and other American officials in Hluhluwe at the weekend that there was no hope of the revolutionary organisation's armed struggle succeeding in the foreseeable future.

The South African Government was nowhere near being toppled either by internal or external violence, the KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president said.

The conditions necessary for revolution did not exist. There would be no defection of the army and civil service. There were no places which could be turned into no-go areas for the army and police.

And everywhere ordinary blacks — whatever their political persuasion — would continue to participate in marketplace activity because, if they did not, they would simply die of starvation.

Chief Buthelezi said

SAPA

sympathy for the ANC resulted from the "vibrant anger" over the terrible suffering which apartheid had caused and the draconian powers used to oppress opposition to it.

But sympathy did not win revolutions, and the very people who were sympathetic were those who did not cross the borders to join the armed struggle, who did not destroy the factories in which they worked and who did not cripple

the civil service.

These people continued to be on-the-ground stumbling blocks for the development of the external ANC's tactics and strategies.

With the armed struggle having failed against insurmountable odds, the organisation had switched tactics and was now trying to ride on the back of mob behaviour.

But such mob behaviour was uncontrollable and could not be directed through goal-orientated political activity.

MIXED REACTION TO RUBICON 2

ANC rejects reform plans 11A

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has rejected reform proposals made by State President Mr P W Botha and vowed to continue its opposition.

"In the face of the continued obduracy of the Pretoria regime, we have no other choice," an ANC statement issued here on Friday said.

Condemning Mr Botha's speech to Parliament, the statement said the ANC remained committed to a programme of action it announced earlier this year — "for the escalation of the mass political and military offensive".

Soviet citizens

"(Mr) Botha has dragged in the names of Soviet citizens who have nothing to do with South Africa and a South African army captain legally held in Angola as a prisoner of war."

There can be no clearer example of Mr Botha's intention to "ensure that nothing changes in our country", the statement said.

The statement criticised Mr Botha's invitation to black-ruled neighbouring states to enter into security pacts with South Africa and said "instead of desisting from attacking the neighbouring states, he promises them a pax Pretoriana."

Pass laws

It said the announcement on pass laws was a veiled way of introducing another type of identity card to continue restricting movements of black people within urban areas.

Mr Botha's concept of democracy is what he termed "coexistence and power-sharing between racially and ethnically distinct communities, which is an ill-disguised affirmation of the policy of white minority rule," the statement added.

On Mr Botha's promised educational reforms, it said: "He completely ignored a whole set of demands that the majority of the people have made around the educational system." — Sapa-Reuter.



Mr P W BOTHA . . . State President.

Unban ANC — Slabbert

THE leader of the Progressive Federal Party, Dr van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday called on the Government to allow the African National Congress to operate legally in South Africa as part of a strategy to promote negotiation.

Moving his motion of no confidence in the Cabinet, Dr Slabbert said the Government should also release all political prisoners on the understanding that they too would be allowed to operate freely.

All laws preventing freedom of choice on racial and ethnic grounds

should also be repealed, Dr Slabbert told the House of Assembly in Cape Town.

He said the culmination of these and other proposals should be the appointment of a negotiating forum at which recognised political and community leaders would discuss the best way of bringing about a new constitution for South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said that, by restoring freedom of

choice on racial and ethnic grounds, the Government would be free to announce that it had removed "what the ANC and others cite as the cause for their commitment to violence and the armed struggle".

Detained

The Government could therefore declare that the ANC, released political detainees and "other organisations and movements", in future

could operate legally and peacefully in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said this declaration should be followed by a package of reform plans to remove inequalities in housing, education and welfare, "instead of doing so in a piecemeal fashion now and getting no credit for it."

Time should then be allowed for political organisations to consolidate their support and

stabilise their communities.

The Government should meanwhile "make it quite clear that under these circumstances, lawlessness and subversive action would be dealt with firmly and without hesitation," Dr Slabbert said.

Appeal

A multi-racial monitoring board of appeal would have to be appointed to which people

could bring their grievances and suggestions on problems they were experiencing because of the changes.

The next step would be the appointment of the negotiating forum, the PFP leader said.

"Of course there are risks and uncertainties involved in these suggestions.

"But one thing is sure — if we continue along the way we are now, there are no certainties

— conflict, siege and escalating violence is inevitable."

The advantages of the PFP plan were "considerable", Dr Slabbert said.

The Government would seize the initiative by removing legislation that was cited as the cause of violence.

At the same time, the ANC would be faced with a new challenge — "to move from being a charismatic movement in exile to a political organisation with practical programmes and principles in the domestic situation".

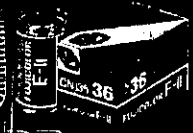
1118
4/12/86 SOWETAN

SOWETAN

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1986

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MANDELA MAY BE FREE THIS WEEK

11A
4/2/86
[Signature]



PRESIDENT Botha.

JAILED African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, may be freed as early as this week in what would be a dramatic gesture by State President Mr P W Botha.

Speculation on the possible release of Mr Mandela was fanned by reports that several high-ranking United Democratic Front officials had flown to Cape Town with Mr Mandela's wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

Foreign observers also speculated on Mr Mandela's release, and yesterday, many suggested that he could be released as early as this week.

The SOWETAN Foreign Service says that reports that the biggest East-West spy swop, involving up to 12 Warsaw Pact spies, had been confirmed in Washington have caused renewed speculation on the release of Mr Mandela.

The London Standard yesterday

SOWETAN Reporter

day reported a growing conviction that Mr Mandela might be involved in a deal between the super-powers to release Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky.

The Standard also says that Washington sources have confirmed the swop will take place later this week.

The Financial Times also speculates that President Botha may finally have been convinced that the release of Mr Mandela is the only way to "unblock the log jam in South Africa". The spy swop may allow him to do so "without losing face".

It was significant that Mr Botha spoke of the release of Soviet dissidents only a day before official news that the swop would take place.

This seemed to indicate that Mr Botha was aware of on-going negotiations for the release of Mr Shcharansky and other dissidents through the United States Government.



Mrs WINNIE MANDELA

Unban ANC — Slabbert
page 2

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CAC 7/2/86
Coetsee
explains
Mandela
offer

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
— The State President's suggestion that Mr Nelson Mandela might be freed on humanitarian grounds was a broadening of his earlier standpoint that prisoners who rejected violence might be released; the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in the no-confidence debate yesterday.

He said the offer made last year had applied to prisoners who had already served a long time and who indicated a willingness to take part in the constitutional processes of the country.

A number had taken up Mr P W Botha's offer and had been released.

Now, with the State President's speech at the opening of Parliament, humanitarian considerations were also to be taken into account.

The release could be effected on medical grounds or on the length of sentence.

'Credibility'

Mr Coetsee also said attempts to criticize the police and the defence force were an attack on the credibility of the law and the judiciary.

The opposition and the PFP in particular should realize that Parliament was still the most important agent for orderly reform in the country, but "we can not do our job if there are noises from that side trying to take us to pieces".

The judiciary was given its authority by the State, but at the same time there was an obligation on the government to keep the police and defence force healthy to enforce the law and maintain its credibility.

The opposition had asked for a definition of the apartheid that the State President had said in his opening speech was "outdated".

"Our party's stance is that racial discrimination and exploitation, or apartheid as the outside world calls it, is not on our agenda," he said.

In place of that outdated policy the president had outlined a number of standpoints on social and economic matters.

No demo as trial resumes

SOUC 7/11/88
11A
4/2/88

THE treason trial in which four United Democratic Front affiliates are accused, resumed in the College Road Supreme Court in Maritzburg yesterday.

Their 12 co-accused were acquitted on December 9. Three of the former co-accused, Dr Essop Jassat, Mr M J Naidoo and Mr Aubrey Mokoena, were among the crowd of about 20 spectators.

There were no demonstrations.

The leaders of the State and defence teams, Mr Mick Gey van Pittius SC and Mr Ismail Mahomed SC, are no longer appearing in the case.

Mr Andre Oberholzer and Mr Christo Meiring who assisted Mr Gey van Pittius are prosecuting and Mr C Mailer and Mr M T K Moerane are appearing for the accused.

The accused, described as members of the South African Allied Workers' Union, are: Mr Richard Gqweta (33) of Mdantsane, Ciskei, national president of Saawu, Mr Sisa James Njikelana (29) also of Mdantsane, former vice-president and now the general-secretary of Saawu, Mr Sam Kikine, a former vice-president and presently general secretary of

Saawu Durban branch, and Mr Duze Isaac Ngcobo, the treasurer of Saawu.

The trial is being heard by the Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Milne, and assessors, Mr Ishwarbhai Amin and Mr Wellington Mtshali.

Mr Oberholzer said the State would not rely on the evidence given by Mr I D de Vries, described by Mr Oberholzer as the State's main witness.

Role

Mr de Vries, a lecturer at the Rand Afrikaans University, gave evidence for about three weeks shortly before 12 of the accused were acquitted on December 9.

Mr Oberholzer said that the State intended to call another expert witness, Brigadier H Stadler. He said the State also intended to call several factory owners, managers and personnel from East London and Durban.

He said that they would give evidence on the role of Saawu in strikes and boycotts. He said that the State would show that Saawu was the cause of strikes that were in support of the revolutionary alliance.

He said that one of the accused had also consulted with the South African Congress of Trade Unions — ANC Alliance.

Mr Oberholzer also said that the State would seek to establish the guilt of the present accused through their association with their fellow accused who were acquitted.

BUS DAY

(TA)

~~BOB~~

4/2/86

Mandela deal seen as impractical

MARGARET SMITH



● BOTHA

LONDON — President P W Botha's offer to free African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in return for the release of two leading Russian dissidents and an army officer held by Angola was seen as impractical in Western capitals yesterday.

Officials at the Russian Foreign Ministry in Moscow were at a loss when asked by a representative of the Fleet Street newspaper, the *Sun-*

day Telegraph, for their government's reaction.

They said they had no information available on the issue and that they knew nothing further about Botha's suggestion.

But campaigners for Russian dissidents in London and Jerusalem said they hoped the Russian leadership would seriously consider the move to free Andrei Sakharov from

internal exile and Anatoly Shcharansky, who is held in a labour camp.

In Whitehall, a Foreign Office spokesman said Botha's speech — in which he made the offer — contained significant proposals on apartheid, although there were omissions. The full text was being studied with care.

Whitehall officials, however, commented that Botha's offer to release Mandela appeared to be a last-minute addition to his speech and it was unlikely that Russia would take it up.

Similar views were expressed in

other Western capitals.

Tory MP Harvey Proctor welcomed Botha's speech as a definite move away from apartheid.

RICHARD WALKER reports from New York that Botha's offer to release Mandela was dismissed as a stunt by the *New York Times*.

"If he has moved at all, Botha has moved an inch. Plainly it is not enough," the newspaper editorialised.

"He surely did not mean it, but he now grants at least some resem-

blance between his and the Soviet Union's taking of political prisoners.

"This curious affirmation of the moral equivalence of prisoners of conscience is consistent with Botha's other declarations. He admits that significant change is overdue — indeed that apartheid is passé — but more to mollify foreign critics than to move his society away from racism."

While the Reagan administration welcomed the speech as important, the focus of the media stayed on the space shuttle disaster and gave it nowhere near the attention of last August's Durban speech.

ANC leader's view 'less relevant now'

Mandela rejects spy-swap deal

STAR 4/2/86 (11A) ~~11A~~



President Botha ... said he was prepared to negotiate Mandela's release.

Nelson Mandela has rejected President Botha's proposals linking his release with Russian dissidents with what he calls "the contempt it deserved".

However, Reuter reports from Bonn that Western diplomats cannot see any planned swap of dissident prisoners being linked to President Botha's offer; and South African Government sources believe Mandela's attitude to being released is less relevant in the light of current developments.

It is believed a transcript of Mr Botha's speech was delivered to Mandela for his consideration at about 11 am on Friday — as the State President was about to speak in Parliament.

Mandela is believed to have said it was too far-fetched to be considered. He would not talk about it further, according to news agency reports.

It is understood, however, that he was unwilling to be part of a package in spy swaps as he saw himself as a political leader, unrelated to any deals involving secret agents.

Because of the importance of statements being attributed world wide to the 67-year-old prisoner, *The Star* has repeated a request to the authorities to interview Mandela. At the time of going to press there had been no response.

One of the reasons for such an interview would be to establish whether he has fully recovered from his operation and is fit and well.

From Bonn, West Germany, Reuter reports a diplomatic source as saying: "There has been no indication of any South African link in negotiations over the past months (involving the Russian dissidents Sakharov and Shcharansky) and all signs are that any swap will be the outcome of very long and complex horse-trading".

The Star's Political Correspondent reports that Government sources have pointed out that the latest initiative in effect makes Mr Mandela's attitude less relevant.

If an international swap deal could be struck, Mandela may in fact not have any choice but to be released.

There has been intense activity and jockeying for political position since Mr Botha suggested that he would be prepared to negotiate Mandela's release if Captain Wynand du Toit, imprisoned in Angola, and Soviet dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Andre Sakharov were also released on humanitarian grounds.

There is considerable diplomatic speculation that a much more complex swap deal is in the offing.

● See Page 2.



Mr Dennis de la Cruz
will speak for ANC

I back ANC in principle de la Cruz

11/11/86
SAPA

PARLIAMENT

The Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Dennis de la Cruz, yesterday said the African National Congress was a democratic organisation that wanted to advance the interests of most blacks in the country and that he supported it in principle.

Moving his motion of no confidence in the Cabinet he said he was prepared to speak to the ANC, which was not fighting South Africa but white minority rule.

When he referred to the Minister of Education and Culture, Mr Casspir Ebrahim, as Mr Casspir on the recent crisis in coloured education, many Labour Party members left the House.

He withdrew the remark but Labour Party members had already left the House and the bells had to be rung because there was no quorum.

Referring to the Constitution, Mr de la Cruz said the National Party had built it on the ideology of apartheid. It had brought division among coloureds, Indians, blacks and in churches, families and sports clubs. It was also the reason for the rise of the United Democratic Front and "other radical organisations".

Mr de la Cruz said the present Constitution had come off the drawing boards of the National Party's political architects and had been designed for dominance by coloured education in the Western Cape was a "dangerous mess" which Mr Ebrahim could not manage. — Sapa.

BUS. DAY 4/12/86 (117)

Angolan Foreign Minister spurns Mandela swap offer

LISBON — Angola has rejected outright SA's proposal to release ANC leader Nelson Mandela in exchange for an SA commando imprisoned in Luanda, reports reaching Lisbon yesterday said.

In a dispatch from the Angolan capital, the Portuguese news agency Anop quoted Angola's Foreign Minister Afonso van Dunem as saying the former Portuguese colony would not even consider such a swap.

"Angola will never accept an exchange of Capt Petrus du Toit for Nelson Mandela," Van Dunem told reporters at a joint news conference with the visiting Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez Ordonez.

Capt du Toit was captured by Angolan troops outside the joint Angolan-US Cabinda Gulf Oil storage depot in May in an ambush that left two fellow commandos dead.

The SA officer later stated publicly his group had planned to blow up the depot.

President P W Botha last month alluded to freeing Mandela, jailed 22 years ago, in exchange for Du Toit.



● SAVIMBI

Van Dunem also condemned the recent visit to the US of Jonas Savimbi, leader of Angola's Unita rebels.

"We condemn this visit and the reception (Savimbi) was given in the US," the Angolan minister said.

"We think the treatment (Savimbi) got on this visit was unacceptable," he said, "and we feel any similar visit to the Netherlands or any other country, Western or not, amounts to interference in our internal affairs."

Savimbi was feted by conservative pressure groups in Washington and received by President Ronald Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz and Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger, all of whom expressed support for the rebels.

Mandela swop 'closer'

CAPT Tim's
4/2/86

11A

From JOHN
BATTERSBY

LONDON. — President P W Botha's offer to release Mr Nelson Mandela "on humanitarian grounds" came a step closer to reality yesterday with a series of dramatic disclosures in Western capitals.

Western diplomatic sources and strategic analysts are taking President Botha's offer seriously and believe it was made with inside knowledge of the imminent East-West spy swop involving Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky.

● Senior United States sources close to the negotiations for the biggest post-war

East-West spy swop confirmed that the swop — arranged by Bonn, Washington and Moscow — would take place on the Glienicke Bridge between East and West Berlin next week.

● Western diplomatic sources disclosed that senior officials of the National Intelligence Service have had contacts with "an Eastern bloc country" during the past few weeks.

● The International Red Cross in Geneva confirmed yesterday that it was trying to secure the release of Captain Wynand du Toit in Angola, and Angop reported yesterday that the Luanda government would be prepared to exchange Captain Du Toit and the bodies of two other South African soldiers for an unspecified number of Angolans and a Cuban being held in Pretoria.

'Shrewd'

● An expert on South Africa at the influential International Institute for Strategic Studies, Mr Robert Jaster, yesterday described President Botha's offer to release Mr Mandela as "a shrewd political move".

Western diplomatic sources said yesterday that they believed President Botha knew about the behind-the-scenes moves on Shcharansky and Sakharov.

It is understood that the US assistant Secretary of State, Dr Chester Crocker, conveyed the Angolans' willingness to exchange Captain Du Toit when he met President Botha in Cape Town last month.

Diplomatic sources said that President Botha has seized an opportunity to extricate himself from a corner he had trapped himself in by making the renunciation of violence by Mr Mandela a pre-condition for his release.

Western diplomats are attaching great significance to the fact that President Botha now appears to have dropped that condition.

Mr Jaster, an American academic with the International Institute of Strategic Studies, said yesterday that if Mr Botha's gamble came off he would have achieved a major coup.

Major coup

He said Mr Botha could claim that he had helped the West by facilitating a major East-West spy swop and meeting their long-standing demand for Mr Mandela's release.

(He would win the support of South Africa's Jewish community by apparently assisting with the release of a Jewish Soviet dissident and he could tell his right-wing that he had secured the release of Captain Wynand du Toit.

● First formal talks between UK, ANC, page 6

Cape Times, 4/2/86
114

Wife visits Mandela

Staff Reporter

MRS Winnie Mandela, wife of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, left the city yesterday after a visit to her husband.

A man who drove Mrs Mandela to DF Malan Airport said she did not wish to comment as to the reasons for the visit.

Mrs Mandela's visit came days after President P W Botha suggested in his speech at the opening of Parliament that the release of Mr Mandela on humanitarian grounds could be considered if the same was done in the case of a South African captive in Angola and two Russian dissidents.

Business Day

THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER FOR DECISION MAKERS

WE DON'T

I will not hesitate to talk to ANC again — Slabbert



● SLABBERT

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY — Leader of the Progressive Federal Party Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday he would not hesitate to hold further talks with the ANC if he believed it would help to reduce violence.

"If I thought it would serve any purpose to reduce violence, I would go to Lusaka tomorrow, whatever the government may say or feel," Slabbert said in moving his motion of no confidence.

"Although I deplore and abhor violence, I will not hesitate to talk to those who use violence to seek ways to persuade them otherwise.

"I have talked for 12 years to this government to get rid of apartheid in order to reduce vio-

4/2/82 BUS DAY 2011A 11A
lenace, and there is no reason why I should not talk to others who are caught up in the cycle of violence."

Slabbert said that to remove apartheid would be to eliminate a "very important source of violence in our society".

The modern state had a monopoly on the legitimate use of violence.

"But when it does so without justice, in an arbitrary manner and without those who suffer from it having any recourse to the courts, the state loses that legitimacy and very often forces its opponents to seek violence in return. In this way, violence begets violence."

Slabbert condemned the use of violence by the ANC, the state and other organisations.

"I condemn black-on-black, white-on-black and black-on-white violence.

"The use of terror to achieve political objectives fills me with a deep sense of revulsion.

"The petrol bomb, the indiscriminate use of landmines, the torture chamber, burning of villages and houses and the terrorising of children are instruments of political thuggery which cannot be justified by any cause that I wish to support.

"If South Africa should become completely polarised between two opposites depending on such methods to gain the upper hand over the other, there will be no winners, only losers." — Sapa.

HC
lea
chr

Mandela free 'by Easter'

Mercury
4/2/88

11A

Serviceman burned in petrol attack

Mercury Reporter

A 21-YEAR-OLD national serviceman was badly burned when his car was stoned and set alight in a petrol-bomb attack by a mob of about 40 blacks in Blair Athol Road, New Germany, it was learned last night.

Airman Kevin Nel, of Vause Road, Durban, had 15 percent burns to his face and arms and was admitted to Addington Hospital in a serious condition last night as a result of the attack.

Nel was with him at the time of the attack. Gooderson, 21, of 60 Ridge Road, escaped unhurt.

Amn Nel was unable to open his seat belt after the car was set alight and Amn Gooderson had had to run back to the burning

car to help him get out.

Amn Nel's mother, Mrs Daphne Steyn, said last night the two servicemen had been on their way back to camp in Bloemfontein on Sunday night and had been travelling to collect another friend in the Pinetown area when they came across the mob.

'The boys were driving along when a bakkie in front was stoned by a crowd of blacks. The bakkie got away but two petrol bombs were thrown into my son's car which is now a burnt-out shell,' said Mrs Steyn.

The two men were picked up by a passing motorist and taken to the nearest police station.

Police confirmed they were investigating the incident but said no arrests had been made.

CAPE TOWN—Parliamentary circles were abuzz with speculation yesterday that Nelson Mandela could be out of Pollsmoor Prison by Easter.

Amid suggestions that his idea might backfire and eventually embarrass the President, leaving him no option but to release Mandela, it was learned that a Cabinet majority, backed by the President himself, favoured Mandela's release with or without an international swap agreement.

According to a prominent National Party source the Government's primary constraints have been fears that Mandela's release might trigger a resurgence of political violence and could signal weakness in the face of ANC and international pressure.

The source, a verlig spokesman in the National Party parliamentary caucus, said: 'Should the level of political violence rise to the extent that the State of emergency could be lifted entirely, I think chances of Mandela's release will increase tremendously.'

Emphasis

Parliamentarians speculated yesterday that the 67-year-old Mandela could be free by Easter, after serving 24 years of a life sentence.

They see President Botha's emphasis last week on a release on humanitarian grounds rather than on his earlier requirement of a non-violent commitment from Mandela as the President preparing the public for the move.

Mandela has already rejected a conditional release.

The National Party source said any kind of release was unlikely in the current climate of tension. 'But I will not commit myself on that beyond four to six weeks. Things could change.'

Cabinet was divided about the conditions of Mandela's release, but not on the release itself, he said.

Doubts

'The division is not ideological, but is rather over perceptions of the practical consequences of his release.'

He described as sincere President Botha's offer last week to negotiate Mandela's release on humanitarian grounds if Angola released Capt Wyn

Mercury Correspondent

and du Toit and the Soviet Union lifted its banishment of Nobel Prize physicist Andrei Sakharov and freed Jewish dissident Anatoly Scharansky.

While he doubted such an arrangement was likely, he believed the 'vast majority, if not all' of the Cabinet wanted Mandela out of jail if this could be done without provoking a major incident of political violence.

Angola has already rejected the Mandela-Du Toit link, but political analysts say they expect Pretoria to take up Luanda's counter-offer to exchange the South African for a Cuban and an undisclosed number of Angolan prisoners-of-war currently held by South Africa.

No comment

The NP source discounted rumours of a split in Government over President Botha's exchange offer on Friday—a rumour fuelled by the fact that the text of the President's speech dealing with Mandela had been delivered to journalists separately from the main text, and only after he had risen to speak.

This was a measure of the steps taken to prevent the Mandela offer leaking out since advance texts of the main speech had been transmitted to South African missions abroad.

Our Cape Town correspondent reported that Mrs Winnie Mandela declined to comment when she left the city yesterday after a visit to her husband.

R120 000 grab

JOHANNESBURG—A six-man gang, five armed with guns and one with a knife, yesterday morning shot and wounded an employee at an Alberton hypermarket, injured two other employees and fled with R120 000. Mr Mike Aitken, 52, a security officer, was shot in the groin. Mr Johannes Visagie, 42, also a security officer, was hit over the head with a pistol and Mr Martin Greyling, 64, a manager, was kicked and pistol-whipped. — (Sapa)

UDF is linked to people's courts

4/2/86
11A
E. ROSE

By SHIRLEY PRESSLY
TOP officials of the United Democratic Front in the Eastern Cape have been implicated in the people's courts which dispensed "justice", including death sentences, in Port Elizabeth's townships.

The allegation was made in one of the replying affidavits lodged today with the PE Supreme Court, in the case of ex-district surgeon Dr Wendy Orr and 42 others against the Minister of Law and Order and others.

An awaiting trial prisoner, Mr Mbulelo Edgar Magamela, said he had first learnt about the people's court while attending the funeral of an unrest victim in Cradock.

He said the leaders involved in the funeral, all members of the UDF, told them to form their own courts so that whites did not have to concern themselves further with maintaining justice.

Mr Magamela said he was a member of the UDF.

He said Mr Henry Fazzi, vice-president of the UDF in the Eastern Cape, consumer boycott spokesman Mr Mkhusele Jack, Mr Dennis Neer and Mr Edgar Goyi were among those involved in the people's courts. The four had outlined the structure of the court to him.

They told him that a distinction had to be drawn between criminal cases and "political" cases.

Political cases made provision for the death sentence through the "tyre" — meaning a tyre placed around someone and then set alight.

Mr Magamela is awaiting trial on a charge of murder for allegedly having acted as a "prosecutor".

Mr Mbulelo Sogoni were known to him. He had been told there were allegations they had been assaulted by the police while in detention.

Both of them had appeared in his people's court on a charge of robbery. They were sentenced to 30 lashes each with a sjambok and a length of hosepipe.

They received their lashes on a Saturday. Mr Sogoni was arrested the following Wednesday.

Mr Magamela said sentences were passed daily and there were hundreds of people walking around with sjambok weals. Some of them were subsequently arrested by the police and were taken into prison with sjambok weals and other injuries.

In another affidavit a girl of 13 who is being held in custody for her own protection because she is a witness in a murder trial, told how she was beaten repeatedly with a sjambok and a switch and branded as an informer.

Mr Tembinkosi Sokutu, 21, tells how he appeared before the "comrades" on charges of stealing his grandfather's car and having a relationship with the daughter of a man wanted by the comrades.

He was sentenced to 200 lashes with a sjambok. The lashes were given by about 20 men while he was tied down to a table.

The court comprised a "magistrate" who heard the case and a "prosecutor". "Policemen" investigated cases and brought the accused to court. Their investigation often consisted of assaulting the accused until he spoke the "truth". No provision was made for defence counsel although people could give evidence.

Mr Magamela said that Mr Vuzumzi George and

Call for bomb checks

West Rand police have called for stricter security measures in shopping centres and chain stores after Saturday's petrol bomb attack on a store in Randfontein's central business district.

Major Tienie Halgryn, liaison officer for the West Rand police said yesterday that there was a definite need to increase security at large target centres, where parcels and hand luggage would have to be checked before the owners could enter the premises.

In Saturday's incident, the three men apparently entered the store with carrier bags containing bombs, walked into the clothing department and within seconds had thrown the bombs among curtain material.

A spokesman for the Randfontein Town Council, Mr Mauritz Zietsman, said yesterday the council would hold discussions on increased security measures with the security forces and civil defence officials.

The matter is also being investigated by the local chamber of commerce. — West Rand Bureau.

British meet ANC officially

The Star's Africa News Service

LUSAKA — A senior British official has met leading members of the African National Congress here — the first formal and official contact between the British Government and the organisation.

The move came as a surprise. The Government had previously refused to meet the ANC, saying it objected on principle to its policy of using violence to overthrow apartheid.

The Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, is understood to have sanctioned the meeting because he judged it important "in the light of recent events in the region" that Britain should meet the ANC officially and "get our point of view across".

PEACEFUL

The Assistant Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office, Mr John Johnson, met the ANC's director of information, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and two national executive members, Johnson Makatini — ANC representative to the United Nations — and Pallo Jordan, at the home of a British diplomat here.

"Essentially our message to the ANC was that our commitment to the abolition of apartheid is one for peaceful change," an official said.

"We are very concerned about the escalation of violence in South Africa. We are committed to dialogue as a solution, and the mission by the Commonwealth group of eminent persons is taken very seriously by us."



Exhibition at the Forest High School, Forest Hill, tomorrow night. Section of antique and modern cameras, a video on professional from the University of the Witwatersrand. Here Salome Zeederberg. The exhibition will be open to the public from 6.30 pm.

ANC 'hijacked' by communists (U)

PARLIAMENT — It might be possible to separate out the communist element of the ANC by unbanning the organisation, Mr Miley Richards (LP, Toekomsrus) said in the House of Representatives.

In the No-Confidence debate Mr Richards, Leader of the House, said he had no problems with ANC aims but he was concerned about the communists "who have hijacked the ANC and now control it".

"I have no objection to negotiating a new deal with the ANC but I am totally opposed to communism."

Mr Richards said it was not necessary to kill people to gain freedom.

"There is no doubt that reform is taking place in South Africa. What concerns us is the pace." — Sapa

(114) (3) 4/2/86 (52) BUS DAY

Treason trial told of wave of strikes

A WITNESS told the resumed treason trial of four United Democratic Front (UDF) affiliates in Maritzburg that a wave of strikes followed the release on bail of one of the accused.

The men's 12 co-accused were acquitted on December 9.

The accused, described as members of the South African Allied

Workers Union (SAAWU) are: Richard Gqweta, 33, of Mdantsane, Ciskei; Sisa James Njikelana, 29, also of Mdantsane; Sam Kikine, of the SAAWU Durban branch; and Duze Isaac Ngcobo, treasurer of SAAWU.

Major P Olivier, former head of the Labour and Trade Union section of the Security Police in the

Border area, said that in a strike at NCI in East London in July 1980, new work-seekers were intimidated by the strikers.

After Gqweta's release, 18 strikes occurred in 1980 and 35 between February and November in 1981.

The trial continues. — Sapa.

Malan cautions SA's neighbours

STAK Political Staff

5/2/86

PARLIAMENT — The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has warned that more cross-border action will be taken against enemies of South Africa operating from neighbour states.

At the same time General Malan called on those states not to ignore or reject President PW Botha's proposals for a joint Southern African security organisation.

Speaking in the No-Confidence Debate in the House of Assembly yesterday, General Malan also accused opposition leader Dr van Zyl Slabbert of playing into the hands of the ANC by talking with that organisation.

General Malan urged South Africa's neighbour states to accept President

Botha's hand of friendship offered in the State President's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

Current action by enemies of South Africa operating from neighbour states and backed by the Soviet Union and the African National Congress could not be allowed, said General Malan.

The ANC acted against all inhabitants of South Africa, irrespective of age, sex or colour.

General Malan said South Africa's security forces would take action against these insurgents, no matter where they were.

"I warn the states of the sub-continent that the security forces will take action against our enemies across borders. We will not wait with folded arms until they come over our borders."

Azapo member granted bail in sedition hearing

STAR 11A
5/2/86

Sedition accused Mr Nicodemus Thhoriso Phake (29) was yesterday granted bail of R750 by a Johannesburg magistrate after lengthy legal argument during which the defence counsel criticised the formulation of the charges.

"The allegations which the State relies on to bring a conviction of sedition or treason border on the absurd and should be reason for concern among police and prosecutors," said Mr S Joseph, for the defence.

He was applying for bail for Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) member Mr Phake, as well as for Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm) members Mr Vusi Ben Nko (22), Mr Kenneth Moshe Mampondo (21), Mr Stanley Sekgotyane (21), Mr Ruben Moliki (22), Mr Reginald Maphumulo (24), Mr Gogo David Sosibo (19) and Mr Stephen Menoe (20).

Mr Joseph later withdrew the bail application for the Azasm members, who have all been detained since last July or August.

The accused were not asked to plead to sedition, alternatively treason, public violence, inciting public violence or fomenting feelings of hostility between population groups. Mr Maphumulo, Mr Sosibo and Mr Menoe face an additional charge of public violence.

ARSON

The State alleges the men committed sedition by attending or convening a meeting on behalf of Azapo or Azasm at the Anglican Church in Mohlakeng, Randfontein, on June 16 1984, where they allegedly incited people to commit violence, set buildings alight, "rise and fight" for freedom and not pay rent.

Mr Joseph submitted the Attorney-General had declined to issue a Section 30 certificate, removing the court's discretion to grant bail, because "he did not regard it to be sedition or treason".

The men should have been charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act or with arson, he submitted.

State advocate Mr J Spangenberg opposed bail, saying Mr Phake would interfere with witnesses, most of whom were Azasm members.

Mr Phake replied that he rejected violence. He gave the undertaking not to interfere with witnesses.

The hearing continues today.

Cape Times 5/2/86

Buthelezi considers National Council

JOHANNESBURG. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday he would consider taking part in the State President's planned statutory National Council.

Addressing the 9th Annual International Investment Conference here, Chief Buthelezi commended Mr Botha for "grasping the nettle of constitutional change so boldly with his own hands" and said the fact that Mr Botha would personally chair the council put it at the top of the government's priorities.

He emphasized, however, that the council required certain essential ingredients to succeed.

Although Mr Botha had implied that there would be no pre-conditions, it was vital, he said, that there should be a prepared agenda and that its deliberations should take place in public.

Chief Buthelezi told the conference that a one man-one vote ideal remained his first cherished ideal. It was a workable ideal if it incorporated the Rule of Law, a Bill of Rights and an independent judiciary.

White resistance to this workable model was such, however, that it would have to be "rammed down their throats with the butts of guns", and this would destroy all chance of its working.

Given the degree of violence needed to bring about one man-one vote in a unitary state, he had necessarily to think in terms of alternatives.

Chief Buthelezi said, however, that he utterly rejected the scorched-earth policy. "I do not wish to inherit a country in ashes," he told the 500 industrialists, investors, bankers, and brokers,



many of whom had come from the US, Germany, France, the UK and Switzerland.

He launched an astonishing public attack on the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Tertius My-

burgh, accusing Mr Myburgh of "pontificating", of being "inept" and of making "fatuous statements".

He said Mr Myburgh had "on no single occasion left the luxury of his Johannesburg existence and ventured from his office to come to Ulundi to see me and hear black views at first hand".

He said: "In 1983 Mr Tertius Myburgh said it all for inept white South Africa. He and his newspaper campaigned vigorously for the acceptance of the tri-cameral Parliament as the first step in the right direction. He proclaimed the new con-

stitution to be a vital step in the salvation of our country.

"Now that the new constitution is so patently in need of being scrapped, I fear that the Tertius Myburgh mentality will be as inept at doing the right thing as it was incapable of doing the wrong thing in 1983."

He said that in the latest Sunday Times, Mr Myburgh pontificated about the State President's speech as though he did not pass "blundering opinions" about the State President a few years ago.

He said that in a

national crisis editors such as Mr Myburgh should stop making "fatuous statements" about what blacks should or should not do.

Chief Buthelezi expressed his full support for the free-enterprise system, and pleaded for the international community to give big business in South Africa every possible support as it set about making free enterprise a pertinent factor in the creation of a fair and just country. — Own correspondent and Sapa

● More reports on the conference, page 12

cont Tracks 5/2/86 (110)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Mrs Margaret Thatcher moved swiftly yesterday to calm Tory fears that the first official contact with the ANC meant that Britain was "talking to terrorists".

The Prime Minister assured restive Tory MPs that there had been no change in the British Government's attitude towards political violence.

"We are absolutely against violence as a method of pursuing po-

ANC: Thatcher's views

litical ends," she said.

Questioning Tory MPs were referring to Monday's meeting between a senior British Foreign Office official, Mr John Johnson, and leading members of the ANC executive in Lusaka. The historic meeting, believed to be the first formal and official contact between the British Government and the

ANC since the organization was banned in 1960, has caused a major stir in political circles here.

The move is being interpreted as a prelude to ministerial contact with the ANC once Britain assumes the EEC chairmanship in July.

A Foreign Office spokesman yesterday said that the shift in poli-

cy should be seen against the background of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group (EPG) which is due to make a reconnaissance visit to South Africa within the next fortnight.

It was learnt yesterday that two senior officials of the London-based Commonwealth secretariat have already arrived

in South Africa on an advance mission to pave the way for the reconnaissance visit.

The Foreign Office spokesman said it had been deemed "timely and opportune" to make direct representations to the ANC about the importance Britain attached to the EPG mission. "We needed to tell the ANC that the EPG de-

serves their support."

Mr Donald Anderson, MP, Labour's spokesman on South Africa, said: "I expect that after July 1 ministers will for the first time meet ANC officials, first under an EEC umbrella and later independently."

Up to now both Mrs Thatcher and the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, have insisted that Britain would maintain its policy of "no contact" — official or ministerial — with the ANC until it formally renounced violence.

Mandela's release quashed as rumour

5/2/86 (11A) BUS DAY

STRONG rumours that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela had been released yesterday — ahead of this week's East-West spy swap — were quashed last night by a prisons service spokesman.

However, when asked if Mandela might be released today or in the near future, he said: "The prisons service is not in a position to speculate on hypothetical rumours."

ANC sources said last night that the ANC would issue a statement today.

A spokesman for Mandela's lawyers said talk about Mandela's release was "pure speculation".

Mandela's wife Winnie arrived in Cape Town yesterday morning for a scheduled visit.

Business Day Reporters

Pointers to Mandela's imminent release, which have aroused great interest in Western capitals, include:

□ The release of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky appeared set to go ahead in this week's spy-swap. Reports at the weekend also suggested that his mother, Ida Milgrom, would be allowed to emigrate to the West;

□ West German newspaper *Bild Zeitung's* disclosure that US President Ronald Reagan had instructed envoys to enter negotiations for the release of the other Soviet dissident named by President Botha — Anton Sakharov;

□ Western diplomats were attaching great significance to the silence from Pretoria after the historic meeting last week in Lusaka between British officials and the ANC;

□ Professor H W van der Merwe, the University of Cape Town professor who has been intimately involved in the negotiations surrounding Mandela's release, told the BBC World Service in an interview yesterday that Mandela could be freed "in a matter of months".

Meanwhile *Bild Zeitung* said at the weekend that the names of Simonstown spy Dieter Gerhard and his wife Ruth remained on the list for this week's big spy swap in Berlin.

● See Page 5

Indians may join 'sit-in' at MPs' restaurant

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE possible opening of the members-only dining-room of the House of Assembly to MPs of all races was strongly resisted today by a senior government spokesman.

Meanwhile, there were moves for House of Representatives members of the Labour Party to continue their "sit-in" protest in the dining-room and indications that members of the Indian House of Delegates may join them.

The issue of the dining-room reserved for white MPs is to be discussed next week by Parliament's committee on standing rules and orders, the Speaker, Mr Johan Greeff, confirmed today.

DIGNITY

He said he had told a delegation of Labour MPs yesterday that he was not in favour of demonstrations because this could affect the dignity of Parliament.

He had told them the "proper thing to do" was to bring the matter to the attention of the committee.

For the past two days Labour MPs, including the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who have entered the Assembly members' dining-room have been refused service.

DESEGREGATED

A row last year led to the opening of the general dining-room to MPs of all race groups and their guests.

The desegregated general dining-room is next door.

Labour Party members said that further moves would be considered today.

Mr Hendrick Schoeman, Minister of Transport and Leader of the House of Assembly, said he did not think the dining-room could be opened to all.

It had always been the custom that, like a club, there should be a dining-room for members only where they sat in separate party groups, often to discuss caucus matters.

The general dining-room was
(Turn to Page 3, col 1)

Mandelas on Nobel prize list

111A
BUS DAY 5/2/88

LONDON — Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela and his wife, Winnie, have both been nominated for the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize.

This was disclosed in Oslo at the weekend after a visit to Norway last week by Zenani Dlamini, Mandela's daughter, during which she met the Norwegian prime minister and foreign minister.

It was disclosed that Mandela had been nominated by the Norwegian parliamentary vice-president Reiuls Steen, a former chairman of the Norwegian Labour Party.

Winnie Mandela was nominated by a group of women MPs spanning the ruling Conservative Party, the socialist left and the Labour Party.

Nomination of the Mandelas — individually and jointly — has received the

JOHN BATTERSBY

backing of the powerful Norwegian Trades Union Federation.

Norwegian television published a selection of names at the weekend, taken from the 100-odd nominations, and the Mandelas featured second on the list.

At this stage, they are among about 100 nominees for the coveted peace prize, which has also been won by the Rt Rev Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Johannesburg.

The Nobel committee is expected to decide on a short-list at a meeting later this week.

But in terms of the Nobel convention, the short-list will not be published and judges will merely begin assembling background information on the successful names.

While the Nobel selection process is conducted in strict secrecy, it is understood that the Mandelas — separately and jointly — are considered front-runners for the 1986 award.

Growing expectations that Mandela could be released from prison before the Nobel ceremony in October have served to boost public support for his candidature.

His nomination is expected to spark controversy because of the armed struggle the ANC is waging against the SA government.

Chief Albert Luthuli, a former ANC president, was the last South African to receive the Nobel prize before Tutu, but his presidency came before the ANC turned to an armed struggle.

TWO SHARPLY-CONTRASTING VIEWS

Forget Zambia.

Let's talk in

11A

Henley-on-Klip

HOW nice it would be if some heavyweight businessman was to lead a delegation of his colleagues to a highly visible but off-the-record meeting with the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee (SPCC).

A day spent at Henley-on-Klip might do for the SPCC what last year's trek to Zambia, led by the chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, Mr Gavin Relly, has done for the African National Congress.

Since that meeting on the Luangwa River the ANC has, like the man who wasn't there, become an invisible presence at all talks about negotiations.

Its prestige has soared, and people confidently say things about the ANC that cannot be proved — for example, that no peaceful future is possible without it, or that it doesn't mean what it says when it calls for war, or that it won't really nationalise all the enterprises it says it plans to nationalise. Its leaders sit in Lusaka or London and grow famous.

The Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, on the other hand, has taken the dreadful risks — dreadful in part because of the ANC's campaign to "eliminate" people it dislikes — of persuading black children to return to school. The committee members, says the newspaper the Sowetan, have put their lives on the line.

Agreement to call for a return to school was reached at a meeting in Johannesburg towards the end of December at which a list of demands was presented. One of those demands, for free books, has since been accepted in part by that sensible Deputy Minister, Mr Sam de Beer.

Acceptable basis

Other demands are less easy to meet and some are just silly (the elimination of "capitalist norms of competition and individualism", for example) but the document as a whole is an acceptable basis for negotiation. It offers half a hundred ways to begin a process of reconciliation.

That process can work in both directions. The SPCC wants damaged schools rebuilt, and the Government faces a political problem in its own constituency about rebuilding schools that are likely to be burned down again in March, when school boycotts might be resumed, or in April, when the ANC launches its anti-pass campaign.

Could the SPCC act as intermediary and obtain from teachers and pupils a guarantee that rebuilt schools will not be destroyed again? Alternatively, could the SPCC help to fix priorities so that reconstruction begins where schools are least likely to be destroyed again?

An old complaint, revived in the list of demands, is that some teachers sexually harass their pupils. Surely it is not beyond the wit of officials to discuss with pupils, teachers and parents the ways in which this grievance can be met? And if that process requires an elected students representative council, why not?

The point is that black moderates do exist. They live a precarious life, threatened by militancy on one side and by the security forces on the oth-

ANOTHER VIEW



KEN OWEN

er. In 1977 the Government locked the entire moderate leadership of Soweto into Modderbee prison, and the results are those we have seen in the past 18 months: heightened militancy, destruction of the middle ground, and a resuscitation of the ANC.

Even so, the lemming rush to try to strike deals with the ANC is a curious phenomenon.

The ANC says it plans to nationalise most of the economy and redistribute the land, and its neo-Marxist supporters immediately say that's not true.

The ANC says it wants war, and that it will not suspend its violence for the sake of negotiations, and its pacifist supporters say that's not true.

The ANC orders the assassination of "collaborators" (January 8 1985) and claims credit (October 7 1985) for the killings that follow, and its apologists promptly denounce police brutality.

The ANC says it is fostering ties with other anti-apartheid groups (the opposition, the trade unions, the conscripts, the businessmen) only to isolate "the enemy", and that it will negotiate only the "modalities of the transfer of power"; whereupon the white moderates all cry out for negotiations.

Experts on the ANC say repeatedly there is no middle ground, so the ANC is immediately redefined as the middle ground.

Clearly, we are dealing here with denial mechanisms, a refusal to face facts which arise from desperation.

Middle ground

The desperation is understandable. But middle ground is not found by capitulation to the side that makes the direst threats. Nor does it appear miraculously. The middle ground must be created, and the people who occupy it must be protected and nurtured.

The SPCC is the most recent body of moderates to emerge in the black community. It is not the only one. It is perhaps not even indispensable. But it does have sufficient "clout" in the black community to negotiate a return to school, and it commands extraordinary political skills.

What it lacks is prestige — the kind of prestige that was conferred on the ANC by the talk-fest on the Luangwa Riv-

er, the kind of prestige that protected Alan Paton for so many years while the Vorster government was picking off the liberals around him.

Of course, it's not certain that the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee wants (or could even survive) the benevolent attentions of white society. But it is not the only moderate organisation available. When the merchants of the Eastern Cape were driven to despair by the consumer boycott last year, they quickly enough found moderate black leaders to talk to.

The trade union movement is astonishingly moderate. Unions have on occasion opposed the radical actions of the amorphous but deadly "youth", and they have generally avoided head-on conflict over intractable political issues. They play their cards sensibly.

Climate of opinion

Inkatha, too, is moderate. The people who will not believe the ANC when it says it wants war also will not believe Inkatha when it says it wants peace. But a convention movement that sacrifices Inkatha to please the ANC is postponing its relevance until after the revolution. The time to deal with Inkatha is now.

The list can be lengthened. Some elements of the UDF, the SA Council of Churches, the clergy in general, and Bishop Tutu in particular. The opportunities are legion.

Of course, white moderates cannot pretend to displace the Government in negotiations. To make a constitutional deal you must be able to deliver a constituency, and the white constituency is represented, for good or ill, by the Nationalists.

What moderate whites can do is create a climate of opinion. They can confer status and respectability. They can negotiate on local issues or on limited grievances. They can lobby on behalf of moderate demands. They can shift debate. They can nurture the middle ground.

Mrs Golda Meir, when she was Prime Minister of Israel, used to say, "We do not negotiate with a pistol to our heads."

In South Africa it would be nice if we could at least put as much effort into negotiating with the unarmed moderates as we put into trying to negotiate with those who make their demands by waving AK-47s.

Don't think blacks will trade a horse for a rabbit ...

By ROELF MEYER

Executive Member of the National Convention Movement

NELSON MANDELA's past calls to the Nationalist Government to hand over power, and his pledge to continue the violent struggle is part of our political dilemma.

That dilemma will remain irrespective of whether he is released or not.

The Mandela stand makes sense if one understands it as one view in a polarised situation. It is the reverse side of the apartheid coin.

The apartheid chickens are coming home to roost - violence breeds violence, forceful repression begets forceful resistance, and suppression of the "common good" creates a struggle for the "common good".

But why is Mandela's option in line with the South African reality?

He is reacting in the old style apartheid system where one-sided power politics only allowed "consultation" with the "leaders" of the black "peoples", and where the whites would stay in control of "white" SA.

His logical reaction to that system has been a violent struggle to overthrow violent apartheid.

The introduction of Nationalist reforms would not change the basic apartheid structure.

We all have to face and solve this dilemma of white power and white reform vis-a-vis black power and black change to be able to secure a peaceful future for everybody in SA.

What does a "black power" approach to the situation entail? This is indeed a picture painted in stark colours.

Blacks view the apartheid government as impossible to reform in a meaningful way. Reforms are seen as adjustments to the same system which always served white interests.

Trade-off

The aim seems to be to buy time against crippling boycotts, to alleviate suffering and to create a better picture overseas for conservative governments who wish to support the Nationalist Government.

Even the best possible reforms, according to this argument, cannot change the white government sufficiently for them to truly serve black interests. The white "top" cannot effect meaningful change: this can only come from the "underside" of history, the suffering side of society.

When all is said and done about reform, the bottom line is that the conflict situation between the oppressor and the oppressed cannot be resolved by reform.

This view is substantiated by the Nationalist terms of reform: black citizenship without equal franchise, permanent black communities without equality, and permission for blacks to build their own houses, but in restricted areas for blacks.

This is the reason why many black leaders are not willing to come to the negotiating table. The negotiating game consists of a give-and-take process, a political struggle where the powerful whites wish to trade off one rabbit for one horse. Blacks cannot accept this.

A national convention called by the Nationalist Government is seen to be nothing else than a glorified "consultation" process, a fruitless "bore" from apartheid's past.

The problem is that there is a white "hidden agenda" in the reform process and the Nationalist Government is not willing to disclose its real thinking and plans, if there are any at all.

The recently-formed

National Convention Movement (NCM) promises a new start in changed circumstances.

The situation could be immensely clarified if meetings could take place where blacks could put forward their demands for equal power and equal rights, and if whites would add their demands for minimum "civilised" standards, minority power and security, to the negotiation list.

The bogey looks less frightening when faced in broad daylight. White fears could be taken into account and black power, as seen by whites, could be viewed in the South African context.

The Nationalists should also be invited to this convention, even if only as observers. However, it is of vital importance to start the negotiation process immediately regardless of whether the main parties attend or not.

Whether violence and boycotts will bring fundamental change or not, after the "war" one has to negotiate in any case. Why not start immediately? Here, the NCM is trying to take a bold lead.

The negotiation process should be started in principle.

In SA we have become so accustomed to power politics, violence, regarding people as numbers and cogs in the capitalistic machinery, and insensitivity and inhumanity, that we should start taking people seriously as human beings with flesh, blood, personalities and political aspirations.

Liberation would be bitter and sad if total violence crushes blacks and whites. In principle at least, a new dimension must be introduced and practised in South Africa - real political negotiation.

Whether one likes it or not, if one takes a hard look at the situation, one has to acknowledge that real revolution is a long way off.

Platform

President Botha said that they have only started to flex their power muscles - there is much more police and military force which can be displayed.

Repressive measures will only increase tremendously in a real revolution and many, many people - including the innocent - will die, or be detained, banned or crushed.

On the other hand, real peace is also a long way off. A person who is treated in terms of his race and not as a human being, and who is seen to be only a cog in the system, will never lie down.

Before it is too late and the white government becomes an "immovable object" and the black struggle and boycotts become an "unstoppable force", a real negotiation platform must be created.

It is the only way out of a political win-lose dilemma

into a peaceful win-win situation.

What is of vital importance for a win-win political negotiation process is that the minimum essentials be secured for both sides - for the blacks a free human society in their native land and control over their political destiny; for the whites a safe society where they also control their political destiny.

Alas! This is not possible with a reform process.

The present deadlock is a result of the definition of reform.

The whites feel they would change so far and no further and the blacks feel the basic apartheid structure is still the same.

The whites would dig their heels in and would feel justified with their "reforms" to fight to the bitter end, and if necessary, to go down with the boat.

Alternatives

On the other hand, Mandela and many blacks view the Government as illegitimate and the reformed apartheid system as irrelevant: they would accordingly endeavour to struggle with as much support as possible from the outside world, to the bitter end.

Is there a way out of the dilemma? South Africa has to move from reform to renewal to avoid a catastrophe. This is not semantics.

Political reform means to cause alterations within the present system, to adapt it and to change it to conform to certain needs and demands. But basically it remains the same - as the saying goes: Apartheid Semper Eadem (Apartheid Always Remains The Same).

This is the reason why the same people who supported an unjust and unequal apartheid system (and acknowledge it as such) can move towards reforms of the system. Their white interests are preserved.

Political renewal spells out an alternative system where the old system has been changed in a fundamental way.

The same problems and dilemmas will be faced, but on a different basis: a basis where both parties, the blacks and the whites, would share responsibility of determining their political destiny.

Revolution is not political renewal since it would crash the good with the bad in society. Reform is also not renewal as it would add some good aspects to a bad foundation and structure and would cause people to revolt and let the whole building collapse.

Political renewal would involve starting a negotiation process on the basis of a shared economy, an equal society and a common political goal.

Is this possible in the present situation of virtual total polarisation? Only if a political miracle takes place.

But we can all work and pray for such a breakthrough, a restoration of trust, especially since the concept of "renewal" comes from the Bible where God's miracles, including political miracles, are recorded.



Peace is also a long way off

ANC runs
27 areas,
CP claims

PARLIAMENT — The ANC and the UDF had taken control of 27 townships in the Eastern Cape and the organisations' influence was spreading to other parts of the country, Mr Koos van der Merwe (CP, Jeppe) said yesterday.

Speaking during the No-Confidence Debate, he said the Government should resign. It could no longer guarantee the safety of citizens.

Mr van der Merwe said he was prepared to disclose his sources on the ANC to the Minister of Law and Order.

He said the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, had become powerless. Defence had become the responsibility of "Bombardier" Pik Botha and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The white backlash would destroy President Botha, "a fate from which his new-found wealthy English friends would not save him". — Sapa.

3 die, 76 hurt in fighting
at Western Deep Levels

Three miners have died and a total of 76 have been injured in faction fights at Anglo American's Western Deep Levels gold mine near Carletonville where 4 000 workers refused to work yesterday.

And at another gold mine, Consolidated Modderfontein in Brakpan, a number of miners were bused home after going on strike in solidarity with two members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) who were dismissed.

A spokesman for Anglo American said today that the situation at the Western Deep central hostel had been resolved and the night shift reported for duty last night. A total of 864 Xhosa and Pondo miners had requested permission to return to their homes and management was providing transport for their return today.

FACTION FIGHTING BREAKS OUT

"However at the No 3 hostel faction fighting broke out at about 9.15 pm last night. Two people were killed and 20 injured. This brings the total killed to three and the injured to 76," said the Anglo spokesman.

"Management with the assistance of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is attempting to resolve the differences between factions at the No 3 hostel and to persuade miners to return to work. The situation is tense but under control."

At Consolidated Modderfontein the NUM said 800 workers went on strike during Tuesday night's shift. The strikers were joined by workers on the day shift yesterday morning.

The mine's head office was not able to comment on the dispute and management at the mine could not be contacted last night or this morning.

PETER WALLINGTON

THE African National Congress has not been officially informed that up to 50 of its supporters have been detained in Maseru and are apparently due to be deported to Lusaka.

ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said from Lusaka yesterday that attempts to confirm newspaper reports that about 50 SA refugees, most of them ANC supporters, had been detained at the office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Maseru last weekend had been unsuccessful.

"We did try to find out but received no reply from the Lesotho authorities. Nevertheless, we do expect them to inform us if they intend to deport more people" he said.

According to reports this week, Le-

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ANC still in dark about 50 Lesotho detainees

sotho's new military government detained people at the weekend and told them they were to be deported. Fifty-seven people were deported to Lusaka two weeks ago.

Sebina said it would not make any difference to ANC activity in South Africa if all ANC personnel in SA's neighbouring states were expelled.

"ANC operatives are inside the country, as we have always said, and not in the neighbouring states."

He said SA pressure on neighbour-

ing states to expel ANC personnel had always been there, in different forms.

It had taken raids and the blockade — which culminated in last month's military coup — to attain that objective in Lesotho, Sebina said, and he expected SA to now turn its attention elsewhere.

He said there had already been "rumblings" about Botswana.

The new government of Lesotho would continue to accept genuine SA refugees with the help of the interna-

BUSINESS DAY.

tional community, Military Council chairman Major-General Metsing Lekhanya said in Maseru yesterday.

He was speaking at a ceremony to welcome the United Nations Observer mission, sent by UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar, to monitor the refugee situation in Lesotho since the killing of nine refugees last year.

The delegation, headed by Swede Run Wrangdahl, arrived in the Maseru at the weekend.

Lekhanya said his government was making all efforts to normalise relations with SA.

But, in his first published criticism of SA since he assumed power on January 20, Lekhanya said apartheid was "totally unacceptable" to Lesotho. — Sapa-Reuter.

CAPE TOWN 6/2/86
Boycott a great weapon'

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — The boycott and the strike were the greatest weapons workers had to force change in South Africa, Mr G Munsook (Sol Nominated) said in the no confidence debate.

He said white organizations like the Federated Chamber of Industries and Assocom had "enjoyed the cream" of the country and had promoted whites and foreigners over black people.

However, now that the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions were established, white capitalists realized their days of power were over. — Sapa

CAPE TOWN 6/2/86
New ministers for Indian House soon

Political Reporter

HOUSE OF DELEGATES. — Major changes to the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates are expected to be announced soon.

The changes involve the filling of the post of the former Minister of the Budget, Mr Boetie Abramjee, who was fired by President P W Botha last year, and the possibility that another minister in the House will be replaced.

This follows talks earlier this year between the leader of the opposition Solidarity Party, Dr J N Reddy, and the leader of the ruling

National Peoples' Party (NPP), Mr Amichand Rajbansi, over closer co-operation.

Several Solidarity MPs in favour of the move said co-operation between the two parties will help to block legislation that emphasizes ethnicity.

Post

Dr Reddy is expected to be given the post of Minister of the Budget.

The present Minister of Health Services and Welfare, Dr Murugasen Padayachy, is expected to be replaced by the Solidarity MP for Verulam, Mr Ismail Kathrada.

Treason trial resumes after adjournment

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — The treason trial in the Delmas Circuit Court continues after the hearing adjourned yesterday to allow the defence counsel to take instruction on evidence given by a protected witness.

Mr X, who may not be identified, was giving evidence in camera at the trial of 22 members of the United Democratic Front (UDF), the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

The men, some of whom have been in detention and awaiting trial for up to 17 months, pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason and alternative charges of terrorism, subversion and murder.

During the proceedings, Mr George Bizos SC objected to "leading questions" put to the witness by Mr P B Jacobs, appearing for the State.

MASS MEETING

The court heard that on September 3 1984 a crowd — stretching a distance of about 500 m — left a meeting to march to the Sebokeng Development Board offices.

The meeting, which followed a mass meeting held the previous day, was addressed by vice-chairman of the VCA, Mr Esau Raditsela.

The crowd allegedly received instructions to destroy the property of the police, of councillors and the administration boards.

Mr X said Mr Raditsela told him to control people to walk in the street and not on the pavements.

In reply to a question whether the march stirred spectators, he said people were drawn from their properties to join the march. Some were forced to join, others joined freely, he said.

He said he regarded Mr Raditsela, Mr Simon Tseko Nkodi (25), Mr Hlabeng Sam Motlole (61), Azapo executive member Mr Oupa Hlomuka (32), and Mr Naphtali Mbuti Nkopane (40) as the leaders of the march as they were among those in the front.

Mr Raditsela was wearing a green, yellow and black shirt — "the colours of the ANC," he said.

A group of people separated from the march and damaged a ticket office of the Vaal Transport Company.

Mr X said he did not see Mr Gcinumuzi Petrus Malindi at the scene. He could not testify whether Mr Hlomuka, Mr Mkopane, Mr Nkodi or Mr Matlole knew what was happening.

While watching this incident, he said he heard someone shout: "There's a dog! This is the dog's property!"

A house, belonging to Lekoa town councillor Mr Caesar Motjeane, was besieged with stones. Shots were fired from the house. A man was brought from the house and stabbed, he said.

"Someone told me not to feel sorry for the way the man died — or I may follow him," he said.

He alleged that Mr Malindi and Mr Nkodi were standing near the fence of a neighbouring property during the incident. Mr Hlomuka was sitting on a property, directly opposite the councillor's house, he said.

The march continued to Zone 8, until the crowd was confronted by police.

(Proceeding)

'Residents watched man burning'

Witness tells how crowd killed two

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Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A Sebokeng man yesterday said he had watched a crowd burn a man and stone a local councillor in an incident which led to the death of both men.

Machinery operator Mr Petrus Mokgatla, of Zone 11, Sebokeng, was giving evidence in the Delmas treason trial of 22 prominent members of the United Democratic Front, the Vaal Civic Association and the Azanian People's Organisation.

He testified that his house was across the street from the home of Sebokeng councillor Mr Ceaser Motjeane.

On the morning of September 3 1984 he was awoken by the noise of people running through his property and he saw many people stoning Mr Motjeane's house. Mr Motjeane and his employee, Mr Phineas Matibidi, fired several shots at the crowd with small fire-arms, he said.

Mr Mokgatla said he heard people shouting outside and saw the councillor's house going up in flames.

He heard somebody say a person was being burnt and then he saw Mr

Matibidi was burning. The stoning had stopped and people just watched Mr Matibidi burning, nobody helped him, Mr Mokgatla said.

He also saw Mr Motjeane's body lying about four houses away but did not go any closer.

Mr Mokgatla's evidence was heard in open court.

The 22 treason trialists have pleaded not guilty to all the charges against them, including two alternate counts of murder relating to the deaths of Mr Motjeane and Mr Matibidi.

Counsel representing the State, Mr Paul Fick, yesterday told the court he would apply to make amendments to the indictment, including an allegation that one of the accused instructed members of the Tumahole Youth Congress on how to make and use petrol bombs.

Another of the allegations was that Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekota was seen picking up a stone in an incident in Seisoville, near Kroonstad.

The court has still to decide whether these amendments are to be allowed.

(Proceeding)

Call time 6/2/86
**Family
burned**

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — A mother and her two young children were seriously burned and repeatedly stabbed when their house in KwaNdengezi Township, near Pine-town, was petrol-bombed early yesterday.

Mrs Jane Letsoalo and her two children, Thabisi, 5, and Mthokozisi, 9, were repeatedly stabbed by unidentified people while they were trying to escape. Mthokozisi was thrown back into the flames by the attackers but escaped.

Mrs Letsoalo and Mthokozisi were admitted to King Edward VIII Hospital and Thabisi was treated for burns and discharged at St Mary's Hospital. The spokesman for King Edward said their conditions were satisfactory.

PAC founder to be buried in Lesotho

11A

The Star Bureau
STAR 6/2/86



LONDON — Mr Potlako Leballo, a Pan Africanist Congress founder who died here almost a month ago, will be buried in Lesotho shortly.

His body was flown to Johannesburg on Wednesday and then to Bloemfontein, from where his family will take it to Lesotho.

The funeral in his home town of Mafeteng had been delayed by the coup in Lesotho, said PAC colleague Mr Mike Tsolo.

Mr Leballo was the son of an Anglican clergyman. He served as an army transport driver during World War 2 and later qualified as a teacher.

He became one of the founding fathers of the PAC, later setting up the organisation's exile headquarters in Tanzania and winning it recognition from the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

But, after instigating the expulsion of many PAC followers, Mr Leballo was ousted himself and lived in Ghana for some time before settling in London in 1983 with his two sons.

Theology document a call to murder — MP

PARLIAMENT — The Kairos document on liberation theology signed by general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) Dr Beyers Naude was a call to revolution, murder and even high treason, Mr J W Meiring (NP, Paarl) said in the No-Confidence Debate yesterday.

Mr Meiring said the document, released last year, had been compiled by "seven nameless theologians" and financed by the SACC.

It was undoubtedly the most radical document from the hands of churchmen in South Africa. The problem was that many outside the country saw it as the official view of the church here.

The document made God into a political God and talked of salvation in terms of freedom from political repression, not in terms of "what we know it as", a personal thing, he said.

The Government's reform initiatives were not mentioned in it at all.

The harshest criticism in the Kairos document was of what it called "State theology", citing among other things the "blasphemous use of God's name in the preamble to the new Constitution".

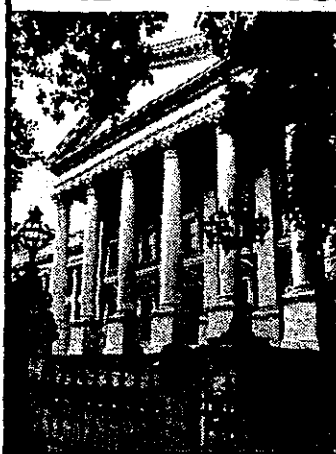
The document, in spite of its advocacy of violence, did however have at least one advantage: it forced people to search their own consciences. "It is so easy to say we were put here in



Mr J W Meiring, National Party MP for Paarl.

South Africa by a higher hand and given a calling, so we do not have to care about others. There must always be a quid pro quo. Every citizen must do all he can to improve relations between races." — Sapa.

PARLIAMENT '86



Committee to settle dining row

PARLIAMENT — A special joint committee of all three Houses of Parliament is to decide if the controversial segregated House of Assembly dining room should be open to MPs of all races.

The Speaker of Parliament, Mr Johan Greeff, convened the joint meeting to prevent the issue being "blown up into something of national and international proportions".

Mr Greeff appealed to MPs to observe the existing arrangements pending the decision of a joint meeting of the committees on Standing Rules and Orders of the three Houses.

He reiterated his claim that the refusal to serve coloured MPs had nothing to do with race or colour. It was designed to ensure privacy for Members of Parliament.

Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the House of Representatives, one of the MPs refused service, rejected the Speaker's statement but added that his caucus had already decided to "stop exerting pressure for our right as Members of Parliament." They had decided to leave it up to other caucuses to decide. — Political Staff.

Solidarity MPs turn on NPP and their own leader

PARLIAMENT — National People's Party (NPP) leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi was scathingly attacked by one of the rebel opposition MPs in the House of Delegates yesterday.

Mr Mamoo Rajab (Solidarity, Springfield) said Mr Rajbansi's apparent inability to do anything about removing apartheid, in spite of being a Cabinet Minister, must make it difficult for him to sleep at night.

Mr Rajab is one of four Solidarity MPs who have brought an interdict against the leader of their party, Mr J N Reddy, in a bid to prevent the proposed NPP-Solidarity coalition.

Mr Rajab said Mr Rajbansi should accept vicarious responsibility for the passing of apartheid laws. He (Mr Rajbansi) sat on the most powerful body in the country with the same Min-

isters who pushed through apartheid legislation, "caring not who was demeaned and who was hurt".

He would be held responsible for the decisions of the Cabinet, and although this perception might be unfair, "we must remember history was never strong on fairness", Mr Rajab said.

Earlier, Mr Gopi Munsook (Solidarity, Nominated) went against Mr Reddy by lambasting the Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI). Mr Reddy had praised the FCI in his speech for adding its voice to the anti-apartheid lobby.

Mr Munsook denounced the FCI and Assocom as white capitalists who had never before worried about the plight of blacks.

"Suddenly everyone who never lifted a finger is on the bandwagon shouting 'change!', he said.

Plan to protect farm workers

PARLIAMENT — The Labour Party is to introduce legislation this session to protect farm workers and domestic servants who have no union protection.

The party announced this after the Minister of Manpower, Mr Piet du Plessis, said that no new legislation on this matter was planned for this session.

"The Minister of Manpower must make it clear that he is speaking of behalf of the National Party, and not of Parliament in general and the Labour Party in particular," a spokesman said in a statement.

"Our farm workers have been continually overworked, underpaid and abused and the old tot system is still very much in use."

Mr Petrus Meyer (LP, Vredendal) told the House that neither farm workers nor domestics were defined as workers under the Manpower Act. — Political Staff.

THE State President, Mr P W Botha's proposals for gradual change in South Africa have been rejected by some black political organisations.

Opening Parliament on January 31, Mr Botha said: "We have outgrown the outdated colonial system of paternalism as well as the outdated concept of apartheid."

Convenor of the National Forum, Mr Saths Cooper, said: "No amount of reform can remove the hurt and the real grievances black people have suffered at the hands of a privileged few."

He said apartheid should be dismantled.

"Conditions should be created for maximum democratic participation. No organisation or individual should be banned and there should be a free flow of ideas and information," Mr Cooper said.

Mr Azar Cachalia, of the United Democratic Front, said: "We do not want a gradual dismantling of apartheid. If the system has to go it must be totally abolished."

'Onslaught'

"The UDF's fundamental response is that the planned statutory National Council is the brainchild of apartheid and we reject it the same way as the tricameral Parliament and the Black Local Authorities Act."

Mr Cachalia said the UDF would prepare a "full onslaught" against the proposed council.

"If Mr Botha is to create a climate for real change it is fundamental that he unbans the African National Congress and lifts the state of emergency," he said.

Beliefs

The president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, said: "The current parliamentary session should work on a common voter's roll. They should talk about universal suffrage and not fob us off with claims of granting one-man-one-vote-while power is still exclusive to whites."

Mr Pandelani Nefo-

Blacks say no to slow death of apartheid

11A
6/2/86
SOWETAN

FOCUS

By THEMBA MOLEFE

lovhodwe, co-ordinator of the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions, said his organisation could not specify any suggestions to Parliament because it would be contrary to their beliefs.

"We cannot reform a capitalist system because we want its total overhaul and demand the transfer of power and to the rightful owners."

Mr Tamsanqa Kam-bule, Soweto educationist and leader, says the



MR COOPER

Government should "just say all laws promulgated to entrench apartheid have forthwith been removed and see how much jubilation that statement will create.

"Despite all Mr Botha's intentions blacks are still worse off and their position has not changed because it is the



MR P W BOTHA . . . proposals for gradual change rejected.

whites who sit in Parliament and make decisions."

KwaZulu leader and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, however, has hailed the planned national statutory council as a positive move in which he would consider participating.

He commended Mr Botha's "courage in grasping the nettle of constitutional change so boldly with his own hands".

Agenda

Chief Buthelezi said there should be an agenda with declared intentions and that deliberations should take place in public.

The vice-president of the Urban Councils As-

sociation of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, said the formation of the statutory National Council should be set into motion soon.

Mr Boya said the State President must be seen to be scrapping influx control and that legislation should be passed regarding ownership of land.

Mr Boya also called for the release of Nelson Mandela. "He must be freed unconditionally and allowed to move freely in Soweto. He also said the Government should unban the ANC."

The end of apartheid, it seems, is not just the end of segregation but should be the end of political domination as well.

Refugees — (11A)

ABOUT 16 Pan Africanist Congress refugees, including two widows and five children, were expelled from the Kingdom of Lesotho.

One of them is the widow of Mr Thami Zani, who was killed by Lesotho security forces with five other people last year.

The PAC of Azania Observer Mission to the United Nations (UN) has appealed to the international community to grant political asylum to refugees deported from Lesotho.

A spokesman for the organisations said they had sent an urgent message to the UN general secretary, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, appealing to him to intervene with the Lesotho authorities so that the refugees were not deported to South Africa.

The Lesotho government recently deported about 60 activists of the African National Congress (ANC) to Lusaka.

The PAC spokesman said the Frontline States should not be expected to shoulder the responsibility of accepting refugees alone, but other countries should also

PAC ^{Soweto} 3/2/86 makes a plea

help.

The spokesman said the same appeal had been sent to the chairman of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and to the UN Commissioner for Refugees.

The African group has called on the Security Council of the UN to meet urgently to consider the threat South Africa was posing to its neighbours and the plight of refugees.

Meanwhile the PAC has welcomed the establishment of the anti-apartheid centre outside the South African Embassy in Canberra, Australia, at the weekend.

The anti-apartheid centre was established by the Canberra-based Soweto Mobilisation Committee (SMC) and the Trade and Labour Council of Australia (TLC) and was named "Southern Africa Liberation Centre".

RUS DAY (11/17)

No flowers for Mandela

A SOCIALIST fact-finding mission from the European Parliament was unable to deliver a bunch of carnations, the symbol of "peace and hope," to jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

6/2/81
Members of the mission said at a Press conference in Cape Town on Tuesday night that they would recommend to the European Parliament that more sanctions should be imposed against SA.

They left yesterday for Lusaka to join a similar mission that has spent the past few days in SWA. — Sapa.

Howe defends British talks with ANC

LONDON — The British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, has said Britain's policy reversal in meeting leaders of the African National Congress was aimed at getting them to renounce violence.

Sir Geoffrey was reacting this week to members of his Conservative Party who said the meeting in Lusaka between the ANC leaders and Foreign Office official Mr John Johnson departed from previous British policy, which was to boycott the ANC because it advocated violence to bring about change in South Africa.

On BBC radio, Sir Geoffrey said Britain had been almost alone among western countries in refusing contact with the ANC.

He said: "We thought this was the right time to take the opportunity to get across to them the case against violence, of underlining to them the importance of the Commonwealth initiative (in solving the South African crisis) and securing their support for that initiative."

He added: "We thought it was the right move to make at this time. I have no doubt we should be doing everything we possibly can to bring apartheid to an end because no one wants to uphold the system, but to achieve that conclusion of apartheid by peaceful means."

Sir Geoffrey had been in Lusaka attending the meeting between representatives of European Economic Community countries and Southern Africa Frontline states. — Sapa-Associated Press.

6/2/86

UVA
BUS DAY

Stop violence plea to ANC



● HOWE

LONDON — Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said yesterday Britain's policy reversal in meeting leaders of the ANC was aimed at getting them to renounce violence.

He was reacting to Conservative Party colleagues who said the meeting in Lusaka, between ANC leaders and Foreign Office official John Johnson, departed from British policy, which was to boycott the ANC because it advocated violence to bring about change in South Africa.

In a BBC radio interview, Howe said: "We thought this was the right time to take the opportunity to get across to them the case against violence, of underlining to them the importance of the Commonwealth initiative (on solving the South African crisis) and securing their support for that initiative." — Sapa-AP.

CAPE TIMES 7/2/86 (111)

Cosatu concerned by attacks

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The recent spate of violence unleashed against the newly-formed Congress of South African Trade Unions was cause for concern, senior Cosatu officials said yesterday.

In a statement, Cosatu's general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, and executive member Mr Alec Erwin, said officials of two Cosatu affiliates in Newcastle and Vryheid had their homes

burned down while officials at the Cosatu offices in Newcastle had received death threats.

They refuted allegations that Cosatu was a front for the ANC saying all decisions are based on mandates received from their membership.

"But as Cosatu, we believe that we cannot separate the struggle for worker rights in the factory floor from the broader struggle for freedom," they said.

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swamped by municipalities to the north, but will find favour with those on the council (including town planning chairman Clive Keegan) who believe in the larger areas for benefits from economies of scale.

Sources at the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning say final sizes could shrink after representations are heard on the proposals. "We decided to advertise wide, but we can still demarcate narrow," noted a department official, who maintained the reverse would be impractical.

The proposed Cape metropole RSC comprises the Divisional Councils of the Cape, Stellenbosch, Paarl and Swartland. The RSC for the Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Humansdorp area is made up of the Divisional Councils of Dias, Winterhoek and Humansdorp.

The areas presumably meet the requirements of Schedule 1 of the RSC Act, which stipulates that economic interdependence, development potential and the nature of services rendered in the area should constitute the most important criteria for boundaries.

Representations on the demarcations are called for by February 28. If past experience is anything to go by, red tape will probably tie up the matter for some time.

But perhaps even more daunting is the obstacle of black political opposition to the new dispensation. Inevitably, as Natal University's Lawrence Schlemmer points out, government opponents perceive the further institutionalisation of group areas and separate local authorities in the RSCs' make-up, as thinly disguised apartheid.

Some no doubt fear the credibility boost the new structures could give to establishment orientated black leaders; and others suspect that the claimed goal of devolution of authority is secondary to real power still vested in the hands of central government.

Black local authorities (BLAs), Schlemmer adds, have manifest problems of political acceptance. The success of RSCs will depend largely upon BLAs being able to deliver the goods.

According to Schlemmer, the new RSCs should consult as widely as possible among the various interest groups and communities on the kind of local government they want. The RSCs should approach their own future with as open an agenda as possible, he advises.

11A [redacted] FM

NELSON MANDELA

7/2/86

Letting him go

By means of legerdemain which does not seem to have taxed the meanest intelligences around the world, the modality for the release of African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela (67) appears to have been engineered in the nick of time.

The suggestion of linking the release of Soviet dissidents — one of whom carries vital nuclear data in his head — to the release of Mandela and a South African "recce"

seemed so outrageous at the time that foreign papers called it a "stunt" and a "gimmick." Which, upon sober appraisal, it clearly is. But little in the sombre, shadowy world of espionage — and the Byzantine intrigue that accompanies efforts to rectify its blunders — makes sense to ordinary people.

The offer had some odd side-effects. Said the *New York Times*: "He surely didn't intend it, but South Africa's President P W Botha now grants at least some resemblance between his and the Soviet Union's taking of political prisoners."

But there clearly is a genuine desire in the Cabinet to let Mandela go. Inside knowledge (provided by the US State Department) that a complicated exchange of dissidents and spies was on the cards, did offer an opportunity to extend a release proposal unrelated to government's previous offer that the taking of freedom by Mandela would be conditional upon his repudiation of violence for political ends. The latter, for Mandela, must have been the easiest offer imaginable to refuse.

Botha's latest offer, if that is what it is, rewrites the ground rules. If government now feels that Mandela should be released on humanitarian grounds, having served more than "life," then there is little the ANC or Mandela himself can do to avert such a humane gesture.

There may well be more to it, such as the lingering doubts about Mandela's health despite the favourable bill of health delivered

7/2/86
LABOUR LAWS FM

Notwithstanding internal opposition and international condemnation, the homelands system — long the backbone of grand apartheid — apparently becomes more entrenched by the day. The fact that KwaNdebele will become the fifth "independent national state" sometime this year seems proof enough of this.

The result, as time passes, is that the legislation applying in the various homelands is significantly different to that in SA itself. But keeping track of what has happened is no easy task. That is why employers and trade unionists alike will find a comprehensive new study which analyses the labour agreements and laws in the homelands and SA an invaluable guide.

The report, "Some aspects of labour relationships between the Republic of SA and Neighbouring States" is by Alan Whiteside of Natal University's Economics Research Unit. It was commissioned by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and is the first in a series on manpower issues. A second report by Whiteside will look at the problems arising from these differences.

Inquiries should be directed to the HSRC in Pretoria.

by surgeons who attended him in the Volks-hospitaal in Cape Town. The potential terror and violence implicit in the reaction to his death in captivity by far outweighs the potential for mischief that would be wrought after he were told to leave prison a free man.

So, looking around for a *deus ex machina*, it may have seemed a good idea to create some form of linkage between Mandela's release and the advanced negotiations between the US, East Germany, West Germany and the Soviet Union to secure the freedom of Shcharansky at least.

Secret talks

Information that agreement in principle had been reached in the case of Shcharansky appears to have reached the South Africans just in time for Botha to have made such a confident offer when he opened Parliament last week.

On January 21, the *International Herald Tribune*, quoting a highly placed German Chancellery official, reported secret talks between the US and the Soviet Union on the release of the Soviet dissidents.

These were apparently a resumption of negotiations which had started before the Reagan-Gorbachev summit of November 29-30. In fact, the West German newspaper *Bild* had claimed at the beginning of November that Gorbachev would "give a signal" on the release of the dissidents if the summit was a success. *Bild* also reported that it would be part of a package, with the US releasing Soviet spies. So too would West Germany.

Maybe this is what Chester Crocker told the South Africans when he was here recently.

PASS LAWS [redacted] FM
Up in smoke 7/2/86

Government has announced that SA's pass laws, in terms of which some 238 000 blacks were arrested in 1984 alone, are to be scrapped by July 1.

Whether President Botha's commitment will pre-empt a Congress of SA Trade Unions threat to launch a mass burning of the *dompas* in June remains to be seen.

Doubts persist, however, whether the dismantling of the pass law-influx control system will, in fact, take place by July 1. There are also doubts whether the mooted new common identity document will not represent some form of racial control.

The African National Congress (ANC) has, perhaps predictably, maintained that the pass laws will be replaced by another type of identity card to continue restricting the movements of black people in urban areas.

A sceptical Bishop Desmond Tutu says it is "nothing to crow about," and to black people it will just be a "*dompas*" by another name.

Details of precisely how the pass system is

Cape Times 7/2/86
UWC a 'nest of Marxists'

Political Reporter

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. — The University of the Western Cape (UWC) was a "nest of Marxist opportunists", the Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

During the last day of this week's no-confidence debate in the House of Representatives, Mr Hendrickse referred to a pamphlet allegedly distributed on the UWC campus which urged people to "take up

arms" against "collaborators".

"One of the elements of a university is freedom of speech. That (UWC) is no longer a university," he said.

He also criticized previously exclusive white universities for failing to put into practice their option of freely admitting students of other race groups since the abolition of the quota system.

He cited the example of the University of Port Elizabeth (UPE) where only 15 students of other

race groups had been accepted from a total of 250.

● A move to automatically expel black technikon students who participated in academic boycotts has been watered down by a parliamentary select committee.

The registration of a student may still be cancelled "if he by utterance or other action refuses to participate in the prescribed educational programme and activities" or if he is absent from those activi-

ties without the approval of the rector or someone authorized by him.

But the student may not be expelled until he has been afforded "an opportunity to present his side of the case".

The original bill provided for the automatic expulsion of students who participated in boycotts. However, amendments have been accepted providing for students to present their views to technikon councils before their registrations are cancelled.

(11A.) (2) ARCU 7/2/86
Winnie married a cause'

The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — Winnie Mandela has told Woman Magazine that she knowingly "married a cause rather than a man".

She says: "I have never really known what it is to be married. I am the most unmarried married woman."

Nelson, she says, "was always busy with meetings. I felt I had no claim on him as a member of the family. I knew he was the people's leader. His country had more access to him than I ever had."

Mrs Mandela — widely acknowledged in Europe as having assumed the mantle of her famous husband — also speaks of the 40-minute, once-a-month

meetings she has with her husband as a source of inspiration.

"I always leave those visits re-charged," she says. "He exudes such warmth. He has such a formidable presence — and it has increased over the years — that just being with him makes you feel liberated. He gives you such indescribable confidence — he builds your soul."

She says: "I have grown up without him. Yet when I see him I feel exactly the same as when I first met him."

After an attack on the people she sees as having "bled our country dry" and stripped people of their rights, she said she felt "too small" to take on Mandela's mantle.



The Rev Allan Hendrickse ... dignity affronted

Dr Alex Boraine ... govt can't wish away ANC

come talks 7/2/86

'Govt cannot ignore ANC'

11A

Political Correspondent
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.
— The government could not simply ignore or wish away the ANC if it hoped for a negotiated solution to South Africa's future, Dr Alex Boraine (PEP Pinelands) warned yesterday.

Speaking during the no-confidence debate, Dr Boraine said that there was no point in the government negotiating only with moderates or those black leaders who agreed with it. "Negotiation has to also take place with those who you are diametrically opposed to and for this reason the government simply cannot ignore or wish away the ANC.

"I am prepared to say here and now that this government will have to negotiate with the ANC — and it will be sooner rather later," Dr Boraine said.

There were those within the National Party and perhaps within the Cabinet who believed this, he added.

Dr Boraine said it was inconsistent for the government to condemn the PFP for calling for the ANC to be unbanned so that negotiations could take place on the one hand but proceed with the release of the ANC leader on the other.

No point

"There is no point in releasing him if you don't also permit him to organize freely.

"If you are going to deal with Mandela, you are going to have to deal with the ANC, who, according to every survey, enjoys very wide support throughout South Africa.

"Don't play games. Release him and get on with the politics of negotiations," Dr Boraine said.

(H) (H) ARCU 7/2/86

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CARE Trans 7/2/86

11A



Talks on freeing Mandela

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, said yesterday that South Africa had already contacted other governments about the possible release of imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, and further discussions "might not even be necessary" before he was freed from jail.

Mr Botha said this depended on the release of Soviet dissidents Anatoly Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov, and of Captain Wynand du Toit, held in Angola since an unsuccessful raid on oil installations last year.

The State President, Mr P W Botha, opened

parliament last Friday by suggesting in a speech that interested governments negotiate the release of the Soviets, Captain Du Toit and Mr Mandela together, on humanitarian grounds.

Soon after Mr Botha's speech, press reports from Europe suggested Shcharansky would be included in an expected exchange of spies between East and West.

Mr Mandela, 67, has served 22 years of a life

sentence for plotting against the government as head of the guerilla wing of the ANC.

Government spokesmen have increasingly pictured the government as seeking a formula to release Mr Mandela, who remains a major symbol of the black campaign for equality.

"If he dies in jail, he gains eternal political life," a member of the National Party said recently.

Mr Pik Botha said the South African Communist Party is "against Mandela's release" — suggesting that the party's exiled leaders believed Mr Mandela was more valuable to their cause in jail than out.

If Captain Du Toit, Shcharansky and Sakharov were released, there would be "a basis for discussions (by interested governments) with this government" on Mr Mandela's freedom, Mr

Botha said.

He said the talks could cover the time and place that Mr Mandela would be freed.

"It might not even be necessary to have further discussions, depending on the circumstances of their release," Mr Botha said.

He also said that the South African and Dutch governments had reached a stalemate over Mr Klaas de Jonge, the Dutch citizen who has

taken refuge in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria since last June following his arrest on charges of smuggling arms from Zimbabwe for the ANC. But "wait a few weeks, there might be new developments", Mr Botha said.

Mr De Jonge was recaptured by police on Dutch Embassy property during an escape attempt, but was returned to the embassy after a

Dutch protest. South Africa has insisted that the Dutch are obliged to hand Mr de Jonge back to face trial.

"We believe he should be handed over. The government of the Netherlands has a duty in international law," Mr Botha said. "The South African Government has fully complied with international law. We sincerely feel that the Dutch Government has not.

"There is an impasse but that does not mean there might not be new developments." — Sapa-AP

Come to grips with the ANC PFP

11A
12/16
ANTHONY JOHNSON
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

— Government cannot ignore nor wish away the ANC if it hopes for a negotiated solution to South Africa's future, said Alex Boraine (PFP Pinelands).

He added in yesterday's no confidence debate there was no point in government negotiating with those who "cannot deliver".

It was not enough for government to negotiate only with moderates or those black leaders in agreement with it.

"Negotiation has also to take place with those you are diametrically opposed to. For this reason government simply cannot ignore or wish away the ANC.

"I don't want to take on the mantle of a prophet, but I am prepared to say here and now this government will have to negotiate with the ANC, as well as with others, and it will be sooner rather than later."

There were those within the NP who believed this, he said.

Boraine said it was inconsistent of government to condemn the PFP for calling for the ANC to be unbanned so that negotiations could take place, on the one hand, and to proceed with the release of Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, on the other.

"Don't play games. Release him and get on with the politics of negotiations," Boraine said.

CAC 7/2/86
Coetsee
explains
Mandela
offer

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY
— The State President's suggestion that Mr Nelson Mandela might be freed on humanitarian grounds was a broadening of his earlier standpoint that prisoners who rejected violence might be released; the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in the no-confidence debate yesterday.

He said the offer made last year had applied to prisoners who had already served a long time and who indicated a willingness to take part in the constitutional processes of the country.

A number had taken up Mr P W Botha's offer and had been released.

Now, with the State President's speech at the opening of Parliament, humanitarian considerations were also to be taken into account.

The release could be effected on medical grounds or on the length of sentence.

'Credibility'

Mr Coetsee also said attempts to criticize the police and the defence force were an attack on the credibility of the law and the judiciary.

The opposition and the PFP in particular should realize that Parliament was still the most important agent for orderly reform in the country, but "we can not do our job if there are noises from that side trying to take us to pieces".

The judiciary was given its authority by the State, but at the same time there was an obligation on the government to keep the police and defence force healthy to enforce the law and maintain its credibility.

The opposition had asked for a definition of the apartheid that the State President had said in his opening speech was "outdated".

"Our party's stance is that racial discrimination and exploitation, or apartheid as the outside world calls it, is not on our agenda," he said.

In place of that outdated policy the president had outlined a number of standpoints on social and economic matters.

UDF official beaten up

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The UDF secretary for the Natal Midlands was released on R500 bail here yesterday after having been abducted, beaten up, and then handed over to the police this week.

According to a spokesman at Edendale Hospital, Mr Skumbuzo Ngwenya, 28, was admitted to the hospital on Thursday night with facial lacerations and discharged yesterday.

A UDF spokesman said two men abducted Mr Ngwenya at gunpoint on Thursday and after they had assaulted him, they took the UDF official to a police station and laid a charge of public violence against him.

Mr Ngwenya was not asked to plead when he appeared in a Maritzburg Magistrate's Court. He will appear in court again on March 7.

Mandela rumours dismissed

CAM Times 8/2/86
114

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress (ANC) last night dismissed speculation that Mr Nelson Mandela is to be released from prison and flown to Lusaka this weekend.

A spokesman for the organization, Mr Tom Sebina, said they would find it "totally unacceptable" if the South African Government were to release Mr Mandela into exile.

Reacting to reports from Lusaka that ANC sources said Mr Mandela would be released at the weekend, Mr Sebina said he had no idea where these rumours were emanating from.

He said it had always been unacceptable to the ANC and to Mr Mandela that he should be released with preconditions.

John Battersby reports from London that hopes for the early release of Mr Mandela rose sharply amid renewed speculation in Western capitals yesterday.

But there was also intense interest in President P.W. Botha's public reprimand for his Foreign Minister over a statement that South Africa could have a black president at the

end of the negotiating process which President Botha had now initiated.

The Foreign Minister's statement had resulted in the most favourable press South Africa has had here for some months.

Pointers

Political and diplomatic circles were also abuzz with news of the resignation of the leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert.

Other pointers that the release of Mr Mandela was imminent:

- Western diplomats were attaching great significance yesterday to the silence from Pretoria following the historic meeting on Monday in Lusaka between British officials and members of the ANC.

- There was speculation in British business and banking circles that Mr Mandela could be released ahead of the crucial February 20 meeting of foreign creditors in London to discuss the rescheduling of South Africa's foreign debt.

- The remarks of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that Mr Mandela's release was possible "even without further discussion" were also a source of great interest.

Cosatu union action a step further

11A By Mike Siluma

The quest by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to phase out general unions and replace them with strong industrial unions will soon be taken a step further with the rationalisation of unions in the food and transport industries.

The first merger, set for March, is expected to see the emergence of a new food union giant formed by the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union (SFAWU), the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU) and the Cape Town-based Retail and Allied Workers' Union (RAWU). Between them they have a membership of nearly 50 000.

A SFAWU spokesman said a joint national executive council meeting of SFAWU and FCWU would be held this weekend to decide, among other things, the venue and date for the formation of the union.

He said the RAWU was also taking part in the talks and was expected to join the new union.

Shortly after that a new union for the transport and general sector will be formed.

STAR 8/2/88
With a launch set for mid-May the new union, to be called the Transport and General Workers' Union, would incorporate the 10 000-strong General Workers' Union (GWU) and the 11 000-member Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU).

A TGWU spokesman said preparations for the launch of the new union were advanced and an inaugural congress would be held in Maritzburg.

Merger talks with other unions in the transport and general sectors were continuing.

Talks are believed to be taking place among unions in the other sectors in accordance with a resolution taken by Cosatu's inaugural congress in Durban in December directing Cosatu affiliates to establish one union for each sector.

The sectors are food and drink; textiles, clothing and leather; paper, wood and printing; mining and electrical energy; metal, motor and components; chemical and petroleum; commercial and catering; transport, cleaning and security; local government and public administration and domestic workers.

Mandela offer slated by STAR Assocom

The State President's announcement on the release of Nelson Mandelabears all the marks of an unsatisfactory compromise reached after behind-the-scenes wrangling.

This is the view of Mr Raymond Parsons, executive director of Association of Chambers of Commerce (Assocom). "There was obviously a great difference of opinion on the release of Mandela," he said.

Mr Parsons was participating in a panel discussion on President Botha's speech organised by the Graduate School of Business Association.

Other participants in the debate, which was chaired by Professor John Barratt, director of the South African Institute of International Affairs, were Mr Douglas Gibson, Transvaal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, and Mr Roland Horst of the National Party. Dr Nthato Motlana was unable to attend.

All participants agreed that President Botha had moved forward somewhat since his "Rubicon" speech last year.

"From a petulant and defiant Botha of last year, we heard a speech which was couched in the rhetoric of reform," said Mr Gibson.

What Mr Botha's reforms actually meant still remained to be seen, he added.

Professor Barrat said the speech would not go down well with the anti-apartheid lobby in Congress.

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Kikline

General PJ Coetzee said the later stage. - Sapa He says police hit him They were met by more ed by Advocate S Joseph. | ondlie near Cala.

Praise for cop

CP Correspondent
 DURBAN'S deputy security police chief was buried with full military honours this week.

Colonel Robert Welman died late last week from burn wounds he suffered in the double bomb blast at a Jacobs electricity substation in January.

He was critically injured when a second limpet mine detonated as he was investigating an earlier blast. The second explosion started a fire and his clothes were burnt off his body.

The Jacobs blasts were the first in a series of "double bombs" - labelled "booby traps" by cops - to hit Durban.

E Tvl councillor accused of killing youth

By SELLO SERIPE

A KWAZENELE councillor has been blamed for shooting two kids in the past three weeks - one of whom has died.

The councillor - whose name is being withheld - allegedly fatally wounded the first youth, Dumisane Zwane, on January 25.

This week, at Zwane's funeral, the councillor allegedly shot a second youth, Sibanyoni Boyana, 18, critically wounding him.

According to lawyer Phineas Mojapelo, the same councillor was responsible for both shootings.

Cops confirmed that a youth was wounded when the councillor opened fire on a group of youths allegedly attacked his house.

The recent shootings in the Eastern Transvaal township follow protests over service charges and rent.

The protests started on January 16, when town manager A Pieterse called a public meeting to discuss rent, electricity and other service charges.

The meeting ended in deadlock when residents walked out.

"This was followed by stone-throwing incidents and community leader Zabeth Ntshalintshali and four other residents were detained," Mojapelo told CITY PRESS.

"The homes of councillors and policemen were stoned."

Teach on the beach

CP Correspondent

A DURBAN City Councillor wants the KwaZulu government to help "educate Zulus on beach rules".

Philip Kairuz said the council must act quickly to ensure good race relations on the beaches in future.

Among his suggestions is that the city police force be expanded and issued with loudhailers to "advise and control crowds in an orderly way".

He proposed an "education program" with signs in the "three main languages" warning about the penalties for indecent exposure and other "unacceptable behaviour".

Evicted 3 000 take Ciskei to Supreme Court

CITYP 9/2/86

IN a case similar to the Ingwavuma row, 3 000 Kuni squatters are battling the Ciskei government in court over their forcible eviction last week.

Ciskei soldiers and cops removed them from an area where the Ciskei president is chief of the Kambashe tribal authority.

Yesterday the validity of the Ciskei government's action was tested in the Ciskei Supreme Court.

Squatters' lawyer Dudley van Heerden said his clients had asked the court to order that the Ciskei government immediately restore them at Kuni Village. The squatters want an interdict restraining the homeland from evicting them.

Lawyer David Gordon - who successfully fought the Ingwavuma case in Natal - will fight for the return of the Kuni villagers to their original home.

The Ciskei government evicted the squatters on allegations that they threatened the lives of residents in the Kambashe tribal authority.

Some of the squatters are being resettled temporarily.

★ MDANTSANE Residents' Association treasurer Norman Sibewu was detained by Ciskei security cops this week.

MRA publicity secretary M Ndzungu said cops arrested Sibewu at his NUS house on Monday afternoon. Cops have not confirmed his detention. - Veritas News Agency.

Armed guards on the buses?

PRETORIA mayor Dr Pieter Kruger has backed the presence of armed guards on Pretoria's municipal buses.

He pointed out that the armed guards had been placed on the buses on a trial basis. Several city councillors believe the step is in preparation for possible ANC onslaughts on

"soft targets".

Commenting on a report that the council was placing guards on some buses, Kruger admitted there was currently no need for this, because there was "no large-scale urban terrorism in South Africa".

"It's a pity that trials of this nature are deemed necessary, though," Kruger

said. "But we'd rather be safe than sorry. One should make arrangements in time, as far as possible, as loss of life of school children may be concerned."

He added that armed guards among school children and other passengers should be highly trained.

Herstigte Nasionale Party chief whip in the Pretoria

CITYP 9/2/86

City Council Joseph Chiole said it was clear the authorities expected ANC onslaughts on soft targets.

Unrest was spilling over to white areas as a result of the Government's unwillingness to take strong action against "black agitators", he said.

The HNP agreed that white commuters had to be

protected, but Chiole said the Government should never have allowed the situation to develop this far.

The placing of armed guards on municipal buses follows another local campaign to have schools protected against possible attacks. A petition was circulated in Pretoria recently urging security measures.

Plane sailing to Ulundi ...

CP Correspondent

A REGULAR weekly air service is to be established between KwaZulu capital Ulundi and Durban.

Five return trips a week will be run by the National Airways Corporation and the KwaZulu Finance Corporation at a cost of R150 a return ticket.

THE unofficial opposition in South Africa is literally taking its struggle to the streets.

Street committees have been set up in the Eastern Cape in opposition to the ban on all other forms of meetings.

Port Elizabeth community leader Mkhuseleli Jack told City Press this type of organisation is intended to lay the basis for a new South Africa - one where the future is decided by all.

And it's also become clear where the support lies - the town council in Port Elizabeth as well as in Uitenhage has collapsed. Only ten out of 21 members are still councillors. And because there is no quorum, the council in Port Elizabeth has virtually come to a standstill.

The new move is gaining ground especially in the embattled Eastern Cape cities and towns where intensified repression following the State of Emergency has taken its toll.

Jack - who addressed a plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference in Pretoria last week - said street committees have been formed as the first step towards replacing official administrative structures like the Black Town Councils.

"We are now preparing ourselves for a post-apartheid society based on a non-racial municipality and elected on a one-man, one-vote basis," said Jack.

The idea of street committees was first devised by jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela in 1953 and was generally known as the M-Plan.

Mandela anticipated the banning of "liberation" organisations and devised this multi-tiered system - from households upwards - in the townships. Cops quickly suppressed the system, but it persisted longer in Port Elizabeth.

Jack said the new street committees emerged as a groundswell of resistance in other Eastern Cape towns like Cradock, Uitenhage, Queenstown as well as in East London following the mass detention of leaders under state of emergency regulations. More leaders were detained in the Eastern Cape than in any other area in the country.

The man who re-introduced the idea of street and zone committees was slain Cradock community leader Mathew Goniwe.

people what Cradock stood for and what it hoped to achieve. Meetings were held in each area to elect officials and each household could vote for their street representative. This resulted in the mass resignation in November 1984 of all Lingsihle Town Council members.

The street committees are very effective in Port Elizabeth, especially because of the SADF raids in the areas and the curfew, Jack said.

"The street and area committees are addressing specific problems arising from our situation. The consumer boycott of white businesses was conceived at such a meeting and it lasted for four months," said Jack.

"At the moment we are tackling the presence of cops in the area and the education problem. The rent issue will be discussed soon," he said.

Leaders were also continually being harassed, killed and others like the three Peboo leaders - Siphon Hashe, Qaqawuli Godelozi and Champion Gadelozi - have disappeared without a trace.

With the street committees it takes only a few hours to announce a meeting or the death of a member, Jack said.

A Wits University politics lecturer Mark Swilling, who last year spent some time in the Eastern Cape, said the street committee structures have particular advantages for organising in the current climate.

"They can withstand most forms of repression. Street representatives can be low-profiled and would be protected by the people on the street. If the street representative is detained, the street can appoint a new one.

"There would always be leaders to take over leadership responsibilities," he said.

Swilling also said street committees provided a structure for training.

"I see the street and area committees as the basis of the people's power. They represent the alternative form of self government that the people are demanding.

"They are what the Freedom Charter - which was adopted in Kliptown in 1955 - calls democratic organs of self government," Swilling said.



CITY P. Mono Badela

9/2/86

Before his assassination, Goniwe used to say "democracy for the people in Lingsihle should not be a vision of the future or an abstract ideal. It should be something real, something to give ordinary people the power to bring about changes."

The introduction of the committees paid dividends, especially when Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange detained Goniwe and other community leaders and banned all political meetings on March 30, 1984. Two organisations survived the onslaught - the Cradock Residents Association and the Cradock Women's Organisation. These organisations continued to function long after Goniwe's death. Lingsihle, which has about 17 000 residents, was divided into seven zones. About 40 activists were assigned to these different areas and were responsible for holding meetings in each zone.

Activists went from street to street and house to house explaining to the

CIT-1 P 7/2/86

E Cape nine on ANC (UA) charges

NINE Mlungisi community and student leaders have been charged with being members of the banned African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, as well as subversion, "terrorism" and murder.

The men have been in detention for several months. They were not asked to plead and no evidence was led. Their case was postponed to February 18.

The men are Andile Sishuba, Vusumzi Mjila, Mawethu Hoho, Linda Sishuba, Mandla Nopokola, Mbulezi Songelwa, Mxolisi Oliphant, Luyanda Sondlo and David Lolwane.

Mlungisi resident Ntozelizwe Tom has also been charged with terrorism.

Tom has been refused bail. His case was postponed to February 18. - Veritas News Agency.

Teller 'banked on ANC'

CP Reporter

AN Umtata bank official claims he stole more than R15 000 from his bank - to "stop the ANC killing me".

Vuyisile Lenford Mgcwaba told the Umtata Magistrate's Court the ANC had threatened to kill him - and he felt the only way to stop them was to pay them R15 000.

But the magistrate rejected his claim, and jailed him for eight years.

Mgcwaba claimed he joined the ANC while attached to the bank's headquarters in Pretoria, and held a "top position" until 1981 when he returned to the Transkei.

"I wrote to the ANC announcing my resignation. Last year I received a reply from Thabo Mbeki saying my resignation was half-accepted.

"The letter said that as I worked at the bank, I should pay R30 000 'ransom' to be pardoned. I only managed to raise R15 000."

Magistrate R Mickelsfield rejected his story, saying it was "very strange" that he'd only been asked for a ransom four years after leaving the ANC.

CAPL Times 10/2/86 11A

Inkatha, Cosatu in verbal battle

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The simmering conflict between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Inkatha intensified at the weekend with both sides launching verbal blasts at one another.

The general secretary of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo, accused Inkatha of violent attacks on union members in Natal and said several worker leaders had received death threats.

And in a statement from Ulundi, the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the declared policy of the president of Cosatu, Mr Elijah Barayi, was that of the "external mission of the African National Congress" (ANC).

He said: "The imposition of a socialist future on South Africa after liberation, the rejection of the free enterprise system, the support for disinvestment and sanctions are clearly espoused by those who are surrogates of the external mission of the ANC in South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said he was unaware of any violence against members of Cosatu.

Cosatu held its first central executive committee meeting at the weekend behind closed doors and a crucial policy statement was expected to emerge from it.

In an interview Mr Naidoo criticized Inkatha's "acts and threats of violence" against its members and Inkatha's attempts to set up a rival federation of "sweetheart" unions with the help of employers.

Inkatha was also severely criticized for participating in the KwaZulu Government and the homeland system.

Chief Buthelezi said that in KwaZulu they had always fought for trade unions and legislation governing labour disputes was the same as in the rest of South Africa.

"We are not against workers involving themselves in the liberation struggle as the black struggle is one.

"But we do take strong exception to Inkatha members in the trade unions being carried willy-nilly on Mr Elijah Bayari's back for handing over to the South African Congress of Trade Unions and automatically to the external mission of the ANC," he said.

CAPE TIMES 10/2/76

ANC hails Slabbert's decision

Staff Reporter

DR Van Zyl Slabbert's decision to resign from Parliament was hailed by the African National Congress at the weekend as an act of vision.

Dr Slabbert's courage, honesty and loyalty to a common South African nationhood were praised as they had led him to abandon a privileged political position.

A statement released in Lusaka referred to Dr Slabbert as a "new Voortrekker" and said his action would be acclaimed by millions of people of all races.

The ANC also reiterated its willingness to negotiate, while also repeating its commitment to continue to fight for an end to apartheid.



Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, with Dr Allan Boesak, United Democratic Front patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, at D F Malan Airport yesterday afternoon.

R.K.W. 10/2/86 *(11A)* *(Signature)*

100 gather at Pollsmoor gates for release of Mandela

Staff Reporter

ABOUT 100 well-wishers and political figures gathered at the gates of Pollsmoor Prison yesterday in anticipation of the release of jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Rumour was fuelled by the arrival of Mrs Winnie Mandela in Cape Town for the third visit to her husband in 10 days and continuing speculation linking Mr Mandela's release to that of two Soviet dissidents.

Mrs Mandela, accompanied by city lawyer Mr Essa Moosa, was met after her 40-minute visit by Dr Allan Boesak, United Democratic Front patron

and president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Dr Boesak told reporters Mrs Mandela was paying a routine visit to her husband and there had been no official word from the Government concerning Mr Mandela's release.

Mrs Mandela gave a brief Press conference at D F Malan Airport but she may not be quoted.

BLACK SASH

Dr Boesak told reporters that the Government could not continue to hold Mr Mandela "much longer".

"P W Botha will have to do something to offset the incredi-

bly bad impression he created last week when he made the choice to continue with apartheid.

"He is maybe hoping that Mr Mandela's release will get the attention of the world."

Among prominent figures at Pollsmoor were city advocate Mr Dulla Omar, Mrs Dot Clemenshaw of the Black Sash, UDF official Mr Joe Marks and Mr Eddie Daniels, who spent 15 years in jail with Mr Mandela on Robben Island.

"I have come to see my friend and welcome him home," said Mr Daniels.

He did not think Mr Mandela would accept release into exile.



Congressmen pressure Reagan over Mandela

The Star Bureau

11A STAR 10/2/86

WASHINGTON — Twenty-two members of Congress have called on President Reagan to urge the South African Government to release African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela unconditionally.

Such a release, the congressmen said, would signal a readiness to start meaningful political negotiations with the black majority.

The members of the House of Representatives believe also that Pretoria's recognition of the ANC as a legitimate representative of black South Africans would contribute to this signal.

Mr Geo Crockett, a Michigan Democrat, introduced a resolution with 21 co-sponsors to press President Reagan on the matter.

Mr Crockett, a member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, noted that the Reagan Administration had supported the release of Mandela.

The State Department and its head, Mr George Shultz, have repeatedly called for Mandela's release and for talks between the South African Government and the ANC.

The Crockett resolution was introduced in the House late last week with 17 members of the Congressional Black Caucus supporting it.

Crowd waits for Mandela's release

CAPE TOWN — About 100 well-wishers and political figures gathered at the gates of Pollsmoor Prison yesterday in anticipation of the release of the jailed African Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

Rumour was fuelled by the arrival of Mrs Winnie Mandela for the third visit to her husband in 10 days, and continuing speculation linking Mandela's release to that of two Soviet dissidents.

Mrs Mandela was met after her 40-minute visit by Dr Allan Boesak who told reporters she was paying a "routine" visit.

The Government could not continue to hold Mandela much longer, he said. "P W Botha will have to do something to offset the incredibly bad impression he created this week when he made the choice to continue with apartheid." — Own Correspondent.

...als camp near Immerpan in Lebowa. ...rts of the Moutse region for this life at

(11A) ~~SECRET~~ 10/2/86 SOWETAN

Cosatu under fire

THE Confederation of South African Trade Unions was accused of "political poaching" yesterday by the president of Inkatha and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a statement from Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi said that Inkatha took "strong exception to Inkatha members in the trade unions being carried on Mr Elijah Bayari's back for handing over to Sactu (the South African Council of Trade Unions) and automatically to the external mission of the ANC.

"This is undemocratic, as our members have come to us to complain about this. It is political poaching," he said.

He said that what Mr Bayari declared as the policy of Cosatu "is the policy of the external mission of ANC".



CHIEF BUTHELEZI

On the subject of advocating disinvestment, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha found it "callous and insensitive for people who are working in factories to advocate a policy which will result in our people suffering

more joblessness than they are already suffering from because of the downturn in the economy."

Chief Buthelezi said he was "unaware of any violence against members of Cosatu and we take strong exception to the suggestion by Cosatu that we are in any way involved in any violence against Cosatu members".

He said Cosatu's leadership must be "very careful" in trying to attribute whatever violence their members have suffered to Inkatha.

"We agree with Cosatu that the South African Government has "had a hand in the mismanagement of the economy in South Africa, a fact I have repeated as president of Inkatha in a number of public speeches," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

Cosatu, Inkatha in word war

DISPATCH
10/2/85

Transvaal Bureau

JOHANNESBURG — The simmering conflict between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Inkatha intensified at the weekend with both sides launching verbal blasts at one another.

The general secretary of Cosatu, Mr Jay Naidoo, accused Inkatha of violent attacks on union members in Natal and said several worker leaders had received death threats.

In a statement from Ulundi, the president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said the declared policy of the president of Cosatu, Mr Elijah Barayi, was that of the "external mission of the African National Congress."

He said: "The imposition of a socialist future on South Africa after liberation, the rejection of the free enterprise system, the support for disinvestment and sanctions are clearly espoused by those who are surrogates of the external mission of the ANC in South Africa."

Chief Buthelezi said he was unaware of any violence against members of Cosatu.

Cosatu held its first central executive committee meeting at the weekend behind closed doors and a crucial policy statement was expected to emerge from it.

In an interview Mr Naidoo criticised Inkatha's "acts and threats of violence" against its members and Inkatha's attempts to set up a rival federation of "sweetheart" unions with the help of employers.

"Workers are optimistic that Inkatha will fail in its attempts to divide the working class," Mr Naidoo said.

(11A) (115A) 10/21/86 SOWETAN

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"We agree with Cosatu that the South African Government has "had a hand in the mismanagement of the economy in South Africa, a fact I have repeated as president of Inkatha in a number of public speeches," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa.

Winnie's visit starts rumours

SPECULATION over the release of the jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, peaked once again when his wife Winnie visited him at Pollsmoor Prison yesterday.

A large contingent of foreign Press men yesterday waited in vain outside the prison as conflicting reports from western capitals suggested that Mandela would be released as part of an east-west spy swop.

^{SOWETAN}
Before meeting her husband, Mrs Mandela also briefly met Mr Moni Malhotra, an official from the Commonwealth Secretariat at a Cape Town hotel. Mr Malhotra is here as part of an advance party to set up meetings between various South African groups and members of the visiting commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) who are expected in the next few days.

Appeal to UN on 6 in death cell

THE Pan Africanist Congress has appealed to the security council of the United Nations to help save the lives of six Sharpeville residents who were sentenced to death last year for killing a councillor.

The six are Theresa Ramashamula, Moja-lefa Reginald Sefatsa, Oupa Moses Diniso, Reid Malebu Mokoena, Duma Joshua Khumalo and Francis Don Mkgesi.

They were convicted and sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court for allegedly killing Mr Jacob Khuzwayo Dlamini, former deputy mayor of Sharpeville, during disturbances in 1984.

At a security council meeting held at the weekend to consider the "situation in South Africa," the P.A.C. said: "Over the past two decades more than 100 P.A.C. members have been executed."

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Mandela free soon — lawyer

CAP TITLES 10/2/86
114
Political Reporter

MRS Winnie Mandela paid a lightning visit to her husband in Pollsmoor Prison yesterday, fuelling the growing speculation that the African National Congress leader imprisoned for life will be released soon.

Mrs Mandela, on her third visit to her husband in 10 days, was accompanied by the family's Cape Town lawyer, Mr Essa Moosa, and United Democratic Front patron and head of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak.

Mr Moosa told reporters Mr Nelson Mandela would be released soon.

However, the family's lawyers in Johannesburg said that Mrs Mandela knew "nothing about a release" of her husband or the reported government plans to let him live in exile in Zambia.

Mrs Mandela cannot be quoted.

Sources close to the Mandela family said the ANC statement on Friday that Mr Mandela would be freed at the weekend might have been premature, but they said the 67-year-old leader would be freed soon.

The ANC has dismissed speculation that Mr Mandela will go into exile.

The Sunday newspaper Rapport said Mr Mandela's family might not be informed of plans to release him.

Before meeting her husband, Mrs Mandela also briefly met Mr Moni Malhotra, an official of the Commonwealth Secretariat, at a City hotel.

Mr Malhotra is here as part of an advance party to set up meetings between various South African groups and members of the visiting Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) who are expected here in the next few days.

Elsewhere 35c

Seven die as black-on-black violence sweeps through PE

MASSACRE

100 keep watch at Pollsmoor

ABOUT 100 well-wishers and political figures gathered at the gates of Pollsmoor Prison on Sunday in anticipation of the release of jailed African Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

Rumour was fuelled by the arrival of Mrs Winnie Mandela in Cape Town for the third visit to her husband in 10 days and continuing speculation linking Mandela's release to that of two Soviet dissidents.

Mrs Mandela, accompanied by lawyer Mr Essa Moosa, was met after her 40-minute visit by Dr Allan Boesak, United Democratic Front patron and president of the World Alliance of Reformed churches.

Dr Boesak told reporters Mrs Mandela was paying a "routine" visit to her husband and there had been no official word from the government concerning Mandela's release.

Mrs Mandela gave a brief news conference at the D F Malan Airport, but she may not be quoted.

Dr Boesak told reporters the government could not continue to hold Mandela "much longer".

"P W Botha will have to do something to offset the incredibly bad impression he created this week when he



WINNIE MANDELA ... went into prison.

made the choice to continue with apartheid."

Among prominent figures at Pollsmoor were advocate Mr Dulla Omar, Mrs Dot Clemenshaw of the Black Sash, UDF offi-

cial Mr Joe Marks and Mr Eddie Daniels who spent 15 years in jail with Mandela on Robben Island.

"I have come to see my friend and welcome him home," said Mr Daniels. — Sapa.

FIVE people — believed to be members of the Azanian National Youth Union — were hacked to death and their bodies set alight as black-on-black violence swept through Port Elizabeth's townships yesterday morning.

The charred bodies with smouldering tyres around them, were found in the shanty town of Soweto. Four of the "necklace" victims were found together, while the fifth was a little distance away.

All had their hands and feet bound with thin wire and tyres thrown around their bodies. Additional tyres had been thrown on four to make a pyre.

Worst

Eastern Cape police PRO Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen said this was the worst mass murder of its kind seen in the region. He said two people were killed last Saturday when a group of United Democratic Front activists attacked several homes in the area. "As for the discovery of the five charred bodies, we don't know if UDF supporters were involved," he said.

Several people were reportedly admitted with stab wounds to the local Livingstone Hospital after armed men attacked homes of political activists in the area over the weekend.

A number of Azanyu members are said to be

SOWETAN Correspondent

missing from their homes while others have fled the area.

The area's death toll since last Saturday stands at seven, according to the Eastern Cape police.

All the seven are believed to be members of the Azanyu, which is to

inaugurate a branch in the area on February 28. The news of the launch is believed to have triggered the violence.

The SOWETAN could only establish the names of two of the dead.

They are Mr Mlungisi Speelman (25) of 812

Yoyo Street in Zwide, and Mr Zamuzolo Malangani (16) of 27 Dikana Street, also in Zwide.

Police have not yet established the identity of five others. Azanyu believes the five may be some of their members who went missing from their homes on Saturday afternoon.

SOWETAN 11/2/86

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49c



The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes.
- (2) No, but it stands to reason that the broadcasts are aimed at all residents of the Republic who can understand Afrikaans.
- (3) Yes—the broadcasts are being monitored by the Overseas Service of the SABC.
- (4) Yes—transcriptions of these broadcasts are made available to the Security authorities.
- (5) No, not at this moment.

Klaas de Jonge

*9. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:†

- (1) Whether his Department has incurred any expenditure in connection with Mr Klaas de Jonge, who is hiding in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria; if so, (a) what did the expenditure amount to and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished;
- (2) whether the negotiations with the Dutch Government in connection with Mr De Jonge have been completed; if so, with what result; if not, what is the present position;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS:

- (1) No, not directly with regard to Mr De Jonge himself. Naturally expenditures were incurred in respect of the travel expenses of officials who had negotiations with representatives of the Government of the Netherlands. When matters such as these arise they revolve in the first place not around the relevant individual who created the problem, but around the

different points of view that may arise between the South African Government and a Foreign Government. This is an everyday occurrence in international affairs. Travel expenses are currently being incurred in respect of officials involved in resolving a dispute between the South African Government and another government in such a manner that South Africa's interests will not be harmed. The expenses incurred are not in respect of Mr De Jonge but in respect of South Africa's interests.

- (2) No. Although in the search for a solution to the De Jonge case understanding has been reached between the Governments of the Netherlands and South Africa on several points, there still exists a difference in their points of view on certain aspects.
- (3) No, not at this time.

†Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, could he tell us whether this is his personal opinion or that of the Government?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, naturally it is the Government's opinion.

Klaas de Jonge

*10. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

Whether his Department has incurred any expenditure in connection with Mr Klaas de Jonge, who is hiding in the Dutch Embassy in Pretoria; if so, what total amount had been spent in this regard on (a) salaries and allowances and (b) other expenses as at the latest date for which figures are available?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

Yes.

- (a) Police salaries and allowances are not

determined by specific tasks. These tasks are performed in the normal course of their duties.

- (b) The security wire which was furnished on the scene was not specially bought for that purpose and is reclaimable. X

Vaal Dam

*11. Mr F J LE ROUX asked the Minister of Water Affairs:†

- (1) What are the feeder sources of the Vaal Dam;
- (2) whether it is the intention to supplement the water supply of the Vaal Dam; if so, what steps are contemplated in this regard;
- (3) whether consideration is being given to reinforcing the main barrage of the Vaal Dam; if so why;
- (4) whether there are high evaporation losses of water from the Vaal Dam; if so, (a) why and (b) to what extent;
- (5) whether consideration is being given to keeping the percentage of water in this dam at a lower level; if so, what steps are contemplated in this regard?

†The MINISTER OF WATER AFFAIRS:

- (1) The Vaal and Wilge Rivers are the natural and main feeder sources, but the Vaal Dam is supplemented by water from the Tugela River via the Sterkfontein Dam.
- (2) Yes. Supplementation from the Tugela River already takes place and the rate of transfer is being increased. The Usutu-Vaal (Phase II) and the Slang River Government Water Schemes are being implemented to further supplement the water supply. Other supplementary schemes are still being investigated.

- (3) No. The raising of the dam wall is presently being completed and in the process the wall had to be strengthened.

- (4) Yes.

(a) Evaporation from all free water surfaces is a natural process and the flat basin characteristics, which gives a large water surface at high water levels, increase evaporation losses.

(b) The next average annual evaporation is approximately 742 mm.

- (5) Yes. All supplementary feeder sources can be and are regulated. Due to physical limitations, however, a certain percentage has to be maintained.

Renamo

*12. Mr C W EGLIN asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) Whether, with reference to his reply to Question No 29, standing over, on 14 May 1985, during the investigation into support or sympathy for Renamo among members or employees of the South African Defence Force certain persons, whose names have been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, were questioned and/or investigated; if so, (a) what are their names, (b) when were they questioned and/or investigated, (c) what were the findings in each case and (d) what action was taken as a result; if not, why not;
- (2) whether he has ordered or will order an investigation into the allegiances of these persons; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) Whether, since the signing of the Nkomati Accord, any member of the South African Government has visited a certain organisation in Mozambique, the name of which has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, what is the name of this organization;
- (2) Whether he (a) was informed or (b) had prior knowledge of any member of the Government planning such visits; if not, (i) why not and (ii) when did he first hear of these visits; if so,
- (3) (a)(i) when and (ii) by whom was he so informed, (b) who was involved in these visits and (c) what was the nature of the information furnished to him concerning these visits;
- (4) whether any South African Defence Force (a) personnel and (b) equipment was involved in these visits; if so, (i) on whose orders, (ii) what specified (aa) personnel and (bb) equipment and (iii) what was the nature of this involvement;
- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) to (5) I have already stated in my speech on 4 February this year in this House that the hon the Deputy Minister of Information, in his then capacity as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and the South African Chairman of the Joint Security Committee, which was established in terms of the Nkomati Accord, was not responsible to me for his actions in connection with the implementation of the said Accord. With regard to this task, he had Government approval and the full support of the SA Defence Force in the execution thereof. He exercised his own discretion in the use of the means which the SA Defence Force could place at his disposal.

Messina: landmine explosion

*4. Dr W J Snyman asked the Minister of Defence:†

- (1) Whether, with regard to the landmine explosion in the Messina district on or about 15 December 1985, the South African Defence Force was responsible for the transportation of the injured persons to the Pietersburg hospital; if not, who was responsible; if so, how long after the explosion did the injured persons reach this hospital;
- (2) whether the injured persons were transported to hospital by helicopter; if not, (a) why not and (b) in what manner were they transported?

†The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) The evacuation of civilian casualties as a result of enemy action is the responsibility of the appropriate civilian infrastructure, e.g. the local ambulance service, civil defence organisation, etc. In emergencies, such as in this case, where the SA Defence Force was first on the scene with the means to evacuate the casualties, the task is undertaken by them. It is the policy of the SA Defence Force to render all the assistance it can at accidents, disasters, etc, to save human life or relieve suffering, irrespective of whose responsibility it is. Concerning the case in question the injured were admitted to the Messina Mine Hospital about 2 hours and 45 minutes after the incident and about 4 hours later to the Pietersburg Hospital.
- (2) No.
- (a) There was no suitable helicopter available in the vicinity at that time.
- (b) The injured persons were transported from the place of the incident by mine resistant ambulance to Messina Mine Hospital

and from there to Pietersburg Hospital by an ambulance aircraft of the SA Air Force.

Northern Transvaal: acts of terrorism

*5. Dr W J Snyman asked the Minister of Defence:†

- (1) Whether the recent acts of terrorism in the Northern Transvaal were initiated from bases outside the borders of the Republic; if so,
- (2) Whether the South African Defence Force has any information regarding the location of these bases; if so,
- (3) whether the Defence Force is considering taking any steps in this regard; if not, why not;
- (4) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

- (1) Investigations undertaken and information received indicate that the deeds of terror were in fact initiated from outside the RSA.
- (2) and (3) It will be unwise to divulge information which the SA Defence Force may have at its disposal or steps being contemplated in this regard. It can only benefit our enemies. I, therefore, wish to refer the hon member to what I have said in my speech on 4 February this year in this House about terrorist actions from our neighbouring countries and to my standpoint on the need-to-know-principle, as stated in my statement at question number 2 of today.

(4) No.

Mamelodi: march
*6. Mr P G Soal asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether members of the South African Police were present during a

march in Mamelodi on or about 21 November 1985; if so, (a) when were the police first informed of the proposed march, (b) what steps were taken by the police in preparation for this march, (c) what specified equipment was issued to members of the Police Force on duty in the vicinity of the march and (d) what was the rank of each of the officers in charge of these policemen;

- (2) whether the marchers were stopped by the police at a certain bridge in the Mamelodi area prior to reaching the local administration offices; if so, where is this bridge situated;
- (3) whether an agreement was reached between these policemen and the marchers; if so, what was this agreement;
- (4) whether the march proceeded to the administration offices; if not, why not; if so,
- (5) whether any order to disperse was given to the marchers; if not, why not; if so, (a) when and (b) by what means was the order to disperse given;
- (6) whether any tear-gas or tear-smoke was fired at the marchers; if so, when;
- (7) whether the police opened fire on the marchers; if so, (a) why, (b) from where, (c) who gave the order to open fire and (d) how long after the tear-gas or tear-smoke had been fired was the order given;
- (8) whether any persons were (a) killed and (b) injured as a result of police action on this occasion; if so, how many in each case;
- (9) whether an investigation has been held into this incident; if not, why not; if so, (a)(i) what was the nature and (ii) who was in charge of the investigation and (b) what were the findings;

Tutu beats Mandela as ^{11A} choice for leader — survey

cent) were the next most popular leaders," the survey found.

"No one else had support from more than 2 percent, while 17 percent said that no person represents black interests and a further 28 percent either had no opinion or were not prepared to commit themselves."

Asked which political party, group or organisation they particularly liked or disliked, only four out of every 10 people mentioned a party.

"Among the rank and file black community, the UDF (12 percent), ANC (10 percent) and Inkatha (8 percent) are liked the most.

Concerning negative responses, "not surprisingly, the National Party is the organisation liked least (10 percent), but both the UDF and Inkatha (each 6 percent) have a fairly high negative response.

"Azapo (4 percent) and Cosas (3 percent) have more people disliking than liking them.

"Overall, then, among those blacks who express opinions about political parties, the ANC and UDF are the two parties with some support."

Inkatha man's challenge to Cosatu leaders

Labour Reporter

TWO key officials of the Congress of South African Trade Unions have been accused by Inkatha of trying to hijack the trade union movement and have been challenged to a debate at all factories and mines.

The challenge was issued by Mr Simon Conco, KwaZulu MP and member of the Inkatha central committee in charge of labour relations, to Cosatu president Elijah Barayi and general secretary Jay Naidoo.

Mr Conco was responding to allegations by Cosatu against Inkatha for creating divisions in the worker movements.

Inkatha had never attempted to start separate unions linked to 'divisive homeland structures'. It had always opposed the South African Government's homeland policies and had refused to accept independence for KwaZulu.

It was therefore a complete misrepresentation for these officials to imply that Inkatha supported the homelands policy.

Inkatha had no quarrel with Cosatu members, thousands of whom were members or supporters of Inkatha.

Inkatha's differences lay with only a small coterie which was trying 'to hijack Cosatu to their own narrow outlook'.

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BADVA

Five charred bodies found

Business Day Reporter and Sapa

THE charred bodies of five men, believed to be victims of necklace (burning tyres around the necks) killings, were found in Port Elizabeth's Soweto township yesterday.

All had their hands and feet bound with thin wire and they had tyres on their bodies. Additional tyres had been thrown on them apparently to make a pyre.

It has been suggested the killings were executions arising from disputes between warring political organisations.

Scores of police using tracker dogs yesterday searched the shacklands of Umbumbulu, near Durban, for the killers of Constables J C Dladla, T A Mthembu and T A Ngcamu, who were shot and hacked to death by a mob on Sunday.

The policemen's four companions escaped — with one wounded in the back — by running 24km to safety.

Divisional CID Officer for Port Natal Brigadier John van der Westhuizen visited the scene of the shooting yesterday and said his men would continue the search until the killers were found.

The seven policemen had gone to Umbumbulu reserve to investigate reports that fighting had broken out between two factions.

An impi of at least 500, armed with home-made guns, assegais and pangas, attacked them.

Police report that countrywide incidents of arson and violence since Sunday evening left one killed, three wounded, three policemen injured and 56 people arrested.

At Kwadabeka, near Durban, a man was burnt and killed by a mob.

A school in Potsdam, near East London, was burned down early yesterday.

TUESDAY 11/2/86

(11A)

UK countdown to Mandela release

LONDON — All the serious national newspapers in London carried prominent reports yesterday of Winnie Mandela's visit to her husband, imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The general line taken in the reports was "when" — not "if" — Mandela would be released.

The conservative *Daily Telegraph* said the SA government's great fear was that Mandela, who received hospital treatment last year, could die in jail as a martyr.

MARGARET SMITH

Their report says that Winnie, while in Cape Town at the weekend for her prison visit, met Moni Malhoutra, an official from the Commonwealth Secretariat in London, who is visiting SA. He is helping to arrange the mission by the "Eminent Persons Group", which was established at the Commonwealth Conference in Nassau last year.

The Times's front-page report says that rumours have been circu-

lating recently that Mandela might be flown to Lusaka, headquarters of the ANC. But it is thought unlikely that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda would agree to such a plan against the wishes of the ANC and Mandela himself.

Both *The Guardian* and the *Financial Times* carry reports of Winnie's prison visit in their coverage of SA affairs.

□ Leicester Council has renamed its recreation grounds Nelson Mandela Park.

ARGUS 11/2/86

IRA ~~20/2/86~~

APPOINTMENTS

Dismay as Opposition MPs get key posts

Parliamentary Staff

CONFUSION and dismay surround the dismissal of Indian Health Minister Dr MS Padayachy and the elevation of two "opposition" MPs to key posts in the House of Delegates Ministers' Council.

In a highly unusual development, the Leader of the Opposition Solidarity Party, Mr JN Reddy, became the new Minister of the Budget, while the Solidarity MP for Verulam, Mr Ismael Kathrada, replaced Dr Padayachy of the National People's Party as Minister of Health Services and Welfare.

The reshuffle was announced by President PW Botha in a statement late yesterday.

However, a "surprised" Dr Padayachy said he had learnt of his dismissal while watching the 7pm television news at home yesterday.

He said although he had been aware of speculation that Mr Kathrada was a possible con-



Mr JN Reddy

tender for his post, he had not been told officially of the move.

Dr Padayachy said shortly after watching the news bulletin that he was "surprised and disappointed in the manner in which it was done".

He felt he had become a "sacrificial lamb" for the NPP-Solidarity coalition bid — which still hangs in the balance pending the outcome of an interdict by four rebel Solidarity MPs opposed to the move.



Mr Ismael Kathrada

"How can they (Mr Reddy and Mr Kathrada) remain members of the Opposition while serving on the Ministers' Council?" asked Dr Padayachy, who now takes a R30 000 drop in salary.

REJECTED

He is the second member of Mr Amichand Rajbansi's Ministers' Council to be axed in four months. Mr Boetie Abramjee was sacked as Minister of the Budget by President Botha last

November for divulging confidential information about the Mossel Bay gas-to-oil synthetic fuel plant.

Mr Rajbansi rejected Dr Padayachy's claim that he had not been told of his dismissal.

"He was made aware in a discussion with the State President last week," Mr Rajbansi said.

Mr Reddy scotched suggestions that he was to declare himself an independent in order to be installed as Minister of the Budget.

"I will remain a member of Solidarity," he said.

Asked how he could remain Leader of the Opposition while serving on the Ministers' Council, Mr Reddy said he could not comment as the matter was sub judice.

Mr Kathrada, who said he was "delighted" with his appointment, echoed his party leader's pledge to remain in Solidarity.

THE 500 000-strong Congress of SA Trade Unions is planning a national anti-pass law campaign this year.

Union officials told a Press conference, after the Cosatu central executive committee met at the weekend for the first time, that the three-month-old federation was committed to ending passes and all forms of influx control.

And Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo told reporters the 85 delegates - representing 33 unions - had decided at the weekend meeting in Soweto that the campaign would go ahead despite President PW Botha's "Rubicon II" announcement that, from July 1, black South Africans would not have to carry passes.

He said Botha's announcement of a uniform ID document for all races did not change the fact that black people's movements would still be restricted - influx control had been institutionalised through the homeland system and the system of labour bureaux for recruiting workers.

"Pass laws, influx control and other apartheid laws are interlinked," he said.

Full details of the campaign - first mentioned by Cosatu president Elijah Barayi at the Durban rally marking the federation's launch - will be given as soon as union leaders have had time to discuss it. "A specific anti-pass law program of action is to be devised by the executive soon," said Naidoo.

Rubicon II: 'No thanks'

A statement released at the Press conference said Botha "cannot be entrusted with the task of dismantling a system of national oppression and economic exploitation", and that "Rubicon II" clearly indicated this. "Only a complete and immediate dismantling of apartheid, the release of our authentic leaders and the unbanning of the authentic organisations of the oppressed majority will create the climate for a democratic SA," the statement said.

It rejected the proposed national statutory council as a "fraudulent attempt to white minority rule", and said anyone who agreed to serve on the council would be "party to the domination of the majority in SA".

Cosatu and Inkatha

Turning to Natal, and Cosatu's troubled links with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, union officials condemned attacks on Cosatu's Natal leadership, accusing supporters of Inkatha of responsibility.

They warned that the use of violence would eventually prove to be counter-productive.

Their warning came as Inkatha's Buthelezi strongly denied Inkatha involvement in the attacks.

Cosatu also criticised the planned establishment of an alternative union federation by elements in Inkatha - slamming it as "a move designed to undermine the unity of the working class in the face of massive attacks by the apartheid Government, big business and other enemies of the working class who would use tribalism and racism to divide the workers".

Cosatu takes on dompas laws



Feb. 1986
11A



Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and president Elijah Barayi.

- Remembers June 16
- Warns Inkatha
- Slams mine sackings

where there will be no starvation and hunger, where there will be no malnutrition and kwashiorkor, where there is proper housing, medical care and free education."

They said free enterprise had never given the oppressed people anything, and had denied them basic human rights.

"So Cosatu demands a society where the wealth that is being created by the working class should be used to benefit all SA."

● Buthelezi said at the weekend that he was unaware of any violence against members of Cosatu and took "strong exception" to allegations that Inkatha was involved in violence against the federation.

He warned the Cosatu leadership to be "very careful" when blaming Inkatha for violence against their members. "We agree with Cosatu that the Government has had a hand in the mismanagement of the economy in SA," he said.

"It is a fact I have repeated, as president of Inkatha, in a number of public speeches."

Farmworkers' union

Cosatu also resolved to work towards setting up a farmworkers' union - condemning the Government's continued refusal to allow farmworkers to legally organise themselves into unions, and "the situation of semi-slavery under which the majority of farmworkers live and work".

The federation also committed itself to organising SA's estimated 7-million unemployed - officials have been instructed to make contact with all groups organising the unemployed, and to convene a special meeting of all interested groups to plan the formation of an unemployed workers' union.

Cosatu believes that the unemployed in South Africa have been used by employers and the Government as a bulwark against the struggles of organised labour". It believes that setting up of an unemployed workers' union would strengthen the unity of all workers.

The Soweto meeting also agreed to help establish a union in the building industry, where thousands of workers are not organised.

'Free Saawu trialists'

The federation also demanded that treason charges against the SA Allied Workers' Union leaders in Maritzburg be dropped.

It noted that managers of certain companies are testifying against "our comrades on trial" - a fact which delegates will take back to their membership for discussion.

★ On the sacking of 23 000 mineworkers from Gencor

unions set to unite

MERGER talks between three major emergent motor and metal unions are going well, a SA Council of International Metal Workers spokesman revealed this week.

He said the talks could herald the speedy formation of a single metalworkers' union with strong influence in the engineering, automobile and motor components industry.

A combined union would have a potential membership of well over 100 000.

The talks are taking place under the SA Council of International Metalworkers' Federation, which involves the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union, the Metal and Allied Workers' Union and the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union. There seem to be no ideological problems, the spokesman said.

Meanwhile reports submitted at the Central Executive Committee meeting in Soweto at the weekend indicated progress was being made in the industrial sector meetings. But the CEC felt a clearer program for mergers needed to be worked out.

Cosatu also criticised the planned establishment of an alternative union federation by elements in Inkatha - slamming it as "a move designed to undermine the unity of the working class in the face of massive attacks by the apartheid Government, big business and other enemies of the working class who would use tribalism and racism to divide the workers".

The CEC endorsed a statement by Natal delegates, saying that since Inkatha first announced its own union federation "several incidents of violence against our membership and leadership had taken place".

"Officials of Cosatu's affiliates in Newcastle and Vryheid have had their houses burnt, offices in Newcastle had been invaded and officials threatened with death."

The federation, with 500 shop stewards representing 75 000 organised and paid up-members in Natal, added: "We would urge those elements who use violence against Cosatu to take note that Cosatu can and will defend itself and that the use of violence will eventually prove counter-productive for those using it against Cosatu."

Cosatu calls for boycott of the Sowetan

COSATU has recommended that its 200 000 affiliated members in the Transvaal boycott the country's biggest black daily paper, the *Sowetan* - saying it is "biased and essentially anti-Cosatu".

But any action against the *Sowetan* must first be discussed by Transvaal workers and officials.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo said the federation's central executive committee had received several

complaints from union members and Cosatu officials about the *Sowetan's* attitude towards the 500 000 strong federation. No members of Cosatu affiliates would "have anything to do with the paper", he said.

The meeting discussed the alleged distortions and specifically the way the *Sowetan* covered the visit by Naidoo - just a week after Cosatu's launch - to address the World Council of Churches' conference in

Harare, which was also attended by ANC officials.

He said the front page report had "quoted" union officials who afterwards categorically refuted the *Sowetan's* interpretation of their statements.

The CEC resolved that this was designed to cause divisions in Cosatu and, more broadly, in the working class.

It therefore resolved no Cosatu affiliate would have anything to do with the newspaper

paid in Pieters, Isithebe and other parts of KwaZulu."

The statement added that for black workers the free enterprise system was built on the dispossession of the land from the majority by a minority. "Free enterprise has been based on the denial of political rights to the majority of black people. Does Inkatha want us to support a system that has resulted in the enslavement and poverty of our people?"

"Cosatu wants a society

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo and president Elijah Barayi.

- Remembers June 16
- Warns Inkhatha
- Slams mine sackings
- Backs farmworkers and unemployed

Cosatu also denied suggestions that it was a front for the African National Congress - saying this suggestion showed little understanding of the democracy of worker organisations.

Four years of talks

Cosatu, Naidoo told reporters, was formed after four years of painstaking talks between SA unions. The greatest achievement of Cosatu and those unions which unit-

ed to form the federation was, he said, the building of structures for workers to express their views.

On support for free enterprise - the planned Inkatha unions will support both free enterprise and foreign investment - Cosatu officials said they believe workers built the wealth of SA, "but the only reward we receive for our labour has been the starvation wages we earn".

"Even today," they said, "wages of R20 a week are

mandated that treason charges against the SA Allied Workers' Union leaders in Maritzburg be dropped.

It noted that managers of certain companies are testifying against "our comrades on trial" - a fact which delegates will take back to their membership for discussion.

★ On the sacking of 23 000 mineworkers from Gencor mines in Bophuthatswana, the committee said: "This action of one of SA's major monopolies, clearly demonstrates the involvement of 'free enterprise' in the machinery of the apartheid state." It called on unions to ensure that the workers were reinstated.

★ Cosatu decided against affiliating to any of the major world labour federations - ICFTU, WCL and WFTU - which, it said, were split along "Cold War" ideological lines. Any affiliation would draw Cosatu into "the web of international politics" and thus cause division and collapse. Cosatu spokesmen added that, because of "the brutal and violent system of national oppression and racial exploitation", workers here could not participate fully in these organisations.

But the meeting resolved to "build fraternal ties with progressive worker organisations committed to our struggle for freedom" in all countries.

Delegates also decided to limit foreign financial aid to avoid dependence.

★ Cosatu's headquarters will be in Johannesburg, and a committee to set up offices has been established.

11A

PE violence: five found bound, burnt

11/2/86 DISPATCH

Dispatch Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH — The death toll from factional clashes in townships here at the weekend rose to eight yesterday with the discovery of the charred remains of five youths in Soweto and the body of a shot youth in Walmer

The discovery of Silo Jakavula's body at a cemetery near Walmer follows the brutal killing of two people on Saturday. The burnt youths were found in Soweto with their hands and feet bound by wire and burnt-out tyres around their bodies.

Four of the bodies were found piled on top of each other under a pyre of burnt tyres while the body of the fifth victim lay a short distance away.

Three of the youths have been identified as Mzingaye Pantisi, 17, Nicky Bangeni, 18 and Solly Ngani 16.

The other two unidentified corpses are also those of youths whom the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, described as "mere children".

Meanwhile, in Walmer across town, residents have seen the resurgence of factional clashes. Supporters of the UDF and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) have apparently clubbed together against a new force, the Azanian Youth Union (Azanyu).

Soweto residents yesterday told of a violent clash on Sunday night between a group loyal to the UDF and a faction which also claimed allegiance to the UDF but did not toe the official line.

These two groups have apparently been at variance on a number of issues including the identification of "people's courts" which the UDF leadership has condemned.

The Azapo publicity secretary, Mr Ashraf Karodia, said the people who had died in Walmer were not Azapo members. He said the UDF and Azapo in Walmer had long buried the hatchet.

Col Van Rooyen said yesterday police were investigating.

See also P 13

New body seen as fraudulent 12/2/88

Cosatu rejects national council

THE 450 000-strong Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has rejected government's move to establish a national statutory council as a "fraudulent attempt to perpetuate white minority rule".

Speaking at Cosatu's second official Press conference since its November launch, general secretary Jay Naidoo said those who served on the council would be party to the continued domination of most people.

The council is expected to be an advisory body composed of government and homeland representatives, black community leaders and "interest groups".

Naidoo said only the complete and immediate dismantling of apartheid, the release of authentic leaders and the unbanning of affected organisations would create a climate in which a democratic SA could emerge.

He said Gencor's dismissal of 23 000 striking Impala Platinum workers in Bophuthatswana last month showed how the bantustan system had become an agent of government and employers.

Cosatu had asked its 33 affiliates to take steps to ensure these workers were

reinstated and that the National Union of Mineworkers should be allowed to organise in Bophuthatswana, he said.

The matter had been referred to Cosatu regional committees and affiliates would be pursuing an action programme of "intense pressure" on Gencor and mine bosses.

Asked whether Cosatu's threat to call for an anti-pass campaign would materialise, Naidoo said Cosatu was committed to a "campaign to abolish pass laws, influx control and other apartheid laws".

He said these issues were interlinked, and more specific details on the campaign were still being formulated by Cosatu's executive.

Naidoo said President P W Botha's move to replace passes with a uniform identification system was an attempt to avoid the reality that black movement would still be restricted.

Influx control had been institutionalised through the homeland system and the system of labour bureaux for recruiting workers.

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

● See Page 6

Paper boycott

COSATU yesterday recommended that its 200 000-strong Transvaal membership boycott the *Sowetan* in protest against the newspaper's "biased and essentially anti-Cosatu position".

A Congress of South African Trade Unions statement released after its first national executive meeting last weekend said the central executive committee had resolved that none of its affiliates would have "anything to do with the *Sowetan*".

The steps were taken because Cosatu had received reports from its affiliates and office-bearers alleging the newspaper was biased.

A resolution was passed recommending the strongest possible action, including a boycott.

The committee resolved "to mandate the Transvaal Regional Congress, which represents more than 200 000 paid-up members, to discuss and implement such a recommendation". — Sapa.

BUD DAY 12/2/88

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BUD DAY

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12/2/88

Cosatu refutes Inkatha's charge of being ANC front

12/2/86 BUS DA

MOUNTING conflict between Inkatha and the new Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) indicates that union organisation and management/union relations is likely to become increasingly complicated. Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo treated Cosatu's problems with Inkatha as a serious issue facing the new federation at a Press conference yesterday.

The conference followed Cosatu's first central executive committee meeting since its launch, and Naidoo outlined Cosatu's position in Natal as well as announcing details on Cosatu policy and goals.

Naidoo yesterday refuted Inkatha charges that Cosatu was a front for the African National Congress (ANC), saying these claims showed little understanding of the democracy of workers' organisation.

Inkatha has described Cosatu as an ANC front and charges Cosatu leaders with trying to hijack the SA trade union movement and misrepresent Inkatha policies.

Naidoo said Cosatu could not be a front organisation when it had been formed after four years of discussions. All decisions were based on mandates received from its members, and workers formed the majority in all Cosatu structures.

Increasing polarisation is developing between the leaders of the two bodies, and Cosatu regards Inkatha as responsible for growing violence against the federation. Naidoo said two officials of Cosatu affiliates in Newcastle and Vryheid had recently had their houses burnt down. Cosatu offices in Natal had been invaded by Inkatha supporters and officials threatened with death.

Inkatha has denied responsibility for recent acts of alleged violence against some leaders of Cosatu affiliates.

However, Cosatu's executive says it is planning a national and international campaign to inform sympathetic organisations of "violent attacks Inkatha is perpetrating against Cosatu leaders".

Inkatha and Cosatu have been at loggerheads since Cosatu's launch last November, when its leaders expressed strong opposition to the



□ COSATU'S EXECUTIVE MEMBERS (from left): Chris Dlamini, Makhulu Ledwaba, Sydney Mafumadi and general secretary Jay Naidoo

CLAIRE PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE

homeland system and Inkatha's participation in homeland politics.

Cosatu also came out strongly against the free enterprise system, which it sees as being based on exploitation and the denial of political rights to blacks.

Inkatha has responded sharply by announcing plans for establishing a new labour federation with unions in each industry. The aim would be to unite workers who support free enterprise and reject disinvestment in SA.

Naidoo yesterday condemned moves by elements linked to Inkatha to try and set up "alternative unions," saying that this was designed to divide the working class.

Inkatha central committee member Simon Conco denies that Inkatha supports government's homeland policy and wants separate unions linked to "divisive homeland structures".

He said the new trade unionism that had recently arisen among Inkatha members in Natal had been a spontaneous worker reaction which repudiated the views of Cosatu leaders Elijah Barayi and Jay Naidoo.

Clarifying the political role of Cosatu, Naidoo said Cosatu would not separate the struggle for workers' rights on the factory floor from the broader political struggle.

The federation would play a major role in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic society and would not hesitate to take political action to protect and advance the interests of its members and the wider working class.

It would also be Cosatu's duty to demand the release of elected leaders and to demand the unbanning of organisations banned by government.

He said that, in the interests of building unity, the federation would not affiliate to any political organisation at present.

Cosatu also believes the international trade union movement is split by ideological divisions and has resolved not to affiliate to international trade union organisations at this stage. But Cosatu has nevertheless undertaken to strengthen links with progressive foreign worker organisations.

The stage may also be set for increased confrontation between workers and multinational companies in SA. This follows the Cosatu Congress's resolution that "workers and all progressive sections of our country should unite to challenge the growing power of multinational corporations (MNCs)". Congress also resolved to research and monitor the activities of MNCs within SA.

Cosatu explains its stance by alleging that MNCs in SA violate trade union rights, "reap super profits and pay starvation wages".

It sees MNCs as part of a "violent system of national oppression and capitalist exploitation" and says plant closures and redundancies are planned well in advance to circumvent union opposition.

The development of an infrastructure to co-ordinate affiliates and policy is also an important priority and one which the body is addressing.

The Cosatu head office is to be situ-

ated in Johannesburg, and a committee of six people have been elected to work with the office bearers to decide on the staffing of the head office.

The key priority facing Cosatu at present is the difficult task of completing mergers between unions with separate organising and political traditions into one strong union per industry.

Cosatu leaders are still unsure of exact dates for the completion of mergers between affiliate unions, but say merger talks are going well.

Cosatu feels a clearer programme for mergers needs to be worked out and its executive committee plans to appoint a union to act as a convener for merger talks in each sector.

Merger plans between the National Automobile and Allied Workers' Union, the Metal and Allied Workers' Union and the Motor Industry Combined Workers' Union are making fair progress, according to reports.

The SA council of the International Metalworkers' Federation, under whose aegis the talks are being held, says that the three unions do not have differences which threaten the proposed merger, but there are still many details to be worked out.

The merger is expected to be a vital step towards the creation of a single 100 000-strong metalworkers' union which could change the face of industrial relations in the engineering, automobile and motor components industries.

Good progress is reported in merger plans between the General Workers' Union and the Transport and General Workers' Union in the transport sector and the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the Sweet, Food and Allied Workers' Union and the Retail and Allied Workers' Union in the food and drink sector.

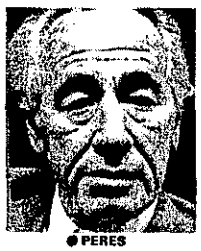
Many differences between affiliates still need to be thrashed out and the achievement of mass worker unity and national political and bargaining leverage will also depend on Cosatu's ability to keep attracting unions into its fold.

At present there are several hundred thousand unionised workers outside Cosatu and national campaigns they intend to take up could be undermined by rival worker organisations.

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THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER FOR DECISION MAKERS

11/17
BUS DAY 12/12/78
Mandela release today rumoured after 'Botha-Peres deal'



PERES

LONDON — International speculation about the release of the jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela reached fever pitch last night.
Israeli radio reported yesterday that Mandela was to be released today after intense negotiations and direct contact between President P W Botha and Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres.
The news dominated every radio and TV bulletin.
Erwin Cutler, lawyer of the freed Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, dampened speculation that Mandela's release would

take place today or tomorrow.
In an interview with BBC radio, he said he thought Mandela might be free within 10 days. Cutler said negotiations between SA and the Soviet Union for a swap involving Mandela, Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov had broken down.
He said Botha had subsequently used the close SA-Israeli relationship to buy into the complex East-West spy-swap deal as a pretext for releasing Mandela.

JOHN BATTERSBY
and IAN HOBBS

"While there is no causal relationship between the two, both the Soviet Union and Pretoria needed a fig-leaf for the release of Shcharansky and Mandela," Cutler said.
In spite of some strongly viewed scepticism, BBC reports stressed Botha's statement when he opened parliament, linking Mandela's freedom to Shcharansky's — as well as that of the most famous dissident, Andrei Sakharov.
A Department of Prisons spokesman said last night Mandela would not be released today.
He was, however, unable to deny categori-

cally that Mandela would be released later this week or in the near future.
United Democratic Front sources said yesterday they believed Mandela would be released without preconditions.
A spokesman for Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said his department had been flooded with calls about Mandela's release but that these were "just rumours".
It is believed government would at least like to clinch a deal with Angola over the release of Captain Wynand du Toit before announcing the release of Mandela.

'State has enhanced Mandela's stature'

STAR 17/2/78
11A

The Government had done more to increase the stature of jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela than anyone else, Progressive Federal Party MPC Mr Brian Goodall said last night.

Speaking at the Bedfordview Civic Centre, Mr Goodall said that if Mandela were to be released he would lose the support he enjoys now "when he does not deliver the goods".

He said Mandela would, like Mr Andimba (Herman) Toivo ja Toivo, vanish into obscurity and his leadership force would be reduced.

Mr Goodall said the ANC was the most significant black political group in South Africa, but it was like the Conservative Party. "That they both have significant support is a factor in South African politics. Whether we like it or not, we have to get some sort of negotiation going."

CORNERSTONE OF APARTHEID REMAINS

Mr Goodall referred to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech in which he said President Botha "had not told South Africa where he is leading the country because, if he did, it would be unacceptable to blacks".

For South Africa to "get moderate blacks to come and sit down and negotiate with us was more important than the opinion of the Western world to the No-Confidence Debate speech of Mr Botha, when they realise that the cornerstone of apartheid still remains".

"When the State President said 'we have outgrown the outdated concept of apartheid', we were left to ask: Is there a more modern version of apartheid?"

"Some of the things said by Mr Botha we have never heard from any National Party President before. It would be true to say it was never anticipated — and there was no finger-wagging. Words are cheap. The Government has actually got to show us the legislation which changes everything," he said.

12/21/89 Mercury 12/21/89 11A

Cosatu hits back at Inkatha supporters

Labour Reporter

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday hit back at Inkatha supporters for their alleged attacks on Cosatu members and pledged to counter such violence through a national and international campaign.

A Cosatu statement released yesterday after the organisation's first national executive meeting at the weekend also criticised Inkatha's attempts to set up alternate unions to undermine the unity of the working class.

'We would urge those elements who use vio-

lence against Cosatu to take note that Cosatu can and will defend itself and that the use of violence will eventually prove counter-productive to the interests of those using it against Cosatu,' the statement said.

Cosatu's Natal regional congress reported that the homes of two Cosatu affiliates in Newcastle and Vryheid had been burned down, and officials in Newcastle had received death threats.

The organisation, representing 500 000 trade unionists, had informed 'sympathetic' international union organisations of the situation, the statement said.

Mr Simon Conco, KwaZulu MP and Inkatha's spokesman on labour matters, this week denied that Inkatha was responsible for alleged violence between its supporters and those of Cosatu in Newcastle.

He said the police said no charges had been laid and that no statements had been made to them in this connection.

Labour giant set to flex its muscles

The coming year will be vital for the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) as it strives to entrench itself as a force to be reckoned with in the labour movement and beyond.

The federation yesterday announced several projects and spelled out its policies at a Press conference in Johannesburg, the new seat of Cosatu's headquarters.

The announcements followed the first meeting of the central executive committee at the weekend.

The committee received reports on the tense situation between Cosatu and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement in Natal. Cosatu made it clear it did not see the relationship between the two as "a state of war" but it was clearly concerned, particularly about reports of violence against Cosatu leaders coming from Vryheid and Newcastle.

Inkatha has denied responsibility for the violence but Cosatu has launched a campaign to make people aware of the gap it claims exists between Inkatha's professed commitment to non-violence and the organisation's actions.

However, the Inkatha/Cosatu tussle is seen by Cosatu as essentially a side issue when the scale of Cosatu's national projects are considered.

Now that its important policy decisions have been finalised, the Congress of SA Trade Unions has embarked on specific projects which could change the face of labour relations in South Africa. SHERYL RAINE reports.

Important policy decisions taken by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) concerning the federation's political position, its approach to Inkatha and its attitude towards other key issues were announced yesterday.

The central executive committee of Cosatu, comprising 85 delegates representing 500 000 members in 33 affiliated unions, met in Johannesburg at the weekend. Policy decisions taken by the committee include:

- No direct affiliation to any political organisation inside or outside the country.
- The need to challenge the power of multinationals and to "expose and clarify for everyone their manipulation of all aspects of workers' lives".
- Demands for May 1 and June 16 as paid holidays and the possible sacrifice of "racist" public holidays like Republic Day and Kruger Day.
- Strong opposition to the de-regulation of the small business sector which would result in the exploitation of workers.
- No affiliation to any of the international major trade union federations but a policy of forging "fraternal links with progressive worker organisations in all countries".

The federation has decided to take up the cause of farm workers in South Africa. Cosatu has condemned the Government's refusal to extend rights of union association to farm workers, which it claims are in a position of "semi-slavery".

The committee has resolved to work towards establishing a farm workers' union. The affiliates to Cosatu involved in in-

dustries linked to large agricultural plantations, with committees already established to organise farm workers, will seek national and international support in its campaign to mobilise farmhands.

Organising unemployed workers into a union is also a Cosatu priority. National office bearers have been instructed to make contact with all commit-

tees organising the unemployed.

The construction industry is another Cosatu target. There are thousands of construction workers who are already members of unions affiliated to Cosatu but there is no specific construction workers' union.

Cosatu plans to change that and to seek out other like-minded unions in the construction industry with a view to forming one union.

The federation has decided to pursue its campaign to organise a boycott of the Johannesburg centenary celebrations.

Mergers are also high on Cosatu's agenda for this year. The federation reports much progress made in industrial sector meetings. Cosatu said it did not intend to ignore general unions and believed they should be involved from the outset in talks regarding the formation of strong, single-industry unions.

There are also signs that the dismissal of 23 000 platinum miners from Gencor's Impala Platinum in Bophuthatswana in December could have further repercussions outside the homeland. Cosatu hopes to ensure the workers are reinstated and that the National Union of Mineworkers is allowed to organise in the homeland.

UDF man detained

A SENIOR member of the Kroonstad branch of the United Democratic Front, Mr Dennis Bloem, has been detained by the security policy. *(11A)*

He was detained on Monday.

Captain J Fouche, a spokesman for the Northern Orange Free State police, yesterday confirmed Mr Bloem's detention. He said he was being held under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act.

Mrs Edith Bloem said yesterday her husband was taken away from his shop by members of the security branch about 4.30 pm.

She said: "They did not say why they were detaining my husband. All they told me was that I could bring him clean clothes and food. They did not say how long my husband would be in detention."

Mr Bloem twice es-

SOWETAN Reporter

caped death when gunmen opened fire on him recently. *D SOWETAN*

In the second incident Mr Bloem claimed that four of the five men who attacked him were well-known in Kroonstad's black township of Seisoville. *12/2/86*

Meanwhile, reports reaching The SOWETAN yesterday said that hundreds of youths in Seisoville, Phomolong and Constantia townships in Kroonstad went on the rampage and police had to be called to disperse them. Police could not confirm the allegation.

12/18/76 BUS DAY (S) (11A)

Mandela Press conference banned

A PRESS conference which was to have been addressed by Winnie Mandela and Alan Boesak in Johannesburg's Alexandra township today has been banned in terms of the Internal Security Act.

But a spokesman for the Release Mandela Committee (RMC) said the gathering would go ahead at a different venue and time, to be disclosed today.

The banning order served on the RMC prohibited the meeting from taking place between the hours of 6am and 8pm today, and was signed by acting Magis-

PETER HONEY

trate of Randburg Rubin Mandelstam.

The order said there was reason to believe the gathering would endanger "public peace" and described the Press conference as a gathering to protest against the restrictions placed on Winnie Mandela — wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela — who is prohibited from entering the Johannesburg and Roodepoort magisterial districts.



PRESIDENT P.W. Botha.

MANDELA

NEXT?

'Messages between President Botha and Israeli govt'

LONDON — Jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will be released in the next stage of the East-West spy swap and messages have been exchanged between the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, and the State President, Mr P W Botha, BBC Television news reported yesterday.

There is strong speculation that he may be released today. A source close to the SOWETAN yesterday said Mandela has rejected freedom, refusing to leave his colleagues on Robben Island.

Reporting yesterday morning's exchange of Soviet dissident Dr Anatoly Shcharansky for Soviet spies held by the West, the BBC said: "From Israel it is now learned that the next stage in the prisoner exchange will be the release of the South African black leader Nelson Mandela, who has been in prison since 1962.

"It is reported that messages on this issue were exchanged be-



ISRAELI: Foreign Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir.

tween the Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres and the South African Prime Minister P W Botha.

"This follows Mr Botha's surprise announcement nearly two weeks ago that Mandela might be released on certain conditions."

Reporting from Johannesburg, BBC correspondent Michael Buerk said: "It has become clear that Presi-

dent Botha knew about the arrangements for Shcharansky's release when he opened Parliament 10 days ago.

"It is thought here that the scheme was originally advanced by American diplomats to pave the way for Mandela to be set free, and that negotiations have subsequently taken place between South Africa and several other governments.

"It is known that ministers here are anxious to release Mr Mandela and are afraid of the consequences should he die in jail. However, the security forces, whose influence on government policy is considerable, are worried about huge demonstrations which might occur

should he be set free in South Africa."

Reports of his imminent release were emphatically denied by a spokesman for the Department of Justice yesterday. The department includes the Prisons Department.

"There is absolutely no truth in it — it is wild speculation," he said.

Deny

The State President office's only comment was to refer to President Botha's opening speech to Parliament on January 31 and said "there is absolutely nothing to add to it".

The radio said Mr Peres and the Foreign Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir, recently sent messages to Mr Botha asking him to agree to a Soviet condition that Mandela be released as part of the exchange in which Jewish dissident Dr Anatoly Shcharansky was freed in Berlin.

SOWETAN
12/2/82

Hair Care Products Special Announcement

Does your brand give you only one choice?
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Forgive me, Kinikini widow begs UDF

Feb. 1988

By MONO BADELA
NOMBUZO Kinikini — whose husband, former KwaNobuhle Councillor Benjamini Kinikini, was roasted alive during last year's Uitenhage unrest — has asked the Eastern Cape United Democratic Front for "forgiveness".

Kinikini was ostracised after her visit to London last year, where she demonstrated outside the offices of the African National Congress, denouncing "terrorism".

Eastern Cape UDF chief Henry Fazzie said Kinikini, accompanied by her evangelist brother, went to the UDF headquarters in Port Elizabeth and said she was tired of being "on the run".

She said she was suffering from being ostracised, was tired of "this life" and begged for forgiveness.

She told the UDF she's been on the run ever since she watched in disbelief how her husband and two sons were beaten up by an angry crowd and burnt to ashes.

She was convinced people want to kill her.

She told the UDF she'd begged her husband to resign from the town council but he wouldn't.

"She said she'd been tricked by the authorities to go to London last May 14 and was made to demonstrate against the ANC," said Fazzie.

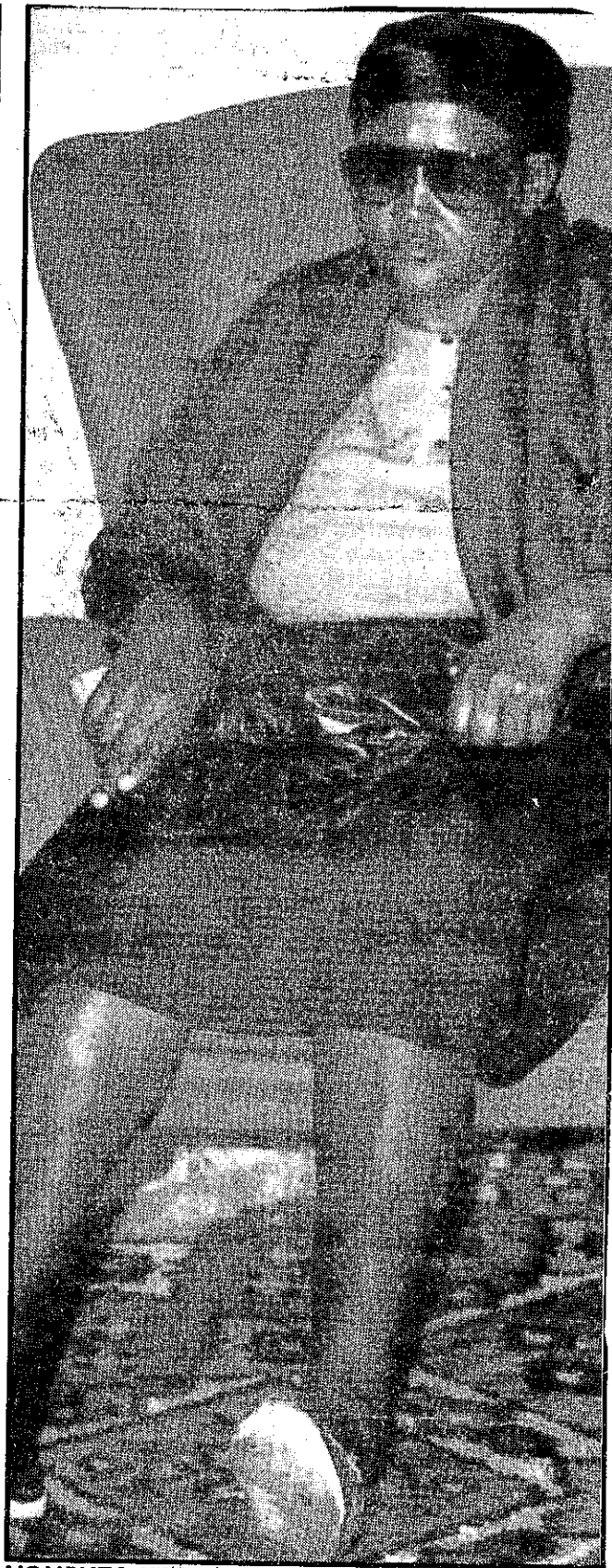
Kinikini and former Kayamandi mayor Tamsanqa Linda denounced "terrorism" while aboard.

Her trip to London was sponsored by a group called Victims Against Terrorism.

It was to commemorate "victims of terrorism in SA".

All three appeared on TV and Kinikini spoke about the gruesome deaths of members of her family.

Fazzie said the UDF had told her it could not act on her pleas — only Uitenhage



NOMBUZO KINIKINI: Tired of running.

organisations could decide on the issue.

City Press tried in vain to contact Uitenhage civic leader Fikile Kobese, whose two homes in Kwanobuhle were allegedly petrol-bombed by members of the Kinikini family.

He was detained by security cops yesterday and is being held at Louis le Grange Square.

★ Ten people have been charged with the killing of Kinikini, his sons and another man. The case continues on Monday.

Mandela rumours wife: Govt denial

APR 7.0.75
12/2/86
11A-
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THE government last night attempted to quash mounting speculation that the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was imminent as the rumours overseas reached a fever pitch yesterday with the release of Soviet dissident Dr Anatoly Shcharansky and the East-West swop of eight spies.

However, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, last night said in a statement that "conditions" outlined by President P W Botha at the opening of Parliament last month regarding the possible release of Mr Mandela had not yet been met.

"Mr Mandela will therefore not be released," he said.

Mr Botha said at the time: "If I were to release Mr Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?"

The Soviets have already indicated that they would not release Dr Sakharov.

Earlier yesterday, various government sources dismissed the growing speculation surrounding Mr Mandela's imminent release as "sheer rumours".

However, a prisons department spokesman was unable to deny categorically that Mr Mandela would be released later this week or in the near future.

Mr Mandela's wife, Winnie, appears to have gone into hiding after her visit to Pollmoor Prison at the weekend. The visit, the third in 10 days, fuelled speculation at the weekend of a possible release.

Unspecified number of soldiers

The latest round of speculation and agitation for the jailed leader's release was started by Israel Radio reports that the Israeli Prime Minister, Mr Shimon Peres, had sent a message to President Botha asking him to release Mr Mandela as part of the latest exchange. The radio went on to say Mr Mandela might be freed today.

A spokesman for Mr Botha's office said last night that no message had yet been received from the Israeli Government.

It is believed that the government would at least like to clinch a deal with the Angola Government over the release of Captain Du Toit before announcing any release of Mr Mandela but Angola has rejected Pretoria's terms.

Meanwhile, there is also concern in government circles that a "premature" release of Mr Mandela could be interpreted by the white electorate as a sign of government weakness.

In Lusaka an ANC spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, said his organization had no official word of a possible release but was closely watching developments.

In London the talk of Mr Mandela's release dominated every radio and TV bulletin.

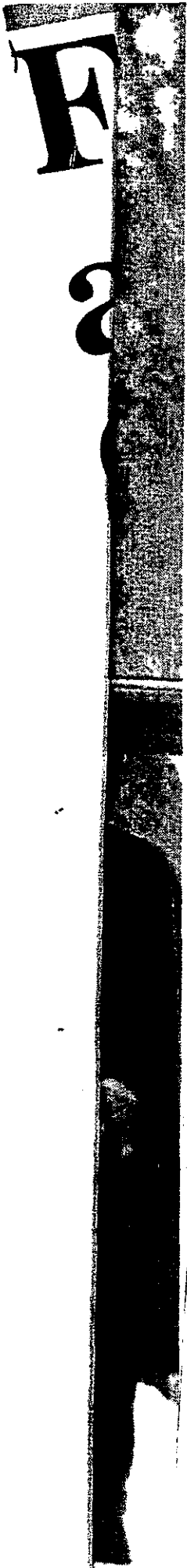
Free 'within 10 days'

But Mr Erwin Cutler, Dr Shcharansky's lawyer, dampened speculation that Mr Mandela's release would take place today or tomorrow.

In an interview with BBC radio he said he thought Mr Mandela might be free "within 10 days".

Mr Cutler said that negotiations between South Africa and the Soviet Union for a swop deal involving Mr Mandela, Dr Shcharansky and Dr Andrei Sakharov had broken down.

He said President Botha had subsequently used the close South Africa-Israeli relationship to "buy in" to the complex East-West spy-swop deal as a pretext for releasing Mr Mandela. — Political Staff and Own Correspondents



Mandela rumours wife: Govt denial

APR 7-078
12/2/86
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nd Politics

Labour threatens to quit

CALL Tim B 12/12/86
11A

Political Reporter

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—The Labour Party yesterday threatened to walk out of Parliament and confront the Nationalist government if it did not pay heed to the party's present policy of reconciliation.

The threat was made by two LP members — Mr Charles Redcliffe (Schauderville) and Mr Peter Hendrickse (Addo) — during the mini-budget debate in the House of Representatives yesterday.

"If we get the feeling that we are assisting in white domination we will walk out of here," Mr Redcliffe said.

Mr Hendrickse said that while oppression continued under apartheid laws he would be forced to "disobey the unjust and un-Christian laws" — even if the consequence was imprisonment.

'Disillusioned'

"If they (the government) prefer confrontation to reconciliation then the LP will not shy away," he said.

He was "sadly disillusioned by the State President's reaction" to developments during the last week.

Mr Botha gave different names to apartheid but had failed to declare apartheid a "heresy". To say it was "outmoded" did not signal an end to white oppression, he said.

Mr Hendrickse asked how much faith could be

put in the State President's words following events in Parliament last week. The National Party had the "unique ability to screw up the English language" as they gave different connotations to the meaning of words, he said.

He referred to the coffee bar incident last week when several coloured MPs, including himself, were refused service in the white House of Assembly.

'Verkrampte'

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, should not complain of international repercussions on the economy when embarrassing issues like the coffee bar row were publicized.

Mr P W Botha had also openly sided with the "verkrampte" wing of his party by openly censuring the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and supporting the "knee-jerk reaction" of others, Mr Hendrickse said.

Mr Redcliffe said the government's promises of equal opportunity were a contradiction in terms as long as segregation remained the cornerstone of government policy.

He described as "scandalous" the closing down of a business in Kirkwood because the owner had married a coloured woman. The owner was denied a new licence because he was re-classified after marrying across the colour line.

Cosatu, Inkatha in conflict

11A
E. Post 13/5/86

By a SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT in Johannesburg

MOUNTING conflict between Inkatha and the new 430 000-member Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) indicates that union organisation and management/union relations is likely to become increasingly complicated. Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo treated Cosatu's problems with Inkatha as a serious issue facing the new federation at a Press conference this week.

The conference followed Cosatu's first central executive committee meeting since its launch, and Naidoo outlined Cosatu's position in Natal as well as announcing details on Cosatu policy and goals.

Naidoo denied Inkatha charges that Cosatu was a front for the African National Congress (ANC), saying these claims showed little understanding of the democracy of workers' organisations.

Inkatha has described Cosatu as an ANC front and charges Cosatu leaders with trying to hijack the SA trade union movement and misrepresent Inkatha policies.

Naidoo said Cosatu could not be a front organisation when it had been formed after four years of discussions. All decisions were based on mandates received from its members and workers formed the majority in all Cosatu structures.

Increasing polarisation is developing between the leaders of the two bodies, and Cosatu regards Inkatha as responsible for growing violence against the federation.

Naidoo said two officials of Cosatu affiliates in Newcastle and Vryheid had recently had their houses burnt down. Cosatu offices in Natal had been invaded by Inkatha supporters and officials threatened with death.

Inkatha has denied responsibility for recent acts of alleged violence against some leaders of Cosatu affiliates.

However, Cosatu's executive says it is planning a national and international campaign to inform sympathetic organisations of "violent attacks Inkatha is perpetrating against Cosatu leaders".

Inkatha and Cosatu have been at loggerheads since Cosatu's launch last November, when its leaders expressed strong opposition to the homeland system and Inkatha's participation in homeland politics.

Cosatu also came out

strongly against the capitalist free enterprise system, which it sees as being based on exploitation and the denial of political rights to blacks.

Inkatha has responded sharply by announcing plans for establishing a new labour federation with unions in each industry. The aim would be to unite workers who support free enterprise and reject disinvestment in SA.

Naidoo condemned moves by elements linked to Inkatha to try and set up "alternative unions", saying that this was designed to divide the working class.

Inkatha central committee member Simon Conco denies that Inkatha supports the Government's homeland policy and wants separate unions linked to "divisive homeland structures".

He said the new trade unionism that had recently arisen among Inkatha members in Natal had been a spontaneous worker reaction which repudiated the views of Cosatu leaders.

Clarifying the political role of Cosatu, Naidoo said Cosatu would not separate the struggle for workers' rights on the factory floor from the broader political struggle.

The federation would play a major role in the struggle for a non-racial and democratic society and would not hesitate to take political action to protect and advance the interests of its members and the wider working class.

It would also be Cosatu's duty to demand the release of elected leaders and to demand the unbanning of organisations banned by the Government.

He said that, in the interests of building unity, the federation would not affiliate to any political organisation at present.

Cosatu also believes the international trade union



Mr JAY NAIDOO

movement is split by ideological division and has resolved not to affiliate to international trade union organisations at this stage. But Cosatu has nevertheless undertaken to strengthen links with progressive foreign worker organisations.

The stage may also be set for increased confrontation between workers and multinational companies in SA.

This follows the Cosatu Congress's resolution that "workers and all progressive sections of our country should unite to challenge the growing power of multinational corporations (MNCs)". Congress also resolved to research and monitor the activities of MNC's within SA.

Cosatu explains its stance by alleging that MNCs in SA violate trade union rights, "reap super profits and pay starvation wages".

It sees MNCs as part of a "violent system of national oppression and capitalist exploitation" and says plant closures and redundancies are planned well in advance to circumvent union opposition.

The development of an infrastructure to co-ordinate affiliates and policy is also an important priority and one which the body is addressing.

The key priority facing Cosatu at present is the difficult task of completing mergers between unions with separate organising and political traditions into one strong union per industry.

Call Times 3/2/86
**Cheryl
Carolus
released**

Staff Reporter

LEADING Western Cape United Democratic Front activist Ms Cheryl Carolus has been released from detention in Johannesburg and served with a sweeping restriction order.

She and UDF executive member Mr Murphy Morobe were detained on January 22 after Ms Carolus and three other UDF members returned from a visit to Sweden.

Prohibited

The restriction order on Ms Carolus, in force until the lifting of the state of emergency, is similar to that imposed recently on virtually every other member of the UDF regional executive in the Western Cape.

She may not leave the Wynberg magisterial district, is banned from participating in any activity of the UDF, she may not enter the premises of any educational institution and is prohibited from being associated with the preparation or production of a publication.

In addition, she is banned from attending any meeting where government policies are attacked, criticized or discussed.

CAPE TIMES 13/2/86 (11A) (117)

Memani withdraws from politics



Mr Oliver Memani

Staff Reporter

CONTROVERSIAL squatter leader Mr Oliver Memani yesterday announced he was withdrawing "for once and for all" from active politics and emphatically denied he has been in hiding.

In an interview with the Cape Times, Mr Memani said: "I have decided with my family to leave the matter of squatter leadership, and from now on I will keep away from squatter problems."

Mr Memani was this week reported to be in hiding after around 50 homes in KTC were destroyed in fighting between rival squatter factions in

recent weeks.

The houses belonged to both supporters and opponents of Mr Memani.

He recently spent over nine months in jail awaiting trial on charges of public violence, and in 1984 was found not guilty on 460 charges of fraud.

He and his followers have been involved in ongoing battles — both physical and verbal — which have led to the deaths of at least 11 people since 1983.

This week, a group called the Transkei United Club, which includes Mr Memani's brother, Mr Zenzile Memani, claimed Mr Oliver Me-

mani had been "driven out" of KTC and was in hiding.

Mr Memani said in yesterday's interview that he and his family were staying with relatives in New Crossroads and he had decided to relinquish all claims to leadership of the KTC and Crossroads squatter communities.

"The people in the community must now decide. They can choose their own leaders, I have no objections to any leader they choose.

"I have done my best for my people, and all I now want is that the Transkei United Club, or any other group who wish to lead the squatters, that they let people stay in peace.

"Those who are homeless must be accommodated, it does not matter to whom they are loyal, to me or to others; the new leaders must treat all the people the same way they would treat people who are loyal to them."

His wife, Mrs Louisa Memani, said: "I am very happy that my husband has left the problems. In 1983, I almost lost him in the shootings which took place, in that violence. I feel very relieved that my husband has now dropped from public life."

Mr Memani said he would henceforth devote all his time to building up his shop and developing his business.

CA/7 Tom B 15/2/86
NA

'No mandate' to serve on council

JOHANNESBURG. — The West Rand Urban Councils' Association (Weruca) will not participate in the State President's recently announced national statutory council "because we do not have the mandate from the people".

Weruca is made up of councillors from Soweto, Diepmeadow, Dobsonville, Alexandra, Bekkersdal, Mohlakeng, Kagiso and Munsieville.

The East Rand Urban Councils' Association (Eruca) said it had not taken a stand on whether or not to participate.

Eruca is made up of councillors from Katlehong, Daveyton, Tembisa, Tsakane, Kwa-Thema, Duduza, Thokoza and Wattville.

Eruca chairman Mr Tom Boya said Eruca would decide on whether or not to participate after it had been ap-

proached by the government.

Weruca said in a statement that councillors had been elected to serve in local authorities for the sole purpose of providing essential services and to represent residents' aspirations at local level.

"We refuse to allow ourselves to be seen to be competing with national political leaders and organizations.

"We reject and boycott the invitation extended to us for participation in the national statutory council as we do not have a mandate from the people.

"Political leaders are in jail, exile and detention and some are dead.

"The leaders of the people shall and will reserve the undisputed right of political participation." — Sapa

Heavy restrictions imposed on released UDF activist

13/2/86 STAR



111A

By Jo-Anne Collinge

As detainees in Johannesburg's Diepkloof Prison continue their hunger strike, a leading Western Cape member of the United Democratic Front, Ms Cheryl Carolus, has been released from the cells under heavy restrictions.

A spokesman for the Department of Prison Services confirmed yesterday afternoon that 35 detainees held in terms of the emergency provisions at Diepkloof had not taken meals since breakfast on Tuesday.

"Besides the fact that they are served with prescribed meals they are permitted to buy food at the prison tuckshop according to their needs. The detainees in question are in fact in possession of food-stuffs bought at the tuckshop."

Asked whether this implied that the detainees were in fact eating from their own supplies, the spokesman added: "It is not possible to comment at this stage whether such purchases have been consumed."

The Diepkloof detainees have made it known that their action is indefinite and is in support of demands for the release of all detainees, an end to the state of emergency and the withdrawal of troops from the townships.

It is also to highlight specific grievances, set out in a memorandum sent by them to the Ministers of Law and Order and Justice last month. These complaints concern food, medical care, visits, study privileges, letters and recreational facilities.

Ms Carolus, Western Cape secretary of the UDF, was released

yesterday morning, said UDF spokesman Mr Billy Nair. She had spent almost three weeks in the cells at John Vorster Square, where she was taken after being detained while visiting Johannesburg.

The "banning order" imposed on Ms Carolus upon release confines her to the Cape magisterial area of Wynberg and prohibits her from taking part in UDF activities, from associating herself with any publication, from entering educational institutions and from attending meetings where Government policies are attacked or discussed.

Azapo leader expected in court today

ST/AC 13/2/86
The Star's Africa
News Service

WINDHOEK — The president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Mr Saths Cooper, is due to appear in court in Windhoek today after being arrested by Security Police yesterday.

Mr Cooper was detained only minutes before he was due to address a meeting of the Namibia Educational Forum (NEF) about Black Consciousness and its lessons for Namibia.

Ms Nora Chase, one of the organisers, told a packed hall Mr Cooper had been arrested by three carloads of policemen under an early 1970s ordinance which prevents Asians and coloureds from South Africa coming to Namibia without a permit. He had been in the country for some days.

Lawyers made unsuccessful efforts at the police station to get bail for the Azapo leader.

NEF organisers said there was some confusion about whether the law under which Mr Cooper had been arrested was still valid.

Organisers said the meeting was legal as it had been advertised for some time and permission had been obtained from the local magistrate.

Major hurdle bars release

of Mandela

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - Angola would have to release captured commando Captain Wynand du Toit before South Africa would consider freeing Nelson Mandela, senior Government sources indicated today.

However, the release of Captain du Toit would not itself necessarily guarantee Mandela's freedom.

A major hurdle which would still have to be surmounted would be either to secure a country for Mandela's exile, or to get Mandela's undertaking to renounce violence before being released inside South Africa, the sources said.

DAMAGE

It is understood that most members of the Cabinet, while keen to see Mandela free, do not want him released in South Africa if he remains committed to violence.

If Mandela did anything to warrant his arrest and another showcase trial, the damage to the country would be far greater than that caused by his continued imprisonment, the argument goes.

Under these circumstances, Government sources said, Mandela's release is not imminent and the South African position remains unchanged.

Blast victim tells of lucky escape

STAR 13/2/84



Own Correspondent

MESSINA — Mr Doepie van Rensburg yesterday told *The Star* of his miraculous escape from death when he emerged virtually unscathed from a landmine blast.

The young crop-spraying pilot, speaking only hours after his bakkie had detonated a mine on farming land about 50 km west of Messina, described how what had started out as a routine day turned into a time of terror.

"I landed at an airstrip on the Estherhuysen farm in my company's light plane, and there was a message for me to phone my company in Tzaneen."

Using the firm's bakkie, he drove to a nearby phone to make the call, and then returned

to the airstrip.

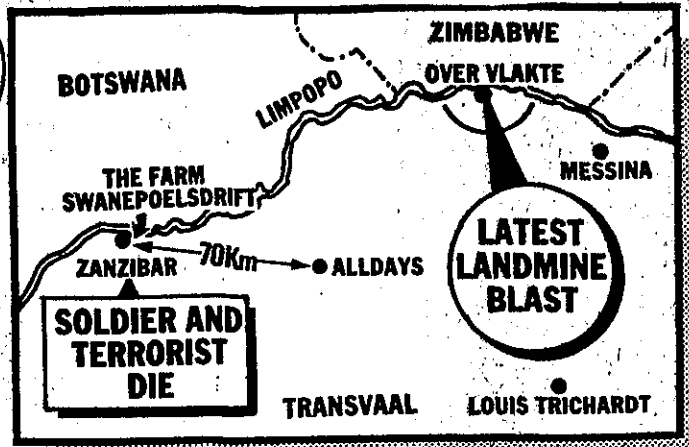
"I detonated the landmine after turning into a seldom-used farm road, which I knew had been waterlogged the previous evening, and thus appeared to be safe.

"Before I knew what was happening, there was a deafening bang, and I was flying through the air while still inside the bakkie's cab," he said.

He said he was thankful now that only one of four fuel containers on the bakkie was full.

When asked if he ever seriously thought he could be blown up by a landmine, he replied: "Well, yes. But the chances always seemed remote, because I spend more time in the air than on the ground, in the course of my work".

Mr van Rensburg's wife An-



narie, who is expecting their first child, was relieved and happy to have her husband safely home. The couple have been living in Louis Trichardt for only a week.

Yesterday's blast was the eighth explosion in the area since November 27.

Farming activities are expected to be restricted today as the Defence Force search for clues and further devices con-

tinues. Senior officers would not say whether they believed the latest landmine was planted during a recent incursion by infiltrators, or set up some time ago.

Altogether nine landmines have exploded on the country's northern borders during the past three months, killing nine people. Six undetonated devices have been found by the Defence Force.

Cape Times 13/2/86
Saths Cooper
held in SWA

Cape Times 13/2/86
**Soldier, terrorist
die in skirmish**

Own Correspondent
WINDHOEK. — Mr Saths Cooper, president of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), was arrested here last night for allegedly not having a valid permit to enter SWA/Namibia.

Mr Cooper was arrested shortly before he was due to address a public meeting on the lessons from Black Consciousness for SWA/Namibia.

A police spokesman said Mr Cooper would be held overnight and would appear in Windhoek Magistrate's Court this morning.

He was due to leave SWA/Namibia today.

Mr Cooper had been invited for talks by a faction of the South-West African National Union (Swanu).

The Swanu leader, Mr Kuzeeko Kanguhi, addressed the recent Azapo congress.

PRETORIA. — A soldier and a suspected African National Congress terrorist died late yesterday afternoon during a follow-up operation on the Botswana border, a military spokesman said.

A search for a second terrorist was continuing late last night.

The follow-up operation by the South African Defence Force came only hours after a man was slightly injured in a landmine explosion in the Northern Transvaal.

Mr Doepie van Rensburg, a crop-spray pilot, was driving on the farm Overvlakte in the Wiepe area 50km west of Messina, when he detonated the mine.

According to a military spokesman, Mr Van Rensburg suffered only a damaged eardrum.

The spokesman said last night that the name of the soldier who died is being withheld until his next of kin, who live overseas, have been notified.

He said the suspected ANC guerilla was armed with an AK-47 rifle.

Three limpet mines and an number of hand grenades were also found in the operation.

The SADF said yesterday a patrol had found and followed the tracks of two people discovered on the farm Zanzibar, about 70km from Alldays near the Botswana border.

The SADF said "these terrorists probably infiltrated from Botswana and the authorities in Botswana have already been informed of the incident". — Sapa and Own Correspondent

Offer on Mandela a 'ploy'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The African National Congress (ANC) yesterday indicated that the release of its jailed leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, would not make much difference unless all political prisoners were released simultaneously.

In a BBC radio interview an ANC spokesman also made it clear that it did not regard President P W Botha's offer to release Mr Mandela as genuine but merely as another propaganda ploy to help ease the country's financial crisis.

Amid mounting speculation that Mr Mandela could be released to Britain, the ANC again insisted that Mr Mandela would not accept exile as a condition for his release and could not be forced into exile.

British Govt dampens speculation

The British Government yesterday dampened speculation that London could be Mr Mandela's first destination after his release.

"We have had no approaches from the South African Government to this effect," a Foreign Office spokesman said. "If we did receive such a request it would be considered in the normal way."

"As far as Britain is concerned our position has not changed — we have called repeatedly for Mr Mandela's immediate and unconditional release."

While the intensity of speculation about Mr Mandela's release subsided yesterday, The Times carried a speculative report that he might be "released and flown to London in the next few days".

Western diplomatic sources said the "British connection" would have any chance of success only if it was accompanied by a guarantee from Pretoria that Mr Mandela would be allowed to return to South Africa when he chose to do so.

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from Jerusalem that the Israeli Foreign Minister, Mr Yitzhak Shamir, denied yesterday that Israel had appealed to South Africa to release Mr Mandela in return for the release of Jewish activist Dr Anatoly Shcharansky from Soviet captivity.

His denial came a day after an Israeli official confirmed an Israel Radio report that Israel had appealed to the South African authorities and that Mr Mandela would probably be freed within days.

Mr Shamir said Israel had in the past asked the South African Government to free Soviet agents in return for Dr Shcharansky. But he added that "about Mandela, there was not any Israeli initiative until this day".

Cooper held in SWA

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Mr Shamir said Israel had in the past asked the South African Government to free Soviet agents in return for Dr Shcharansky. But he added that "about Mandela, there was not any Israeli initiative until this day".

Activist's release welcomed

Staff Reporter

THE South African Union of Jewish students has welcomed the release of human-rights activist Anatoly Shcharansky by the Soviet Union this week.

In a statement yesterday, the Union's UCT branch said: "Shcharansky was released after nine years' imprisonment for his Jewish belief, love of his culture and yearning desire to emigrate to Israel."

"We cannot partake in the full happiness until we are convinced that

the Soviet Union has acceded to both international law and the Helsinki Accord on this matter.

"We also sober our excitement with the knowledge that Shcharansky is only one of two million Soviet Jews who demanded the right to emigrate to Israel."

"We call for the urgent granting of freedom to all Soviet Jews and add our voices to the international call for the immediate release of black nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela."

every price!

LADIES' FUGGOT & WESTERN

NATIONAL

Azapo chief sent back to S Africa

*AK6 65
13/2/86*

Argus Africa News Service

WINDHOEK. — Azapo president Mr Saths Cooper appeared in the Magistrate's Court here today and was whisked to the airport to be flown back to South Africa.

Mr Cooper, 35, was arrested last night — minutes before he was to have addressed a meeting of the Namibia Education Forum.

He was arrested under a 1970 ordinance which prohibits Asians and coloured people from South Africa from entering SWA/Namibia without a permit, police said.

At his appearance Mr Cooper did not plead and no evidence was led. He was allowed bail of R50 and warned to appear again on April 24.

Arrest condemned

He was invited to Windhoek by the progressive faction of the South West Africa National Union. Mr Vekuii Rekoro, publicity secretary of the Swanu faction — which broke away from the Swanu headed by Minister Mr Moses Katjuongua — condemned Mr Cooper's arrest.

He said it was a blatant violation of the Bill of Rights proclaimed by the Multi-Party Conference government. The legislation under which Mr Cooper had been charged was racist and its implementation showed the cynical attitude adopted by South Africa to SWA/Namibia, Mr Rukoro added.

Mr Cooper was to have spoken to the Windhoek meeting about black-consciousness in South Africa and its lessons for SWA/Namibia.

Officials at the meeting said permission to hold the gathering had been granted by a Windhoek magistrate. The meeting had been advertised for some time. Mr Cooper had been in the country for some days before his arrest.

PAC may gain from ANC's entanglement in ideology

MARXISM, or any ideology for that matter, is not always what it pretends to be in the developing world.

Zimbabwe is an example: it is not, as many south of the Limpopo believe, a Marxist state — not yet, at any rate.

A fundamental truth about the relationship between the ideologies of the developed world and their roles in the emerging nations was bloodily illustrated a few weeks ago on the streets of Aden where, according to the BBC and other Western news media, "rival Marxist factions" have been battling for control.

However the learned academics of Leningrad or London may evaluate the epoch-making socio-economic theories of Dr Karl Marx, the reality in South Yemen is that Marxism is simply a mythology imported by a dominant minority for their own purposes. Its principal appeal is that it conveniently rationalizes and justifies certain extreme acts of coercion the rulers believe are necessary to maintain the cohesion of the society under their control.

One only has to think of such leaders as Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi, once an ardent Maoist, to find more evidence that, usually, the initial motive behind aspiring Third World elites who import ideologies is plain opportunism.

Unfortunately, only a handful of Third World leaders are realistic enough to admit this even to themselves. It is an Orwellian "unthinkable thought" which, once entertained, saps the loyalty of the convert to the faith.

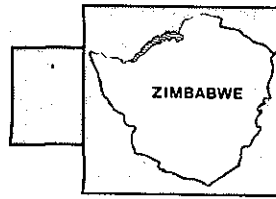
Victims of propaganda

A foreign "cohesive-coercive mythology" is imported just because the Third World society was unstable in the first place. Initially, it is merely parodied in a superficial form.

It is only later, paradoxically, that rigid dogmatism tends to take over from opportunism. For as instability continues, it produces a second generation of converts, usually young people who have fallen victim to their rulers' own propaganda. They believe that if only the mythology can be applied in its purest, most absolute form, the kingdom of heaven will arrive among men.

The last time this sort of phenomenon was witnessed in British politics was in the 1640s when the Presbyterians were obsessed by the conviction that if only their "solemn league and covenant" could be imposed throughout the British isles, every problem that had afflicted them since the renaissance would vanish overnight.

South Africa has seen something of this with the clamour by Afrikaner extremists for a return to "pure" Verwoerdian apartheid.



Michael Hartnack
Reports from Harare



Dr Jonas Savimbi . . . an example of opportunism behind an ideology

Here in Zimbabwe, the very success of the Mugabe government in halving the infant mortality rate and getting more than 90 percent of youngsters into school is in the process creating a class of Shona-speaking political agitators whose first faint mutterings may even now be heard.

Exasperated by unemployment and by the degrading realities of urban poverty, these school-leavers with their high expectations for the future are a receptive audience for malcontents (at present contained within the ruling party itself) who are beginning to convince themselves that Mr Mugabe's pragmatism is the root of all Zimbabwe's troubles.

One of Mr Mugabe's many pragmatic gifts demonstrated in the past is his ability to smell a political winner. And it never ceases to amaze observers of the South African scene why the Zimbabwean government continues to favour the Pan Africanist Congress which, as a Johannesburg friend recently put it to me, is "simply invisible" within the Republic itself today.

Perhaps Mr Mugabe has a nose for people who, like himself, are pragmatists (or, as their enemies would put it, opportunists) rather than blind idealists.

For when people talk about the "moderation" they say they have encountered in talking to the leaders of the PAC's more well known rival, the African National Congress, they mean moderation in the plans the ANC have for South African society when they should come to power. They cannot mean in the ANC's methods of achieving power.

One of the things that must strike anyone who talks to the ANC is the vehemence of its leaders' faith in ANC principles, which are not, whatever one may hear of Soviet penetration of the movement, simply something acquired holus bolus from a foreign source.

When the ANC say they are not prepared to discuss a federal system or a qualified franchise, even as interim measures, they really mean it.

This is something many diplomats and anti-apartheid campaigners seem not to want to understand. The ANC is not merely adopting a political posture for public consumption, behind which is concealed a secret willingness to compromise on power-sharing.

They are (by their own lights) idealists first, and politicians so far second as to make it extremely doubtful to pragmatists — among whom may be Mr Mugabe — that given the chance to gain power through the negotiations he believes are inevitable, they could make the most of the opportunity.

It is interesting to observe from Harare that the campaign among white South African liberals to have the ANC unbanned and allowed to organize freely in the Republic still has momentum. There are many who say that a re-introduction to the realities of South African politics will restore the lost element of pragmatism to the ANC's councils. They might be right . . .

But given the vehemence with which the ANC believe in a set of ideals they have spent long years formulating (most of them enshrined in their Freedom Charter) there is a strong practical possibility that an unbanned ANC would degenerate into a mere stalking horse for an opportunist rival — probably the PAC.

Continue →

Practicalities of power

For example, if the ANC campaigned on a platform of state participation in strategic industries, its rival would outbid it with a vote-catching demand for the seizure of all white businesses without compensation. If the ANC campaigned for rapid black advancement in the civil service, its rival would demand the dismissal of all presently employed whites, and so on.

Knowing the ANC, they would not budge from the Freedom Charter's assertion that South Africa and its resources are the equal property of all South Africans — even if this stand lost them votes. While such a show of principle may be laudable, it is not the way one-man, one-vote elections are won in Africa. In politics there is no honour or morality, according to Machiavelli, only the practicalities of power.

So it is quite conceivable that the ANC might lose elections fought on the issue of black solidarity despite the overwhelming support it now seems to have in South African townships. It is not so long ago that Bishop Abel Muzorewa's UANC in Zimbabwe enjoyed phenomenal popular support, which evaporated when the UANC failed to come to grips with practical power politics.

The ANC could not accept freedom to campaign in South Africa without insisting on the unbanning of its rivals, if only so it could demonstrate the overwhelming support it is convinced it has. It — and all the whites who believe the ANC contains people who should be brought into the South African "decision-making process" — might thus be riding for one tremendous fall.

Politics is not about the fine and noble things you plan to do for your people once you get into power. It is about how you get power and keep power.

Anyone who doesn't understand this is dangerously naive.

CAPE Times 13/2/86

114

Memani withdraws from politics



Mr Oliver Memani

Staff Reporter

CONTROVERSIAL squatter leader Mr Oliver Memani yesterday announced he was withdrawing "for once and for all" from active politics and emphatically denied he has been in hiding.

In an interview with the Cape Times, Mr Memani said: "I have decided with my family to leave the matter of squatter leadership, and from now on I will keep away from squatter problems."

Mr Memani was this week reported to be in hiding after around 50 homes in KTC were destroyed in fighting between rival squatter factions in

recent weeks.

The houses belonged to both supporters and opponents of Mr Memani.

He recently spent over nine months in jail awaiting trial on charges of public violence, and in 1984 was found not guilty on 460 charges of fraud.

He and his followers have been involved in ongoing battles — both physical and verbal — which have led to the deaths of at least 11 people since 1983.

This week, a group called the Transkei United Club, which includes Mr Memani's brother, Mr Zenzile Memani, claimed Mr Oliver Me-

mani had been "driven out" of KTC and was in hiding.

Mr Memani said in yesterday's interview that he and his family were staying with relatives in New Crossroads and he had decided to relinquish all claims to leadership of the KTC and Crossroads squatter communities.

"The people in the community must now decide. They can choose their own leaders, I have no objections to any leader they choose.

"I have done my best for my people, and all I now want is that the Transkei United Club, or any other group who wish to lead the squatters, that they let people stay in peace.

"Those who are homeless must be accommodated, it does not matter to whom they are loyal, to me or to others; the new leaders must treat all the people the same way they would treat people who are loyal to them."

His wife, Mrs Louisa Memani, said: "I am very happy that my husband has left the problems. In 1983, I almost lost him in the shootings which took place, in that violence. I feel very relieved that my husband has now dropped from public life."

Mr Memani said he would henceforth devote all his time to building up his shop and developing his business.

After Lusaka contact ...

BUS DAY
13/2/88 *(11A)*
**UK may meet
ANC at home**



● HOWE

JOHN BATTERSBY

LONDON — The British government has hinted that its recent official contact with the African National Congress in Lusaka has paved the way for official contacts in London.

Replying to a question by Labour's shadow foreign secretary Dennis Healey in the House of Commons last week, Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said that the recent contact with the ANC in Lusaka had led to the ANC's recognition of the role of the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons Group.

Asked whether he would extend the same right to Foreign Office officials to make contact with ANC representatives in London he said:

"Contact with the ANC in London will be decided in the context of the decision that has already been taken (to meet the ANC in Lusaka)."

But observers said that ministerial contact with the ANC was unlikely until there was progress towards the declaration of a truce in the ANC's 25-year-old armed struggle.

Sir Geoffrey said it was important to have contact with the ANC "at this critical time" to get across a case against violence and to make out a case for general dialogue.

The watershed UK-ANC meeting in Lusaka has also paved the way for official contact with jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, once he is released from prison.

The British government has formerly called for his immediate and unconditional release but has indicated it would not hold talks with him at ministerial level until he renounced violence.

'Fortification' said

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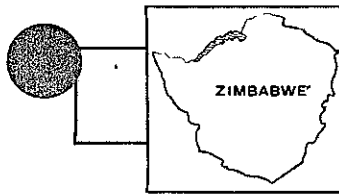
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CRAT Touts 13/2/86

111



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Continue

can congratulate the Editor on the product which is posted to every member once a year. It is the one link between the headquarters of the Association and the overseas members which makes it worth while keeping up their membership.

A LESSON FROM OXALIS

Stan Farwig

I am one of those who have queried Mr Loubser on the paucity of *Oxalis* species from the rich storehouse of South Africa, for I too share a weakness for the genus. This in spite of having faced, along with many Californians, the onslaught of *O. pes caprae* and, at a more innocent time, having planted out a cultivar readily a

O. purpurea "Grand

Oxalis does, however possess, to use a behaviour, 'refine the present horticulture reproduce ... is n that just as in hu characterising ent nations by the rep it may be benefici ation rather than since one member, any collection.

This is the narrow Pass, *O. massoniana* tiny leaves, and e a metallic sheen, Captain Salter's a strikingly handsome (Salter, T.M., 194 *Jl. S. Bot. Suppl.* more weediness in for it.

O. luteola is anot its container, as have remained so, very deeply into t

Oxalis were popular with the Victorians as house plants and consequently were grown in pots. Herein may lie a method for restraining their rowdy excesses. *O. hirta*, with its brilliant magenta flower, makes a lascivious display of fecundity in its own bed and the bed of others at the

California Botanical Garden at Berkeley. This a reflection of the depths to which some species

Practicalities of power

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Biko's home town is venue for launch

Dispatch Reporter

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — One of the largest gatherings of black consciousness exponents will be seen here on Saturday for the launch of the Border branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

The launch takes place in Ginsberg — home of the father of black consciousness,

Steve Biko. The launch will end with a memorial service at Mr Biko's grave.

Azapo president, Mr Saths Cooper, who was detained in Windhoek last night, was due to give the main address. The president of the Azanian Students' Movement (Azasm), Mr Arthur Ratlana, will also speak.

Mr Ratlana, a final year medical student, is

expected to dwell on the black education crisis and to give Azasm's stand on the return to school by black pupils.

Mr Cooper, a clinical psychologist who spent five years on Robben Island, was expected to outline Azapo's stand on the current South African political situation.

Azapo has been trying to set up new branches

throughout the country in addition to the 80 it already has.

The organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, has toured the Eastern Cape setting up branches and played a key role in settling the Azapo-UDF feud in Port Elizabeth which resulted in the expulsion from Azapo of its spokesman there, the Reverend Mzwandile Maqina.

DISPATCH 13/2/86
TIA

Interdict 1.1

stay empty

14/2/86.

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — There was a total stayaway at Mdantsane schools yesterday which was expected to continue today, ending on Monday.

During a tour of the township yesterday, all schools were deserted.

One primary school principal, who refused to be named for professional reasons, said she was instructed by youths armed with sticks, hoses, pipes and other weapons to send pupils home as there was a stayaway in the township.

She said the pupils were immediately dismissed as she feared they might be hurt.

She was not told what the stayaway was for but gathered that secondary schools in the township were spearheading the boycott.

The pupils were released at about 10 am and only teachers remained at the school.

The principal said she had not been told when she could allow her pupils to spend a normal school day.

This was not the first time that she had been ordered by a group of youths to close her school during normal school hours. The same thing happened last year.

"The pupils are running the schools these days," the principal said.

Her statement was echoed by other secondary schools principals who said they were not expecting pupils until Monday next week.

She said only teachers remained at school and would knock-off at the usual time — 2 pm.

One teacher said the pupils were scheduled to meet education officials today and tomorrow. Because the pupils had opted not to attend the schools, they could not meet the authorities.

The authorities would have come to listen to the pupils's grievances during the two days, he said.

The Ciskei Director General of Information, Mr Headman Somtunzi, was not available for comment yesterday.

Meanwhile, the Ciskei police liaison officer, said another school at Zone 12 in Mdantsane was slightly damaged

when arsonists set it alight yesterday morning.

He said the incident took place at about 2.15 am and two classrooms of the Fikile Bhengu Primary School were slightly damaged.

Classes at Duncan Village, near East London, were continuing smoothly yesterday.

There was no school attendance at the Duncan Village Corporation (Duvcor) units which are to be used as temporary classrooms and where secondary pupils were supposed to attend classes as from Tuesday.

The units had been built to accommodate pupils until the school buildings in Duncan Village had been reconstructed. The school buildings were destroyed at the height of unrest in the township last year.

During a visit to the township yesterday, all secondary pupils who registered in January at Ebenezer Majombozi Secondary School were in classes with teachers. The pupils were registered last month by the Duncan Village Parents Committee and the East London Progressive Teachers Union, together with primary pupils of the township.

However, pupils were released earlier than normal. They were let off classes at 11 am at some schools and at noon at others.

Teachers who were interviewed said the main reason for the early releases was inadequate facilities at the places where the pupils had been accommodated. Secondary school pupils in Duncan Village have been accommodated at Ebenezer Majombozi Secondary School building and primary pupils in the township's church halls.

School principals refused to allow reporters to take photographs of pupils in the classrooms yesterday. The Daily Dispatch was referred to a newly formed committee which was said to consist of teachers, parents and students, and to be the only body man-

dated to issue press statements. Attempts to reach the committee were unsuccessful yesterday.

The Cape deputy regional director of Education and Training in Port Elizabeth, Mr K. B. Tabata, refused to comment when asked to clarify the schools situation in Duncan Village.

Duncan Village pupils were the last to register officially this week. Other black pupils in South Africa registered on January 28.

Mr Tabata was the only senior official who could issue a statement at the time.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that thousands of pupils in Pretoria's black townships stayed home yesterday after a call for a two-day school boycott to commemorate the death of an Atteridgeville pupil and the recent shooting of three pupils.

UDF in the dock

Despite the euphoria over the withdrawal of charges against 12 top United Democratic Front (UDF) leaders in the Maritzburg treason trial late last year, the organisation's legal tribulations are far from over. Legal sources view the current treason trial in Delmas as a more serious threat to the UDF than the Maritzburg case. For in Delmas it is the UDF itself which is effectively on trial.

Although the Delmas accused include a number of supporters of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) and other non-UDF organisations, the crux of the State's case is that the UDF directly conspired with the African National Congress (ANC) to bring about violent change in SA. In the Maritzburg case, the State claimed that the ANC worked through UDF "underground structures," but it stopped short of alleging that the UDF and ANC conspired together.

In Delmas, the State seeks to prove that the UDF as an organisation, together with its affiliates and active supporters, is part of a conspiracy to overthrow government by vio-

lence.

The Delmas accused also face serious alternative charges. These include five counts of murder, charges of subversion, and allegations of furthering the aims of the ANC and SA Communist Party (SACP).

Much of the case is concerned with the uprising in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984 and the murder of community councillors. The State has not alleged that any of the accused were physically involved in the murders. But the prosecution claims that these violent acts arose out of meetings of a UDF affiliate, the Vaal Civic Association, and that certain of the accused were present during some of the murders. In much the same way, the State alleges that the Vaal uprising was part of a UDF conspiracy.

The Delmas trial is enormous in scope, covering the period from the UDF's national launch in August 1983 until April 1985. Not

only is there a list of 800 co-conspirators, including prominent names like Bishop Desmond Tutu and Rev Beyers Naude, but the State has also included all UDF affiliates in the conspiracy, claiming that their affiliation binds them to implement the UDF's alleged policy of violent revolution.

Although trial proceedings began only recently, the State has already led evidence of UDF members undergoing crash courses in the use of arms and explosives. Evidence has also been led of a clandestine meeting between Tutu and an ANC military and political leader, Joe Slovo, and of links between ANC operations and UDF supporters. But this evidence — given by ANC renegades — has been strongly challenged by the defence.

Meanwhile, in Maritzburg, the State has resumed its case against four leaders of the SA Allied Workers' Union (Saawu) who were originally charged together with the 12

UDF leaders. Much of the State's case against the four — Thozamile Gqweta, Sisa Njikelana, Sam Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo — deals with strikes and boycotts which took place in the early Eighties. It was during this period that Saawu established itself as the strongest of the "community" trade unions, especially in East London. The State alleges that Saawu precipitated these strikes to further the aims of the "revolutionary alliance" between the ANC, SACP, and the SA Congress of Trade Unions.

The charges against the Saawu four remain substantially the same as those withdrawn against their UDF co-accused last year. But the UDF is not expected to feature prominently in the trial. For while the accused have been linked to the UDF because Saawu is affiliated to it, most of the strikes listed by the State pre-date the UDF's formation.

1986 TRANSFORMED?

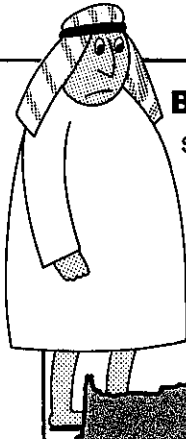
	Oil at \$28/barrel		Oil at \$18/barrel	
	Growth %	Inflation %	Growth %	Inflation %
US	2,7	4,2	3,7	2,5
Japan	2,5	1,7	4,0	0,9
Germany	3,0	2,0	4,0	1,0
France	1,8	3,0	2,8	2,0
UK	2,5	4,0	3,3	2,7
OECD	2,5	4,5	3,3	2,8

(Sources: Averages of OECD, Government and private sector forecasts)

losers will depend on their capacity to increase volumes to offset prices. This flexibility is primarily the domain of the Saudis and other Middle East Opec members. But the outlook is bleak for Mexico and Venezuela (both minus \$4 billion) and Nigeria (minus \$3 billion), as all are heavily in debt with export earnings 70%-95% dependent on oil.

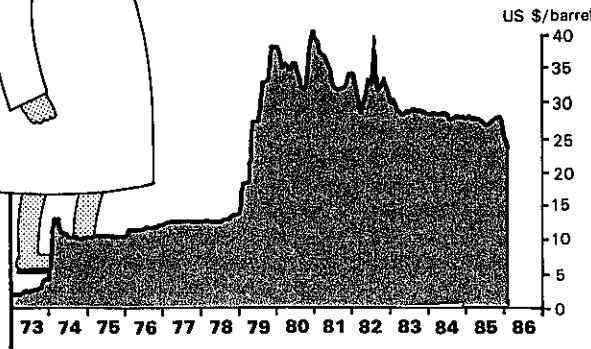
Another major sufferer will be the Soviet Union. Its forex income from oil (not to mention gas which will also be affected) could slump by \$5 billion — equivalent to a chilling 500 t of gold at current prices, although on past record the Russians are unlikely to kill the bullion market stone dead with such a flood.

□ **International debt:** The universal hope is that creditor banks exposed to Latin American and other developing nation debt will survive on the swings and roundabouts of this oil shock. And falling interest rates will help, especially as most rescheduled debt has been done on a floating rate basis. A two point drop in dollar rates will boost the balance of payments position of a winner in the oil price



BENEVOLENT OIL SHOCK

Spot price: Saudi Arabian light crude oil



war such as Brazil by \$4,5 billion while lessening the impact on a loser like Mexico by \$2 billion. There are, however, fears that unless Mexico gets the extra new money it needs this year — up to \$4 billion on some estimates — it will be forced like Nigeria, Peru and SA to take unilateral action. Although denied by Mexico, worries persist about a moratorium or a ceiling on debt

servicing as a percentage of forex earnings — 30% in Nigeria's case and 10% in Peru's.

There is less hope for US banks, especially those in the south-west, who lent heavily to small oil and gas producers. According to one analysis, for example, 10 Texas banks alone are carrying \$3,7 billion in non-performing loans — nearly 66% of which were to energy or property clients. Oil's decline has also hit property: 20% of Houston's office space is reported to be vacant.

All these scenarios could evaporate as quickly as they sprang up if Opec returns to quotas. After all, the aim of the "fair market share" the cartel sought was to make more money, not less.

As Opec chairman and Venezuelan Oil Minister, Arturo Hernandez Grisanti said at the time of the fateful Geneva meeting in December: "Opec countries cannot continue retreating from the market. We will not allow our incomes to decline."

Simple arithmetic shows that only a handful have the capacity to achieve that by

lifting more oil and driving the price ever lower. Without a deal with the non-Opec exporters, however, the 13 countries are powerless to inflict damage on anyone but themselves by slashing their own output. Given the economic disparities within Opec, that seems unlikely in the foreseeable future and cheaper oil could be here to stay for at least the next five years. ■

NELSON MANDELA

What will he do?

Nelson Mandela must be pondering deeply over the almost messianic burden placed upon him as he waits for his release.

How will he use his freedom after more than two decades of imprisonment? And what will the presence of this hugely symbolic leader, who remains firmly committed to the policy of the African National Congress (ANC), mean for SA's future?

The modalities for his release have been established. It is now largely a question of timing; of waiting for the pieces to fall into place — as they appeared to be doing as the *FM* went to press. The main one is the return from Angolan captivity of SA's Captain Wynand du Toit. As with the Anatoly Shcharansky release, Du Toit's had already been set in train as a separate prisoner-of-war exchange with the Angolans. From government's viewpoint, the linkage, however odd, was shrewdly calculated to give it a "fire-escape" from the outrage that can be expected from the rightwing when Mandela is set free.

Nelson Mandela is soon expected to be released after 23 years in jail. He is the world's foremost political prisoner, and his release will have a major impact on South African politics.

It must have taken a great deal of Western, particularly US, pressure for the State President to back down on his condition a year ago, that Mandela first renounce violence as a political tool, before he could be freed. And it appears that the Israelis played a major role (see *Current Affairs*). No doubt, too, the seriousness of SA's debt squeeze, and the wonders that a "signal" such as Mandela's release could do for SA's international standing, helped nudge Botha away from his uncompromising stance.

Yet, as government must be aware, a free Nelson Mandela could well set the political stage alight, so to speak. He will, whether he

is released inside the country or abroad, affect crucially the shape and the size of the black "struggle."

When he is released, there is the worry that either some loony of the Right, or one from the black ranks opposed to Mandela, might assassinate him. The blame would then be placed at government's door, and it would find it very hard to live with the charge.

Government faces the problem, also, that the freed Mandela, if he remains in SA, as seems likely, will challenge its authority by, say, defying security or other laws. This, says an observer, would be a big letdown for Pretoria, for no government could tolerate such outright defiance of its authority. Having to re-arrest Mandela a couple of weeks after releasing him would, of course, place government in a highly embarrassing position.

It seems more likely that government might countenance what amounts to an "internal wing" of the ANC, with Mandela at

CAPF Tm's
14/2/86 () 11A

UWC 'reflects community's problems'

Education Reporter

THE rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, has said that the university realized the problems of the broader community were also reflected on campus.

He was addressing parents of new students at an orientation ceremony at the university.

Prof Gerwel said it was a phenomenon that occurred from time to time at institutions where most students were not white.

Much as he desired peace and calm at the university, it would greatly disturb him if such a situation was achieved by the fact that the university was not re-

flecting the composition of South Africa.

"As an institution we are struggling with the problems of our country, the questions of our future. In this process, the fact of being a student is not an idle luxury, but our education is based on the reality of life in this country.

"And the ultimate value of education for our students — and the whole country — must never be underestimated."

Prof Gerwel said consultation and negotiation with students had become an integral part of the running of the university.

There was much talk in the

country about democracy and he was proud to say that UWC, in its everyday functioning, strove in every little facet to keep the principle of democracy alive.

There had been some "panic talk" about the university's future because of the unrest situation at black educational institutions, but "as a university we are confident of being an institution for the future".

□ UWC's postponed examinations, which started on January 20, were written by an average of 80 percent of students and results were expected to be released in about a month's time, a spokesman said.



Prof Jakes Gerwel

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — A meeting planned by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) in Ginsberg tomorrow was banned by a magisterial decree yesterday afternoon.

The meeting had been intended to launch the Border branch of the organisation. The leader of Azapo, Mr Saths Cooper, who was detained in Windhoek on Wednesday and released yesterday, was scheduled to give the main address at the meeting.

The magistrate of King William's Town, Mr Pieter Nell, said he had "reason to apprehend that the public peace would be seriously endangered" by the gather-

DISPATCH

King Azapo meeting banned by magistrate

14/2/86

ing of Azapo on February 15 at Ginsberg township.

The meeting was banned under Section 46 of the Internal Security Act with effect from 8 am on February 15 until 8 am on February 17.

The Azapo national publicity secretary, Mr Muntu Myeza, said from Johannesburg last night he condemned the banning, which indicated that the government was

not serious about their pronouncements of reform.

"President Botha's speech at the opening of Parliament is daily being shown to have been just a part of a huge circus.

"The banning of meetings has become a daily occurrence and we are convinced that the government is showing its inability to engage in democratic processes."

He said they would be considering what steps should now be taken.

The launch of the Border branch of the organisation was an indication of the pace with which the organisation was growing, he said.

"We are presently engaged in increasing our membership and influence."

Sapa reports Mr Cooper left Windhoek for Cape Town yesterday after making a brief appearance in the Windhoek Magistrates Court.

He was not asked to plead to charges that he did not obtain the necessary papers to enter SWA/Nambia, and bail of R50 was granted. The court adjourned until April 24.

Cosatu denies it takes orders from ANC in exile

African Affairs
Correspondent

THE Council of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has denied that it takes its orders from the African National Congress in exile, as alleged yesterday by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha.

A statement from Cosatu yesterday said that such violent language benefited no one.

References to the organisation as being a 'front of the ANC' showed clearly very little understanding of the democracy of workers' organisa-

tions, the statement said.

'Cosatu was formed after four years of painstaking discussions. Trade unions have a very strong commitment to democracy and our greatest achievement has been to build structures where our membership and leaders express their views,' it said.

The statement said members in affiliated unions elected their representatives to all structures in Cosatu and workers from factories were a majority in all structures, which refuted the accusation that Cosatu was a 'front organisation'.

11A
4/2/86

Sentence for ANC 'Call'

Court Reporter
Court Reporter

A STUDENT at the University of the Western Cape was yesterday sentenced in Wynberg Regional Court to 12 months' imprisonment for possessing an African National Congress (ANC) pamphlet.

Sentence on Brendon Bell, 22, of Mitchells Plain was suspended for three years.

Bell, who pleaded guilty to the charge under the Internal Security Act, said he had been given the pamphlet entitled "ANC Call to the Nation; The Future is within our grasp", at a student meeting last year.

The magistrate, Mr M Symington, said he had imposed a suspended sentence as the Act did not make provision for a fine.

Mr W Badenhorst appeared for the State.

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ANC leader's release 'not an issue'

Secret talks to free SA commando

14/2/88
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Mandela will
not be freed
now - official

A spokesman for the Department of Justice today firmly dismissed all speculation that Nelson Mandela was to be released.

He said this was "not true at this stage" but could not rule out further developments.

Speculation about Mandela's possible release yesterday reached fever pitch.

Reports included that Mr Pik Botha and United States Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker discussed Mandela during their talks in Switzerland yesterday and that Israel had admitted negotiating with South Africa for the release of Soviet prisoners.

● A Randburg magistrate has banned a Press conference to be addressed by Mrs Mandela.

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau
Secret negotiations are understood to be going on to secure the release of Captain Wynand du Toit, the South African commando held prisoner in Angola.

He might be swapped for an undisclosed number of Angolan Government Fapla troops and a Cuban prisoner-of-war held by Dr Jonas Savimbi's rebel Unita movement.

The Star learnt today from diplomatic sources that negotiations were under way — but would be complicated because Unita is involved.

Angola will not negotiate directly with Unita.

The release of Captain du Toit would fulfil one of the conditions for the freeing of ANC leader Nelson Mandela laid down by President Botha in Parliament last month.

Another of the President's demands, the freeing of Soviet dissident Dr Andre Sakahrov, is understood to no longer be a major issue in the release of Mandela.

Sources indicated today that the Angolan Government had intimated that it was in favour of a prisoner swap.

But it is understood that Unita, rather than South Africa, holds the "bargaining cards" in the form of "capture" troops needed for an exchange that would free Captain du Toit.

The sources have indicated that South Africa might have in custody only a small number of captured Angolan troops and is not holding any Cubans.

It is understood from diplomatic sources that as far as Angola is concerned any swap would deal entirely with Angolan and Cuban prisoners on the one hand, and Captain du Toit on the other — with Mandela not being an issue.

✓ mystery

A spokesman for the Department of Justice in Cape Town today firmly dismissed speculation that Mandela is to be released. But he said he could not rule out the possibility of further developments at a later stage.

Confusion still surrounds television footage, allegedly of Mandela, which was shown overseas yesterday.

The clip of about 15 seconds, taken by a CBS television crew from a closed circuit television screen at Medipark Centre in Cape Town, was verified by Mrs Winnie Mandela, who viewed it at the American television network's offices in Johannesburg.

But a spokesman for South African Prisons Services denied that Mandela had been let out of Pollsmoor Prison for a medical check-up.

"Any allegations to the contrary are untrue," he said.

He reiterated an earlier statement that it was not Prisons Service policy to comment on the movement of individual prisoners and would not confirm whether the man who was filmed was a prisoner or not.

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World sees film of 'Mandela'

Cape Town
 14/2/86
 (111)

N American television service claimed last night that it had filmed jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Cape Town's Medipark yesterday.

The CBS footage was televised all over the world but the Prison Services denied in a statement to Sapa that Mr Mandela had been taken to Medipark yesterday.

UPI reported from London that the film was shown by Independent Television News which said the pictures were the first of Mr Mandela to be made public in 24 years.

The pictures were of a fit and active man with a shock of short, white hair.

Mr Mandela, 67, has been in jail since 1962 serving a life term for sabotage and treason.

ITN said the film had been shown to Mr Mandela's wife Winnie and the figure in it had been identified as being her husband.

After being shown the pictures, veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Bishop Trevor Huddleston told ITN: "I know Nelson has been keeping himself exceedingly fit in prison."

"He's a tall man and has that sort of rangy walk."

There is renewed speculation, although this has been denied by both Angola and South Africa, that both Mr Mandela and Captain Wynand du Toit, the South African commando being held in Luanda, will be released at midday today.

'Energetic'

Tony Weaver reports that reporters and television crews staking out the Medipark Centre yesterday morning saw a man wearing prison fatigues and thought to be Mr Mandela entering the building soon after 8am.

While security guards watched entrances and exits to the building, an elderly black man, described as being "well-built, energetic and with short greying hair", entered, accompanied by four white men.

Journalists watching a closed-circuit television security monitor saw a group of men emerging from a 10th-floor room at 9.25am.

The CBS crew filmed the screen — and scored what they believe is probably one of the news scoops of the decade.

"We are over the moon," CBS crew members said last night.

An elaborate deception exercise was launched to spirit the man believed to be Mr Mandela out of the building, with an ambulance acting as a decoy and the man being driven off in a civilian vehicle.

John Battersby reports from London that the British Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, met the South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, yesterday.

A British Foreign Office spokesman confirmed that the subject of Mr Mandela's release had been discussed at a 45-minute meeting covering "a wide range of issues".

But the spokesman added that Sir Geoffrey had not been given any specific time for his release.

"The subject was only touched on during a wide-ranging discussion," the spokesman said.

Rumours

"I would be very surprised if the Foreign Secretary had not been informed if Mr Mandela was due to be released tomorrow," the spokesman said.

Sources close to Mr Mandela's family yesterday said they were unable to confirm rumours that he would be released at midday today.

Mr Essa Moosa, the Cape Town lawyer and correspondent for Ismail Ayob and Associates, the Johannesburg attorneys who represent Mrs Mandela, said he had "no indications" that Mr Mandela would be released today.

He said, however, that he had a "personal" feeling that the release might take place before February 20, as this was when the meeting of foreign bankers to discuss South Africa's debt standstill was to take place, and the release might be seen as a "favourable gesture".

Sources in the Justice Department denied any possibility of an imminent release, saying he was in Pollsmoor Prison and he would remain there.

They pointed out that the Min-

ister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, had said recently that the conditions for his release as set out by the State President in his opening of Parliament speech had not been met and that therefore there was no possibility of his being freed.

The Prisons Department also categorically denied that Mr Mandela was on the verge of being released from 23 years in prison.

One of the rumours circulating yesterday was that although Mr Mandela was not ill, he had been transferred from Pollsmoor to a local hospital, from where the release would take place.

A member of the staff at the Volkshospitaal in Gardens, where Mr Mandela was admitted last year for the removal of an enlarged prostate gland, said that there was no police guard at the hospital.

Speculation that Mr Mandela is to be released today at the same time as Captain Du Toit was released from an Angolan prison was given a boost with the announcement that the Angolan Ambassador to Britain and the United Nations, Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, was to hold a press conference in London today at 10am (12 noon SA time.)

Adamant

It was thought the press conference was to be held to announce the simultaneous release of Captain Du Toit and the bodies of several South African soldiers in exchange for several Angolan and one Cuban prisoner being held in Pretoria.

However, according to reports from Luanda reaching Lisbon, the Angolan Government was adamant they would not release Captain Du Toit.

In a dispatch from the Angolan capital, the Portuguese news agency Angop quoted Angola's Foreign Minister, Mr Alfonso van Dunem, as saying the government would not even consider such an exchange.

42 SA 'refugees' fly out of Lesotho

AP625 14/2/86 (757) 114
Argus Africa News Service

MASERU. — A further 42 South Africans believed to be members or supporters of the ANC were flown out of Lesotho last night as the new military government continued its crackdown on the ANC.

The 42 flew in a chartered Lesotho Airways aircraft to Lusaka. Most are believed to have been among the 50 South African refugees detained on January 31, reportedly for screening to determine whether any were on a list provided by the South African Government.

SECOND GROUP

The group that left last night was the second to fly to Lusaka since the coup that ousted former Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan last month. A group of 60 left on January 25 in a chartered aircraft. On the same day 30 South African students left on a scheduled flight.

Mandela: Advocate Bizos flies to Pollsmoor

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4/2/86
WEEKLY M.

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTERS

SENIOR ADVOCATE George Bizos was due to fly to Cape Town late yesterday for further consultations with Nelson Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison, indicating that negotiations over the details of the ANC leader's release from prison are continuing. It is believed negotiations broke down last week over demands that the ANC leader have a "cooling off" period away from his home in Soweto after his release.

This was because the authorities were worried about the effects of simply freeing him unconditionally. It is believed that Mandela has taken a hard line against demands that he spend such a "cooling off" period outside of the country. His family have made it clear that he wishes to be released on South African soil. His family have indicated his release is likely, but may not happen for some months.

But it appears the mechanics of his release — where and under what conditions it takes place — are also being discussed.

Although the government is under enormous international pressure to release him, Security Forces appear to be concerned that simply releasing him unconditionally could set in movement an unpredictable chain of events.

They are believed to have pushed for a "cooling off" period, in the belief that if he spends time outside of the country, his return to Soweto will be less tumultuous.

Alternatively, they have sought assurances on what he will do immediately after his release. Negotiations are understood to have broken down over Mandela's insistence that he be released unconditionally. However, the fact that Bizos, who has represented Mandela since his conviction for sabotage in 1962, has flown down again to Cape Town seems to indicate that negotiations are continuing.

Speculation and rumour about an imminent release have been rife all week, with the international media on constant standby.

The State President, P W Botha, scotched most of the rumours this week when he reiterated the preconditions for Mandela's release laid down two weeks ago. This indicated that the release or at least some agreement on the release of Wynand Du Toit, the South African soldier held in Angola, remains a key factor in Mandela's release.

... talk of conspiracy

14/2/85

COUNSEL for four treason trialists alleged in Pietermaritzburg this week that a cabinet minister, Fanie Botha and the security police were involved in a conspiracy to crush the South African Allied Workers Union (Saawu).

By TONY OOSTHUIZEN, Pietermaritzburg

cross-examination of state witness Major Phillipus Olivier, head of the East London Security Police Labour and Trade Union Section.

The claims were made at the Supreme Court trial of Saawu president Thozamile Gqweta who is appearing with Sisa Njikelana, Samuel Kikine and Isaac Ngcobo before Justice J P Milne.

Olivier said Saawu had been working within the law and, although they had information of a link with the ANC, they did not have enough evidence to go to court.

Advocates Clifford Mailer and Marino Moerane claimed the conspiracy involved Botha, then Minister of Manpower Utilisation, the Security Police, managers of about 15 East London-based factories and two members of National Intelligence.

The court heard lengthy evidence on Olivier's visits to the managers of factories in the area and his involvement in giving factories advice when the workers were on strike.

Botha allegedly discussed "the Saawu problem" with them at a closed Border Chamber of Industries meeting in October, 1980. He allegedly said it would be disastrous for management not to recognise the unions demanded by the majority of their workers, but discussed a "common strategy" to deal with Saawu.

Responding to questioning by Mailer, Olivier said he visited managements at most of the factories and advised them not to have any dealings with Saawu. He denied an allegation that managements were "subjected to considerable pressure by the Security Police to have nothing to do with Saawu", but agreed with an allegation that factory managements in the Border Area were influenced by him, his staff and the minister.

The defence also alleged that Botha told the managers to "keep talking" to Saawu, but "not to recognise them". He asked how long they could last against Saawu pressure for recognition.

Defence counsel said the "collective conspiracy" to crush Saawu took place at the same time the government was announcing trade union autonomy, freedom of association and minimum government interference in labour relations.

This evidence was presented during

The trial resumes on Monday.

14/2/85

Treason accused

ERIC Pelsler, believed to be the first white South African to be accused of undergoing ANC military training, will be charged with treason in the Johannesburg Supreme Court on Thursday.

The 21-year-old Pelsler, a former student at the University of the Witwatersrand, has been in detention since July last year.

He is being charged alternatively with contravening the Internal Security Act and also with possession of LSD and banned literature.

It is alleged that he underwent military training at an ANC camp in Angola.

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WEEKLY MAIL
14/2/86

CPH Times
Cooper leaves SWA
14/2/86 11A
after court appearance

WINDHOEK. — The Azanian People's Organization president, Mr Saths Cooper, left SWA/Namibia for Cape Town yesterday after a brief appearance in the Magistrate's Court here.

He was not asked to plead to charges that he did not obtain the necessary papers to enter SWA/Namibia, and bail of R50 was granted.

The hearing adjourned until April 24.

Mr Cooper, 35, was arrested in Windhoek on Wednesday night shortly before he was due to address a meeting on the theme "Black Consciousness Movement and its Lessons for Namibia".

He was taken into custody in terms of a SWA/Namibian ordinance of 1970 which requires people of Asian descent to obtain permits to enter the territory.

The ordinance is to be repealed by a bill adopted by the SWA/Namibian National Assembly last year. Authoritative sources said the legislation would be enacted on April 1.

A possible consequence of the repeal of the ordinance — in terms of which Mr Cooper had been detained — would be the dropping of charges. — Sapa

World sees film of 'Mandela'

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14/2/86
(114) ~~114~~

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Adamant

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CONTROVERSIAL Natal trade unionist Selby Nsibande, whose taste for the high life has landed him in a legal wrangle, is now at the centre of a second Natal Supreme Court case.

The vice president of Nsibande's Inkatha-affiliated National Sugar and Refining and Allied Industries/ Employees Union, Bernard Mthetwa, brought an application against him last year, alleging various forms of corruption and maladministration.

Mthetwa was granted an interim order preventing general secretary Nsibande from touching union funds and forcing him to return the R75 000 Daimler Benz he bought with members' money.

Now the pro-Nsibande unionists

have brought a counter application.

They want president Zeblon Mbatha to be ordered to hold a meeting to consider the "unconditional withdrawal" of the application against Nsibande, and for him to be allowed access to union funds once again.

The two applications have highlighted the constitutional and financial chaos of the union.

Among the claims made in the anti-Nsibande application are that all union members were supposed to belong to a funeral insurance scheme. Although members had paid their dues, the

High-life Selby fights back

WEEKLY MAIL REPORTER,
Durban

premiums had not been paid to the insurers and the members were not covered.

They claimed Nsibande had spent more than R5 000 on parking tickets and other traffic fines. He replied that the money was also used for fines incurred by other organisers, not just by himself and that he had personally authorised the spending "because of the exigencies of the job".

Audited statements of the union's

finances show that in 1985 Nsibande recorded more than R7 000 for a rally which never occurred. In 1984 he authorised a payment of R4 000 to defend a friend charged with theft.

Vast sums in unaccounted-for petty cash had been found missing: In 1984 the audited balance showed that unvouched-for petty cash stood at a total of R52 000. The following year, the auditors said they could no longer assess how much was missing, but they estimated that 75% of the cash going through the union had not been accounted for.

Nsibande — who claimed he was entitled to buy the Daimler for his use because the union owed him the money in back pay — said it was not his administration which had led to the union being almost bankrupt. He blamed it on the recession which had left members unable to pay their fees.

On the issue of improvements to his house — paid for from union funds — he said he was given permission to use union money by the national council to provide himself with "a habitable house befitting (his) status" in the union.

In 1984 alone the auditors found he had spent more than R25 000 on furnishings and improvements to his home.

14/2/76 WEEKLY H. 11A

All's mum in the House on De Jonge

THE Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Law and Order this week refused to give full answers to parliamentary questions about the De Jonge affair.

Frank Le Roux, Conservative Party MP for Brakpan, had asked how much the affair had cost and how far negotiations had gone.

Meanwhile, Amsterdam newspapers quoted De Jonge's lawyer speculating that her client's former wife, Helen Passtoors, who has been held in detention here since June, may soon stand trial.

Klaas de Jonge, a Dutch national, has been in the old premises of the

By PAT SIDLEY

Dutch Embassy in Pretoria since June last year, after he escaped Security Police detention; police have posted a guard on the building. The South African and Dutch governments have been holding talks on the affair.

Replying in writing to Le Roux's request for a full statement on the situation, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha declined to reveal the amounts of money involved, saying the money that had been spent was not in respect of one individual, but of a

situation between two governments in which South Africa's interests had to be protected.

He said the negotiations had not been completed but "understanding" had been reached on some points, while on others differences still existed.

Louis Le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, had been asked if his department had incurred extra expenses and to quantify those expenses; his answer was similar to Botha's.

Meanwhile Kathleen Satchwell, De Jonge's lawyer, is reported to have told the Dutch press in Amsterdam

this week De Jonge's former wife, Helene Passtoors, was likely to stand trial soon on her own.

She told reporters De Jonge would not be giving evidence in a trial and was prepared for a long stay in the embassy.

She was reported as saying she had not been able to visit Passtoors in prison — where Passtoors spent seven months in solitary confinement after her detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act — or in Johannesburg Hospital, where Passtoors has been since January, suffering from depression.

Satchwell had been given permission to visit her once she is returned to prison. The visits, however, would be in the presence of the Security Police.

Satchwell would not disclose the reason for her visit to Holland but repeated an earlier commitment from the Dutch government not to hand De Jonge to the South African authorities without a timeous warning to her.

While in Holland she met officials of the Dutch Foreign Ministry and then travelled to Brussels to speak to Belgian Foreign Ministry officials. De Jonge is a Dutch national, but Passtoors is Belgian.

'Hands off Winnie' campaign

11A
WEEKLY M.
14/2/86

LEADERS of the Release Mandela Campaign (RMC) have called a high-profile press conference in Alexandra township this morning to launch a "Hands off Winnie Mandela" campaign and to intensify efforts to have Nelson Mandela released unconditionally.

The press conference is being used to launch the campaign because the organisers feel that any public meeting or rally is likely to be banned.

Among those who are due to attend this morning and address the conference are Dr Allan Boesak and the Reverend Beyers Naude.

Winnie Mandela may also attend. She is currently under a restriction order that prevents her entering Johannesburg or Soweto and has been arrested a number of times in recent weeks for allegedly defying her banning.

The "hands-off" campaign will, according to an RMC member, be intended to try and stop the Security Police from harrasing her.

Charred bodies rouse PE anger

IT CAME just as all parties concerned were saying things had lulled down somewhat.

The troops had been withdrawn, with police chiefs citing relative calm in the black townships of Port Elizabeth; the United Democratic Front had buried the hatchet with the Azanian People's Organisation; and civic organisations were clamouring for the restoration of services because "all is well now".

Then on Monday morning the charred remains of five bodies were discovered in Soweto, a shantytown on the periphery of Port Elizabeth, with a population estimated to number 100 000.

The local UDF leadership was astounded. So was the rest of the black community. Why now?

What emerged from subsequent inquiry was that the five fiery deaths climaxed weeks of tension in the shantytown.

Soweto is a community removed from the rest of Port Elizabeth. While life went on with relative normality elsewhere, a group loyal to the UDF in Soweto was at variance with what

BY MANDLA TYALA,
Port Elizabeth

residents said was a dissident faction.

Although the dissidents also claimed allegiance to the UDF, they were accused of not toeing the official line.

Residents said differences between the two groups dated back to the formation last year of a Soweto Committee of 10 which would be answerable to the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, a UDF affiliate.

The Committee of 10 apparently fell out of favour as it was perceived to be deviating from UDF policy, and efforts were made by younger militants to disband it.

A few members of the committee were apparently undaunted and continued to advocate ideas against which the UDF leadership had pronounced.

A case in point was the "people's courts". Some committee members were said to favour institutions that meted out bush justice, while the UDF maintained such practices by people

who claimed to be its members we dragging the front's name through the mud.

First pointer that things were coming to a head came last week when a woman was given the "necklace". Dissidents were accused.

On Sunday night, hundreds of UDF supporters, mostly youths, gathered the streets of Soweto to seek out the dissidents.

It is not yet clear what transpired the course of that night, but on Monday morning five burnt bodies were found under a pyre of tyres.

Commenting on the eruption of violence, Mkhusele Jack, president of the UDF-affiliated Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, said: "It is curious that since the re-emergence of troops in the townships we are beginning to hear of necklace deaths again."

Troops were withdrawn from Port Elizabeth townships in December but have been in evidence since police placed stringent restrictions on the funeral last month of a 13-year-old victim of a police shooting. Jack said the UDF was investigating the Soweto situation.

WEEKLY

16A

14/2/86



Cosatu puts its line on politics, UDF and ANC

WEEKLY M -
14/2/86 -
111A

THE Congress of South Africa Trade Unions (Cosatu) will soon meet with the United Democratic Front (UDF) to discuss a broad range of issues — including plans for specific political action.

This is one immediate spin-off from a crucial meeting of the federation's central executive committee last weekend in Johannesburg, where Cosatu spelt out its political and international policy.

But while clarity has been reached on important standpoints, Cosatu — the largest worker federation in the country — is still in the process of being shaped and remains an untried political campaigner.

Its political thrust will be directed towards engagement with "progressive" political organisations while maintaining "worker independence" — a merger between positions maintained by the old Federation of SA Trade Unions and the SA Congress of Trade Unions.

Cosatu says it will take up political struggles both nationally and locally while developing "disciplined alliances" with community and political organisations.

The federation has opted not to join either the United Democratic Front or the National Forum, but individual unions have retained their right to remain affiliated to the UDF.

The task in the months ahead will clearly be to put meat on this skeleton by engaging in actual campaigns, such as the burning of passes.

But before these campaigns lies a long process of talking to organisations such as the UDF and organising at a grassroots level among the 500 000-strong membership of the federation, as well as the risk of becoming further embroiled in a sideshow conflict with Inkatha.

Conflict centres around Cosatu's attacks, at its launch last year, on the bantustan system and Inkatha, and on

PHILIP VAN NIEKERK reports on the new union federation's weekend policy meeting

Inkatha's plans to set up a rival union federation.

At the weekend there was further verbal animosity between the two, with Cosatu alleging that Inkatha had been responsible for violent attacks on its members, and Inkatha alleging that Cosatu was a front for the African National Congress.

In a statement following the central executive committee meeting, Cosatu said it was "disturbed at the level of violence" against its leadership and that the organisation would start an "international and national" campaign to counter violence against the federation.

The recent visit by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo to Harare during which he met with representatives of the ANC did not produce the division which was expected in some circles.

Instead, Cosatu has called for a boycott of the Sowetan newspaper, which published reports that Naidoo's position was being questioned within the federation because he had not been mandated to meet the ANC.

A resolution of the committee said that no Cosatu affiliate would have anything to do with the Sowetan, and called on the 200 000-strong Transvaal region of Cosatu to discuss and implement the boycott.

The motion said the committee had received a number of reports about the "biased and essentially anti-Cosatu position taken by the Sowetan".

The few murmurings of discontent over the ANC meeting were silenced by the unanimous vote of confidence in the general secretary and the executive.

On the international front, Cosatu has adopted a non-aligned position, refusing to affiliate to international federations such as the International

Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) while seeking links with "progressive" unions.

At the same time, Cosatu has taken a strong line on donor money from abroad, pledging itself and its affiliates to the goal of financial self-sufficiency.

The congress opted for strict co-ordination of financial assistance for affiliates, in line with the international policy — taking selectively from "progressive" sources.

Meanwhile, the long process of merging the 33 unions of Cosatu into one union per industry is still far from fruition, though the federation has committed itself to a clearer programme of mergers.

This is to be done by appointing one union in an industry as a convener to oversee the merger talks in that industry.

At this stage it seems unlikely that all 33 affiliates will have merged into 12 industrial unions by the six-month deadline set for the end of May.

But substantial progress has been made in three sectors — food, transport and metal. The Sweet, Food and Allied Workers Union, the Food and Canning Workers Union, and the Retail and Allied Workers Union are expected to merge into one large food union in April.

In keeping with this policy, Cosatu has decided to set up unions in the agricultural and construction sectors as well as a union for unemployed workers.

Shots fired at youths who sought refuge there



BISHOP Simeon Mkoane

COPS RAID WILGESPRUIT

Feb. 1988

SOUTH African police in helicopters and cars raided a church centre yesterday, shooting at young blacks who had sought refuge there and arresting over 40, a director of the centre said.

Laetitia White, a director of the Wilgespruit Ecumenical Centre, west of Johannesburg, said local Anglican Bishop Simeon Nkoane had asked the centre to shelter some 50 children and youths, aged between 14 and 22.

They had fled their troubled townships for fear of right-wing vigilantes.

A spokesman for the SA Police Public Directorate in Pretoria said: "A police operation involving helicopters was conducted at the Wilgespruit Centre at 7 am yesterday. Police had a warrant to search and arrest suspects on cases of murder, public violence, arson and serious assault which they were investigating.

"Thirteen people were arrested at the Centre for these cases and 42 were arrested under the state of emergency regulations. Shots were fired to effect the

Bishop Tutu condemns 'violence'



BISHOP TUTU

arrests. As far as we could establish no one was injured".

The Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Rev Desmond Tutu, yesterday condemned the raid.

"The perpetrators of apartheid are the ones who start violence in

South Africa. Why did the police use live bullets on defenceless youths?

"I want this extraordinary conduct of the police in apprehending youths to be exposed because they always claim events are being exaggerated to discredit them," he said.

Refugees

Miss White said four of the refugees were daughters of Chief Ampie Mayisa, killed by vigilantes in January a day before he was due to meet US envoy Chester Crocker to discuss South Africa's black protest violence.

At the funeral of Mr Mayisa, who had led opposition to the eviction

of squatters from his black township outside Leandra, east of Johannesburg, youths stabbed to death a young man they claimed was a vigilante.

Miss White said Mr Mayisa's daughters were among the more than 40 young people the police arrested yesterday.

"They came in by helicopter and cars, impossible to count how many cars," she said. "The children panicked and ran into the bush and the police followed them with guns, shooting."

Police in Pretoria said yesterday that 16 men had been arrested in connection with Mr Mayisa's murder.

But Abel Nkabinde, of Mr Mayisa's Leandra Action Committee, said those arrested were members of the committee and not vigilantes. "Our members were arrested when they tried to fight the vigilantes," he told reporters.

"The vigilantes are still moving freely in the township. Some of the people who are in police custody were handed to the police by vigilantes." — Sapa.

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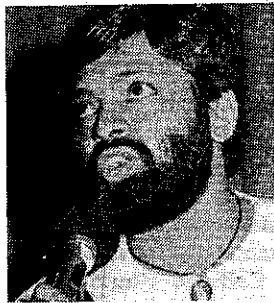
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Saths ^{SO WETAN} Cooper ^{4/2/78} briefly in court

WINDHOEK — Azapo president, Mr Saths Cooper, made a brief appearance in a Windhoek magistrate's court yesterday morning, before being whisked away to the J G Strijdom Airport, outside the city, to be put on a flight back to South Africa.

Mr Cooper (35) was arrested in the city by Security Police on Wednesday night, only minutes before he was to have addressed a meeting convened by the Namibia Education Forum (Nef) at a city centre hotel.

According to police he was picked up under Ordinance 12 of 1970, which prohibits Asians and coloureds from South Africa from entering Namibia without a permit.



SATHS COOPER

At his appearance in court, Mr Cooper did not plead and no evidence concerning the charge, was led. He was allowed bail of R50 and warned to appear again for trial on April 24.

He was invited to Windhoek by the "progressive" faction of the South West Africa National Union (Swanu).

Mr Vekuii Rekoro, yesterday condemned the arrest of Mr Cooper. He said it was a blatant violation of the Bill of Rights proclaimed by the ruling multi-party conference government.

Racist

The legislation under which Mr Cooper had been charged, was racist and its implementation showed the cynical attitude adopted by South Africa in regard to Namibia, Mr Rekoro added.

Mr Cooper, who was elected president of Azapo in December last year, was to have spoken to the Windhoek meeting about black consciousness in South Africa and its lessons for Namibia.

Officials at the meeting said that permission to hold the gathering, had been granted by a magistrate in Windhoek. The meeting had been advertised for some time in the local Press. Mr Cooper had been in the country for some days before he was arrested.

CME FILE 14/2/86
11A

Cosatu pledge on political involvement

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) has pledged itself to more aggressive participation in political campaigns and will soon hold talks on political action with the United Democratic Front (UDF).

However, Cosatu has stopped short of spelling out the specific campaigns it has in mind and has resolved not to affiliate to political organizations such as the UDF or National Forum.

At a press conference on Tuesday following the federation's first Central Executive Committee (CEC) meeting, Cosatu general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, spelt out a hard-line commitment to political involvement.

A key motion was a scathing attack on the Inkatha movement in Natal, in which the CEC said it would launch a national and international campaign to "counter violence" against Cosatu.

Cosatu and Inkatha have been involved in a bitter verbal battle, and Inkatha is proceeding with steps to set up a rival trade union federation.

A motion also declared the move to set up a national statutory council as "another fraudulent attempt to perpetuate white minority rule".

In its first international policy

statement, Cosatu has declined to affiliate to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) or other world union federations but will seek "fraternal links" with "progressive worker organizations" in all countries.

At the same time Cosatu has decided to work towards financial self-sufficiency and to co-ordinate applications for assistance for the congress and its affiliates.

In a policy statement on multinationals, Cosatu said: "Workers and all other progressive sections of our country should unite to challenge the growing power of the multinational corporations."

● The Inkatha chairman of labour relations, Mr Simon Conco, has invited Congress of South African Trade Unions officials to a public meeting, which "should be held within three months", to determine which organization's viewpoint was acceptable to the black community.

In a statement to Sapa yesterday, Mr Conco said Mr Elijah Barayi and Mr Jay Naidoo, chairman and general secretary respectively of Cosatu, had been making false accusations in public against Inkatha, and had also made personal attacks on the Inkatha leader, Chief M G Buthelezi.

Employers getting nervous about battle between Inkatha and Cosatu

15/2/86

STAR 4A

By Sheryl Raine



Mr Jay Naidoo... Cosatu general secretary.

"Inkatha, Cosatu roll up their sleeves," warned one headline.

"Buthelezi accuses Cosatu of poaching," said another.

A third proclaimed: "Cosatu refutes Inkatha's charge of being an ANC front."

It's been a week-long war of words which worried Natal employers and workers who fear that the storm brewing between the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement could do a lot of damage.

Some employers are



COSATU

planning trips to Ulundi to seek clarification on Inkatha's decision to involve itself with the union movement.

They want to find out what Inkatha's quarrel with the newly formed

Cosatu means and if and how Inkatha plans to organise on the shop floor.

Employers have good reason to fear that they could be caught in the cross-fire of a vicious political skirmish which would complicate industrial relations in Natal and could seriously disrupt the relationships which have developed and are developing between management and the workforce.

Certain executives report that they have been asked to fill out questionnaires circulated by researchers of the University of Natal concerning the formation of a kwaZulu code of employment.

This code, if implemented, would operate exclusively in the homeland, an area regarded by emergent unions as an apartheid structure.

Some observers commented that such a territorial code could aggravate Inkatha/Cosatu differences, given Cosatu's rejection of the balkanisation of the country into homelands with different labour dispensations.

Unions in Natal which are not affiliated to Cosatu are also reporting problems.

Some have been approached to join a planned "co-ordinating committee" of Natal unions, believed to be Inkatha-sponsored and a rival to Cosatu.

DISINVESTMENT

The rift between Cosatu and Inkatha surfaced publicly at Cosatu's inauguration in Durban in December.

Cosatu passed certain resolutions criticising the homeland system as well as those who participate in homeland politics, and calling for disinvestment.

Inkatha, which regards itself as a legitimate national cultural liberation movement dedicated to non-violence and peaceful change in South Africa, does not back the disinvestment lobby and did not take kindly to Cosatu's criticism.

Cosatu believes that



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Mr Elijah Barayi... Cosatu president.

the strategy for achieving black liberation through the homeland system has "counterproductive costs".

It also believes that there is a wide gap between what Inkatha says about non-violence and what it actually does.

While unionists question Inkatha's experience in the labour movement and its ability to have any impact outside Natal, there is nevertheless an awareness of what impact the political power struggle in Natal could have.

RHETORIC

Within days of Cosatu's formation, Inkatha accused it of being a front for the ANC and attacked Cosatu president Mr Elijah Barayi and general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

The rhetoric has flowed freely between the two organisations ever since, rising to a crescendo this week when Chief Buthelezi accused Cosatu of "political poaching" and of wanting a "winner-take-all, bare knuckle bloody fight" without rules.

"One can only hope that they realise what they have taken on," he warned.

Cosatu counters these attacks by stating that although it cannot separate worker rights in the factory from the broader struggle for political freedom, it is not directly affiliated to any political organisation.

It points out that it was formed after four hard years of democratic negotiation.

Some observers believe the battle between Inkatha and Cosatu stems from Chief Buthelezi's taking personal exception to criticism and his unwillingness to tolerate alternative power bases in his sphere of influence.

However, Chief Buthelezi is always careful to include in his statements concerning Cosatu, references to alleged complaints by Natal workers about Cosatu.

86 LIFESTYLE?
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PAGE 41

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42 refugees quit Lesotho

15/2/78 The Star's Africa
News Service

MASERU — Another 42 South Africans, believed to be ANC members or supporters, left Maseru by air for Lusaka on Thursday as the military government's crackdown continues.

Most are believed to have been among the 50 South African refugees detained on January 31, reportedly to see if they were on a list provided by South Africa.

They are the second group to fly to Lusaka since the coup in Lesotho.

Lesotho has, however, said South African refugees were still welcome or could leave if they chose.

Adrian Fredericks

11A

STAR

15/2/86

Deadlock over Mandela release

Negotiations for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela appear to have reached a stalemate but with one further stipulation. If Mr Mandela does not reject violence, he can still be released with the simultaneous release of Captain Wynand du Toit and Soviet dissident Mr Andrei Sakharov.

A further complicating factor is that the Angolans are not prepared to return Captain du Toit except for the release of Cuban and Angolan personnel captured by the SADF.

Alan Dunn of The Star's Foreign Service reports from Washington that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday pegged freedom of jailed black leader Nelson Mandela firmly to the release of Captain du Toit, the South African commando captured in Angola.

Speaking after private talks in Geneva with the Reagan administration's Africa expert, Dr Chester Crocker, Mr Botha said also the imprisoned African National Congress leader's future depended on the release of the Soviet physicist, Mr Andrei Sakharov.

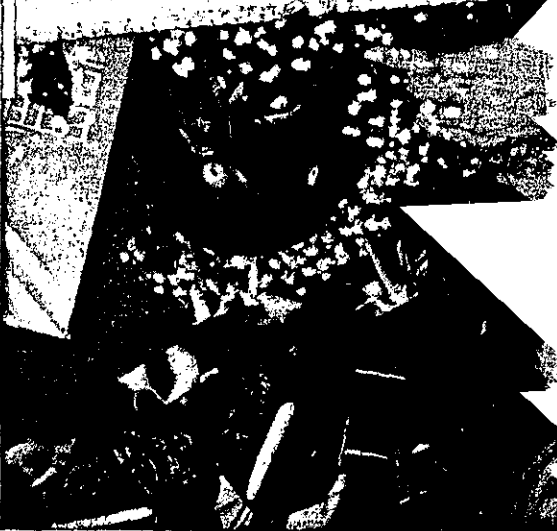
Mr Botha dashed hopes of an imminent unilateral release for Mandela, setting down alternative conditions: "If he (Mandela) announces that he would not participate in violence, he goes free. Even if he does not do that, if Mr Sakharov could be released, and Captain du Toit, he goes out."

Speaking on a widely viewed morning television programme, CBS Morning News, Mr Botha indicated that the first leg of the South African conditions for Mandela's release had been met with the Soviet's re-

● To Page 2, Col 7 ■

JOHANNESBURG SATURDAY FEBRUARY 15 1986
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Angola not interested in swop linked to Mandela

● From Page 1

lease this week of Dr Anatoly Shcharansky.

He noted that this alternative involved Mr Sakharov and Captain du Toit as well.

On the alternative involving Mandela renouncing violence, Mr Botha said it was a norm applicable worldwide. "He is in effect, from that point of view, being jailed by the ANC and the South African Communist Party because the majority of the ANC's head committee are confirmed South African Communist Party members," Mr Botha said.

He said his Government believed the freedom offer to be a fair one.

Garner Thomson, of *The Star's* Foreign News Service in London, reports that Angola has officially refused to exchange Captain Wynand du Toit for Nelson Mandela — but confirms that it is willing to swop the South African commando for Cuban and Angolan personnel captured by the SADF.

This emerged here yesterday morning at a Press conference held by Mr Elisio de Figueiredo, Angola's Ambassador to Britain and the UN.

Mr Figueiredo said that Angola, like all "progressive forces around the world" would like to see Mr Mandela freed, "but in no way is Captain du Toit to be part of a deal with Mandela".

Aside from expressing solidarity with Mr Mandela, he refused to contemplate an Angolan role in his release. "Why cannot the South Africans just release him?" he asked.

Nor had there been any approach by the ANC or any other organisation for Mr Mandela to base himself in Angola if living outside South Africa were to be part of any release deal.

About Captain du Toit, however, he was more forthcoming.

"The Government of Angola would consider the possible exchange with South Africa of Angolans and Cubans now in South African prisons," he said.

ANC Finds 15/2/82
118

Hopes for Mandela meeting

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — A Commonwealth reconnaissance mission leaves Britain for South Africa today quietly confident that it will be allowed access to the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The mission will consist of the two co-chairman of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) — former Australian Prime Minister Mr Malcolm Fraser and former Nigerian head of state General Olusegun Obasanjo — and the president of the World Council of Churches, Dame Nita Barrow.

The three are due to arrive in Johannesburg tomorrow on a week-long visit. If their mission goes according to plan, a visit in April by the full EPG is likely.

Neither the Commonwealth secretariat nor the South African Government has said officially whether the group will be allowed access to Mr Mandela, but sources say a meeting is "on the cards".

It was reliably learnt from diplomatic sources last night that General Obasanjo insisted on assurances of a Mandela meeting as a pre-condition for going to South Africa.

The Commonwealth emissaries are expected to meet a wide range of South African politicians, academics, church leaders and trade unionists.

The EPG was established in terms of the Commonwealth accord on South Africa signed at the 49-nation Commonwealth summit in the Bahamas in October.

Its mandate is to promote dialogue between the Pretoria government and genuine black leaders and to monitor a set of Commonwealth demands which include Mr Mandela's release, the unbanning of the ANC and the lifting of the state of emergency.

Pik Botha quashes Mandela rumours

Cape Town 15/2/86



GENEVA. — The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday said that long-standing conditions had to be met before the jailed leader of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, could be released or SWA/Namibia could be given independence.

The comments followed several days of newspaper reports in the United States, Europe and South Africa that Mr Mandela's release could be imminent and that Pretoria was about to announce a date for starting a process towards SWA/Namibian independence.

Mr Botha told reporters that Mr Mandela, 68, must renounce violence as a means of achieving political objectives or two men held in the Soviet Union and Angola must be set free if he were to be released.

He named Soviet dissident Dr Andrei Sakharov, who is in internal exile in the closed city of Gorky, and South African army Captain Wynand du Toit, captured on a sabotage mission in Angola.

During his Rubicon II speech, President P W Botha said he would release Mr Mandela on humanitarian grounds if Dr Sakharov, Captain Du Toit and Soviet dissident Dr Anatoly Shcharansky were set free. Dr Shcharansky was freed in an East-West trade earlier this week.

'Basis for negotiation'

Mr Botha said that if either of the conditions were met "there would be an immediate basis for negotiation" of Mr Mandela's release.

Mr Botha spoke at a press conference after meeting Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Hans van den Broek who is also chairman of the 12-nation European Community's (EC) council of ministers.

Mr Botha also met the president of the International Red Cross, Mr Alexandre Hey, over the question of visits to all South African prisoners and the condition of Captain Du Toit, who was visited on February 5 by an ICRC delegate and a doctor.

He told reporters that South Africa's position was unchanged on implementing United Nations resolution 435.

"The South African Government is ready to implement resolution 435 but we have made clear, and this position is supported by the United States Government, that there must first be an agreement on Cuban withdrawal (from Angola)," he said.

Mr Botha received a cool response from Mr Van den Broek who said that in spite of positive elements in President Botha's reform speech to Parliament on January 31, important subjects had been ignored.

"I referred earlier to the confidence building measures which we consider

to be a prerequisite of furthering the peaceful process in South Africa," Mr Van den Broek said, who cited as examples the release of Mr Mandela and lifting the state of emergency.

Meanwhile in London yesterday the Angolan ambassador to Britain and the United Nations, Mr Ellisio de Figueiredo, said that his government was prepared to enter into negotiations with Pretoria over Captain Du Toit and Angolan and Cuban soldiers held in South Africa.

However, while he emphasized that Angola wished to see Mr Mandela released, there was no question of linking his release to that of Captain Du Toit.

Mr Figueiredo said that the MPLA government in Luanda had not received any approaches from Pretoria concerning a prisoner exchange.

The Release Mandela Committee (RMC) yesterday launched a national campaign against the "harrasment" of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

A hurriedly arranged press conference at the Roman Catholic Church centre in Kagiso near Krugersdorp — after a magistrate's order had banned it from taking place in Alexandra — was attended by leading figures in the UDF and more than 50 local and international journalists.

The conference, organized by the RMC, was attended by Dr Allan Boesak, Dr Beyers Naude, Mrs Helen Joseph, Father Smangeliso Mkatshwa, who are all patrons of the UDF, and representatives of Cosatu, the Black Students Society, the Detainees Parents Support Committee, Jodac, the Port Elizabeth Consumer Boycott Committee, the Soweto Civic Association, the Natal Indian Congress and other organizations.

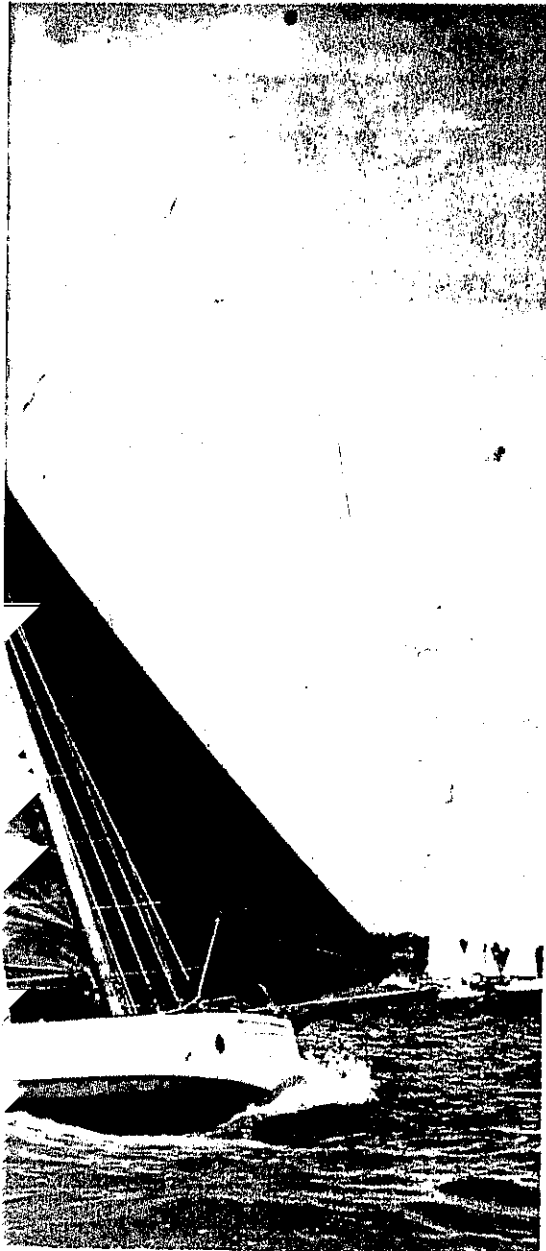
Repeated denials

Organizers of the press conference said that Mr Mandela did not see himself fitting into any spy swap arrangement and his family did not expect him to be released in the next few days.

In Cape Town in spite of repeated denials by the SA Prisons department that Mr Mandela would be released yesterday, a large contingent of local and foreign journalists, closely monitored through most of the day by a security police vehicle, continued their vigil outside Follsmoor Prison hoping to get a glimpse of Mr Mandela or to witness his release. — Sapa-Reuters, Staff Reporter and Own Correspondents

h/c ARGUS 15/2/80 11A
[Handwritten scribbles and signatures]

'Create wealth first'



This fast lady is 88 and elegant!

DALE LAUTENBACH
Weekend Argus Reporter

AT the end of the last century she was a sturdy little workhorse punting in and out of Falmouth Harbour.

In her middle age she was put out to pasture in the Mediterranean and now, in the hands of "two crazies", she's a trim, dignified and elegant old lady cruising the oceans of the world.

Curlew is a 9 m gaff-rigged cutter, built in Falmouth in 1898. Eighteen years ago, idle and uncared for in Malta, she was found by Tim and Pauline Carr or, as Pauline puts it... "she found us".

The couple restored the wooden-hulled yacht and since then Curlew has been home, hearth and nation for the two and they are on the way to completing a circumnavigation.

With an original pitch pine on oak hull and a keel which sweeps down as an integral part of the structure, Curlew weighs 10 tons, three times more than most modern yachts her size. But for racing Curlew is classed as a 1/2-tonner with 10 m craft.

"She's incredibly fast," says Pauline proudly. "She often supprises our competitors in modern boats — and us. No one knows what her secret is. We averaged over seven knots over 2 1/2-thousand miles across the Indian Ocean which is phenomenal. It took us 12 days."

With the Carrs as skipper, Curlew does not carry an engine — "She sails so well we don't feel the necessity to encumber her," says Pauline.

Below: Tim Carr... 'he really looks the part. He's just had a haircut but he still looks salty.'



Below: Pauline Carr at home in the warm wood and brass-fitted interior of the 1898 9m yacht.

UMLAZI. — "Mad politics" and "mad trade unionism" in Cosatu, the African National Congress and the United Democratic Front, were urging black workers to destroy their factories and cripple the economy, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said today.

The Kwazulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was speaking at Umlazi, near Durban, at the opening of the Toyota Technical Training Centre, a project to which Toyota gave R500 000.

What was really needed was a vast expansion of mining, commerce and industry to create jobs and housing for blacks and to strengthen their growing political bargaining power, Chief Buthelezi said.

And the free enterprise system now faced the responsibility of generating desperately needed wealth in a way that would increase black benefits.

He said the policy of sabotaging the economy was sheer madness because millions of black South Africans could not survive without their pay packets.

It was necessary first to create the wealth, and then redistribute it. Factories destroyed now would remain destroyed for generations.

In the past, black poverty was greatly deepened by apartheid. But whites were now so dependent on blacks that they had gained immense bargaining power which would increase with economic prosperity.

Whites could no longer succeed without blacks in supervisory and managerial positions.

A new era of racial equality heralded a new era of black worker dignity.

Chief Buthelezi said the vast backlog in black education, particularly in technical training, demanded that industrialists "did things" in South Africa which had not been done in North America and Europe. — Sapa.



Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

From KEN VERNON
Weekend Argus Bureau
PORT ELIZABETH. — Political differences are turning brother against brother in the townships of Port Elizabeth. Eight people have died in the past few days.

A 14-year-old told me this week that his 16-year-old brother chased him through the streets of their Walmer location home with a gun to kill him for daring to belong to a rival organisation. His only thought now is of revenge. "I want to kill my brother if I can," he says.

Another 14-year-old, Mdumiso Duowana, is a battle-hardened three-year veteran of brutal black politics.

Azanyu

Mdumiso and nearly 100 others like him, who say they were driven from their homes last weekend in fear of their lives by the infighting, are shocking proof that the age of the child warrior — seen daily in pictures from Lebanon and Uganda — has arrived in South Africa.

He and his friend, interviewed at a "safe" house in another township, are members of an organisation called Azanyu (Azanian National Youth Unity) which recently hived off from Azapo (Azanian Peoples Organisation).

A close relative is a member of a group that allegedly claims allegiance to the United Democratic Front. This

Last Sunday evening five youths said to have been members of "the young ANC" died after being given the "necklace" — their hands and feet were bound with wire and petrol-soaked tyres were placed around their necks and set alight.

The killer cult

group, according to Mdumiso, attacked him and his friend at the Walmer location last Saturday evening.

Two youths were hacked to death with axes and pangas in the attack, while another was discovered later by police in a shallow grave with a bullet wound in the head.

According to survivors of the attack, many of the rival group wielded guns.

One youth, who declined to be named, said he was one of four abducted by a gun-toting gang.

He and two others managed to escape, he said. However one was not so fortunate and he said that was the youth who was later found shot dead.

Broken home

Police have confirmed that guns were used in the Walmer fighting, but according to the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, would prefer not to comment "until we have the whole story".

Mdumiso is perhaps typical of many of this new breed of child warriors.

He is a product of a broken home, his father is dead and he says his mother is "somewhere in Cape Town".

He has stayed with a sister in the Walmer location since his mother left, but says he is now too afraid to return there.

Asked what he will do, where will he stay and who he will live with he looks immediately at his "comrades" and there is his answer.

Survive

In the group he has a chance to survive, outside of it he believes he has none.

He says he joined Azapo three years ago when he was 11. He has had little schooling but when asked why he left Azapo for Azanyu he knows the answer off pat.

"Because they burn people and because they want the white people to join in the struggle for our land," he said.

A protector of Mdumiso and his friend is the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, head of Azapo in the Eastern Cape until he "resigned", or was expelled, depending on whom you talk to, earlier this year.

Now he is bitterly opposed to Azapo's policy, saying they have "betrayed the Africanist (black consciousness) position by pleading for a non-racial solution to South Africa's problems.

"They may just as well join UDF now," he says.

Mr Maqina denies he is now involved officially with Azanyu, but says he is there to "help and advise them".

He admits that in one sense his political thinking has painted Azanyu into a corner. Because it is their official policy not to recognise the "system", he and the youths with him refuse to report the actions of their attackers to the police.

"We have told the UDF leadership who was responsible for these killings," he says, "now the ball is in their court."

The UDF have not escaped the ideological turmoil either, with a shadowy group called "the young ANC" having reportedly recently broken from its ranks.

Last Sunday evening five youths said to have been members of "the young ANC" died after being given the

"necklace" — their hands and feet bound with wire and a petrol-soaked tyre placed around their necks and set alight.

It is not yet known who was responsible for their deaths, though Rev Maqina says their deaths are typical of the punishment being meted out by what he terms "kangaroo courts" he alleges are run by UDF supporters.

This week Mr Mkhusele Jack, a UDF executive member and the generally acknowledged leader of the UDF youth, denied any knowledge of a group called "the young ANC".

He said that the UDF's own investigations into both the Walmer and Soweto killings had disclosed that the fighting "had not been politically motivated and that no political groups were involved".

He did say that he and the UDF vice-president in the Eastern Cape, Mr Henry Pazile, had been called to both Walmer and Soweto by residents before the killings took place, but said they had been prevented from entering the townships by police.

The police have denied turning them back, saying it was virtually impossible to prevent any black people entering a township if they wished to.

Since last weekend's savage outbreak of violence no further deaths have been reported, with the two seemingly new organisations lying low.

But the Eastern Cape could well be in for another year of bloodshed. Last year, nearly 300 people died.



Members of Azanian National Youth Unity give their nazi-like salute.

6/16/85 15/2/86

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'No need for luxury homes'

Weekend Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — As all members of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates were from Natal, there was no need for the Government to build luxury homes for them at Cato Manor, Durban, the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, said today.

Mr Rajbansi said he would ask the Government today not to proceed with plans to build mansions costing nearly R2-million for him and his Ministers in Cato Manor.

"What must be remembered is that the Indian community got back only 50 percent of the land requested in Cato Manor. There is not enough land there to build homes for Ministers.

"There is a problem with eccla shale in some parts of the area and plans to build a training hospital and a college of education are also on the boards, plus the provision of homes for affected people.

Security risk

"Since all the Indian Ministers are from Natal, they could live at their own homes during the recess. There is no need to build special homes for them," said Mr Rajbansi.

He added that he was aware that his living in Chatsworth was a security risk. However, he was prepared to take that risk.

"I come from the poor masses and my roots are there and I have no intentions of leaving the people who put me into office. All my other Ministers feel the same way," said Mr Rajbansi.

The newly-appointed Minister of Budget and Auxiliary Services, Dr J N Reddy, supported Mr Rajbansi's decision.

11/18 1988

Buthlezi meets visiting UK MPs

ULUNDI. — Blacks would be gravely suspicious of the proposed National Statutory Council unless it was an interim body fulfilling a transitional need until the tri-cameral constitution was scrapped, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Speaking to a group of visiting British Conservative Party MPs, he again referred to President P W Botha's courage in rejecting apartheid and committing himself to further reform.

He also conceded that the national council might represent a major step forward. But, he said, if the tri-cameral parliament itself was not "sentenced to death", the council would not be supported by black leaders.

"For us, South Africa is one country," Chief Buthelezi said. "And for us every country demands one sovereign parliament and citizenship demands universal adult franchise.

"We can compromise to bring about national reconciliation. We can think of, for example, a federal solution. We can look at whether or not minority groups, protected by a constitutionally defined, independent judiciary, can have veto rights in some circumstances.

"But we cannot be so afraid of democratic norms and practices that we refuse to entertain their introduction as we pursue the ideal of establishing a democracy in our country acceptable to all its people." — Sapa

Drive to stop 'harassment of Mrs Mandela'

'Protect Winnie' move launched

15/2/86 SAAK
11/4

By Andrew Beattie

A national campaign "against the sustained harassment of Mrs Winnie Mandela" was launched yesterday and attended by patrons of the United Democratic Front, representatives of various other organisations and a large contingent of foreign and local media.

The launching was hurriedly organised at the Roman Catholic Church centre at Kagiso near Krugersdorp after a magistrate banned the meeting planned in Alexandra.

Chairing the meeting, Father Smangalis Mkhathswa, the Secretary-General of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and a patron of the UDF, said Mrs Mandela was "the most potent symbol for highlighting the State's harassment of its opponents".

He said the campaign was also being launched for reasons of her own personal security.

"She is the wife of a great patriot, a great hero, a great leader of the majority of the people of this country," said Father Mkhathswa.

Initially there was concern when Mrs Mandela failed to arrive. Mr Aubrey Mokoena of the Release Mandela Committee said that she was either being "modest" or had been "intercepted".

However, she arrived later and was mobbed by pupils, and

after talking privately with Dr Allan Boesak, also a UDF patron, she spoke briefly with the Press, although she may not be quoted.

Messages of support from several individuals and organisations were read out.

From the American Lutheran Church came the message that Mrs Mandela was "accused of a crime that doesn't exist anywhere else in the world — being at home in her own house".

Dr Boesak said it was good that the launching of the campaign came "as the Government is trying to save whatever may be left of its reform programme".

"They are trying to convince the international community that what the State President is saying is truthful, meaningful and is a fundamental programme of change.

Rumours

"Although rumours of Mr Mandela's release swing back and forth like a pendulum there is yet to be a firm statement from the Government that he is to be released.

"While rumours are allowed to continue, we do not hear about the release of other prisoners. Our demand is for the release of all political prisoners," said Dr Boesak.

Dr Boesak said that if the Government did not lift the state of emergency, the people would "come together and defy it".

Professor Fatima Meer, director of the Institute of Black Research, said: "Give Winnie her freedom so that she can pave the way for what is ahead of us — the release of Nelson."

Mandela had to be released, she said, so that he could "institute and bring in the new government that this country and its people have been waiting for for many, many decades."

Mr Neil Morrison, publicity secretary of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, said: "Jodac believes that anyone who thinks that this Government can have a change of heart is misguided. The only thing they respond to is pressure. We see the Mandelas being symbols of the people who exerted that kind of pressure for democracy from inside this country.

Mr Mokoena said that attempts by the "fascist regime" to prevent the launch of the Winnie Mandela Support Committee actually helped to promote it. He said that it was the first time he was aware of a Press conference being banned.

Dr Boesak concluded saying that no UDF leaders had been allowed to visit Mr Mandela in prison.

"I would love to see him before he gets out. There have been no negotiations about his release, even his lawyers have not been allowed to see him for a couple of months. The stories about his release are simply rumours."

Policeman quizzed on reports at Delmas trial

TWO reporters who covered a residents' meeting in Sharpeville on August 19, 1984 did not report dramatic statements of incitement to use violence against councillors, the Delmas treason trial was told yesterday.

Sergeant Thulo Ronald Koaho of the Vereeniging Security Police said under cross-examination that although he agreed with portions of the articles about what speakers said, the reporters had suppressed information on violence.

This evidence emerged after counsel for the defence, Mr George Bizos SC, had handed to the court two

newspaper cuttings, dated August 21, 1984, from The SOWETAN and Rand Daily Mail written by Mr Joshua Raboroko and Mr Ernest Nkabinde respectively.

Mr Bizos put it to Sgt Koaho that the reports differed with what he had told the court in his evidence-in-chief that the theme of the meeting bordered on violence.

Mr Bizos put it to Sgt Koaho that some of the things he alleged Mr Tom Manthata, an accused, said at the meeting, he had quoted Mr Manthata out of context.

The Sergeant said in his evidence that Mr Manthata told the meeting that councillors must be killed because they refused to resign. He also said Mr Manthata said they must be stoned and then set alight.

Earlier in his cross-examination, Mr Bizos also put it to Sgt Koaho that there was no banner saying "Away with councillors". Mr Bizos said Sgt Koaho had mentioned this in order to help the State's case. He also said Sgt Koaho remembered and selected some of the things in the indictment.

(Proceeding)

NSI/20/84
Sgt Koaho
11/11/84

POLL TAX? THIS IS CELL TAX!

CITY P.
16/2/86

11A
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WHEN convicted African National Congress guerrilla Lele Motaung was released from Robben Island last year he thought he had paid his debt to society.

But he hadn't reckoned on the taxman - when he got home to Sharpeville and applied for a new *dompas* he was told: "You owe us 18 years' poll tax."

He owed 10 years' poll tax, officials told him, from 1967 to 1977, the year he was arrested - and the year poll tax was abolished.

And he owed another eight years' poll tax for every year he was behind bars - although the tax had been scrapped and replaced by income tax.

But the unemployed ex-Robben Islander prisoner - released on parole four years early because he had problems with his lungs - is determined not to pay the tax. Any of it.

"I won't pay that money. I am not prepared to. The only thing the Government must do is give me an old-age pension or a disability grant because of my falling health," fumed Motaung this week.

Motaung returned to the country from military training outside SA in 1976. He was arrested a year later and sentenced to 12 years' jail in 1978 for receiving military training and "terrorism".

On his release, he said, he talked to Leeuhof Prison officials in Vereeniging about a disability grant. "I am 53 years old and in poor health, I need the grant", he said.

Officials referred him to the Sharpeville clinic of a Dr Shapiro, who refused to give him a medical certificate or recommend that he be given pension or disability grant, but referred him back to prison authorities.

Motaung went to the local Co-Operation and Development office to query the tax demand and was told: "Pay up".

"I realised I was getting nowhere and went to the Black Sash," said Motaung.

Black Sash president Sheena Duncan said that, legally, Motaung had to pay 10 years' poll tax - a tax introduced to force black peasant farmers to

seek wage-paying work, because they need cash to pay the tax.

"Legally he is obliged to pay or he may have problems when he applies for pension," she told *City Press*.

But did he owe poll tax from 1977 to 1985?

"Rubbish," Duncan replied.

She promised Black Sash help if Motaung had problems getting his pension.

"But I am sick and cannot get employment," says Motaung. "Where do I get the money to pay whichever years' tax they are demanding?"

MOTAUNG: Taxed while in jail.

Next Thursday:

D-Day for Mandela?

11A
16/2/86
CITY P
SOP

CP Reporter

IF YOU want to know when Nelson Mandela will be freed, say observers, watch next Thursday.

Because on that day President PW Botha's Government begins negotiations in Switzerland to reschedule - postpone repayment of - its international debts.

With massive pressure from foreign banks for more concrete signs of reform - and of Botha's willingness to negotiate - Mandela's release would be an important bargaining point.

Otherwise his release - if he is released at all - can be delayed by Botha until he can use the publicity to maximum advantage.

Observers point out that while Botha's "Rubicon II" speech linked Mandela's release after 23 years behind bars to the now-freed Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky, Botha also linked it to the release of Andrei Sakharov (whom Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev says will not be freed) and SADF Captain Wynand du Toit, in jail in Angola.

Angolan authorities, say, observers, have not been approached for a Du Toit-Mandela swop - which the Luanda government would oppose anyway, preferring to link Du Toit to the release of a Cuban and three Angolans they say are in SA hands.

This swop could prove impossible if SA maintains the four are in Unita's hands.

Either way, if Botha can temporarily withstand the pressure from foreign



COSATU IN ACTION

All the details
- Page 5

banks - and from US assistant secretary of state for Africa Chester Crocker, currently meeting SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha in Switzerland - Mandela may not walk out of Pollsmoor Prison for some time.

The Mandela family - with probably more insight than most - has warned those enthusiastically awaiting his release that it will come "in months, not weeks or days".

★ Lawyer Ismael Ayob says Mandela would not agree to be freed into exile: "If he is flown out of the country against his will, he would return on the next plane," Ayob told foreign journalists this week.

And while rumour has swept the country since Botha raised possible freedom for Mandela in "Rubicon II", optimistic interpretations of his opening-of-parliament speech - particularly of Mandela's imminent release - have been dampened by PFP leader Frederick van Zyl Slabbert's resignation, and the powerful slapping down of Pik Botha for suggesting that this country could eventually have a black president.

CITY P. 14/2/86

(A) (A)

Superunion will remember June 16

COSATU will participate actively in the June 16 commemoration with other progressive organisations, the federation's central executive committee decided at the weekend.

Cosatu officials said the federation realised June 16 symbolises the sacrifices of "our people in the struggle for liberation", and would participate fully

when the day is commemorated.

It decided the 500 000-strong worker body should demand June 16 and May Day as paid holidays.

"We should be prepared to sacrifice racist political holidays if necessary - workers have no interest in public holidays such as Republic Day, Kruger Day, Founders' Day and the Day of

the Covenant," they said.

This year is the 100th anniversary of the celebration of May 1 as international workers' day.

● Cosatu is also continuing its boycott of the Johannesburg centenary celebrations. Workers were asked to bear in mind the 1946 mineworkers strike and the 1980 Johannesburg municipal workers strike.

Come and pray at Tolstoy

By MOND BADELA

THE campaign by the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee and other UDF affiliates to fight for the release of all detainees and lifting of the state of emergency kicks off with a program of fasting and prayer at the Tolstoy Farm near Lenasia on Sunday.

A public meeting on the plight of detainees will be held next Thursday.

Many churches on the Reef will be remembering detainees in their services this Sunday.

'Where is evidence, Major?'

DEFENCE counsel in the Maritzburg treason trial this week said he did not believe a Special Branch major's evidence that he had destroyed tapes with incriminating evidence about Saawu members.

CR Mailer said it was absurd for a policeman to destroy incriminating tapes.

Special Branch Major P Olivier said earlier that the State had decided to prosecute Saawu members after he consulted the Manpower Minister.

Appearing before Judge Milne are Thozamile Gqweta, 33, Sisa Njikelana, 29, Sam Kikine, 36, and Isaac Ngcobo, 36. - Sapa

Political comment and newsbills by Percy Qoboza, and headlines and sub-editing by David Niddrie and Chris Vick - all of 204 Eloff Street Extension, Johannesburg.

NEWS PLUS+

★ ABOUT 35 emergency detainees held at the Diepkloof Prison near Johannesburg have "not taken their meals since breakfast on Tuesday", a Prisons spokesman said.

A Detainees' Parents Support Committee spokesman said they went on strike to protest against their "continued detention, the prolonging of the state of emergency and the conditions of their imprisonment". - Sapa.

NEWS PLUS+

★ THE National Union of Mineworkers will hold its fourth congress in Soweto tomorrow.

Issues to be discussed during the two-day meeting will include how to mount resistance against apartheid in the mining industry, job reservation and Num's domestic and international relations with other unions.

More than 1 500 delegates from 11 regions are expected to attend.

NEWS PLUS+

★ SWAZI cops have seized the passport of MP J Z Dube in their continuing crackdown against opponents of Prime Minister Prince Bhekimpi Dlamini.

Passports of Education Minister Dabulamjiva Mhlabatsi and sacked newspaper manager Lawrence Zwane were also taken. - Sapa.

NEWS PLUS+

★ THE ban on James Cone's "For my People" - published by Skotaville - has been suspended until the matter goes on appeal.

"This means people can now buy the book without any problems," said Directorate of Publications spokesman Professor Andy Coetzee.

Cone's book won critical acclaim when it was released, and was regarded as a definitive work on liberation theology.

Call Times 17/2/88

Mandela 'not ill, still in prison'

By ANDRE KOOPMAN

A SPOKESMAN for the Department of Prisons yesterday denied reports that the jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, was to undergo an operation.

He said yesterday that the man said to be Mr Mandela who was filmed by a CBS television crew on Thursday was "another prisoner".

He also denied weekend reports that Mr Mandela had met with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to discuss possible conditions for his release.

On reports of an impending operation, the department spokesman said: "There is no truth in reports that Nelson Mandela needs surgery to remove gallstones." He said Mr Mandela "is still at Pollsmoor", and denied he had gone to hospital or would go to hospital.

Foreign television crews and reporters at Medipark Centre on Thursday saw an elderly man with greying hair

enter the building amid tight security. Journalists watching a closed-circuit TV monitor saw a group of men emerging on the 10th floor and a CBS crew filmed the scene.

Independent Television News said the film had been shown to Mr Mandela's wife Winnie and the figure on the screen had been identified as her husband.

The Department of Prisons spokesman said yesterday the man who entered the hospital on Thursday in prison fatigues was "another prisoner". He refused to identify the man and said "it is not the policy (of the department) to discuss the movements of prisoners".

The Johannesburg Sunday newspaper City Press said Mr Mandela had met Mr Coetsee to discuss being freed, but negotiations broke down when Mr Mandela refused to go into exile. The department spokesman denied that Mr Mandela had met the minister.

Miners honour Mandela

SOWETO. — The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) has elected Mr Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the ANC, as an honorary life president, it was announced yesterday at a union mass rally in the Jabulani stadium.

The NUM has also decided to demand the abolition of the pass laws, the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and to work for the nationalization of the mines.

The NUM rally, which marked the climax of the union's fourth annual congress this weekend, was attended by about 10 000 miners.

Mr James Mohlatsi, the re-elected president of NUM, said the congress had resolved to organize a march to Pollsmoor Prison to hand a union membership card to Mr Mandela. No date was set for the march.

Wealth

He said the congress had resolved to work for the eventual nationalization of the mines so that "the wealth of the country should be shared amongst those who work it".

Other speakers said the congress had decided not to affiliate to any political organization in the country but to enter into alliances with "democratic and progressive organizations" during particular political campaigns — in line with a key resolution adopted at the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) first national executive meeting last weekend.

Also in line with Co-

satu policy the NUM decided not to affiliate to any international trade union federation, to demand the unbanning of the African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress, Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and other political organizations and to support the campaign for the release of Mr Mandela and all political prisoners and detainees.

'Living wage'

The congress decided to fight for a living wage for all miners during 1986, to urge the state and police not to intervene in industrial disputes and to fight for an end this year to job reservation on the mines.

In a message to the State President P W Botha, Mr Mohlatsi said "We will give you a date whereby job reservation should be buried and forgotten. If it is not by that date we will withdraw our strength until it is..."

The union also decided to fight mass dismissals on mines, especially in the homelands. The Genoor group was singled out for its dismissal of workers at the Marival and Impala mines.

Mr Mohlatsi said NUM would fight such dismissals "to the last man in our union".

'Claim'

He said NUM would claim May 1 as a paid holiday for workers.

"We are not negotiating for this. We are stating for a fact what will happen on May Day this year."

Mr Elijah Barayi, president of Cosatu, reiterated Cosatu's rejection of the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi's accusation that it was a front for the ANC.

Police monitored the rally from the roof of a nearby police station. The rally was held with the permission of a Johannesburg magistrate on condition that it dealt with NUM affairs only.

There was a heavy police and military presence at the opening of the congress at the Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Soweto on Friday. — Sapa

17/2/86 SPAR (11A)

Miners honour Mandela

About 10 000 black miners converged on Soweto's Jabulani stadium yesterday to mark the end of the National Union of Mineworkers' fourth national congress.

Singing freedom songs, the miners from 11 of the union's regions gathered to hear what 550 congress delegates had resolved during the two-day congress.

Among the resolutions passed was a decision to elect jailed African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, an honorary life president of the union.

The re-elected president of the union, Mr James Motlatsi, said the congress had also decided to organise a protest march to Pollsmoor Prison, where Nelson Mandela is being held, to hand the jailed leader a membership card of the NUM.

He said Mandela had once worked at Crown Mines in Johannesburg and had been fired for refusing to "collaborate" with management by searching other workers before they went into the mine compounds. Mandela then studied to become a lawyer.

Other resolutions taken at the congress included:

- An ultimatum to the State President with a date on

which job reservation on the mines should be "buried and forgotten". According to Mr Motlatsi, if job reservation was not scrapped by that date, the NUM would "withdraw its strength" until it was. No date has yet been named.

- May 1 is to be a paid holiday for workers. Mr Motlatsi said the NUM was "not negotiating for this. We are stating for a fact what will happen on May Day this year," he said.

Nationalisation of mines

- A decision to fight mass dismissals in the mining industry. The Gencor group was condemned for its dismissal of 23 000 workers from Impala Platinum mines in Bophuthatswana and at Marievale near Nigel.

- A decision to work towards the eventual nationalisation of the mines so the wealth of the country could be shared among those who worked it.

The congress also elected a new national executive committee comprising Mr Motlatsi (president), Mr

Elijah Barayi (vice-president and who president of the Congress of SA Trade Unions), Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (general secretary), Mrs Sylvia Benjamin (treasurer) and Mr Jay Naidoo (secretary-general of Cosatu).

In line with Cosatu policy, the NUM has declined to affiliate directly to any political organisation. However the NUM has decided to ally itself with any democratic and progressive organisations during specific political campaigns.

The NUM will not affiliate with any international trade union federation. The NUM branded the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) an organisation which promoted imperialism and capitalism and has decided not to accept funds from it.

The congress called for the unbanning of black political organisations including the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress and the Congress of SA Students.

Delegates at the congress also rejected claims by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that Cosatu was a front for the ANC.

Brother kills brother over ideology

GUN-TOTING youths are fighting to kill in a war of ideologies that is tearing families apart, turning brother against brother and has left dead in Port Elizabeth's townships.

A 14-year-old says his 16-year-old brother, armed with a gun, chased him through the streets of their Walmer township to kill him for daring to join a rival organisation.

The youngster's only thought is revenge.

"I want to kill my brother if I can get hold of him."

Another 14-year-old Mdumiso Duowana, is a veteran of brutal black politics, battle-hardened by three years of clashes.

Fear

He and nearly 100 others like him, who say the political in-fighting drove them from their homes in fear of their lives last weekend, are proof that the age of the child warrior — illustrated daily in pictures from war-torn Lebanon — has dawned in South Africa.

He and his friend, interviewed at a "safe" house where they have sought refuge in another township, are members of the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu), which recently broke away from the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

A close relative is a member of a group that is alleged to claim allegiance to the United Democratic Front. This group, Mdumiso says, attacked him and his

FOCUS

SOWETAN Correspondent

SOWETAN 17/2/86



PROTECTOR: Maqina.

guns. One youth, who declines to be named, says he was one of four abducted by a gun-toting gang.

He and two others escaped, he says. The fourth was not so fortunate and it was this youngster, the youth says, who was found shot dead.

He says several other youths, were kidnapped, and their whereabouts are unknown.

Guns

Police have confirmed that guns were used in the Walmer fighting, but the police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, prefers not to comment "until we have the whole story".

Mdumiso is perhaps typical of many of this new breed of child warriors.

His father is dead and he says his mother is "somewhere in Cape Town".

He has stayed with a sister in Walmer township since his mother left, but says he is now too afraid to return. Asked what he will do, where will he stay and whom he will live with, he looks at his "com-

rades". That is his answer.

In the group he has a chance to survive; outside it, he has none, he believes.

He says he joined Azapo three years ago. He was then 11. He has had little education. Asked why he left Azapo for Azanyu and he knows the answer off pat.

"Because they burn people and because they want the white people to join in the struggle for our land."

A protector of Mdumiso and his friend is the Rev Ebenezer Maqina, who was head of Azapo in the Eastern Cape until his "resignation" or expulsion, depending to whom one talks — earlier this year.

He is bitterly opposed to Azapo's policy, saying they have "betrayed the Africanist (black consciousness) position by pleading for a non-racial solution to South Africa's problems".

"They might just as well join UDF now," he says.

Last year, Azapo and UDF members were engaged in dozens of bloody battles which left scores of youths dead in East Cape townships.

Mr Maqina denies he is engaged officially in Azanyu. He "helps and advises them" if necessary.

He concedes that, in one sense, his political thinking has painted

Azanyu into a corner. Because it is their official policy not to recognise the "system", he and the youths with him refuse to report the actions of their attackers to the police.

"We have told the UDF leadership who was responsible for these killings, now the ball is in their court," he says.

Nor has the UDF escaped the ideological turmoil. A shadowy group called "the young ANC" has broken from its ranks, reports have said.

Petrol

Last Sunday evening, five youths, said to have been members of "the young ANC", died in "necklaces": their hands and feet were bound with wire and a petrol-soaked tyre placed around their necks and set alight.

It is not known who was responsible.

Mr Maqina says their deaths are typical of the punishment meted out by what he refers to as the "kangaroo courts", which he alleges are run by UDF supporters.

He says these "courts" often handed down the "death by necklace" penalty for "political crimes".

Mkhuseli Jack, a UDF executive member and generally acknowledged as the leader of the UDF youth, has denied any knowledge of the "Young ANC".

Mandela is honoured by mineworkers

11A
17/2/86
SOWETAN

THE National Union of Mineworkers has elected Mr Nelson Mandela, the jailed leader of the African National Congress, as an honorary life president, it was announced yesterday at a mass rally held by the union at Soweto's Jabulani Stadium.

The NUM rally, which marked the climax of the union's fourth annual congress this weekend, was attended by about 10 000 black miners from 11 of the union's regions around the country.

Mr James Mohlatsi, the re-elected president of NUM, told the enthusiastic crowd that the congress had also resolved to organise a march to Pollsmoor Prison to hand a union membership card to Mr Mandela. No clear date was set for the proposed march.

The rally was held to inform the union's rank and file of the resolutions taken at the weekend and to ask the membership to "give their blessings" to the new national executive committee elected by the 550 delegates and attended the congress.

Those elected were Mr James Mohlatsi, president, Mr Elijah Barayi, vice-president and also president of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general; Mrs Sylvia Benjamin, treasurer and Mr Jay Naidoo, the secretary-general of Cosatu, to which NUM is affiliated.

Elaborating on the decision to make Mr Mandela president-for-life of the union, Mr Mohlatsi said the ANC leader had worked at Crown Mines in Johannesburg and had been fired because he refused to "collaborate" with management of the mine by searching other workers before they went into the compounds. — Sapa.

Show here in May.

pean nations through ter South Africa and also

Blacks killed a third of victims, says chief

17/2/82 (11A) Mercury

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, says a third of the blacks who died violently in South Africa last year perished at the hands of their fellow blacks.

Opening the Toyota Technical Training Centre at Umlazi, Chief Buthelezi said this was a 'hideous crime against black human decency' and had to be condemned as such.

The political criminals

responsible for this state of affairs ought not be tolerated in black communities, he said.

Chief Buthelezi said there was to be a concerted effort in March to mount boycott action in Pietermaritzburg and possibly in Durban. This would go along with work stoppages.

He said 'mad politics' and 'mad trade unionism' in the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the African National Congress and the United

Democratic Front were urging black workers to destroy their factories and cripple the economy.

What was really needed was a vast expansion of mining, commerce and industry to create jobs and housing for blacks and to strengthen their growing political bargaining power.

Whites could no longer succeed without blacks in supervisory and managerial positions. Gone were the days when they were confined to menial labour, he said.

Azapo shift launching ^(11A) to Saturday ^{17/2/88 DISPATCH}

Dispatch Reporter

EAST LONDON — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has rescheduled the launching of its Border branch at Ginsberg to next Saturday.

This was confirmed here yesterday by the national president, Mr Saths Cooper, following the Friday ban on the launch in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Cooper remained in the Border over the weekend and revealed that despite the ban, the black consciousness organisation had been able to inaugurate two new branches in East London and King William's Town.

Mr Cooper had been scheduled to deliver the main address at the Ginsberg launch and would have shared the platform at the rally with the president of the Azanian Students' Movement, Mr Arthur Ratlana.

Commenting yesterday on the ban, Mr Cooper said: "Bannings won't stop us from organising the people. It seems to be a decided campaign on the government's part to prevent Azapo's message from getting across."

"You will recall a few days ago that Azapo's viewpoint was prevented from being heard in Windhoek and then on the Border. This year quite a few of our meetings have been banned. This is nothing new."

He said the government did not want any real opposition to its policies and Azapo presented a complete contrast to the state's reform bills.

"We present a true socialist option for the people. It is convenient for the government to allow only anti-apartheid groups to be heard and not groups such as ours."

"We do not see apartheid as the end of the struggle. It is merely a point of departure for our struggle. The struggle goes beyond the merely anti-apartheid phase."

He said the strategy used to silence Azapo was to keep the organisation out of visibility.

"But it does not matter to us. We do not rely on the state for our existence nor on obvious methods such as the media. Despite this type of public denial, we have been able to maintain our existence and we are a force to be reckoned with," Mr Cooper said.

NAFCOC BOSS IN CALL FOR UNITY

BLACK unity is more threatened now than ever before in the history of South Africa, the president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, said at the weekend.

Speaking at Nafcoc's Black Leaders Conference in Johannesburg, Dr Motsuenyane said the unity of black people was threatened because "members of certain organisations have engaged themselves in physical violence that is counterproductive to the black man's struggle."

He said black disunity was "unwise and dangerous for the oppressed people" at this "crucial time".

Political leaders

"We need each other to bargain for a slice of the South African cake," he said.

Dr Motsuenyane called for the unconditional release of jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, and other political leaders, so they could take part in the development of the country. He also urged the Government to unban the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and other political organisations.

Though they had been invited to the black leadership conference, the Bishop of Johannesburg, Desmond Tutu, United Democratic Front patron, Dr Allan Boesak and executive member of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee, Dr Nthato Motlana, did not attend.

Dr Motsuenyane said the conference aimed to lay down a sound basis for political, economical and educational unity in the country.

Mr P M Zulu, a senior research fellow at the University of Natal, said the tricameral Parliament and the homeland system had failed because "co-opted black organisations" were against the interests of the aspirations of the black majority.

SA still firm
on
swop deal

APR 17/18/86
'swop deal'

JOHANNESBURG.— Mr Pik Botha yesterday re-established the link between the freedom of Soviet dissident Dr Andrei Sakharov and that of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Speaking on his return from what he described as a "very friendly" visit to Geneva, Mr Botha said that while Dr Sakharov's release was not a precondition, Pretoria was still committed to linking it to that of Captain Wynand du Toit, who is being held in Angola, and Mr Mandela.

However, the German magazine Der Spiegel, quoting experts close to Chancellor Helmut Kohl, reported that Dr Sakharov could be released in May or June.

Sapa-Reuter reported from Bonn yesterday that the magazine said last week's East-West spy swop on the Glienicke Bridge, in which Dr Anatoly Shcharansky was set free by Moscow, was a rehearsal for a bigger deal — the release of Dr Sakharov. Dr Sakharov, 64, winner of the Nobel peace prize, a nuclear physicist and a human rights campaigner, lives in internal exile in the city of Gorky.

Symbolic figure

Spiegel said, however, that before further swops, "the West has to put up a symbolic figure on the level of Sakharov for a man-for-man exchange. In sight for the summer of 1986 is this exchange: Freedom for Sakharov against freedom for Mandela."

Mr Botha said yesterday if Dr Sakharov and Captain Du Toit were freed then there would be "a basis to talk".

He declined to reveal the contents of his discussions with the International Red Cross in Geneva as far as they involved Captain Du Toit.

It is understood however that plans for a deal involving an exchange of Captain Du Toit for one or more Cuban or Angolan soldiers are in the pipeline. The deal would almost certainly be carried out under the auspices of the International Red Cross.

Mr Botha said the issue of the "black president" had been "dealt with it in terms of party discipline and I respect that". — Sapa and Political Staff

● Mandela 'not ill', page 2



Mr Pik Botha



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Be's Day 17/2/88 (114)

Nafcoc plan for black unity

Business Day Reporter

NAFCOC should use its influence to promote unity among black organisations, such as Inkatha and Azapo (as well as the UDF), to prevent the prospect of further internecine strife.

This was decided at a National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (Nafcoc) conference in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The theme was: Black Unity — The Road Ahead.

The conference agreed with P M Zulu, senior research fellow at the Race Relations Unit of Natal University, when he said the politics of *co-optation* had gained nothing for blacks.

It was the extra-establishment of institutions, like the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation, that took centre-stage in

the minds of most blacks, he said.

These organisations were responsible for concessions blacks had gained such as union rights, marginal improvements in education and freehold rights, Zulu said.

Co-ordinated Marketing MD R Khoza said that it was predicted that an additional 210 000 executives would be required by the year 2000.

Whites could not conceivably fill more than 136 000 of these places, which left 74 000 posts for blacks, he said.

Khoza underlined certain principles (referred to later in the conference as the Khoza Principles) which involved a se-

lective attitude to black boycotts.

He suggested picking off companies one at a time and really showing the power of the black purse.

In open discussions the main area of debate was over the kind of economic system blacks would like to see.

Nafcoc president Sam Motsuenyane warned that experience in African countries did not augur well for the prospects of a socialist SA.

Others argued that Nafcoc was perceived as part of the Establishment because of its support for *so-called* free enterprise — in which nothing was free for blacks — and that capitalism should be honestly rejected.

BUS DAY
18/2/86

Anonymous witness's 'life is endangered'

(110A)

A FILE concerning treason-trial accused Sisa Njikelana had been among African National Congress records in Lesotho, the Maritzburg Supreme Court heard yesterday.

The witness may not be named.

Prosecutor Andre Oberholzer said there were substantial reasons for not revealing the witness's identity because lives might be endangered.

The witness also said a passport containing the photograph of another accused, Thozamile Gqweta, had been made out in the name of Richard Miti.

The witness had seen the passport in Lesotho at the "place" of a person named Kingdom Short, who was SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) treasurer in Lesotho.

The witness had also seen Gqweta, who was the national president of the SA Allied Workers' Union, somewhere in SA.

The witness, who was giving evidence *in camera*, described having worked as a member of the ANC — for a person named Socks, in Lesotho — when Njikelana's file was seen. The witness "worked on" some of the files.

The witness worked under superiors, including Socks, in the Lesotho military machinery. This was a superior structure of various branches of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing.

The witness said there were commandos of the OFS, Eastern Cape, Border and Natal military machinery.

All these sub-structures were known as the Lesotho Military Machinery.

The witness said that in addition to the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, the SA Communist Party and Sactu were working in Lesotho.

"We were all under representatives and we used to see one another often. There was a chief representative of the ANC."

The witness described having gone for training in several African states. Mr Justice A J Milne ruled that some of these states should not be revealed as they could help to identify the witness.

The witness said that after two associates with ANC connections had been killed in a car-bomb explosion in Swaziland, the witness went to Lesotho. "I realised there was no security in Swaziland, so I went to Lesotho."

The witness knew some of the people killed in an SA Defence Force raid in December 1982. The people had stayed and used houses, known as "Siberia" and "Moscow", in Maseru.

The witness attended the funeral of those killed in the raid. Among those present at the funeral were ANC president Oliver Tambo, Lesotho's King Moshoeshoe, former Lesotho Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan, and ANC members.

The witness underwent military training including reconnaissance, topography and the use of various arms.

The hearing continues. — Sapa.

Two die in skirmishes

18/2/86

SOWETAN

TWO members of the SA Police were wounded and two suspected ANC men killed early yesterday morning in skirmishes near Port Elizabeth, the Commissioner of the South African police, General Johan Coetzee, announced yesterday.

Another suspected ANC man was arrested.

A black man, found in possession of a Russian handgrenade and a revolver, was arrested early yesterday morning in Zwide near Port Elizabeth.

Information gathered by the police and followed up led to New Brighton, also near Port Elizabeth, where the SAP entered a hut.

Wounded

The SAP were fired on with an AK47 rifle. When they returned the fire, a black man was fatally wounded.

Another black man, who was also in the hut, was arrested. Captain I P du Plessis was shot

UNREST - ROUND-UP

four times in the left leg. He is in hospital in a satisfactory condition.

In further action in Soweto, Port Elizabeth, SAP members entered a wooden hut where a handgrenade was thrown at them from an adjoining room. Constable A Strydom suffered several shrapnel wounds to his arms and legs. His condition has also been described as satisfactory.

The other police present fired at a black man, killing him. Another handgrenade and a Makarov pistol were found in the hut.

— Sapa.

Murder victim named

The 19-year-old girl allegedly shot dead by a motorcycle gang member in the toilet of the Club Cincinatti nightclub in Johannesburg on Sunday morning has been identified by police as Miss Annamarie Marx, of no fixed address. *STAR 18/2/86*

Two men allegedly molested her and her friend, and assaulted their teenage partners at the nightclub.

They tried to run away. Three of them made it to the safety of the street outside but Miss Marx sought refuge in the women's toilet, was followed by a man and was shot dead.

A man has been arrested and is expected to appear in court tomorrow.

Tutu to address Press Institute

LONDON — Bishop Desmond Tutu is to address the International Press Institute at the start of its annual assembly in May. The assembly runs from May 11 to 14. *STAR*

A spokesman for IPI said Bishop Tutu had accepted the invitation to speak. — The Star Bureau.

Wounded police recovering

Two policemen wounded in yesterday's clashes with ANC insurgents in Port Elizabeth townships are said to be recovering well. *18/2/86 STAR*

Captain I P du Plessis was shot four times in the left leg when he entered a hut in New Brighton. He is in the Port Elizabeth Provincial Hospital in a satisfactory condition.

Constable A Strydom was hit in the arms and legs by shrapnel when a grenade was hurled at him as he entered a hut in Soweto near Port Elizabeth. He was treated at hospital and discharged.

They were taking part in follow-up operation after a man was held in Zwide. The police said two "ANC terrorists" were killed, a man was arrested and Russian weapons and ammunition seized.

Witbank hit by unrest after 820 arrested

By Chris More

Several people were wounded yesterday when police fired birdshot and teargas to disperse people during the first of a planned seven-day stayaway in Lynville, Arkerville and kwaGuga townships outside Witbank.

Yesterday, 820 people appeared in the Witbank Regional Court on charges of attending an illegal gathering.

According to residents, the stayaway started when people were arrested at a meeting called by the Unemployed People's Congress in the Arkerville Stadium on Sunday afternoon.

The 820 were tried in groups of 25 and the first group pleaded guilty. Pupils and the unemployed were warned and discharged, but those who were employed were fined R60 or 30 days' imprisonment.

During the unrest a shopkeeper was hit by birdshot pellets in the face and a boy, aged about seven, was seriously wounded by birshot and was rushed to hospital.

Another resident said a man on his way to work at about 7 am yesterday, was shot in the back with a shotgun. Police confirmed unrest in Witbank at the weekend.



"They put total emphasis on the 'cost effectiveness' of all their lies and open all transport...

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I have already told the hon member that there were people that complained that they could not carry on their normal activities on the beach. Does the hon member expect us to close our eyes to a complaint that comes from the public that they are being inconvenienced where they want to exercise their rights?

The LEADER OF THE OFFICIAL OPPOSITION: Mr Speaker, arising further from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister, is he satisfied that in this particular instance the police were justified and that there was a real reason for interfering on the grounds that he has given?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I did not see how big the castles were . . .

†The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING: They were probably as big as his castles in the air. [Interjections.]

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: The fact of the matter is that people complained to the police, and the police went to the place to see what was going on there. They then told the people to stop because that was not a place where sand castles should be built; this is a place for bathing. [Interjections.]

Money owed by former member of Cabinet
HANSARD 18/2/86
15. Mr D J N MALCOMESS asked the Minister of Transport Affairs:

- QWL 87
- (1) Whether any money is owed to the South African Transport Services by a former member of the Cabinet, whose name has been furnished to the South African Transport Services for the purpose of the Minister's reply; if so, (a) what is the name of this person, (b) what is the total amount owed by him, (c) for what period has this amount been owing to the South African Transport Services and (d) over what period was this debt raised;
 - (2) whether the South African Transport Services have taken any steps to re-

HoA

cover the amount owing from this person; if not, why not; if so, what steps?

†The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT AFFAIRS:

- (1) Yes.
 - (a) The Honourable S P Botha.
 - (b) Approximately R198 000.
 - (c) Debits accrued since October 1984 and increased monthly until November 1985.
 - (d) 14 months.
- (2) Yes. Initially an agreement was reached with Mr Botha whereby the debt would be settled in instalments by means of post-dated cheques. The cheques were, however, dishonoured by the bank and the Consortium of Insurers underwriting Transport Services' Umbrella Credit Account Guarantee was approached to recover the outstanding amount.

As Mr Botha's estate was subsequently placed in liquidation it was agreed with the Consortium that Transport Services would submit a claim against the estate. In terms of the afore-mentioned guarantee the Consortium is themselves liable for an amount of approximately R50 000.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, may I ask him whether the person concerned obtained extraordinarily high amounts of credit such as a member of the general public, and not a member of the Cabinet, would not have obtained under similar circumstances?

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, this is a very unhappy state of affairs. It was an irregularity. The entire matter is under investigation at the moment and that investigation extends also to the person who extended the credit. I repeat that we are looking into the whole situation and that it was in fact an irregular-

ity. Minister or no Minister, the accounts of the South African Transport Services are required to be settled in cash on a monthly basis. That did not happen in this instance and we were unaware of the whole situation.

Mr D J N MALCOMESS: Mr Speaker, arising further out of the reply of the hon the Minister, may I ask him whether he will inform either this House or the Standing Committee on the South African Transport Services Accounts of the outcome of the investigation that is being conducted?

The MINISTER: There is no cover-up whatsoever in this regard. All the findings will be reported back to the standing committee. As I have said, we are insured against this sort of thing, but we are not fully covered. However, I think we will recover most of the money and I shall report back to the standing committee in this regard.

Thabong Township: vigilantes
HANSARD 18/2/86
*16. Mrs H SUZMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order.

- QWL 89
- (1) Whether any vigilantes were operating in Thabong Township near Welkom in 1985; if so,
 - (2) whether the South African Police took any action in respect of these vigilantes; if so, (a) what action, (b) when and (c) with what result; if not, why not;
 - (3) whether these vigilantes operated with the (a) knowledge and/or (b) co-operation of the South African Police; if so, (i) why, (ii) what was the nature of this co-operation and (iii) who authorised the South African Police to co-operate with them;
 - (4) whether the South African Police received any complaints from residents of Thabong Township concerning any (a) councillors and/or (b) vigilantes; if so, (i) how many, (ii) on what dates and (iii) what was the nature of these complaints;
 - (5) whether any residents of Thabong

HoA

Township laid any charges against (a) councillors and/or (b) vigilantes; if so, (i) how many, (ii) on what dates and (iii) what was the nature of these charges;

- (6) whether the South African Police investigated these (a) complaints and (b) charges; if not, why not; if so, what were the findings in each case;
- (7) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) to (3) No vigilantes operated in Thabong Township, Welkom during 1985.

Due to the intimidation and attacks by juveniles on teachers, parents and the inhabitants of Thabong, especially during the first part of 1985, the Thabong Community Council resolved to:

Protect themselves, their property, as well as the lives and property of members of the Council especially those performing duties during the night;

Protect White teachers, and other White officials who had to perform their duties in the Thabong Township, and

Dissuade Black youngsters from forming so-called protest groups and from participating in illegal marching.

No formal structure was created for this purpose and all attempts remained mainly informal. These actions occurred individually and the police were not informed of their actions or intended actions. No co-operation existed between these persons and the police. During organised police operations members of the Council and reservists sometimes assisted the police.

ister's Department for the purposes of his reply, on or about 29 December 1985 on the occasion of a national convention at the University of the Witwatersrand; if so, what is the name of this organisation;

- (2) whether his Department has commented on these resolutions; if so, what is the purport of the comment;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT AID:

- (1) No, but note was taken of resolutions taken during the National Education Conference which was held on 28-29 December 1985.
- (2) No.
- (3) No, because the resolutions are still being studied.

†Dr W J SNYMAN: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Deputy Minister I should like to put the following question to him. One of the requirements the committee laid down at that conference was that parents would no longer have to pay school fees for books and for pupils. Is the fact that the Department will from now on provide children with free books and stationery perhaps a result of the said decision by that committee?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER: Mr Speaker, in reply to that question by the hon member for Pietersburg I just want to point out that the Department of Education and Training does not require any obligatory payment of school fees by the children. School fees are determined by the local bodies concerned. This is in fact a local affair which is not regulated by the Department as such.

De Nyschen/Van Eck families: investigation into deaths

*3. Dr W J SNYMAN asked the Minister of Law and Order:†

HoA 18/2/86

Q-COL 75.

- (1) Whether the South African Police has investigated the deaths of members of the De Nyschen and Van Eck families on the farm Chatsworth in the magisterial district of Messina on or about 15 December 1985; if so,
- (2) whether the investigation has been completed; if so, with what result; if not, what progress has been made up to now;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes.
- (2) No. Chase was given to the terrorists in order to trace them. The tracks were followed as far as the farm Schutwater, district Messina, where it crossed the Limpopo River into Zimbabwe. The investigation is still in progress.
- (3) No, except that the South African Police does everything in their power to bring the culprits to book.

HANSARD Maize Board
*4. Mr L F STOFBERG asked the Minister of Agricultural Economics:†

- (1) Whether producer members of control boards are appointed by the producers themselves; if not, in what way are such members appointed; if so,
- (2) whether there was any departure from this procedure in respect of the Maize Board; if so, (a) why, (b) when and (c) on whose authority?

†The MINISTER OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS:

- (1) No. The appointments are made by the Minister in terms of Section 28 of the Marketing Act, 1968 (Act 59 of 1968).
- (2) Falls away.

Person employed

*5. Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) (a) In what (i) section and (ii) capacity was a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, employed in the Defence Force in 1984 and 1985, respectively, and (b) what were his specific functions in each such year;
- (2) in what (a) section and (b) capacity is this person employed at present;
- (3) whether he will furnish the House with the name of this person; if so, what is his name?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

The person whose name was supplied is unknown in the SA Defence Force.

Person employed

*6. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) (a) In what (i) section and (ii) capacity was a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, employed in the Defence Force in 1984 and 1985, respectively, and (b) what were his specific functions in each such year;
- (2) in what (a) section and (b) capacity is this person employed at present;
- (3) whether he will furnish the House with the name of this person; if so, what is his name?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

The hon member is referred to my statement in reply to Question number 2 of 11 February 1986.

HoA

Person employed

*7. Mr B B GOODALL asked the Minister of Defence:

- (1) (a) In what (i) section and (ii) capacity was a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the South African Defence Force for the purpose of the Minister's reply, employed in the Defence Force in 1984 and 1985, respectively, and (b) what were his specific functions in each such year;
- (2) in what (a) section and (b) capacity is this person employed at present;
- (3) whether he will furnish the House with the name of this person; if so, what is his name?

†The DEPUTY MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

The hon member is referred to my statement in reply to Question number 2 of 11 February 1986.

Simon's Town: training/simulating exercises

HANSARD 18/2/86
*8. Mr P A MYBURGH asked the Minister of Law and Order:

- (1) Whether any members of the South African Police, Police Reserve and/or Police Reserve Force undertook any training or simulating exercises on State property in Simon's Town in November 1985; if so, (a) where, (b) when and (c) what was the nature of the training or simulating exercises;
- (2) whether the South African Police have held an investigation into a mountain fire which occurred in Simon's Town in November 1985; if not, why not; if so, what were the findings;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

- (1) Yes, members of the Reserve Police

Abstract 18/2/86

Kinikini murder trial resumes

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — The trial of 10 people charged murdering Kwanobuhle community councillor Mr Ben Kinikini, four members of his family and an employee has resumed in Grahamstown Supreme Court.

Mr Kinikini, 57, sons Silumko, 20, and Kwala, 13, nephews Eric Kinikini, 25, and Qondile Kinikini, 18, and Mr Zolisile Pram, 20, were hacked and burnt to death at Kwanobuhle, near Uitenhage, last March.

The accused face six charges of murder and one of public violence.

They are Mr Moses Jantjies, 21, Mr Mlamli Mielies, 22, Mr Luncile Bobby, 22, Mr Tobile Nahlahla, 19, Mr Mcqondo Vena, 26, Mr Zandisile Ndwanya, 18, and four youths.

The district surgeon of Uitenhage at the time of the killings, Dr Willem Verschuur, said yesterday it was possible only to make assumptions about the exact causes of death.

The trial continues today.

Mr Justice Tom Mullins is on the Bench with Mr B P Loots and Mr E A Logie as assessors. Mr Chris Nel appears for the State and Mr Justice Poswa and Mr H Naidu for the defence.

K. D. Stuyd

UDF denies killing Azanyu men

THE United Democratic Front has rejected police claims that its members were responsible for the death of two people in Port Elizabeth recently.

UDF executive member, Mr Mkhuseleli Jack described as "absolute nonsense" that his organisation's UDF supporters hacked to death Azanian National Youth Union (Azanyu) members, Mr Mlungisi Speelman and Mr Zamuxolo Malangani, in Port Elizabeth's Walmer township last week.

Mr Jack said a report in an Eastern Cape newspaper quoted an Azanyu official as blaming the current feud on the local branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), "whose members have been accused of being involved in a bid to thwart the launch of Azanyu's branch in Walmer, Port Elizabeth."

Victims

Said Mr Jack: "As for the attack on us by Azanyu, it would be irresponsible of us to respond to it because our members were not involved in the killings."

Mr Speelman (25), Mr Malangani (16), and five other Azanyu members whose charred corpses were found in the shanty town of "Soweto", were victims of black-on-black violence which swept Port Elizabeth's township since last weekend.

Conflicting reports have since emerged over the circumstances surrounding the killing of the seven. Police say Mr Speelman and Mr Malangani died when UDF activists attacked their homes last weekend.

On the other hand supporters of Azapo have also been blamed for spearheading attacks against former members. The five "necklace" victims are former Azapo members.

Branch

Azapo's publicity secretary Mr Muntu Myeza said his organisation or its members were not involved.

"We have no intention of getting involved unless it is in attempts to resolve the situation," Mr Myeza said.

Meanwhile Azanyu said it would go ahead with plans to launch its Walmer branch on February 28.

Condemning the killings, Azanyu said the African people in Port Elizabeth had "a legitimate right to choose which organisations they can support and render their services to."

18/2/86
SOWETAN
IIP



MANDELA

BUS DAY 14/2/84

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BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday

Mandela charges 'withdrawn'

CHARGES pending against Winnie Mandela for allegedly contravening her banning order would be provisionally withdrawn today, it was announced yesterday.

Attorney-General for the Witwatersrand Local Division, K von Lieres und Wilkau, SC, had decided to provisionally withdraw the two charges today in the Krugersdorp Regional Court in Mrs Mandela's absence, a

Press statement said.

He decided to provisionally withdraw charges after noting Mandela had appealed against a Supreme Court decision upholding the validity of a notice amending her banning order. "It has now come to my notice that Mandela, following her unsuccessful civil application to the Witwatersrand Local Division to have the notice issued on December 24, 1985 which amended

the original restriction order dated June 1983 declared invalid, has noted an appeal to the Transvaal Provincial Division.

"The pending criminal charges are based on the validity of the Notice she now challenges and appeals against." Mandela has not been asked to plead to charges in terms of Section 56(1) K of the Internal Security Act. — Sapa.

WITWATERSRAND LOCAL DIVISION

TUTU SAVES

THE DAY

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI
INSIDE ALEXANDRA



His words
calm a
seething
Alexandra
crowd

THE Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Reverend Desmond Tutu yesterday defused an explosive situation when he managed to calm thousands of residents in Alexandra Township who were bent on confrontation with the police.

Bishop Tutu, who with Bishop Manas Buthelezi and the Rev Stanley Mogoba, stood between thousands of seething residents and truck loads of security forces.

The residents wanted to march to the nearby Wynberg Police Station after they had been told that a demand for the release of those arrested by the police since Saturday had been rejected.

This demand was made by a residents' delegation elected at a meeting earlier in the morning.

The delegation was elected after a strong presence of the police and soldiers had thwarted a march earlier in the morning. A conservative estimate of the crowd would be more than 30 000.

After the rebuff by the police Bishop Tutu appealed to the crowd, congregated at the Alexandra Stadium, not to confront the armed police.

He also pleaded with residents not to kill each other. Youths were also asked to allow their parents to leave for work this morning, although pupils made it clear they would not be returning to school.

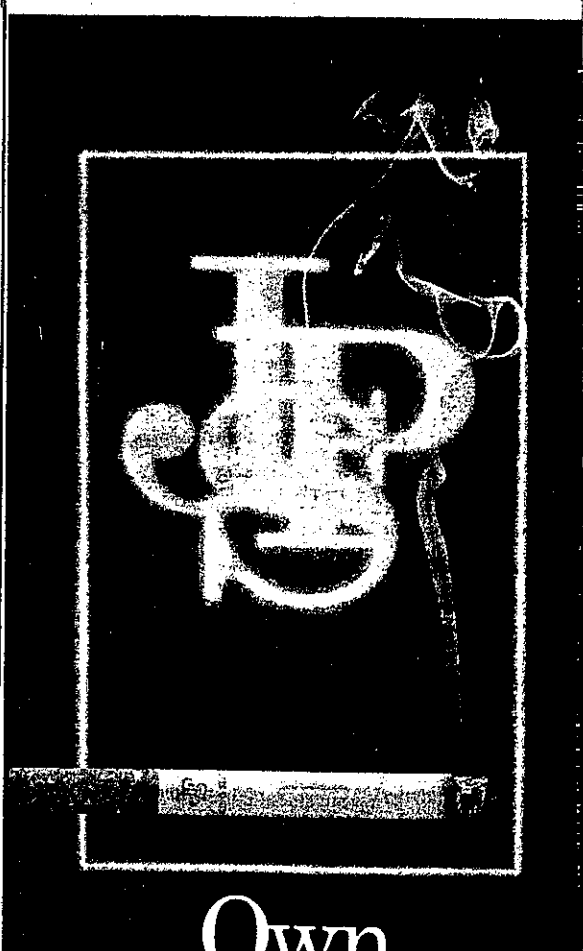
Failed

Bishop Tutu was supported by Bishop Buthelezi and Rev Mogoba, both senior members of the South African Council of Churches. Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude were refused permission to enter Alexandra Township. They were part of an SACC delegation.

Said Bishop Tutu: "We as your parents know that we have failed to lead you. We know that you are brave.

"But I want to ask you one favour, go home peacefully and the

Turn to Page 5



Detainee's family in urgent court plea

LAWYERS acting for the detainee who was admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital after going on a hunger strike were yesterday preparing an urgent Supreme Court application to allow the detainee's parents to visit him.

Mr Ronald Swart, who is a teacher in Klip-town and was detained under the state of emergency regulation last year, was admitted to the hospital on Friday.

He was among the 28 on a hunger strike at the Diepkloof Prison.

His father, Mr J H Swart, yesterday said he had instructed attorneys to bring in an application at the Supreme Court that will enable him to see his son.

Meanwhile the hunger strike by emergency regulations detainees at Diepkloof Prison enters



Mr SERAME MAKOE ... released.

its ninth day today. On Friday a statement released by the hunger strikers said their spirit and morale was high, according to the Detainees Parents Support Committee.

The 27 strikers are being kept in one cell and are provided with three meals a day — which

they ignore. The food, brought in pots with plates, is taken away after 30 minutes when the authorities are satisfied that it will not be touched.

The Prisons Department confirmed that a number of detainees were refusing to eat their food when the hunger strike started. A spokesman said the authorities were dealing with the situation.

One of seven emergency detainees released from the Diepkloof Prison on Friday, Mr Serame Makoe (20), said he started eating only on Sunday.

Asked for comment, the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria yesterday asked The SOWETAN to send a telex. The SOWETAN is still waiting for a reply to the telex.

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19 die in Alex - Vlok

From Page 1

SACC will take your grievances to the authorities.

"When you go home, please do not go in groups of ten or eight because there are people waiting to do terrible things. We do not want to give them that chance.

"We believe in God who is powerful. We know that He is going to free us. There is nothing wrong in struggling for your liberation. What is important is to use strategies which one is not going to regret when reading the history books in days of freedom."

In Parliament yesterday the Progressive Federal Party Member for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, asked the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to clarify the number of deaths since the unrest broke out at the weekend.

Mr Vlok replied that 19 had been killed, 16 from gunshot wounds as a result of police action, and 37 wounded, of which 27 were shot by police.

• Following is the SA Police unrest situation report issued last night:

"In Alexandra a mob of blacks attacked a police vehicle with petrol-bombs. Not less than six petrol-bombs were thrown at the police vehicle. The SA Police had made use of shot-guns to disperse the attackers. Two black males above 18 and one black male under 18 were fatally wounded.

"Six black females and five black males, all under 18, were also arrested in this incident for public violence."

19/12/68 Sowetan

19/12/68 (1A)

Death toll in Alex has now reached 22

STAR 19/2/86

11A

Staff Reporters

The death toll in Alexandra township has risen to at least 22.

Residents say that three children are among the dead, and allege that they were shot.

Police said at least six petrol bombs were hurled at an SAP vehicle by a mob yesterday — the fourth day of violence in the township.

Today the township was quiet but tense after late-night raids during which several members of the local branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) were detained, the organisation claimed.

Trouble first erupted in the township after the funerals of two people on Saturday.

The violence has shot South Africa back on to the front pages of the world's Press.

In Alexandra today residents claimed that three children were among the estimated 22 who have died in the violence. At the time of going to press, police comment on the allegation was not available.

Mrs Martha Molatloa, of 12th Avenue, said: "I saw police shoot dead three young children. The children might have been aged between 12 and 14 years old. They were hiding behind a huge tree and the police shot them all."

Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu yesterday helped defuse the tension in Alex. See Page 2.

"After the shooting, I went to see if I could recognise any of them, but I knew none. I noticed that the youngest-looking had a big hole on the head. The other two had holes on their backs. Their clothes were torn and they were covered in blood."

"I think two of them died instantly, particularly the one with the head injury. The third child remained alive a for longer period until the police arrived and removed them."

A young female activist who did not want to be identified said: "I saw the three after they were shot. I then rushed to call an ambulance, but the soldiers and police turned it back. They just surrounded the bodies until another police vehicle arrived and they took the bodies away."

"It was at this stage that I made a frantic call to Bishop Desmond Tutu for him to come and help our people."

"All this trouble started because we wanted the army and police to leave our township. Since Saturday they have killed and arrested our people, and all we ask of them is to release the people they have detained and then get out of Alex. We want nothing from them and they are not our friends," she said.

There was still heavy troop surveillance of factories bordering the township today.

The police unrest report said: "A mob of blacks attacked a police vehicle with petrol bombs. Not less than six petrol bombs were thrown at the police vehicle."

"The SAP had made use of shotguns to disperse the attackers. Two black males above 18 and one black male under 18 were fatally wounded."

"Six black females and five black males, all under 18, were also arrested in this incident for public violence."

"Stones had also been thrown at private vehicles as well as at the SAP in various other incidents. A private vehicle was also set alight by arsonists."

Animosity fear

"A black male under 18 was arrested at an illegal gathering. The rest of the gathering had been dispersed peacefully."

Indian traders in Alexandra are furious after a claim in Parliament that the unrest in the township was caused by the shooting of a black man in an Indian shopping complex.

A spokesman for the Wynburg Indian Traders Association, Mr Rashid Daya, said the statement made by Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok was "totally untrue".

Mr Daya said the man was shot at a supermarket which is not owned by Indians.

He said Indian traders were perturbed over the animosity the report might cause between Alexandra residents and the local Indian community.

"We asked the SABC to broadcast a correction, but they said they could not as they had quoted the Minister."

CAE Tim's 19/2/86

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Court orders release of 41 children

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. —
Forty-one of the 48 children detained last week at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roo-depoort are to be released following an urgent application to the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Six of the 48 detained are being charged in Leandra and one is still in custody.

An urgent application was brought against the West Rand Divisional Commander of the South African Police by Bishop Simeon Nkoane, the Anglican Suffragan Bishop for Johannesburg East, and eight others who claimed that the young people could not constitute any danger.

There was no legal justification for their detention, the court was told.

The children from Leandra and KwaThema on the East Rand sought sanctuary at the Wilgespruit Centre after their lives were allegedly threatened by Inkatha gangs after the funeral of the Leandra leader, Chief Ampie Mayise.

The case is standing

down until the children have in fact been released.

The detentions took place on the morning of Thursday, February 13, while heavily armed police, some of whom had arrived by helicopter, were searching for documents and weapons.

According to the affidavits, children were bitten by police dogs and six of them fled for cover in bush.

One, Patrick Mahlanga, had a bullet above the right buttock and another, Nyanga Ngubeni, had an open wound on the knee.

There had been serious fighting in the Leandra area after the funeral of Mr Mayise on January 25, when an Inkatha member was killed.

Mr Mayise's four daughters, Elizabeth 16, Johanna, 14, Flora, 18, and Julia were all staying at Wilgespruit and were all detained.

Bishop Nkoane said the children's health was in danger as many of them were inadequately clothed; one was detained wearing only underpants.

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Accused was on ANC files, treason trial told

MARTITZBURG — A file concerning treason trial accused Mr Sisa Njikelana had been among African National Congress records in Lesotho, a witness, whose identity cannot be revealed, said in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court yesterday.

The witness also said a passport containing the photograph of another accused, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, had been made out in the name of Mr Richard Miti.

The witness was giving evidence in the trial of Mr Njikelane (29), Mr Gqweta (33), Mr Sam Kikine (36) and Mr Duze Ngeobo (36), all office-bearers of the South African Allied Workers' Union.

The witness had seen the passport in Lesotho at the "place" of a person named Kingdom Short, who was the treasurer of the South African Congress of Trade Unions in Lesotho.

The witness had also seen Mr Gqweta, who was the national president of the South African Allied Workers Union, in another place in South Africa.

The witness, giving evidence in camera, described having worked as a member of the African National Congress in Lesotho when Mr Njikelana's file was seen. The witness had worked on some of the files.

The witness had worked in Umkhonte we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. The witness said there were commandos of the Free State, Eastern Cape, Border and Natal known as the Lesotho Military Machinery.

The witness said the South African Communist Party and South African Congress of Trade Unions were also working in Lesotho.

The witness described having gone for training in several African states. Mr Justice AJ Milne ruled some of these states should not be revealed as they could help to identify the witness.

Earlier, the prosecutor, Mr Andre Oberholzer, said there were substantial reasons for not revealing the witness's identity because the witness's life or witness's family's lives could be endangered.

The witness said that after two associates who had African National Congress connections had been killed in a car bomb explosion in Swaziland, the witness went to Lesotho.

During a spell of training the witness had undergone military training including reconnaissance, topography and the use of arms.

The case continues. — Sapa.

'Buthelezi, ANC in deadly contest'

Stamp 19/12/76

III A

By Bruce Cameron,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not talk to the Government because he was locked in a deadly contest with the African National Congress, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has told President F W Botha.

The explanation was given after Mr Botha expressed concern about why Chief Buthelezi would not speak to him.

Dr Slabbert said the problem could be overcome by locking him into the initiative.

"I have a very strong feeling that we are on the verge of an initiative into which he can be drawn," he said.

Dr Slabbert said the ANC was busy with a strong anti-Buthelezi campaign for exactly the same reason given by the President.

"The ANC wants to be the only bull in the kraal and Buthelezi wants to be the only bull in the kraal.

"I have told them both that there were more bulls in the kraal than they were aware of."

Earlier in the conversation,

President Botha said nothing prevented Chief Buthelezi from talking to him. The problem was that he always wanted to talk alone and not with other blacks.

Mr Botha said he had told Chief Buthelezi political rights were not a priority requirement for the Zulus.

What was firstly required was that the Tugela basin be developed and Richards Bay used to make provision for the Zulus.

Dr Slabbert said he was sure Chief Buthelezi would agree. But Mr Botha asked why the chief would not talk about it.

A big problem for Chief Buthelezi was that if ANC leader Nelson Mandela died in prison, the chief would become the "Muzorewa of South Africa" and he was aware of this, Dr Slabbert replied.

He said he had told the ANC they were doing the wrong thing by encouraging the "education after liberation" campaign while Chief Buthelezi was keeping children in school.

In 10 years the Zulu children would be educated while others would be unemployable.

Govt could draw teeth of romantic ANC Slabbert

By Bruce Cameron, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The African National Congress could be defeated and President P W Botha could draw its teeth, according to Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, former PFP leader.

Dr Slabbert said the ANC was a romantic picture for people overseas.

He told the President he wanted to tell the Cabinet Committee why he thought the teeth of the ANC could be drawn. One reason was because the ANC could not handle the current unrest.

He had told the ANC when he met them in Lusaka that they should show they were in control by calling for a six-week moratorium on the unrest. They know they cannot do it, he said.

As a result it was important that the ANC should not be built up into the only organisation which could control the unrest.

Secondly the ANC would be in deep water if it did attempt to control the militant young blacks in the urban areas.

Dr Slabbert started saying something about the future of the ANC in two to three years but was cut off by the President.

Dr Slabbert told the President the freeing of ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be welcomed internationally but it would not solve a political problem.

'ANC a must in SA talks'

NO satisfactory political or constitutional dispensation for South Africa could be worked out without the participation and co-operation of the ANC, seven ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church family said in a joint statement released in Pretoria yesterday.

by Dr Nico Smith, president of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (Mamelodi), following talks which he and one of the ministers, the Rev. Elia Tema, had with Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's vice-president and Minister of Information, in New York on December 14 last year.

impossible, from a Christian evaluation of the way to a political solution to the constitutional problems in South Africa, not to take the ANC into account," the statement said.

Change

The statement came at a Press conference led

"It is therefore simply

"In fact, we are convinced that any constitutional change in which the ANC do not have a say is doomed to failure, and that the process towards the realisation of a political dispensation acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants of the country cannot be achieved without negotiation with, and the co-operation of, the ANC.
— Sapa.

Buthelezi lashes out at PW, Slabbert

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Dr F van Zyl Slabbert

TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE "battle of the tape" has taken a new turn — Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has entered the fray with a sharp attack on both President P W Botha and former PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

Dr Slabbert has now given details of yet another confidential conversation, this time with the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard.

This one was tape-recorded at Dr Slabbert's request. The Government refuses to release the tape, although he has challenged it to do so.

Chief Buthelezi said he could only regretfully conclude that in their conversation on November 25 last year Mr Botha and Dr Slabbert behaved like two whites "pontificating about an uppity, difficult Kaffir".

"Distasteful"

He said he found remarks in the transcript "most distasteful and extremely disturbing."

At one stage in the transcript Dr Slabbert said that, like the ANC, Chief Buthelezi wanted to be "the only bull in the kraal".

The Kwazulu Chief Minister rushed into the controversy with a long message from Bonn, West Germany, where he is on a visit.

He said it was most distasteful and disturbing to be stabbed in the back at home while overseas he was trying to persuade people to help South Africa work toward a negotiated future with power-sharing, peaceful change and national reconciliation.

He said he denied the insinuation that he was unwilling to talk to other people.

A spokesman for the President's office said today that Mr Botha had no comment to make on Chief Buthelezi's statement.

Dr Slabbert today scoffed at the suggestion that he could

talk about Chief Buthelezi in a derogatory way after the long association between them. He said he had repeatedly told the Government and the ANC that Inkatha had to be taken seriously as an important factor in the internal situation. Conditions had to be created in which all organisations and movements could participate in negotiation.

The reference to the "only bull in the kraal" simply referred to the fact that there was more than one competitor in the political arena and that

they would obviously try to make progress at the expense of each other.

If Chief Buthelezi did not accept his bona fides there was nothing he could do about it.

● Dr Slabbert also disclosed today that in his talk to Dr Barnard he had made suggestions on how the country's predicament could be resolved.

He told Dr Barnard that freedom of choice had to be restored and that this meant the scrapping of all apartheid laws and the recognition of voluntary association.

Afrikaans and Zulu youths unite

By Susan Fleming

The Inkatha Youth Brigade and the four-month-old Afrikaans youth group "Jeugkrug" announced yesterday that they would deliver a joint memorandum to the State President expressing their concern for the future of South Africa.

The memorandum, which will be given to Mr P W Botha at the end of March, will also contain constructive steps "to create a climate conducive for negotiation".

The two youth groups, who held a Press conference at the Rand Afrikaans University yesterday, would not comment further on the contents of the memorandum.

PEACEFUL FUTURE

They also plan to write to "the influential people of South Africa and other youth organisations to seek total commitment to the search for a peaceful future".

The president of the Jeugkrug and the Afrikaanse Studentebond, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said the joint memorandum was a historic venture.

"This will be the first time that the Government will have the ideas of both the Afrikaner and black youth together," he said.

The two groups also plan to hold a joint political congress in May.

Mr Musa Zondi, the president of the Youth Brigade, said the congress would hold a public debate about the future of South Africa and the role the youth could play in shaping the future.

De Jonge's detained ex-wife treated for depression

POLICE yesterday confirmed that Belgian citizen Helene Passtoors — former wife of Pretoria Dutch embassy fugitive Klaas de Jonge — recently spent some time in hospital.

Passtoors, who has been in detention since June, spent three or four weeks in hospital suffering from depression before being returned to John Vorster Square on February 7, said a spokesman

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THELMA TUCH and Sapa

for her attorney, Kathleen Satchwell.

The spokesman said no charges had been made against Passtoors and there was no indication of when her case would be resolved.

A police spokesman said yesterday a docket concerning the case had been sent to the Transvaal Attorney-General.

20/2/80
He said he was not prepared to comment on the reason for Passtoors' hospital treatment because the medical condition of detainees was not for publication.

Passtoors was held in June, along with her former husband, De Jonge, 47. De Jonge escaped from police in July while being taken on an evidence-gathering tour of Pretoria.

By John D'Oliveira,
Editor of The Star's
Africa News Service

11/A

STAR 20/2/86

Assessing the odds on Nelson Mandela's

at another wave of hysteria over Nelson Mandela's "imminent" release has washed over South Africa.

This time it was occasioned by the Press conference called over the weekend in Jamba by Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita rebel leader, who said, in effect, that he would consider forging another link in the chain that could pull Mandela from his cell in Pollsmoor prison.

Perhaps the mechanism of Mandela's release should be seen in clear perspective.

Fact Number One is that the South African Government long ago said it would release Mandela if he was prepared to renounce violence. We do not know for certain what Mandela

himself has said about this, but we do know that the African National Congress in Lusaka has rejected the offer on his behalf. However, as far as the public record goes, the offer still holds.

● Fact Number Two is the offer made by President P W Botha when he opened Parliament on January 31. His precise words are important:

"I stated last year that, in principle, I would be prepared to consider his release on humanitarian grounds.

"But I think also of Captain Wynand Pretorius Johannes du Toit, at present held in an Angolan prison. I think of persons like Andrei Sakharov and Ana-

toly Shcharansky.

"A significant difference between Mr Mandela and Andrei Sakharov is that unlike the acts of violence and sabotage of which Mr Mandela was found guilty, the acts which Mr Sakharov committed were non-violent expressions of opinion.

"Mr Sakharov has, moreover, indicated that he would agree, if allowed to leave the USSR, not to criticise the Soviet Union on any sustained or major basis.

"I should now like to pose this important question: if I were to release Mr Mandela on humanitarian grounds, could Captain Wynand du Toit, Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly

Shcharansky not also be released on humanitarian grounds?"

● Fact Number Three is that Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Russian leader, told a French newspaper (which published the interview on February 8) that Mr Sakharov would not be allowed to leave the Soviet Union because he knew secrets that could harm the country.

● Fact Number Four is that the Russians released Mr Shcharansky on February 11 in a complicated swop involving spies from both the East and the West.

● Fact Number Five is that the Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr Alfonso van Dunen, told the of-

ficial Angolan news agency, Angop, on February 12 or 13 that Angola would never accept an exchange of Mandela for Captain du Toit.

● Fact Number Six is that Angola has made it clear that it would only consider exchanging Captain du Toit for Cuban and Angolan soldiers allegedly being held by South Africa.

● Fact Number Seven is that South Africa is not currently holding any Angolan or Cuban prisoners.

● Fact Number Eight is that Unita does hold both Cuban and Angolan prisoners somewhere in what Dr Savimbi refers to as "the free land of Angola".

● Fact Number Nine was pro-

vided at the weekend when Dr Savimbi said he would consider exchanging some of his prisoners "on humanitarian grounds" if this would facilitate Captain du Toit's release.

Now we run out of hard facts and enter the less reliable realm of speculation, analysis, interpolation.

There have been reports of "secret" discussions aimed at the release of Captain du Toit. These discussions have not yet been officially confirmed, but it is safe to assume that they are well under way.

It is also safe to assume that they involve the South African and Angolan Governments, Unita and possibly the United

Continue

In 1976, the black education systems were plunged into a crisis situation which has persisted up to the present date. Black schooling is in crisis: it is failing to meet the needs and aspirations of the people. It is supposed to serve - their social, political and economic needs.

The crisis is no new experience, because Blacks have long been resisting the type of education system provided for them; they are not passive recipients of the education system. Even the slaves challenged the education system provided for them by the Dutch East India Company. The crisis came on the stage of Black education in 1976 (the crisis led to the Bantu Education Act of 1976, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1977, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1978, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1979, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1980, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1981, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1982, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1983, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1984, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1985, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1986, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1987, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1988, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1989, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1990, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1991, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1992, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1993, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1994, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1995, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1996, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1997, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1998, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 1999, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2000, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2001, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2002, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2003, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2004, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2005, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2006, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2007, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2008, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2009, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2010, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2011, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2012, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2013, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2014, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2015, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2016, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2017, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2018, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2019, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2020, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2021, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2022, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2023, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2024, the Education and Training Reform in Education Act of 2025).

The Star-Thursday February 20 1986

release

States of America.

Further, we may safely assume that the South African Government is quite eager to release Mandela, provided his release does not generate an inordinate political storm among the country's white conservatives. This is where we stand today.

Two release "offers" are on the table.

One has been rejected outright, the other is dependent implicitly (not explicitly because, remember, Mr Botha merely posed a question in Parliament) on a series of other releases.

Dr Shcharansky has been released already. One down and

two to go. Unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, the swop bringing Captain du Toit's release seems almost certain. So we can anticipate two down and one to go. But what about Dr Sakharov?

Will the Kremlin bosses relent and release the man they say has a head full of Russian state security secrets?

Or will Mr Botha say that two out of three is not bad and release Mandela?

Given the strong belief that the Botha Government wants to release the jailed African National Congress leader, one might take reasonable odds on Mandela being freed, even if the Russians remain obdurate on Dr Sakharov.

But few people believe this will happen before Captain du Toit leaves his Angolan jail.

school boycotts, burning of classrooms, violent protest and "pupil power" can happen at any time, anywhere, from the largest metropolitan area to the smallest village, even Paarl.

8
7. Ken Hartshorne, 1984; page 20

by SHIRLEY PRESSLY
GRAHAMSTOWN —
Eleven members of
Azapo, who were sent to
jail last year for possess-
ing petrol bombs and
dangerous weapons,
have had their sentences
set aside in the Gra-
hamstown Supreme
Court.

The appeal was
brought by Princess
Thethani and others on
behalf of Xolisile Rich-
ard Thethani, Lawrence
Nguma, Bongo Ngolo,
Sanela Myaleni, Peter
Mouzo, Zwelizuma
Matyu, Ludwe
Mashologu, Sithembele
Zithumeni, Mbuyisele
Mhlawuli, Zamiani Joyi,
Fundile Mafongosi and
Mxoleli Msize.

Mr Justice Jennett
and Mr Justice
Kannemeyer ruled last
week that the appeal of
all accused, save for
Zamiani Joyi, was al-
lowed and their convic-
tions and sentence set
aside on both counts.

The appeal of
Zamiana Joyi was dis-
missed and the convic-
tion and sentence con-
firmed on both counts.

The 11 accused were
sentenced on August 13,
last year by Regional
Court magistrate Mr CH
Fouce in Port Elizabeth,
for possession of three

Jailed Azapo 11 now free

E-Post 20218
petrol bombs and a se-
cond count of possessing
dangerous weapons.

Thethani, Nguma,
Ngolo, Myaleni, Mouzo,
Mashologu, Zithumeni,
Mafongosi and Msizi
were sentenced on the
main count to 50 months'
imprisonment of which
16 months' were condi-
tionally suspended for
five years.

All the accused were
sentenced to six months'
imprisonment on count
two.

Matyu was sentenced
to five years' imprisona-
ment, with 18 months'
suspended for five years
and Mhlawuli and Joyi
were sentenced to 40
months' imprisonment,
of which 12 months were
conditionally suspended
for five years.

1980. — Sapa-Reuter.

Delegation may
see Mrs Mandela

The visiting Commonwealth group is expected to meet Mrs Winnie Mandela in Johannesburg.

The group consists of former Australian and Nigerian leaders Mr Malcolm Fraser and Mr Olu-segun Obasanjo, and World Council of Churches President Dame Nita Barrow. — Sapa-Reuter.

Unrest flares
at squatter camp

KNYSNA — Police used teargas and shotguns to disperse crowds after a bus was set alight and a home petrol-bombed at Witlokasie, a squatter camp at Concordia, near Knysna.

It was the first recorded incident of unrest in the area. — Sapa.

TUTU SAVES THE DAY

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI
INSIDE ALEXANDRA

THE Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Right Reverend Desmond Tutu yesterday defused an explosive situation when he managed to calm thousands of residents in Alexandra Township who were bent on confrontation with the police.

Bishop Tutu, who with Bishop Manas Buthelezi and the Rev Stanley Mogoba, stood between thousand of seething residents and truck loads of security forces.

The residents wanted to march to the nearby Wynberg Police Station after they had been told that a demand for the release of those arrested by the police since Saturday had been rejected.

This demand was made by a residents' delegation elected at a meeting earlier in the morning.

The delegation was elected after a strong presence of the police and soldiers had thwarted a march earlier in the morning. A conservative estimate of the crowd would be more than 30 000.

After the rebuff by the police Bishop Tutu appealed to the crowd, congregated at the Alexandra Stadium, not to confront the armed police.

He also pleaded with residents not to kill each other. Youths were also asked to allow their parents to leave for work this morning, although pupils made it clear they would not be returning to school.

Failed

Bishop Tutu was supported by Bishop Buthelezi and Rev Mogoba, both senior members of the South African Council of Churches. Dr Allan Boesak and the Rev Beyers Naude were refused permission to enter Alexandra Township. They were part of an SACC delegation.

Said Bishop Tutu: "We as your parents know that we have failed to lead you. We know that you are brave."

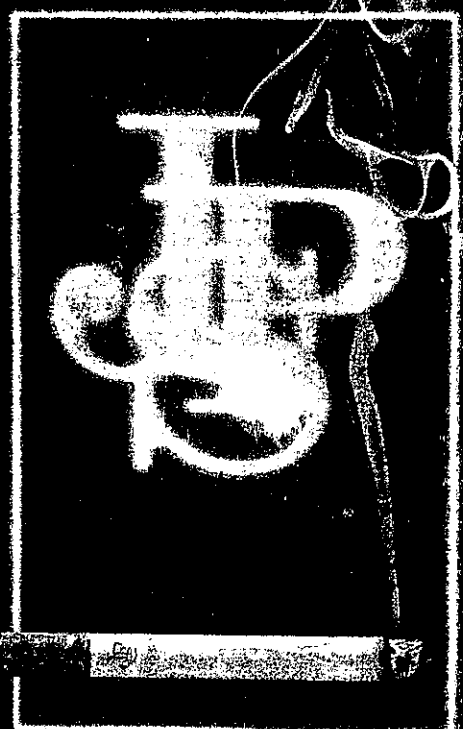
"But I want to ask you one favour, go home peacefully and the

Turn to Page 5

His words calm a seething Alexandra crowd



BISHOP TUTU



Own

Detainee's family in urgent court plea

LAWYERS acting for the detainee who was admitted to the Johannesburg Hospital after going on a hunger strike were yesterday preparing an urgent Supreme Court application to allow the detainee's parents to visit him.

Mr Ronald Swart who is a teacher in Klip town and was detained under the state of emergency regulation last year, was admitted to the hospital on Friday.

He was among the 28 on a hunger strike at the Diepkloof Prison.

His father, Mr J Swart, yesterday said he had instructed attorneys to bring in an application at the Supreme Court that will enable him to see his son.

Meanwhile the hunger strike by emergency regulations detainees at Diepkloof Prison enters



Mr SERAME MAKOE

... released. It is his ninth day today. On Friday a statement released by the hunger strikers said their spirit and morale was high, according to the Detainees Parents Support Committee.

The 27 strikers are being kept in one cell and are provided with three meals a day — which

they ignore. The food, brought in pots with plates, is taken away after 30 minutes when the authorities are satisfied that it will not be touched.

The Prisons Department confirmed that a number of detainees were refusing to eat their food when the hunger strike started. A spokesman said the authorities were dealing with the situation.

One of seven emergency detainees released from the Diepkloof Prison on Friday, Mr Serame Makoe (20), said he started eating only on Sunday.

Asked for comment, the Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria yesterday asked The SOWETAN to send a telex. The SOWETAN is still waiting for a reply to the telex.

19 die in Alex - Vlok

From Page 1

SACC will take your grievances to the authorities.

"When you go home, please do not go in groups of ten or eight because there are people waiting to do terrible things. We do not want to give them that chance.

"We believe in God who is powerful. We know that He is going to free us. There is nothing wrong in struggling for your liberation. What is important is to use strategies which one is not going to regret when reading the history books in days of freedom."

In Parliament yesterday the Progressive Federal Party Member for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, asked the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, to clarify the number of deaths since the unrest broke out at the weekend.

Mr Vlok replied that 19 had been killed, 16 from gunshot wounds as a result of police action, and 37 wounded, of which 27 were shot by police.

• Following is the SA Police unrest situation report issued last night:

"In Alexandra a mob of blacks attacked a police vehicle with petrol-bombs. Not less than six petrol-bombs were thrown at the police vehicle. The SA Police had made use of shot-guns to disperse the attackers. Two black males above 18 and one black male under 18 were fatally wounded.

"Six black females and five black males, all under 18, were also arrested in this incident for public violence."



19/2/86 SOWETAN

The general manager of the...
West Germany

Winnie's charges provisionally dropped

Charges pending against Mrs Winnie Mandela for allegedly contravening her banning order will be provisionally withdrawn today, the office of the Attor-

ney-General announced yesterday. The Attorney-General for the Witwatersrand Local Division, Mr K von Lieres und Wilkau, SC,

had decided to provisionally withdraw the two charges today in the Krugersdorp Regional Court in Mrs Mandela's absence, a Press statement said.

Winnie saluted USSR — Tass

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Mrs Winnie Mandela sent a militant salute to the Soviet Union and thanked it for its fraternal solidarity, the Tass news agency has reported from Harare.

Tass correspondent Aleksandr Osipov's report from Harare of his telephone interview with

Mrs Mandela in Johannesburg was broadcast on Moscow's radio service on February 13 and monitored in Washington.



Report restricted

Mrs Mandela is a banned person and may not be quoted. All of her comments reported in the interview have therefore been excised from this report. — Editor.

He decided to provisionally withdraw the charges after noting that Mrs Mandela had appealed against a Supreme Court decision upholding the validity of a notice amending her banning order.

"The pending criminal charges are based on the validity of the notice she now challenges," the statement said.

Mrs Mandela had not been asked to plead to charges in terms of Section 56 (1) K of the Internal Security Act. — Sapa.

ANC training terrorists in S A

(11A)
Meram 19/2/86

ORMANDE POLLOK
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—The ANC was now training terrorists inside South Africa, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, disclosed yesterday, adding that some suspects arrested in connection with recent attacks in Natal had been among them.

Mr le Grange was speaking in the President's Council.

'Two foreign-trained terrorists and 16 other people, of whom some received crash courses in Swaziland and some were trained inside South Africa, as well as local collaborators, have been arrested in connection with the bomb blast in Amanzimtoti on December 23 and other acts of terrorism in Natal,' said Mr le Grange.

'A large quantity of arms of Soviet origin were found.

'It has become known

Last year 16 terrorists were arrested and 15 who had been trained overseas for the ANC were killed in South Africa.

Investigations had been highly effective and the police were still in control of the situation, successfully tracing infiltrators and preventing many planned terror acts.

Mr le Grange repeated an earlier assertion that the declaration of a state of emergency in 36 magisterial districts had been the right action and had led to a decline in the number of violent incidents.

that an elementary form of military training is being given either in the neighbouring states or within the Republic.'

There had been 136 terrorist attacks in 1985 — a 38 percent increase over the previous year — and hand-grenades had been used in half of them.

Mr le Grange said the increased use of grenades could be ascribed to the fact that they were 'simple to master, easy to carry or hide on the body and can be used extremely effectively'.

Though unrest was declining, the revolutionary climate in South Africa was not, Mr le Grange said.

ws World News World News

LESOTHO LEADERS MEET ANC

SOWETAN
19/2/86
11A

LUSAKA — A delegation from Lesotho's new military government had talks in Lusaka with African National Congress representatives during a goodwill tour of southern African states, according to diplomatic sources here.

The sources said the delegation discussed the issue of South African refugees and future relations between the ANC and Lesotho.

Since former Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan's government was overthrown last month the government headed by Major General Justin Lekhanya has been evacuating ANC members and supporters in an apparent response to South African pressures.

Immediately after the coup 50 South African refugees were detained, reportedly for screening to see whether any were on a list provided by the South African Government.

Most of them are believed to have been among 42 refugees who were flown out of Lesotho to Lusaka on Feb-

ruary 13. Another 60 refugees were flown out earlier, on January 25.

SOWETAN Foreign Service



GEN LEKHANYA

In court over milk

NAIROBI — A stone-cutter from central Kenya has been charged in connection with a widespread rumour that the milk distributed at public schools contained contraceptive drugs.

Mr Githaiga Kaiga of Nyeri was charged before a magistrate on Monday with behaving in a manner likely to cause a breach of

peace. He is accused of claiming that the government-run school milk programme was a scheme to reduce the population of the Kikuyu tribe, Kenya's largest ethnic group.

Mr Kaiga admitted having said the milk was bad but denied claiming it was being used to control population. — Sapa-AP.

'ANC a must in SA talks'

SOWETAN

(11A) 19/2/80

NO satisfactory political or constitutional dispensation for South Africa could be worked out without the participation and co-operation of the ANC, seven ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church family said in a joint statement released in Pretoria yesterday.

The statement came at a Press conference led

by Dr Nico Smith, president of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa (Mamelodi), following talks which he and one of the ministers, the Rev Elia Tema, had with Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's vice-president and Minister of Information, in New York on December 14 last year.

"It is therefore simply

impossible, from a Christian evaluation of the way to a political solution to the constitutional problems in South Africa, not to take the ANC into account," the statement said.

Change

"In fact, we are convinced that any constitutional change in which the ANC do not have a say is doomed to failure, and that the process towards the realisation of a political dispensation acceptable to the majority of the inhabitants of the country cannot be achieved without negotiation with, and the co-operation of, the ANC.
— Sapa.

'Lesotho Govt met ANC on refugee issue

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — A delegation from Lesotho's new military government had talks in Lusaka with African National Congress (ANC) representatives during a goodwill tour of Southern African states, according to diplomatic sources here.

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Most of them are believed to have been among 42 refugees who were flown out of Lesotho to Lusaka on February 13.

General Lekhanya's government has stated a policy of refusing to hand over any refugees to South Africa.

Witness says Saawu 2 were ANC contacts

11A
~~SECRET~~

DISPATCH

19/2/86

Dispatch Correspondent

PIETERMARITZBURG

— Two leaders of the South African Allied Workers Union facing charges of high treason, were also official contacts of the African National Congress, a secret witness for the state alleged in the Supreme Court here yesterday.

Witness X, a former ANC "cadre" whose identity may not be revealed, said this during the trial of Thozamile Richard Gqweta, 33, Sisa Njikelana, 29, Sam Kikine, 36, and Duze Ngcobo, 36, who are all accused of trying to violently overthrow the government and further the aims of the ANC-led Revolutionary Alliance.

The witness testified to having seen ANC files in Lesotho, on Mr Gqwe-

ta and Mr Njikelana which had their photographs stapled on the inside of the folder with the special classification of "00 00" reserved for "Contact Persons".

The file references of Mr Gqweta and Mr Njikelana were respectively "GOOOOR" and "N0000S".

File numbers were made from the first letter of the person's surname, followed by the "00 00" and the first letter of the person's Christian name.

Witness X said contact people brought others to meet the ANC in Lesotho and dealt with the ANC or its ally, the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

The ANC files classified people into three groups — the recruits, who were coded as "00"

and who could not do much work for the ANC as they were on probation; "operatives" who were trained ANC members and classified as "000"; and the contacts.

Witness X did not know what was written in the files despite having handled the documents on Mr Gqweta and Mr Njikelana.

The court was shown a three-minute video recording of Mr Gqweta and Mr Njikelana singing in a crowd "Tambo lead us in this year of unity" at a Saawu congress at Soweto in April 1984.

The witness said that while undergoing military training in Southern Africa the same song had been sung in the training camps.

The trial was adjourned until Friday.

CNN T-15
19/2/86



Grandmother set alight, dies

JOHANNESBURG. — Two people were killed when they were doused with petrol and set alight by youths who accused them of being informers in separate incidents in Soweto on Monday.

A 65-year-old grandmother, Mrs Mary Sikosana, of White City Jabavu was set alight at her home by a group of youths who said she was a sell-out.

A Soweto police spokesman said the youths arrived at Mrs Sikosana's home at 9pm on Monday.

They poured petrol over her and set her alight leaving her to die while trapped in huge flames as other items in the house began to burn.

Her house was extensively damaged.

In the second incident another group of youths attacked a 23-year-old man of Emdeni township.

Fully dressed, he was also doused with petrol and set alight not far from his home.

The man was allegedly beaten when he tried to run away with his body covered in flames.

He collapsed and died in the street.

No arrests have been made in both cases. — Sapa

R25m grant refusal upsets ministers

DISPATCH

Dispatch Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — Government and opposition spokesman yesterday reacted sharply to allegations that Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr Allan Boesak, and Professor Jakes Gerwel, refused to be associated with an offer of a R25 million trust fund for black education unless certain political demands were met.

Two cabinet ministers, Mr Barend du Plessis, Finance, and Mr Louis le Grange, Law and Order, and Mr Ray Swart, Natal leader of the Progressive Federal Party, said that if the allegations were correct they would be extremely disappointed.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said in Bonn the three men had refused to be associated with the R25 million offer by Coca-Cola International, unless the company openly supported government talks with the banned ANC and supported divestment if the government did not remove discrimination and scrapped the homeland policy.

Mr Du Plessis said: "I can't imagine anybody who claims to be aware

of the desperate need for proper education not grasping an offer of R25 million with both hands.

Mr Le Grange said: "I am disappointed but not surprised at the attitude of Bishop Tutu as he has clearly identified himself as a public voice for the ANC."

Mr Swart said: "The desperate need for the increase and acceleration of the provision of black education should give cause for serious consideration of any offer of this magnitude. To reject it out of hand and then attach conditions which at this stage are impossible to fulfill seems to be counter-productive."

● Commenting on Chief Buthelezi's address yesterday, Dr Allan Boesak said he, Dr Gerwel and Bishop Tutu had been approached by Coca Cola, rather than the other way around. "Discussions have been going on for some time and when we have made a decision we will issue a statement," he said.

Dr Boesak said the discussions had been confidential and asked: "Where does Chief Buthelezi get his informa-

tion from?" He said he would never use negotiations with anybody to get at Chief Buthelezi, and that the chief's claims to leadership — and the claims of leadership made for him by the South African Government — were "non-existent".

Prof Gerwel, rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape, also said the negotiations had been confidential and said the three had entered into the negotiations as free individuals who had a similar approach.

Earlier report, P11

Child eats fruit spray — dies

PAARL — An 18-month old girl, Jeanette Cecilie Birks, died after apparently eating insecticide used for spraying fruit trees.

A Boland police liaison officer, Major Frank Alton, said the child was with her mother on the farm Brakfontein, Citrusdal, while fruit trees were being sprayed. Unnoticed, the child got hold of a container of the insecticide and began eating it. — Sapa

dispute with four metal unions, including Mawu. Seifsa alleges that Mawu's push for plant-level bargaining is undermining the collective bargaining process; and Natal Die Castings (NDC) has asked the Supreme Court to review the Industrial Court ruling ordering it to reinstate 112 Mawu members dismissed for striking over the company's refusal to bargain in good faith over certain allowances and bonuses (*Current Affairs* February 7).

Last year, Mawu gave notice of a massive campaign over plant-level bargaining when it declared disputes with 70 firms which follow the Seifsa line. Asea, which experienced a go-slow over the issue last year, is a key Mawu target.

Asea Electric MD Clive Jandrell believes there are several reasons for this: it is 25% Swedish-owned; it is based in Pretoria where the militant township mood would force unwilling workers to participate in the strike; and because the company has shown a reasonable profit in the past. However, a Mawu spokesman disputes this assessment. He says Asea was the first company to be hit merely because Mawu members there pushed hard-est for it.

The strike began last Monday and involved 850 employees. Initially, workers staged a "sleep-in" at the plants, but this ended when Asea obtained a court interdict ordering workers to vacate the premises after normal working hours.

As the *FM* went to press it was announced that Mawu and Asea Electric had agreed to mediation. It was unclear, though, precisely what the mediation agenda will comprise.

The dispute is over various fringe benefits and allowances, a retrenchment agreement, a paid holiday on May Day, working hours and wages. Mawu has proposed an open agenda for the mediation. The Mawu spokesman says the union will present "very reasonable" proposals for discussion. From the company's point of view, however, wages and working hours are seen as the preserve of the industrial council and, hence, are non-negotiable.

Jandrell particularly questions the propriety of Mawu's wage demands, given that a meeting to discuss the rationalisation of the industrial council's bargaining structures is due to held on February 26. He says it is conceivable that these talks may result in a decentralised structure. The electrical manufacturing section of the metal industry could, for example, bargain separately — although still under the auspices of the council.

Jandrell's argument is the same as that advanced by Seifsa in the dispute it declared with Mawu, the SA Boilermakers' Society, the Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union and the Engineering Industrial Workers' Union last Friday. These unions are all affiliates of the SA Co-ordinating Council (Sacc) of the International Metalworkers' Federation.

Seifsa argues that Mawu's actions are "undermining the collective bargaining pro-

cess" because it is attempting to persuade companies to discuss bargaining arrangements at plant level at the same time as the issue is being discussed at the industrial council. The Mawu spokesman describes Seifsa's move as "spurious" and an attempt to turn the other unions against it. The council meets on Thursday to discuss the dispute.

NDC has taken the Industrial Court ruling on review because it disputes the court's right to rule on such matters and because it believes "the judgment was incorrect," according to MD Graham Wilson. The hearing will begin when the court delivers reasons for its ruling, probably within two weeks. ■

POLITICS ~~SEIFA~~ FIN MAIL
21/2/80
Neanderthal reaction

Government has been badly shaken by a strong white backlash against proposed apartheid reforms and the possible release of the African National Congress (ANC) leader, Nelson Mandela.

Verligte Cabinet Ministers and MPs are being whipped into line in an effort to stop what could be a major swing of white voter support away from the National Party (NP) to the Conservative Party (CP), the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) and the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

The backlash has been felt as high up as P W Botha's office, which is reliably understood to have been inundated in recent days with telegrams and telephone calls from white voters protesting against the pace and direction of proposed reforms and the release of Mandela.

Three recent events in particular seem to have shaken the steadfast support traditionally given by most whites to the NP:

Botha's agreement to consider releasing Mandela on humanitarian grounds rather than only after a firm commitment to renounce violence as a political strategy, which was previously the precondition;

The perception that the new reform programme unveiled by Botha at the opening of Parliament last month could be too liberal; and

An interpretation by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha that government's reform programme could lead to a black president.

Speculation on Mandela's release reached fever pitch in Cape Town last week and heightened fears in some circles that his freedom could spark a new outbreak of violence in black townships which might spill over into white areas.

To counter the fears, two senior Cabinet members, Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, and Pik Botha, tried to bring the near hysterical situation under control by reaffirming the conditions for Mandela's release.

Botha, while on a trip to Europe last week, was reported to have even gone so far as to say the conditions still included the renunci-

ation of violence.

Both Botha and Coetsee also said the release of Captain Wynand du Toit, the South African commando captured during a sabotage mission in Angola last year, and freedom for Soviet dissident André Sakharov remained prerequisites for Mandela's release.

While Botha's comments on the possibility of a black president were seen by liberal government opponents as a bold statement which could have contributed significantly towards breaking South Africa's political logjam, they caused outrage, not only in white voter ranks, but within the NP's parliamentary caucus and even in the Cabinet.

P W Botha was forced to publicly reprimand his foreign minister in the strongest possible terms. Some NP MPs reported last week that the reaction from many constituencies to the Foreign Minister's remarks and to the possible release of Mandela before he renounced violence was unexpected and had forced government to reassess the pace of reform.

It was also decided to regroup and rethink strategies for convincing white voters that the party's policies were not as threatening to white survival as many people seemed to think. In the No Confidence debate earlier this month, both the Transvaal NP leader, F W de Klerk, and Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen reaffirmed government commitments to group differentiation in what were regarded in some circles as verkrampste speeches against the spirit of Botha's opening of Parliament address.

Many MPs are worried about the white backlash. Some observers believe that at least half of the NP's 127 seats (out of 178) are under real threat from the Right.

In a clear example of government attempts to put the white public's mind at rest, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis — a close ally of the foreign minister and a leading verligte in NP ranks — last week effectively backed P W Botha's repudiation of the foreign minister. During a debate in Parliament, Du Plessis read a statement which put beyond doubt his rejection of Pik Botha's interpretation of party policy.

The extent of the white backlash was illustrated by two events last week:

At a meeting in Klerksdorp, the AWB announced the establishment of a military-type force to protect white interests; and

In Krugersdorp, a meeting of 1 000 people endorsed a petition signed by 10 000 white residents calling on government to remove the nearby Munsieville township. Government has already decided, in terms of a new policy, not to remove the township, but to upgrade it.

The meeting adopted motions of no confidence in the local Nationalist MP, Leon Wessels — one of the most verligte MPs — and in the local NP-controlled town council.

The formation of the AWB "commando" was announced to about 3 000 wildly cheering rightwingers by the leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche.

FIN MAIL

STATE OF EMERGENCY

11/1

Le Grange speaks

Although the number of unrest incidents in SA has dropped, the "revolutionary climate" in the country has not subsided, according to Law and Order Minister Louis le Grange.

Speaking in the President's Council in Cape Town, Le Grange blamed most of the violence on the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), the SA Communist Party (SACP) and the SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). He said they were working through internal organisations, including the United Democratic Front (UDF), Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

In a comprehensive overview of internal conflict, he said SA faced a "Communist onslaught" aimed at overthrowing the government by force.

Le Grange accused a number of organisations, including the banned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and some UDF affiliates, of systematically intensifying unrest throughout the country after it erupted in the Vaal Triangle in September, 1984. The proclamation of a State of Emergency and the banning of Cosas had led to a marked decrease in violence, but unrest had been deliberately spread to other areas.

Le Grange said ANC attacks on white "soft targets" can be expected to increase. He said an "elementary" form of military training was being given to ANC recruits in neighbouring states and even inside the country. He denied, however, that the ANC had a military infrastructure inside the country, although a constant effort was being made to create one.

While the ANC was not the initiator of all internal unrest, it tried to claim that the situation was the result of its call to make the country ungovernable. "The SAP remains in control of the situation, successfully traces terrorist infiltrators and is able to prevent many planned acts of terror," he said. ■

Grenades, rifle and rounds found in flat

Hillbrow man admits ANC weapon training

21/2/86 11A
STAR

A young Hillbrow man yesterday admitted in the Rand Supreme Court he had joined the military wing of the banned African National Congress and had been trained to use weapons and explosives.

Mr Eric William Pelser (21), of Cumberland Court, Pretoria Street, Hillbrow, faces charges of treason and possessing banned literature. He is believed to be the first white charged with undergoing military training under the ANC.

He was arrested in July last year when members of the security police raided his Hillbrow flat and found an AK 47 rifle, ammunition, handgrenades and several banned publications.

In a statement handed to court, Mr Pelser said he fled from South Africa to Botswana because he could not face the prospect of being conscripted into the South African Defence Force.

In Botswana he joined the ANC and later its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. During a three-month camp he was trained to use arms and explosives before being sent back to South Africa.

His "mission" in South Africa was to recruit people to join or support the ANC, to set up an ANC base, to commit acts of violence, to gather information that would be useful to the ANC and to transmit it to the organisation and to disseminate ANC propaganda and publications.

The police officer who arrested him, Captain E P van Wyngaardt, yesterday told the court he and three colleagues had raided Mr Pelser's flat on the strength of information that they would find a banned book there.

Had he known about the AK 47 and the two handgrenades, he would have approached the flat more carefully, but he simply knocked on the door, Captain van Wyngaardt said.

After his arrest, Mr Pelser asked Captain van Wyngaardt to fetch him more clean clothes. In the pocket of one of the shirts, Captain van Wyn-

gaardt discovered a small cellophane packet with ten "dots" in it.

He asked Mr Pelser what it was, and he said it was "acid", the dependence-forming drug LSD.

A friend of Mr Pelser's who was at Jeppe Boys' High School with him, Mr P W Meyers, said he lost contact with Mr Pelser when he went for his national service but in July last year met Mr Pelser in the street by coincidence.

They renewed their friendship and saw each other about twice a week.

He asked Mr Pelser what he had done "over the border" and he replied that he had taught children English and History.

Only later did Mr Pelser tell him that he had been trained as a guerilla and was an ANC "commander" sent back to South Africa to perform certain tasks.

'Not capable of using weapons'

Mr Pelser had asked if he could use his address as a "post box" for a letter from Botswana. Mr Pelser seemed very keen to receive the letter but when it was delivered, Mr Meyers destroyed it and told him it had never arrived.

Before Mr Pelser went to Botswana he was very anti-violence and intellectually rather than politically inclined. When he returned he seemed to accept that violence was "the only way out" of the apartheid system, said Mr Meyers.

He said he got the impression that Mr Pelser wished to free himself of the ANC but seemed to be caught in a trap. He did not think Mr Pelser was capable of using the weapons he had brought into the country.

Mr Pelser has pleaded not guilty to the charges of treason and unlawfully possessing banned literature.

The hearing continues today.

Mr Justice L F Weyers is on the Bench. Ms B L Treurnicht and Mr S Bekker represent the State. Mr J Browde, assisted by Mr R Sutherland and Mr M van der Nest, represent Mr Pelser.

Police raid ^{SPK} Winnie's ^(11A) ^{21/2/86} Soweto home ⁽³²⁸⁾

By Rich Mkhondo

Police yesterday raided the Orlando West, Soweto home of Mrs Winnie Mandela, believing she was there illegally. They visited the home three times.

According to Miss Zinzi Mandela, her daughter, police arrived at their Soweto home at about 11am in three cars and a van. They returned at 130pm and at 4 pm.

In terms of Mrs Mandela's latest banning order she may not enter Soweto.

Miss Mandela told *The Star*: "They were armed, arrogant and demanded to see my mother saying they received information she was at home. They searched the house and could not find her. While they were still there I telephoned my mother.

FORCE GATE

"She demanded to speak to the officer in charge, but he refused to speak to her and said he was acting on instructions from above. They left after about an hour."

Miss Mandela said she was told the police returned "in a show of force" while she was out, and came again at 4 pm and tried to force the main gate. They were unsuccessful and left after 15 minutes.

Police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria "had no information about the raid".

Another day. Another treason witness

The mammoth treason trial at Delmas has drawn little media attention. Perhaps treason has become just another routine charge PATRICK LAURENCE reports

THE yellow police vehicle drove down the placid streets of the farming town carrying 22 black men to the newly-built court complex to begin another day in what could be a long succession of days before their trial for treason comes to an end.

The trialists were escorted into the Delmas courtroom. An access road to the front of the court building was sealed off by armed policemen. Highly trained members of the riot police stood guard in the hall opposite the main entrance, in the passageway outside the court and in the courtroom itself.

The men varied in age from 20 to 61. They included leaders of the United Democratic Front and its affiliate, the Vaal Civic Organisation, as well as sympathisers of its ideological rival, the Azanian People's Organisation. All have been in jail for months. Some have been there for more than a year. Bail has been refused.

The 22 account for more than two-thirds of the 32 people facing charges of treason in four trials. Last year 56 people, 55 men and one woman, were charged with treason in eight trials. Eight were convicted and jailed, 16 acquitted, including 12 of the 16 people indicted for treason in the trial in Pietermaritzburg.

The Delmas trial, as the trial of the 22 has been dubbed, has drawn little attention from the media. Perhaps it is a sign of the times. Treason is no longer an unusual crime to be accused of.

The routine newspaper reports are likely to become even shorter as the trial progresses. The published list of state witnesses runs to 220 names. But it does not include the names and addresses of all witnesses the state plans to call.

A feature of the trial so far — it started on January 20 — has been the testimony of witnesses whom the press has been forbidden to identify, directly or indirectly, by Judge K Von Dijkhorst. Two have been renegade members of the banned African National Congress. The third is a renegade member of legal extra-parliamentary organisations.

Another distinctive feature of the Delmas trial is that the 22 face an alternative charge of murder. The

A STATE witness in the Delmas treason trial said this week that he had contemplated suicide during nearly four months of police interrogation.

The witness, a former Azapo member, who was giving evidence in camera at the trial, told the Delmas Circuit Court that during his detention he had been interrogated from 8am to 4pm. He also admitted to having been assaulted while in detention.

After this admission, counsel for the defence made application to the court that the witness reveal where and by whom, he was interrogated, but this was disallowed. The application was made on the grounds that the information might also relate to later witnesses.

There are likely to be between 10 and 15 more witnesses from the Vaal who will testify behind closed doors.

During his testimony, the witness who is the latest in a string of in-camera "Mr Xs", described a march organised by the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) on September 3, 1984.

charge relates to the killing by enraged black crowds of five men, including four town councillors, in the Vaal Triangle. The killings took place in September 1984 and marked the start of the current rebellion in the black townships.

Eight people have already been convicted of murder for the killing of one of the councillors, Khuzwayo Dlamini. Six of the eight have been sentenced to death.

Ten more people currently face murder charges for allegedly killing another councillor, Caesar Motjeane, and his driver, Phineas Matibidi. Further trials are pending.

The murder charges against the Delmas 22 — one of whom, Father Geoffrey Moselane, is an Anglican priest — is that they incited "the masses" to attack and kill members of the government-sponsored town councils in black townships in the Vaal Triangle.

In court room D in Delmas the third unidentifiable witness faced cross-examination by counsel for the defence, George Bizos, SC, on the role of town councils. For the most part he answered in short sentences of two or three words.

The fundamental objection to the councils from the black community was that they were offered as a substitute for meaningful participation in central government, Bizos said. "We agree on that," replied the

State's man says he thought of suicide

By LAUREN GOWER

He said:

● Esau Raditsela, a VCA executive member who is now in exile, had called for the killing of community councillors when he addressed a crowd before the protest march. He told the court that Raditsela had also listed a number of "targets" that were to be destroyed in the course of the march, including police property.

● While the crowd was marching from the Catholic Church in Small Farm, Evaton, to the administration board in Houkopp, a man in a group had pointed in the direction of a lane where community councillor Caesar Motjeane lived, and exclaimed "There's the dog."

● People had then converged on

witness. Popular opposition to the black local councils created by the central government was not new and dated back for decades, Bizos said. "Yes," responded the witness.

Whatever the councils were called and under whatever law they were established, they were seen by blacks as the servants of white authority, Bizos continued. "That is so," answered the witness.

Later, reading from the findings of an official report by Professor Tjaart

Motjeane's house where they had begun to throw stones. The house was later set alight. The witness said he was aware that there had been a police presence near the house earlier in the day and that during the attack shots had been fired on the crowd.

● Three of the accused — Simon Nkodi, Gcinumuzi Malindi and Oupa Hlomoka — had been in the vicinity of the councillor's house during the attack. However, Mr X said he had not managed to identify the man who was dragged from the house.

In his cross-examination of the witness, George Bizos, SC for the defence, said he believed the witness's four months of interrogation had led him to paint an "incorrect picture" of the events of the morning of September 3.

Bizos said the march was a peaceful

van der Walt into the Vaal Triangle revolt, Bizos put it to the witness that rents in the Vaal Triangle were high even before the proposed new rents which sparked the rebellion in September 1984. "That is so," the witness said.

The same official report into the disturbances referred to persistent rumours of corruption and self-enrichment among the town councillors. "There were such rumours," agreed the witness.

To the charge that it was impossible

one organised by the Vaal Civic Association to protest against high rents and he queried why other targets pointed out by Raditsela "for the wrath of the marchers" had not been attacked.

He said Motjeane's neighbours and people in the community "were incensed" with him before the march because they believed he had shot a child. "Because of this rumour, because of the police presence, because of the shooting in the morning, his immediate neighbourhood was up in arms early in the morning."

Bizos said that Nkodi, Malindi and Hlomoka would also deny that they had been in the vicinity of the Motjeane's house while it was being attacked by the crowd.

Bizos said that the defence's preliminary investigations pointed to the possibility that the man the witness had seen being dragged from the councillor's house might not have been the councillor, but his bodyguard, who was killed on the same day.

to get a house without paying a bribe, the witness said: "Yes." He himself had been a victim, he added, before concurring that, in Bizos's words, there was "tremendous popular resistance" to the councils.

● Since the rebellion in the Vaal Triangle, there have been 12 vacancies on the town council. The council has held by-elections on three occasions to fill the seats. But each time — the most recent was last week — it failed to attract a single candidate.

OFFICES TO LET
BRAAMFONTEIN

Braamfontein Centre

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assist in achieving

Feb. 1986

Evidence of incitement challenged

Staff Reporter

DELMAS — A security policeman giving evidence at the treason trial in Delmas was challenged yesterday on his evidence that, before unrest broke out in the Vaal Triangle in 1984, one of the accused told a meeting in Sharpeville to "kill and burn community councillors".

Sergeant Thulo Koaho said he attended a meeting at St Cyprian's Anglican Church in Sharpeville on August 19 1984. The meeting was addressed by the Rev Tebogo Moselane (whose church it was), Mr Patrick Mabuya Baleka, Mr Lazarus Mohapi More, Mr Oupa Hlomoka and Mr Tom Manthata, of those who are on trial.

All of the accused — 22 members of the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Vaal Civic Association, have pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason and alternative charges of subversion and murder.

Sergeant Koaho said he heard Mr Tom Manthata, a member of the Soweto Civic Association and a field worker for the South African Council of Churches, incite those present to kill community councillors.

FOLLOWING DAY

He said that, because he did not hear any time mentioned for the killing of the councillors, he did not report what Mr Manthata had

said until the following day.

Mr George Bizos, SC, for the defence, asked: "If a crowd of 1 000 people were incited to murder councillors would a responsible police-officer not see it as his duty to raise a hue and cry?"

Sergeant Koaho agreed it was his duty to do so in such circumstances but said he had "other things to do" about which he could not tell the court as they concerned the security of the State.

Mr Bizos put it to the sergeant that, if he had been so shocked by the incitement to kill the councillors, he would have rushed to his superiors so that immediate action could be taken to protect the councillors and their property.

The hearing continues.

State witness painted false picture of events, court told

21/2/86 ^{STAR} (11A) ~~11A~~
DELMAS — A State witness at the treason trial here was accused by a defence advocate of painting a false picture of the events at a protest meeting in a Sharpeville church days before violent unrest broke out in the Vaal Triangle in 1984.

The witness, who may not be identified, was giving evidence in camera at the trial of 22 members of the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Vaal Civic Association.

The men have pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason, subversion and murder.

The witness said he had attended several meetings of the now-banned Congress of South African Students, the Azanian Youth Congress and other organisations.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

Under cross-examination by Mr George Bizos SC, for the defence, he said he could not remember which meetings involving political activists he had attended other than that which occurred at the church of the Rev Tebogo Moselane on August 19 1984.

Mr Bizos pointed out that although the witness had claimed he was au fait with community politics, the Azanian Youth Congress did not in fact exist.

Mr Bizos also said that the evidence on details of a speech made by Mr Tom Manthata at that meeting, as told to the court by a previous police witness, had been contradicted.

"Everything you have denied was admitted as correct by Sergeant Thulo Koaho (the previous witness)," said Mr Bizos.

The witness also said that he was not aware that the cry "Amandla" was used by groups such as Inkatha, trade unions and the parties of some community councillors. The trial continues.

Azapo launch banned again

Dispatch Reporter
EAST LONDON — The rescheduled meeting of the Azanian People's Organisation in Ginsberg on Saturday has been banned for a second time.

The banning order was served yesterday on the publicity secretary of the Ginsberg branch of Azapo, Mr Xolela Mangu. 11A

The order states that the meeting is banned from 8 am on February 22 to 8 am on February 24 and was served in terms of the Internal Security Act. [scribble]

Yesterday Azapo's president, Mr Saths Cooper, condemned the ban and said they were investigating further action.

"We note with extreme concern the deliberate attempt by the government to silence and prevent our message from being heard, especially in the Border area."

"As ours is a public organisation, our only access to the public is now being stymied," he said.

The meeting to launch the Border branch of Azapo was banned last Saturday but Mr Cooper visited the area and two branches were established in East London and King William's Town.

Mr Cooper was to have been the main speaker at the launch and would have shared the platform with the president of the Azanian Students' Movement, Mr Richard Ratlana.

The launch was scheduled to end with a memorial service at the graveside of the father of black consciousness, Mr Steve Biko.

DISPATCH

21/2/86

Firm told to support ANC — Buthelezi

STAR 2/12/86

Chief hits at Tutu over R25-m grant

11A

BONN — Bishop Desmond Tutu has rejected a Coca-Cola International offer of a R25-million trust fund for black education in South Africa unless Coca-Cola publicly supports talks with the ANC, threatens disinvestment and excludes Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's involvement.

This was said in Bonn yesterday by Chief Buthelezi in an address on the role of donor agencies in South Africa.

The kwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president was illustrating the manner in which, he claimed, international donor agencies could, sometimes unwittingly, be manipulated for political ends.

He produced a copy of a

memorandum sent to senior Coca-Cola executive Mr David Schneider and signed jointly by Bishop Tutu, his SACC colleague the Reverend Allan Boesak and by Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape.

In it, they stipulate that "the involvement of any homeland functionaries or people connected to organisations with official homelands links would preclude our participation".

And they urge Coca-Cola to threaten to consider pulling out of South Africa unless the Government takes significant steps towards change "within a prescribed time".

They stipulate that such steps must "at least" include the lifting of the state of emergency, the abolition of pass laws and influx control, the release of all political prisoners, the repeal of all discriminating legislation, the establishing of one single ministry for education and the official end of the homeland policy.

Non-violent

The group said in the memorandum that while the donation is intended as support for progressive initiatives seeking non-violent change in South Africa, such support needs to address the "political environment" of their efforts to effect non-violent change.

And, they say, "a crucial element in that environment is the recognition of the African National Congress as an important participant in the political pro-

cess".

"Our decision to participate in the proposed trust would therefore be greatly facilitated by Coca-Cola adding its voice to the growing public call for the SA government to start talking to the ANC."

In his address in Bonn, Chief Buthelezi pointed out that Coca-Cola, one of the world's largest companies, had been persuaded that they should as foreign investors make the very substantial contribution of about R25-million towards the process of change in South Africa by way of black education.

Misrepresentation

He accused Bishop Tutu, Dr Boesak and Professor Gerwel of trying to use the proposed educational scheme as a political stick with which to beat him.

● Professor Gerwel said this morning it was a "misrepresentation" that Bishop Desmond Tutu and other black leaders demanded that Coca-Cola International associated itself with the ANC before the company's offer of R25 million for black education will be accepted.

Professor Gerwel told *The Star*: "Negotiations between us and Coca-Cola are in any event still continuing.

"Because of the confidential nature of our discussions I cannot go into detail. But the allegation that we demanded that Coke should associate itself with the ANC is misrepresentation."

Bishop Tutu and Coca-Cola were not available for comment this morning.

ARbus 21/2/86

Gerwel dismisses Buthelezi's claim

1118
Staff Reporter

PROFESSOR Jakes Gerwel, rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape, today dismissed as a "misinterpretation" an accusation that he, Bishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Allan Boesak had asked the Coca-Cola company to back the African National Congress.

He said the ANC had been mentioned in negotiations over a multimillion rand education trust. However, the ANC had not been mentioned in the context alleged yesterday by Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi, Chief Minister of Kwazulu.

R25-MILLION

Chief Buthelezi produced a copy of a memorandum he said had been sent to senior Coca-Cola executive Mr David Schneider and signed jointly by Bishop Tutu, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Dr Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and Professor Gerwel.

According to Chief Buthelezi, the memorandum said a Coca-Cola offer of R25-million for a trust fund for black education in South Africa would be rejected unless the company publicly recognised the political importance of the ANC.

Professor Gerwel said Coca-Cola had approached him, Dr Boesak and Bishop Tutu, to serve on a trust fund.

"Negotiations, which will probably be concluded today, were done in confidence. Accusations that we asked Coca-Cola to associate itself with the ANC is a misinterpretation of a confidential document.

"But we will release a more detailed statement later today."

"Coca-Cola approached me in my personal capacity. Any offer of financial assistance to UWC is not a personal offer. There is a big difference between the two."

Bishop Tutu and Coca-Cola were not available for comment.

Inkatha youth, Jeugkrag memo to PW

SOWETAN Reporter

TWO political groups representing the black and Afrikaner youth, are to present a memorandum to the State President, expressing their concern about the current crisis in the country.

The groups, Jeugkrag SA and Inkatha Youth Brigade, intend to present the memorandum, as well as seeking audience with Mr P W Botha next month.

Concern

In a joint statement this week, the youth organisations said: "Our joint memorandum to the State President will communicate our deep concern for the future and constructive steps to create a conducive climate for negotiations in South Africa".

"For the first time in South Africa, the black and white voice will be making joint political declarations and political commitment in the search of one South Africa, one constitution based on negotiations," they added.

Forum

The youth organisations had set up a forum with a view to undertaking joint projects "aimed at improving the quality of communication and opportunities in South Africa."

A three-day conference hosted by the two bodies, will be held in May. It will focus on the future of South Africa and the role the youth can play "in shaping public opinion for the future." Five hundred delegates representing both groups, are expected to attend.

The alliance was a sequel to discussions which had been going on between Inkatha and different youth organisations.

21/2/88
A

Tutu

sets

support-ANC

BUS DAY

11A

12/2/85

on R25m aid offer



Tutu

BONN — Bishop Desmond Tutu has rejected a Coca-Cola International offer of a R25m trust fund for black education in SA unless Coca-Cola publicly supports the ANC. Mangosuthu Buthelezi from involvement. This was claimed by Buthelezi in an address on the role of donor agencies in SA in Bonn, West Germany, yesterday. Inkatha President said international donor agencies could be manipulated for political ends.

He produced a copy of a memorandum sent to senior Coca-Cola executive David Schneider and signed jointly by Tutu, his SAAC colleague Allan Boesak, and by Professor Jake Gerwel, rector designate of the University of the Western Cape. "The involvement of any homelands functionaries or persons connected to organisations with official homelands links would preclude our participation".

The memorandum states that "the involvement of any homelands links would preclude our participation".

The divisional manager for Coca-Cola consider pulling out of SA unless government takes significant steps towards change within a prescribed time.

The steps must "at least" include lifting of the state of emergency, abolition of pass laws and influx control, release of all political prisoners, repeal of all discriminating legislation, establishment of one single ministry for education and the official end of the homeland policy.

Southern Africa, Fred Meyer, said last night the composition of the fund's Board of Trustees had not yet been finalised, reports THIELMA TUCHI.

"A wide spectrum of leaders... has been canvassed on their views on how the trust should be set up," he said. Meyer said the fund the company was considering was a corporate initiative and he had referred publicly on the matter to Coca-Cola, Atlanta.

He expected comment today, he added.

Accused joined ANC

STPAK 20/2/86 By Gavin Engelbrecht

Mr Eric William Pelsler (21) of Hillbrow, charged in the Rand Supreme Court with treason, this week described to a judge how he became involved with the military wing of the African National Congress after he had fled the country to avoid conscription.

Mr Pelsler pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice L F Weyers to charges of treason and unlawfully possessing banned literature, but guilty to contravening section 54 of the Internal Security Act and to the possession of lysergic acid.

Members of the Security Police raided his flat on the strength of information that they would find banned literature there. They took possession of an AK-47 rifle, ammunition, hand grenades and several banned publications, the court heard.

In a statement Mr Pelsler admitted joining Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military arm of the ANC.

Judgment will be passed on Monday.

Azapo to challenge King ban

JOHANNESBURG — The Azanian People's Organisation has said it might seek court action to overturn a ban on two meetings it had planned to hold at Ginsberg, near King William's Town.

The meetings were banned by a King William's Town magistrate in terms of Section 46 of the Internal Security Act.

The second meeting was to have been held today.

Azapo said in a statement on Thursday that the magistrate, Mr P. Nell, had been served notice by its lawyers to provide reasons for his action by Monday, whereafter application would be made to the Supreme Court in Grahamstown for the setting aside of the two bannings. DISPATCH

The statement said Azapo planned to hold another meeting in Ginsberg next Saturday.

— Sapa

22/2/82

Mandela 'wants to end rumours'

Staff Reporter

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela does not expect to be released within weeks or even months, his daughter, Zinzi, said yesterday after she and her mother, Mrs Winnie Mandela, had visited him in Pollsmoor Prison.

Ms Mandela said her father wanted to end speculation that he was to be released imminently. "There is nothing new," she said.

The recent enthusiasm surrounding rumours of Mr Mandela's possible release was misplaced and the authorities had given no indication that he might be freed.

Mr Mandela "is in exceptionally good health" and there were no hints that he would have to have another operation,

said Ms Mandela.

Mrs Mandela and her daughter arrived at D F Malan Airport at 9.30am accompanied by General Olusegun Obasanjo, a member of the Commonwealth Eminent Person Group currently visiting South Africa.

Ms Mandela said the visit to her father was to be "routine". The party was met at the airport by UDF patron Dr Allan Boesak.

Mrs Mandela and her daughter spent 90 minutes, from 10.45am, with Mr Mandela.

Mrs Mandela was due to return to the Transvaal at 7pm and Ms Mandela will remain in Cape Town to continue her university studies.

General Obasanjo did not accompany the Mandelas to Pollsmoor.

CMF Times 22/2/86



bruary 22 1986

news

Evidence of 'kill' calls in church

11A 22/2/86 STAR

By Andrew Beattie

DELMAS — A State witness told the treason hearing in Delmas that he heard an unidentified thick-set woman tell a church meeting in Sharpeville to "burn anyone who buys goods from the businesses of community councillors".

Witness No 9, as he is termed, was giving evidence at the trial of 22 members of the United Democratic Front, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Vaal Civic Association. They have all pleaded not guilty to charges of high treason, subversion and murder. All have been refused bail.

The witness, who said he was a "known political commentator", may not be identified. He testified in camera. He said he attended a meeting, said by the defence to have been called to protest against increased town-

ship rents, at St Cyprian's Anglican Church in Sharpeville.

There a resolution was accepted to boycott the shops of community councillors. One of the speakers, Mr Tom Manthata, a member of the Soweto Civic Association and a field worker for the South African Council of Churches, told the gathering to "kill and burn the councillors", said Witness No 9.

VIOLENCE DENIAL

After that, a "thick-set" woman told them that anyone who bought goods from businesses owned by the councillors must be publicly burnt, he said.

Asked by Mr George Bizos SC (for the defence) if he was shocked by these calls to violence being made in a church, the witness said: "Very few things shock me these days. I know my people. They sometimes say things when they are

taken up by their feelings. I didn't take it as something that would occur."

"As a political commentator, or even as an ordinary citizen, your evidence on this point just does not make sense," said Mr Bizos, who has stated that the defence denies that calls to violence were made.

He asked for an early adjournment yesterday so that the defence could establish certain details about the witness's identity. Mr Bizos put it to him that he was not being truthful about his stated occupation, or to whom he reported his information.

This request was granted by Mr Justice Kees van Dijkhorst after he said that investigation of such "collateral issues" was likely to drag out the proceedings even longer than already expected.

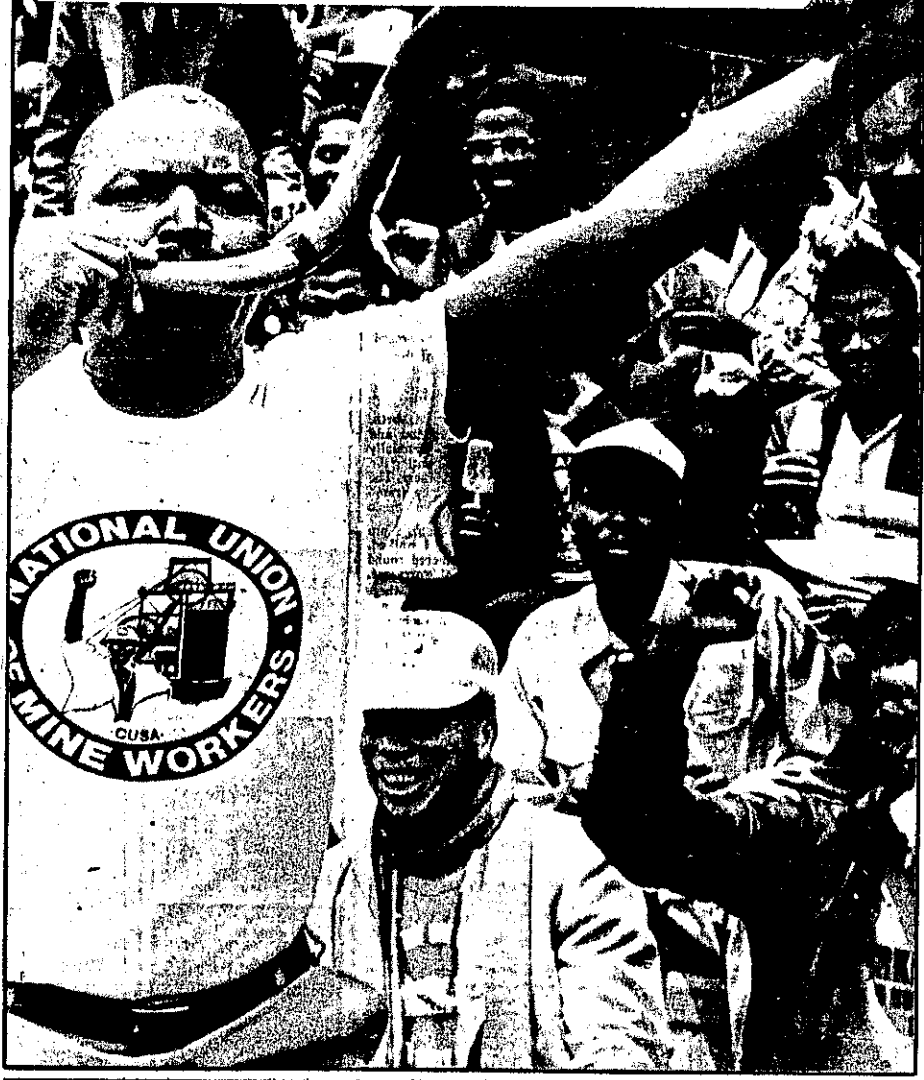
The trial continues.

WE WE ARE THE CHEAPEST

STREET

NUM going to Pollsmoor to instate Mandela as honorary life president

Miners on the march



Miners' elected leaders

National Union of Mineworkers president James Motlatsi was re-elected, at the weekend congress, to head the country's biggest union.

Other officials are:

- ★ Vice-president: Elijah Barayi (Cosatu president)
- ★ Secretary-general: Cyril Ramaphosa
- ★ Treasurer: Sylvia Benjamin

With the chairmen of the union's 11 regional committees, these officials form NUM's national leadership.



PRESIDENT MOTLATSI

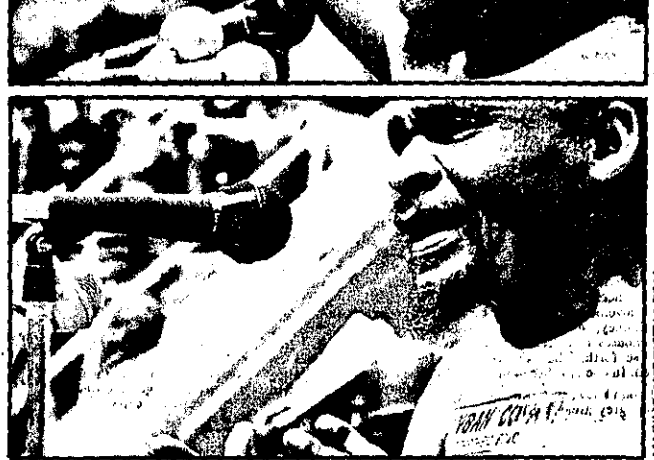


VICE-PRESIDENT BARAYI





Motlatsi was re-elected at the weekend congress to head the country's biggest union. Other officials are:
 * Vice-president: Elijah Barayi (Cosatu president)
 * Secretary-general: Cyril Ramaphosa
 * Treasurer: Sylvia Benjamin
 With the chairmen of the union's 11 regional committees, these officials form NUM's national leadership.



THE 220 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers has honoured jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela by electing him as its first honorary life president.

And it plans to march to Pollsmoor Prison to personally present Mandela with his membership card.

NUM president James Tuckwana Motlatsi told a mass rally of miners at Soweto's Jabulani Amphitheatre this weekend that Mandela was chosen because he had once worked at Crown Mines.

Mono Badela

Pini Peter Setuko

This was soon after he had been expelled from Fort Hare University in 1940 for his part in a student strike.

"He fled to Johannesburg and because he could speak English fluently, they gave him a cap and he was made a policeman," the fiery president told a cheering crowd.

He said Mandela was later fired because he refused to "collabo-

rate" with mine bosses. "Had he still been working on the mines he would still be with us in the struggle."

The 10 000-strong crowd cheered Motlatsi when he said 1986 would mark the crossroads for the workers' struggle in South Africa. He warned employers 1986 would be the last year of slavery for black miners.

"1987 will usher in a new era - the start of a socialist regime."

He said NUM's three-day annual national congress in Soweto had decided to urge State President

PW Botha to end job reservation on the mines. Failure to do so, the miners warned, could make them withdraw their "strength."

The mass rally exploded a long-standing myth that only Inkatha president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi could fill the stadium. The miners represented the regions Namaqualand, Natal, Kimberley, Phalaborwa, Carletonville, Westonaria, Klerksdorp, Johannesburg, Witbank, Secunda and Free State.

Motlatsi, re-elected to lead the miners, said in a message to PW Botha: "We'll give you a date when job reservation must be buried and

forgotten. If it is not done by that date, we'll withdraw our strength until it is removed."

He warned that the union would fight for a living wage and urged the State and the police not to intervene in industrial disputes. He said whenever there was a deadlock where demands were made by workers, cops and their dogs were the first on the spot. He warned workers would in future defend themselves.

The congress also resolved:
 ● To fight mass dismissals on the mines. The Gencor group was condemned for dismissing 23 000 min-

ers from Impala Platinum Mines in Bophuthatswana and at Maricvale.

● May 1 is to be a paid holiday for workers. Motlatsi said NUM was not "negotiating" for this. "We are stating for a fact what will happen on May Day this year," he said.

● To work towards the eventual nationalisation of the mines.

● In line with the Congress of SA Trade Unions, NUM decided not to affiliate to any international trade union federation. In particular it decided not to accept financial aid from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions because it promoted imperialism and capitalism.

● Like Cosatu, NUM declined to affiliate directly to any political organisation but pledged to cooperate with all progressive forces fighting for the liberation of SA's oppressed. It therefore called for the immediate unbanning of the ANC, the Congress of SA Students and the PAC.

Negotiate or we won't pay our rents - Barayi

PRESIDENT PW Botha has until June 30 to negotiate with accepted leaders or "we shall stop paying rent for our matchbox houses".

This ultimatum was given by Cosatu president Elijah Barayi at NUM's mass rally at Soweto's Jabulani

Amphitheatre at the weekend.

"I am giving him six months. We are not going to be told about reforms. Botha must make a categorical statement concerning fundamental change. We want to see it happening," said Barayi, who has also been dubbed by some

as "the workers' Moses".

"If he does not negotiate with the leaders of the workers and people by June 30, he will be heading for a fall," Barayi warned.

"If the Government does not act promptly, blacks will not pay rents for their homes," he said.

He warned Botha that he could not govern South Africa at gunpoint for much longer.

He also called for the unconditional release of all jailed political leaders, the unbanning of the ANC, PAC, the Congress of SA Students and the recall of

all those who have been forced into exile.

Barayi received a standing ovation when he said that KwaZulu leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is nothing more than a front for the National Party.

"If he is not a front for the National Party, then he would not say that Cosatu

is a front for the ANC," said Barayi.

He said Buthelezi is on the Government's payroll and whenever he releases a statement, he does so with the support of the Government.

The proposed Inkatha trade union would never be

MOTLATSI

VICE-PRESIDENT BARAYI

X

Boycott closes down hotel

CITY P

23/2/86

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

UMLAZI'S boycott-stricken Executive Hotel is to close on March 31.

This was announced in Umlazi this week in a joint statement by KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation executive director Marius Spies and Ulundi Trading Company chairman SJ Mhlungu.

The closing of the hotel and the Speak-easy night club - once the most popular Durban night-spot - comes after a successful boycott called after Victoria Mxenge's murder.

It was claimed last August that co-owner and manager Peter Davidson, an Inkatha central committee member, had allowed impis to use the hotel as a "nest".

It was claimed the impis who killed 19 mourners during Mxenge's memorial service at the nearby Umlazi cinema had met at the hotel.

Davidson denied the allegations - but within two weeks the hotel was totally deserted.

The boycott was intensified by the bomb blast which rocked the hotel on September 19 - a day after the impi raid on Lamontville. The raid resulted in the killing of six impis by defending residents.

Spies and Mhlungu said the R1-million 50-room hotel was built by the now-defunct Bantu Investment Corporation in 1974. It was leased to UTC during 1981.

The statement said that although the KFC was prepared to sell the building, the lessors did not want to buy it because of "unfavourable trading conditions".

By SIBUSISO MNGADI

ANGRY Clermont residents near Pinetown are standing guard on the streets after United Democratic Front national president Archie Gumede and other local leaders received death threats.

Over 3 000 people at the local community meeting this week vowed to fight any possible invasion - whether it be the notorious hit squad or impis.

Gumede read an anonymous letter accusing him of being a "coloured" who "played Zulu" and of creating divisions in the Shaka tribe by using African children for his own "obscure ends".

The letter said local leaders Advocate Aubrey Nyembezi, Reverend Hector Tshabalala and others were "next" on the death-list.

Nyembezi's R150 000 house was burnt down last year after he publicly spoke out against Clermont being incorporated into KwaZulu.

The letter said Gumede's activities were funded by Professor Fatima Meer as he was presently unemployed after his recent acquittal in the Maritzburg Treason Trial.

Meer's house was attacked last September at the height of her debate with Inkatha's Dr Oscar Dlomo over alleged violence by certain Inkatha members.

The letter said certain local churches would be

UDF
11A
men



GUMEDE

on hit-list

burned down - as, the writers claim, they did with those of Reverend Mcebisi Xundu and Reverend Wesley Mabuza, who have since left Durban.

Gumede said it was clear where the letter came from. The tone of the letter indicated a political group that might have sent it.

"Its writers had some background information on the family - the letter mentioned my father, Josi-

ah, who became first African National Congress life-president," said Gumede.

"My commitment to the struggle for liberation will not be deterred by such tribalistic notes."

Natal UDF publicity secretary Lechisa Tsenoli said his organisation views any attack on its president as an attack on the UDF and the UDF would "defend itself against this campaign of violence".

Apology

THELMA TUCH

BLACKS view the free enterprise system as based on the denial of their political rights and dispossession of their land, Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo told of businessmen yesterday.

He was addressing the FSA Management Consultants seminar in Johannesburg on industrial relations.

He challenged the business sector — and in particular mining corpora-

tions — to account for its use of what he termed dehumanising migrant labour and compound systems to facilitate profitability.

He also questioned why business had not condemned government's bankrupt economic and political policies — which he described as the root cause of the violence.

"Why has business not unequivocal-

ly supported the call by millions of South Africans for a democratic government based on one person, one vote?"

The paid-up membership of the independent trade union movement had increased from 20 000 in 1976 to 500 000 this year, he said.

Unions, he added, could not "stand back from the state of war" in many

townships as their members looked to them for support.

Cosatu, he said, had from its inception called for the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and Cosas.

Professor Nic Wiehahn, director of

11A Feb. 1786

Union chief challenges business

BUSINESS DAY, T

the School of Business Leadership at the University of South Africa, said companies must be able to accommodate the increasing politicisation of trade unions.

Management would face increased pressure to become involved in areas outside work, such as social upliftment, education, housing and medical care.

Multinational companies would have to adopt a more anti-apartheid stance to justify their presence here in the face of overseas pressures.

plan to send a joint memorandum to President PW Botha, confronting him with a number of crucial political questions.

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They are considering spreading the strike to Middleburg and Rustenburg.

Political comment in this issue by Louis Oosthuysen and ZB Molefe; newsbills by Louis Oosthuysen; headlines and sub-editing by David Niddrie and Chris Viek, all of 204 Eloff St Ext, JHB.

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Asked what would happen if Botha rejected outright the efforts of this Afrikaner-black group, Zondi said: "It would be difficult to speculate on Mr Botha's reaction.

"If we are rejected we would have made a strong moral case."

Zondi and Van Schalkwyk claimed they were in touch with a "cross-section of youth groups countrywide", but declined to name them.

3M takes back 11 workers

By MONO BADELA

TOP multinational 3M South Africa this week agreed to reinstate 11 of the 55 workers retrenched last year after 350 members of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union of South Africa went on strike.

The workers downed tools at the Elandsfontein plant last Tuesday after claims that the company was practising "unfair labour practices".

They protested against the employment of scab labour - including white

schoolchildren - in place of the retrenched workers. They also claimed black workers were replaced by white and coloured workers.

● Ccawusa this week expressed concern about the Transvaal Provincial Council move to extend shopping hours from 5am to 11.30pm.

"Much has been said about the position of customers and business, but little about the affected workers," a Ccawusa spokesman said.

He said the measures could be dangerous, especially to women - who form the bulk of Ccawusa's membership.

He appealed to businesses to provide transport home for the workers.

NEWS PLUS+

★ SA officials met with the country's 30 main creditor banks in London to discuss its foreign debt and the rescheduling of payments.

Mediator Fritz Leutwiler proposed repayment of part of the R28-billion debt before 1990. - Sapa.

NEWS PLUS+

★ TRANSKEI'S new president is Nyangilizwe Mdamase, 65-year-old tribal leader of Western Pondoland.

He replaces KD Matanzima. - Sapa.



BARROW

BY ZB MOLEFE

Eminent Persons treated warily

THE visiting Eminent Persons Group Commonwealth Mission on SA seems to be in for a cool reception if it tries to meet SA's trade union movements.

Congress of SA Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo said: "We're still formulating our position on their visit. Obviously, what will influence us is who they talk to."

Council of Unions of SA president James Mndaweni bluntly said: "Their visit is a waste of time."

Mndaweni was repeating Cusa's stance on the EPG visit stated last month when a group of US congressmen visited SA on a similar mission.

Mndaweni told them: "Soon there will be other Commonwealth dignitaries visit-

ing SA. We wish to tell them through you they should stay in London.

"Apartheid is sinful, its practice is sinful - nothing can reform or change it. It must be eradicated immediately."

Azanian Congress of Trade Unions coordinator Phandelani Nefolohodwe said the EPG had to show their credentials before Azactu could decide about talks.

The EPG consists of former Australian Prime Minister Malcom Fraser, World Council of Churches' Nita Barrow and former Nigerian head of State General Olusengun Obasanjo.

Another difficulty facing the EPG is that its members are banned from making any public remarks about SA.

● This week the EPG met members of the SA Council of Churches, and was due to meet Winnie Mandela.

CITY P. 23/2/86

Man says he is a guerilla

By MARTIN
NTSOELENGOE

THE first known white person to be charged with being a guerilla, Eric William Pelser, yesterday in the Rand Supreme Court pleaded guilty to being an ANC member and being in possession of arms and ammuni-

tion.

Pelser, 21, of 24 Cumberland Court, Pretoria Street, Hillbrow, appeared before Justice LF Weyers.

He allegedly left the country in 1984 for military training in unspecified African states; joined the ANC mili-

tary wing Umkhonto we-Sizwe, and became a member of the outlawed SA Communist Party.

He was allegedly also in possession of drugs and banned literature on July 29 last year.

The case is continuing.

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11A

PAC man laid to rest

ABOUT 1 000 people braved the heat in Lifilikoaneng in the Mafeteng district last week to bury former PAC chairman and founder member Potlako Leballo, who died in London last month.

Maseru lawyer and Basotholand Congress Party general secretary Godfrey Kodisang said: "If the history of South Africa is correctly recorded, it will be found that Leballo has played a major role."

By **TEBELLO RADEBE**

THE search for the elusive ideal of black unity was advanced a step further last weekend at the black leaders' meeting hosted in Johannesburg by the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce.

The need for black leaders and organisations to talk to one another emerged as the most important issue at the conference. At the same time it was unanimously agreed that in seeking unity organisations should not be expected to surrender their ideologies.

The conference - attended by over 150 people mainly businessmen, academics, lawyers and community leaders - was aimed at fostering black unity and to arrive at a joint national agenda to form the basis for negotiations with the Government when the time comes.

One of the most touchy moments of the conference came when a speaker called on those taking part to declare which organisations they represented.

Nafcoc treasurer Sy Kutumela, who chaired the meeting, ruled that this "would embarrass others" but promised to make an announcement after going through the registration papers. But this was not done.

No UDF

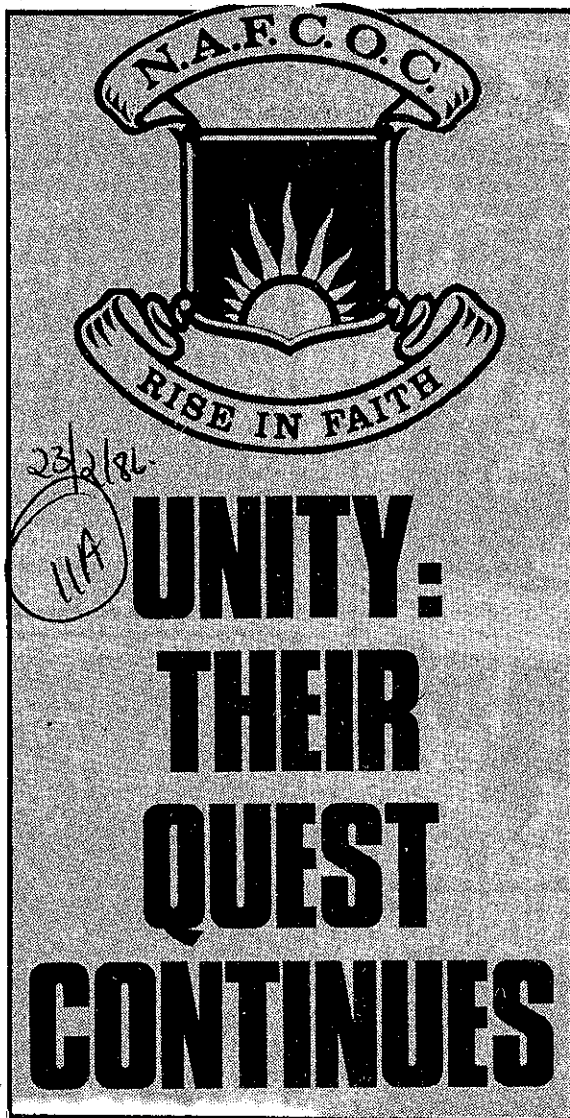
A *City Press* check through the registration papers revealed the conspicuous absence of several high profile organisations like the UDF, the National Forum, their affiliates, trade unions and the clergy.

Opening the conference, Nafcoc president Sam Motsuenyane said the meeting had been called following a resolution at his organisation's last annual conference.

"In these efforts to bring our leaders together into one strong united force for change, we were profoundly struck by the sheer enormity of the ideological and emotional differences which weaken and set us apart at this crucial time," said Motsuenyane.

"Since August 1985, Nafcoc has made attempts to meet various black leaders individually to discuss the best means of achieving a greater measure of co-operation, understanding and effective communication with others."

He said the purpose of the conference was to explore avenues of common ground where "despite our differences in outlook and



ideology, we may be able to reach agreement on desirable strategies for improving the tempo of social and political change in SA".

Motsuenyane said the conference had to "discuss the essential elements and preconditions of a national black agenda which, if blacks were to agree to negotiations with the Government, would provide the basic framework for such talks."

Natal University lecturer Paul Zulu said the level of mass organisation and conscientisation is much higher than at any other time.

"Immediately realisable gains won by the progressive trade union movement have had a positive psychological influence as blacks have moved from quiescence to challenge.

"Also, blacks have learned to adopt varying strategies such as employing consumer and worker power and this has made them less vulnerable to the state's power," he said.

Zulu defined the basic philosophies of the main resistance groups outside the establishment as "the sharing of a common social definition of the South African

society which they perceive in terms of either racial domination or capitalist exploitation or both.

"Official reforms are perceived by these groupings as manipulative and not designed to effect basic change hence the principle of non-co-operation with officially sponsored political institutions at every level," he said.

About organisations which operate from within state structures such as homeland and local authorities Zulu said: "The victims of state power have perceived them as doing the dirty work of Afrikaner nationalism".

Another speaker, Reuel Khoza - who runs a marketing consultancy in Johannesburg - said the absence of black economists in the country is a serious indictment to the planners of education in SA.

Limited

"For far too long blacks have been limited to the fringes of the main economic activities in the country. We do not need reform but fundamental change which may imply total replacement," he said.

Khoza went on to spell out a new set of principles

which would replace the codes of practise employed by big business concerns, arguing that the existing ones have been unable to bring about substantial change.

During question time the head of one of South Africa's biggest construction company, Matodzi Liphosha, asked what the role of Nafcoc should be in the light of the remarks made by both Zulu and Khoza in their speeches.

This brought about intense debate over the role of black business in the struggle for change. James Moleya, owner of the country's only black advertising agency, said the stand of all black organisations regarding which economic system to embrace for SA was clearly known - and Nafcoc had to make their stand clear too.

Veteran civil rights campaigner Deborah Mabiletsa said: "In SA we do not see free enterprise as an economic system but rather as the other side of apartheid. It is a system used to enrich whites at the expense of blacks and also a tool for political domination."

Motsuenyane said Nafcoc had already set up a commission of enquiry to find out which economic system would be preferred by black people.

He warned however that Nafcoc would not hastily recommend any other economic system without studying it carefully. "Socialism has had a dismal record in many African countries," he said.

"All systems can never be perfect. We must not commit ourselves to rigid schemes and end up being victims of our own decisions," said Motsuenyane.

African Bank boss Moses Maubane said according to some reports about what the ANC had told white captains of industry in Lusaka, the ANC envisaged the creation of a mixed economy.

As a result Maubane did not see the need for contracted debates on whether to opt for socialism or capitalism.

"The question we need to resolve is to what extent we mix the economy so that we do not repeat the mistakes of many African countries today," said Maubane.

In the end, the conference agreed to ask Nafcoc to hold more meetings with the various black organisations to find common ground and areas of understanding before calling another gathering. In addition communication with all black organisations should be improved and organisations outside the visible political arena be included.



Jeugkrug leader M Van Schalkwyk (left) and Inkatha Youth Brigade leader Musa Zondi seal a pact between their organisations.

ZB MOLEFE

THE Inkatha Youth Brigade and the Afrikaner youth group Jeugkrug SA plan to send a joint memorandum to President PW Botha, confronting him with a number of crucial political questions.

At a Press conference at Rand Afrikaans University this week, the two youth movements said the memorandum would be sent in March or early April.

"The memorandum will be an honest effort on our side to make an input communicating our deep concern for the future and constructive steps to create a climate conducive to negotiations in South Africa," said Jeugkrug's M van Schalkwyk

He would not reveal the contents of the memorandum - but said if it "failed", the two youth movements would consider sending a delegation to see

Youths plan to send PW a memo

Botha personally.

Inkatha Youth Brigade national chairman Musa Zondi and publicity director Mandla Msomi also revealed both youth organisations would host a mass joint political conference in Pretoria or Johannesburg in May.

It would strive to open public debate "about the future of South Africa and

CITYP. the role the youth can play in shaping public opinions for the future".

Van Schalkwyk and Zondi said the two youth organisations' exercise is "something new" in South Africa.

"This is no talk-shop," they said. "This historical leap is a practical move to address real political issues affecting the young people of South Africa."

Asked what would happen if Botha rejected outright the efforts of this Afrikaner-black group, Zondi said: "It would be difficult to speculate on Mr Botha's reaction.

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'THE WAY TO RESOLVE EDUCATION CRISIS IS TO DISBAND DET'

By ALI MPHAKI

THE education crisis in the country would be resolved if the Department of Education and Training disbanded and handed control of black education to black people, says Mr Chris Ngcobo, the secretary general of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso).

Mr Ngcobo (23) is bitter about the crisis in black education and believes time has come for black people to control their education.

"The DET has shown throughout the years that it is not interested in solving the crisis in black education. The last straw was when they flouted the peoples' decision that schools should re-open on January 8, instead of January 28," he said.

"That was a blatant disregard of the people who congregated at that Soweto Parents Crisis Committee conference at Wits University on December 29 — where a resolution was adopted that schools be re-opened on January 28. The only thing left for the DET now, is that it should disband," Mr Ngcobo said.

Misery

Throughout the interview, Mr Ngcobo expressed a desire for a redress of the status quo. He feels the education problem is not an isolated issue and should be tackled with the full understanding of the South African political machinery.

"To know why black students are revolting, we should look at all other aspects that make the black man's life a misery in this country. All these problems make up the monster we are faced with. If control of black education is handed to black people, I believe things will change," Mr Ngcobo said.

Mr Ngcobo was expelled from the university of Fort Hare in 1982, for what he terms, "pursuing any political beliefs".

He was at home for a few months before he was admitted at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1983. He is in his third year BA and majors in industrial

sociology.

Despite being a fresher at Wits in 1983, he was elected president of the Black Students Society (BSS).

Although it was not his initial intention to study at Wits, he believes black students should study at white universities and then "take the skills to the townships".

"People have created a petty bourgeois feeling about students attending white universities. I do not think that should be the case. It is important for us to be at white varsities and still maintain our relationship(s) with township people. Moreover, we first belong to the black community before we are students," he says.

"It is not true that because we are at a white campus, we are slightly better than other students at black campuses. We are interested in taking the skills to the townships — nothing less or more," he said.

He also believes in the Freedom Charter — a blueprint document adopted at one Congress of the People held in Kliptown in 1955.

"Until now, not a single demand in this historic document has been met by the authorities. I believe in the Freedom Charter, because it came out of the people

themselves. It is representative of ideas which includes even those of the man in the street.

He added: "It is also an important document to rally our people. We need a maximum number of people who know what is going on and what their demands are — the Freedom Charter has all the demands. It is a very important document to come out of the people's struggle in the country."

Stress

He added that there were, however, serious problems that needed to be ironed out between the Freedom Charter supporters and Black Consciousness adherents.

"We have been unable to do this for a long time now. BC should be allowed to continue as long as it does not hinder progress of the struggle in South Africa. I do not think the way people in both camps are carrying on, is the way it should be. I do not believe the BC camp should stress differences, rather than the similarities we have.

"My problem with BC people is that they come late at ser-

vices and demand to be included in the programme. They must make sure that they organise on time and at grassroots level," he said.

On the role of Azaso he said: "Our goal is to have SRCs at all tertiary institutions; to expel all racist lecturers to instil ideas of resistance in all students; and to correct some academic mistakes about the black people's history in South Africa."

He added: "Generally we have succeeded in getting most black students into our organisation. We need to get more students for us to come out as a united force."

Mr Ngcobo feels South Africa has been drained of black intellectuals. He says most people become confused after completing their studies.

"As far as we are concerned, there is a need for an organisation strictly for black intellectuals. These people have to belong somewhere and exchange ideas with one another. Azaso is presently working towards the establishment of such an organisation," Mr Ngcobo said.



CHRIS NGCOBO . . . DET should disband.

SOWETAN 24/2/86

Free Mandela
call from
UDF, Cosatu

Business Day reporter

THE campaign for the immediate, unconditional release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to be intensified by the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the United Democratic Front (UDF) after a joint meeting this week.

The UDF and Cosatu delegations announced their rejection of President P W Botha's attempt to link Mandela's release to that of international spies and Captain Wynand du Toit held in Angola.

The meeting also resolved to co-conduct a joint campaign against the Johannesburg Centenary celebrations, which it saw as a "racist" event.

"To the black majority, the Centenary celebrations express 100 years of exploitation and oppression.

"This year we remember the brutal suppression of the 1980 Johannesburg municipal workers' strike."

The case for Inkatha

It is not surprising that there is a great deal of confusion in some quarters about the national cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Recently, for instance, *The Star* in one issue (January 31) published a Page 8 denial by Inkatha of any involvement in so-called "vigilante" groups in Leandra. On Page 12, however, journalist Jo-Anne Collinge wrote with some authority about "so-called Inkatha gangs" in Leandra and "pitched battles between gun-toting Inkatha members and ... supporters".

Ms Collinge did not make it clear that the reason she put the name "Inkatha" in quotes was because there was no proof that the real Inkatha movement was involved. In short, what she should have said, but didn't, was that there were allegations that a gun-toting gang calling itself "Inkatha" was running amok in the Leandra area. Inkatha officials had, however, denied that any Inkatha members were implicated in any way.

Ms Collinge had not, in fact, contacted Inkatha to hear its side of the story — hence this lengthy explanation of Inkatha's views and its rebuttal of allegations which, to put it mildly, somewhat smear the good name of the movement.

To be fair, Ms Collinge was not the only one who made the same "mistake". Another newspaper went further and said that not only had an "Inkatha" gang murdered Chief Ample Mayisa in Leandra but that the "vigilante" group was paid R10 000 to do so.

So ready were some to believe this libel that even the Anglican Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, was quoted in the Press as telling US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker that "... Mayisa's attackers were members of Inkatha, the powerful and politically conservative organisation led by Chief Buthelezi".

So now Inkatha stands accused not only of having "vigilantes" but, even worse, of being involved in paid "death squads".

The facts of the matter are that Inkatha does not have a branch in Leandra or anywhere near it. Furthermore, the poor unfortunate man who

By Dr
Oscar
Dhlomo
(right),
secretary
general of
Inkatha



was hacked to death in Leandra for being an "Inkatha" member was not a member of Inkatha.

In short, Inkatha denies any involvement in the tragic murders and mayhem in Leandra. Inkatha does not have "vigilante" groups, nor does it support these so-called "extra-legal agencies".

So why, readers may well ask, was Inkatha's name dragged into the issue in the first place? And why are some people only too willing to perpetuate this slander? To explain this one must move away for a moment from the sordid subject of "vigilantes" into the bloodier arena of politics in South Africa today.

Inkatha has a total membership of 1 155 094. No other political organisation in the country, black or white, can prove so many paid-up supporters. And here lies the rub. Inkatha's strength is feared in many quarters. Respected, of course, in others.

The main protagonists in a well-organised campaign to erode Inkatha's power base are the ANC mission in exile and the United Democratic Front. This is a simple statement of fact.

The UDF and its leaders and patrons, including prominent churchmen who openly call for support for the ANC, leave no stone unturned in their attempts to denounce Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha.

Strategies differ

Numerous documents and verbatim statements in possession of Inkatha indicate that as far as Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi are concerned, these men of the cloth definitely do not "love thy brother". Working in tandem, supporters of the ANC and the UDF have mounted a highly sophisticated campaign of denigration and vilification against Inkatha. The reason is really quite simple. Strategies differ.

Where the use of violence is concerned the UDF has, since its inception, set about to make the country ungovernable and the ANC has been waging a so-called "armed struggle" for decades. Inkatha is committed to non-violence and the politics of negotiation.

The UDF does not espouse the free enterprise capitalist system, nor does the ANC. Inkatha does. The UDF supports sanctions against South Africa

and so does the ANC. Inkatha is resolutely against the disinvestment campaign.

So, clearly, we have two organisations whose political agendas differ quite radically from Inkatha's. I won't complicate this scenario by bringing in other organisations, such as Azapo, which don't agree with Inkatha or the UDF.

The ANC and the UDF have, quite correctly, perceived Inkatha to be a threat to their ultimate aim of becoming South Africa's de facto "post-liberation government" — as the political pundits put it. (Political commentators seem to be all agreed that the leaders of the UDF would readily allow themselves to be absorbed into the ANC if that organisation were unbanned.)

On no occasion has the ANC ever committed itself to a multi-party democracy. It sees itself as a government in a future one-party state. And on no occasion has the UDF ever challenged this interpretation of democracy.

Inkatha, meanwhile, has set itself on the road to peaceful black negotiations with whites, coloureds and Indians and the ultimate expression of this would be free and fair elections in a multi-party unitary State.

Inkatha and its leaders in kwaZulu (no matter that they have blocked so-called independence for the region) have become a focus of political enmity by the ANC and the UDF. On their side, the level of animosity is very deep indeed.

Smear campaign

There is no doubt that the ANC and the UDF appeal to a considerable number of people who have "high visibility" (as they say in media jargon) in their various fields.

And when it gets down to the dirty tricks department, there's nothing like a good smear campaign to sow dissension and confusion among the ranks of the "enemy" and elsewhere. One just has grudgingly to admit that the ANC and the UDF are doing a magnificent job on their respective propaganda fronts.

Inkatha is literally under siege as it tries to fend off reports claiming, for example, that Inkatha members "swoop on houses with heavily armed policemen", that Inkatha "impis" terrorise whole townships and so on and so on. The movement gets blamed even for tribal faction fights. And the latest is gun-toting vigilantes called "Inkatha" running amok in a township.

One would like to be able to ignore these attempts to discredit Inkatha but the campaign of vilification has become very serious indeed.

The cruel world of South African black politics is such that fair play has flown out the window and, as a result, actions and reactions and abuses are perpetrated by all.

The facts of the matter are that all is not well in the black struggle for liberation and often things are not what they are purported to be.

Politics in this country have entered a crucial phase of transition. It would, therefore, be naive for concerned citizens who read newspapers to take everything at face value.

The struggles for power are under way in all quarters. Some have already taken off their gloves and are baring their bloodied knuckles.

The Sunday Star JAN 19

"To my astonishment, he told me my would-be assailants had been at the police office and had just left and that the police were aware that "Inkatha" (the name given to the vigilantes, although their standing with the national Inkatha movement has not been established) wanted to burn down my house and kill me.

The Star JAN 20

He stated that he and the chief had had a week's warning that the vigilantes, commonly known as "Inkatha", (but NOT the official Inkatha movement) were out to kill them.

Previous references to the Leandra vigilantes which appeared in articles written by Jo-Anne Collinge. The above items make it clear that *The Star* does not link them to the national Inkatha movement.

HUNGER STRIKE THREAT

FIFTEEN members of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation detained under the state of emergency plan to boycott meals at Modderbee prison near Benoni on the East Rand today as

SO WETAN 3/12/82
"a token of protest" and to seek legal assistance.

A "declaration" signed by the 15 said they were committing themselves to an "indefinite food boycott" —

Sapa

(11A)

Phone booth bomb rocks Meyerspark

Post office hit in Pretoria blast

STAR
24/11/86
11A

By Sue Leeman,
Pretoria Bureau

For the second successive weekend Pretoria has been rocked by a blast — this time outside a post office in the luxurious eastern suburb of Meyerspark.

Police forensic experts were combing the area this morning to determine the cause of the explosion, believed to have been the result of a limpet mine. No-one was injured.

Ironically, staff at the post office have been checking a phone booth outside the premises daily for signs of explosive devices in accordance with a departmental circular warning them of possible attacks.

The booth was shattered in the explosion.

Last weekend a landmine blew a hole in a Caspir travelling on a gravel road in nearby Mamelodi. None of the occupants was injured.

The head of the SAP's Media Liaison Directorate, Colonel Jaap Venter, said today that the

Meyerspark blast was on Sunday morning, just after midnight.

The explosion destroyed the phone booth and shattered some of the post office windows. Pieces of glass were blown over a wide area and other shops in the area lost windows.

It was too soon to tell the cause of the blast, but the indications were that it was a limpet mine.

Door blown open

Mrs Adri Rautenbach, whose husband owns a pharmacy near the post office and who lives nearby, said she heard "a very loud blast".

"The door of our bedroom was blown open and I woke my husband to tell him I thought there had been a bomb blast ... it was only the next day we discovered it was near our shop."

● The Mamelodi East Post Office, which was temporarily closed down after a petrol bomb attack last December, was gutted after being set alight yesterday.

Mandela tops list to lead non-racial SA — survey

STAR
24/2/86

(11A)

DURBAN — The majority of blacks, Indians and coloureds want Nelson Mandela as the head of state in a non-racial South Africa, an Institute for Black Research survey has showed.

The survey also found that blacks would prefer Dr Van Zyl Slabbert as head of a one-man, one-vote state than the State President, Mr P W Botha, or the kwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The United Democratic Front emerged as the organisation with the greatest support, with the African National Congress a close second.

The Progressive Federal Party came fifth in the popularity stakes after the third-placed Azanian People's Organisation and the Socialists.

Institute director Professor Fatima Meer said Mandela would probably have received more than the 17,7 percent support if the survey had been done at a time when he was not portrayed as a dying man.

Bishop Desmond Tutu was second with 16,6 percent, Dr Allan Boesak third with 13,3 percent and Dr Slabbert fourth with 12,5 percent.

Professor Meer said that for the first time the ANC leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, appeared on the popularity list (fifth) with 10,1 percent as well as Mr Walter Sisulu (sixth) with 7,1 percent.

cially when you have been used to better days. Much better days."

He also revealed that he has not received any financial reward for a discovery he made earlier while working on tissue cultures with biologists in Switzerland.

"My discovery was the by-product of other research, and was taken up by industrialists without my involvement."

He was asked about marriage plans, but said: "In medicine, you learn that when an experiment fails repeatedly, the wise man looks to something else."

Then came Mr Botha with 4,6 percent, followed by Chief Buthelezi with 4,1 percent, the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Mr Saths Cooper with 1,4 percent and Mr A Rajbansi with 0,7 percent.

In reply to the question: "What sort of Parliament would you like to see in South Africa?" — 67,5 percent said a non-racial unitary state. Nine percent wanted a unitary state with proportional representation by race.

The popularity of the UDF was 23,5 percent, the ANC 20, Azapo 10,1, the Socialists 6,7, the PFP 6,4, Inkatha 3,5, the National Party 2,7. — Sapa.

JOHNSON,



'Blacks not getting fair deal'

THE health and education of blacks was put under the spotlight at the sixth annual general meeting of the Health Workers Association held at Soweto's Funda Centre in Diepkloof at the weekend.

About 400 people, among them delegates from trade unions and civic and political organisations, attended the meeting.

The theme of the meeting was "people's education for people's health".

Miss Amanda Kwadi of the Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw) and Mr Samson Ndou of the General and Allied Workers Union (Gawu) were guest speakers.

Miss Kwadi spoke about the "inferior" system of education for blacks in "apartheid South Africa," and how much money the Government spent for children of the different race groups.

She said a survey conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1984, showed that the Government spent R1 211 for a white child per year, R711 for an Indian child, R498 for a coloured child and R146 for an African child.



AMANDA Kwadi

Looking at how "apartheid education" affects the health of workers, Miss Kwadi said it was a known fact that illiteracy, sickness, disease, malnutrition and infant mortality was high among the oppressed people.

Miss Kwadi said the country's health budget was also unequally distributed. Whites were given R679,9 million; the coloureds R395,8 million; the Indians R103 million. The amount given to the Africans was unknown, she said.

"The above clearly shows that we cannot have an effective health system in an undemocratic society," said Miss Kwadi.

Said Miss Kwadi: "We are therefore calling upon all health workers to strengthen their organisations and mobilise thus strengthening the national democratic struggle."

Radical SA blacks won't talk to us.

says US



By Neil Lurssen,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Some revolutionary black South Africans are refusing to meet American officials because they know the United States is opposed to the destruction of the South African society, the US Government has claimed.

The charge is contained in a letter to Congress from a senior State Department official in response to an allegation by a New York Times columnist, Anthony Lewis, that black South Africans have become estranged from the American Embassy under Ambassador Herman Nickel.

The official, Mr William Ball, Assistant Secretary for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs, wrote to a Congressional committee looking into the allegation that "Mr Lewis's characterisation of the way our embassy operates in South Africa is unfair and distorted in the extreme."

Mr Ball said that the doors of the American mission were open to blacks at all times and listed many occasions where blacks had taken part in social events or discussions of American programmes in South Africa.

MEDIATOR

The American Embassy was often seen as a mediator of black South African grievances with the South African Government, said Mr Ball.

However, Mr Ball added, a major element of black politics in South Africa was frustrated with the slow pace of change away from apartheid.

"Many blacks sincerely believe, however mistakenly, that the US has the coercive power to force the pace of change dramatically, even to bring apartheid to an end tomorrow."

"Some deduce that we are somehow in collusion with the South African Government because we have not used this mythical leverage," Mr Ball said.

"A smaller number of revolutionary blacks correctly view US policy as inimical to their aims to destroy that society before rebuilding it as a black state," he said.

"Let me assure you that this Administration accepts the critical importance of communication with South Africa's black majority," Mr Ball told the committee.

Another hunger strike

FIFTEEN emergency detainees at Modderbee Prison on the East Rand went on a hunger strike yesterday according to the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Today 54 others at the same prison are to

go on a hunger strike, the Detainees Parents Committee said yesterday. The 15 are members of Azapo while the 54 are members of organisations affiliated to the United Democratic Front.

Meanwhile the 28 detainees at the Johannesburg Prison (Diepkloof) who were

on hunger strike last week have ended their protest, according to sources. Yesterday the Prisons Department had not yet confirmed the Modderbee hunger strike and Johannesburg Prison's end of the hunger strike.

Prison officials said they would come back to us soon. **SOWETAN**

SA - BOTSWANA TALKS ON ANC



PRESIDENT Masire.

HIGH-LEVEL representatives from South Africa and Botswana will meet in Gaborone today to discuss South African objections to the African National Congress presence in Botswana.

Although no official statement has been made, South Africa clearly wants the elimination of the ANC presence in Botswana — just as it wanted the elimination of that presence in Lesotho recently.

The South African delegation will be headed by Mr Neil van Heerden, deputy secretary-general of foreign

affairs, the South African Government's top expert on Africa and the man who handled the recent negotiations with Lesotho over the ANC.

Today's meeting will be the second between the two delegations since the series of land-

mine explosions in the Northern Transvaal and the recent clash between South African security forces and a small ANC group near the Botswana border.

Botswana has said repeatedly that it has outlawed the possession of "arms of war" and that it has acted vigorously to prosecute anybody who has contravened the law. In a recent interview, Dr Quett Masire, the Botswana President, asked what more any open, democratic society could be expected to do.

11A
By SOWETAN
Correspondent

25/2/86

down two weeks ago.

8/25/86 (11A)
Treason sentence today

A MAN convicted of treason said in papers before the Rand Supreme Court yesterday that he had left SA to evade army service and not to join the ANC.

Eric William Pelsler, 21, of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, said that in Botswana he had come into contact with the ANC and become convinced of the justness of its cause.

Pelsler will be sentenced today.

Surveys 'aimed at putting Inkatha in a poor light' ^{11/17} ^{S. J. J. R.} 26/2/86

The surveys which Professor Fatima Meer drew up at the Institute of Black Research (IBR) were aimed at putting the Inkatha movement and its leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in a poor light, Inkatha spokesman Ms Suzanne Griffin said yesterday.

Ms Griffin was responding to the results of the survey, released by the IBR this week.

The survey said people interviewed preferred jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela to Chief Buthelezi or former Opposition leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

It also said Chief Buthelezi had 4,1 percent support as a national leader and Inkatha had 3,5 percent support as a national organisation. According to the survey, Inkatha trailed behind the United Democratic Front which polled 23,5 percent and the Azanian People's Organisation which received 10,1 percent.

In a statement, Ms Griffin said Inkatha had 1,2 million paid-up members.

She accused Professor Meer and her colleagues of "going out of their way to publish research propounding their views" and continued: "Her campaign of denigration against Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha is ceaseless. It is also unfair."

Professor Meer said she had no control over the interviews from which she drew up a report.

"To establish whether our sampling was valid, we made sure the sample reflected the population at large — 23 percent of those interviewed were between the ages of 21 and 30; 39 percent were between 31 and 40 years and 21 percent were between 41 and 50 years old." — Staff Reporter.

UNEASY CALM REIGNS AFTER BLOODY VIOLENCE

The time bomb that is Alex . . .

FOCUS



Rev SAM BUTI . . . "agitators."

ALEXANDRA township seems to have calmed down after last week's bloody violence, but as in the past, this calm could be illusory.

The township may not be as famous as Soweto, but Alexandra has an outstanding history of social instability and resistance in South Africa.

From the 1940s and 1950s, Alexandra residents have been as angry as people of Soweto were in 1976. Pass laws and the residential permit system were enforced with might in Alexandra.

If your pass was not in order or if you did not have a permit you had to be either lucky or very smart to be in Alexandra for longer than 48 hours.

Police used to conduct house to house raids daily from 2am to 5am. They arrested hundreds of "illegal" residents looking for work in Johannesburg.

The poverty, overcrowding and the

By SAM MABE

squalid conditions made Alexandra always fertile ground for social upheaval.

South Africa's most notorious gangs, the Msomis and the Spoilers, were bred in Alexandra and they turned the township into one of the most feared in this country.

Bulldozed

When it was unthinkable for a black man to own a gun, the situation in Alex was different.

Guns were as freely available as knives are today and many people who wanted to buy guns from the black market used to get them there.

The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress had very strong roots in Alexandra and even to-

day there are still many people who are very loyal to the two organisations, which are now banned.

In 1962, the then Prime Minister, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, wanted Alexandra residents to be resettled further away from white areas. This was met with strong opposition from Alexandra residents.

When Dr Verwoerd died in 1966, the Government seemed to have abandoned the idea for a while until the early 70s when it was decided that the whole township would be bulldozed to make way for a multi-storey single-sex hostel complex.

This was when the Rev Sam Buti, former president of the South African Council of Churches, emerged as a leader Alexandra residents trusted. He led the Alexandra Liaison Committee and later the Save Alexandra Party.

Mr Buti became the first black mayor in terms of the Black Local Authorities Act passed in 1983. Although many blacks were not happy with his stance, there were no obvious rumblings in Alexandra.

This created the false impression that people were happy with the Government-created local authorities.

The first indication that Alexandra residents were unhappy with Mr Buti's actions was when the Alexandra Civic Association was formed.

From then Mr Buti's popularity was threatened. From time to time

there was serious opposition to his council.

Another reason why last week's eruption came as a shock was because Alexandra had not erupted like other townships such as Soweto, Gugulethu and Langa during 1976 and afterwards. Its history of resistance seemed to have been forgotten.

Today, the few modern houses that have been built and the promises of more money to change the face of Alexandra have done very little to remove the time bomb that Alexandra has been sitting on.

40 share one yard

A walk down the dusty streets of the ghetto near one of South Africa's most affluent white towns, Sandton, will tell you that all is not right in Alexandra.

The untarred streets with many potholes and furrows running across them, the dirty and smelly water on street sides, the dilapidated and overcrowded houses pose a serious threat to social stability there.

Alexandra is one of very few townships which has no sewerage system and still uses the night soil bucket system.

Residents still draw water from communal taps. In most cases, more than 30 families, each with an average of eight people, draw their water from one tap.

In some instances, more than 40 people stay in one yard.

Mr Mike Beea, chairman of ACA, said Alexandra residents have always been sitting on a time bomb.

"I see nothing strange about the sudden eruption we had here last week. It is not different from what happened in any other black township in this country. People who are happy do not over-react to small incidents as happened here.

"In our case, people have shown it on a number of occasions that they were unhappy. How many times have we had school boycotts and how many times have buses been stoned and the mayor's house attacked?"

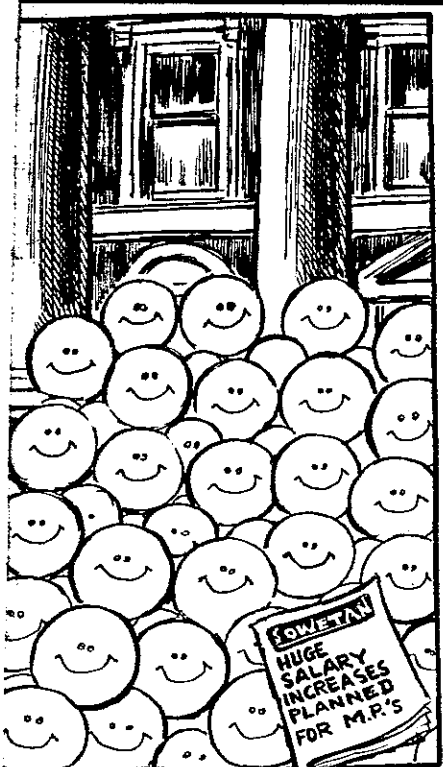
Mr Buti and members of his council are believed to have fled the township when they smelt trouble at the beginning of the unrest. They are now hiding at an unknown place.

Recently, Mr Buti was quoted as blaming "agitators" for the violent eruption in Alexandra.

From 1976 all violent eruptions have been blamed on agitators.

If agitators enjoy the type of support that has made it possible for them to mobilise blacks to register grievances the way they have done in the past 10 years, it might be high time the Government started taking those agitators seriously.

They have the support of the majority, after all.



Political comment in this issue by J Latakomo and A Kjaaste. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by S Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Pelser guilty of treason

Court told of ANC's system

11A
Bl DAY 26/2/86
DIANNA GAMES

SECURITY POLICE Colonel Jacobus Buchner told the Rand Supreme Court he had learned of African National Congress training and infiltration methods by interrogating 200 ANC men.

Buchner was giving evidence in the trial of Eric William Pelser, a 21-year-old white man of Hillbrow, Johannesburg, on Monday.

Pelser was yesterday found guilty of treason and sentenced to an effective seven years in jail.

Buchner, who told the court he had done research on the ANC for eight of the 22 years he had worked at security headquarters, said that white ANC recruits probably numbered less than 1%, but had increased in the past three years.

He said recruits of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, were sent to any of nine training camps in Angola. The main one, Engineering Camp, was in Luanda. He named others such as Novo Katengue, Quibaxe, Fazenda and Viana, a transit camp.

Basic training included politics, handling of firearms and explosives, combat operations, codes and cultural training.

As the ANC had no direct access route to SA, members were usually flown to Lusaka after training and taken by road to Botswana through the Kazungula area. Then they were taken south, usually to Lobatse, where they would be escorted across the border to the nearest SA taxi rank, railway or bus station, he said.

He said ANC members who entered SA from Mozambique or Swaziland were trained in urban warfare and carried lighter weapons. Those who infiltrated SA through Botswana, as Pelser did, were normally armed with AK47 rifles.

He said that if Pelser had achieved the first four objectives he was given by the ANC — recruiting, setting up a support base and a communication system and gathering and transmitting information — he would most likely have been too valuable to the ANC to have been asked to become involved in violence.

SA under threat from communists — report

26/2/86

STAR

11A

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa was seeing the early stages of a communist insurgency similar to the programme carried out by the Viet Cong in Vietnam, a senior Washington journalist claimed yesterday.

Holger Jensen wrote in the *Washington Times*: "South Africa, which has long cried wolf about its black guerillas, is in the unenviable position of being proved right."

He said that the campaign by the African National Congress to make parts of South Africa ungovernable had to be taken seriously because, in part, it was succeeding.

Jensen's analysis of the South African situation was given front page prominence, running inside to fill almost a page.

He said: "The ANC has, since early last year, ordered cadres to eliminate all blacks who assist the white Government in administering black townships."

The instructions to terrorise or kill black councillors, civil servants, policemen and other collaborators had been carried out with startling ferocity and organisation.

Terror succeeds on the unprotected

He said: "The technique should be familiar to Vietnam war veterans, where the systematic assassination of village leaders was used by the Viet Cong to collapse the Saigon Government's administration. Terror succeeds where minor officials go unprotected."

The fact that 11 black policemen had been killed this year indicated that they were now a prime target. Jensen claimed that in the Eastern Cape most black townships were now essentially without government protection.

While police and army units patrolled in armoured vehicles, kangaroo courts were held at night and jungle law prevailed.

Jensen said: "More recently, the ANC has been broadcasting instructions to its cadres to form revolutionary block committees. If the Vietnamese pattern holds true, these block committees will collect rents and fees that the Government cannot collect, conscript guerillas whose loyalty the Government cannot win, determine the curriculum of schools the Government cannot control and generally take over local administration."

While the ANC's rank-and-file might be seen as black nationalists rather than ideologues, there was a strong communist element within the ANC leadership directly in touch with Moscow.

Jensen said: "Marxists control the ANC's military arm which is now concentrating its efforts in the black townships of the Western Transvaal."

And he said that it was ironic that most white South Africans did not know how bad their situation really was.

Jensen said: "Government media curbs have effectively limited media coverage of a rapidly spreading insurgency."

Ring cities

The ANC was now capable of ringing the white cities with hostile black townships under its control.

Jensen said: "The Government's worst fears have been realised. It finds itself in the initial stages of a Soviet-backed takeover — and its ability to negotiate a peaceful solution is severely hampered by circumstances beyond its control."

He said proponents of disinvestment should think long and hard. "Further disinvestment will damage South Africa seriously — causing further black unemployment and driving more blacks into the ANC. Is this what the United States wants?" he asked.

'Mayo ^{SOWETA} rejects ^{SOWETA} reform'

"APARTHEID can never be reformed — it must be crushed and buried once and for all", according to the Mamelodi Youth Organisation.

In a statement released yesterday, a day after their second annual congress, Mayo rejected the Government's reform politics and warned that the killing of black people "is not and will never be a solution to the problems of South Africa".

The theme of the congress was "united and disciplined, we shall overcome". 26/2/80

Guerilla

The organisation also condemned the recent petrol bomb attacks on the home of a local activist, Mr George Ben Khumalo. His mother, Mrs Maria Khumalo, died on Saturday after sustaining serious injuries. "This type of action has been continuing for a long time and it must come to an end," Mayo said.

The organisation also announced that it had appointed executed guerrilla Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu, the honorary life president of Mayo.

Mayo also saluted the birth of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). "We call upon all members of our working class to rally around the banner of Cosatu and all unions not affiliated to Cosatu must reconsider their positions, and work towards joining Cosatu."

Pupils destroy van after rally in Bonteheuwel

Education Reporter

HIGH school pupils in the Bonteheuwel area yesterday set fire to an empty post office van after a mass meeting — attended by about 2 000 pupils — was held to discuss Monday's detention of 40 pupils and a man.

Only the shell of the gutted maintenance vehicle remained. Damage was estimated at R20 000.

The detained pupils are all members of the Bonteheuwel Inter-School Committee (Bisco) and are being held under the emergency regulations after a police swoop on the offices of the Advice Office

Forum in the local town centre.

Yesterday, pupils at Mitchells Plain's 12 high schools joined the growing demand for the immediate release of their fellow pupils, failing which "we will discuss and take further action".

The post office van was parked in Geelhout Street, behind Bonteheuwel Senior Secondary School where the mass rally — attended by pupils from Arcadia, Bonteheuwel and Modderdam high schools — was held about 10am.

A resident, who did not want to be named, said that while the driver and two other workers were doing maintenance work in the backyard of a house, the van was overturned by about 80 pupils on their way home from the meeting.

"They poured petrol on to it and set it alight. Then they ran away," the resident said.

A gas tank exploded inside the van.

Condemning Monday's detentions, the Mitchells Plain pupils said their fellow pupils should either be charged or released. They demanded the withdrawal of the SADF from the townships, and that SRCs be allowed to function.

copy 7/9/15 26/2/86

Solidarity calls for unbanning of ANC

Political Reporter

HOUSE of DELEGATES. — The Solidarity Party yesterday called on the government to unban the ANC and release its jailed leader Mr Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

In a private member's bill debated in the House, Mr Ahmed Arbee (Sol E Transvaal) urged the State President, Mr P W Botha, to implement five conditions to create a climate conducive to negotiation.

Mr Arbee called for the release of all detain-



ees, the unbanning of Cosas, the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and all other discriminatory legislation and the repeal of the own affairs concept in

terms of the 1983 constitution.

Apartheid could not be killed with words no matter how many times Mr Botha suggested it was outdated, Mr Arbee said.

Apartheid rests on the fundamental absurdity that one can make use of black labour but deny their existence as people," Mr Arbee said.

The government had "imprisoned itself" by refusing to release Mr Mandela and other political prisoners on humanitarian grounds.

Mr Arbee said the release of all political prisoners and detainees would assist in defusing a highly volatile situation. He added that no meaningful dispensation could be achieved without the co-operation of the ANC, the UDF, Azapo and other groups whose popular support could not be disputed.

● Mr Perumal Nadasen (NPP Allandale) moved an amendment urging Mr Botha to enter into negotiations with all organizations who adopted non-violence as policy.

● Mr Amichand Rajbansi, National People's Party (NPP) leader, said that certain measures were required to control "orchestrated violence".

● Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, said the ANC's policy of grasping power was as outdated as apartheid and was in need of urgent review.

At the time when "Mr Mandela led the ANC into exile" only whites had a voting right, he said. Now 50 percent of blacks had rights in independent homelands while the others had rights in self-governing homelands.

CAPE TIMES 26/2/86

Memani must go — women

By TONY WEAVER

OVER 300 women from the KTC squatter camp yesterday marched on the Western Cape Development Board offices in Nyanga to demand that one-time squatter leader, Mr Oliver Memani, and his family be removed from the Western Cape.

The march followed the shooting earlier in the morning of one — and possibly two — rivals of Mr Memani.

Two army Buffels kept watch on the crowd of women, who sent a delegation of six in to see board officials.

Mr Sampie Steenkamp, liaison officer for the WCDB, confirmed that board officials had met a delegation of women from KTC yesterday afternoon.

"They are insisting Mr Oliver Memani leaves the Western Cape.

"We said we would act as a channel for their demands, and passed the message on to the police. It is now in their hands."

A police liaison officer, Captain Jan Calitz, said yesterday that Mr

Kulu Ntuyendwa of the "Memani Camp" at KTC had been shot in the forehead by an unidentified black man in Ntlangano Crescent, Nyanga at 6.30am.

He said the motive was unknown and the police were investigating a charge of attempted murder.

● A television crew from Worldwide Television News was ordered from the WCDB offices yesterday by soldiers in a Buffel. The soldiers then approached a Cape Times team and said "you must leave the area."

When the lance-corporal was told by a Cape Times reporter that "there is no unrest in the area, we are allowed to be here," he repeated "you are not allowed to be here."

After the Cape Times reporter insisted again that there was no unrest in the area, and that he was legally entitled to be in the area, the lance-corporal said "the minute the unrest starts, action will be taken against you".

26/2/86 Bus DAY (11A)

Defending the Freedom Charter

KEN OWEN challenged me in his column of August 1, to "come forward and defend the Freedom Charter". I responded immediately to the challenge. But my original proposals for publication were found to be unacceptable. With the help of the Media Council, *Business Day* and I have agreed on publication of this reply.

Owen objects to my assertion that the Charter is not a statement of principles for a socialist state. Justice Rumpff, a former Chief Justice of SA who presided over the 1956 Treason Trial, agrees with me. However, Owen is not convinced.

Neither is Leon Louw, of the Free Market Foundation. Nationalisation is "socialistic," said Louw (in a letter published on August 13).

Champion

The main weakness in Owen's and Louw's position is that it equates nationalisation with socialism. Only if we accept that nationalisation can occur under both capitalism and socialism can we avoid the kind of absurdities their argument leads to. Let me remind them that it was that eminent champion of capitalism General Smuts who founded Escom as a nationalised industry.

How, then, do we tell the difference between nationalisation under capitalism and under socialism?

First, if the nationalised industries are producing for a market, as in Britain and SA, they are capitalist.

Second, if the government which controls them is committed to capitalism, as are Thatcher's and Botha's governments, then the nationalised industries are under capitalist control. Only if the state is under the control of the working class would one say socialism prevailed.

The key issue then is not nationalisation, but the form of state which controls the nationalised industries and the economy as a whole.

This is why the argument that the Freedom Charter is socialistic is silly. The Charter never calls for working class control of the state.

Instead, it calls for a state "based on the will of the people" to exist in SA — which is a straightforward democratic capitalist demand.

Also, the Charter calls for an extension of the market: "All people shall have equal right to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions". By no stretch of the imagination can this demand be called socialist.

The Charter does not specify what political-economic system should come into being in SA. This is because it is primarily a statement of ideals for a non-racial SA and not a blueprint for a political system.

This is both a strength, since it enables people with different political views to support it, and a weakness, since it blurs an important issue.

For instance, the Charter demands that "the people shall share in the country's wealth" — but it doesn't specify which political system will bring this about.

As Owen pointed out, Raymond Suttner believes that capitalism cannot do this. According to Suttner: "Any programme to end racial oppression in SA has to be anti-capitalist." If this argument were true, then no doubt a socialist system would come into being here. But is the argument true?

Presumably the businessmen who recently visited the ANC and who have expressed their opposition to apartheid do not agree with it. Neither do the FCI, Assocom, the

AHI and all those other non-socialist organisations that have recently condemned apartheid.

But let us not be under any illusions: in setting out its ideal for a non-racial SA, the Charter effectively puts capitalism on trial in SA. Can capitalism in this country change sufficiently to allow "the people" to share in the country's wealth? Can capitalism here "banish famine and land hunger" as the Charter demands?

If capitalism can do these things, it will survive. If not, it is possible that a socialist alternative may well be attempted.

But it is not the Charter that demands socialism. If capitalism fails, that demand will come from the people and will arise out of their disillusionment with capitalism.

Urgent

In my view the debate around the Freedom Charter is only of significance to the extent that it raises the question of what a future non-racial SA should look like. That issue is becoming increasingly urgent.

We need to know what ideals we are striving towards; how practical it is to achieve these; what kind of political and economic system would best bring them about; and how such a system would function.

These are difficult questions, and only if we enter into a full and free debate with one another can we hope to answer them. Attempts to interpret people's views as "communistic" or to refuse to listen to arguments because one disagrees with them can only do this country immense damage — especially in this time of crisis.

DUNCAN INNES
Department of Sociology,
University of the Witwatersrand

HWA outlines its views

By **MANDLA
NDLAZI**

*26/2/88
WILSON
11A*

THE United Democratic Front is the only legal organisation capable of leading the struggle at this point, says a resolution adopted at the annual general meeting of the Health Workers Association.

The meeting was held at the Funda Centre in Diepkloof, Soweto, at the weekend.

About 400 people, among them delegates from the different trade unions, civic and political organisations, were there.

• The first resolution said "that this house, recognising that ill health of our people is a symptom of the present undemocratic apartheid regime, fundamental change in the health status of our people cannot be brought about without a parallel change in the present socio-economic system, this house resolves that it recognises the UDF and its affiliates as the natural allies in the struggle for better health."

The HWA also resolved:

• To strengthen the democratic change led by the UDF;

• To support fully the resolutions passed at the conference of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee;

• To work with students, community workers, women, parents and religious organisations if the demands of the SPCC conference have not been met by the state by March 28;

• The formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) was a victory for the working class;

• The HWA recognises the concept of one industry, one union, one federation and one country;

• Those working in the public sector, including hospitals, are exploited and subjected to poor working conditions, low wages, victimisation and that their struggles must be supported; and

• The HWA strive with other progressive health bodies to form a national health workers union affiliated to Cosatu.

It was noted that ethnic education is used by the State to "oppress and control the people" and that ethnic education is harmful and impedes the people's progress.

The meeting also supported "the courageous stand taken by our youth to strive for a relevant and unitary education system."

Police brutality in Bop alleged

CHILLING accounts of alleged police brutalities, especially in Bophuthatswana, were given at a Press conference convened by the United Democratic Front in Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Tshini Mufondo, an executive member of the Mabopane/Winterveldt Crisis Committee, said 50 people are feared dead and about 500 had been arrested and assaulted before being released without being charged.

Mr Lucas Mfamane (19) of Winterveldt said he was on his way from the shops when police arrested him at his home last Thursday.

"I was put in the back of a van and taken to the police station.

"Together with about 45 other detainees, we were transferred to a hall the following morning.

"There we were ordered to strip naked and lie on our stomachs. We were then sjambokked by the police from 2pm to 8.30pm.

"A black colonel later came and also assaulted us until 9pm. I was released on Sunday. I was not charged."

Mr Mfamane was injured on the hip and buttocks.

Mr Meshack Rapeo (16) of Ga-Rankuwa told local and foreign correspondents that he was asleep when police collected him from his home about 2am last Tuesday.

"I was then taken to Zone 5 police station. The following day I, together with other detainees, were taken to a local government mortuary. We were ordered to take off our clothes.

"The police then brutally beat us with sjamboks. I was released without charge on Thursday."

Mr Rapeo said police wanted him to admit burning a bus.

A spokesman for the Bophuthatswana police yesterday said he could not comment on the allegations until charges had been laid.

"We cannot agree to or deny the allegations until the victims come forward. But some of them are afraid because they know that they are on the wanted list," the police spokesman said.

Mr Samson Ndou, Transvaal chairman of the UDF, yesterday condemned the detentions under "the arbitrary" emergency regulations.

He said: "Repression is being meted out against our people with chilling brutality. This continued attempt by the apartheid states and those who seem to have the consent of the state to suppress our people by means of bullets and guns is going unchecked."

Witnesses from Witbank, Leandra, Moutse and Ermelo also gave accounts of alleged police action in their area.

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De Jonge is not
likely to appear

DUTCH fugitive Klaas de Jonge is not expected to leave his Netherlands embassy sanctuary in Pretoria tomorrow to face a terrorism charge jointly with his Belgian former wife, Helene Passtoors.

If De Jonge fails to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, the single charge of terrorism pending against him could be held over while Passtoors' trial proceeds to the Rand Supreme Court on April 14, legal sources said.

Passtoors will be charged with treason, alternatively terrorism, and a second count of terrorism, while De Jonge will face only a terrorism charge.

BUDJAY 27/2/86

Police kill suspected ANC man in Soweto

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POLICE said the man killed yesterday in Soweto was a trained ANC member.

A spokesman added that, acting on information, police went to a house where they found a black man lying on a couch.

The man stood up, holding a cushion in front of him. One of the policeman noticed the man was holding a hand-grenade behind the cushion.

The policeman opened fire and the man fell on the hand-grenade, which exploded under him. The ANC man was killed and no police were injured. The hand-grenade was of Soviet origin.

Six men and three women were arrested and are being held for questioning about their possible involvement with the dead man, the spokesman said.

Two people have been detained under the emergency regulations in connection with unrest in Bonteheuwel, Cape Town, during which a soft drink delivery lorry and a Post Office vehicle were attacked.

In other incidents in the Peninsula yesterday, a vehicle was stoned in Khayelitsha and a marching group of youths was dispersed by police using whips.

A bus was attacked and damaged extensively at the corner of Bonteheuwel and Jakkalsvlei avenues.

□ Police headquarters in Pretoria yesterday reassured the public after rumours about large-scale unrest being planned for the near future.

It said police and other forces assisting were ready and competent to deal with any eventuality.

Police said it was not necessary nor advisable for any individual or group of people to take steps to protect the public. Anyone keen to do service could join the SA Police Reserve, in which provision was made for patrolling one's own residential area.

"The law places strong restrictions on attempts to maintain law and order by private people," the statement pointed out. But this did not apply to the rights of a person to protect life or property within the framework of the law.

SA waiting for De Jonge to make move

star

27/2/82

Pretoria Bureau

The Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha, has said the South African authorities will not force Dutch fugitive Mr Klaas de Jonge from his Pretoria hide-out to face terrorism charges.

Mr de Jonge, who took refuge in the old Dutch embassy premises on July 19, is to be charged with terrorism under the Internal Security Act. His former wife, Helena Passtoors, will face a charge of treason, alternatively terrorism, under the same Act.

Mr Botha said it was up to Mr de Jonge or the Dutch Government to make the next move. "We will not act unilaterally".

He said South Africa would stick strictly to international law and would not enter the embassy premises to seize the suspected ANC gunrunner.

However, the Dutch Government was obliged by international law to hand him over for trial and it was hoped this would be done.

Mr Botha said he had made this clear when he held talks recently in Geneva with Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Hans van den Broek.

The diplomatic dispute has dragged on for more than seven months since the South African Government handed Mr de Jonge back to the Dutch.

He was returned to the embassy in July after local police broke the diplomatic immunity of the premises while trying to prevent his escape.

Repeated rounds of talks at top level between the two governments have failed to bring about a solution, and relations between the two countries have been strained almost to breaking point over the affair.

UDF vows to expose police 'atrocities'

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The United Democratic Front (UDF) is working on a programme to expose alleged brutality and atrocities by the Bophuthatswana and South African police.

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, the UDF said it intended exposing the police, regardless of the risk, after hearing several testimonies of police brutality.

Crutches

Present at yesterday's meeting were residents of Moutse, Witbank, Ermelo, Leandra, Alexandra, Atteridgeville, Winterveld, Mabopane and Soshanguve.

Several victims leaning on crutches told the meeting they had been maimed following as-

saults on them by either Bophuthatswana or SA Police.

Mr Samson Ndou, vice-president of the UDF in the Transvaal, said the UDF was being asked by the people of Alexandra, Kagiso, Witbank, Bophuthatswana and elsewhere "to take decisive action in protest against the wanton arrests and killings of innocent people".

Lack of media coverage of events, he said, was "exacerbating rather than quelling the situation", and information supplied by the Police Directorate was "completely inadequate".

Denied

● Asked to comment on Mr Ndou's remarks, a spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations denied that the police were "aggressors rather than protectors" of the people.

"No law-abiding citizens of the Republic need fear action by the SA Police who are a reaction force, ie, we only react to violence and other lawlessness. There is no police presence except the normal (policing) in any residential area where unrest does not prevail.

"The police categorically deny that any 'wanton arrests and killings of innocent people' by the security forces are taking place."

Investigation

Sapa reports that the Bophuthatswana Police have appointed a senior policeman to launch an intensive investigation into allegations of assaults allegedly committed by security force members in the Odi and Moretele district.

A police spokesman said the police commissioner, Brigadier P J Seleke, "is worried about the seriousness of the allegations and we are actively investigating the matter".

The move follows numerous complaints of assault allegedly by members of the Bophuthatswana security forces flown into the trouble-hit townships of Mabopane, Garankuwa, Hammanskraal and neighbouring areas to maintain law and order.

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27/2/86

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Azapo in court move

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THE Azanian People's Organisation is to challenge the Chief Magistrate of Grahamstown in the Grahamstown Supreme Court tomorrow following his banning of a public meeting planned for Saturday.

This is the third Azapo meeting in Grahamstown banned by Mr P S J Nel in the past three weeks.

Mr Saths Cooper, president of Azapo, said yesterday the banning of public meetings was the action of "a terrified Government".

He said the meeting, which was to be held at the Anglican Church in the Ginsberg black township of Grahamstown on Saturday, was called to discuss the education crisis and other grievances.

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27/10/88
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Whites quit negotiation conference

A handful of conservative white businessmen walked out of the conference in protest against what the general secretary of the Congress of SA Trade Unions had to say.

Mr Jay Naidoo was putting Cosatu's policies to a conference on "Negotiation — a Way of Life" at the time.

Cosatu, a federation of 33 emergent unions with a combined membership of about 500 000, questioned the role of business in South Africa, Mr Naidoo said. Migrant labour and the compound system were seen as integral agents of apartheid control over the lives of black workers.

"Why have you, as business representatives — especially the mining corporations — developed and used a most brutalising and dehumanising system to facilitate your profitability?" he asked.

He said the root cause of the violence in South Africa was the bankruptcy of the government's economic and political policies. "Why have you not unequivocally condemned them?" he asked.

Wednesday burial for unrest victims

27/2/86
SOWETAN
THE mass burial of the Alexandra unrest victims will be on Wednesday at the Alexandra cemetery.

This decision was taken by the Alexandra Mass Funeral Coordinating Committee at a meeting in the township on Tuesday evening. The committee was elected on Monday.

A member of the committee said they chose Wednesday to give several families who had not yet identified their dead at the mortuary time to do so. They also wanted to give relatives and mourners living outside Johannesburg enough time to arrange to attend the mass funerals.

The National Medical and Dental Asso-

ciation (Nanda) pledged its support for the Alexandra residents at an urgent executive meeting on Tuesday afternoon. It also offered its services to the community.

A message of support from the Students

Representative Council of the University of the Witwatersrand was read to the burial committee. A request by the students at the predominantly white university to attend the funeral was granted by the committee.

CHL 7106
27/2/86
**ANC suspect
shot dead**

PRETORIA. — A sus-
pected member of the
African National Con-
gress was shot dead by
police in Soweto early
yesterday morning.

A police spokesman
said that police "acting
on information" went to
a house in Soweto where
they found a man on a
couch.

The man stood up
holding a cushion be-
hind which he held a
hand-grenade.

A policeman noticed
the grenade and opened
fire. The man fell on the
grenade which ex-
ploded.

No police were hurt.
Six men and three
women were arrested. —
Sapa

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Cape Times, Thursday, February 27, 1986 5

Slabbert wants more ANC talks

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — Dr Van Zyl Slabbert is planning to hold further talks with the African National Congress (ANC) to explore the "possibilities of undercutting violence".

"What needs to be established urgently is whether violence is inevitable," he said here yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said he did not see himself in the role of politician, mediator or honest broker.

"I intend talking to a full cross-section of the political spectrum from the Broederbond to the ANC."

Dr Slabbert led a Progressive Federal Party delegation to the ANC in Lusaka last year.

He is visiting Britain to promote the sale of his book "The Last White Parliament".

He is due to meet the Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Mrs Lynda Chalker, tomorrow.

Dr Slabbert said he saw his role now as that of a researcher co-ordinating information from all groupings with a view to publishing it later.

However, he said, he still saw a role for himself in trying to convince whites — and Afrikaners particularly — of the need for dialogue with representative black leaders.

Whites needed to be reassured that there was "light at the end of the negotiating tunnel".

Soweto youths hijack cars

CAPE TOWN 27/2/81

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A number of youths has been arrested after vehicles were commandeered in Soweto last week.

Police said 51 vehicles had been taken over at the rate of eight a day "to run the errands of the black man's struggle".

This was disclosed by the regional commissioner for the Soweto police, Brigadier Jan Coetzee.

Brigadier Coetzee said 51 owners of cars which were impounded last week reported the incidents to the police. He said the police had arrested some of the youths whom they suspected of having taking part in commandeering the vehicles.

"Detectives are hard at work and I must say that we are on the brink of a breakthrough. Some of the vehicles have been recovered, some found burnt out while others have not yet been found," Brigadier Coetzee said.

Vehicles belonging to newspaper companies and publishing organizations delivering in Soweto have become targets of these attacks.

Staff buses of South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) have also been targets. Drivers have often had to make quick getaways to avoid the youths.

Newspaper vendors have also become victims of the youths.

ripped through a shopping centre in Amanzimtoti in December claiming five lives and injuring 60.

There is evidence, furthermore, that the outlawed organisation may have opened a new "military front" in the eastern Cape.

'Establishment' targets

Most of the latest bombings in Natal have been aimed at "establishment" targets such as electrical sub-stations, power pylons and police vehicles. In one incident a senior security police officer was killed by a second, "booby trap" bomb planted at a sub-station.

Now police efforts to contain spreading urban terrorism have been stepped up. Several suspects, including an Indian medical student, have been rounded up. One, Andrew Zondo, a 19-year-old from KwaMashu, appeared in the Durban Magistrate's Court this week on charges connected with the Toti bombing.

Expert opinion is that the choice of Natal

more than coincidental. There is strong evidence linking it with the deepening ideological rift between the ANC and its rival political movement, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, whose support base is in KwaZulu-Natal.

A popular view is that the bombings are meant as a warning, a calculated strategy designed to demonstrate that the ANC has the capability of planting bombs in Inkatha's own backyard. It also raises questions about continued ANC infiltration despite security accords between SA and Mozambique, Swaziland and (informally) Lesotho, and about the extent of ANC cadres and arms caches already inside the country.

Whether historical enmity, has much to do with ANC attacks in Natal, or whether policing them is simply more difficult in the populous and rugged Natal region, the ANC has always enjoyed a high profile in the area. Last year there were 28 documented incidents of terrorist activity in the province — double the total for 1984 and triple that of 1983.

"If there is a deliberate motive," says Wits University political scientist, Tom Lodge, "it is the importance of demonstrating that the ANC has an impact and support in Natal."

His views are shared by Wim Boooyse, a researcher at the Institute for Strategic Studies in Pretoria. Boooyse says the cleavages between Inkatha and the ANC are extremely serious and are being exacerbated by the open enmity between Inkatha and the UDF and the Congress of SA Trade Unions.

A corollary of the Natal bombings, Lodge says, is that it goes a long way towards dispelling the myth that the ANC is divided along ethnic lines, that it draws its support primarily from non-Zulu speaking Xhosas while all Zulus are allied to Inkatha. "This is simply not true," he says. "The ANC enjoys wide support in Natal — among Zulus, Indians and coloureds. There are also Inkatha members who support the aims and objectives of the ANC. The divisions are simply not as great as some people perceive them to be."

According to Lodge, there are cogent historical reasons why the ANC's leadership is largely Xhosa-speaking. In the Fifties and Sixties most of the educated African elite hailed from the eastern Cape. However, Chief Albert Luthuli, a former ANC president, was Zulu.

At any rate, the deep ideological differences between Inkatha and the ANC are a reality and could be manifesting themselves in a show of force. Says Lodge: "Natal could be an area where the ANC feels it has to make the running."

A potentially more disturbing development, Lodge feels, is the recent upsurge in military, as opposed to political, activity by the ANC in the eastern and western Cape. "For the first time, Umkhonto we Sizwe (the ANC's military wing) is showing a presence in the region. There have been shoot-outs between armed terrorists and the police, and

recently a large arms cache was discovered in the township of Mdantsane."

As the ANC seems to have the propensity to "shift the action to where it wants it to be," it could, avers Lodge, signal the opening of a new front.

FIN MAIL 28/2/86
ANC INSURGENCY IIA

Hitting Natal, E Cape

African National Congress (ANC) insurgency in Natal, which has always been high, appears to be escalating. Eight bombs have exploded in Durban alone since a blast

INKATHA VS COSATU

No labour of love

Accusations and counter-charges are flying as the war of words between the Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the emergent pro-Inkatha unions in Natal heats up.

The latest allegation is that the pro-Inkatha grouping — whose policy encompasses support for investment in SA, a belief in the free market economy and an anti-boycott stance — is seeking to ingratiate itself with employers.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo says he has hard evidence that certain employers are "facilitating the recognition of pro-Inkatha unions and, in some cases, actually funding them." Cosatu, says Naidoo, views the development in a serious light. "It is our experience," he says, "that unions that walk in through management's door will always be sweetheart unions and never enjoy the support of the workers."

The accusations have, however, been vigorously denied by KwaZulu MP and Inkatha spokesman on labour matters, Simon Conco. He says the new union grouping is not seeking preferential treatment from employers — merely the right to organise and to have access to workers.

The "sweethearting" allegations have been brought to the attention of the Natal Chamber of Industries. The chamber's in-



Cosatu's Naidoo ... "sweetheart" unions don't succeed

dustrial relations consultant, Mike Smith, says employers are being urged to adopt a strictly non-partisan stance over the rivalry between Cosatu and Inkatha.

Says Smith: "We believe in freedom of association as enunciated in the Business Charter. At all times the correct recognition procedures should be followed. Organising should be conducted off factory limits and, once it believes itself to be the majority, the union should present its credentials to management for verification."

In a new development that is shaping up to be a major test of strength, Inkatha is planning to stage a mass rally at which Cosatu's policies — especially its support for disinvestment and its commitment to a Socialist

future for SA — will come under scrutiny. Conco says Inkatha will not be using the rally, which is to take place shortly in Durban, as a platform to organise.

"The aim," he says, "is merely to highlight for workers the dangers inherent in Cosatu's policies." Conco claims Inkatha has no quarrel with Cosatu on other issues. "Our concern is merely over the thousands of people standing at the factory gates wanting jobs," he says.

There is little doubt, however, that the event could sow division among Cosatu members, many of whom are also members of Inkatha. It could force them to choose between the two and further polarise positions within the union movement. ■

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Expert opinion is that the choice of Natal

for a sustained bombing campaign could be more than coincidental. There is strong evidence linking it with the deepening ideological rift between the ANC and its rival political movement, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, whose support base is in KwaZulu-Natal.

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FIN KUAL 28/2/86

ANC INSURGENCY

IIA

SPF

Hitting Natal, E Cape

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SA sets up 'buffer zone'

28/2/86
STAR
11A
HARARE — South Africa, which has just won new security pledges from Botswana, is well on the way to creating an anti-guerilla buffer zone around its borders, regional political analysts said here yesterday.

They said Pretoria's strategy was to get firm pledges from its neighbours that they would bar black nationalist guerillas from infiltrating across the frontiers, and to threaten military or economic action if they did not.

From the south Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, only the 200 km border with Zimbabwe now remains outside the string of security pacts and consultative arrangements that Pretoria has assembled around its frontiers. Tiny Lesotho, encircled by South Africa, is also part of the system.

Last month, with a near-effortless flexing of its economic muscle, South Africa closed its borders with Lesotho, bringing its economy to a halt.

The Lesotho armed forces quickly seized power from the civilian government of the Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, and began expelling anti-apartheid activists linked to the banned African National Congress.

The frontline between South Africa and its neigh-

bouring black-led states now looks like this:

- Mozambique and Swaziland have peace accords with Pretoria aimed at curbing ANC activities and have in the past two years expelled hundreds of ANC followers.
- Namibia is ruled and policed by South Africa.
- Zimbabwe has threatened to retaliate with its own army if subjected to force from its southern neighbour.
- Botswana is resisting pressure from Pretoria to sign a non-aggression pact with its dominant neighbour, but agreed during security talks this week to use its "best endeavours" to stop ANC fighters crossing the country.

Political analysts said that put Botswana, which has a 1 600 km border with South Africa in almost the same position as Swaziland, Mozambique and Lesotho.

A Zimbabwe University regional political scientist, said: "It is clear now that South Africa's aim is to use its military and economic power to intimidate neighbours into submission and so create a buffer zone free from guerilla infiltration.

"The fact that Botswana agreed at all to curb ANC activity implies some admission of not having done

so in the past. When one considers recent threats of military action by South Africa against Botswana, this week's talks were a morale boost to Pretoria's increasingly aggressive and militant foreign policy."

Botswana's President Quett Masire said after the talks that the Pretoria side had declared "the presence in Botswana of the ANC in whatever guise constitutes a threat" to South Africa, which reserved the right "to defend the lives of its citizens".

He said: "They (the delegations) undertook to use their best endeavours to prevent the country (Botswana) being so used (by the ANC) and also undertook to report back to the Botswana government."

The talks took place after Pretoria issued repeated warnings to Botswana regarding ANC activities in that country. Botswana says it only gives sanctuary to refugees fleeing South Africa's apartheid policies.

Last June, South African commandos attacked the tiny Botswana capital, Gaborone, killing 12 people Pretoria said were ANC activists. Botswana said they were civilians.

On January 31, South African President P W Botha warned Zimbabwe and Botswana to form "security councils" with Pretoria to curb ANC activities or face unspecified action. — Sapa-Reuter.

(11A) (11A) 28/2/86

Slabbert sees alternatives to violence after fresh ANC talks



● SLABBERT

LONDON — Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert held more than six hours of talks with a delegation from the African National Congress (ANC) in London yesterday.

In an exclusive interview after the talks with members of the ANC executive, Slabbert said he was now convinced there was a way out of the violence in SA.

Slabbert also apologised to anyone whom he had offended — particularly ANC members and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — with remarks he had made in the tugged tapes of

JOHN BATTERSBY

his confidential meeting with President P W Botha.

He described his talks with the ANC as "extremely useful", but was reluctant to elaborate on the substance of the talks.

The talks, Slabbert's second formal contact with the ANC executive, began on Wednesday night and ended in the early hours of yesterday morning at an undisclosed venue in London.

The ANC delegation included ANC director of information and publicity Thabo Mbeki, and Aziz Pahad, a London-based member of the ANC executive.

Mbeki was part of the ANC delegation which met an official delegation of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) in Lusaka in October last year.

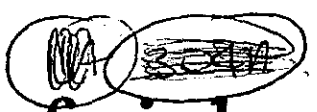
It is understood that the talks were held in a cordial atmosphere and that the way could soon be opened for further contacts between the ANC and various groupings within Afri-

kanerdom.
"I expressed my deep concern about the increasing violence in SA and my dismay at the fact that the ANC seemed determined to continue with the armed struggle."
"They then assured me that the armed struggle was a last resort, because of government's denying any legitimate channels which they could use — other than those predetermined by government itself — and be-

● To Page 2 →

P.T.O.

BLVD DAY 28/2/86



'Way out of violence'

cause of government's continuation with basic apartheid structures.

"I have come away convinced that there is a way out for us in SA and that violence need not be inevitable and that people need not die needlessly," he said.

Slabbert said he intended to explore alternatives to violence which he had discussed with the ANC.

Slabbert said he would not be reporting back to any group or organisation when he returned to SA.

He said he had discussed the leaked confidential tapes of his meeting last month with Botha.

"The ANC seemed to understand the context in which the discussion took place," he said. "But it is quite possible that people who are not familiar with the context of what I was doing could feel insulted by what I said.

"I would like to apologise to anyone who thought I was patronising or insulting. I think here of members of the ANC, Chief Buthelezi or any other blacks who might have felt this.

"The discussion I had with Botha was one between two Afrikaners of different generations trying to establish a level of communication at which they were trying to understand each other.

"But I just could not get through, and that was part of the reason that I was so

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despondent with that meeting. I never suggested that it was an acrimonious meeting or that we were insulting one another.

"But it was a total breakdown in communication. That is why I asked to talk to Dr Niel Barnard, head of the National Intelligence Service (NIS) and Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis."

He said that if Barnard did not want to release his copy of the tapes, he (Slabbert) would release his copy of the tapes, if Barnard agreed when he returned to SA at the end of next week.

Responding to criticism from Buthelezi, Slabbert said: "I would have hoped that Buthelezi would have given me the benefit of the doubt, rather than falling back on a bugged conversation, although I have to concede that there could have been a misunderstanding on the basis of what I said.

"I have never regarded Buthelezi as a second Muzorewa nor have I ever suggested that he wanted to become one.

"What I was saying to Botha was that Buthelezi is very much aware of the thin line he is walking between being an effective negotiator and being co-opted by government to do their bidding.

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SILK KAISERIE

Trial of De Jonge unlikely in his absence

By Sue Leeman, Pretoria Bureau

It does not appear likely that wanted Hollander Mr Klaas de Jonge will be tried in his absence should he fail to turn up in court to face a charge of terrorism.

It is still unclear whether he will leave his Dutch embassy hideout to face a charge under the Internal Security Act.

Mr de Jonge's former wife, Miss Helena Passtoors, is due to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court today on charges of treason and terrorism.

It was not clear exactly when Mr de Jonge was meant to make his first appearance, although the cases are known to be linked.

The Dutch Government is understood to be opposed to allowing Mr de Jonge to stand trial and it will probably continue to offer him sanctuary in the old embassy premises in Pretoria.

A Dutch suggestion that Mr de Jonge be tried in Holland has been turned down by South Africa.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

However, South African Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha has promised this country will not break international law by entering Mr de Jonge's embassy sanctuary to seize him.

The Witwatersrand Attorney-General, Mr Klaus von Lieres, would not comment definitely yesterday on a possible trial "in absentia".

A tenet of criminal law was that an accused person should not be tried in his absence, he said. There were only a few minor exceptions to this rule.

Mr de Jonge's copy of the charges would probably be passed on to him by the Dutch embassy staff, Mr von Lieres said.

Bid to free unionist

The Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu) has launched a campaign for the immediate release from detention of the union's Transvaal branch secretary, Mr Moses Mayekiso, who was detained last week under emergency regulations.

A union spokesman said last

Cost of combatting locusts 'staggering'

By Hannes de Wet

KIMBERLEY — The cost of combatting locust plague from Upington to the Free State is reaching staggering proportions.

Since the beginning of February the locust poison in the Free State and the Northern Cape has been in the region of R1 per day, according to Mr Koos Vermeulen, chief soil protection inspector for the area.

Salaries paid to workers used in the combat against the locusts in these areas ran to R110 000 for the month of February.

These figures, Mr Vermeulen said, include the cost of fuel for the aircraft.

The locust outbreak stretches from Upington in the West to Pietersburg in the east.

He said the battle against the locusts began in October last year.

"But it was only since the beginning of February that we have combated the plague on such a large scale."

Mr Vermeulen said that some locust swarms were now moving into Botswana. In an effort to stop them poison was provided by South Africa.

Mr Isak Venter, assistant director of the Directorate for Soil Protection, said there were 398 combatting units in the field, of which 23 were provided by the SADF.

Insect plague likely to disappear in six weeks

By Hannes de Wet

KIMBERLEY — The locust plague in the Northern Cape and surrounding regions probably will not last longer than another few weeks.

"It will be broken by the cold when it comes," said Mr Isak Venter, assistant director of the Directorate for Soil Protection.

He said locust eggs were dormant under the current conditions and needed heat and rain to become active.

Mr Koos Vermeulen, the chief soil protection officer in the Northern Cape, said about 70 per cent of the locusts in the Northern Cape State died about 70 days ago.

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Treason trial witness tells of Mandela's popularity

2012/08/27 STAR

11A

MARITZBURG — Nelson Mandela is the most popular leader in South Africa, a secret State witness said in the treason trial of four union leaders yesterday.

Mandela is popular among the people living in South Africa and the fighting forces outside South Africa, "not because he chose armed struggle as a last resort, but because he has sacrificed so much for the cause," the witness said.

The witness, a former member of the ANC, said songs were sung about people such as Mandela and the late Albert Luthuli to "popularise their cause".

Giving evidence in the trial of four South African Allied Workers' Union leaders, Mr Thozamile Gqweta, Mr Sisa Njikelana, Mr Samuel Kikine and Mr Isaac Ngcobo, the witness was cross-examined on the use of freedom songs.

"Another thing that has made Nelson Mandela so popular is that he is not a racist," the witness said.

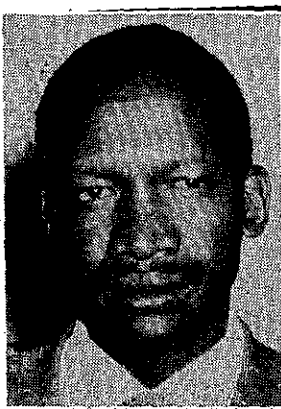
Freedom songs were important tools used to portray an organisation's political and military line.

At the start of the witness' cross-examination this week, the court heard that although the witness does not have a licence for a firearm, a police firearm had been issued to the witness for "protection".

"I have applied to become a member of the South African Police because I have to defend myself," the witness said.

The court heard that the witness, who alleged that the Commissioner of Police knew about the arrangement with the firearm, had signed a written agreement to work with Security Police on certain conditions.

The trial was postponed to March 4.
— Sapa.



THE late Robert Sobukwe. (KIA)

Service for first leader of PAC

Sowetan 28/2/82

THE first president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Robert Mangaliso-Sobukwe, will be remembered when the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) holds a memorial service at the Roman Catholic Church in Kagiso, Krugersdorp, tomorrow.

This was announced by acting president of Azanyu Mr Solomzi Selane, who said the service would start at 2 pm. Meanwhile, the PAC mission at the United Nations this week commemorated the deaths of Sobukwe and Malcolm X in meetings around New York City.

According to a statement by the organisation, the PAC representative to the UN, Mr Samuel "Khindo" Makhanda, addressed several of these meetings.

The last of the New York meetings was due to be held last night and one of the organisers of this meeting, which was expected to attract many people including South African refugees, was Mr Themba Sibeko, son of slain PAC leader David Sibeko.

Sobukwe died in February 1978 in Kimberley after being exiled to the area in 1969. He was previously in Robben Island for six years under a special Act of Parliament known as the Sobukwe Law.

In terms of this law he could be kept in Robben Island at the Government's discretion.

When restricted to Robben Island he had completed a three-year prison term. He led the massive anti-pass campaign in 1960 that led to the disturbances in Sharpeville, Langa, Nyanga and many other parts of the country.

This campaign was launched barely two years after the formation of the PAC. It was formed after some members broke away from the African National Congress (ANC) which is also banned.

The PAC and ANC were banned in 1960 and have both operated outside the country since then.

BOS DAY 28/2/86

11A (circled) (circled)

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SILK KAISERIE

'Move away from violence possible'

By Michael Morris, The Star Bureau

LONDON — Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert has had talks with senior African National Congress (ANC) officials and believes progress can be made towards peaceful negotiation in South Africa.

The ANC, he said, did not believe violence was inevitable.

Speaking in London, where he is promoting his new book, "The Last White Parliament", Dr Slabbert said: "I have met members of the ANC executive here and I believe a move away from violence can be found. I will communicate this to whoever is interested."

"I made it clear during our discussion that I abhor violence and do not see it as an effective instrument for achieving political objectives."

"I talked at length to see to what extent they themselves would be prepared to reconsider their stance on violence."

"They made it clear to me they did not regard violence as inevitable, but something they resorted to when all other channels of peaceful opposition had been closed down."

He said he would continue to hold talks with the ANC as long as this "served a useful purpose".

Emphasising his refusal to accept that "it is inevitable that South Africans should kill each other", Dr Slabbert broadly outlined a role he is eager to play.

BILATERAL

"Given my 12 years' experience, I intend to explore across the political spectrum to what extent negotiation is possible and to what extent the cycle of violence can be reduced."

"With this in mind I am prepared to talk to anybody — the ANC, the Broederbond, the SADF or any right-wing group."

He said he believed the Government's principal defect was its tendency to view reform as a unilateral process, "where they decide what reform means, how far and how fast".

"History shows reform is bilateral, an interaction between those bringing it about and those experiencing it. Reform does not depend on the good intentions of the Government, but on the reactions of the intended beneficiaries."

"If you want to judge if apartheid is dead, you cannot rely on newspaper advertisements, but on events in the townships."

"Right now, it is a question of being committed to take action that will undercut the violence," he said.

Discounting a right-wing electoral threat, Dr Slabbert does believe there is a threat of right-wing violence through the formation of vigilante groups. But he feels white people "generally" are prepared "to go much further than the Government".

Besides his contact with the ANC in London, Dr Slabbert has also met top British politicians. On Monday, he leaves for Paris, where he will meet officials from the French Foreign Ministry and spend time with poet Breyten Breytenbach.

He will then fly to Germany and will return to South Africa towards the end of next week.

Acknowledging that his departure from conventional politics and especially his resignation as leader of the PFP had given South Africa a shock, Dr Slabbert discounts the suggestion that it was an "act of political lunacy".

"I regret the upset it has caused the party, but I do not regret my decision from a political point of view."

March 28/2/66
Youth 'out
of control'
warning
by Gerwel

Staff Reporter

THERE is a grave danger of the youth of South Africa running out of control, according to Professor Jakes Gerwel, rector-designate of the University of the Western Cape.

He told an Institute of Citizenship meeting yesterday that in spite of the growing influence of political movements such as the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation on young people, they were not being taken over.

The student rebellion of 1976 had marked a high point in protest after the relatively quiet 1960s, he said, but since 1976 there had hardly been a trouble-free year.

Youth protest was now part of a wider struggle.

The education crisis was a reflection of a wider crisis, he said, and education could not be divorced from its political context. The solution was more political than educational.

hospital.

Newsweek interview
with Tambo censored

28/2/86
An interview with the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, has been censored from this week's edition of *Newsweek*.

Mr Tambo is a banned person.

The last page of the magazine, which always continues a profile about someone in the news, has been torn out of the magazine, which is on sale in shops countrywide. Subscribers have received uncensored copies.

The local Bureau Chief of *Newsweek*, Mr Richard Manning said it was an international magazine and could not be "tailor-made to the wishes of the South African Government".