

BLACK POLITICS — 1988

NOVEMBER — DEC .

ANC moves to stop rugby tour of SA

The Argus Correspondent

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ARGUS 11/11/88

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress has written to the International Rugby Board in an effort to stop the planned tour of South Africa next year by a World team, scheduled as part of the centenary celebrations of the South African Rugby Board.

But its attempt is likely to be in vain

In London, rugby sources say the IRB will announce on Friday that a world invitation team will play at

least three matches in South Africa next year

And it will make it perfectly clear that the visit has been saved by the dramatic Dame Craven/Louis Luyt mission to Harare and their subsequent unequivocal commitment to the total integration of rugby in South Africa

CORDIAL TALKS

By offering South Africa the tour the IRB hope to ensure that the SARB does indeed stick to that commitment. And, more important, it also hopes to

foil any bid by right-wingers to wrest control of the SARB

The attempt to abort the tour — on grounds that the SARB is not a non-racial body — has been made in spite of the cordial talks held last month between ANC leaders and Dr Craven and Dr Luyt

Approached today, Dr Craven was unconcerned by the ANC move. He did not see the letter as an about-face by the ANC on the issue

"I think the ANC has been a bit premature in this regard. This statement

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

INSIDE: Weather 2, Finance 12 and 13, Letters 14, Racing 16, Sport 17 and 18, TV — Page 3 of Tonight.

ANC approaches IRB to stop rugby tour

11/1/88 (11/1/88) (11/1/88)
(Cont from page 1)

is not based on the full facts. We are committed to totally integrated rugby in this country — it is only in the implementation of this that we have some problems.”

The ANC said in the letter: “The South African Rugby Board and the South African Rugby Union have taken the first steps to bring the entire rugby fraternity in our country under one, non-racial controlling body.

“They have also agreed to work for the reorganisation of the sport so that it becomes truly non-racial. It is, therefore, clear that the SARB itself recognises that up to now it has not been a non-racial body.

The IRB should respect this judgment and not seek to perpetuate racism in rugby by approving the tour.”

● Almost half of the current Scottish international players would be prepared to play in South Africa, provided the price is right, according to a poll taken by the new weekly, *Scotland on Sunday*, The Argus Foreign Service reports.

PRECONDITION

According to the Scottish newspaper poll of 13 players, boasting a total of 245 caps, five said they would definitely go to South Africa next year for the centenary celebrations if enough money was forthcoming, and another four said they

would consider any offer on its merits.

● The precondition that apartheid be abolished before South Africa returns international sport has been emphasised in Sydney. Mr Alan Crompton, a member of the Australian Cricket Board's executive, said cricket around the world was the poorer for the absence of the Springboks.

But a reconciliation with South Africa on the sporting field was “not that simple”.

“It is now in the area of government and the Pretoria regime must get the apartheid laws out of the legislation before any moves can be made on the cricket front,” he added.

**ANC urges
'collaborators'
to resign** ^{Star} 11/11/88

The Star's Africa
News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has rejected the results of last week's municipal elections and urged the "collaborators" who won seats on the black councils to resign

In a statement released here yesterday, the ANC also called on the UN Security Council to take measures to avert further tension and conflict in southern Africa

The ANC claimed that enforcement of the polling results would aggravate conflict in the area

ANC man
star 11/11/88
addresses
book fair (11A)
by telephone

CAPE TOWN — South Africans yesterday had a rare chance to hear the views of the banned African National Congress (ANC) when a member of the organisation addressed a conference over the telephone from London.

Mongane Serote, an exiled black South African writer and member of the ANC's cultural department in London spoke and answered questions from about 400 people of all races at a meeting on censorship in Cape Town.

Questions from the audience were repeated into the telephone and Serote's replies played through loudspeakers.

The meeting was part of a book festival organised by the anti-Government *Weekly Mail* newspaper, which is threatened with temporary closure or an in-house censor under the emergency regulations — Sapa-Reuter.

New turn in Pretoria trial

THE terrorism trial of five alleged members of the African National Congress took a dramatic turn in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday when the presiding magistrate recused himself from the trial because he had already read confessions on two of the accused.

Mr F J Poolman withdrew from the case following a successful application by defence lawyers, Mr Michael Traub and Mr Nano Matlala, who appeared for Mr Conrad Lekhumbi (28), Mr Motshela Edwin Makwela (35) and Mr Sello Khōta (34), all of Mamelodi, Pretoria.

Mr Poolman recused himself after ruling that he did see the statements following a mistake by someone in the Attorney-General's office who attached the confessions to the further particulars which were requested by the defence.

The three accused, together with Mr Samuel Makhubela (29), of Soshanguve and Mr Thekiso Mogoerane (31), of Vosloorus appeared on charges of terrorism and attempted murder. They have not yet been asked to plead.

The State alleges that on or about February 2, 1986 and July 19 last year the accused attacked the houses of Detective Sergeant Khazamula Johannes Hlongwane and Warrant Officer Mokgopa Stephen Setole with AK47 rifles in an attempt to murder them and their families in Mamelodi. They also attempted to kill Constable Kotse Caswell Ntsoane, the State alleges.

The five accused also face 18 alternative counts of attempted murder and damage to property. Mr Makhubela is further charged with the theft of a firearm and possession of an unlicensed firearm and ammunition.

(Proceeding).

More houses

THE managing director of the South African Housing Trust, Mr Joe Taylor, said in Cape Town the trust had in its sights the construction of affordable high quality houses for the lower income group.

11A

1/11/88

ANC Taps
11/1/80 (11R)

ANC plot to kill Buthelezi —claim

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — KwaZulu police yesterday declined to comment on a newspaper report that they had uncovered a plot to assassinate KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

A front-page story in the Ilanga newspaper yesterday said a plot involving the African National Congress and a KwaZulu policeman had been uncovered by the police.

The newspaper said the plan to kill Chief Buthelezi was to be put into action at Shaka Zulu's commemoration rally which took place in Mtubatuba last week.

The report claimed that the ANC had infiltrated a man into the KwaZulu Police Force with an assignment of killing Chief Buthelezi.

Ilanga said suspicion about the activities of the infiltrated policeman came to the fore when he was seen driving with a "known insurgent".

PAC 7 got 136 years

SEVEN members of the Pan Africanist Congress and Qibla — a Muslim movement — smiled, shook hands and embraced friends and relatives from the dock after being sentenced to a total of 136 years imprisonment in the Pretoria Regional Court Daniel Nkopodi (31)

an AME pastor in Lobatse, Botswana, at the time he was arrested on April 9, 1986, was sentenced to 38 years imprisonment for being "an important link in the operation" of transporting AK47 rifles, hand-grenades and ammunition as well as members of the PAC from

Botswana to Bophuthatswana

The magistrate, Mr J H Bekker, convicted Nkopodi on five counts of terrorism and subversion. The court found that although he was not a member of the PAC, he acted as its courier. The magistrate ruled that his sentence run concurrently and that he serve an effective 16 years in jail.

Mabatu Enoch Zulu (54), a member of the PAC central committee's high command, who has a previous conviction of being in possession of arms in Swaziland, was sentenced to 31 years imprisonment after being convicted on five counts of terrorism. He will serve an effective 16 years jail term.

Vincent Mathunjwa (31), who was found guilty on two counts of terrorism was sentenced to 14 years imprison-

ment. His sentences will also run concurrently and he will serve an effective seven years in jail.

Paul Setsiba Mohohlo (31) was sentenced to 21 years imprisonment after being convicted on three counts of terrorism. The court ruled that he serve an effective ten years in jail.

Achmad Cassiem (42), leader of Qibla, which was described by the court as a revolutionary and subversive organisation, was sentenced to six years imprisonment. Cassiem has previous convictions of sabotage and of failing to comply with a banning order.

An executive member of Qibla, Yufus Patel (36) was sentenced to five years in jail. Both Cassiem and Patel were found guilty of having conspired to overthrow the Government through violent means. The seven men were arrested in Transkei, near Hammanskraal in Bophuthatswana and Cape Town in April and May 1986.

ANC urges UN to end SA tension

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has rejected any negotiated settlement based on the outcome of the municipal elections held on October 26 and urged the United Nations security council to take measures to avert further tension and conflict in the area

In a statement released here yesterday, the ANC said the municipal elections were contrary to principles of the Charter of the United Nations and warned that the enforcement of the election results would inevitably aggravate tension and conflict in South Africa and in Southern Africa

In rejecting the municipal elections, the ANC described them as "insidious

manoeuvres by the minority regime to entrench white minority rule and apartheid."

It declared that the only eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule could lead to a just and lasting solution to the explosive situation in South Africa

The ANC welcomed the united resistance of the oppressed people of South Africa against the October 26 elections and all advocacy against the elections and condemned further intensified state violence, including the bombing of buildings housing anti-apartheid organisations

Court told of assault by 'Hoza gangsters'

By REHANA ROSSOUW
Supreme Court Reporter

ALLEGATIONS of intimidation and assault by self-styled "policemen" under control of newly-elected Khayelitsha leader Mr Mali Hoza have emerged in the Supreme Court.

Mr Hoza and his committee won last week's municipal election in Lindelethu West

Khayelitsha student Mr Solomzi Mzamo applied for an interdict restraining Mr Hoza and three others from intimidating, assaulting or unlawfully interfering with him

Mr Mzamo alleged that a group of men known as the "Hoza gangsters" assaulted him.

An interim interdict was granted on October 6 by Mr Justice C T Howie who ordered that Mr Hoza, Mr Jim Thyali, Mr Ngwenda Mbakaza and Miss Nomonde Mbakaza be interdicted and restrained from ordering, encouraging or authorising Mr Mzamo to be intimidated, assaulted or interfered with

Yesterday, Mr Acting-Justice G R Comrie amended the interim interdict and extended it only against Mr Thyali, Mr Mbakaza and Miss Mbakaza. The return date is December 1

Mr Mzamo, a scholar at Maliza Secondary School in Site B, said in papers that Mr Hoza controlled a large force of men who did not wear uniforms, but carried out functions similar to the South African Police in Site B and Site C

"Members of this force are generally known as the 'Hoza gangsters' and they impose a strict curfew in Khayelitsha after 9pm," Mr Mzamo said

"Persons found on the street after this time, are beaten up by the Hoza gangsters who operate as vigilantes"

Mr Mzamo said Site B and Site C were subdivided into sections with deputy chiefs known as Isibonda in charge

He said the Isibonda, who were under Mr Hoza's control, conducted courts of law at their homes

Mr Mzamo said he had been harassed, molested, assaulted and interfered with three times by people acting as policemen under the direction and control of Mr Hoza and Mr Thyali, allegedly an Isibonda

On September 17 Miss Mbakaza, Mr Mbakaza and two relatives came to his home and accused him of making Miss Mbakaza pregnant, he said.

"I denied their accusation and told them that at the time she fell pregnant I was on holiday with my parents in Cradock"

Mr Mzamo said that early the next day he was awoken by two men armed with knobkerries and sjamboks, who said they were police from Site B

"They informed me that I was due to appear at a hearing before the Isibonda in Site B"

When he refused they threatened him and forced him to accompany them

Mr Mzamo said the Isibonda told him at the hearing that the charge against him was making Miss Mbakaza pregnant. He pleaded not guilty, was referred to a "lower court" in Site C and told to leave

"On September 24 a group of six 'policemen' armed with sjamboks, knobkerries and pangas arrested me and forcibly bundled me into a 'bakkie,'" Mr Mzamo said

"I was taken to Site C where I was brought before a lower court and told to appear the following morning at 10am"

Mr Thyali, the secretary of the court, sentenced him to three days in jail and ordered that he be handcuffed and paraded before a crowd of onlookers

Mr Hoza admitted in an affidavit that Site B and Site C were divided into sections headed by Isibonda and likened them to church elders whose function was to listen to people's troubles and complaints

He said he had no knowledge of any of Mr Mzamo's allegations about the "Hoza Gangsters" or the "courts"



Mrs Albertina Sisulu with her special birthday gift

Albertina at 70

(11) South

27/10 - 2/11/88

From MONO BADELA
JOHANNESBURG —
 UDF co-president
 Albertina Sisulu
 celebrated her 70th
 birthday in style last week
 at a party attended by
 some of the country's
 leading anti-apartheid
 activists

But her husband, two

sons and her daughter
 were unable to attend

Sisulu's husband,
 Walter, is serving a life
 sentence at Pollsmoor
 Prison with fellow
 Rivonia trialist Nelson
 Mandela

Her eldest son Max and
 her daughter Lindi are in
 exile. Another son

Zwelakhe, editor of the
 New Nation, has been
 detained under emergency
 regulations since
 December 1986.

Her nephew, Jongumzi,
 is serving a five-year
 sentence on Robben
 Island for furthering the
 aims of a banned
 organisation

Max's wife, Eleanor,
 flew from Lusaka for the
 birthday party

Other guests included
 Father Smangaliso
 Mkhathshwa; Cosatu
 president Ehjah Barayi,
 SACC assistant secretary
 Brigalia Bam, Mrs June
 Mlangeni, wife of life
 prisoner Andrew
 Mlangeni, UDF national
 publicity secretary
 Murphy Morobe, UDF
 acting general secretary
 Mohammed Valli Moosa,
 and lawyer Priscilla Jana

Sisulu, restricted under
 emergency regulations,
 was showered with
 presents "We don't doubt
 that your husband Walter
 and your son Zwelakhe
 will be with you when
 you celebrate your next
 birthday," said
 Mkhathshwa

He said the Sisulu
 family was "an example
 of sacrifice and total
 commitment for peace
 and justice"

It was announced in
 Atlanta, United States,
 last week that the Sisulu
 family had been given the
 prestige 100 000-dollar
 Carter-Menil Human
 Rights Award

The prize is named
 after former American
 President Jimmy Carter
 and French industrialist
 Dominique de Menil

Meer 'obediently' boycotts Book Week

Staff Reporter

SOCIOLOGIST Professor Fatima Meer has pulled out of a literary conference in Cape Town out of "obedience" to the Muslim Judicial Council, which is boycotting controversial author Salman Rushdie

Rushdie, due to address the Weekly Mail Book Week this week, has caused an uproar in the Muslim community with his latest book *The Satanic Verses*, which has been banned in South Africa under the "blasphemy" clause of the Publications Act

Professor Meer, a panelist at the session on history in the Baxter Theatre last night, attributed her protest action to Muslim obedience

The Muslim Judicial Council yesterday called for a boycott of the Book Week

Professor Meer said her withdrawal was not a move against Rushdie who she praised as a "literary genius". Her action was, as a Muslim, in accordance with the council decision

Rushdie was due to deliver a keynote address on censorship on Monday but was delayed in London because of ill health. He is expected to arrive in time for the Friday session and will give the censorship address on Saturday, according to Book Week organisers

The Call of Islam has said Rushdie should be allowed to speak and be confronted on his views in debate

● The subject of tonight's programme is "Contemporary Afrikaans Prose The Reality". On the panel are Gunther Pa-kendorf, Etienne van Heerden, Jeanne Goosen, Lucas Malan and Koos Prinsloo



The legal representative of Themba Khumalo, Miss Kathy Satshwell (left) with his sister Miss Dali Mpofo and his mother Mrs Lenina Khumalo (right)

Star 2/11/88 *11A*

Journalist jailed for harbouring ANC men

By Celeste Louw

A freelance journalist was yesterday sentenced to eight years imprisonment by a Johannesburg magistrate for harbouring two trained African National Congress members and failing to report them to the police

Mr L Vertue sentenced Jerry Themba Khumalo of Diepkloof in Soweto to four years jail on each of two counts of harbouring and failing to report the ANC members. The sentences are to run concurrently. Khumalo, a former reporter for The Star, pleaded guilty to the charges

In a statement handed to the court he said that Mrs Winnie Mandela had asked him in November 1986 to help her find accommodation for youths who had fled from the unrest in Maritzburg

"I found accommodation for Oupa Seheri because I assumed that he was one of the youths I went to visit him and saw him with a rifle and then I suspected that he was a trained ANC member," Khumalo said. The court heard that he never went to visit Seheri again

In another incident a certain Vuyisile Tsabalala paid Khumalo to take him around

"At one stage he was wounded and got very angry with me for suggesting that he should go to hospital.

"He told me that he was an ANC member and that the security police would arrest him in hospital."

The court was told that Khumalo helped him to get medical attention

In the statement Khumalo said that he had been detained without trial in June 1977 for 18 months. He was afraid to report the two men to the police for fear of being detained again

"They also became my friends and I feared to be labelled as an informer"

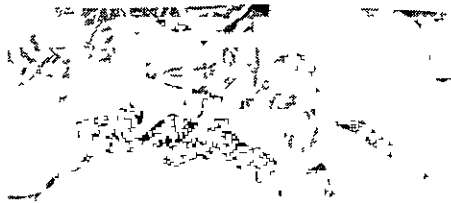
Mr Vertue said that he could understand that Khumalo didn't want to report his friends

He added "It's true that the ANC enjoys great support in this country, but it must also be remembered that a large section of society does not support them"

ched to the South African
arch Unit of UCT says the
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ment

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A Labour Party supporter shows just how
she plans to make it happen

ANC man weds in jail

WHEN next Yasmina Pandy goes to the Supreme Court, it won't be as an accused

It will be to follow the proceedings in which her husband, Ashley (Ashraf) Forbes, and 13 others face ANC-related charges

Pandy, 21, and Forbes, 24, were married on Monday in a simple ceremony conducted by Muslim Judicial Council president Sheikh Nazim Mohamed at Pollsmoor Prison

Pandy was released this week after serving a six-month sentence for contempt of court.

She was an accused in the same trial as her husband, until her acquittal recently Forbes, found guilty of terrorism, converted to Islam about four months ago

At his wedding he wore a dark blue suit, white silk scarf and a black fez Pandy wore a white wedding gown with white and silver headgear and an orchid bouquet

South 27/10 - 2/11/88

11A

3-9/11/88

3-9/11/88

AFRICAN National Congress commissar Peter Jacobs, convicted of terrorism in September, told the Supreme Court, Cape Town, he was taken to the verge of death several times

Jacobs, standing trial with 13 others, was giving evidence in mitigation of sentence

Detained on April 16 1987, Jacobs was held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act for four months

"To say that I was nearly killed in detention is mild," he said

"For the first few hours I was taken to the verge of death several times"

Jacobs said the version of his treatment given during the cross-examination of Warrant Officer Jeff Benzien was fair

During evidence on June 14, Benzien denied he had handcuffed Jacobs, bound his feet and smothered him with a

Jacobs taken to verge of death

wet bag until he lost consciousness

Outlining his childhood, Jacobs explained that his family was "poor" as his mother supported four children on her wages as a clothing worker.

His political education began in 1980 as a pupil at Mountview High School in Hanover Park where students attempted to form an SRC

His family moved from Hanover Park to Mitchells Plain 1981, lured by a

"promised land", a "city by the sea"

"The only improvement was that we finally had hot water."

"Our rent was higher than it was in Hanover Park, the rooms were smaller and there were no facilities"

In 1983 he became more involved in extra-parliamentary organisations, and instead of merely dishing out pamphlets, started attending planning meetings

Jacobs said the presence of the ANC was felt in 1985, when more and more people displayed an acceptance of the ANC as the vanguard organisation of the people

He was prompted to join the ANC after he and other people started believing that the State was responsible for the murder of Matthew Goniwe and four other community leaders in Cradock

CAM 2/11/88 (117) 337

'Reign of terror' alleged

Supreme Court Reporter

ALLEGATIONS of a private police force operating in Sites B and C, Khayelitsha, "bush courts", where heavy fines were imposed, assaults and a curfew — all under the control of squatter leader Mr Mali Hoza — have emerged in papers before the Supreme Court.

A matric student, Mr S Mzamo, alleged this in an affidavit in support of an application seeking an interdict against Mr Hoza and three others

An interim interdict was granted on October 6 by Mr Justice C T Howie restraining Mr Hoza, Mr Jim Thyali, Mr Ngwenda Mbakaza and Miss Nomonde Mbakaza from illegally interfering with Mr Mzamo.

Yesterday Mr Acting Justice R G Comrie amended the interim interdict and extended it against

Mr Thyali, Mr Mbakaza and Miss Mbakaza only

In an affidavit Mr Mzamo, a resident at Site B, said the area was controlled by Mr Hoza who served as unofficial chief, where he was known as "Nkosi" (the head of the district)

Mr Hoza exercised control over a large force of men who did not wear uniforms but carried out functions similar to those of the police. This force was generally known as "Hoza's Gangsters" and imposed a strict curfew in Khayelitsha after 9pm, Mr Mzamo said. People found on the street after the curfew were beaten up.

Sites B and C were divided into smaller areas where a deputy chief known as "isibondo" was in charge. They held their own courts at their homes and were under Mr Hoza's control, Mr Mzamo said.

Mr Thyali, who lived at Site B,

was an isibondo and also served as secretary of the lower court "bush court" there.

Mr Mzamo said he was recently harassed, molested, assaulted and interfered with on three occasions by people acting as the unofficial police under the direction of Mr Hoza and Mr Thyali.

The incidents arose after Mr Mzamo was accused on September 17 by Mr Mbakaza and his niece, Miss Mbakaza, of having made her pregnant. The next day he was ordered to appear before the isibondo.

Mr Hoza denied that the affidavit was true. He also denied that he was the unofficial chief for Sites B and C and said he was the elected leader of people there.

Mr Mzamo has till December 1 to file a replying affidavit.

Mr G Taylor, instructed by Preman Wilson, Choritz and Getz, appeared for Mr Mzamo. Mr Mike Fitzgerald, instructed by Silberbauers, appeared for the respondents.

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Speaker
walks out of
Book Week

PROFESSOR Fatima Meer, one of South Africa's leading sociologists, last night walked out of the Weekly Mail Book Week at the Baxter Theatre because of pressure from the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC).

The MJC has called on Muslims to boycott the entire Book Week in protest against internationally-acclaimed writer Salman Rushdie's latest novel, "The Satanic Verses" which they claim is sacrilegious.

Prof Meer, who was to have addressed a seminar with three other speakers, read a statement giving her reasons for withdrawing to about 300 people at the Baxter Theatre.

She later said her protest was not against "Rushdie the writer, Rushdie the literary genius and speaker against censorship", but against his "transgression of the beliefs of people".

ANC's internal battle still on?

Cartoons 2/11/88 11A

I WAS disappointed that no real clarification of the "armed struggle" issue resulted from the latest round of talks with the ANC, I say this because to my mind it is quite clear that the "armed struggle" is not necessarily the same thing as simple acts of terrorism like detonating car bombs in crowded streets

The ANC's standard reply on this matter, I gather, is that it does not condone such acts of terrorism, but its field operatives periodically become so infuriated by the apartheid regime that they act off their own bat

This explanation does not hold water. Military operations have been defined as the projection of controlled violence. If the ANC cannot control its people on the ground it cannot claim to be a coherent "liberation movement"

This is important because it is not calculated to inspire the sort of credibility which is a cornerstone of any sort of meaningful dialogue. If one ignores the possibility that the ANC is merely avoiding blame, the only explanation is that the internal battle between the armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the National Executive Committee greybeards is still in progress

This is the question the latest talks-with-the-ANC should have asked Mr Joe Slovo, since, when last I heard, he was running Umkhonto we Sizwe. I am sure he could have provided some interesting insights. Alas, it did not happen

At the same time, the psychological importance of the "armed struggle" must not be lightly dismissed. I am given to understand that it is regarded as the only thing which stops the ANC from being a mere exile organization rather than an active insurgent movement, consequently it would be a serious mistake to dismiss it as a mere manifestation of brutal intent, whatever its effects

□□□

WOMFU! The buses weren't there, the Army had closed down for the night and it was raining hard. Enter Commandant Matthews, who found shelter for the new arrivals, then got on the blower and soon conjured up the necessary transport

That's the sort of man who makes the military's wheels revolve

□□□

THOSE who believe the SADF's official languages are Afrikaans and Afrikaans may like to know that a reliable source tells me the Chief of the Army, Lieutenant-General Kat Liebenberg, has decreed strict observance of the SADF's alternating-month language policy, including verbal as well as written communications

Finish, as one might say, and klaar

□□□

THE record for the fastest mass conversion from one aircraft type to another must surely belong to Colonel Alex Jandrell DSO DFC, wartime OC 21 Squadron SAAF, who died in Johannesburg last week after a long illness

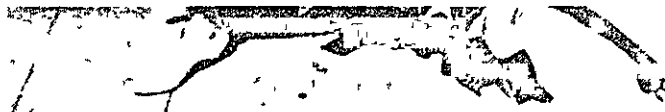
Reader Mr R H Aitchison, his successor, recalls "He converted the squadron from Baltimores to Marauders without going off operations — a raid with Baltimores one day and Marauders the next. He had first to persuade Wing and Desert Air Force that it was possible, and then he went ahead and did it — surely no other bomber squadron anywhere achieved the equivalent"

A pre-war Air Training Scheme pilot who went short service for a while, he was recalled in 1939, became an instructor, went "up North" in 1942 as a flight commander in 21 Squadron, and between 1943 and 1944 twice commanded it

Mr Aitchison, his successor as squadron commander, remembers

numerous allegations of
further doubt on the gov-
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A Labour Party supporter shows just how
she plans to make it happen

ANC man weds in jail (11A)

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She was an accused in the same trial as her husband, until her acquittal recently. Forbes, found guilty of terrorism, converted to Islam about four months ago.

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South 27/10 - 2/11/88

'Raj said no contracts for radicals'

DURBAN — Small developers who supported the African National Congress or the United Democratic Front were barred from landing contracts from the House of Delegates, according to evidence given yesterday, the 43rd day of the James Commission

The regional representative of the Durban regional office of the House of Delegates, Mr J J Sonnekus, told the commission, which is investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates, that Mr Amichand Rajbansi, suspended chairman of the Minister's Council, had indicated during discussions that certain of the small developers, who satisfied departmental requirements, were radicals who either belonged to the UDF or supported the ANC

He said Mr Rajbansi held the view that they should not be allocated sites

"Although I indicated to the minister that this department could not take political affiliations into account in the allocation process, the minister directed that these applicants must not be allocated sites

"He further indicated that he would advise the board why no allocations to these developers were to be made," Mr Sonnekus said

Earlier in his evidence he said that on April 27, 1988, or thereabouts, Mr Rajbansi directed him to get the Housing Development Board's approval for

allocations of building sites for 10 companies, even though 34 developers had registered for work on offer by the House of Delegates

He said that he advised Mr Rajbansi that investigations were not complete and that there were several other applicants who qualified on all aspects

Mr Rajbansi urged him to continue and said the allocation packages should be not so small and that it was uneconomical

"When I informed Mr Rajbansi that I could not recommend this, he directed that the board be advised that the recommendation was his," he said

He also said Mr Rajbansi insisted that certain companies be included in the allocation of business sites

He said Mr Rajbansi also directed him that 14 sites in the Chatsworth town centre should not be allocated at that stage

Mr Sonnekus also said that he did not agree with the selection of small developers and the allocation of sites and that at a meeting during May this year a study was made of the proposals

It was found that certain applicants had requested only small allocations and that these allocations were in some cases exceeded — some of the qualified applicants were still being overlooked

There was no evidence to justify the larger applications made to three companies

The hearing is proceeding — Sapa

Star 3/11/88

Terror suspect is killed

By Craig Kotze
Crime Reporter **11A**

A man wanted for questioning in connection with a terrorism charge was shot dead in a Free State township this week after he apparently tried to attack a policeman with an axe, police reported.

Mr Joseph Mofokeng, alias Thekiso, was shot dead in Tumahole township near Parys on Monday morning, according to a statement issued by the police Public Relations Directorate in Pretoria yesterday.

The dead man was a member of the Tumahole Youth Congress and Tumahole Civic Association and was suspected of involvement in several cases, including one of terrorism.

A policeman spotted Mr Mofokeng in Tumahole at 6 am.

"The suspect fled. He was pursued but he attacked the policeman with an axe. A shot was fired and Mr Mofokeng was fatally wounded," said the statement.

'Satanic' writer's SA visit called off

Capitol Hill Staff Reporter 3/11/66

PRESSURE from right-wing Muslims has forced the organizers of the Weekly Mail's Book Week to withdraw an invitation to world-famous author Salman Rushdie. The Congress of South African Writers, co-sponsors of the book week, announced their decision yesterday.

A statement said the decision followed "intense pressure from right-wing elements within the Muslim community, including bomb scares and death-threats, aimed both at Mr Rushdie and the Book Week organizers".

"The Mail itself, all too often the victim of censorship, cannot however side with

efforts to silence the views of others, particularly not when those actions are accompanied by threats of violence."

It said it acknowledged that the Rushdie novel, "The Satanic Verses", had angered many Muslims, and accepted the right of the Muslim community to voice its anger and to protest peacefully.

"Our opponents assure us that they defend the principle of freedom of speech. If this is so, they must concede that even their critics have got that right," the Weekly Mail said.

"We would have hoped that the progressive elements within the Muslim commu-

ity who, only a fortnight ago were eager to meet Rushdie, would not have succumbed so meekly to the actions of right-wing zealots.

"This has been a victory for the tactics of intimidation," the Mail added.

Cosaw could no longer guarantee Rushdie's safety and had advised him that it would be unwise for him to visit South Africa — which he has accepted, the statement said.

The Weekly Mail said it had not withdrawn its own invitation to Rushdie, and would make "every effort to ensure that his opinions on censorship will somehow be heard at the Book Week."

State of Emergency in South Africa. The Weekly Mail is a weekly publication of the South African Writers' Congress.

Mr. Heunis 3/11/88

MP

Heunis must explain ANC talks' — CP

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, owed it to the nation to explain whether the government had negotiated with the ANC "in the dark hours of the night", Dr Fanie Jacobs, Conservative Party MP, said at his party's conference yesterday.

Dr Jacobs and Mr Tom Langley, the party's official spokesman on foreign affairs, discussed the party's foreign policy at its national congress that started in the city hall here yesterday.

Dr Jacobs referred to senior officials of Mr Heunis's department whose security clearance had apparently been withdrawn.

"He defended them in public," Dr Jacobs said "These men had access to cabinet docu-

mentation and we demand to know whether the withdrawal of their security clearance is connected to negotiations with the ANC.

"If this is indeed the case, did Mr Chris Heunis know of this, initiated or involve himself in any other way?"

"He owes it to the people of SA to say whether the government has negotiated with the ANC in the dark hours of the night, or to deny it because we have the right to know where we stand."

He also referred to "safaris" to the ANC and said his party had had enough of the government allowing South Africans to negotiate with the people who sought the nation's undoing with bombs.

"All people who do this, must have their passports withdrawn immediately and if the government is not willing to do this, we will know it is too scared to act firmly with such like and that the government has gone soft on security."

"It is a government that has gone soft on security just as it had accused the PFP of being during the last general election."

Mr Langley said the CP was not against foreign initiatives in Africa such as had been undertaken by the President P W Botha recently. It would do so itself when it came to power.

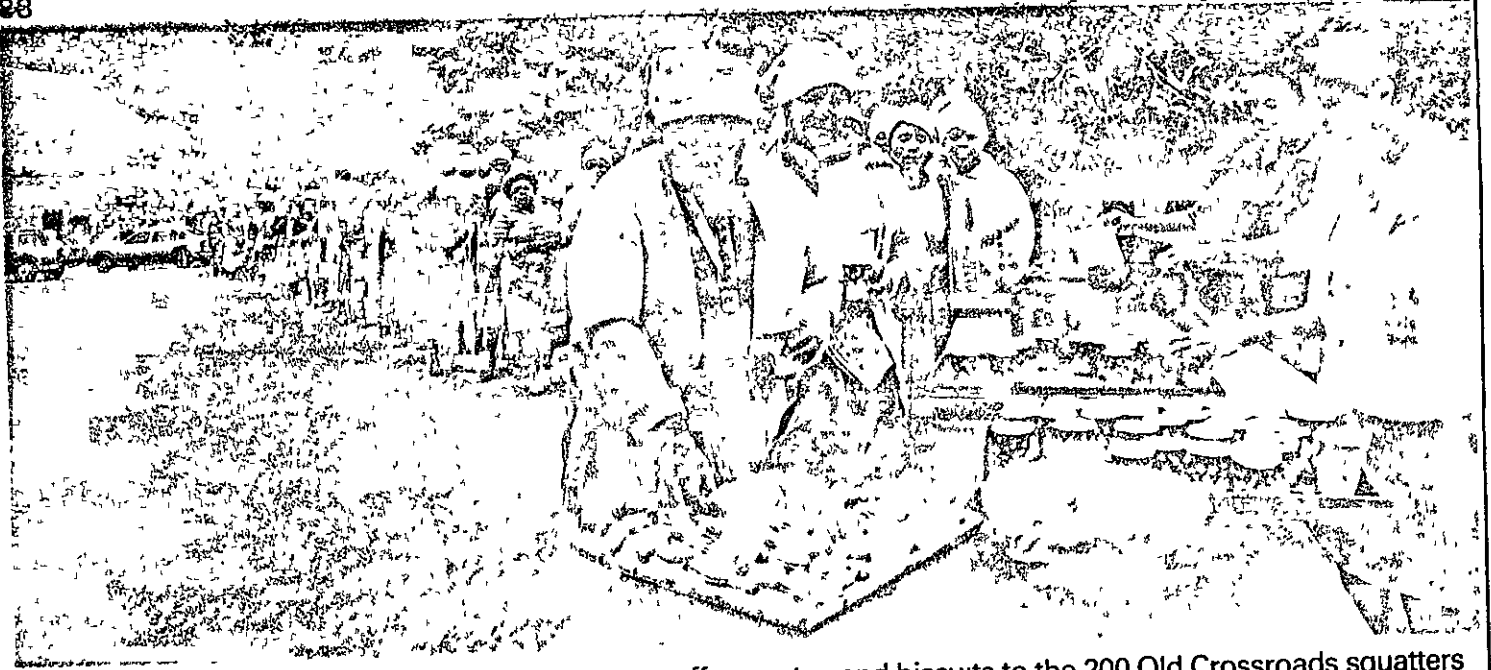
"But what pre-conditions preceded access to these palaces? What cost, what gifts were

offered and what money or expectations of gifts or money, accompanied these visits? And what was on the agenda?"

He said the CP was not prepared to negotiate when issues such as the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, clemency for condemned terrorists or the internal policies of SA were on the agenda.

He also threatened that if the CP came to power, and neighbouring countries allowed terrorists to operate against the Republic, the border would be closed immediately, all railway rolling stock and locomotives doing duty beyond the borders would be withdrawn and all foreign workers be repatriated to the guilty country of origin — Sapa

Mr Chris Heunis



FEEDING THE MULTITUDES . . . Bishops court staff serve tea and biscuits to the 200 Old Crossroads squatters who arrived to discuss problems of poverty unemployment and hunger yesterday. Picture ALAN TAYLOR

Squatters call on Tutu

By CHRIS BATEMAN

NEIGHBOURS in Bishops court were intrigued yesterday as at least 200 Old Crossroads squatters queued for tea and biscuits in the courtyard of the official residence of Archbishop Desmond Tutu

The crowd, which spokesmen said gathered to "ask for relief from poverty, hunger and unemployment from our father, the Bishop", grew slowly over an hour as taxis and buses arrived. At least five police vehicles monitored them in stages from discreet distances

Archbishop Tutu was in Nairobi to preside over a six-monthly All-Africa Conference of Churches meeting and the Vicar-General of Cape Town, Dean Colin Jones, invited the unexpected guests in

After some confusion as to whom the leadership was, several women volunteered to hold discussions with Dean Jones, the three Bishops Suffragan (Charles Albertyn, Geoffrey Quinlan and Ed McKenzie) and Canon W Dungan

Before the closed-door discussions,

Crowd gathers to ask relief from poverty and hunger

which lasted over an hour, Dean Jones and a Mrs Elsie Nkumbuzi had a brief debate over sanctions and whose responsibility aid for squatters was

Mrs Nkumbuzi asked that Archbishop Tutu return from overseas trips, "take bread and give piece for piece for all the people who are poor, sick and hungry"

Dean Jones said that while the archbishop could do this, "the sickness is apartheid"

"You have not just been poor since Tutu supported sanctions. You've been poor long before that," he added

Asked whom he discerned as the leadership, Dean Jones said spokesmen claimed they were not an organised group, "but obviously they are"

In a joint statement read by Dean Jones to assembled media afterwards, participants said they had agreed that the fundamental cause of black suffering in South Africa was apartheid

A further meeting was planned after agreement was reached that black people "suffer together and so must work in unity to end apartheid"

Asked who had paid their fares, taxi drivers said they were Old Crossroads residents and had volunteered their services

A Bishops court resident walking his dobermans, Mr Herman Cools, commented: "Tutu's crowd are not spontaneous and this crowd are probably not either. Who speaks for them? Who knows what they really want?"

He thought that if the "whole story" came out, Archbishop Tutu would probably lose more followers than "those behind these people"

Activist restricted

AN ACTIVE member of the Black Consciousness Movement was yesterday served with a restriction order restraining him from participating in the activities of four political organisations and the executive committees of a union and a labour federation. *Sundown*

He is Mr Charles Mabitsela, who lives and works in Sasolburg. He has also been restricted to the area — which he can only leave with magisterial permission. *Wim*

The order served on Mr Mabitsela yesterday morning was signed by top security officials on October 25 — the eve of the countrywide municipal elections.

The order bans Mr Mabitsela's participation in Azapo, Azasm, Azayo and the recently banned Azacco, which he served as an organiser after the banning of Azapo in February.

Mr Mabitsela was Azapo's national organiser before its banning. He was also an executive member of the Black Domestic Workers' Association (Bladwa), a position which saw him serving on the executive committee of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

WIR 6/10/88 4/11/88

Academics talk tough to ANC

London correspondent MIKE ROBERTSON, who covered both the Dakar talks and last week's meeting in West Germany between SA academics, Soviet and ANC delegates, looks back on the meetings.

AT LAST year's Dakar meeting, the ANC not only notched up a diplomatic success in meeting a group which contained many senior figures in Afrikanerdom, but it secured from them an acceptance of the ANC's decision to resort to armed struggle.

In no way did the internal delegates endorse the use of armed struggle, but it seemed to me they had failed to seriously confront the ANC on this and other controversial aspects of its policy.

The same cannot be said of the latest meeting at Leverkusen. There was little local media interest and local politicians had not undermined discussion by laying on distracting social events. This combined to create conditions in which serious discussion could take place, and the academics used it well.

The ANC contributed to this by not including in its delegation the silly Francis Melli (editor of Sechaba and author of a new work on the ANC, adjudged by his colleagues to be at best mediocre) and the arrogant Palo Jordan, who seemed to view the Dakar meeting as a point-scoring exercise.

Damaging

Instead, for the first time, SACP leader Joe Slovo was in the delegation and was adjudged by all to have made a constructive and intelligent contribution. Most, if not all, of the SA delegates thought him moderate without agreeing with everything he said.

With leading Soviet academics present, much of the time was spent discussing that country's policy towards SA and its relationship with the ANC and SACP. But there were also "tough discussions" on the damaging effect the armed struggle has on the work of those trying to persuade whites of the need for change, the ANC's economic policies and the relationship between the ANC and other organisations working towards the end of apartheid.

It is on the last point that UCT politics professor Herman Gilhorne believes the ANC has actually moderated its stance. Lawrence Schlemmer, who was also in Dakar, supported Gilhorne but with some reservations.

The ANC says it has never insisted that other organisations accept every aspect of its policies. One executive member agreed that as a result of talks they were now far more aware of how their actions impacted on the efforts of other people working for change.

This is shown in their response to probing on the recent spate of car bomb attacks. The following is an extract from an interview with one of the senior ANC delegates.

Question — Were you pressed on the effect the armed struggle is having, especially the attacks on civilian targets?

Answer — Our position is that you can't differentiate between armed struggle and political processes. Of course the question of targets was raised. We reiterated our policy on this and made available an NEC statement which says that we understand that in violence in SA certain actions have taken place which are directed at civilians but that it is our policy that this must stop immediately. But it hasn't.

It will. It takes time for the command structures to reach the relevant units. We will get this message through to every unit.

Gilhorne says the ANC were pressed far harder than in Dakar about the armed struggle. "There is a fundamental contradiction



□ TERREBLANCHE

tion that the ANC argued it felt bad about attacks that killed civilians but at the same time they say they have escalated the people's war."

Schlemmer says the ANC have not given specific answers to specific questions.

"They have simply attempted to give the general assurance that the victimisation of civilians is being attended to. But, needless to say, there are a lot of the SA delegates here who are still

NEWS FOCUS

deeply concerned, who feel that the issue has not been resolved."

Stellenbosch economics professor Sampe Terreblanche, who was not in Dakar but has met the ANC before, believes that on the question of the economy the ANC has also moderated its stance.

"It is my experience and also that of some of my colleagues that they are becoming more moderate, more reasonable, more open — also prepared to admit all kinds of problems. They are not dogmatic about important matters. They are prepared to listen."

Schlemmer agrees, but again with reservations.

"There is a great deal of pragmatism about the constraints on radical action. It is very difficult to detect policy positions amidst the pragmatism about a period of transition. Their sense of the practicalities and difficulties tends to obscure whatever policy position may exist."

Sincerity

"I can't say I have been able to detect or read whether any change in policy has occurred. It is impossible to say because when one talks about transition and being practical you obscure your real goals."

The academics accept the sincerity of the ANC delegates and that they are doing their best to sound pragmatic.

But they realise they will have to find out a whole lot more and push the ANC exercise is ever to be translated from a useful experience for them into something which will make a valuable contribution to bringing about real negotiations in SA.

Terreblanche says "Having experienced it from the Soviet delegates here I believe a kind of 'glasnost' is needed in SA to educate both whites and blacks. But we need more of this type of confidence to get more to the nitty gritty of this phenomena of transition, reconstruction and what will be the purpose of a mixed economy."

"And especially what at this stage can be done to allay the fears and the uncertainties of the whites."

'ANC is recruiting terrorists in London'

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A Conservative MP has claimed in the House of Commons that leading members of the ANC, trained by the IRA, are "openly walking the streets of London" and recruiting potential terrorists.

Mr Andrew Hunter, who represents Basingstoke, named three white South Africans whom he alleged were "ANC activists" operating a covert cell from homes in North London

Speaking in a debate on broadcasting and terrorists, Mr Hunter said "Is it not just as much against the national interest that ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils walks the streets of London recruiting terrorists, at least one of whom has come from the ranks of extreme Irish Republicanism?"

"Also that Timothy Jenkins from his flat in Tufnell Park is using the expertise he has got from the IRA to partly assem-

Star 4/11/68
bly bombs which are then sent to Lusaka and then on to South Africa to maim and kill the innocents?

"From a flat in Golders Green Ronnie Kasrils's wife Eleanor orchestrates terrorist activities in South Africa. If terrorism knows no friends, surely we must address ourselves to London."

Mr Hunter urged the Home Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd to stop ANC "terrorists" operating in London and said he should seriously consider deporting them.

Mr Hunter said information about the cell in London had come from confessions by four whites captured in March in South Africa and known as the "Broederstroom Cell"

He said the first indication of links between the ANC and the IRA had come from the arrest and imprisonment in South Africa of Irishman Sean Hosey, who had infiltrated the country on behalf of the ANC.

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11/11/68

SAP backs claims on ANC 'terror' planner

Political Staff

MS/S 4/11/78
SOUTH African Police today backed claims made in Britain that a top ANC "terror" planner, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, was operating out of London.

The confirmation follows claims made by the British Conservative Party MP, Mr Andrew Hunter, that an ANC cell trained by the IRA was operating and recruiting potential terrorists in Britain.

He claimed Mr Kasrils, a former Durban activist who fled the country in 1965 at the age of 24 after being banned five times, his wife Eleanor and Mr Timothy Jenkins, were involved.

Spokesman for the Ministry of Law and Order, Brigadier Leon Mellet, said today "Mr Kasrils is a member of the South African Communist Party and head of intelligence and special operations of Umkonto we Sizwe, the terrorist wing of the ANC.

"As such he is the mastermind behind terrorist operations in South Africa.

"He is definitely not involved in just innocent political work in London"

Asked whether the SAP had proof of ANC/IRA links, Brigadier Mellet said members of the Cabinet, including President Botha and numerous publications had made reference to the international network of terrorism

Asked if the information would be made available to the British Government Brigadier Mellet said: "We would certainly give information of the ANC to any responsible person. There is no reason to withhold it."

There was unconfirmed speculation earlier this year that Mr Kasrils was involved in the panning of the abortive Bophuthatswana coup.

Mr Kasril was secretary while in South Africa of the banned Congress of Democrats which was an acknowledged front for the SACP and is also now a member of the important ANC Political-Military Council.

● The ANC has dismissed claims that leading members of the organisation have received IRA training and are freely recruiting on the streets of London as "totally unfounded and defamatory", The Argus Foreign Service reports from London.

The ANC has urged the British Government to release the result of the investigation

However, a Home Office spokesman said the matter was still with the Prime Minister's office

New paper on streets

JOHANNESBURG. — A new Afrikaans weekly newspaper, Vrye Weekblad, was launched here today. — The Argus Correspondent

Man voted for Raj 'to get sister a job'

DURBAN — Mr N Maistry yesterday told the James Commission, which is investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates, that he was not a voter, but that during the by-elections in Tongaat last year he cast a special vote, posing as his brother-in-law who lives in Port Elizabeth.

He said he cast the vote to help his sister who was in financial difficulties to secure a job, which was offered to her if she got 15 votes for Mr Amichand Rajbansi's National People's Party by a Mr Mike Mohamed.

He said he had met Mr Mohamed outside a cinema in Stanger. They arranged to meet on November 25, 1987 in Verulam along with other people to cast special votes for the National People's Party at the Verulam polling booth.

He said that all he wanted to do was to help his sister get the job and among the perks was a housing subsidy.

"I thought 'what is one vote when I will be helping my sister?'" he said.

At Verulam they had met Mr Mohamed who took them to a returning officer where a relative identified him as Mr K Naicker and he was then allowed to cast a special vote.

Another witness, Mr George Thaver, a former member of Mr Rajbansi's National People's Party and now a sitting Member of Parliament, told the hearing that a R25 000 donation which Mr Rajbansi received from a Mr Naidoo should have been deposited in the national account of the party, since the party had no provincial constituency structures.

He said that in 1984, when elections were held, the party had R44 865 of which R30 067 was used for newspaper advertising.

But there was no record of that donation on the party's books and while he was responsible for depositing cheques that came in, he could not find any trace of Mr Naidoo's contribution.

The hearing continues — Sapa

Residents of Tumahoie

Tumahoie Youth

Police restrained

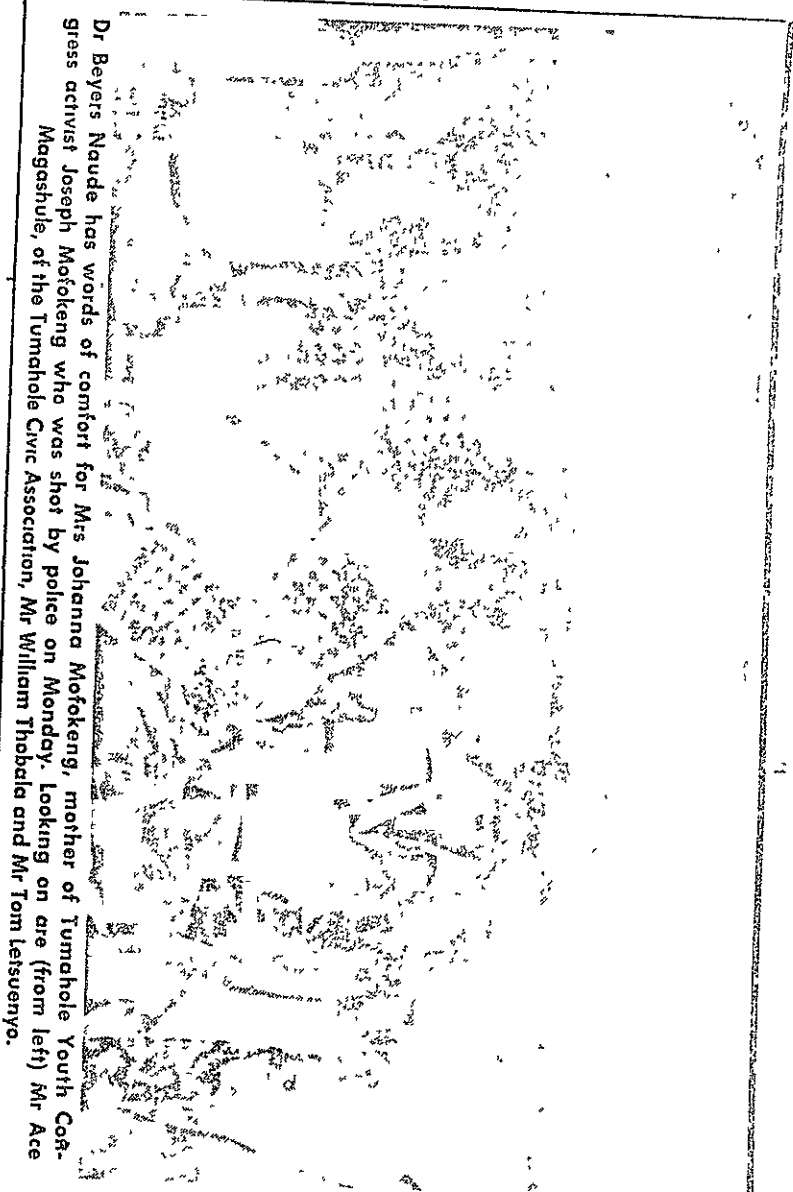
By Jo-Anne Collinge

Tumahoie community organisations are preparing to go to court to seek an order restraining the municipal police from harming members of the community — particularly youth activists and their families.

The announcement by the Tumahoie Civic Association comes in the wake of the killing of a second Tumahoie Youth Congress member, Mr Joseph Thekiso Mofokeng, who was shot by police early on Monday morning.

Two months ago another TYC member, Mr Johannes Nakeli, was shot dead by municipal police. Residents have disputed the official explanation that police acted in self-defence when one of their number was stabbed.

Another member of the TYC, Mr William Thobala, (26), told a Johannesburg Press conference yesterday, that he had been with Mr Mofokeng at the time they were confronted by the police and the fatal shooting occurred.



Dr Beyers Naude has words of comfort for Mrs Johanna Mofokeng, mother of Tumahoie Youth Congress activist Joseph Mofokeng who was shot by police on Monday. Looking on are (from left) Mr Ace Magashule, of the Tumahoie Civic Association, Mr William Thobala and Mr Tom Letsuena.

The official police statement confirms that Mr Mofokeng was shot by police. But it says that Mr Mofokeng attacked the police with an axe. It described Mr Mofokeng as a terrorism suspect.

Mr Thobala agreed that Mr Mofokeng had been carrying a "small axe" at the time of his death. This was because he was repairing furniture, he explained.

"We were trying to trace another comrade who was supposed to give us some money," said Mr Thobala, with tears spilling down his face. "Unfortunately we met the municipal police at the corner. Joseph took his direction and I took my direction."

"(As I ran) I was actually missed by a bullet. I managed to escape and hide in the next street. Then someone came with a message that Joseph had been shot dead."

Unionist quizzed

Swetam 4/11/88

on documents

THE struggle for liberation must represent and reflect the workers' interest, said trade unionist, Mr Moses Mayekiso in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday, writes MANDLA NDLAZI.

It was his second week in the witness stand. He was cross-examined by the prosecutor, Mr Chris Human, SC, on a number of documents found in his possession by police who arrested him.

Answering a question by Mr Human, Mr Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (Numsa), said he agreed with Mr J Naidoo who told a gathering of the World Council of Churches that.

Interests

"It is therefore clear that the struggle for liberation against apartheid and economic exploitation must represent and reflect primarily the interests of the workers."

Answering another question, Mr Mayekiso said he disagreed with Mr Naidoo who said the State had failed to control the townships. In a copy of his speech to the WCC, Mr Naidoo said "In the last year we have seen South African townships aflame with fires of resistance. Botha's frantic response has been to declare a state of emergency and to occupy our townships with troops."

"Hundreds have been killed, maimed, arrested and just disappeared. But the resistance continues with school boycotts, strikes, mass stayaways,

mass funerals and the State has failed to control the townships."

A copy of Mr Naidoo's speech was one of several documents exhibited in court and one of the many documents Mr Mayekiso was questioned about.

Mr Mayekiso (40), is appearing with four other civic leaders before Mr Justice P J van der

Walt. The other four are Mr Paul Tshabalala (38), Mr Richard Mdakane (29), Mr Obed Bapala (38) and Mr Mzwandile Mayekiso (22).

They have pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, alternatively sedition or subversion. They are being held in custody.

The State alleges they attempted to usurp its

authority by trying to seize control of Alexandra in 1985/86 by establishing the Alexandra Action Committee and "organs of people's power."

It is further alleged that they launched a consumer boycott in and around Alexandra and campaigned against councillors and police in the area.

Rushdie cancels visit after death threats ^{AA}

Own Correspondent *Stu 4/11/86*

CAPE TOWN — Prize-winning author Salman Rushdie has cancelled a visit to South Africa after death threats from Muslim groups outraged by his latest novel, organisers said yesterday

Indian-born Rushdie had been invited to Cape Town by the *The Weekly Mail* newspaper and the Congress of South African Writers to speak on censorship at a literary festival this week

The writers' body withdrew the invitation because it could not guarantee Rushdie's safety

Police dismiss London ANC cell claim

LONDON — British police are dismissing as "nonsense" claims by a Conservative MP that an ANC cell, trained by the IRA, is operating here and recruiting potential terrorists

The MP, Andrew Hunter, who is on the right-wing of the party and a prominent lobbyist for the recognition of Bophuthatswana, took advantage of a debate on broadcasting and terrorism on Wednesday to claim Ronnie Kasrils, Eleanor Kasrils and Timothy Jenkins were operating a covert ANC cell in North London
Scotland Yard would not comment of-

MIKE ROBERTSON

officially on Hunter's claims saying it did not discuss anything to do with security matters. But a senior official said the allegations were "nonsense"

The people named were known to the police and were not involved in terrorist activities in Britain. "Our anti-terrorist squad are well aware of what is going on in London"

Scotland Yard has been providing protection for the ANC's chief representa-

tive in London, Mendi Msimang, for the past two months

Asked about the police dismissal of his claims, Hunter said "They are trying to play it down"

He claimed in an interview to have got his information on the three from Susan Westcott, one of the four alleged ANC members arrested in Broedersmooi in March

However, in an interview with Television South, Hunter said his information came from ANC and IRA publications

Inkatha van attacked ^{4/9/88} by 50 youths

DURBAN More than 50 youths on Wednesday night attacked a vehicle carrying six members of Inkatha as they returned from a court hearing involving UDF members.

The six, including the chairman of the Elands-kop branch, Mr David Ntombela, had a lucky escape when a petrol bomb lobbed through the window of the van failed to ignite.

The attackers hurled rocks and bricks through the open passenger window.

The six were returning to Elandskop from Durban Regional Court where a case involving three UDF members is being heard.

Mr Ntombela said a petrol bomb was thrown through an open window when the van stopped at a shop. — Sapa



ANC cell in London 'nonsense' say cops

LONDON — British police are dismissing as "nonsense" claims by a Conservative MP that an ANC cell, trained by the IRA, is operating here and recruiting potential terrorists.

The MP, Mr Andrew Hunter, on the right wing of the party and a prominent lobbyist for the recognition of Bophuthatswana, on Wednesday night claimed Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mrs Eleanor Kasrils, and Mr Timothy Jenkins were operating a covert ANC cell in north London.

Scotland Yard would not officially comment on Mr Hunter's claims, saying it did not discuss anything to do with security matters. But a senior official said the allegations were "nonsense".

The people named were known to the police and were not involved in terrorist activities in Britain. "Our anti-terrorist squad are well aware of what is going on in London."

Scotland Yard has been providing protection for the ANC's chief representative in London, Mr Mendi Msimang, for the past two months.

Asked about police dismissal of his claims, Mr Hunter said "they are trying to play it down".

He claimed he got his information from Ms Susan Westcott, one of the four alleged ANC members arrested in Broderstroom in March.

However, in a TV interview Mr Hunter said all his information came from magazines and publications of the ANC or IRA.

The ANC challenged Mr Hunter to stop sheltering behind parliamentary privilege.

matmoela twins have special significance
"I've always wanted to see them," said

age of three months They had been joined
above the ears and it took three hair trans-

completing through Unisa She has just be-
come engaged

'Nation Building' editor grilled

EDITOR of *Sowetan*, Mr Aggrey Klaaste, was interrogated at midnight on Thursday by security policemen about his "Nation Building" concept — a philosophy applauded in many circles

"I was rather taken aback by the junior status of these cops who

Sec 5/11/86
PAT DEVEREAUX

seemed to have no idea (or tried to appear ignorant) about Nation Building," said Mr Klaaste

"The type of questions asked for about 40 minutes was Who did I work for? Who was be-

hind the campaign of Nation Building? And who were the members of the organisation?"

Mr Klaaste launched the Nation Building campaign two weeks ago and the text of his speech was published in *Sowetan*, while extracts appeared in *The Star*

A manifesto was issued explaining that Nation Building means "picking up the pieces and rebuilding all structures that have collapsed in black communities"

President of the Newspaper Press Union, Mr Jolyon Nuttall, condemned the police action,

saying "I find it remarkable that a well-respected editor should be subjected to this form of harassment

"*Sowetan* is a full member of the NPU and the question of Nation Building has been fully expanded in the paper"

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Cape Town 8/11/88 11A 276
Shot dead in taxi war

DURBAN — A man was shot dead and another wounded when two taxi groups clashed over the right to pick up passengers at a rank in Stanger yesterday

11/18

ANC man tells of his life on the run

CP Correspondent

AN ANC political commissar, Peter Jacobs, convicted of terrorism, told the Cape Supreme Court he went "on the run" when the man who recruited him was arrested two years ago.

Jacobs, standing trial with 13 others, was giving evidence, in mitigation of his sentence.

He joined the ANC after he and others believed the State was responsible for the murder of Matthew Goniwe and four other community leaders in Cradock in 1984, he said.

Jacobs said "In April 1986, I was approached by Cecil Esau (sentenced last year to 12 years' imprisonment for terrorism) to join an ANC cell," Jacobs said.

"I agreed, because I saw a need to further the activities of the ANC."

Esau was arrested in June 1987, and the police came looking for him at his house, Jacobs said.

He managed to avoid them.

"There was no way I could be around. I could have been arrested, used as a State witness against Cecil or gone to jail for three to five years," he said.

He had no option but to leave the country, Jacobs said.

He went to Angola for military and political training from the ANC at Pango, he said.

On his return, he took part in a limpet mine attack on an electric pylon in Goodwood. He admitted throwing a hand grenade into the home of a policeman in Mitchell's Plain.

He later read in the newspapers that the home belonged to a security guard and not a policeman - this disturbed him as, he did not believe in attacking civilian targets.

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Freedom is still rumour

JOHANNESBURG — The family and legal representative of the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, are sceptical about the rumours that he will be released in the middle of this month.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said yesterday he had had no indication from anyone that Mr Mandela would be released.

He said the jailed leader's family had no information about the possible release and were therefore also sceptical. The rumour is being seriously discussed in well informed and respected extra-parliamentary circles of different ideologies as a fact.

In the dock . . . Mr Barend Strydom before the start of yesterday's hearing in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court. He is alleged to have killed six people and wounded 17 others in Pretoria on Tuesday.

Three Delmas trialists acquitted during summings up

By Adele Balela
and Jo-Anne Collinge

Three accused in the "Delmas" treason trial were acquitted yesterday and walked joyously out of Pretoria's Palace of Justice, but the verdict on 16 trialists is still to come and the judge has already found that the State has proved its main charge of treason

The men who were discharged at the end of the 440th court day are Mr Patrick Balela (29), Mr Oupa Hlomuka (35)

and the Rev Geoff Moselane (42)

Gasp rose from the gallery each time the words "not guilty and discharged" were heard.

Shortly afterwards, as the court adjourned, the remaining accused mobbed the three Warm embraces were exchanged with the defence lawyers

The acquittals bring to six the number of men discharged in the trial. Mr Lazarus More, Mr Simon Vilakazi and Mr Amos

statement as "ominous" in the light of what had later developed in the Vaal

Alternative to the main charge of treason are charges of sedition and terrorism Alternative to the latter are five counts

Malindi were acquitted two years ago

Mr Justice K van Dykhorst described those acquitted as falling into the Black Consciousness group of accused. The other two groups were the UDF group and the Vaal Civic Association group

The UDF group comprises three key figures in national secretary Mr Popo Molefe, publicly secretary Mr Terror Lekota and former Transvaal secretary Mr Moss Chikane

"The crucial finding that treason had been proved came some hours before the acquittals

The essence of the charge is that the UDF, either alone or in concert with the ANC, plotted the violent overthrow of the State by mobilising and activating the masses in such a way as to make the country ungovernable

Mr Justice van Dykhorst observed that when riots broke out countrywide in 1984 in protest against black local authorities,

the UDF had fanned the flames

The rioters were "executing UDF policy", the judge said "At no stage did the UDF deplore the murder of councillors" and destruction of their property

The UDF had openly sided with the ANC

"The UDF's intent was no less hostile from that which one would find in a state of war in the case of treasonable action," he said, allowing that not all UDF supporters were co-conspirators

a dominant section of UDF leadership functioned as an internal wing of the ANC, the judge could find no such conspiracy between the VCA and ANC

The judgment will continue today

Radical organisations warned of 'checks'

8/25 7/11/84. (11A)
Action will have to be taken against more radical organisations as South Africa is only at the beginning of a long revolutionary war in which those with the greatest stamina will win, a parliamentary study group on law and order was told in the eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

"It is necessary to check the radicals and unfortunately we will have to act against other organisations," said security police executive chief Major-General Basie Smit.

General Smit said revolutionaries were concentrating on underground structures and new fronts, which would not succeed.

"The struggle against revolution is going well, but in certain aspects it is not yet won. We need to maintain our momentum. We can't lie back but must serve with everything at our disposal." ● See Page 3.

Sam 7 launcher found in cache

Terrorists step up infiltration across border

MESSINA — A Sam 7 rocket launcher and other "terrorist" equipment including heavy calibre machine guns were seized in the far northern Transvaal earlier this year, police announced yesterday

The seizure was made after 12 alleged African National Congress insurgents were hunted down and "eliminated"

Details of the arms seizure and battles with the ANC group were released for the first time during a northern border visit by a group of parliamentarians as guests of the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok

Briefing MPs on ANC infiltration routes from Zimbabwe, the chief of the local security police, Col Dries van der Merwe, said the ANC group and two guides, had been traced moving south in the far northern Transvaal in March.

Co-operated

Various security forces in the district, including those from the black homelands, co-operated in hunting the group down.

"In a number of contacts, some were killed, others injured and the rest arrested"

The rocket launcher with its missile was seized together with a number of heavy calibre machine guns and other arms, ammunition and explosives

Outlining successful security force actions against terrorists who had infiltrated the area, Colonel van der Merwe said intelligence showed there were still about 15 insurgents in the district

He said a number of arms caches — including limpet mines destined for urban use, had been unearthed

Also in the haul so far this year were three RPG7 rocket launchers with rockets

The parliamentary group also heard how the "Marico Corridor" on the Botswana border — crossed by ANC terrorist Gordon Webster and the alleged four-man Broederstroom cell — was one of the country's most important security problem areas

Security Police executive commander Major-General Basie Smit said a "resurgent" Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) was also trying to revive its operations in South Africa and was using Botswana as its infiltration route, he said

General Smit gave the following figures

● Between December 1985 and October 20 1988, 72 ANC members were arrested and 26 were killed Thirty-three were still being hunted.

● Over the same period, 19 PAC members were arrested and three were killed Nine were still being tracked down

● Large quantities of arms were seized, including 186 mini-limpet mines, 119 AK-47 rifles and 98 limpet mines

● General Smit added police detected a further 33 known ANC and nine PAC terrorists in the area who were not arrested

The group was also told how South Africa had failed to stop the flow of hungry refugees and terrorists across the Messina border line — despite the multimillion-rand "Kaftan" electrified high-voltage fence and the nearby "Sisal Line".

The 100 km high-voltage fence, once thought to be the answer to the refugee problem, has been penetrated 182 times, but the number of people involved is unknown

Three people had been killed trying to cross the fence but hundreds and possibly thousands of successful crossings had been made by desperate refugees

"It is not effective, despite the millions spent on it," said local SAP counter-insurgency commander Major "Shorty" Marais

He said 708 Mozambicans and 412 Zimbabweans who entered South Africa illegally had been arrested between January and October

Since January, 2 873 people were deported through Messina to countries of origin, said Major Marais

Merry Xmas for Nelson

• From page 1

Goldberg, released in 1985, had accepted the State President's offer of freedom Govan Mbeki was released in 1987

• Mark Swinning, of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, said several reliable sources indicated that American civil rights leader, the Reverend Jesse Jackson was involved in negotiations with State President P W Botha for the release of Mr Mandela in exchange for lessening the severity of the tough new sanctions Bill in the United States

• Walter Sisulu's lawyer, Priscilla Jana, said she was optimistic about the men's release but could not comment on a possible date "I can't tell you what transpired at my visit to Sisulu in Pollsmoor on Thursday"

• Mr Sisulu's wife, Albertina, said she was still waiting for permission to visit her husband at Christmas "Usually my request for a visit would have been granted a long time ago Now I'm hoping for the best"

• An African National Congress source in Lusaka, Zambia, said the signals from the Government for contact with African heads of state, especially Robert Mugabe and Botswana's Quett Masire, suggested strongly that the release of Mr Mandela would clear the way for meetings.

• During Mr Botha's meetings with Swiss bankers recently he hinted at the release of Mr Mandela

• Observers believed the Government was setting the scene to minimise popular response to Mr Mandela's release These signs included the recent banning of student organisations, the muzzling of the *Weekly Mail*, and the tough emergency regulations

• Political analyst Dr Ian Phillips, of the University of Natal, said the banning of the *Weekly Mail* "fell slap in the middle" of release dates for the Rivonia group. He and others said the silencing of the newspaper could help suppress frenzied excitement over the release of the popular political figures

• According to reports in London, British diplomats have been ordered to tell Pretoria that a free Nelson Mandela was the price of a visit to South Africa by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher

• A Downing Street spokesman in London said that should Mr Mandela be released it was quite possible that Mrs Thatcher would change her crowded schedule to include a visit to South Africa

Why throw mud at the Mandela family?

11A
Sowetan 7/11/88

WITH all the things being said - some good, others bad - about Mr Nelson Mandela and particularly about his family it is about time some truths were spelt out

It is also about the right time. I would imagine to place this very important and often passionately controversial family and it's history

We are agreed, at least most blacks are, that Mr Mandela is one of the most, if not the most respected, and revered black leader in the continent

That being the case all this business about attacking the building of a mansion for him is a lot of hogwash

In my book, Mr Mandela, for the momentous sacrifice he and his family have made to the struggle, should be housed in a palace when he leaves jail. He deserves it, every nerve in his excellent body deserves such an honour

I do not know what is the reason for the Mandela family not occupying the house that they richly deserve this moment

I fear the unhappy things said about it I fear even the spectre of physical attack (something that has happened in the past) might have made the family reluctant to take the step

I know Mrs Winnie Mandela personally. I know her charm and I also know the lash of her tongue. Despite all that I always have a special place in my heart for her, for her lovely daughters and the family

I have been squirming in plain disgust and embarrassment as some people have found it fit to attack, nay to throw mud at the family. I am not even saying the attacks were wrong. But my case needs airing

I think it is a shameful thing to attack a man's wife and family while he is in jail and cannot protect them. I speak from personal experience. I hate to



mention my ridiculous short stay in prison. But this I know

Every little slur on my wife while I was out there killed me bit by bit. I was thrown into deep remorse, impotent frustrated anger and despair. I spent only a miserable six months in jail, for heaven's sake!

Others have spent longer periods in prison and I know a personal friend of mine whose family was almost smashed through such talk while he was in de-

tention. We rallied around, we black fathers. We said to ourselves whatever the mischief alleged, a man must be given a chance to be released to defend his family. That chap is happily married today.

But there is infinitely more to it than that. What a shameful thing to do to a man who has spent his entire adulthood in jail for us. For all of us, and I do not care if others call him a man of violence.

I have a hazy knowledge of him because I

was something of a drunken and irresponsible journalist when he went to jail. But this I know. I know he will come out and stride like a colossus over the petty things that we men have said about him in his absence.

I have an uncanny feeling too he will surprise a whole lot of people - including those who kept him so long in jail.

I do not even wish to be seen to be taking a pot shot at those who have seen it fit to write unhappy things about the new Orlando West house and the Mandela family. I guess that it is a right they have.

But something, or rather somebody, has to come out in support of a family that has been surrounded by formidable, unbelievable forces, since the day Mr Mandela went to jail. I know it will be

said he is not the only man whose family has had to receive such attention or such pressures. That is very true and I bow to all those mothers and children whose loved ones are in jail.

But the Mandela name, let us be frank about it, is world famous and most controversial, whether you like it, or them, or not.

Another little thing that makes the family and its life so poignantly hapless

There have been stories about troubles in the family. Recently the story is wild as ever that Mr Mandela has died in jail. That is perhaps a measure of the attention that a family with such a name has to bear. But it must be painful, anybody should be able to see that. It must be especially painful to Winnie Mandela, whether you like her

or not. I am in the end a black man. I am tangentially linked to the family through my clan name. In other words as a black man I see it as most dishonourable to attack a man who cannot defend himself.

As a black man, I have the black man's belief that a man is the head of a family, not a woman. We know as blacks there is a special love, a compassion and companionship we have for widows - and I would suggest grass widows.

I think it is only proper to let Mr Mandela get out of jail, and live to put his family name and his pride where it rightly belongs.

Finally I have another desperate fear. What happens if he really dies in jail? How will we feel, we who have been so free to attack his family, we on the other hand who have been honoursing a man we do not even know.

We will feel better, I am sure, after we can say we tried to defend his name and his family in his forced absence.

TERROR ACCUSED YOUTHS CLEARED

Soweto 7/11/88

By SONTI MASEKO

TWO Soweto youths, alleged to have received military training at an ANC camp in Angola, were acquitted of terrorism and membership of the banned organisation at a Johannesburg Regional Court on Friday

A court official pleaded with relatives of the two youths, Mr Mavela Lot Dlamini (24) and Mr Humphrey Thulam Mabaso (20), both of Soweto, to control their emotions while the presiding magistrate, Mr I J J Luther delivered his judgment

Both the men were charged with leaving the country to become members of the banned ANC and receiving military and political training under the

auspices of the organisation during March last year.

According to the State, the men unlawfully re-entered South Africa to further their aims or those of the ANC.

Their defence advocate, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, argued that the court should not convict his clients on the strength of the evidence by two police informers, who testified earlier in secrecy

Moseneke warned that their evidence should be treated with suspicion as both the witnesses were former ANC members who had committed the same offences under the Internal Security Act and were not prosecuted

Mandela release rumours quashed

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela will not be released today or in the immediate future, senior Government sources said today

They were reacting to inquiries following a weekend of rumour-mongering which had it that Mandela and other prisoners convicted with him would be released today, or on November 15 or November 19

Today's denials of the rumour mean that the ANC leader, still recovering in a Cape Town clinic from a lung infec-

tion, will go back to jail

Several senior Government sources have indicated that he could be allowed home before Christmas

It is also not known whether the President, Mr P W Botha, has determined any date — or whether he has given the green light at all — for Mandela's release

● The Star's Bureau reports from London that the ANC expects Mandela to be released by Christmas

According to an item on ITV news last night, the ANC said all the signs pointed to Mandela being free soon



Mr P W Botha
still no
release date
determined

11A

8/11/88

5/5/88

Biko author faces legal action (11A)

By Sara Martin

The publisher and the author of the novel "Born into the Country" about Steve Biko's mistress, Dr Mamphela Ramphele, have been threatened with legal action unless the book is withdrawn.

The publisher, Mr Nicholas Combrinck from

Justified Press, and the author, Alison Stewart, have been advised by their attorneys not to speak to the press and have refused to comment at this time, but it is believed that Dr Ramphele may be suing for considerable damages.

Dr Ramphele is accus-

ing Alison Stewart of trying to create an international writing career using her material. She objects to her name being used on the dust jacket and the acknowledgement page.

Dr Ramphele is also accusing the author of invading her personal life and putting her son (Mr Biko's child) in danger by exposing him to unwanted publicity.

The book is fiction but was inspired by the black woman doctor who was Steve Biko's lover.

The story tells of a professional, politically active woman in the 1970s who was buffeted by the system and lost all the things — family, friends and lover — which were important to her but retained her dignity and her pride.

Said Ms Stewart "I relate a journey, physically and spiritually, which does not have a happy ending but which is hopefully uplifting."

Ms Stewart, who left South Africa in 1977 to make a new life in Australia, will be one of the main speakers at an authors' panel at *The Weekly Mail Book Week* at the Market Theatre this Saturday, November

'Mandela City' plan goes to Boston voters

By Therese Anders

BOSTON — Boston voters will tomorrow be asked to decide whether they want part of their town to be declared "Mandela City"

Last week, the "Mandela City" initiative, started by leading local black businessmen, took a new turn when a huge billboard with a portrait of the jailed South African leader was erected above a shopping mall called Mandela Plaza in the predominantly black area of Roxbury

Mandela Plaza owner Mr. Donald Brown said Mandela City would give global recognition "to the struggle in South Africa".

Star
8/11/84 (11A)

'SA needs Mandela', Tutu tells students

CAPE TOWN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu was greeted last night by more than 1 000 dancing and ululating people on his arrival at D F Malan Airport from Nairobi.

And another 3 000 people at the UWC student centre later roared their approval when the archbishop, back from a church conference and travelling directly to UWC, said he wanted the State President, Mr P W Botha, to hear that "South Africa needs Nelson Mandela".

Archbishop Tutu said there was great excitement in Kenya over the rumours that Nelson Mandela had been released.

"Is it not remarkable that a person who has not spoken for 26 years has that kind of influence in the world?"

And in Hyde Park, London, he said, 250 000 people had gathered to pay respect to a man "they call a terrorist". — Sapa

Wanted terrorist shot dead

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter.

One of South Africa's most wanted ANC "hard-core" terrorists — linked to the Witbank car bomb and a 1981 rocket attack on Voortrekkerhoogte — was shot dead by police in Vosloorus on the East Rand yesterday, Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok has announced in Pretoria.

Police are now investigating whether the man, said to have held a senior position in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, was linked to other terror attacks.

The man was shot dead as he fled from a house in the township after Security Police and members of the elite SAP Task Force swooped yesterday afternoon.

The shooting occurred after police received information that the man was hiding out in the house. When they arrived he tried to flee, but was shot dead while being pursued.

Police seized a Soviet-made pistol and three Russian grenades, Mr Vlok said.

The Minister said the terrorist was trained in Angola. His name could not be released yet as his next-of-kin had not been traced by police.

No arrests were made at the time.

Police said the task was made more difficult because the terrorist used several names during his missions.

A security source said last night that police were investigating and were looking into several leads.

The suspect is said to have been one of the country's most wanted terrorists. He was also said to have been an extremely experienced ANC cadre who had entered and left South Africa several times in past years on ANC missions.

"This was no loosely-trained man," a security source told The Star.

Hundreds flee homes after faction fighting

Over 700
8/11/88

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Hundreds of people have fled their homes at Intake, near Mariannhill, following fighting between two factions which started three weeks ago.

More than 100 people have sought refuge at E M Motala Supermarket, saying they are afraid to return to their homes because of the fighting.

Villagers at the shop alleged yesterday that their area, Gezangani, was being attacked by people from the Sishi area who had complained that Gezangani was harbouring "amaqabane" ("amaqabane" are politically active youths sometimes called "comrades") — Sapa

Mandela to be freed? Rumours sweep SA

CANC
Tina
8/11/88
114
37

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
and JIM FREEMAN

MANDELA hysteria swept South Africa yesterday with persistent rumours of the release of the ANC leader and his fellow Rivonia trialists.

While top government sources were adamant that Mr Nelson Mandela would not be released in the near future, the rumours even reached the New York and London stock exchanges

Johannesburg brokers reported that uncertainty over how to interpret the rumour had caused gold to slip from 422 50 to 419 90 yesterday afternoon in New York

Government spokesman said that the act of freeing a figure like Mr Mandela would require an elaborate security programme that would take weeks to plan

The Cape Times was inundated with calls. Some callers said that children at certain high schools in the Cape Town area were already celebrating Mr Mandela's release and that exams at the University of the Western Cape would be interrupted

Hundreds of people from a wide variety of activist and human-rights organisations flocked to the Samaj

Centre in Rylands yesterday afternoon — many with the expectation of seeing Mr Mandela and his fellow prisoners for the first time in a quarter of a century

By last night the source or sources of the latest spate of rumours remained unclear, with government spokesmen blaming them on the "orchestrated action" of anti-apartheid activists and government critics, in turn, pointing an accusing finger at Pretoria

Dr Allan Boesak claimed that Mrs Winnie Mandela was the victim of "psychological terrorism" by the government which he accused of circulating the rumours

Speculation about the release of Mr Mandela took off when Mrs Mandela flew to Cape Town yesterday for a routine visit to her husband

Mr Essa Moosa, the human-rights lawyer who accompanied her to the Constantiaberg Clinic where Mr Mandela is recuperating from TB, claimed "Mrs Mandela is here to take her husband home"

"The other Rivonia trialists will also be freed today," he declared

Mrs Mandela said her husband had told her he thought the prospect of his release in 1988 was "out of the question" and that any chance of release next year was "highly debatable"

Top cop tells of witdoek attack

Supreme Court Reporter

MAJOR Dolf Odendal, second in command of the Peninsula riot squad, yesterday told the Supreme Court it was "pure coincidence" that witdoek vigilantes attacked comrades shortly after police withdrew to patrol the nearby Mahobe Drive.

He was testifying in the R200 000 damages action brought against the Minister of Law and Order by the Methodist Church of Africa and 21 families who lost their homes when most of KTC was destroyed by witdoek vigilantes between June 9 and 11, 1986.

Mr H P Viljoen SC, for the residents, told Major Odendal he could not understand why police had left a possible "flashpoint" near the Administration Board offices to patrol Mahobe Drive.

Casspirs to form buffer

Major Odendal replied that he had ordered riot squad policemen to a patrol south of Mahobe Drive (near Lansdowne Road) because a large group of witdoek vigilantes had been seen gathering there. It was a "mere coincidence" that the witdoeke crossed Mahobe Drive to launch their attack.

Asked why police had not drawn up their Casspirs to form a buffer between the witdoeke and the comrades, Major Odendal reiterated that police vehicles were ordered to patrol Mahobe Drive.

Mr Viljoen put it to Major Odendal that the situation report (sitrep) of Platoon 3 of the riot squad had recorded that witdoeke were angry because some of their number had been killed by comrades and that they were going to "clean up" (attack) KTC.

Fired teargas

Asked if that threat, coupled to the destruction of the satellite camps in May 1986 and the Supreme Court interdict, would not have moved him to take action and so defuse the situation, Major Odendal said "If black people decide to fight there is nothing I can do. You do not know black people when they decide to fight."

Asked by Mr Viljoen why police had not fired teargas, Major Odendal said it would have been "stupid" of him because innocent residents in Nyanga would have fled from their homes into the path of the attacking witdoeke.

The hearing continues today

Mr Justice M R de Kock presided. Mr Viljoen, with Mr P Pretorius and Mr A M Omar, was instructed by the Legal Resources Centre. Mr G D Gressel SC, assisted by Mr C Y Louw and Mr F D J Brand, instructed by the state attorney, appeared for the minister.

Speculation in Britain about release of Mandela

Star *8/11/86* *(11A)*
The Star Bureau
LONDON — There is intense speculation in Britain that Nelson Mandela could be free "within days" and Downing Street says it is watching developments with great interest.

But the Prime Minister's office says it will not make any official response until he has been released and the terms of his release made clear.

And the ANC and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement have adopted a similar "seeing-is-believing" approach, saying they believe there has not been any firm indication of the South African Government's intentions.

The issue featured prominently in the British headlines yesterday and today with most of the media quoting the South African Government's statement that Mr Mandela would be released "sooner rather than later".

ITN television gave extensive coverage to the story on its

main news broadcast last night. It showed Mrs Winnie Mandela's visit to the Cape Town clinic now housing her husband and quoted a South African journalist with "respected" Government sources as saying he expected Mr Mandela to be released between December 15 and the end of the year.

In Bonn, West Germany yesterday urged South Africa to release Mandela and rescind restrictions imposed to stem anti-apartheid protests.

Reuters reports that as speculation mounted that Mandela may soon be freed, West German Minister of State Mr Helmut Schaefer made the demands in talks with South Africa's Deputy Foreign Minister J W H Meiring.

The foreign ministry official asked Mr Meiring to free Mandela and other political prisoners and "start the national dialogue repeatedly urged by the (West German) federal government".

Police ask questions about ^(11A) Moosa ^{8/11/88}

By Staff Reporters

Security Police questioned family members yesterday about the whereabouts of prominent UDF activist Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa — one of the detainees who walked free recently after seeking refuge in the United States Consulate in Johannesburg.

STUDENT

A family member said plainclothes policemen arrived at 5 am and asked about the whereabouts of Mr Moosa and his brother, Mr Mohseen Moosa, a law student at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Family members said the men identified themselves as Security Police Captain R.A. Crewe of the SAP Public Relations Division said, "I am not aware of the incident."

He said the department did not comment on routine duties.

COMMENT

Telephone: (011) 673-4160

Sowetan 8/11/88 **Spoil sports**

THE ACTION that is intended against at least five more organisations is perhaps another indication that Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners are about to be released.

It is a most unfortunate way of preparing the country for one of its momentous moments. The Government probably believes that by gagging the organisations they would be able to control or even stop the type of reception that these leaders are most certainly going to get when they are released.

What a pity that the Government should waste what should be one of its most historic moments by filling it with tension and repression.

Between now and the time that the release takes place the world's eyes will be on South Africa.

The world will be witnessing what could or what should be the country's turning point in its political history.

For the release of political prisoners should signal the possibility of negotiation, the unbanning of the ANC and PAC and other interesting and hopeful signs.

Unfortunately a Government that is trapped in its own fear is bound to turn such an event into something sinister and filled with tension.

Security sources have said the latest clamps were still to be discussed and that no finality had been reached. About 600 to 700 organisations, it has been suggested are being looked at, but five were definitely on the list.

What should have been South Africa's greatest moment, in more ways than one, is already being turned into something filled with menace and repression.

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CELESTER Dolly (18) from B...

Thumbs down

Southern
8/11/88

for Mandela

• From Page 1

released before Christmas
mas
Attorney Mr Essa Moosa said Mrs Mandela was paying "a normal visit" to her husband

He did not think that there was anything in the rumours that he would be released yesterday

Another visitor yesterday was Brigadier F C Munro, the officer commanding Pollsmoor Prison

Brigadier Munro said there was nothing unusual about his visit. He made a point of paying Mr Mandela a "courtesy" visit once a week, he said

The ANC's representative in Paris, Mr. Solly Smith, said on a British television programme that all the signs pointed to Mr Mandela being a free man soon, possibly within the next two weeks

APTV

THEY'VE BURNED

Southern 8/11/88

DOWN

11A

State says Mandela won't be freed in the near future

UNFAIR!

By MZIKAYISE EDOM
8/11/88

A R300 MONTHLY subsidy promised by a construction company to first-time home buyers applies to its white clients only

Schachat Home Builders recently placed an advertisement in a morning newspaper promising a monthly subsidy of R300 to all first-time buyers on the East Rand

The company sells houses to both blacks and whites, but does not extend the subsidy to its black clients

Confirmed
A white salesman employed by the company, who asked not to be named, confirmed that the monthly subsidy applied to white clients only

He also confirmed that the company had established separate selling offices, one for blacks and another for whites

A spokesman for the company, Mr Eric De Jager, yesterday confirmed that this subsidy applied to whites only

Blacks cut out of housing subsidy offer

Mr De Jager said the company has not decided to introduce this subsidy scheme to blacks

A spokesman for the Permanent Building Society said "The advert was misleading because there was no way that blacks could be offered such a high

AFRICAN National

Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela was not freed yesterday nor will he be in the near future, according to Government spokesmen.

Mrs Winnie Mandela visited her husband in Constantiaberg clinic yesterday amid intense speculation that his release was imminent

According to one of the numerous rumours, he was to be freed yesterday or by next Monday or Tuesday, but Department of Justice and Prisons sources discounted this

There is other speculation that he will be

• To Page 2

WOMEN

WIDOW



Thatcher watching Mandela developments 'with interest'

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON — There is intensive speculation in Britain that Nelson Mandela could be free "within days" — and a spokesman for Mrs Thatcher says the Prime Minister is watching developments with interest. But he said yesterday no official response would be made until Mr Mandela had been released and the terms of his release made clear.

The ANC and the British Anti-Apartheid Movement have adopted a similar seeing-is-believing approach, saying there has not been a firm indication of the South African government's intentions.

The issue featured prominently in British newspapers today, with most quoting the South African government's statement that Mr Mandela

would be released "sooner rather than later".

ITN television gave extensive coverage to the runnours in its main news broadcast last night, showing Mrs Winnie Mandela's visit to the Plumstead Clinic where her husband is recovering from tuberculosis.

It quoted a South African journalist with "respected government sources" as saying he expected Mr Mandela to be released between December 15 and the end of the year.

The Downing Street spokesman said the Prime Minister's office would not speculate on the issue.

Mrs Thatcher has said she is prepared to visit South Africa once Mr Mandela is free. There is speculation a visit could have been pencilled into her schedule for next year.

An ANC spokesman said there had so far been "nothing firm" from Pretoria.

"We are treating the matter with caution."

"BEFORE CHRISTMAS"

But the ANC's Paris representative said yesterday he understood Mr Mandela would be released before Christmas.

An Anti-Apartheid Movement spokesman said the organisation was treating the speculation as just that.

"The issue has been hyped by the media and we don't want to go down that road. We are trying to sort out the facts from the fiction."



VISITORS: Dr Allan Boesak, left, leads Mrs Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, from Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic where her husband is recovering from tuberculosis.

Picture: LEON MULLER, Weekend Argus

18645 8/11/88

Natal peace pact tested at secret hearing

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — The Cosatu-Inkatha peace pact, which it is hoped will wipe out the violence in the Maritzburg area, is being "tested" for the first time today.

The adjudication board, which was set up under the pact, is hearing its first case today and is expected to go on until Friday.

CLOSED DOORS

Appeal Court judge Mr. Justice Alan Trengove and two assessors are hearing evidence behind closed doors and the entire proceedings and decision handed down will be kept secret between the two partners.

The outcome will be published only after the guilty party has taken action against members who broke the no-violence pact.

Civic, religious and political leaders say that the manner in which this case is handled will either strengthen or weaken the pact, which was hammered out after intensive negotiations between Cosatu and Inkatha delegations earlier this year.

Trial held in camera

8/11/85 (1030) (11A)
By MONK NKOMO

THE trial of five members of the African National Congress who allegedly attempted to murder four Mamelodi policemen and their families with AK47 rifles and handgrenades, continued to be held in camera in the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday.

Prosecutor-advocate Mr John Oberholzer indicated to the *Sowetan* before proceedings yesterday morning that two more State witnesses were going to testify behind close doors and that the court will probably be opened to the Press and public from this morning (Tuesday).

Mr Samuel Mokubela (29) of Soshanguve, Mr Thekiso Mogoerane (31) of Vosloorus, Mr Conrad Lekhumbi (28) Mr Edwin Makwela (35) and Mr Sello Khota (34) all of Mamelodi, Pretoria have pleaded not guilty before Mr W J Fourie to charges of terrorism, attempted murder, possession of arms and ammunition and theft.

Fighting at Group Areas protest meeting

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — Fighting broke out at a Group Areas Act protest meeting in Durban's City Hall when bodyguards and supporters of political parties, backed by City Hall guards, clashed with demonstrators

About 500 people were at the meeting, called last night by the Labour Party, Solidarity Party and the People's Party of South Africa to condemn group areas.

About 50 demonstrators turned up to protest about the parties' participation in the tri-cameral Parliament.

When the speakers, Mr Somaroo Pachai, leader of the

People's Party, Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse and Dr J N Reddy, leader of the Solidarity Party, walked into the hall the demonstrators began singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika

They chanted and shouted when Mr Hendrickse started speaking

When Mr Iqbal Mohamed of the DCRA tried to address the meeting a scuffle broke out.

A Labour Party official backed by bodyguards and City Hall staff forced the demonstrators out Mr Mohamed was manhandled

Police arrived and dispersed the protesters outside the hall

Hundreds greet Tutu

11A

Stuefman 9/11/88

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu was greeted by more than 1000 dancing and ululating people on his arrival on Monday night at D F Malan Airport from a trip to Nairobi.

And another 3000 people at the University of the Western Cape student centre later roared their approval when the archbishop, back from a church conference and travelling directly to UWC, said he wanted President P W Botha to hear that "South Africa needs Nelson Mandela."

Scuffles briefly er-



ARCHBISHOP Tutu

upted at the airport between placard-waving Tutu supporters and members of a large contingent of police backed up by several police vehicles — who struggled to confiscate the welcoming posters

A squad of policemen at the entrance to the building linked arms to form a corridor, behind which Archbishop Tutu was whisked out of the hall and into his car by police officers.

Police spokesman Major Jan Calitz confirmed that a number of placards were confiscated and said police were investigating charges under the Civil Aviation Act.

At UWC, where he was again met with chants and dancing, Archbishop Tutu said that a crowd he had addressed at Uhuru Park in Nairobi was "very excited" when they heard rumours that Mr Nelson Mandela had been released.

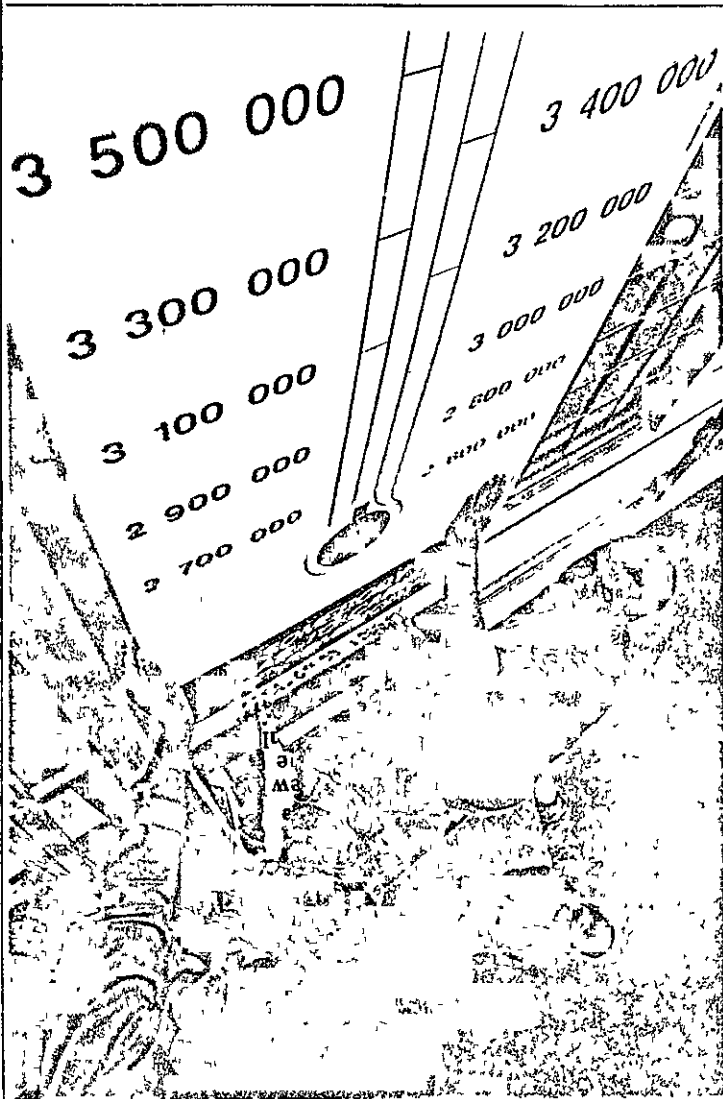
"Is it not remarkable that a person who has not spoken for 26 years has that kind of influence in the world," he said.

He had spoken to ANC members Johnny Makitimi and Alfred Nzo, had touched them and had not washed his hands since, he said — Sapa



We won't sell out, vows SA Rugby Union

ARGUS
9/11/88
(11A)



Picture ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus
CHEST BAROMETER: The Community Chest barometer is up outside Newspaper House and will plot the progress of the 1988 fund as December 31 draws nearer. The people and businesses of Cape Town are being asked to contribute R1,75 million towards the Chest's R4,1 million target

By DEON VILJOEN, Sports Staff

THE South African Rugby Union (Saru) says it will not sell out to anyone in its quest for a single, non-racial controlling organisation

Although under pressure from the "progressive" movement, Saru has emphasised that it will not deviate from its negotiation principle

In a statement today following a meeting of its general council in the city last month, the union's general council said it had discussed a report by the committee which represented Saru at talks with the SA Rugby Board and the African National Congress in Harare on October 15 and 16

Quest for freedom

"The Rugby Board would never obtain the co-operation of Saru if that co-operation meant administering rugby on the basis of apartheid"

"Saru remains committed to never betraying its quest of freedom for the oppressed people of South Africa

"It will consult with all groups and organisations who are prepared to help create and define the conditions under which a single non-racial body can be established"

It is evident from the statement that Saru bosses acted swiftly to prevent any division in their ranks. The general council said it had full confidence in the executive

The union denied allegations that it was "hiding behind ANC skirts at the Harare meeting"

Saru was prepared to meet anybody to discuss non-racial rugby

SARB challenged

"The government has now challenged the SARB to distance itself from the Harare statement since the mediator is unacceptable to them

"In a similar initiative in 1977 the controlling rugby bodies voted for the creation of a single body

"At that time too the then Minister of Sport rejected the proposal

"It seems it is not a question of who the mediator is. The real issue is that non-racial rugby is unacceptable to the government"

Rivonia — the other five men in jail

Star 9/11/83

Speculation about Nelson Mandela's imminent release has led to hopes that the other five remaining men who were sentenced with him in the Rivonia sabotage trial will be released.

If they release Mandela, they must release the others. They sat on the same bench as Mandela and they have suffered for 25 years in the same way as Mandela," says June wife of Andrew Mangen, one of the Rivonia traitors.

Lawyer Priscilla Jana makes regular visits to Mandeni Sisulu and Matsosedi. She says all the traitors have access to their immediate families and have tremendous spirit and are optimistic and hopeful.

Everyone seems to be speculating about Mandela's release but nobody is certain as to what is going to happen," she said.

Offers to "conditionally" release the men over the years have been rejected.

Friends and colleagues remember the men well, but most of them have been largely ignored by the media in the international campaign to release Mandela.

Walter Sisulu (76), an attorney was elected secretary-general of the ANC Youth League in 1949 and was one of the key leaders of the 1952 defiance campaign, which led to the treason trial of 1956-1961, where all 156 accused were acquitted.

Emergency

Although Sisulu was not a Communist Party member he was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, and detained in 1960 under the first State of Emergency. He fled from Orlando Soweto in April 1963, after being placed under house arrest, pending an appeal of a six year sentence after being found guilty of inciting people to stay at home in protest against the declaration of the Republic of South Africa. He reappeared at Rivonia when he was arrested.

His wife, Albertina, who is one of the national presidents of the United Democratic Front has spent only five of her 44 years of marriage with Walter and her family. She has spent most of her life under banning orders and is presently restricted under the third state of emergency.

Nelson Mandela and five other members of the ANC and the military organisation, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), have been behind prison bars for 24 years.

Eight men were found guilty of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment in the Rivonia trial. Six of the accused were arrested at the Lillesaar farm, near Rivonia, on July 11 1963.

The Star reporting on the trial of "Mandela and others" in June 1964, said the men received their verdicts impassively and smiled and waved to friends in the gallery as they went down the steps to their cells, each accompanied by his own police guard.

Lionel Bernstein was the only one of the nine accused who was found not guilty and released. He was immediately re-arrested and banned, but skipped the country.

Mr Justice de Wet based his verdict largely on the document "Operation Maybuye", which was seized during the Rivonia raid. He said plans had been made for guerrilla war.

Denis Goldberg was conditionally released from prison in 1985 and Govan Mbeki (78) was released unconditionally from Robben Island in December last year, but was restricted to the Port Elizabeth Magisterial district a month later.

The remaining prisoners are Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Andrew Mangen, Raymond Mhlaba and Ahmed Kathrada, who were transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor prison in 1982, and Elias Matsosedi, the only remaining Rivonia prisoner on the island. In his article **JANET HEARD** focuses on the five men who like Mandela, are still in prison, but who have not received the same amount of publicity.

They have four children. Zurekhe, editor of the New Nation has been in detention since 1985.

Sisulu has been described by political prisoners released in recent years as a warm person, deeply interested in new developments and a stranger to the generation gap.

Apart from a number of minor operations in 1982, Sisulu has remained healthy throughout his prison term.

Ahmed Mohammed Kathrada (69), was born in Schweizer-Reneke western Transvaal. He became politically involved at the age of 11 and became known in the community as "Kathy". He was a member of the Communist Party in the 1940s and was elected general-secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC), being one of the key Indians who forged closer links with the ANC and TIC.

During the 1950s and early 1960s, he was tried, jailed and detained on several occasions, and was one of the treason trials in 1963. He went underground and joined the MK high command after he had been placed under house arrest. He was 34 at the time of his arrest. He was found guilty of only one of the four counts in the trial.

His family are granted \$5 visits a year. A close family member, who visited him in Pollsmoor a few weeks ago, said Kathy is extremely well. Recently there were plans to write his biography but Kathy said it should not be encouraged because he is part of the total struggle, and he did not wish to be isolated as an individual.

Banned

Elias Matsosedi (64) a former ANC, South African Congress of Trade Union (SACTU) and South African Communist Party (SACP) member, first became active as a factory worker in Johannesburg in the early 1940s where he joined the Leather Workers Union and later served as an executive member of the Committee of Non-European Trade Unions (CNETU). Shortly after the 1952 defiance campaign he was detained, and in 1960 he was banned for four months.

He went underground, and served on the MK's Johannesburg regional command where he assisted in hiding recruits and sending them abroad for military training and procuring armaments. His wife, Caroline (61) who lives in Orlando West,

and who was detained for 167 days during the Rivonia trial says the family have been harassed by the police on numerous occasions. They have seven children three of whom are in exile. The youngest, Kakhoo (25) who was born 11 months after his father's arrest, says his father for the first time when he was 18 years old. He said he had formed a close relationship with his father through letters. "I was only told where my father was when I was 10 years old and as my father and the struggle, he grew up I learnt more about him and the struggle," he said. Members of the family get 12 visits a year, paid for by the Red Cross. Last year the fam-



Mrs Albertina Sisulu, wife of Walter Sisulu, gathers with family and friends outside the Pretoria Supreme Court in June 1964 to support the Rivonia traitors in the dock. Eight of the accused were convicted of sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment. Six of them, including Nelson Mandela, are still in prison.

It were denied a visit over the Christmas period. Matsosedi has asthma but is otherwise well according to Caroline. Andrew Mangen (60) left school in the late 1940s and worked as a golf caddy and a bus driver to earn money to further his education. He worked as a journalist for the now banned New Age newspaper.

He became politically active during the 1952 defiance campaign and later joined the ANC branch secretary of the Youth League. He was one of the founder members of the MK.

Matsosedi started writing his fifth year LLB examination on October 19, just after a visit from June. She says rumours about her husband's release have been circulating for years and she will believe them only when he is freed. They have four children, two of whom are in exile.

Raymond Mhlaba (64) comes from a Port Elizabeth working class family and was employed as a laundry worker until 1947 when he was hired. He was a member of CNETU and from the mid 1940s he was active in both the CPUSA and the ANC.

In 1949 he led the Eastern Cape bus boycott. Action Committee and in 1952 he was chosen as the PE Defiance Campaign volunteer in chief. During the 1950s/1960s he was detained several times. Mhlaba was transferred to Pollsmoor in 1982 and was granted permission to marry the mother of his three children. Dedika Heliso in March 1986.

Pretoria's courtroom of contradictions

By PATRICK LAURENCE

The positive effects of the much rumoured release of Nelson Mandela and other ageing political prisoners could be blunted by the joining of the men convicted of treason last week

The conviction for treason on Friday of four leaders of the extra-parliamentary opposition left two startling contradictions in its wake, the first political and the second legal. The political contradiction was dramatically highlighted by the venue and timing of judgment in which the four — Patrick Lekota, Popo Molefe, Moss Chikane and Tom Manthatha — were convicted.

The more than 1500-page judgment was delivered in the same historic courtroom in Pretoria's Palace of Justice where ANC leader Nelson Mandela was sent to jail for life nearly a quarter of century ago. It came amid renewed speculation, some of it fuelled from official sources, that Mandela might be freed soon.

The trial judge, Mr Justice K van Dykhorst, still has to hear evidence in mitigation when the trial resumes on December 5. But, barring an unforeseen and extraordinary development, the conviction of the four men foreshadows their imprisonment.

Their imminent incarceration thus coincides with plans to release Mandela, and raises the prospect of their paths crossing as he and the men who were jailed with him after the Rivonia trial of 1966 come out, they might go in.

Three of the four convicted men — Lekota, Molefe and Chikane — occupied pivotal positions in the United Democratic Front which, before it was shackled by government restrictions and the detention and prosecution of its leaders, was SA's biggest extra-parliamentary organisation.

Judge van Dykhorst found that ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo's call for the formation of a united front in January 1983 was a major factor in the emergence of the UDF that year. He further concluded that a dominant part of the UDF leadership functioned as the internal wing of the ANC.

Extrapolating from his judgment, the trio of UDF leaders might be said to form a new generation of ANC leaders.

Thus, in a very real sense, the scene is set for the enactment of a stunning paradox for the jailing of a new generation of ANC leaders just when the release of their predecessors and mentors is on the cards.

Judge van Dykhorst's judgment invites use of the word "mentor" to describe the

relationship between Mandela and Lekota. As he remarked, Lekota — whom he described as "very pro-ANC" — had been jailed before. In 1976 he was one of nine young Black Consciousness leaders jailed for conspiring to commit acts capable of endangering the maintenance of law and order. He spent some time on Robben Island with Mandela where — in the judge's phrase — he learnt the history of the oppression of black people at "Mandela's knee" and "learnt his lessons very well".

By the same logic, even Manthatha, who has a long history of deep commitment to the Black Consciousness philosophy, can be placed in the ANC mould, albeit imperfectly and not altogether comfortably.

He was a founder member of the Soweto Civic Association, an affiliate organisation of the UDF. Moreover, according to the judge, Manthatha identified with the UDF's overall aim of causing the downfall of the Government by making SA ungovernable through mass action.

But, political observers pointed out at the weekend, the Government is unlikely to gain much if its release of a set of ageing but revered ANC leaders is coupled with the jailing of their successors. The Congress of SA Trade Unions made that point in its reaction to Mr Justice van Dykhorst's decision. It said the jailing of leaders who had a crucial role to play in a negotiated settlement would be a major blunder.

Release of the new generation of black leaders could very well move quickly to the top of the agenda of the black opposition forces.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu gave notice of that when he said after Friday's judgment, "If any of these people are sent to prison, I will not rest until I get them out." The controversial nature of the verdict will add impetus to demands for their release, as the Rev Frank Chikane, gener-

al secretary of the SA Council of Churches, made clear in his reaction to the verdict.

It meant, he said, that anyone who was intelligent, informed and who provided leadership to the black community, risked indictment and conviction for treason.

In that context it is relevant to record that the men in the dock before Mr Justice van Dykhorst formally asked for his refusal, a request that was turned down. The application was prompted by Judge van Dykhorst's dismissal of one his assessors, Professor W A Joubert, after the judge learnt that he had signed a UDF petition.

But Mr Justice van Dykhorst refused a defence request to dismiss the second assessor, Mr W F Krugel. Mr Krugel is a member of the Broederbond, an organisation that those on trial contended had a key role in formulation of Government policies to which they were vehemently opposed.

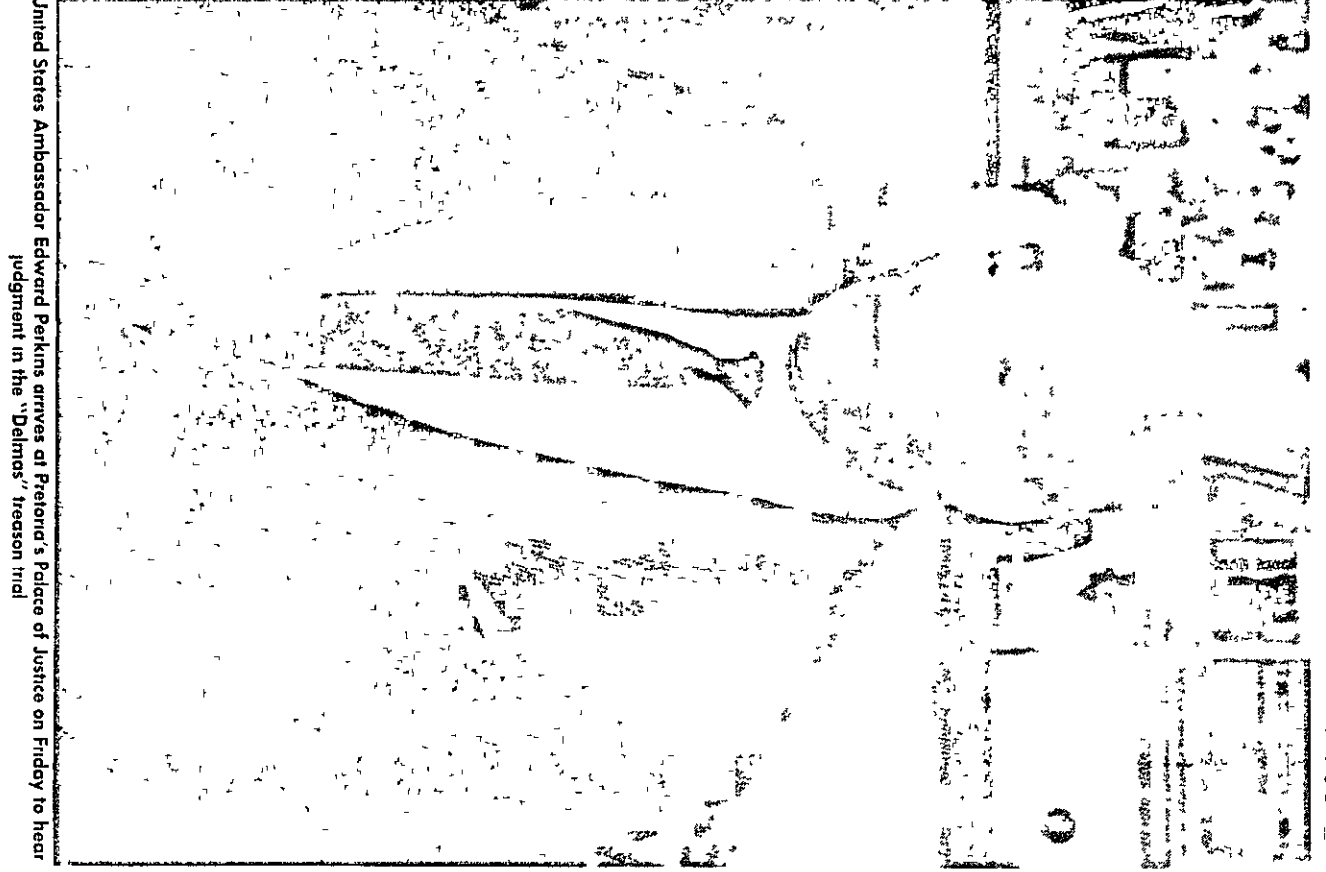
The Pretoria treason convictions also highlighted a legal anomaly. They contrasted with, and in many ways contradicted, the acquittal in another treason trial of UDF leaders who worked closely with Lekota, Molefe and Chikane.

Top leaders of the UDF who were acquitted in the second trial, held in Maritzburg in 1985 included Mrs Albertina Sisulu, Mr Archie Gumede — two of the UDF's three presidents — the Rev Chikane, Mr Essop Jasset, Mr Cassim Saloojee and Professor Ismail Mohammed.

The charges in the Maritzburg trial were substantially similar to those in the trial before Mr Justice van Dykhorst. Like the accused in Pretoria, those on trial in Maritzburg were charged with conspiring with the ANC to make South Africa ungovernable. Unlike those on trial in Pretoria, they were acquitted.

Lekota and Molefe were named as conspirators in the Maritzburg trial. Had they been arrested at the time, they might have joined the 16 in the dock in Maritzburg as accused 17 and 18. If so, they would probably have been acquitted with them.

Conversely, the Maritzburg trialists were named as conspirators in the trial heard before Mr Justice van Dykhorst. Many were in court on Friday as free men to witness the conviction of their comrades.



United States Ambassador Edward Perkins arrives at Pretoria's Palace of Justice on Friday to hear judgment in the "Delmas" treason trial



Labour Party hits at Areas Bills again

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Labour Party has again slammed the group areas Bills as being morally indefensible and legally unjustifiable, but in a President's Council debate one of its members rebelled against the leadership

In a debate on the Free Settlement Areas Bill in the President's Council, representatives of the Conservative, Progressive Federal and Solidarity parties also criticised the measure

After registering their protest nine Labour members withdrew from the council chamber, saying claims of reform were "cosmetic and a farce"

Declined to vote

The 10th LP member, Mr F G Backman, urged support for the Bill because he said it was a step in the right direction. He has been suspended from the party.

The chairman of the council's constitutional committee, Dr A J Oosthuizen, proposed that the measure be referred back to President Botha for his assent. He pointed out that the Bill stemmed from recommendations in a council report on group areas.

The Bill and two other group areas measures and an anti-squatting Bill were referred to the council after the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates had declined to vote on them.

Mr W M Ross, LP, said the Free Settlement Areas Bill could not be dealt with in isolation.

It was one of a number of group areas measures which had been rejected by the majority of South Africans. The measures all rested on the foundation of the Group Areas Act which had uprooted a million South Africans, 98 percent of them not white.

There were numerous grey areas apart from Woodstock, Hillbrow, Sea Point and Mayfair. In terms of the new measures ordinary law-abiding flatdwellers and home seekers would be turned into criminals, he said.

He warned that the Labour Party could try to block all future legislation in Parliament if the council passed the bills.

Mr Backman said he had for some time been unhappy about the direction of the Labour Party. It had increasingly headed for confrontation and protest, away from the road of negotiation it had previously followed.

Mr James Rennie (PFP) said the Bill indicated that there were people who still believed that apartheid could be reformed.

The measure was an attempt, dressed up as reform, to legalise inroads into the apartheid system.

There were overcrowded conditions in black and coloured areas and a chronic housing shortage, while in 1987 there were 337 000 empty housing units in areas designated for whites.

Strategy decided from day to day, says Hendrickse

Political Correspondent

THE Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader, said today the party could not at this stage commit itself to a strategy of blocking all future legislation in Parliament if the Group Areas Bills are passed by the President's Council

He said strategy would be decided from day to day, but blocking legislation remained an option

He was reacting to a suggestion by a Labour Party member of the council, Mr Billy Ross, that the party would obstruct every piece of legislation in Parliament if the council passed the Group Areas Bill

Mr Hendrickse said the Minister's Council and the party leadership would meet the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, in Cape Town on December 6 to discuss Bills planned for next year's session of Parliament.

He was not yet aware of the present form of a Bill amending the constitution to allow blacks to become members of the Cabinet without being MPs.

Previously this also provided for more Parliamentary constituencies, which Labour refused to support unless there was some compromise on the Group Areas Act

US firm recruits helpers to assist ANC, Swapo

OWN Correspondent 11/11/88

WASHINGTON. — Tecnica, an organisation in Berkeley, California, that sends US technicians to help the Sandinista government in Nicaragua is recruiting volunteers to support the ANC and Swapo in Southern Africa.

The recruits, who are to start arriving in the region early next year, will also be asked to "mobilise" US opinion on their return, Tecnica staff-member Mr Kim Porteus said yesterday.

Projects so far planned include helping set up a desktop publishing system for Africa South, a newspaper to be published by SA exiles in Zimbabwe.

Tecnica is already involved in an emergency medical aid project in Mozambique and a vocational school for "former combatants" outside Harare. Tecnica made headlines last year when Mr Benjamin Linder, 27, an American volunteer engineer in Nicaragua, was killed by Contra guerillas. He was said to have been carrying an AK-47 at the time.

one tickets 10/11/88

Labour walkout over group bill

NINE Labour Party members of the President's Council walked out of the chamber yesterday soon after debate started on a motion that the Free Settlement Areas Bill be presented to the State President for his assent

In a speech before the walkout, Mr Billy Ross, leader of the LP in the council, warned that his party would obstruct every piece of legislation put before Parliament next year if the council passed this and other Group Areas-related bills.

"If any of these bills are passed, this President's Council will have to pass all the bills in next year's parliamentary session because obstructionism will be the order of the day

"That is the reality of the matter and the message from my party," Mr Ross said

One LP member of the Council,

Mr Fred Backman, did not join the walkout

Mr Backman was expelled from the party later because of his action

The Free Settlement Areas Bill is one of a package of bills approved by the House of Assembly earlier this year but rejected by the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates

The bills were recently referred to the President's Council by the State President, Mr P W Botha, for a decision

The Free Settlement Areas Bill provides for the establishment of residential areas open to all race groups

Mr Ross said the State President's detente with African heads of state and European bankers, together with the clear mandate given to the government in the recent national municipal elections, had momentarily set

the country glowing with optimistic anticipation of a new order

"The one fly in the ointment however is the determination of the government to pass the trilogy of Group Areas Bills, which were rejected by the majority of South Africans"

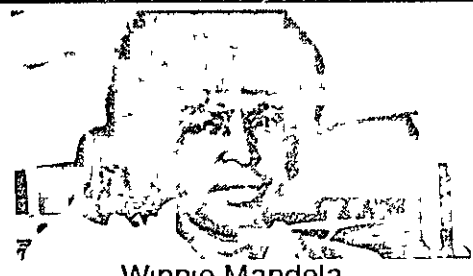
Another objection to the bill was that the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates would only have a say over areas under their control

They could not request that a white city, town or suburb be declared open

"The coloured and Indian areas, and, least of all, the black areas are of no significance in this bill, and it does not matter to the government whether they remain as they are or whether they become free settlement areas

"But it is of major concern to the government whether the white areas are touched" — Sapa

Mandela



Winnie Mandela

homecoming

Own Correspondent JOHANNESBURG.

10-16/11/88

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Preparations countrywide are continuing for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and fellow Rivonia trialists being held at Pollsmoor.

Sources close to the UDF and the Mandela Reception Committee here are confident that they will be released between mid-November and next February.

They cautioned, however, against "hysteria and over-reaction" to the unfounded rumours which swept the country earlier this week.

"The excitement is understandable but rumours merely increase the anguish of the families and prove counter-productive in the long-term," they said.

Demands for release

"The homecoming of Mandela and the other leaders will introduce a new era to our struggle and people must in a disciplined way prepare themselves for that."

They said, however, the demands and the pressure for their release should be intensified.

Trade unionist and prominent activist Simphiwe Thusi said "Botha's decision to play for time has given us the space to organise reception committees on a national scale".

"This time we'll be ready to give

Turn to page 3

From page 1

Mandela

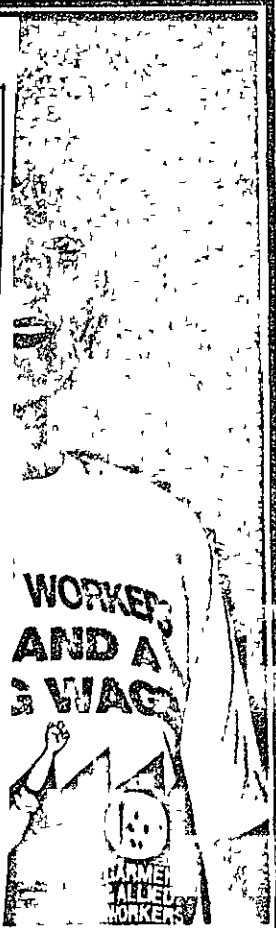
Mandela and other leaders a bigger reception than we were able to give Govan Mbeki. We won't be caught napping," Thusi said.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, speaking after a visit to a husband at the Constantiaberg clinic in Cape Town, said he "appeared not to have built up hopes of an imminent release".

Speculation and hope about Mandela's release, however, have never been higher in the 26 years of his imprisonment.

It is tied to renewed government efforts to co-opt moderate black leaders and the proposed visits to South Africa of Mobutu se Seko of Zaire and British Prime Minister Maggie Thatcher.

This is being fuelled by the southern African visit this week of Lady Lynda Chalker to prepare for a regional visit by Thatcher. High on the agenda when she meets the South African government will be the release of Mandela.



s, a finalist in the annual and Allied Workers' Union has been forced to adapt is — See page 6

100!

PAC leader 'seriously ill' at Diepkloof Prison

By Kaizer Nyatumba

The president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng (75), is seriously ill at the Diepkloof Prison in Soweto, Johannesburg, according to his wife, Mrs Urbana Mothopeng.

Mrs Mothopeng said her husband, who had lost his voice and had a swollen neck, was in a much worse condition now than he was when he was admitted to a Johannesburg clinic more than a month ago.

"My husband's voice had dwindled to an inau-

dible whisper when I met him at the weekend. Although his legs were not swollen this time, his condition was definitely more serious than the last time."

Mrs. Mothopeng said her family wanted her husband to be treated by their own family doctor.

A spokesman for the Prisons Services, yesterday, said it was his department's policy not to comment on the physical condition or medical treatment of individual prisoners as it is regarded as a private matter between the prisoner, his family and the doctor.

Rajbansi denies whites ran HoD's administration

DURBAN — The suspended chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, told the James Commission yesterday that he was shocked, speechless and almost fainted when an Indian civil servant accused him of allowing white officials to have the upper hand in his administration.

Mr Rajbansi was cross-examining his private secretary, Mr Saddique Ismail, when he told the commission that Mr Ray Pillay of the Department of Local Government had stunned him with the accusation.

Mr Ismail told the commission that Mr Pillay accused Mr Rajbansi on at least three occasions and said he was appalled that, when Mr Pillay gave evidence to the commission, he denied having made the charge.

Mr Ismail said Mr Pillay also said the Director of Local Government, Mr

Victor George Hunt, was anti-Indian, unco-operative and made recommendations which were not in line with the thinking of Indian management committees. He said Mr Pillay told "blatant lies" when he testified before the commission.

Mr Rajbansi then questioned Mr Ismail about the election campaign of Mr Boetie Abramjee, MP for Laudium, Pretoria. Mr Ismail said they had collected R40 000 and the money was deposited into Mr Abramjee's personal account.

He said the cash was eventually transferred when a special campaign account was opened and used for the election. None of it went to the National People's Party (NPP), but Mr Abramjee had made a personal donation of R1 000.

The hearing continues — Sapa

LP leader calls for commission to plan SA's future



By Lloyd Coutts

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, has called on the State President to appoint a commission of political scientists and economists to plan a future political dispensation for South Africa

Speaking at the *Financial Mail's* investment conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Hendrickse also called on black leaders to reconsider their position on the proposed National Council because, in spite of its inadequacies, people of colour could for the first time sit down to discuss the country's future

Mr Hendrickse was replying to a question from the president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, on the future of the National Council in the light of black opposition to it

"It is better to get there and talk rather than stay away. If we fail we can come out and say we tried," Mr Hendrickse said

The Labour Party was dedicated to furthering the economic, social and

cultural advancement of all South Africans

"We are dedicated to opposing all forms of racial discrimination which undermine civil liberty and social justice in respect of the individual

"We believe that the rights of the individual are paramount and that the State exists to serve the individual, not that the individual should be manipulated or controlled by the State," he said

His party acknowledged that reform had taken place in South Africa during the past four years

Any new constitution would have to result in a balanced accommodation of white fears and black aspirations, Mr Hendrickse said

Until black aspirations were accommodated, South Africa could not move away from the situation of escalating violence which it was presently experiencing

Asked what his party's stance would be if the Group Areas Act Amendment Bill was passed by the President's Council, Mr Hendrickse said the LP had successfully determined its strategy from day to day

SINKING



MRS Urbania Mothopeng "worse than before"

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

Weak twin sets a poser

THE president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng (75), is seriously ill at the Diepkloof Prison in Johannesburg.

He has lost his voice, his wife said yesterday.

Mrs Urbania Mothopeng said her husband appears to have a "swollen neck" and his voice had "dwindled to inaudible whumpers" when she met him at the weekend.

"His condition is worse than when he was admitted to a Johannesburg clinic

more than a month ago. Although his legs were not swollen this time, his condition was more serious than the last time," said Mrs Mothopeng.

She said the family would appreciate having its own doctor attending to Mr Mothopeng.

Mr Mothopeng is one of the founder-members of the PAC and was convicted under the Terrorism Act for furthering the aims of the banned organisation. He was sentenced to a 15-year sentence which he will complete in 1994.

Mr Mothopeng was elected president of the PAC in 1986 while in prison.

He is the second president of the PAC after Mr Robert Mangiso Sobukwe, who died 10 years ago.

A spokesman for the Prisons Services yesterday said it was his department's policy not to comment on the physical condition or medical treatment of individual prisoners as it is regarded as a private matter between the prisoner, his family and the doctor.

The spokesman added that Mr Mothopeng, like all prisoners, "has regular access to doctors and fully trained medical personnel".

Release

The spokesman said in answer that the Prisons Service "do not speculate on the possible release of any individual prisoner". Mrs Mothopeng had said that she had expected the release of her husband after being asked to make an undertaking to care for his health on release.

Mr Mothopeng's bad health first came to public attention on September 6 when he was hospitalised at the Florence Nightingale Clinic in Johannesburg. Then Mr Mothopeng had been treated for swollen legs and neck, which had not reportedly healed to the satisfaction of his family, according to Mrs Mothopeng.

Sowetan 11/11/88

Wife says PAC leader Mothopeng seriously ill



MPHONYANA... lagging far behind twin sister Mpho.

MPHONYANA, the weaker and smaller of the Mathibela twins, may remain in hospital longer than expected depending on her general development. This was said by a senior public relations officer for Baragwanath Hospital, Mrs Annette Clear.

Mphonyana was left at the hospital to undergo

By PHANGISILE MTSHALI

with Mphonyana," said Professor Robert Lipschitz, who headed the operating team.

"There is nothing medically wrong with her but a prognosis can only be made two years after

months in speech development, but she is well developed emotionally."

Mphonyana's slow development was attributed to the fact that she is the smaller and the weaker of the twins and that she suffered most during the operation, said Mrs Clear.

RAINBOW HAIR SALON

SUM SPE

PERM & STYLE

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HOME PERMERS WHOLES

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Tribute to unionist

THE National Education Health and Allied Workers Union yesterday paid tribute to its general secretary, Mzuzwana Yure Mdyogolo, who died on November 6 when he fell from the fifth floor of Adenly Court Building, Jonbert Park, Johannesburg, where he was living *Sowetan*

17/11/88
"A comrade, a stalwart in the struggle for freedom of the oppressed and exploited has died under circumstances which are not yet established and which are being investigated by the police," Nehawu said in a statement.

THE PAC

(11A) F MAIL 11/11/88

Forgotten lion

As much as Pretoria tries to denigrate the ANC's political standing, its treatment of the organisation's leader Nelson Mandela — when contrasted with that of the Pan Africanist Congress's (PAC) president Zeph Mothopeng — suggests the contrary.

The discrepancy in the treatment of the two leaders is puzzling, and begs the question of whether government concern over Mandela's health is simply motivated by fear of international repercussions should events pass out of their control

Both leaders have been ill enough this year to end up in hospital. In fact, Mothopeng celebrated his 75th birthday in September in a private Johannesburg hospital. Mandela, however, left Tygerberg Hospital to recuperate in a private clinic — and looks set to remain there for some time. But Mothopeng was merely discharged and returned to Dreepkloof Prison.

Mothopeng has a serious condition described by his wife, Urbana, as "malignant

thymoma," a condition for which he was operated on in 1986 and received radiation therapy. According to his son, John, the complaint seems to be recurring — Mothopeng was again hospitalised in July. His condition is spasmodic, while he appears in good health at some family visits, at others his condition worsens. His wife saw him last Saturday and says that he once again looked ill with his face and neck swollen.

There are historical reasons why Mothopeng is overshadowed by Mandela — probably the world's best known political prisoner. Mandela was already ANC president when he was sent to jail in 1962. Mothopeng was already a prisoner when he was elected PAC president in 1986.

Although Mothopeng was one of the group of Africanists who broke away from the ANC in 1959 to form the PAC under Robert Sobukwe, he only became the organisation's leader after the death of Nyathi Pokela.

He was jailed twice in the early Sixties and then banned. He is said to have continued clandestine work for the PAC until he was arrested again in 1976. Two years later he was charged in terms of the Terrorism Act with furthering the aims of the PAC and he is currently serving a 15-year sentence, due to be released in 1994.

Letters to black newspapers give an inkling of how at least a sector of the black population view the matter. *A City Press*

(11A) F MAIL 11/11/88

reader recently questioned why "a lot of noise is being made concerning the release of Mandela on humanitarian grounds, but nothing is said about comrade Mothopeng who is, after all, older than Mandela. The failing health of the Lion is very disturbing to us, his followers throughout this country."

It is impossible to know how many secret followers Mothopeng has. For years the PAC almost seemed to have died while the ANC gained prominence and even a form of diplomatic recognition from other countries. But increasing evidence lends support to the theory that the PAC is experiencing a resurgence. Focusing concern on ANC leaders at what is perceived to be the neglect of PAC ones could catch government unawares. Just as people ask what will happen should Mandela die in prison, the same should be asked of Mothopeng. After all, black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi repeatedly mention him as one of the political prisoners who must be released.

It is difficult to know whether Mothopeng's declining health is giving concern to the authorities.

In response to a query to the Ministry of Justice a department spokesman declared: "It has been said before by prisons authorities that the release of all prisoners is considered on a continuous basis. Apart from this general observation, the prisons authorities do not participate in speculation as to when any individual prisoner will be released."

However, neither the family nor Mothopeng's lawyers have had any indication that an early release is in the offing. ■

Accused claimed he was sold out

Sowetan

11/11/88

MR Mokubela, one of the five suspected members of the African National Congress facing charges of terrorism handed notes written on toilet paper to a policeman to deliver to a friend in which he informed him that a co-accused had "sold him out," it was alleged in a Pretoria Regional Court yesterday

Captain Johannes Prinsloo, the investigating officer, said Mr Mokubela wrote the notes on a cigarette foil and toilet paper, put them inside a matchbox and handed them to a Sergeant Ledwaba while he was in custody at the Sunnyside police station on October 8 last year

The notes, according to Captain Prinsloo were supposed to be delivered to Mr Jone Mothokoa of 10280 Mamelodi East. Reading the notes that were allegedly written by Mr Mokubela, Captain Prinsloo said the accused agreed that he was involved in "the operation on Hlongwane"

Rifle

The accused also allegedly stated that he had quarrelled with Benne over the usage of an AK47 rifle

Mr Mokubela (29) of Soshanguve, Mr Thekiso Mogoerane (31) of Vosloours, Mr Conrad Lekhumbi (28), Mr Edwin Makwela (45) and Mr Sello Khota (34) all of Mamelodi have pleaded not guilty before Mr W J Fourie to charges of terrorism, attempted murder, possession of arms and ammunition and theft

In the alleged written notes, Mr Mokubela said he was worried that Nelson, alias Mr Mogoerane, had sold him out. Mr Mokubela also allegedly requested Mr Mothokoa to tell Bridge, alias Mr Makwela, that he was wanted and that he had taken the police to a wrong house when they were looking for him

(Proceeding)

News in Brief

Mandela honoured

JAILED ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been made honorary life president of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers

11/12/88
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12/11/88

PAC president 'seriously ill'

JOHANNESBURG — The president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, 75, is seriously ill at Diepkloof Prison near here, reports said yesterday.

His wife, Mrs Urbania Mothopeng, told The Sowetan her husband appeared to have a "swollen neck" and his voice had "dwindled to inaudible whimpers"

Mrs Mothopeng visited her husband at the weekend and observed that "his condition was worse than when he was admitted to a Johannesburg clinic in September"

APR. TIMES 12/11/88
A spokesman for the SA Prisons Service said yesterday that Mr Mothopeng was in the "good hands of medical experts"

He said "Mr Mothopeng, like all prisoners, has regular access to doctors and fully trained medical personnel and receives specialised medical treatment if and when required"

Mrs Mothopeng said "Though his legs were not swollen this time, his condition was more serious than the last time" She said her family wanted her husband to be treated by their own family doctor

The spokesman said it was not the department's policy "to comment on the physical condition or the medical treatment of individual prisoners"

He also said "the service does not speculate on the possible release of any individual prisoners"

A founder-member of the PAC, Mr Mothopeng was convicted in 1979 under the Terrorism Act for furthering the aims of a banned organisation and was given a 15-year sentence which ends in 1994 He was elected president of the PAC in 1986 while in prison — Sapa

PREDICTING just when South Africa's most famous prisoner, Nelson Mandela, will be released is a hazardous business, as scores of crystal ball gazing journalists have discovered.

But one statement can be made confidently amid all the uncertainty generated by the latest crop of rumours the Government has moved steadily closer to freeing him over the years.

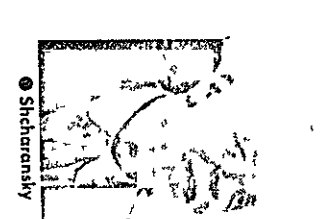
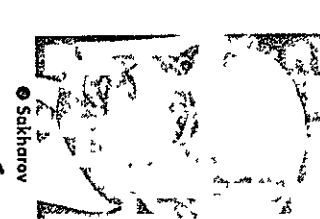
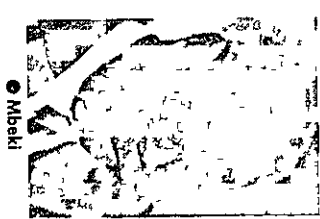
Less than a decade ago there was no room for speculation. Writing at the time, Professor John Dingard, of the University of the Witwatersrand, pointed out that Government policy was one of denying remission to political prisoners.

Prediction was an easy matter then. A life sentence meant just that. Thus, at the time it was safe to forecast that Mandela and the seven men sentenced to life imprisonment with him for sabotage would remain in jail until they died.

But in January 1985 President Botha changed all that. In a major speech to Parliament he announced that the Government was willing to consider Mandela's release.

Mr Botha set one condition "All that is required of him now is that he should unconditionally reject violence as a political instrument," Mr Botha said.

His offer was rebuffed. Unlike Mandela, one of the



Mandela release 'near' but not yet imminent

Star 12/11/88

11A

seven men sentenced with him at Rivonia in 1964, Mr Dennis Goldberg, accepted Mr Botha's offer, renouncing violence in return for freedom.

The next stage came a year later. In another speech to Parliament, Mr Botha mooted the possibility of releasing Mandela on humanitarian grounds — a new criterion — in return for the removal of the restrictions on two Soviet dissidents, Mr Anatoly Sheharansky and Dr Andrey Sahharov, and the freeing of

Major Wynand du Toit, a South African commando who was captured in Angola.

Nothing came of Mr Botha's gambit, although the two Russians and Major du Toit were freed over the next 18 months. Each release triggered fresh speculation that Mandela's might soon be a free man.

The next important step came in August last year. Mr Botha told Parliament that release of political or security prisoners would be governed by the same principles as the

PATRICK LAURENCE

release of ordinary prisoners. Renunciation of violence would not be the only consideration, he added.

Mr Botha's policy statement was interpreted by diplomats as a bid to move away from his January 1985 position. By setting renunciation of violence as a condition, Mr Botha had surrendered the initiative to Mandela, they argued.

The new policy enabled Mr Botha to determine when and

how Mandela and his co-prisoners would be released, even if they persisted in their refusal to publicly renounce the "armed struggle".

Another step was taken on November last year when one of his co-trialists at Rivonia, Mr Govan Mbeki, then 77-years-old, was released on humanitarian grounds. Mr Mbeki was not required to publicly repudiate the ANC's guerrilla war.

At his first press conference, he specifically refused to do so

At the same time, he unrepentantly reaffirmed his allegiance to the outlawed South African Communist Party.

Mr Mbeki's release precipitated new speculation that Mandela would soon be a free man. Mr Mbeki's freedom was seen as a prelude to Mandela's. Conjecture along those lines was checked temporarily last December when restrictions were placed on Mr Mbeki, confining him to his home district in Port Elizabeth and prohibiting him from giving interviews to the press.

The fettering of Mr Mbeki was interpreted as evidence that the hawks in the Cabinet had triumphed, that the security establishment had convinced Mr Botha that tighter control was necessary. Now, nearly a year later, that may still be the case.

On Monday rumours flashed around the country that Mandela's release was only minutes away. Journalists scrambled madly in all directions. Only hours before, however, Major-General Basie Smit, of the Security Police, was telling MPs that more restrictions were imminent. "We will have to act against still more organisations," he said.

That does not mean that pressure to release Mandela has abated. But it does mean there are countervailing forces.

Against that, several factors testify to continuing and mounting pressure on Mr Botha to free Mandela. His illness in August, his subsequent transfer as a VIP prisoner from prison hospital to a private clinic, the call for his release from the Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*, and Mr Botha's own reported remarks to President Mabitto of Zaire.

But, despite predictions that Mandela will be "free by Christmas", the probabilities are that Mr Botha is still keeping his options open. If he decides on an early general election — April next year has been mentioned — the chances are that Mandela will not be freed until after then.

Mandela rumours 'absurd'—govt

Political Correspondent

SPECULATION over the imminent release of Mr Nelson Mandela resurfaced yet again yesterday — but government sources variously dismissed the latest spate of rumours as "absurd", "nonsense" and "ridiculous"

Some observers were punting November 14 — when President P W Botha opens the Transvaal congress of the NP in Pretoria — as a possible date for the ANC leader's release or an announcement about his release

Other commentators expect developments to come to a head later in the week

— and certainly before Christmas

However, there has also been press speculation that Mr Botha will use the Transvaal congress to announce a general election, possibly in March or April next year

Should this be the case, it is likely that the possible release of Mr Mandela would be postponed to later in the year to prevent the fast-growing Conservative Party from capitalising on the sensitive issue

Some commentators believe that Mr Botha will call an election only after a redelimitation of seats, which has to be completed by law in 1990. The redelimita-

tion process usually take about six months to complete

Rumours abounded yesterday within the foreign press corps in SA about "briefings" which were supposedly about to be given to local journalists concerning the release of Mr Mandela

There were also rumours — denied by official sources — that the ANC leader had been secretly moved from the Constantia-berg Clinic

The Prisons Department said yesterday "it was not policy to comment on speculation or rumours relating to specific prisoners"

Judge biased — Rajbanshi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — "I am quite clear in my conscience that I am not a biased person," said Mr Justice James yesterday in refusing Mr Amichand Rajbanshi's application for his recusal as chairman of the James Commission.

The surprise application halted the Commission of inquiry into alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates as it entered its 48th day. When the application was refused after an hour of intense argument, advocate Mr Douglas Tobias, appearing for Mr Rajbanshi — suspended chairman of the Ministers' Council in the HOD, said Supreme Court action may be contemplated.

"Whether the Supreme Court is approached or not, I am going on with this Commission I propose to start again on Monday," said Mr Justice James.

Mr Tobias said Mr Justice James had "unconsciously deprived himself of the advantage of calm and dispassionate observation and has thus created in the mind of Mr Raj-

banshi the impression that he would not be dealt with fairly in the Commission's ultimate report."

The "form and tone" of Mr Justice James's remarks "conveyed the absence of impartiality," he said, and he had interfered with Mr Rajbanshi's cross-examination of witnesses, made snide remarks and was sarcastic.

Referring to the 44-page application for the chairman's recusal he also accused him of displaying impatience and disbeliever in his general demeanour and facial expressions and of practising double standards in the application of the rules of evidence and/or procedure.

"It is implicit in the Commissions Act that the Commissioner will be able to give his recommendations without any bias at all," he said.

"The extent to which the Commissioner has descended into the arena resulted in a clouding of his vision by the dust of conflict and must inevitably affect his assessment of the matter before him and that of Minister Rajbanshi as a potential witness," he said.

Mr Rajbanshi had already been subjected to a form of interrogation by the Chairman, he added.

Quoting from excerpts of the typed transcript of the evidence and a newspaper, Mr Tobias used the example of Mr Justice James's "far from benign tone in demanding to know what Mr Rajbanshi did with the R25 000 party donation he deposited in his private account."

At the time, Mr Tobias said, Mr Rajbanshi was trying to cross-examine a witness and was constantly interrupted.

"Yes, I remember the incident well," said the Chairman "I have no regrets." Later, when Mr Tobias read out the evidence concerning the R25 000, Mr Justice James added, "I am still interested in that."

"You make a very poor actor when you use that tone when quoting me," he told the advocate, to which Mr Tobias replied "I have never been accused of being a good actor."

"You have," Mr Justice James shot back. "When Mr Tobias made the application 'with great regret', Mr Justice James asked

whether it was intended to start the Commission all over again with a new Commissioner. "The fact that the Commission has gone on for some time should not be a bar," said Mr Tobias.

"No, it's not a bar, just a practicality," the Chairman replied.

"This is not a trial," he said. "Mr Rajbanshi is not being accused of anything — I am trying to get to the bottom of what happened. At the end of my report there will be no conviction."

Commission advocate Mr Anton Ackermann said that not only was Mr Tobias a bad actor, but he was bad on the law.

"There is a clear distinction between a court of law and a commission of inquiry — a commission is 'investigatory and reports to the authority which appointed it and a court of law is bound by rules of evidence and pleadings."

"Isn't it strange that (Mr Tobias) could not find one case referring to the recusal of a commissioner — that's because you can't ask for that," he said.

Mr Amichand Rajbanshi



114 Crown 13/11/88

Mandela mania hits Cape



Dr Allan Boesak



Winnie Mandela

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Rumours of his release reach fever pitch

CP Correspondent
 CAPE Town was caught in a grip of Nelson Mandela fever this week as rumours spread that the ANC leader and his Rivonia treason trialists had been freed.

Local newspapers were inundated with calls from all over the world inquiring about his release and journalists laid Constantiaberg

Medi-Clinic - where Mandela is recovering from tuberculosis - under siege on Monday hoping that he would be released.

On Monday night, long after it was known that Mandela was still in hospital, a crowd of more than 3 000 people, who had not heard the news, met at the University of the Western Cape hoping that he would

speak to them.

Their hopes were raised when Mandela was visited by Brigadier FC Munro, officer commanding Pollsmoor Prison, where Mandela had been an inmate before he was hospitalised.

No, said Munro, there was nothing unusual about his visit because he made a point of giving Mandela a "courtesy" visit once a week.

Undeterred journalists, who had been questioned by police about their presence, were ordered off the premises.

A policeman said "No reporters are allowed to be on the premises when Mrs Mandela visits her husband."

The plot thickened when the two public telephones at the clinic stopped functioning after operating without any hitch and when the rumour spread that Walter Sisulu and Ahmed Kathrada had been freed.

Tension reached fever pitch when Winnie Mandela arrived at the luxury clinic accompanied by World Alliance of Reformed Churches president Dr Allan Boesak and attorneys Krish Naidoo and Essa Moosa.

Moosa said Mrs Mandela was paying "a normal visit" to her husband. He did not think there was anything in the rumours that Mandela would be re-

leased on Monday.

He and his two companions waited in the foyer while she saw Mandela for 45 minutes.

She did not speak to the media when she left the clinic.

Boesak said she had a plane to catch.

He said "There is no indication whatsoever that Mandela will be released today or in the near future."

"Rumours about Mandela's release were just 'rumours', he said.

There was also no indication that any political prisoners would be released, he said.

Mandela was admitted to Tygerberg Hospital on August 12 with tuberculosis.

He was transferred to Constantiaberg a month later.

Tygerberg Hospital superintendent Dr J Strauss has been in charge of Mandela's treatment since he was hospitalised.

He said on October 25 "I am pleased to report that since my last visit on September 13, Mandela has shown steady progress. He has no symptoms of his past illness bothering him at present.

"His weight is back to normal and he is again following his usual routine of physical exercise, relaxation and intellectual pursuits."

Ciskei refuses Stofile permission to study

CP Correspondent

THE longest-serving political prisoners, including former executive member of the UDF and Fort Hare academic, Rev Arnold Makhenkhesi Stofile, have made unsuccessful attempts to be allowed to study in the Ciskei Central Prison in Middledrift.

This was confirmed by their attorney, Hintsu Siwisa, this week who said further attempts were being made to persuade homeland authorities to change their stance.

The Ciskei Department of Prisons maintained that to study in jail is a privilege, not a right to prisoners.

The Commissioner of Prisons in the homeland refused to grant them permission to study.

Among others who are in the same position are Linda Sofile, Mveleli Gqibithole and Mzwandile Qeqe.

21 are serving life

• From Page 1

tenced in June 1963 for sabotage. He was convicted with five other PAC members.

The names of the 21 as supplied by the HRC are (the dates on which they were sentenced are in brackets). Mr Masemola (1963), Mr Mandela (1964), Mr Walter Sisulu (1964), Mr Elias Motsoaledi (1964); Mr Andrew Mlangeni (1964), Mr Ahmed Kathrada (1964), Mr Raymond Mahlaba (1964), Mr Wilton Mkwayi (1964) and Mr Harry Gwala (1964); Mr Vusumuzi Nene (1977), Mr Matthews Mayiwa (1977), Mr Z Mdlalose (1977), Mr Petrus Mashigo (1982), Mr Johnson Lubisi (1982), Mr Johannes Shabangu (1982), Mr D Moise (1983), Mr Sanna Twala (1987), Mr Linda Hlophe (1987), Mr Daniel Mbokwane (1987), Mr Lizo Mngqungwana (1987), and Mr N Manana (1982)

Other life sentence prisoners like Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr John Nkosi have been released unconditionally. The Government later placed gags on Mr Mbeki.

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MANDELA'S LAST STOP?

The long road to freedom

Sowetan

14/11/88

11A

IF the torrent of speculation washing around South Africa is to be believed, then a first-floor suite in Cape Town's premier private clinic is the last stop on the long road to freedom for Nelson Mandela.

Fame was abruptly thrust upon the Constantiaberg Clinic, in the Cape Town suburb of Plumstead, last August when the world's best known political prisoner was brought over for treatment for tuberculosis.

actual decision

At the Constantiaberg Clinic, there is little sign to indicate that it may soon witness one of the most momentous events in modern South African history.

Several bored police men lounge in the spacious lobby of the clinic, which comprises a complex of two and three-storey white buildings commanding views of the spectacular mountains bordering Cape Town.

Rumour has it that the patient, making an excellent recovery, may be checking out as early as this week.

But chances are he won't return to nearby Pollsmoor Prison where he spent the latter part of his 26 years in prison.

The word is he could be a free man.

Rumour

A variety of release dates, many of them in mid-November, have been brandied about by the South African Press, which also says that only four men — President P. W. Botha and three senior officials — know the

Rumours rife over release of Mandela

RUMOURS are still strong that Mr Nelson Mandela will be released this week

He is at present in Constantiaberg Clinic and the chances are he won't return to Pollsmoor Prison after recovering from TB

A variety of rumours about release dates, many of them in mid-November, have been bandied about by the press, which also say that only four men — President P W Botha and three senior officials — know the actual decision

At the Constantiaberg Clinic, there is little sign to indicate that it may soon witness one of the most momentous events in modern South African history

Mr Mandela himself is in a first-floor private ward with a sitting-room attached. Police stand guard inside and outside the ward

If Mr Mandela looks out of his window, he sees about 50 metres away a home for the elderly

But apparently he is discouraged from lingering over the view. Authorities worry that a prowling photographer will snap what would be a priceless picture of a man described by a local politician as having mythical stature

In Toronto, a representative of the ANC said on Saturday that the South African government may release Mr Mandela as early as tomorrow

"There are very strong rumours in South Africa today that on November 15 Nelson Mandela will be released," said Mr Yusef Saloojee, chief representative in Canada for the ANC

"It will be a victory for the people of South Africa and indeed a victory for the whole of Africa," Mr Saloojee told an audience at the University of Toronto

A South African government source last week indicated that recent rumours of Mr Mandela's impending release were orchestrated by members of the anti-apartheid movement to pressure the government into taking some action

And a prominent anti-apartheid activist in South Africa said there had been "no indication (Mr Mandela) would be released today or in the near future" — Sapa-AP-Reuter

PW may speak on Mandela tonight

From TOS WENTZEL, *ARGUS 14/11/88*
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA — President Botha is expected to deal with ANC leader Nelson Mandela's release when he opens the Transvaal congress of the National Party in Pretoria tonight

He will be speaking against the background of constant rumours that Mr Mandela may be released soon and official reaction indicating that this will not happen in the near future.

In his speech tonight Mr Botha is expected to turn down suggestions of an early release. His condition that Mr Mandela must renounce violence as a means to political ends still stands.

He expressed the hope on his recent overseas visit that Mr Mandela would make it possible for himself not to return to jail, which suggested another form of detention.

Speculation about Mr Mandela's release continues to sweep the British Press, The Argus Foreign Service reports from London.

THREE OPTIONS

London Sunday Times correspondent Peter Godwin suggests the South African government is considering three options.

The first is a so-called "phased release", whereby Mr Mandela would be moved first to a convalescent home.

The second choice is a secret release, with the news announced several days after the event "to help play down the excitement".

The third approach, he says, would be "to release Mandela with a State-organised Press conference, decide that he is making outrageous illegal statements and immediately ban him".

If Pretoria can weather the initial trauma of Mr Mandela's release, the government can "sit back and await events", says Godwin.

Mr Botha is also expected to deal with the controversy over the Conservative

Party's moves to restore apartheid in municipalities it now controls

There is concern in government circles that this attempt to turn back the clock will harm South Africa and may even encourage sanctions moves to start again in the United States.

There is increasing talk of an election in Nationalist circles, but Mr Botha is not expected to announce a date tonight.

Some Ministers are in favour of an election following the recent local government elections.

The argument is that these elections showed that the progress of the Conservative Party has been stemmed.

The congress, which will continue until Wednesday, will discuss whether the government should formulate and announce a plan for constitutional reform.

Efforts are to be made to get going the proposed National Council to deal with black political rights.

● Newspapermen and TV crews resumed their Mandela vigil outside the Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic today.

However, there did not appear to be as many police as there were a week ago when rumours about Mr Mandela's imminent release were widespread.

The atmosphere, too, seemed more relaxed than it was when Mrs Winnie Mandela visited her husband on that occasion.

The same two police officers who were on duty in the foyer last week were back today.

Journalists were again not allowed into the building unless they wanted to use a telephone, toilet or buy refreshments.

Speaking from Johannesburg Mr Ismail Ayob, Mr Mandela's attorney, said he had heard "nothing" about his client's release.

"I've heard the rumours, but so far Mr Mandela has not requested me to see him," Mr Ayob said.

NTRU vows no more ANC talks

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EXD

Sowetan 13/11/88
THE Northern Transvaal Rugby Union yesterday unanimously decided that no further contact be entered into with the banned ANC.

This resolution was adopted at the union's committee meeting at Loftus Versveld after the Police Rugby Club demanded the union's official standpoint on this issue.

Colonel Piet Steyn, representing the PRC in the absence of their chairman, Lieutenant-General Bert Wandrag, said his club had discussed this matter.

"We would like the Ntru to make their standpoint quite clear. We also feel strongly about further issues: that the recent SA Rugby Board statement was not strong enough, nor do we welcome any contact with an organisation that advocates violence," Col Steyn said.

Photographers say picture will fetch £100 000

(11A) B/Boy (S) 15/4/88

Mountain of money for Mandela mania

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CAPE TOWN — Mandela mania is at fever pitch as journalists spend tens of thousands of rands in a bid to secure details of what they believe is his imminent release.

More than 40 have arrived in Cape Town — some by Learjet — after what they described as the strongest rumour for years that Nelson Mandela would be set free

At least six TV crews representing all the major British and American networks, correspondents from wire services and international photographers joined the Mandela-watch in Cape Town a week ago.

Photographers are working on schemes to secure a picture of Mandela.

Own Correspondent

Some believe an exclusive picture, of the man they term the most famous prisoner in the world, could fetch at least £100 000. Others say it would be priceless.

To charter a Learjet from Johannesburg to Cape Town costs an estimated R13 000, and it costs about R3 000 a day to have a major foreign TV crew on 24-hour standby.

Most of the journalists fly business class and stay at five-star hotels

Despite the cost involved in staying on the Mandela trail, journalists are not sure who started the latest, expensive rumour.

Some foreign correspondents were telephoned in Johannesburg last Monday morning by a woman with

an Afrikaans accent who claimed to be from the Bureau of Information. She told them Mandela was to be released later that day.

The rumour was strengthened the same day when a legal representative of the Mandela family told journalists outside Constantiaberg Clinic that Winnie Mandela had come to collect her husband.

His sentiments turned out to be premature, as Winnie Mandela returned to Johannesburg without him.

She has since told close associates that her husband said he did not expect to be released until next year.

While some journalists believe Mandela will be free this week, many others are bracing themselves for more rumour-inspired dashes to Cape Town.

Seven to be hanged

PEP was aware of Van Zyl feud

Mandela media mania reaches fever pitch

By CHRIS STEVEN

THE media's Mandela mania reached fever pitch in the past week as journalists spent more than a quarter-of-a-million rand in a bid to secure details of what had been rumoured as Mr Nelson Mandela's "imminent" release.

More than 40 journalists arrived in Cape Town—some by Lear jet—following what they described as "the strongest rumour for many years" of Mr Mandela's release.

At least six television crews representing all the major British and American networks, correspondents from wire

services and international photographers joined the "Mandela watch" in Cape Town a week ago.

Correspondents who had to return to Johannesburg were promptly replaced, while crews kept a constant watch on all entrances and exits at the Constantiaberg Clinic, D F Malan Airport and Pollsmoor Prison.

Photographers worked non-stop on schemes to secure a picture of Mr Mandela.

While some photographers believed an exclusive picture of "the most famous prisoner in the world" would fetch at least £100 000 (about

R440 000), others said it would be "priceless".

Said one photographer "It is commercially the most viable picture in the world today."

Although media organisations have not calculated the exact cost of the Mandela watch, representatives said they had spent "tens of thousands of rands" in just seven days.

To charter a Lear jet from Johannesburg to Cape Town costs an estimated R13 000, while it costs about R3 000 a day to have a major foreign television crew, including a cameraman, sound man, producer and correspondent, on 24-hour

standby.

Certain crews also hired camera recorders and other equipment which can cost at least R2 000 a day.

In addition most of the journalists fly business class, stay at five-star hotels, many in R260-a-night rooms, and drive luxury cars hired at the cost of R100 each a day.

Despite the astronomical cost involved in staying on the Mandela trail, journalists had been unsure of the identity of the source of this latest expensive rumour.

Said one correspondent "It is a multi-faceted rumour. Some sources say it came from

Lusaka, others believe it originated in Johannesburg or Cape Town. No one knows."

A number of foreign correspondents were telephoned in Johannesburg last Monday morning by a woman with an Afrikaans accent. She claimed to be from the Bureau of Information and told them Mandela was to be released later that day.

The rumour was strengthened significantly that same day when a legal representative of the Mandela family told journalists gathered outside the Constantiaberg Clinic

that Mrs Winnie Mandela had "come to collect her husband".

His sentiments turned out to be premature as Mrs Mandela returned to Johannesburg without her husband.

Mrs Mandela has since told close associates that her husband said he did not expect to be released until early next year.

While some journalists firmly believed yesterday that Mr Mandela would be free by the end of the week, many others braced themselves for a few more rumour-inspired dashes to Cape Town.

P W's bid to compare CP to the ANC 'disgusting' — Treurnicht

(11A)

Political Correspondent

Star 15/11/84

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said today it was absolutely disgusting that the State President, Mr P W Botha, had tried to compare his party with the ANC.

He was reacting to Mr Botha's speech last night in which Mr Botha said the CP would be falling into a trap by supporting alternative structures which clashed with the policies and administration of central government

Mr Botha said the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance had a stated policy of setting up alternative structures for every structure of authority in South Africa

He rebuked the Conservative Party for trying to restore petty apartheid by erecting segregation boards in the municipalities it controlled

Dr Treurnicht said he would react more fully to Mr Botha's speech in a statement to be released later today

● See Page 6.

'Rajbansi name gets best results'

CPT (T) 15/1/88 (11A)

DURBAN — The suspended chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, yesterday told the James Commission, which is investigating alleged irregularities in the House, that he would make a number of disclosures about some of his colleagues.

Mr Rajbansi took the witness stand yesterday morning and for over two hours gave the commission a preamble of his evidence.

He said he could not disclose discussions which he had had with the State President, but he said he would lead evidence about how his former Housing Minister, Mr Baldeo Dookie, could not give him a satisfactory explanation about the purchase of a piece of land in Maritzburg for R8,92 million when its value was only R3,5 million.

He said he would place on record how the leader of Solidarity, Dr J N Reddy, tried to become a bookseller and how the Progressive Federal Party's Mr Pat Poovalingam was a bookseller.

He said he would also lead evidence on how one of his deputy ministers, Mr S Pachai, who re-

DURBAN. — Mr Amichand Rajbansi will today make another attempt to get the chairman of the James Commission investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates to recuse himself when he applies for an urgent order in the Supreme Court, Maritzburg, to stop proceedings immediately.

Mr Rajbansi alleges that Mr Justice Neville James is biased. On Friday Mr Rajbansi unsuccessfully applied for the first time to get Mr James to recuse himself — Sapa

cently made a stand in Durban City Hall against the Group Areas Act, had asked him to create a buffer zone between an Indian and black residential area.

He said he had received a letter from a Mr T Singh who informed him that his (Mr Rajbansi's) political opponents were prepared to pay him (Mr Singh) money to make allegations against him.

He also said that two of his ministers, Mr R Bhana and Mr I Kathrada, made allegations that he employed people using "the language factor" and preferred to give jobs to Hindi-speaking applicants. He said he would deny

this evidence and prove to the contrary.

He said he was a person who believed in discipline and that he was not aggressive, yet witnesses to the James Commission had branded him the "Idi Amin" of Indian politics and a terrorist.

He said he would also deal at length with evidence given by another witness, Mr D G Pillay, whose company made a donation to Mr Rajbansi's National Peoples' Party.

"I have been accused of interference by a number of people. The role of the chairman of the Ministers' Council is such that it has no precedent and it is necessary that I am affected by any decision taken, no matter how small," said Mr Rajbansi.

He said the election outcome proved that the Rajbansi name got the best results.

There was a light-hearted moment in the proceedings when Mr Rajbansi said that when he spoke on public platforms his speeches lasted 60 minutes and that on one occasion in Parliament he spoke for four hours.

The commission chairman, the Hon Mr Neville James, told Mr Rajbansi that while he was interested in his speeches, he was glad Mr Rajbansi was not going to make any at the hearing — Sapa

Facts and Fallacies of a People's History

Volksgeskedens is "an uncritical history that glorified an Afrikaner past, vilified the British and presented blacks as savage barbarians", according to Mr Leslie Witz, a history lecturer at Johannesburg's Khanya College

Against that, he says, people's history aims at developing a critical approach to the past, at encouraging the exercise of independent judgment.

But if people's history is not a new species of propaganda masquerading as history, neither is it a political tranquilliser

If people's education aspires to people's power, people's history offers them power of a different sort, intellectual power, said Mr Witz, an MA graduate

Elaborating in the interview on his article in the latest edition of *SA International*, journal of the SA Foundation, Mr Witz says "People's history is giving people the power and skill to understand, to think critically. It is an empowering process."

People's history emerged formally from the work of a history commission set up by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC). Now fettered by emergency restrictions, the NECC was itself a product of the National Consultative Conference on education of December 1985

Since then a series of books has been published which, one way or another, facilitate the growth of people's history

One is the NECC-sponsored textbook,

People's education, the historical orthodoxy to Bantu Education, has developed its own history people's history. But it is "different from Afrikanerdom's 'Volksgeskedens'"

PATRICK LAURENCE reports

"What is History". Another is Mr Witz's book "Write Your Own History"

There are also a series of books published by Raven Press, including Luth Callincos's prize-winning "A People's History of South Africa" and two short histories on the Bulhoek massacre and — wait for it — liquor as a factor in South African history

The NECC textbook offers a series of exercises aimed at encouraging students to assess historical sources critically. Following E H Carr's advice to study the historian as much as his history, it seeks to raise awareness of the bias or prejudices of the narrator

Sharpeville shootings

One exercise involves reading four accounts of the Sharpeville shootings of 1969 in which 67 black people were shot, dead by police and scores more injured

They consist of an extract from a textbook used in white schools, which tells of the "threatening attitude of Bantu demonstrators", a few paragraphs from a book, which records that the "overwhelming majority" of the dead people were shot in the back, a newspaper report in the *Rand Daily Mail*,

which refers to "agitators", "menacing mobs" and "hordes", and an eyewitness account by journalist Humphrey Tyler, who describes the crowd as "amiable".

Students are invited to compare the attitudes of writers to the police and the demonstrators. The comparisons serve as a prelude to a general discussion. One conclusion seems inescapable

No student of "people's history" is going to be ignorant of, or reticent about, the Sharpeville shootings

Mr Witz offers similar exercises. One focuses on the shooting by a police constable of the Driefontein leader, Mr Saul Mkhize, in April 1983

It contains extracts from the court record of the trial of Constable Johannes Nienaber for the murder of Mr Mkhize. They include the evidence of Mr Mordechai Maseko, a resident at Driefontein, Constable Nienaber — who was acquitted — and a firearm investigator, Adjutant Officer Bazil Young

Students are asked a series of questions, which culminate in the pivotal question was Constable Nienaber guilty?

They are then given the actual judgment of Mr Justice P O de Villiers, who found that there was "a reasonable possibility that Constable Nienaber acted in self-defence" and, accordingly, acquitted him

The exercise does not end there. The students are asked to compare their assessment with the judge's and to ponder the disaffection of Driefontein residents, encapsulated in their view that "Mr Mkhize had been found guilty of causing his own death"

Mr Witz sums up people's history in two sentences "It is moving away from a text which students have to learn by heart. It is moving towards a critical understanding of the past"

Professor Rodney Davenport, of Rhodes University, offers a different — but not unsympathetic — perspective on people's history in an accompanying article in *SA International*

He links people's history to the new radical school of history which emerged in the 1970s to challenge the liberal historians. The radicals emphasise class rather than race as the motor force of South African history

Group solidarity

Their self-defined task, Professor Davenport says, was to write history to build up a sense of purpose in the workers "Thus, a new kind of 'people's history' began to emerge, in close proximity to the workers' struggle."

But while correcting imbalances in earlier historiography — what the Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko once referred to as the "appalling misrepresentation of facts" — the new people's history faces similar problems to Afrikaner *volksgeskedens*, Professor Davenport says

He identifies them as using history to inculcate "a sense of group solidarity" and, in attempting to reach wider audiences, imposing "norms of simplicity which require a bold line of argument rather than subtle qualification"

SA businessmen meet ANC

LUSAKA — A 17-member delegation from the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry in South Africa is visiting Zambia and has held a meeting with the ANC

The Chamber's deputy executive director, Mr Gabriel Mokgojo, described the meeting with ANC representatives as informal because no scheduled meeting had

been arranged. Representatives of the Chamber had met the ANC before and there was nothing special attached to this meeting, he added. *SA 15/11/88*

The delegation is visiting Zambia at the invitation of the Zambia Industrial and Commercial Association and is scheduled to visit Kenya later this week — The Star's Africa News Service

Chairman

Teach



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In memory of Yvonne Travers a dear friend and business associate for





AKGAS 23/11/88

Rajbansi makes urgent application to court

The Argus Correspondent
DURBAN.—The suspended chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, is making an urgent application to the Supreme Court today for an order directing the chairman of the commission investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates, Mr Justice Neville James, to control the public gallery, allow Mr Rajbansi to cross-examine witnesses and allow him to recall witnesses.

Mr Rajbansi has taken on a top legal team led by former Supreme Court judge Mr Anton Mostert SC for today's hearing.

Mr Mostert made headlines 10 years ago when he made public his investigation into the Information scandal which implicated the Secretary for Information, Mr Eschel Rhoadie, the then Minister of Interior Dr Connie Mulder and other government officials.

He was involved in a heated row with the then Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, who did not want Mr Mostert to disclose his findings.

However, Mr Mostert went ahead with a Press conference and released details, which confirmed for the first time the scandal in which millions of rands in taxpayers' money were used.

Mr Mostert was replaced and he resigned from the Supreme Court bench and went into private practice.

There was more controversy when Mr Mostert applied to be reinstated as an advocate. There were strong feelings in the legal community that judges should not be allowed to return and practice law as it would give them an unfair advantage over their colleagues.

With Mr Mostert will be advocate Mr Douglas Tobias who is serving as junior counsel. Instructing attorneys are Van Onselen, Coppen and O'Connell.

Mr Rajbansi has been involved in extensive legal moves since last week.

On Friday, he unsuccessfully applied for the recusal of Mr Justice James, who he alleged was biased against him.

Consultations with his legal team continued most of the weekend.

Mr Mostert's services were acquired and it was decided to go to the Supreme Court today.

Attempts by Mr Rajbansi to get an adjournment yesterday failed and he took the witness stand. At the end of the day's hearing he was still delivering his opening address

Mandela vigil at clinic resumes

NEWSPAPERMEN and TV crews resumed their Mandela vigil outside the Constantiaberg medical clinic in Cape Town yesterday.

However, there did not appear to be as many police as there were a week ago when rumours about Mr Mandela's imminent release were widespread.

The atmosphere, too, seemed more relaxed than it was when Mrs Winnie Mandela visited her husband on that occasion.

The same two police officers who were on duty in the foyer last week were back yesterday.

Journalists were again not allowed into the building unless they wanted to use a telephone, toilet or buy some refreshments.

Speaking from Johannesburg Mr Ismail Ayob, Mr Mandela's attorney, said he had heard "nothing" about his client's release.

"I've heard the rumours, but so far Mr Mandela has not requested me to see him," Mr Ayob said.

Star 15/11/88
'Can't fight and play' — Police

NTRU rejects talking to ANC

By Gerritt Erasmus

The Northern Transvaal Rugby Union unanimously accepted a resolution last night calling for no further negotiations with the ANC or other political organisations.

A proposal was put to the union's final committee meeting of the year by the Onderwyskollege representative, Dr Tieme van Staden, that NTRU clubs distance themselves from negotiations with the ANC.

During the two-hour meeting several delegates spoke out against last month's Harare talks between the SA Rugby Board, the black SA Rugby Union and the ANC.

This followed a summary by NTRU president Professor Fritz Eloff of proceedings at last Thursday's three-hour SARB meeting in Cape Town.

Professor Eloff said he had earlier condemned the talks, but that he was satisfied with the statement issued in Cape Town last week in which it was stated that talks with terrorist organisations would in future be avoided.

Colonel Piet Steyn (Pretoria Police) said policemen could not fight terrorists and, at the same time, talk rugby with them. He said the SARB statement was not clear enough and his club wanted the NTRU to take a firm stand.

Colonel Jakes Jacobs (Berea Park) said he had expected the NTRU to voice its disapproval of the talks at the SARB meeting and that he had considered severing all ties with rugby.

A life vice-president of the NTRU, Dr S Rautenbach, launched a personal attack on Dr Craven. He said he had lost all faith in the SARB president because Dr Craven was making decisions without the knowledge and approval of his board.

Dr Rautenbach questioned the wisdom of sending the SARB Pioneers team on a tour to South America "at a cost of R600 000".

Professor Eloff said he would not tolerate a personal attack on Dr Craven "without Dr Craven being here to defend himself".

Former Springbok centre Andre van Staden, president of the Pretoria Rugby Club, asked whether Dr Craven had considered the attitude of players when he agreed to the Harare talks.

Mr Hentie Serfontein, deputy president of the NTRU, said it was not necessary to take a stand after the SARB statement.

"The SARB has made it clear the ANC has been eliminated from future talks and the same applies to all other political organisations. According to the Cape Town statement these organisations will be avoided."

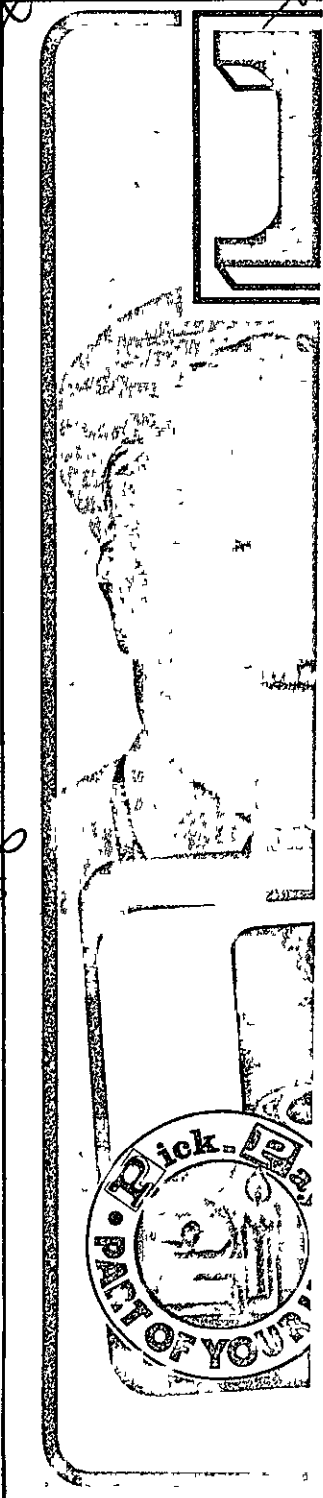
● From Cape Town last night, Dr Craven told Sapa he would not comment on the meeting.

"It is not worth replying to what Dr Rautenbach said."

"And as for the decision taken regarding the ANC, this is an old thing and I also see no reason to make any comment."



Dr Craven ... not worth replying to the comments of Dr Rautenbach.



SA lifts restrictions on Mozambicans

Restrictions on the recruitment of Mozambican workers by the South African agricultural and mining industries are to be lifted in terms of an agreement concluded by the Mozambican Minister of Labour, Mr Aguar Mazula, and South Africa's Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis.

Sapa reports that Mr Mazula, who is on a three-day visit to South Africa with officials of his department, held talks on labour matters with Mr Du Plessis in Pretoria yesterday.

Mr Du Plessis said after the meeting that Mozambicans could be recruited and employed legally once again, following the suspension of recruitment in 1985 because of security difficulties. He pointed out, however, that priority was still being given to available South African workers.

The Minister said that the problem of Aids would be taken into account when workers were recruited.

Blast destroys 200 m of track

The Star's Africa News Service

MAPUTO — Mozambican rebels have destroyed 200 metres of the railway line between the northern port of Nacala and the city of Nampula, it was announced here yesterday.

A train was derailed when it detonated an explosive device about 53 km east of Nampula on Friday. The commander of the train's military escort lost two fingers of his left hand.

The railway line also links Nacala to landlocked Malawi but trains have been unable to use it for many years.

Malawian troops are stationed in Mozambique to protect gangs repairing and replacing tracks. Foreign funds have made the work possible.

Front 'wanted to destroy education system'

UDF's rejection of violence questioned

Star 16/11/88

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If the United Democratic Front were an organisation committed to non-violence one would have expected it to have urged Nelson Mandela to renounce violence and join the UDF, the "Delmas" treason trial judge said yesterday when he began delivering his 1521-page judgment

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst was dealing with evidence on the UDF's policy on violence and cited the organisation's response on the conditional release of Nelson Mandela

The UDF had observed that renunciation of violence would be unacceptable to the jailed ANC leader

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said the question to be asked was not whether there was an express policy of violence in the UDF but rather whether violence had been explicitly rejected by it

He acknowledged that the UDF was a loose grouping and that one part could not be held responsible for the actions of another. But the views of those

By Adele Baleta
and Jo-Anne Collinge

who spoke on UDF platforms were not unknown to the leadership

If non-violence were a UDF principle then immediate, drastic action against any speaker who even obliquely advocated violence could have been expected

On the UDF's role in school boycotts and other actions by pupils from 1983 to 1985, the judge said "The UDF regarded scholars, students and non-working youth as forces in the freedom struggle and supported, directed and manipulated them to that end"

He added that the UDF wanted to destroy the education system, and the means was to be the actions of the pupils

During the course of school boycotts, participants broke the law — for instance, the prohibition on outdoor gatherings "It was inevitable that the police would act

"Violent confrontation was inescapable. The UDF never spoke out against the illegal actions of the scholars"

Earlier in the day, the judge dealt with several of the defence's arguments on the nature of the main charge of treason, which concerns the alleged conspiracy by the UDF to overthrow the State by violence

Where the defence had argued that the State had drafted its indictment in such a way that the conspiracy was confined to members of management structures of the UDF and its affiliates, the judge found this was not so

The defence argued that the conspiracy had to have been entered into between January 1983 and August 1983. The judge ruled that the State's case was not restricted to these time limits

There were 19 accused with 19 indictments and the State's case against each stood or fell on its own merits

Judgment continues today

Judge withdraws bail for 8 Delmas treason accused

By Adele Baleta and Jo-Anne Collinge

Bail for eight of the 19 accused in the Delmas treason trial was withdrawn yesterday as Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst began his judgment on the 438th day of the trial in Pretoria's Palace of Justice

Three men who have been in custody for three years, having consistently been refused bail, emerged from the cells at the start of the day to cheers and clenched fist salutes from a packed public gallery

LEADING UDF FIGURES

They are key United Democratic Front figures, national secretary Mr Popo Molefe, publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota and a former Transvaal secretary, Mr Moss Chikane

At midday, 11 men filed down the stairs to the cells, among them 63-year-old Mr Sam Matlole

The key question in the trial is whether the accused, through their involvement with the UDF, conspired to overthrow the State by violence.

The State alleges that this seizure of power was plotted either in association with the African National Congress or within the ranks of UDF members or supporters

The UDF 1983/84 campaign against black local authorities was "an effective means of mobilising the masses and fanning the flames of their white hot anger", Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst found

He continued "When the eruption came — as was inevitable — the UDF rejoiced in its success and gloried in its victory"

The judge said that the UDF had achieved this through its office-bearers and publications.

"It will be seen that there were no holds barred. The effects were stinging, vituperous, malicious and defamatory. Often criticism was true. Often criticism was grossly exaggerated or blatantly untrue"

The judge observed that there were virtually two cases "held together with the spider's web of an alleged conspiracy"

The first concerned the UDF, its aims and its effects countrywide. The second concerned the effects of the UDF and its affiliates in the Vaal Triangle

The eight accused whose bail was withdrawn are Mr Goina Mahindi, Mr David Mphuti, Mr Naphtali Nkopane, Mr Ephraim Ramakgula, Sekwati Mokoena, Jacob Hlanyane, Mr Thomas Manthata and Mr Sam Matlole. The other accused are the Rev Tebogo Moselane, Mr Patrick Baleka, Mr Oupa Hlomoka, Mr Thabiso Ratsomo, Mr Petrus Mokoena, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, Mr Simon Nkoli and Mr Jerry Thopane

● See Page 3

Rajbansi tells of misgivings in court

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Mr Amichand Rajbansi, the suspended chairman of the House of Delegates, said in papers before the Supreme Court yesterday that he had had increasing misgivings about the manner in which proceedings of the James Commission had been conducted.

He said he had been approached by several of his advisers and "unsolicited members of the public" expressing the same view. The commission, which has been inquiring into alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates, has been sitting since July.

Mr Rajbansi said, this in an affidavit supporting his application before Mr Justice Page for an order against Natal's former Judge President, Mr Neville James, the commission's chairman.

Yesterday's application was resolved out of court following negotiations between counsel for the opposing parties.

Former judge Mr Anton Mostert, SC, assisted by Mr Douglas Tobias, appeared for Mr Rajbansi. Mr Ron McLaren, SC, assisted by Mr Con Hartzberg, represented Mr James.

Mr Justice Page ordered that the application be adjourned sine die (indefinitely) after Mr Mostert said the issues had been resolved "to the mutual satisfaction of the parties." No further details of the settlement were given.

IN a trim, brick townhouse near a fortified police station lives a soft-spoken bespectacled old man

The police consider him a threat to state security To others he is a national hero

Govan Mbeki (78) was freed from prison a year ago, 23 years after he Nelson Mandela and other African National Congress leaders received life sentences for conspiring against the white-led government

Mandela and five co-defendants remain in custody, but there are persistent hints they may soon be released If they go free one factor will have been Mbeki's willingness to endure severe restrictions that have cut him off from many of the blacks who revere him

"The future of Mandela and others is to some extent in Mr Mbeki's hands," a government official said last year

Within a month of his release, Mbeki was prohibited from leaving the area around Port Elizabeth barred from addressing meetings and banned from writing for publications

He may receive visitors at his two-storey apartment in New Brighton, a black township adjoining Port Elizabeth, but he cannot be quoted in the media

"His presence is symbolic," said the Rev Mcebisi Xundu, an Anglican minister who knows Mbeki well "His release was a resurrection No one expected to see him this side of the grave"

Immediately after his release, Mbeki reaffirmed his support for the ANC's guerilla campaign and his allegiance to the outlawed South African

To cops he's a threat to State security, but to others he's a national hero

So far
16/11/88
11A

Two views about Govan Mbeki



GOVAN Mbeki "his presence is symbolic"



Communist Party His steadfastness has earned him deep respect in New Brighton and neighbouring townships which form one of the most militant, pro-ANC strongholds in South Africa

By DAVID CRARY of Associated Press

Mbeki, a former teacher and journalist, moved to the area in 1955 and became the ANC's national chairman the next year

Symbol

He's a legend said a government - employed librarian "He's a symbol of hope that Mandela and the others will be freed"

A visitor to Mbeki's home encounters a gracious relaxed man whose eloquence brings to mind a retired

professor He reads a great deal, including pro-government newspapers, and receives a steady stream of guests

Mbeki's wife and daughter live in the black homeland of Transkei and visit only occasionally His three sons left South Africa for political reasons - one of them, Thabo, is one of the leaders of the ANC

Associates say Mbeki manages to communicate with his sons and other colleagues despite restrictions

He's got hot lines all over, said Judy Chalmers, regional co-ordinator of the Black Sash civil rights group

Mr Xundu said the restriction that irks Mbeki most is the one barring him from publishing articles

"He would like to write his thoughts and engage intellectually with the powers that be Mr Xundu said

Associates have the impression that Mbeki views the Government's limited reforms of steady years as cosmetic changes that do not address the fundamental issues of black political rights

They say Mbeki has a deeply rooted optimism that black majority rule is inevitable

Under apartheid blacks have no vote in national affairs and a white minority controls the economy and maintains separate schools and districts

Rights

A local human rights worker Mike Mjekula said the restrictions on Mbeki have been difficult on the former prisoner

They (the Government) have managed to release him and silence him and create a situation where he is useless Mr Mjekula said

Mr Mjekula predicted the Government would try similar measures to control Mandela But many blacks believe Mandela aware of the intense international spotlight on his condition would not accept such restraints

Since his release one of Mbeki's few public statements was the text of an undelivered speech that his lawyers submitted in an unsuccessful court challenge on his restrictions

Said one activist about Mbeki "They (the Government) are trying to bury a man alive They're not going to succeed"

RELEASED A YEAR AGO

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg

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• Write to the Editor at PO Box 6663 Johannesburg 2000 Nom de-plumes can be used but full names and addresses should be supplied or the letter will not be published



Call to free Zeph Mothopeng

16/11/88
5000 for

• From page 11A

spoke with grief about Mr. Mothopeng's "declining health" after visiting him last Saturday.

The family also demanded that

• A doctor appointed by the family be allowed to treat Mr Mothopeng

• That lawyers who tried three times to visit Mr Mothopeng, be allowed to do so.

• That, for the time Mr Mothopeng is in prison, he should not be kept alone in a cell without being attended to and should be served meals on time

Mrs Mothopeng said "My husband was taken to a clinic for an operation without him knowing that he was to be operated on or we being told He was told he was going for a check-up until minutes before the operation"

She said when they visited Mr Mothopeng at the prison after he was suddenly removed from the clinic he was "very angry".

He had a swollen neck,

legs, and he had turned a dark colour. The prison officials refused permission for a private doctor who the family wanted to appoint to treat Mr Mothopeng and also to two lawyers who made applications to visit Mr Mothopeng.

Mrs Mothopeng said her husband was "fuming with anger" at the weekend when the family visited him.

The Press conference was addressed by the general secretary of the Media Workers' Association of SA, Mr Sithembale Khala, who spent years with Mr Mothopeng on Robben Island where he was imprisoned from 1979 until 1985.

Mr Khala was transferred to the Diepkloof Prison shortly after Mr Mothopeng was taken there. He said Mr Mothopeng fell ill in 1976 when detained at the Old Fort prison in Johannesburg. Five other organisations addressed the conference demanding that Mr Mothopeng be given "proper medical attention" without delay.

'SA spy' Olivia Forsyth is 'expelled' from Angola

ARGUS
16/11/88

The Argus Foreign Service

LISBON. — The Angolan government has expelled Miss Olivia Forsyth, who has spent months as a refugee in the British embassy in Luanda

In a dispatch from Luanda yesterday, Angop, the official Angolan news agency, said the Angolan government had accused Miss Forsyth, a former South African university student, of spying for Pretoria.

The agency said Miss Forsyth, 28, was "expelled today, Tuesday," but did not say if she had already left the country or where she would go.

The agency said she had entered Angola illegally, adding that she had been recruited by South African "intelligence services" in 1981 and held SADF number W 89853 and "agent" number R5407.

Meanwhile Britain has signalled its

annoyance at the Angolan government's handling of the Forsyth affair by suggesting that it would not allow a Minister to visit Luanda until the alleged South African spy was allowed to leave. Miss Forsyth holds a British passport.

A senior Angolan diplomat said yesterday Britain had told his country Mrs Lynda Chalker, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, would not visit Angola until Miss Forsyth was set free.

"We do not understand this link," the diplomat said. "Why should she (Chalker) fail to come to Angola only because of one person"

A Foreign Office spokesman said no trip to Angola had been scheduled for Mrs Chalker anyway. But he added "What we are saying is that it is difficult for a visit to go on in the present circumstances."

6pm tomorrow

Flames fanned by UDF — judge

PRETORIA — The UDF used its campaign against local black authorities to mobilise the masses and fan the flames of their anger, a Pretoria Supreme Court judge found yesterday.

Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst said this during the first day of his judgment on the 19 "Delmas" treason trialists.

"Since its inception the UDF has campaigned against local black authorities. It did so through its office-bearers and publications. As will be seen, no holds were barred," he said.

"The attacks were vituperative, malicious and defamatory... It was an effective means of mobilising the masses and fanning the flames of their anger.

"When the eruption came, as was inevitable, the UDF rejoiced at its success and gloried in its victory."

Earlier, the judge said the judgment was 1 521 pages long and would be handed down at the conclusion.

SUSAN RUSSELL

The 19 activists have pleaded not guilty to treason and alternative charges of terrorism and subversion, and five counts of murder arising from the death of four Vaal councillors.

The group includes prominent leaders of the UDF, Azapo and the Vaal Civic Association. Allegations against them centre on the violence and political upheaval in black areas in the Vaal Triangle during 1984.

It is also alleged the 19 were involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the state with violence and that the UDF campaigned against local black authorities and succeeded in directing the masses towards violence in the Vaal Triangle and 31 other areas.

Three of the accused — UDF national

● To Page 2

UDF fanned flames of anger — judge

secretary Popo Molefe, UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota and former UDF Transvaal executive member Moss Chikane — are in custody

The others were on bail, but the judge said yesterday bail of eight accused had been cancelled pending the conclusion of his judgment

He said the Congress of SA Students was one of the original members of the UDF and its most important affiliate. It was this organisation which formed part

of the task force in the liberation struggle and the two waged a campaign against the Department of Education and Training (DET).

"The documents to which we have referred lead to the conclusion that the UDF regarded student scholars and non-working youth as forces in the freedom struggle and supported, directed and manipulated them to that end."

Judgment continues today.

● From Page 1

ANC WAS Glorified - JUDGE

Sowetan 17/11/88

11A
[Signature]

THE UDF leadership aligned itself to revolutionary speeches and slogans, praised leaders of the African National Congress and expressed no regrets or abhorrence to the "ghastly murders" of black community councillors, a Pretoria Supreme Court judge said yesterday.

Delivering his 1 500-page judgment in the Delmas Treason trial, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst sitting with an assessor, said UDF leaders at their meetings, also referred to the Government as an "enemy", a "vicious minority Botha regime", and "a terrorist government"

The judge also commented that speeches delivered by UDF leaders at the launch and rally of the organisation on August 20, 1983, were "fiercely" anti-Government. The speeches and slogans were revolutionary, ANC leaders Tambo and Mandela were lauded and people were urged to die fighting for freedom, said Mr Justice van Dijkhorst who remarked that the UDF was a pro-ANC and pro-revolu-

SAPA

tionary organisation

The 19 accused, who include three high ranking officials of the UDF — Mr Popo Molefe, general secretary, Mr Terror Lekota, publicity secretary and Mr Moses Chikane former Transvaal secretary, have pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, terrorism, subversion and murder in what has been described as the longest political trial in South Africa

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said the court had reached a conclusion that the UDF's policy of destroying the Black Local Authority entailed loss of lives — a move which was foreseen by the UDF leadership

Sowetan 17/11/68

Mothopeng

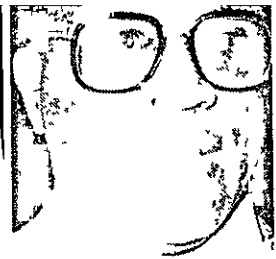
114
THE South African Prisons Services yesterday said allegations that the PAC president, Mr Zephaniah Mothopeng (75), was not receiving "proper medical treatment" were "far fetched"

In a telexed response to the *Sowetan*, a spokesman for the Prisons Services said "Mr Mothopeng is receiving specialised treatment for his ailment, is under the constant

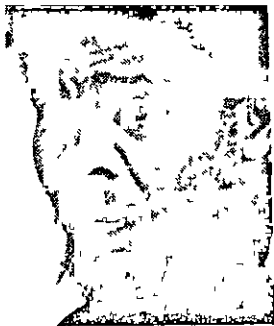
supervision of fully trained medical staff and any prescription, reference or instruction of a specialist or district surgeon is strictly adhered to."

The spokesman also said: "Any prisoner who is party to civil proceedings or is an accused in a criminal action may request to have consultations with his legal representative in connection with such proceedings or action

THERE IS NO CREDIT



THE Rev Stanley Mogoba



Mr MUNTU Myeza

Shooting condemned

Conservatives

THE Conservative Party yesterday condemned the shootings in Pretoria when a lone white gunman went on the rampage, shooting six black people dead and wounding several others

The party's law and order spokesman, Mr Casper Uys, said in a statement the killings could in no way be justified

"This behaviour cannot contribute to a solution of the country's problems," he said — Sapa

Myeza

THE shooting was a curtain-raiser to the culture shock that South Africa would experience as a result of whites having cocooned themselves against black people, Mr Muntu Myeza, of the Biko Foundation, said yesterday

"That the action was carried out by a member of the AWB is an indication of the rabidity of 300 years of racism

"The politically puerile attempt to equate white conservatism with black demands by black organisations is balderdash at its highest. When (Minister Adriaan) Vlok and (President P W) Botha say they will not tolerate leftwing or rightwing radicalism they are in fact escaping the blatant threat that faces them," Mr Myeza said

Methodists

THE shooting illustrated the futility of retaliatory violence in a land that was already deeply "pockmarked" by the scars of the violent actions "of those who see

its use as a means to an end," the Methodist Church of Southern Africa said yesterday

In a statement, the president of the Church, the Reverend Stanley Mogoba, said Methodists throughout Southern Africa "and indeed the world Methodist community," would mourn this further escalation of violence

"During my recent addresses to the Methodist conference in Queenstown, I emphasised the need for people to begin to come together. In doing so, I warned that the advent of organisations such as the Wit Wolve boded ill for the future as they simply added to the problems already confronting us"

Nationalists

A DELEGATE at the Transvaal National Party congress yesterday morning demanded the immediate banning of the AWB because of Tuesday's slayings

At the start of the congress proceedings, Mr Roger Naude of Ogies, asked to put an urgent order motion

"We are not being believed by the blacks when we say we will act against radicals both to the left and the right," he said

He referred to the Minister of Law and Order's undertakings repeated to the Congress on Tuesday night and said

"How many black organisations haven't we banned? They just don't believe us when we say we will act against right (wing) radicals

"These rightist activists with their divisive organisations must be banned"

Editor speaks ^{11A} on empowerment

Sowetan 17/11/88

ABOUT 200 business delegates at a meeting yesterday bowed their heads and observed a moment of silence in sympathy with the killing of six people and the wounding of 17 others in a wild shooting rampage in Pretoria on Tuesday.

The silence was observed shortly before the Editor of *City Press*

newspaper, Mr Khulu Sibiyi, addressed a conference whose theme was based on bridging the gap between the informal and formal sectors held at the Market Theatre, Johannesburg.

Mr Sibiyi said the shooting was a sad affair. It took place at the time when business was talking about political, economic and social awareness in South Africa.

Mr. Sibiyi spoke on black economic empowerment which he said should go hand in glove with political empowerment. The two, he said, were inseparable.

He strongly believed that the betterment of blacks in South Africa should be fought from all fronts, with politicians and economists side by side.

'Gunman' speaks out

THE MAN allegedly responsible for shooting dead six blacks and injuring 15 sent a statement to the media earlier this year detailing the reasons for his discharge from the South African Police

In his statement, Mr Barnd Hendrik Strydom said he was "confronted" by the Security Branch on October 23, 1987 at Heidelberg, while he was stationed at the De Deur Police Station

He was later arrested and held at Vereeniging

"The Security Police confiscated articles, which have no bearing on the case, in my room

"They also found the photograph, in which I appear with a knife in one hand and the head of a black man in my other hand, which was locked in my trunk

"The photograph was taken during a culpable homicide (incident)

"The purpose of the photograph was to frame

it with the heading 'ANC beware' "

Mr Strydom continued "Some of the articles confiscated are political documents of legal political parties and/or organisations, such as the AWB documents

"It appears to me that I was prosecuted because I was in the possession of AWB documents "

Mr Strydom said "I am a policeman and was held under precarious circumstances among other criminals "

According to Mr Strydom, he was a volunteer who fought several times on the border "but was never acknowledged during medal parades "

Mr Strydom said in his statement that no charges of murder, culpable homicide, kidnapping or assault against him were ever investigated "and you can see that I have good human relations and also advance it " — Sapa

Prayer service for Zeph

THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Archbishop Desmond Mpilo Tutu, will lead a prayer service for the ailing Pan Africanist Congress president, Mr Zephania Mothopeng (75), at Lekton House in Johannesburg today at 7.30pm.

The president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the Rev Alan Boesak, will also address the audience. The South African Council of Churches, the National Council of Trade, Unions and the Congress of South African Trade Unions have been invited to the prayer service

The service has been organised to pray for the speedy recovery of Mr Mothopeng who was this week reported to be experiencing a decline in health

The prayer service will be held on the 2nd Floor of Lekton House, 5 Wanderers Street, in Johannesburg. All are welcome

DEATH PENALTY

RADIO 702's John Berks is to host a talk show beginning at 9am today on the question whether the death penalty should be abolished and listeners are invited to participate in the discussion.

"Do you think the death penalty should be abolished?", will be the topic, and the guest will be Professor Etienne Mureinik, an executive

Forbes 'morally conscripted'

111A
South

17-23/11/88

ASHLEY Forbes and his co-trialists in the Supreme Court terrorism trial felt "morally conscripted to act against the South African government and the system of apartheid", the court was told this week.

Giving evidence in mitigation of sentence Mr. Frank Molteno, a University of Cape Town sociology

lecturer, said he considered himself an expert on the social conditions in the communities in which the trialists were raised.

The South African government and the system of apartheid were seen in those communities as illegitimate and unjust, oppressive and exploitative.

A well-integrated society had, an

overall system of basic values and world views which were shared by the whole population.

These values were expressed in widely-shared cultural practices and written into the laws of the country to protect the interests of that society and people behaved according to those common values.

In South Africa things were

different because the country was deeply divided along political and economic lines.

Different social conditions for different race groups meant "radically different experiences, perceptions, meanings, norms, values and world views", Molteno said.

Thus meant that actions which one group believed were treasonous could be viewed as legitimate by others.

The roots of the so-called coloured population lay in historical disadvantage and deprivation and they had always had "subordinate social status".

The inferior and segregated education system for coloureds contributed to this, Molteno said.

11A South 17-23/11/88

UDF 'CONVICTED'

A PRETORIA judge this week paved the way for the outright banning of the United Democratic Front (UDF)

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst's strong indictment in the Supreme Court, Pretoria of the objectives and activities of the UDF is expected to provide the government with the necessary moral and legal grounds to outlaw the front.

In what has been dubbed the "Delmas Trial", in which three prominent UDF leaders and 16 others are appearing on treason and other charges, the judge said the front had a "revolutionary attitude"

High noon at Palace of Justice

— See page 2

He said the UDF had conducted the "most vicious" campaign against black local authorities to mobilise the masses and fan the flames of their anger and hatred

"It did so through its office bearers and publications. As will be seen, no holds were barred."

At times the attacks were defamatory.

"When the eruption came, as was inevitable, the UDF rejoiced at its success and gloried in its victory."

He said there was an absence of proof that the UDF policy was non-violent

"The aims and objectives of the UDF are wide enough to incorporate violent and non-violent sectors."

'UDF leaders linked to ANC'

PRETORIA — The dominant part of the UDF leadership acted as the internal wing of the ANC, "Delmas" treason trial judge, Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst, found yesterday.

Having set out to create a mass organisation, the ANC claimed fatherhood of the UDF, he said.

The judge made this finding during the second day of his 1 521 page judgment in the trial of 19 black activists charged with treason and alternative charges of terrorism, subversion and five counts of murder.

The alternative murder charges arise from the deaths of four Vaal councillors during political unrest in 1984.

The 19 include prominent leaders of the UDF, Azapo, the Vaal Civic Association and one leading member of Azanian National Youth Unity.

UDF national secretary Popo Molefe, UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota and former Transvaal executive member Moss Chikane are among the 19.

The three have been kept in custody during the trial and made five unsuccessful bail applications.

The rest were on bail until yesterday when the judge said the bail for eight of them was withdrawn.

It is alleged the 19 were involved in a conspiracy to overthrow the state with violence and that the UDF campaigned

SUSAN RUSSELL 17/11/88

against local black authorities and directed the masses towards violence in the Vaal Triangle and 31 other areas. All have pleaded not guilty.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said yesterday it was overwhelmingly probable that the call by the ANC in 1983 for a united front was a major factor, if not the sole cause, of the UDF's formation.

The UDF, he added, was conceived at a meeting of ANC supporters.

He said a disproportionate number of ex-ANC members, present and former convicts were patrons of, or held executive positions in the UDF.

© See Page 4

The ANC was popularised at UDF meetings, the campaigns of the two organisations were "materially the same" and the UDF had failed to condemn the ANC's policy of violence.

The UDF's policies on all points were the same as the ANC's and where the ANC held a policy of violence, the UDF was ambiguous, said the judge.

He rejected defence evidence that the UDF was a homegrown organisation with no links to the ANC. He also rejected testimony that the UDF did not know what the ANC campaigns were.

Fate of 6 000 troops remains in limbo

ANC bases in Angola to close if talks succeed

Blades
17/11/88

LONDON — ANC bases in Angola will be closed if proposals agreed upon by Angolan, SA and Cuban officials in Geneva this week are fully implemented.

The fate of the 6 000 ANC troops in Angola remained in limbo as the delegations focused on their narrowing differences on Cuban troop withdrawals.

But prior to departing for home the Angolan and SA delegation leaders agreed that if the governments approved the package they had negotiated, the two countries would get around to negotiating an agreement to close the ANC bases.

SA delegation leader, Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden, said that subject to the governments approving the proposals reached in Geneva, all agreements would be formulated with reference to the principles accepted in New York earlier this year.

The principles state that all parties must respect each other's sovereignty, may not interfere in each other's af-

MIKE ROBERTSON

fairs, nor allow their territory to be used for "acts of war, aggression, or violence against other states"

Angolan delegation leader General Antino dos Santos Franca Ndalu said he inferred from this that SA's support for Unita should come to an end.

IAN HOBBS reports that Britain yesterday welcomed the outcome of the talks as a major step forward to peace in the region. It said it was ready to play a "full part" in the UN programme to monitor transition in Namibia.

There was similar warm acclaim from other EC governments.

In Lisbon, Unita welcomed the "progress" but said it awaited a full explanation of the implications.

ANO reports that Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda welcomed the news of a likely agreement yesterday. But he said, there would be no meeting between Frontline state leaders and President P W Botha until SA proved it would free Namibia next year.

'Front set out to mobilise masses against Govt'

UDF found to be ANC surrogate

STW 17/11/86

11A

By Jo-Anne Collinge

A dominant part of the leadership of the United Democratic Front (UDF) acted as an internal wing of the African National Congress, "Delmas" treason trial judge Mr Justice van Dijkhorst concluded during the second day of judgment yesterday in Pretoria's Palace of Justice.

Dealing with the question of the link between the UDF and the ANC, he accepted that the "overwhelming probabilities are that the call of the ANC national executive committee on January 8 1983 (for the formation of a united front) was a major factor — if not the sole reason — for the formation of the United Democratic Front".

The judge said he could not make a finding on the validity of the defence's position that the UDF was formed as a result of a call made by Dr Allan Boesak at the Anti-South African Indian Council Committee congress in January of the same year.

He observed that the ANC had claimed "father-ship" of the front in several documents and added that UDF policy was on many points similar to that of the ANC.

Legal history

There are 19 accused in the trial, the longest in South African legal history. Three of the accused are prominent UDF figures — national secretary Mr Popo Molefe, publicity secretary Mr Terror Lekota and a former Transvaal secretary, Mr Moss Chikane. All of these have been in custody for more than 40 months.

Most of the remaining 16 accused are linked to the UDF-affiliated Vaal Civic Association and some to the Azanian People's Organisation. Until Tuesday they were all at liberty, but at the outset of judgment the bail of eight was revoked.

The central point at issue is whether the accused were involved in a UDF conspiracy to overthrow the State by violence or threats of violence. The prosecution alleges that this plot was formed either within the UDF alone or in association with the ANC.

The alternative charges are terrorism, sedition and murder. They relate mainly to events in the Vaal Triangle in the period surrounding the rent protest of September 3 1984.

Addressing the question of the UDF and vio-

lence, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst acknowledged that the organisation had stated repeatedly in the press that it was non-violent.

But he said the question had to be posed whether the UDF spoke with a "forked tongue", saying one thing in the press to a mostly white readership and another to audiences in the township.

He acknowledged that in its campaign against the tricameral Parliament in 1984 the UDF had pursued a non-violent policy. But he said this was not surprising as the aim was to persuade coloured and Indian people not to vote and any violence would have "scuttled" this plan.

He also said that it was not the State's case that UDF policy excluded non-violent protest. The issue was whether this protest was merely a way to set the masses in motion for the overthrow of the State.

He noted that the defence had pointed to the UDF's call for a national convention as evidence that it favoured a negotiated settlement, not violence.

But he said that while the UDF stated this in the press, it never made public its preconditions for such a national convention, which rendered the plan "an absolute non-starter". The conditions included the unbanning of banned organisations, the release of all political prisoners and the return of exiles.

He observed that the UDF spoke of violence as the likely outcome of Government policies, such as the implementation of the new constitution.

The judge disputed that the UDF was in a position to "sagaciously predict violence". He reasoned "There can be no doubt that the UDF was the greatest supporter of the ANC inside South Africa," and that it had set out to mobilise the masses against the Government.

Therefore when the UDF predicted violence in certain circumstances these predictions could be seen as threats of violence.

The judgment, which is a 1 500-page document, continues today.

In addition to the three UDF accused, the others on trial are Mr Geina Malindi, Mr David Mphuti, Mr Naphtali Nkopane, Mr Ephraim Ramagula, Mr Sekwati Mokoena, Mr Jacob Hlangane, Mr Thomas Manthata and Mr Sam Matlole (all back in custody since Tuesday), and the Rev Tebogo Moselane, Mr Patrick Baleka, Mr Oupa Hlomoka, Mr Thabiso Ratsomo, Mr Petrus Mokoena, Mr Bavumile Vilakazi, Mr Simon Nkoli and Mr Jerry Thopane.

UDF failed to denounce violence — judge

PRETORIA — While UDF documentation claimed the destruction of the local black authority system as a great victory in statements and documents, expressions of regret about the murder of councillors and arson were glaringly absent, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said yesterday.

He made this comment during the second day of his judgment in the "Delmas" treason trial.

The 19 activists on trial have pleaded not guilty to treason and alternative charges of terrorism, subversion and five counts of murder.

Yesterday, the judge dealt at length with UDF documentation and tapes and videos of UDF meetings and those of affiliated organisations.

He said: "Where is the condemnation by this so-called non-violent organisation of these grossly violent acts? No where does it condemn violence or the destruction of property."

"One has to conclude that the destruction of the local black authority system, of necessity entailed a loss of life and destruction of property and this was foreseen by the UDF."

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst also dealt

with a UDF statement calling for the scrapping of apartheid, the tricameral system and the SADF.

"One need not say more about this statement. Other than that it is an unequivocal declaration of war on the state."

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said the UDF decided to replace local black authorities with people's organisations.

Referring to another document, he said if regard was had to the violent schools' boycotts leading to deaths, riots and large-scale destruction, attacks on councillors and the resultant death and destruction, it could in no way be interpreted as preaching non-violence.

Launch

The judge said the launch of the Soweto Youth Congress was held with the full participation and concurrence of the UDF leaders.

The speeches, songs and slogans at the launch were pro-ANC and often revolutionary.

At no stage did any of the UDF leaders repudiate the strong speech but, on the contrary, participated.

The judge said this was more than a meeting. The launch of a new youth organisation in Soweto, which would be

SUSAN RUSSELL

an affiliate, was regarded as being of prime importance to the UDF.

Referring to a video of the UDF's national conference and launch in 1983, the judge said it was consistent with the pattern found at virtually all UDF meetings.

It was fiercely anti-government and the songs were openly revolutionary and in praise of revolutionary leaders such as Oliver Tambo.

Language was often couched in terms to be understood that violent action was propagated.

Phrases like "fight to destroy the system", "not even bullets can stop us" and "this brutal system" sprang to mind, the judge said, and these in the context of the songs and slogans would be understood by an unsophisticated person to be unequivocally revolutionary.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said a convicted murderer, Solomon Mahlangu, was called great and the unbridled violence of the 1976 uprising was never disapproved of.

The riots were called a fight for free-

dom and slogans had a Marxist tendency.

Referring to a youth meeting in Vryburg, the judge said the fighting talk was like putting a match to dry grass.

The fact that there was not a call for immediate violence on this occasion was irrelevant.

UDF meetings clearly identified with the ANC and there was never a clear stand against violence as would have been expected if that had been UDF policy.

Failed

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said he failed to see why an organisation which so strongly opposed government and used such vehement language should not, at all times when such strong language could be understood to refer to violent action, unequivocally and immediately state it deplored violence.

He said: "We just don't find this in the documents."

The judge rejected the submission that the UDF's call for a National Convention had been genuine. "Although this was not spelled out it was clearly the view that the major parties would be the ANC, UDF and government."

"The first combination stand for a constitution based on the Freedom Charter

"The form of state envisaged is radically and fundamentally different from the economic and political structure of this country

"In view of the declared stance of government on separate group identities which has been the mandate from the electorate for decades, it was clear to any observer that a National Convention was an extremely remote possibility

"No officer bearer of the UDF could have thought a national convention could be possible when the pre-conditions were, inter alia, the disarmament and disbanding of the police and SADF, the return of ANC exiles and the suspension of the constitution"

The judge said this showed the UDF was not genuinely interested in a National Convention but in the transfer of power to the people

There was no doubt, the UDF was the ANC's greatest supporter in SA and had also set out to organise the masses and lead them against government.

FINE POINTS DELAY
STATE OUTLINE PLAN

THESE MEETINGS ARE NOT IN SUPPORT OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY

The implications of a Mandela release



If Nelson Mandela and his Rivonia colleagues are soon freed, the anti-apartheid leaders of the 1950s will be coming out of prison just as legal proceedings against their counterparts of the 1980s wind up.

The release may also presage important realignments in both parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

Modern South African political history has been punctuated by famous trials, usually known by place names.

Marathon trials

The historical parallel between the two marathon trials, spanning more than 20 years, goes deep both trials reached conclusion in Court C of Pretoria's Palace of Justice, both groups of accused faced the maximum penalty; both groups, curiously, were defended by advocates Mr.

By SHAUN JOHNSON and EDDIE KOCH of The Weekly Mail

Arthur Chaskalson and Mr George Bizos

But, most importantly, both trials took place in the aftermath of nationwide resistance to apartheid indeed, precisely because of that resistance.

Mandela and his co-accused were charged with plotting the violent overthrow of the South African Government after the banning of the ANC in 1960.

Molefe's and the others' charges are framed in a more contemporary idiom, but amount to the same thing. Their involvement was in what has come to be known as the "Vaal Uprising" of September 1984, the spasm of outrage which sparked the nationwide "long wave" of resistance lasting until 1986.

There is no reason to believe that the latest rash of "Mandela release" speculation has any more substance — save for its level of hysteria — than the hundreds of rumours which preceded it.

Nevertheless, such is Mandela's political magnetism that mere ru-

welcoming Mandela and his Rivonia compatriots.

According to some sources, there is talk of setting up national and regional committees to see to practical arrangements such as media exposure, accommodation, family welfare — as well as political debriefing — for the veterans.

Representatives from a variety of anti-apartheid groups outside UDF circles may be included on the reception committees: white-liberal groups, homeland leaders opposing "independence" and even resistance groups whose ideals differ from the non-racial principles of the ANC.

Clearly, there are far more people who would want to turn to the Rivonia leadership rather than the UDF or Cosatu," says one source.

Other sources say that the reception committees could be embryonic forms of a broad front to oppose apartheid.

All stress, however, that many decisions and directions may well be changed when Mandela and his colleagues come out of prison. The Mandela factor has also whipped up a storm within the State President, Mr P W Botha's, Cabinet, extra-parliamentary circles.

The Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, charged with responsibility for persuading "moderate" black leaders to participate in the Government's programme of reform, appears to be pushing hard in favour of release.

There is, however, a powerful lobby within the Cabinet which believes that by releasing Mandela, the Government will be courting disaster.

Headed by Defence Minister General Magnus Malin, this grouping dubbed the securocrats — is based in the powerful State Security Council.

The securocrats can also argue that the release of Mandela before a national election, expected to be called early next year, would strengthen the hand of right-wing parties.

Ultimately it is the State President who will weigh up the advice of his warring navigators and decide which course to follow.

His decision will indicate the direction of the State's reform programme and this will influence the process already in motion within extra-parliamentary circles.

EASTGATE SANDTON CITY

SANJAMSETHIUM HR

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

SA Schools, Nest said
'UDF policies were the same as the ANC'

Treason proved, finds 'Delmas' trial judge

PRETORIA — The State had proved the crime of treason against the dominant core of the UDF leadership in the "Delmas" trial, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst found yesterday.

On the second day of his judgment at the end of the marathon three-year trial of 16 people linked to the UDF, Azapo and Vaal Civic Association (VCA), he said the UDF leadership core had formulated and executed a policy of mass organisation, while fomenting a revolutionary climate to lead to mass action against government institutions.

Violence, he added, was intended, necessary and inevitable.

The judge said the violence of 1984-85 was not sporadic and haphazard as could be ascribed to frustration borne out of unemployment or low living standards, but was preceded by a propaganda campaign of vast magnitude.

"Every grievance was linked by the UDF and its cohorts to apartheid"

Violence

The judge said the Congress of SA Students (Cosas) had planned schools boycotts to coincide with the tricameral elections. "It does not need much insight to see that hordes of politicised school-children on the streets could lead to disruption and rioting."

There was further evidence, he noted, that violence had been directed at specific targets.

He found that in the 17 areas where violence had been directed at councillors and local black authorities, these campaigns had been waged by affiliates of the UDF or organisations which actively supported it.

The court also found the UDF leadership as a whole held the view that the ends justified the means as far as the destruction of the local black authorities system was concerned.

SUSAN RUSSELL

"Violence was an effective and acceptable option," the judge said.

"This conclusion is further supported by the fact that at no stage did the UDF consider terminating its affiliation with Cosas or any of the youth congresses."

The demise of the local authorities, the murder of councillors or their resignation through intimidation and arson were proudly held up by the UDF as great victories, he said.

"Since its launch the UDF has consistently popularised the ANC and fomented distrust and even hatred of the government and its organisations among the black population. Its policies in all material respects were the same as those of the ANC."

But, he said, while bound to the downfall of the government, the UDF was not as explicit on the question of violence.

"It did not openly and directly advocate violence — that would have brought about immediate state intervention."

The judge said the UDF created a mass organisation of intertwined affiliates. "To prepare the ground for the final onslaught by the masses it set about creating a revolutionary climate among the black population."

When support was sought among white, Indian and coloured sections of the population, UDF speakers did not support violence, he said, but when addressing blacks the language was, if not revolutionary, open to interpretation by those inclined.

"For practical purposes the government is at war with the ANC. In the circumstances the intent of the UDF was no less hostile than one would find in time of war in the case of a treasonable act."

He said he wished to state emphatically that not all affiliates and persons named in the indictment were co-

conspirators

There were many people who flocked to the UDF out of disgust and dissatisfaction with government in the expectation the UDF would be a catalyst for radical but peaceful change.

Others would have become aware of the course the UDF was taking and there must have been many more who, "wrapped in a political cocoon, closed their eyes."

The judge then dealt at length with the birth of the VCA and the riots and political upheaval in the Vaal triangle during 1984.

There was clear evidence of UDF involvement in the launch of the VCA, he said.

The VCA saw itself as part of the overall liberation struggle and was not merely concerned with local civic issues, he said.

He found there were also close links between Cosas and the VCA.

Radicals

The judge concluded that the VCA was neither democratic nor representative. A fair description of its operations in Lekoa, he said, was "never have so many been manipulated by so few."

It was clear that by mid-1984 radicals were at the helm of the VCA.

The state had not proved that speakers at various VCA meetings had called for violence before the rioting started, but what was clear was that councillors were attacked and vilified and no effort was spared to turn the people of Lekoa against them.

The judge also dealt at length with the stayaway and procession on September 3, 1984, which ended in the death of a councillor and erupted into the riots. The march was a "recipe for disaster and there is only one conclusion, and that it was intended to be that," he said.

Judgment continues

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Sowetan
18/11/88

11A

THE line between our failures and socio-political causes has become so fine that we scarcely know when we have passed it so fine that we often blame apartheid for our personal failures

There is only one thing that accounts for a great deal of our stagnation, our setbacks and our failures as a people. It is the fact that we are not true to ourselves. Let us face the truth in the face, life has been neither generous nor kind to millions of us. Yes, it has bestowed no special privileges, not even the usual advantages of having bread and butter for breakfast. The world knows that we are handicapped from the start. So what?

Everybody knows that we reel from the blows of injustice. Everybody admits that we are stricken by poverty and oppression. Somebody knows that we dream of brilliant and successful careers. Nobody in-careers. Nobody — in-wonders why we do not achieve our goals. But deep down some of us know that we throw dust into our own eyes and thereafter complain that we cannot see.

It gladdens one to know that at least some men are beginning to stir, more and more people are beginning to waken to the reality that we are not true to

GUEST COLUMN by SANDILE MEMELA

ourselves. There are men who have bothered to take careful stock of our situation, and they know that we possess essential qualities that can take us somewhere. Essential qualities that we are throwing into the mud to feed the pigs. The time to blame apartheid for everything, including our personal failures, is fleeting past. Let us be true to ourselves.

The eighties have been a watershed era for us, for our struggle. It has been our greatest

mistake to do nothing because "we are oppressed." Let us be true to ourselves, we have not escaped limitations under the system of apartheid. But, for God's sake, does that mean we should not do what we can? We have men who are gifted with their hands, but all they do with them is lift a glass of wine. We have women who are gifted in the realm of music, all they do is sing all the way to the bank. We have our own millionaires, all they do is drive fancy cars and point fingers at white capitalists. We have black graduates with brains, all they do is to moan about unemployment and not think

Setbacks

We have black men who have "made it," all they do is run after little black girls. We have models of success, all they do is become snooty and block the path for those who strive to reach their heights. Almost every-one of us is gifted in one realm or another. But what do we do with our talents? What do we do to lift ourselves up as a nation? Let us be true to ourselves.

Yes, we should be discouraged by so many setbacks and disappointments. But should we continue to give up and make excuses for our mistakes? Are we a nation of whiners? I do not believe that for one bit. We are a black nation, a proud people who have woken up for years now. But as everybody would admit, it is not enough to open your eyes and stay in bed.

Let us be true to ourselves and get up and make good of ourselves.

We must stop making excuses. Let us do the best we can with what we have, from our matchboxes and the shanties we find ourselves in.

We are on the threshold of a new century. Our contribution in the emerging society will be determined by what we put in today. As the majority in the country

we should not permit precious waste of time in shebeens, no foolish extravagance of partying until 3am, no petty material criteria to judge the worth of our own brothers, no waste of precious time hanging around shops. We should lay the foundation for tomorrow now so that we can rise from the ashes and fiery furnace of apartheid. Let us work on that now. The time is long overdue.

I have lived a little over two-and-a-half decades. It has been "five-to-twelve" in South Africa since Sharpeville bled from the massacre of her children, since Soweto exploded into anger and violence. I have watched men, women and children despan, hundreds of thousands, look upon life bitterly, believing that things will never work out fairly as long as the system prevails.

What an excuse!

Despair

Lest I be condemned as an apologist for apartheid, let me say this: Governments may come and go, but the rules of success, confidence, achievement and happiness never change and never will. Our success as a people depends on power of work, courage. If we want to hold our heads up high, we must stop whimpering. Let us be true to ourselves.

If this needs to be said, it better said right now. We have the same amount of time as everyone else, exactly day — no more, no less. If only we could spend our time pursuing more enduring values of life instead of frittering it relaxed and sipping expensive beverages from fancy-looking glasses at restaurants. Let us take care of our stock of ourselves and strive to reach achievement, success. Few of other groups are rewarded an extra ounce of courage, resilience, will than we. We are all equal. Let us be true to ourselves.

● To Page 27

We must take blame

From Page 14

Self-pity as we reel from the blows inflicted by apartheid will get us nowhere. Let us be true to ourselves. It is not by complaining that the doors of learning and cultures are shut in our faces, but by reading widely and wildly that we shall gain knowledge. As an oppressed people, one of our greatest victories is in rising above the dungeons that apartheid has condemned us to. Let us be true to ourselves. As long as we continue to blame apartheid for every petty thing, no great things shall come from us. We must awake and take charge of our lives, and realise the bundle of opportunities in ourselves.

Sowetan 18/11/88

11A

Strongmen to

meet with ANC

own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG

The Federation of South African Amateur Body Builders is to travel to Lusaka and Harare late next month to talk to the ANC and PAC in a bid to gain international recognition

At a press conference in Soweto yesterday, spokesmen said the trip would take place during the third week of December

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Concern over PAC leader

Star 18/11/87
The deterioration of Pan Africanist Congress leader Mr Zephania Mothopeng's health in jail was a source of major concern to his family, his son, Mr John Mothopeng, said yesterday

Addressing about 500 people at a prayer meeting, Mr Mothopeng appealed for pressure on the Government so that his father could receive quality medical care

CAA Twp 5 18/11/88 (11A)

Thugs threatened delegates — Raj

DURBAN — Top Indian businessmen used thugs, henchmen and strong-arm men to get confidential information from members in the House of Delegates, according to evidence led in the James Commission yesterday

Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who is giving his evidence in chief, said that he was warned that the "big boys" would remove them and would not allow them to become ministers if they did not leak confidential information.

He said thugs were posted outside government offices at the H F Verwoerd Building in Cape Town and that a sitting member of Parliament, Mr Nizzie Khan, told him that if they (members of the House of Delegates) did not run towards these "big boys" like puppies they would be removed
"But I did not cower under

such threats," said Mr Rajbansi

He said Mr Khan had claimed in evidence to the commission to have been treasurer of the National Peoples' Party (NPP), but he was not. But Mr Khan did at one time serve as assistant treasurer

Mr Rajbansi said Mr Khan could not have known how much money was coming into the party's coffers and said that money certainly was not pouring in, as Mr Khan had suggested in his evidence

He said that in 1984 party members who stood for election had to give a R1 000 donation to the NPP and at the same time pay all costs for their respective campaigns

He accused Mr Khan of blatant lies and told the commission that

Mr Khan, in spite of his denial, made an application for a service station site

"I posted his application on his behalf," said Mr Rajbansi.

The Honourable Neville James, chairman of the commission, pointed out to Mr Rajbansi there was no record of such an application

Mr Rajbansi said he had official documents which would prove Mr Khan did in fact make the application

He said allegations against Mr Henry Padayachee by Mr Khan were false and that he was the Transvaal chairman of the NPP

Mr Rajbansi said there were certain MPs who would make a public stand on an issue and then another in private.

Proceeding — Sapa

**UDF sided with
ANC says judge**

'CRIME OF

Sowetan
18/11/88

(S) (JA)

'REASON PROVED'

MR Justice van Dijkhorst ruled in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday that the State had proved crimes of treason after concluding that the "dominant core" of the United Democratic Front leadership had sided with the African National Congress against the South African Government which was referred to as the "enemy" by both parties.

The judge, delivering his judgment which started on Tuesday, said the demise of the Black Local Authorities through the murder of councillors was proudly held up by the UDF as a great victory

Nineteen men who include three leaders of the UDF, have pleaded not guilty to charges of treason, terrorism subversion and murder

The judge yesterday said the UDF was conceived in councils of the ANC and its policy was the same as that of the ANC in setting up a revolutionary climate in South Africa. The UDF at one stage during the unrest in the township, even predicted that "blood will flow in this country," said Mr Justice van Dijkhorst

**By MONK
NKOMO**

The UDF and its affiliates denigrated security forces and called for their immediate withdrawal in the townships. The UDF sided with the ANC against the Government which was referred to as "an enemy to be destroyed", the judge said

The "dominant core" of the UDF leadership, the judge said, fomented a revolutionary climate in a number of townships to make South Africa ungovernable. Mr Justice van Dijkhorst concluded yesterday morning that "the State has proved the crime of treason"

Earlier the judge said patrons and senior members of the UDF included former members or supporters of the ANC, some of whom had already served years on Robben Island

WOMEN PRAISED

Sowetan 18/11/88 (11A)
WOMEN must do the
bull work in Nation
Building as they can
reach and influence
growing children easily,
the Editor of the
Sowetan. Mr Aggrey
Klaaste, said this week.

Mr Klaaste, who
conceived the idea of
Nation Building, was
addressing over 150
guests at the *Sowetan*
Woman of the Year

ceremony held in
Johannesburg.

"Women in commun-
ity development are
usually taken for granted
and not praised for their
efforts," he said.

Aware

"We must make our
children and communi-
ties aware of them and to
see them as leaders and
role models. In the eyes

of children you have to
be politically active to be
a leader. It is the duty of
us, parents, to change
that perception."

Mr Klaaste blamed
adults for the loss of
innocence of children
and their brutalisation.
Adults, he said, had an
ambivalent attitude as
children took power into
their little hands at the
height of political
instability in South
Africa.

"Families and partic-
ularly mothers suffered
as their children died. We
were all obsessed by
political struggles that we
failed to notice that the
authority structures of
our society had collapsed
and lost their legitim-
acy," said Mr Klaaste.

He said the 23
nominees of the *Sowetan*
Woman of the Year
Award were part of a
whole lot of people with
excellent potential to be
leaders who were not yet
recognised. They were
doing their best to
upgrade their communi-
ties and, therefore, the
nation.

Omar and the struggle against apartheid

By DALE LAUTENBACH of The Argus Political Staff

IF Dullah Omar were to write his memoirs, his personal story would read like a history of a people and of vital and difficult times

Mr Abdullah Mohamed Omar, an advocate, is probably best known as Western Cape chairman of the now-restricted United Democratic Front and stalwart of many community organisations and trade unions

His personal political involvement goes back to the mid-'50s and in that time he has seen and met some, he can tell firsthand of people and events on the left so often overlooked by mainstream history that forms the standard classroom diet

Mr Omar's professional life as an attorney and, since 1982, as an advocate has brought him into contact with a variety of political activity few have had the chance to witness

It was contact proscribed, of course, always by the strict ethics of his profession, but this professional role put him nonetheless into a unique position to observe

In the 1960s and early 1970s he was one of the few attorneys prepared to handle "political cases"

Unity Movement

His willingness to represent the poor and a growing reputation ... inevitably one thing led to another and although Mr Omar was himself a member of the Unity Movement until after the creation of the UDF in 1983, his clients were from groups as diverse in ideology as the Pan-Africanist Congress, the African National Congress and the Black People's Convention

Through representing workers in the courts and advising them behind the scenes, Mr Omar also had contact with early trade union activity and witnessed the germination and rapid growth of organised labour

Mr Omar was born in Cape Town in 1934 and the family — he is one of 11 children — moved between Observatory, Salt River and District Six

He attended Trafalgar High School and it was there that a young political awareness formed under the influence of his English master, Mr Ben Kies, a teacher who was subsequently dismissed and who went on to study law and practise at the Bar as "the first coloured advocate in Cape Town", in the words of newspaper reports in 1961

Mr Omar's own decision to study law was not a burning one born of outrage and a desire to serve, he says. He laughs quietly "Don't romanticise the story"

The University of Cape Town provided an education in law and political awareness. The Bantu Education Act was being processed at the time and legislation to provide for the apartheid regulation of universities (first with the permit system and then with "quotas") was waiting in the wings.

"There were many heated battles. We black students took a simple line that university apartheid was inseparable from the whole of the apartheid system and should be fought as such. The liberals argued conservatively for academic non-segregation but residential separation

"It was really the struggle on the education front that drew my generation into the political arena"

At the time the common voters' role was carved into groups by the National Party government. Mr Omar was a student member of the Unity Movement fighting the first apartheid elections of 1958 on a non-participation platform

Mr Omar set up his own practice in 1960 because it was difficult for a black attorney to find a position with a law firm then

There was a state of emergency at the time and for his office in Caledon Street Mr Omar had to apply each year for a group areas permit ("a humiliating experience") until the Act was applied even more strictly and he was forced to move his practice to Woodstock

All his life, political activity and commitment have gone hand in hand with professional practice. From his political awakening under Mr Kies's tutelage and during his matric year in 1952



Mr Dullah Omar ... vital and difficult times.

when boycotts of the Van Riebeeek 300-year festival were the focus, Mr Omar has been close to the struggles of the day

One of the most memorable occasions was the Langa march of about 30 000 people which was turned back at the doors of the Caledon Square police station by Brigadier Ignatius Terblanche, the man who died recently and whose "gentlemanly" handling of the march drew much belated praise from some

Mr Omar's praise is for the marchers "It was an impressive display of discipline — 30 000 people, no marshals, and not a single stone was thrown despite all the provocation"

At this time Mr Omar knew most of the PAC leadership and had been asked to act as their legal representative. Soon after Sharpeville, the PAC and the ANC were banned

Mr Omar laughs now "I was still green and didn't realise what I was letting myself in for when I agreed to represent the PAC. After the bannings hundreds were arrested and I found myself representing all of them as official PAC attorney"

People in the congress movement sought Mr Omar's representation too and over the years he travelled to Robben Island meeting the leadership incarcerated there

"In the '60s political trials were not popular with attorneys. People like Hymie Bernard were among the few prepared to take on political work and I was the only black attorney"

Mr Omar recalls "tremendous pressure" not only because of the sheer volume of the work but because courts were, he says, hostile to "political" lawyers, the more so if they were black. His support came from that old master Kies, who had reached the Bar by then, and from Albie Sachs

Supportive family

He speaks too of his supportive family. His wife Farieda comes from a family with strong political roots in the congress tradition

He smiles when asked whether his own Unity Movement views held until he embraced the UDF initiative were a source of conflict "Yes, but it was a period in which people of different tendencies could be friends and could debate each other"

On public platforms — the more so since his election as local UDF chairman last year — Mr Omar is a quiet presence, the man in the dark suit and tie. He speaks with conviction and a determined belief in the democratic process but cannot be stereotyped as a political firebrand, his is not the style of hot rhetoric and he believes public platforms should be educative

"Our tragedy is that our society has disarmed people. Therefore our work must be to empower people with the capacity to understand and take decisions for themselves. It is the people themselves who can bring about change and that is why the birth of the UDF was so exciting, giant step as it was towards building national unity"

His public profile has attracted its share of harassment, too. He has been detained twice, the first time in 1985 under Section 29 for seven weeks, the second later the same year after the state of emergency was declared

"I said earlier that you shouldn't romanticise the outrage. There is outrage. Of course it's there. Where I grew up we were looked down on by whites, so the basic feeling of revolt against all the harshness of apartheid goes right back to childhood

"The sufferings and sacrifices of my late mother drove me in the direction of struggle against the humiliations and sufferings of the apartheid system

"Mere participation in this struggle has been liberating for me"

National Party faces strong challenges

Parties wind up election campaigns

304A

Star 24/10/88

By David Braun and Esmaré van der Merwe

Political parties are pulling out all the stops as the countrywide municipal election campaign reaches its climax

In the white election campaigns, final shots in the campaign will be fired tonight at big political meetings in areas where the elections are most keenly contested and where the results are in the balance

In coloured, Indian and black elections, campaigning has been muted in the face of strong opposition to the elections. Many voters have used prior votes ahead of the election to avoid intimidation, but percentage polls may still be low

As the white election campaigns peak, the National Party is seeking to repulse a strong Conservative Party challenge in the Transvaal and Free State platteland as well as on the Reef and in Pretoria

NP in Joburg 'riddled with racism and incompetence'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Progressive Federal Party accused Johannesburg's ruling National Party today of being a "racist municipal regime riddled with internal dissension with a history of neglect and maladministration in the city council

Launching the fiercest indictment yet against NP "incompetence", Mr Tony Leon, PFP leader in the council, said Johannesburg had lagged behind other cities because of its politically conservative leadership

Mr Leon said the NP had introduced no political reform in the city over the past 15 years. "For example, all applications by people of colour for group areas exemption permits have consistently been turned down

"People of colour are constantly being kicked off white buses Johannesburg's segregated bus system has cost ratepayers R120 million over the last six years."

He referred to the controversial group areas statements by Mr Danie van Zyl, NP leader in the council, who had said the NP would keep Hillbrow white if it won control in the city's multi racial flatland

"Mr Van Zyl's racist remarks have sparked off dissent within the NP caucus. There is, in fact, a drive within the caucus to get rid of him"

He cited examples of financial mismanagement, including: ● The council bought town clerk Mr Manie Venter a "magnificent" house with six lock up garages

● The management committee announced that assessment rates would not be increased this year. However, business assessment rates were increased by 14 percent

● A financial surplus of R48 million was realised in the 1987/88 book year which Mr Leon claimed was used as "an election slush fund"

● An amount of R3,5 million was budgeted for roads in wards in the current financial year, but the bulk was spent in the south of the city in order "to gain votes"

● Mr Leon said that R140 000 was wasted in March this year when the council started building a recreation centre in Lena

In Johannesburg, the Progressive Federal Party has mounted its strongest challenge

The CP's director of organisation, Mr Kobus Beyers, has forecast a 10 percent swing to the right, and reiterated predictions he made earlier that the CP would control at least 60 of the Transvaal's 84 white local authorities after October 26

The State President, Mr P W Botha, will wind up the Government campaign at a public meeting at Smithfield, in the Free State, tonight

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht speaks at the Pretoria City Hall. The CP is confident of winning control of most of the white local authorities in the Transvaal and the Free State and the party believes the main prize, the city council of Pretoria, is within reach

The PFP's campaign in Johannesburg will be wound up at two meetings addressed by party leader Dr Zach de Beer, veteran MP Mrs Helen Suzman and the party's leader in the city council, Mr Tony Leon

All three will address meetings at the Glenhazel Primary School and the Greenside Primary School

Both meetings start at 8 pm, with Dr de Beer speaking first in Glenhazel and Mr Leon in Greenside

Scandals

The NP's main rally in Johannesburg which will start at the city hall at 7:30 pm, will be addressed by Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs and NP leader in Johannesburg

The PFP's campaign manager, Mr Peter Soal MP, said the meetings were aimed at consolidating support and emphasising the need for clean and open government following two "NP scandals" involving Mr Leon de Beer and Mr Peet de Pontes

CP spokesman Mr Kobus Beyers said "An enormous shock awaits the NP if we get all the people who have promised to vote CP to the polls"

The CP had fielded 1211 official candidates in the province and backed about 200 independents, he said

The NP's chief secretary in the Transvaal Dr Lucas Nel, dismissed CP claims as presumptuous, and warned of "some nasty surprises for the CP — even in CP parliamentary strongholds

"The result will show that there is no real swing to the right. However, it would be absurd to interpret the results as indicative of shifts in political support, because you cannot compare a ward in Soekmekaar with a ward in Johannesburg"

The NP was fielding more



Expo luxury houses are snapped

By Dawn Barkhuysen

The Star Design for Living Expo, a housing show with the accent on designer living kicked off with great success at Fourways Gardens Estate this weekend

Three of the six luxury designer houses were snapped up in the first three days as more than 15 000 people visited the show. Prices ranged from R280 000 to R291 000; 17 stands costing an average of R55 000 each were sold

Mrs Elzse Rosenmann, managing director of Montagu Homes, sole managing agent for the developer, Anglo American Property Services, said the success of the show was unmatched in her eight years of experience in home shows.

"The offers just kept pouring in. We were so busy we had to ask people to come

back later," she said

Visitors to the unique kept traffic officials busy throughout the first three day show and additional provided

Exhibitors in the seven exhibition halls boasted great success ranging from carpets and stage furniture selling at a

Visitors to the show were pressed and exclamations "outstanding" were clear the groups roaming from next

The show will open to the public on Friday October 28 at two consecutive weekends November 6

SA-USSR academics to offer perceptions

Sue Leeman, The Star Bureau

LEVERKUSEN — An unusual, high powered political think tank composed of South African and Soviet academics gets down to business in West Germany this afternoon

Sixteen of South Africa's leading liberal academics, most of them Afrikaners, have come here for an exchange of views and ideas with some of the Soviet Union's foremost Africa experts

They will be seeking a clearer view of Soviet perceptions of southern Africa and its future, and outlining their vision for the resolution of the region's problems

Also present is a delegation from the ANC, which is expected to table for debate its guidelines for South Africa's constitutional and economic development

The conference opens officially this afternoon with addresses by Dr Alex Boraine of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and Dr Gerhard Reichler of the liberal Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Munich, which has helped to organise and finance the talks

Prominent in the South African delegation are Idasa founder Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan, Dr John Barratt of the Institute for International Affairs, verligte Stellenbosch academics Dr Sample Terreblanche and Professor Willie Breytjenbach, Professor Herman Gillmore of UCT, Professor Susan Booysen of RAU and Pro-

Pension offers election

Municipal

A new Johannesburg over members' controversial scheme for has been late management chairman, D "a cheap and a feeble votes"

National leader Mr D told PFP of Tony Leon given a writ that the PFP of the scheme was prepared Dr Lewi pensions were from Mr councillors' buy backs equal to 12 on leaving "This nu

Govt in quandary over Mandela

STW 19/11/88

DAVID BRAUN
Political
Correspondent

GOVERNMENT appears to be in a quandary over the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

On the one hand the authorities do not want Mandela, who is recovering from a lung infection in a Cape Town clinic, sent back to jail.

On the other, Government is too nervous simply to release him, for fear of unleashing forces it may not be able to control.

According to senior sources in Government, the most likely action the Government will choose will be a phased release. This process may not start until next year.

Some authorities believe the next step should be to confine Mandela to house arrest, so he can stay at home and be united with his family.

We cannot simply dump Mandela back in the community. We do not know what the impact of that would be. We would not want to see vast crowds clamouring to get near him or welcoming him because we might lose control of the situation, a senior source told Saturday Star this week.

But the choice remains solely that of State President Mr P.W. Botha, and, for the moment, he is not saying anything.

Supreme Court Reporter
THE Supreme Court was not just dealing with Ashley Forbes and 13 others, but with Forbes "and many, many others" who were willing to join in the activities of the ANC and its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), a leading sociologist said yesterday.

Many willing to join ANC

Professor Frank Molteno was giving evidence in mitigation of sentence of Forbes and 13 co-accused convicted of terrorism, contravening Section 54 (4) of the Internal Security Act and furthering the aims and objectives of the ANC.

He said the accused were not behaving as deviants but in a way consistent with their socialization. Asked by Mr Mike Stowe, for the state, if their decision to become involved in violence had been a personal one, Prof Molteno said "They could have gone the Trevor Manuel route — the legal route — which in the past few years has seen him land in jail more often than out, or . . . by throwing in their lot with the establishment."

Their choices were actions of a protracted mental process as opposed to a single calculated process.

Asked by Mr Stowe if it were not true that there were thousands in South Africa who were opposed to apartheid but who were not morally prepared to take up the armed struggle, Prof Molteno replied "While this court might be dealing with Ashley Forbes and 13 others, the probability is there that large numbers of cohorts would be available to and open to recruitment into the ANC and MK."

The hearing continues on Tuesday.

The accused are Forbes, Peter Anthony Jacobs, Nicko Louis Pedro, Nazagn Lowe, Anwa Dramat, Clement Basdjies, David Johannes Fortuin, Jeremy Alan Veary, Wahar Rhooode, Wayne Ingemar Malgas, Collin Calmcross, Ashraf Kariem, Colin Clave Martin Peterson and Leon Scott. Mr Justice D M Williamson was on the Bench. Mr C H van Gend and Mr L P Francis were the assessors. Mr Michael Donen and Mr Johnny de Lange, instructed by E Moosa and Associates and Wylinson, Joshua, Gihwala and Abercrombie Inc, appeared for the accused. Mr W C Viljoen and Mr Stowe appeared for the state.

Mandela link in Cuban pullout?

CAF & Times
19/11/88

[Handwritten signature]

EDINBURGH. — The agreement on a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola contained a secret South African promise to free Mr Nelson Mandela, the Scotsman newspaper said yesterday.

And in another dramatic development, Angola and Cuba announced their approval of a regional peace plan for Namibia that will lead to the withdrawal of 50 000 Cuban troops from Angola and Namibian independence.

South Africa would give its decision next week, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Meanwhile, quoting sources close to the negotiators, the Scotsman said Mr Mandela would be freed within five months.

The paper said his release was "part of a cat's cradle of secret protocols and unwritten agreements attached to the accord".

It said the SA government was expected to capitalise on the Geneva accord by calling an election early next year, after which Mr Mandela would be freed.

The ANC, with Mr Mandela in its delegation, then would be urged by South Africa to enter talks with the government on the future of South Africa.

Diplomatic sources here said one of the stumbling blocks — a timetable for the pullout of the Cuban troops — was overcome with Havana accepting a 27-month period.

Before the draft agreement, Angola had insisted on a 30-month period and SA on seven months from the date of implementation. — Sapa-Reuter

19/11/88

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Star 11/11/88

(7-15)



**The man
who seeks
a rebuilt
S Africa**

NATION-BUILDING: this is the way to a better future, says Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of *Sowetan*, who hopes for a reconstructed South Africa. ● Picture by John Hogg.

NATION-building, the concept outlined by *Sowetan* editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste at a dinner in Johannesburg last month, could be the link South Africa needs to "tear down" the iron curtain separating white from black.

In Mr Klaaste's words, nation-building involves a "rebuilding of the structures in all forms in our societies for the good of all South Africans"

In an interview this week, he said his speech had aroused enormous interest both locally and internationally. He had become a celebrity overnight, with communities throughout the country inviting him to speak and people visiting him at his office in Industria.

"I'm too busy to cope with all this," he said. "I see myself as a facilitator of an idea

Far and near

"I'm not in competition with political parties. I'd be happy for anyone to take the concept and build from there."

He said people wanted to help with nation-building. In recent weeks they had come from far and near to tell him as much. He was particularly impressed by an Afrikaner who travelled from Pretoria to tell him how much the nation-building concept meant to him.

"He said he thought it was time December 16 — the Day of the Covenant — was changed to include South Africans of all races," Mr Klaaste said. "With even one Afrikaner thinking this way, nation-building has made quite a start."

... beginning with a garden competition!

WINNIE GRAHAM

How can a nation be built? Mr Klaaste plans to make a small start based on an idea from the young man who drives his car ("I don't drive myself," he explained).

The driver had said he wanted to start a garden competition in Orlando East.

"I promised to help. If we can turn just one corner of Soweto, involving no more than 300 houses, into an attractive ethnic little centre with a restaurant and art gallery, perhaps the man in Mayfair or wherever will be tempted to come and see for himself how we live.

"It will have to be a natural, voluntary desire on his part. No one can force people to visit the townships.

"Right now, people think there's a murder or a necklacing in Soweto every other minute. Whites don't seem to realise that blacks also keep dogs and goldfish, get married and have babies. Black people are not a threat or danger."

The garden competition in Orlando East, he said, was generating tremendous excitement. One high-powered businessman had even offered to give trees to beautify the area.

Mr Klaaste would love someone from the white community to

come and stay in Orlando East to "get the essence of the place by living with the people."

He said he believed an architectural student doing post-graduate work would find an enormous amount of material for a PhD there. In exchange, he might come forward with ideas of how to improve the environment.

Though the editor talked affectionately of Soweto, he remembered the sad day when officials drove into Sophiatown and bundled the first families into trucks for the move to Meadowlands.

"We had planned to resist the removal but we were taken by surprise," he recalled.

So alike

"When we first moved into our new houses in Soweto, they were so alike we couldn't find our way home.

"We would walk down a street asking people 'Do you know which is my house?'"

Mr Klaaste, born in Kimberley, was just two or three when, in the 1940s, his father came to the Reef to work as a clerk on the mines. In those days he dreamed of being a marathon runner, "though I realise now I was far too lean for that."

It was while he was completing a BA degree at the University of the Witwatersrand that he started free-

lancing with black magazines and newspapers. When he became a fully fledged journalist, he and his peers, he said, wrote mainly for the fun of seeing their names in print. He moved in a hard-drinking, hard-living group and was, forever being arrested.

"Those were the days of curfews and pass laws, when a black man wasn't even allowed to buy his own liquor," he said. "Everyone was a criminal — or a potential criminal."

But he read a lot. It was a book by a Nigerian writer, Chinwenzu, that excited his imagination. He wrote of bygone African kingdoms, of the days before colonialism and slavery — and what he wrote thrilled Mr Klaaste.

Roots

"He told me black people aren't just a bunch of savages with no history, that we came from decent roots."

When Mr Klaaste travelled abroad he met South African exiles who asked him what the blacks in this country were doing other than protesting. It was then the idea of nation-building started to grow.

"This country has such talent, such wonderful people, we have to get it right," he said. "If we don't, the entire southern African will crumble because of us. Nation-building is a commonsense idea. No one can attack it — but we have to start rebuilding the structures."

And he includes black and white South Africans in the good things that must result from the reconstruction.

ANC men felt 'morally bound' to fight Government

By **AYESHA ISMAIL**

CONVICTED African National Congress terrorist Ashley Forbes and 13 co-accused felt they were morally bound to oppose the Government and apartheid by whatever means available, a top sociologist said this week.

Mr Donald Frank Molteno, a senior sociology lecturer at the University of Cape Town was giving evidence in the Cape Town Supreme Court in mitigation of sentence for the 14 convicted terrorists.

They are expected to be sentenced on December 14.

Prosecutor Mr Mike Stowe said there were thousands of South Africans opposed to apartheid but they did not resort to violence.

"Does the majority of the coloured community accept the throwing of hand grenades into the homes of people?" he asked.

Mr Molteno said that was so.

He said there were three sets of values in the coloured community which were not found in white society: the moral precept that people should share with others, that there should be justice and fairness and that every person had rights and dignity.

Mr Stowe asked Mr Molteno if there was any Government policy stating that coloured education should be inferior.

"No, but everything at Governmental level suggests that there was a policy of discrimination in the educational system," he replied.

He conceded there were attempts to improve coloured education.

The convicted, 14, are Forbes, Peter Jacobs, Nicklo Pedro, Nazeem Lowe, Anwa Dramat, Clement Baadjies, David Fortuin, Jeremy Veary, Walter Rhooide, Wayne Malgas, Colin Cairncross, Ashraf Karriem, Colin Peterson and Leon Scott.

CAPE TOWN
STUDENT
SOCIETY
SUPPORTS
THE
ANC

PARODY BREWING OFF

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11/1/88
Suzanne

SAP investigate property racket

By SY MAKARINGE
POLICE have launched an intensive investigation into a massive property racket in black townships involving several companies and more than

SOWETO MAYOR SHOCK VICTORY

IN A surprise turn of events the general secretary of the Sotasonke Party, Mr Samuel Mkhwanazi, was yesterday elected as the new mayor of Soweto.

Mrs Esther Mkhabela was elected deputy mayor. Both were elected unopposed.

Since the new councillors were elected into office last Wednesday (October 26), speculation was rife in Soweto that the son of the former mayor of Soweto, V. E. M. M. "F. M."

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

Soon after being elected mayor, Mr Mkhwanazi said his council would work hard towards improving the standard of living in Soweto and to end the corruption that existed in the past within the council.

He also said the council would look into the rent situation in the area. Meanwhile, a house belonging to a

R450 000.

According to Lieutenant Cobus Esterhuysen, of the fraud squad at the John Vorster Square police station, the figure is likely to escalate to alarming proportions as more and more cases continue to be brought to the attention of the police.

Lt Esterhuysen said yesterday that the police were presently handling at least 65 cases of people who paid bogus or dishonest estate agents amounts ranging from R2 500 to R21 500 as deposits for houses. He said the cases were

ROOTS — CARDUCCI — TEENY TAGES

ALLEGRI — BELJOHN — REEBOK — H.R.

Mandy Modes

3 Park Rd. - Geminton (near Geminton Station)
Telephone: 225-2528

LAYBYES ACCEPTED FOR XMAS

REF: 122 R134,99 R.P.S.

REF: 123 R137,99 R.P.S.

PROTECTOR MANDY MODES

GEMINTON STATION

BAGAMUEFIN — YOUNGEST — GUTWOP

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Soweto ...
mayor of ...

Last nails hammered into coffin of the UDF

UFA
20/11/88

By KERRY CULLINAN

THE last nails were hammered into the UDF's coffin in the "Delmas" trial this week when Judge K van Dijkhorst found that the "dominant leadership of the UDF had acted as the internal wing of the ANC"

In a section of his 1 500-page judgment, expected to end next week, Van Dijkhorst said most of the UDF's leadership had been part of the ANC and also referred to the UDF as "the best public apologists of the ANC"

And the spirits of the 19 men - including UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, general secretary Popo Molefe and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane - who have been on trial for over two and a half years, sank visibly as judgment progressed

The UDF three have consistently been refused bail

He said UDF campaigns were "materially the same" as those of the ANC, while its policy was also the same, except on the use of violence, where the UDF's stance was "ambivalent"

"I fail to see why an organisation so vehemently opposed to the government does not clearly, unequivocally and immediately condemn violence," said Van Dijkhorst

He quoted part of Molefe's evidence where he said "The UDF cannot and does not condemn the ANC for taking up arms" to support his argument

He said that when Archbishop Tutu, Lekota and Molefe appealed to a Tumahole councillor to resign, saying that if he did so his property would not be damaged, it indicated that they could control the violence

Responding to the State's contention that the UDF had been formed in response to a call by the ANC in January 1983 for united mass action against apartheid, the judge said it was unclear whether the front's formation was a direct result of the call

However, he said it was impossible to ignore the fact that the ANC's call coincided with a similar call by Rev Allan Boesak

He added the UDF's formation had resulted in mass action against apartheid

The UDF leadership and its youth and student affiliates were found to have been responsible for creating a revolutionary climate, and making large parts of the country ungovernable.

He added that shortly after ANC president Oliver Tambo's call to make the country ungovernable, violence and unrest spread throughout the country

"The UDF harnessed a sense of national grievance," said Van Dijkhorst, adding that the grievances of school students had not been enough, on their own, to spread into a national school boycott as had happened in 1984

Van Dijkhorst is expected to conclude his judgment early next week, after which the defence will plead in mitigation

● See Pages 10 and 11

Gallows soon for Robert John McBride?

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CP News
20/1/88

Prisons letter gives family scant hope

CP Correspondent

IT seems inevitable that condemned ANC member Robert John McBride will hang

McBride was sentenced to death three times for planting bombs at Magoos Bar in Durban

Defence lawyers have so far had no response to their petition to the Sate President to commute the sentences

The execution might take place before the end

of January next year This was revealed by Prisons Services authorities in a letter to the lawyer of McBride's girlfriend, Greta Apelgreen, who had requested that 25-year-old McBride be made available from death row to give evidence in a case in which Apelgreen is suing the *Natal Mercury* for defamation

The defamation trial is set down for hearing from January 25-27 next year

Lt Col FJ Muller of the SA Prisons Services wrote "Due to the fact that McBride is a condemned prisoner, you will appreciate the fact his safeguarding is of utmost importance and should you require him as a witness in the said trial, such transfer will be expensive

"McBride might also be executed in the very near future" and this office therefore advises that you should rather consider an

application for his evidence to be heard on commission"

The letter further says "Kindly note that this office does not have any control whatever regarding the date on which the execution might take place However, your request was brought to the attention of the Directorate of Justice"

The revelation in the letter is bound to shatter hopes of the McBride family Doris McBride and daughter Bronwyn last month returned from an trip overseas, where they campaigned among heads of government and prominent political figures to persuade President PW Botha to exercise presidential clemency

Apelgreen's defamation action against the editor of the *Natal* daily morning newspaper arises from an editorial headed "The ANC bombers"

In it the editor comments on McBride's death sentence in which Judge Shearer, in the Supreme Court, and the Appeal Court, could find no extenuating circumstance and argues that Apelgreen, who stood trial with McBride, warranted a similar penalty

The editor wrote that it was incredible that she could have been unaware of what was planned and executed The editorial argued that she was either in sympathy with what was intended or her conscience would not have allowed her to participate in the crimes

She is asking R10 000 in damages claiming she was defamed by the editorial

The action is being contested by the newspaper, which argues that the published statements were true and correct and the comment fair and factual

Apelgreen is currently serving an effective 21-month sentence for the role she played during the bombing at the Durban beachfront in 1986 - Concord

THREE CONVICTED

THE editor of Skotaville Publishers Mr Jakie Seroke and two men were convicted of terrorism and membership of the banned Pan Africanist Congress at the Springs Regional Court yesterday.

Sawelan 21/11/88
The magistrate Mr H Hoffman ruled that the court was satisfied that all three men, Seroke (28), Mandla Cele (24) and Thembinkosi Khonongwe were members of the banned PAC which

he said sought to overthrow the Government by violent means and that Cele and Khonongwe had undergone military training under the auspices of the

PAC

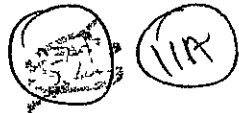
11A
Satisfied

He further accepted the confession of the three men giving reasons and said he was satisfied that they were made freely and voluntarily and

there were no undue influences in their making

The defence team had contested that the confession should not be admitted as evidence as they pointed out that the men were unduly influenced into making their confession

Mr Hoffman said the fact that Seroke did not undergo military training did not mean he did not contravene Section 54 of the Terrorism Act



21/11/88

Treason 'at core of UDF apple'

SUSAN RUSSELL

PRETORIA — A conspiracy to violently overthrow the government had been at the core of the UDF apple since its inception, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said, in the Pretoria Supreme Court, after finding three of its leaders guilty of treason on Friday.

There was silence in the packed court as the judge found that UDF general secretary Popo Molefe, publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane had been part of the UDF's conspiracy to render SA ungovernable and overthrow the government with violence.

Earlier, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst found the UDF had acted as the internal wing of the ANC and the State had proved treason against the UDF's dominant leadership.

Black consciousness activist Thomas Madikwe Manthata was also found guilty of treason.

Seven leaders of the Vaal Civic Association (VCA) — a UDF affiliate — were found guilty on the alternative charge of terrorism for their part in events leading to the riots and political upheaval in the Vaal Triangle in 1984.

The judge found the State had not proved its case against eight co-accused and acquitted them.

Three others had been acquitted at the end of the State case.

Convicting the seven VCA leaders of terrorism, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst found the VCA had been bent on the destruction

of the black local authority system and accepted violence was a necessary and inevitable part of this

They intended to induce the Lekoa Town Council to resign or repeal rent increases, the court found, and foreseeing this would lead to or contribute to violence, had endorsed it.

The judge found the VCA leadership was involved in the organisation of, and took part in, the stayaway and protest march in the Vaal area on September 3, 1984.

They had foreseen, he said, that the stayaway would have to be enforced by coercion and that the march would lead to a violent confrontation with the police, and endorsed it.

The court found the UDF was a revolutionary organisation with a policy of mass action against government institutions which included the use of violence.

Convicting Morobe, Lekota and Chikane of treason, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said it was certain they were part of the dominant leadership which conspired to render SA ungovernable.

After Mr Justice van Dijkhorst concluded his judgment, Arthur Chaskalson, SC, counsel for the trialists, indicated the defence would like a postponement to consider the judgment and prepare evidence in mitigation.

He said the defence would also apply for leave to appeal.

The trial was postponed to December 5

'Working Life' — history accessible to ordinary people

Aim of award-winning book

Star 21/11/88

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By Sally Sealey

The ordinary circumstances which affect peoples' jobs, lives and values and which all too often are not regarded as "history", are the themes of Luli Callinicos's award-winning book "Working Life".

The Raven Press publication is an attempt to make history accessible to ordinary people without sacrificing its scholarly rigour.

Ms Callinicos is the winner of Africa's 1988 prestige Noma Award, established by the late Shorichi Noma, a Japanese publisher, in 1979.

Noma devoted much of his life to making books more readily available in underdeveloped societies, promoting readership in those societies, and bridging the cultural gaps between north and south.

Social history

The aim of the book — and the History Workshop — is to write social history from the perspective of ordinary people. "Working Life" tries to avoid the institutionalised history of the famous and powerful.

Ms Callinicos says there have been suggestions that she has been patronising towards a working class audience and that the book sacrificed objectivity and consciously lowered standards.

The Noma Committee, however, has praised the high standard of scholarship and the sensitive use of photographs and a wide range of other illustrative source materials that make the

book readily accessible to a popular audience.

"The experience of workers is placed in the wider historical context and we do not just read about why Mrs X became a washerwoman, but what were the forces operating that compelled her to come to town and to take on the job," says Ms Callinicos. She says the picture research was enjoyable.

"I spent hours paging through back copies of old South African Railway Journals. Every now and then I would find a social history picture either of a tailor stitching on the side of the station in 1905 or a picture of some hawkers."

Many of the pictures are donated to archives. "I spent months ploughing through them. A lot of the photographs in the book come from family albums. I think that the photograph has really been neglected as a historical document."

"I got a lot of my pictures from old books, especially the 'touristy' kind. Many of the people who visited South Africa in the early years wrote books about their experiences."

Old newspapers, too, were a wealth of information.

The *Garment Worker/Kleutwerker* was a source for many pictures and in the early 20s and 30s photographs were beginning to be more widely used. Ms Callinicos says insights into

working class families normally came from social workers.

She says the camera has "a bias and it depends on who the photographer is. Most of the early photographs of black people showed them in ethnic or traditional dress. There are few pictures of what everyday life was like."

The camera, she says, was definitely a "middle-class piece of technology."

The book is not just about the work people performed, but also about working class culture — how workers struggled to settle and assimilate into city life.

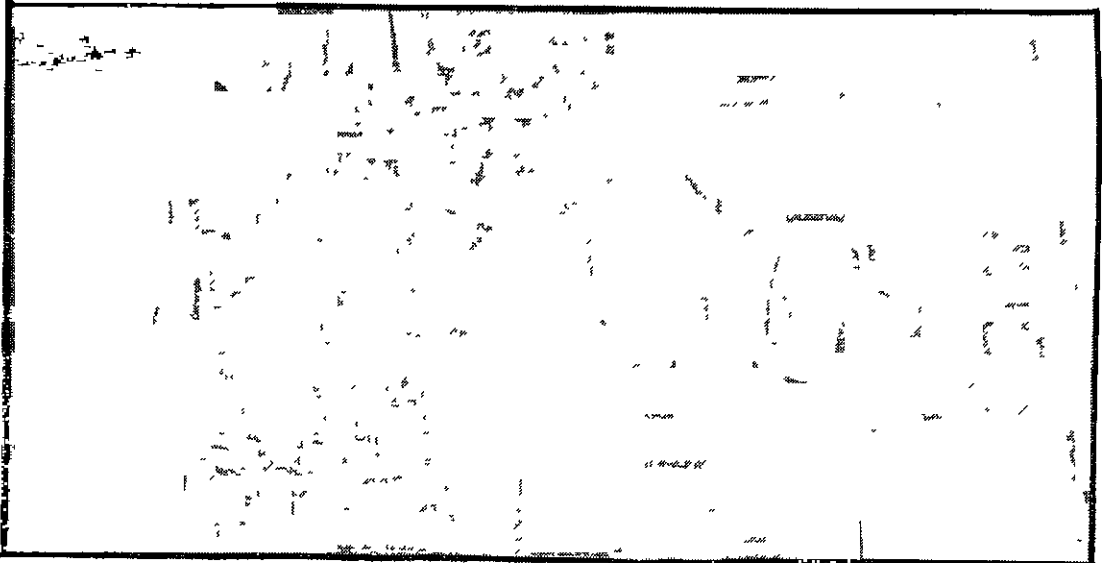
Some events

"Working Life" has to be seen in the overall South African context. There were some events that affected both black and white workers, but in different ways.

"Up until the 1940s, a large proportion of whites were working class and were prominent in a number of working class struggles, and it is important to remind white people of that side of their past."

Ms Callinicos says by reading the book one can get an idea of what the black people of this country have been through — the hostile conditions they have experienced, settling in towns but never being acknowledged or recognised as citizens except for their labour.

There is a new book in the pipeline which will cover the period from the 1940s to the early Sixties.



Luli Callinicos with her award-winning book "Working Life".

Survey shows Kwazulu blacks against violence

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Crime Reporter

MOST blacks in Kwazulu do not believe that violence — even if it is directed against a white government — is a suitable means to promote political change.

In a survey conducted by the market research company, Research International, for the Kwazulu Natal Indaba the majority of more than 800 randomly selected blacks interviewed supported both the police and the defence force

Mr Peter Badcock, Indaba communications director, said the results of the survey showed that the majority of blacks rejected violence regardless of its purpose.

"However there is still cause for concern when reviewing the acceptability of violence as a means towards change.

"Though the proponents remain a definite minority, they are still a substantial group who could complicate things

for peacemakers," he said.

Asked to respond to the suggestion that a peaceful, negotiated solution to South Africa's problems, 92 percent of those interviewed agreed. Only 3 percent disagreed and 5 percent were uncertain

Asked whether they agreed that black on black violence would help lead to political change, 78 percent of the respondents disagreed and 3 percent agreed

When asked whether they accepted black on black violence to sort out radicals and trou-

ble-makers, 77 percent disagreed and 7 percent agreed. And asked if they were prepared to accept violence under certain circumstances if it brought political change, 68 percent disagreed and 17 percent agreed

Violence against whites if it led to change was not acceptable to 60 percent of the respondents while it was acceptable to 20 percent

Violence against a white government if it led to change was acceptable to 22 percent while 56 percent rejected it

Black woman 'thrown into boot'

MP complains of manner of arrest

Star 21/11/88

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Two Rustenburg policemen arrested a black woman and "threw her into a car boot" this weekend, Mr Boetie Abramjee, MP for Laudium and the acting leader of the National People's Party (NPP), said today

Mr Abramjee said he was returning from Rustenburg when he stopped in the CBD while his family went to buy refreshments

"There was a police car in front of me and two policemen came from across the road with a black woman and physically threw her into the open boot"

Mr Abramjee said it was a small, four-door car and there was no-one on the back seat. He confronted the policemen, identifying himself, but "they were rude and abusive"

A plainclothes policeman later joined the two

Mr Abramjee said he went to the Rustenburg police station, where he asked for the station commander after the sergeant in charge did not respond

He said he was told the station commander was not available and did not want to see him. He saw the two policemen at the station and identified them as Constables Eloff and Erasmus

On returning home he laid a complaint with the parliamentary officer to the Commissioner of Police, Captain P J du Plessis

Captain Du Plessis confirmed that the allegations had been reported to him and said "the matter will be investigated" and a report will be given to Mr Abramjee

Mr Abramjee said he had received a call from the acting station commander of the Rustenburg police station, Lieutenant R J Earle, who asked him what had happened. Lieutenant Earle could not be reached for comment at the time of going to press

Mr Abramjee, who also serves on the parliamentary standing committee for Law, Order and Defence, recently accompanied a group of parliamentarians on a security briefing tour of the country's north-eastern borders

He said he viewed the incident in a serious light especially after the Pretoria shooting incident. "In times like these, the rudeness of the two constables will not contribute to better relations between the races"

Mr Abramjee was to make formal statements to the police later today

Man killed as taxi war boils over

Staff Reporters

AT LEAST one man died and three were seriously hurt when about 200 taxi drivers armed with home-made weapons clashed in Nyanga early yesterday.

Police said the riot squad used birdshot to disperse the warring factions

Mr Mbekweni Ndomanu, 37, of Site B, Khayelitsha, died in the 7am clash. The injured men were taken to Groote Schuur Hospital

It is the third violent encounter since Wednesday between taxi drivers competing for lucrative routes. It brings to five the number of seriously injured in the clashes.

On Saturday two men were badly hurt in Langa shortly before police intervened with teargas to break up a bloody encounter between factions in Washington Avenue

Sources close to the Western Cape Black Taxi Owners' Association (WCBTA) said the fighting was between a group of owners attempting to "lever in" on lucrative "white" routes which another group regarded as exclusive territory

"The guys with routes from Nyanga to Cape Town, Bellville, Mowbray, Wynberg and Claremont are coining it. They openly boast that they make R100 between 4 30am and 11am," one man said.

Both factions belong to WCBTA, he added

WCBTA spokesmen could not be traced yesterday. Police added that within hours of yesterday's clash, a group of about 300 people gathered in Guguletu to demonstrate against a well-known bus company's fare increases

A police officer had negotiated with the crowd and they had dispersed

But the crowd had later formed in NY1, Guguletu, and refused to disperse

"Police used teargas to disperse the crowd. There were no injuries or arrests," a spokesman said

LP no better than Govt, says fired clerk

DURBAN — A clerk who refused to apologise to Ministers' Council chairman, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, for her "behaviour" at a Labour Party meeting was dismissed from her job on Friday

Ms Marysa Leukes (23), who walked out of the meeting "because I was disgusted at the way group areas protesters were treated by some Labour Party officials", is planning legal action to challenge the dismissal

Referring to a fight that broke out after "victims of the Group Areas Act" held a demonstration at the meeting on Tuesday at the city hall, Ms Leukes said she had wanted to hear Mr Hendrickse's views on the legislation:

Ms Leukes, a resident in a white area, said "I am a victim of that Act and it is possible that I might be prosecuted for living in a white area

"So I wanted to hear what the Labour Party intended to do about people in my situation. However when the meeting started, members of the Durban Central Residents Committee staged a placard protest and a fight broke out. I was disgusted at the way the protesters were handled and I left soon afterwards

"I was upset I could not understand why the Labour Party, which apparently opposes the Group Areas Amendment Bill, should act like the Government in

STV
21/11/88
Own Correspondent (11A)

dealing with people who were only trying to underscore their views"

Ms Leukes, who worked in the registry section in the Durban office of Budgetary and Auxiliary Services, House of Representatives, said she supported the views of the Durban Central Residents Association (DRCA), whose members were among the protesters

NO REASON TO APOLOGISE

"I remember taking one of the placards from a protester after the fight broke out and placing it on the floor. I then joined in the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika"

When she arrived at work the following day, she was called into the regional representative's office where her section head, Mr T Niemack, and Mr Hendrickse were waiting

She said Mr Niemack told her to apologise to Mr Hendrickse for her behaviour at the meeting. "I saw no reason to apologise — in any event I didn't know what to apologise for"

Ms Leukes later received anonymous letters and telephone calls asking her to resign

"Mr Niemack approached me and called me a terrorist and an anarchist

"On Friday morning I was called to Mr Niemack's office and handed a dismissal notice. At no stage was any specific allegation levelled against me, nor was I told what I had done wrong. I was also not accorded the chance to give my side of the story

"It would seem that I have been fired as a result of my support for the DCRA. That is unfair and unjust. The Labour Party professes to act democratically yet it is no better than the Government"

According to her notice, Ms Leukes was dismissed, under a Public Service Act provision, for unsatisfactory conduct

DCRA chairman Mr Sayed Iqbal Mohamed said "This is a clear case of the oppressed behaving like the oppressor"

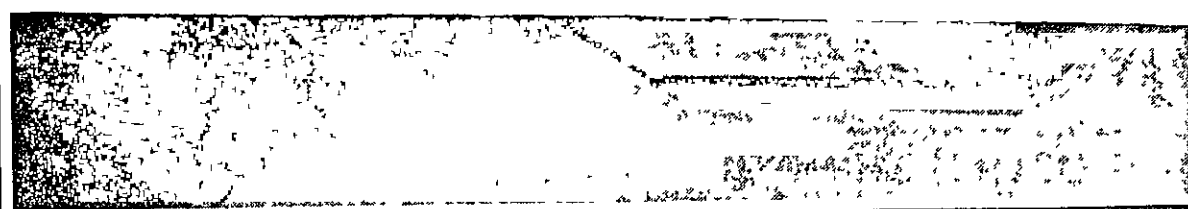
He said that on the morning after the city hall meeting, he was telephoned by Mr Jerome Schoonberg, secretary to the department's regional director

"Mr Schoonberg told me that the LP occasionally needed to be reminded of the feelings of people affected by the Group Areas Act. Yet, that morning, this man had the gall to reprimand Marysa for being at the meeting"

The assistant director of personnel, Budgetary and Auxiliary Services, Mr M Horner, said that as the matter was departmental, he had no comment

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Ban on UDF is 'not on the cards' — yet

Opp. Times 2/11/88

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE UDF is unlikely to be banned in the immediate future, government sources said yesterday.

There has been widespread concern that the UDF's restriction order imposed in February this year will be upgraded to an outright ban after last week's "Delmas Trial" judgment.

In finding three UDF leaders guilty of treason, Mr Justice Van Dykhorst submitted that a conspiracy to overthrow the government violently had been at the core of UDF policy since its inception and that the organisation had acted as the internal wing of the ANC.

This led to speculation in the media and in anti-apartheid circles that the govern-

ment might use the Delmas findings to strengthen its hand in further curbing — and possibly banning — the UDF.

However, a senior government source said last night that an outright ban on the UDF was "not even on the cards" at this stage.

He said that by banning the UDF the government would automatically have to clamp down on about 700 organisations affiliated to the umbrella body — an exercise he described as "pointless".

The present restrictions prevent political activity by the UDF, and its mobilising any supporters.

A senior police source noted that by stopping short of an outright ban on organisations, the security establishment found it easier to monitor their members' activities.

Banning often drove supporters of an organisation further underground.

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said on Friday that the judgment in the Delmas Trial had vindicated the government's decision to restrict the UDF.

Observers, however, point out that the UDF activities dealt with in the Delmas Trial related to a period before the UDF was restricted.

Mr Vlok said criticism that the restrictions, detentions and the state of emergency had been ineffective was unfounded.

Even the ANC had acknowledged that its ability to organise inside South Africa had been severely affected, he said.

"If we had not restricted these organisations the situation would have been a lot worse."

Back

Sowefan

with

21/11/88

his (11A)

flock

FATHER Tebogo Moselane yesterday conducted his first Holy Mass at the St Cyprian's Anglican Church in Sharpeville, the parish he had not served for the last four years because he was prohibited by judicial decree

The Rev Moselane last held communion at his church on October 21 1984 the day he was arrested and later charged with treason

There were emotional scenes in the church when at the end of the Mass Mr Moselane blessed the children — individually — and shook hands with his flock, also patiently and individually.

Canon Peter Lee, who gave the main sermon, said Mr Moselane was not an ordinary priest

"He is a community leader whose passion is to see evil being eradicated. He therefore deserves the welcome and support to carry out the teachings of Jesus Christ," Canon Lee said

Blacks told to get rid of self pity

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22/11/58

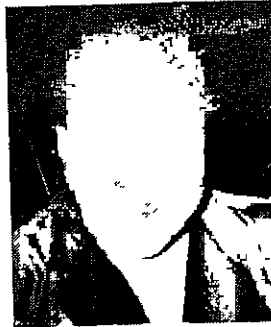
BLACK people should do away with self pity and instead fill in the vacuum resulting from detentions of those who had positions of leadership

This was said by Mrs E N Shuenyane, a lecturer at the Wits Medical School. She was speaking at a graduation ceremony at Wits University at which 23 people were presented with certificates after they had attended a 20-week course on community leader training.

The course arranged by the United States/South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme (Ussalep) in association with the Wits University Centre for Continuing Education covered various aspects.

They included leadership and organisational development, communications systems and structures, financial controls and project development and management.

Mrs Shuenyane said the belief that leaders are born had rendered a great number of people helpless. She said often



Mrs E N Shuenyane . . leadership.

people indulge in self pity and refer to lack of leadership resulting from detentions of those who had positions of leadership.

"An Israeli friend of mine said this was not to be the case. He suggested that an example could be taken from people in the world of theatre. They always have understudies so that there is never a vacuum. He said leadership training should be ongoing from childhood

to adulthood," she said.

Dr Garth le Pere, the South African director of Ussalep, said the country's future society will need a firm foundation on which to stand. Community leadership, he said, would be integral to the construction of this foundation.

"A critical factor in the process of political change and the attainment of political rights in South Africa is the quality, intelligence, social and political maturity and the breath of vision of its community leaders," he said.

Another guest speaker at the ceremony was Mr Aggrey Klaaste, the editor of the *Sowetan*. He spoke on "nation building", a campaign started by his newspaper to rebuild structures in the country that have collapsed.

Alleged PAC member in court appearance

Star 22/11/88 (11A)
PIETERSBURG — A 31-year-old alleged Pan Africanist Congress member made a brief appearance in Pietersburg Regional Court yesterday

Mr Abram Magagula of Sebokeng near Vereeniging appeared before Magistrate Mr G J J van Deventer on eight charges including terrorism, illegal possession of arms and ammunition, and possession of banned PAC literature

He was not asked to plead and his case was postponed to February 6 next year

The State alleges Mr Magagula left South Africa for Lesotho where he became a member of the PAC

Further allegations are that he received military training in Libya and Tanzania in 1985

He was allegedly found in possession of two Scorpion machine pistols, six magazines, 120 rounds of ammunition and four handgranades

Banned PAC publications allegedly found in his possession included "The New Road of Revolution" and "Apartheid, Story of a Dispossessed People".

Mr Magagula was arrested with another person at Mancefield township near Messina on October 16 last year — Sapa



Two men found guilty of treason for ANC actions

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Nearly two years after his unlawful abduction from Swaziland, ANC member Ebrahim Ismael Ebrahim was convicted of treason in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday along with fellow accused Anton Mandla Maseko. The third man in the dock, Simon Dladla, was acquitted of treason but convicted of terrorism.

Ebrahim (51) was kidnapped at gunpoint from his Swaziland home in December 1986 and brought to Pretoria where he was held incommunicado.

He was alleged by the State to be chairman of the Regional Political Military Committee of the ANC, which was based in Swaziland and directed underground operations in SA.

Maseko and Dladla were alleged to have been involved in the placing of four landmines in the Breyten and Volksrust areas in 1986.

Mr Justice Daniels, sitting with two assessors, found Ebrahim to be

● An active member of the ANC who

showed the necessary hostile intent to be convicted of treason.

● His role was not confined to political structures, but had "an intimate involvement beyond political structures"

● He actively participated in and joined in the landmine warfare.

● The probabilities were that he was chairman of the Regional Political Military Committee.

Maseko had been arrested at a roadblock in June 1986 armed with a Makharov pistol and a grenade, the judge said. He said Maseko had, without duress, drawn a detailed map for the police showing the positioning of four landmines in the Breyten and Volksrust areas.

Details of their positioning required intimate knowledge that could come only from actual involvement in the operation. The only possible inference was that he "associated himself fully with the ANC and took part in the revolutionary struggle".

The case proceeds today when a date is likely to be set for evidence in mitigation.

Treason trial accused denies Alex takeover

THE publicity secretary of the Alexandra Action Committee, Mr Obed Bapela yesterday denied that his committee had planned to take over control of Alexandra township.

Mr Bapela made a denial in the Rand Supreme Court when he concluded his evidence for the defence. He also denied that the AAC or any of its members had planned to make the area ungovernable.

Mr Bapela (39), is

appearing before Mr Justice P J van der Walt with four other civic leaders on charges of treason, alternatively sedition or subversion.

The other four are Mr Moses Mayekiso (40), Mr Paul Tshabalala (32), Mr Richard Mdakane (39) and Mr Mzwanele Mayekiso (22). They have all pleaded 'not guilty'.

Led by Mr David Soggot SC, counsel for the defence, Mr Bapela said he was elected publicity secretary at a meeting on May 25, 1986. He said his co-accused, Mr Tshabalala was elected secretary.

Among other issues discussed at the meeting, he said, was closure of the "People's Courts" in Alexandra. He said he went down to 19th Avenue to talk to the youths into closing down such a court in that vicinity.

Answering another question, Mr Bapela said the AAC wished to see peace prevail and improvements of living conditions in Alexandra. To achieve this, he said, the AAC had planned to negotiate with the authority and actually spoke to Mr Steve Burger.

Mr Bapela said he would not participate in government - created structures because such structures "brought about oppression and promoted apartheid". He said this was also the attitude held by the AAC.

The case was postponed to Thursday after Mr Bapela had stepped out of the witness box.

ANC man ^{11A} convicted ^{11B}

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The third man in the dock, Simon Dladla, was acquitted of treason but convicted of terrorism

Ebrahim (51), was kidnapped at gunpoint from his Swaziland home in December, 1986 and brought manacled to Pretoria where he was handed to the security police and immediately detained incommunicado for months before being placed on trial

88/1/22 notes

ANC 3 CONVICTED

THE trial of three members of the African National Congress who were convicted of high treason and terrorism in the Pretoria Supreme Court this week, was yesterday postponed to January 9, next year

Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, described by Mr Justice Daniel as a senior member of the ANC in Swaziland, and Acton Maseko, an infantry commander of the ANC were both found guilty of high treason. Another accused, Simon Dladla was convicted on a charge of terrorism

Their conviction followed landmine attacks at Breyten and

By MONK NKOMO

Volksrust during 1986 Defence advocate, H K Naidoo yesterday said they had already received instructions from the accused to file an application for leave to appeal against the judge's findings

In his judgment, Mr Justice Daniel said the three accused had hostile

intent towards the Government and aimed at overthrowing it by violent means. He said Ebrahim had travelled on a false passport issued by the ANC and had regularly met Helena Pastoors, a convicted member of the ANC

The judge also found that Dladla acted as a courier for the ANC and had intimate knowledge of the landmine attacks

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Don't blame whites for everything, says Klaaste (11A)

LONDON — South African blacks must stop looking for purely political solutions to their problems of helplessness, poverty and ignorance, according to *Sowetan* editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste

In an interview with the *Financial Times* published today, Mr Klaaste says the black community has "repeated the mistake of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, who exhorted black leaders to seek first the political kingdom"

"But after the exhilaration of uhuru (independence), nation

after nation tumbled, there were coups aplenty and the continent ran red with blood"

Mr Klaaste said when foreigners asked South Africa's blacks "usually answer pathetically that they are in jail, in detention or in exile"

"That is simply not true and an insult to a growing number of serious black businessmen, doctors, lawyers, teachers, skilled workers who could lead by their example if the concept of leadership was not restricted to the political sphere"

He argues that it is simply

not good enough to blame whites for everything

"One moment we act like bowed, scraping slaves, happy to lick the Baas's hand Next we engage in acts of unbelievable violence, like placing a burning rubber tyre 'necklace' around someone's neck"

He argues the answer lies in emulating the Afrikaners, themselves a despised and impoverished underclass in the wake of the Boer war

"There is no doubt they created a powerful folk The trouble is that they were self-

ish Their injury to blacks and others, their contempt for the humanity of others, is reaping the whirlwind

"Blacks, who are in an ever growing majority, must take on themselves the responsibility for ensuring a peaceful and prosperous future for all the inhabitants of South Africa"

They must, he added, "create the type of leadership which decreases the fear in the hearts of young Afrikaners who are convinced we are a gullible people easily swayed by communists and radicals"

James probe to be stage play

DURBAN. — The James Commission, which is investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates, is to be the subject of a stage play by a Durban husband-and-wife team

Actress-director Ms Saira Essa and her lawyer-actor husband Mr Charles Pillai have begun writing the play after securing a sponsorship which will pay for the production and allow tickets to be sold at low prices. — Sapa

Rajbansi 'plotted to discredit Commission'

Carte Tante 23/11/88
Own Correspondent (114)

DURBAN — Mr Amichand Rajbansi's recent application for the recusal of the James Commission chairman, Mr Justice Neville James, was an "orchestrated attempt", using the press, to discredit the Commission before it brought out its findings, Commission advocate Mr Anton Ackermann alleged yesterday

Beginning his long-awaited cross-examination of Mr Rajbansi at noon yesterday, Mr Ackermann accused him of deliberately plotting to undermine and discredit the Commission from "day one"

It proved to be the most heated, no-holds-barred exchange to date, in which Mr Rajbansi accused Mr Ackermann of having a "prosecutor mentality" and of thinking he was in a criminal court

The hearing continues today.

Sowetan
2-11/11/88

PLEA TO END DEATH PENALTY

FRIENDS and relatives of prisoners on death row yesterday handed a petition to the State President's office at the Union Buildings, including a passionate appeal for the abolition of the death penalty.

The petition, signed by more than 200 friends and relatives, said "We write this letter to you on their behalf, and on behalf of the many people who have already been killed in this horrible way"

200 loved ones petition PW

1052
11A

The petitioners include the wives of condemned former police officers, Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe as well as the relatives of the Sharpeville Six

The petition was handed over by a group

of family and friends of the condemned who specially made the journey to the Union Buildings

"We are appealing to you to stop this hanging because it is causing nothing but bitterness,

pain and hardship to people in this country

"We feel that there is hope for every person, no matter what they have done, and each person should be given the chance to reform

"Giving someone a life

sentence at least gives him or her the time and the opportunity to make amends to society "

The petitioners asked whether judges had the right to decide between life and death

"You too are an ordinary human being, yet you are often forced to choose who is granted clemency and who is not. This is a heavy burden of responsibility "

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Decision rekindles hope for early release of Mandela

Star 24/11/88

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The dramatic reprieve of 13 Death Row prisoners — including the controversial Sharpeville Six and policemen Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe — was widely welcomed locally and internationally today, but has led to renewed condemnation of the death penalty in South Africa.

And the Government's lenient attitude towards the Death Row prisoners, many of whom had been sentenced to death on politically-related crimes, has sparked off new hopes that ANC leader Nelson Mandela could be released soon.

The Western world welcomed State President P W Botha's reprieve of the Sharpeville Six

The United States Embassy said President Botha had acted in the interests of South Africa.

The Secretary-General of the UN, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, expressed "relief" at the granting of reprieves to the Six.

Government spokesmen for Britain, The Netherlands, Bel-

gium and Western Germany all expressed their approval

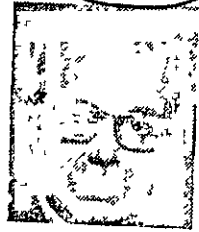
In Washington, SA ambassador Mr Piet Koornhof said the Government's decision demonstrated that South Africa wanted to be a "friendlier" nation

He expressed hope that Mandela would be released "sooner rather than later", and said his Government "was in the process of giving Mandela back to the community"

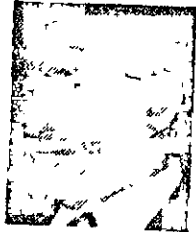
Locally, the reprieves were welcomed by most political parties PFP national chairman Mr Colin Eglin said the Six's reprieve was significant in respect of our international relations.

CP justice spokesman Mr Chris de Jager said he hoped the decision was not the result of political pressure.

The Black Sash called on the State President to declare a moratorium on all hangings until a commission of inquiry could be established. — Political Staff-Own Correspondents-Sapa-AP-Reuter



Dr de Cuellar ... "relief."



Dr Koornhof ... "hope."



Mr Eglin ... "significant."

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... quiver of arrows last

By Joe Openshaw

'MANDIELA TO BE GIVEN BACK'

Sowetan 25/11/88

(11A)

WASHINGTON — Imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was in the process of being given back to society, the South African Ambassador to the US, Dr Piet Koornhof, said here.

"He is no longer in prison," he said in his first major television appearance on Wednesday "He is no longer in hospital either. He is in a clinic, a very good clinic which I happen to know well."

Speaking to his largest American audience since his arrival here almost 19 months ago, he said he did foresee a decision to free Mandela — "Yes, I hope that it will be coming. I sincerely hope it will be coming,"

he said on *Cable News Network*.

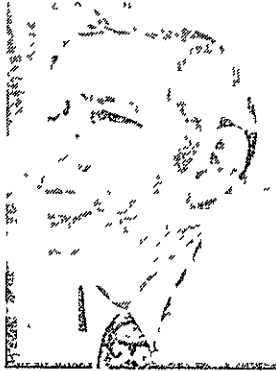
He refused to speculate on a date, merely expressing the hope that Mandela would be released "sooner than later."

Clemency

Dr Koornhof was being interviewed on the Government's clemency involving the Sharpeville Six. Stressing the need for negotiation and conciliation between South Africans, he was asked if South Africa was emulating US President-elect George Bush's ambition for a "kinder, gentler" nation.

"I think so, yes," he said. "I would go along with that."

SOWETAN FOREIGN SERVICE



DR PIET KOORNHOF

On how South Africa would get on with a Bush administration starting in January, Dr Koornhof said the Republic had "to do its own thing. And we must find solutions to our problem inside of South Africa. To the

extent that we do that, we will not only get on with the Bush administration, but with America generally and with the world at large."

Earlier Dr Koornhof visited the State department to deliver the strongest possible protest to the US at a strong-worded condemnation by the US on Monday of the verdict of the so-called Delmas treason trial. The US also charged the Government with manipulating the judicial process to crush its opponents.

He met the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

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Rajbansi's 'pathetic testimonial'

9/16/88
24/11/88
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DURBAN. — A letter written by one of Mr Amichand Rajbansi's daughters was the centre of yet another heated exchange in the James Commission yesterday between the chairman of the Minister's Council and special prosecutor Mr Anton Ackermann

Mr Rajbansi had included in his papers a letter from one of his daughters to himself about his dedication to public life

Mr Ackermann wanted to know Mr Rajbansi's motive for submitting the letter

"There is a message in it that shows what a child thinks of a parent who works up to 20 hours a day to serve the community. I thought that it would touch you," said Mr Rajbansi

"You mean it is a testimonial," said Mr Ackermann

"I will not answer to the level of your question," said Mr Rajbansi

"It's pathetic," replied Mr Ackermann.

The commission chairman, Mr Neville James, said these issues would have not come up had Mr Rajbansi not submitted these documents

Mr Ackermann told the commission that he did not want to submit these documents, but he had to establish the motive for their being handed in

Pointing to a thick pile of documents on his table, he said "It's a waste of state paper"

"It's not," said Mr Rajbansi

Mr Ackermann then cross-examined Mr Rajbansi on a donation of R3 000 made to his National Peoples' Party

Mr Rajbansi said he knew nothing about the donation made by giant construction company LTA

He said he received a copy of a bank deposit slip which showed that LTA's R3 000 cheque was deposited into the account of the NPP — this was the first time he had learnt about it

... Fish Hook

Memorial for massacre

Sowetan 24/11/84 (11A)
THE National Youth Co-ordinating Committee will hold a memorial service for the victims of last week's Pretoria massacre in Johannesburg tomorrow.

A spokesman for the organisation, Mr George Ngwenya, announced that

the service will start at 1pm on the 2nd floor, Lekton House in Wanderers Street, Johannesburg.

He said the Steve Biko Foundation, trade unions and religious leaders would attend.

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Death row drama

South
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Nov 24 - 30 1988

WHILE tears of joy greeted the dramatic death-row reprieve of the "Sharpeville Six" and several others, seven condemned men went to the gallows at Pretoria Central Prison this week.

At least three of the seven hanged on Thursday were "political" prisoners convicted of unrest-related offences.

A last-minute application by one of them, Paul Tefo Setlaba, for a stay of execution failed on Wednesday.

Setlaba, 24, a member of the Colesberg Youth Congress, was sentenced to death in December last year for his role in the killing of a woman burnt to death for breaching a consumer boycott.

The lawyers argued before Mr Justice Eloff that the basis of the application was that a state witness on whose evidence Setlaba had been convicted, had lied to the trial court.

Setlaba had been scheduled to hang on June 10 this year, but a stay of execution was granted to allow for a petition to the State President. The petition was subsequently rejected.

ANC guerilla

Others hanged on Thursday were Eric Kholisile Dyakala and Zwelindumile Njekula, both of Port Elizabeth, Mxolisi Tshongoyi, Paul Fedraf, Arthur Stevens and Freddie Jantjies, all of Cape Town.

In a further development, 13 people, including the English-born common-law wife of condemned ANC guerilla Robert McBride, delivered an open letter to the State President's office at the Union Buildings in Pretoria calling for end to further hangings

The letter said hangings were "causing nothing but

SA a huge 'treason camp?'

South
24-30/11/88

JOHANNESBURG. — The Delmas treason trial judgment could turn South Africa into "a huge treason camp".



Popo Molefe

Observers and anti-apartheid activists believe similar trials may now be staged after three UDF leaders and an SACC worker were convicted in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, last week.

The "message" of the Delmas treason trial was that any attempt actively to pursue the demands of the Freedom Charter could in future be regarded as treasonous, some observers believe.

• See pages 10, 15

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Mayor speaks to 'real leaders'

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EAST LONDON. — East London's city council has embarked on a series of negotiations with UDF affiliates and unions

Under discussion is the controversial issue of access to the city's beaches

Although beaches have not yet officially been declared open, the city has adopted a policy of not prosecuting anyone who uses the "whites only" beaches. Last year, an influx of people to the centrally situated Eastern Beach led to an outcry from conservative white East Londoners and prompted local AWB members to patrol "their" beaches.

Now new mayor Donald Card has initiated the discussions to avoid a repeat of last year's problems.

He sees the problem as simply too many people for too few amenities and said he wants to talk to "the real leaders" to find out what they want.

'Spread load'

"You can't have 100 000 people on one beach — you have to spread the load," he said. "We need to have entertainment in other areas and more facilities."

Ward said about 58 organisations had already agreed to work with the city council, including UDF affiliates, all the local residents' associations and the unions.

The Gampo Town Committee — as the Duncan Village community council is known — is not part of the talks.

As Card puts it, he wants to talk to "the actual leaders, not the Uncle Toms"

"I'm not prepared to talk to them, it would be the kiss of death for what I'm trying to do," he said.

Previous attempts by the city council to negotiate directly with popular local structures several years ago were firmly squashed by central government at the time. Card is more hopeful this time, and said that if they succeed, it will show that negotiation is possible — **ELNEWS**

Star 24/11/88

Mandela 'being gradually given back to society'

WASHINGTON — Imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela was in the process of being given back to society, according to the South African ambassador to the US, Dr Piet Koornhof

Dr Koornhof said Mandela "is no longer in prison" during his first major television appearance since his arrival in the US 19 months ago

"He is no longer in hospital either," said Dr Koornhof "He is in a clinic, a very good clinic which I happen to know well"

Dr Koornhof said he foresaw a decision to free Mandela — "yes, I hope that it will be coming I sincerely hope it will be coming," he said on Cable News Network

But he refused to speculate on a date, merely expressing the hope that Mandela would be released "sooner rather than later"

By Alan Dunn,
The Star Bureau

Dr Koornhof was being interviewed on the government's clemency involving the Sharpeville Six. Stressing the need for negotiation and conciliation between South Africans, he was asked if South Africa was emulating US president-elect Mr George Bush's ambition for a "kinder, gentler" nation

"I think so, yes," he said "I would go along with that"

On how South Africa would get on with a Bush Administration starting in January, Dr Koornhof said the Republic had "to do it's own thing. And we must find solutions to our problem inside of South Africa To the extent that we do that, we will not only get on with the Bush Administration, but with America and the world at large"

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'Cosatu is not welcome'

SOME labour union leaders did not have labour matters on their agenda, but revolution, the Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, said in Pretoria on Wednesday.

Briefing journalists at Manpower 2000 conference with employers and unionists, he said such umbrella organisations as Cosatu had not been invited to the conference because they were not registered, but their affiliates had been, if they were registered.

The decision of those that declined the invitation was unjustified, he said, because they had had the opportunity of having direct contact with the Government today.

Mr du Plessis said that although some union leaders' agenda was revolution, "I am sure that by far the majority of their members disagree."

He said it was significant that members had to be killed and intimidated in order to keep them from work.

"If they had the support of the masses it would not be necessary to intimidate the masses," Mr du Plessis said.

Asked why these leaders were not charged with treason, Mr du Plessis said many were, but "others are very careful and don't come out in the open."

More than 600 people attended Wednesday's conference.

Mr du Plessis told the conference that labour unit costs had increased to such an extent that South Africa "will find it consistently more difficult to compete internationally, as it has already virtually priced itself out of international markets."

Projections also revealed that by the year 2000 the country would experience a shortage of at least 234 000 graduates and diploma holders, of which a great percentage would probably be technicians — Sapa

NA
25/11/88

'Harassment' claims to be tested in court

Supreme Court Reporter

ALLEGATIONS by five Khayelitsha residents that they had been threatened with assault or harassed by squatter leader Mr Mali Hoza will be tested when they appear in the Supreme Court to give evidence

Mr Justice S Selikowitz yesterday ordered that an application by them be postponed to the Fourth Division on the semi-urgent roll

Mr Hoza will be entitled to argue whether the applicants, Mr Lawrence Motsemoholo Smous, Mr Amos Kota, Mr Manala Malga, Mr Geoffrey Oliphant and Mrs Mamba, were entitled to the order they are seeking.

If so, oral evidence must be heard to determine if they are entitled to a final order against Mr Hoza interdicting and restraining him from assaulting, or threatening to assault or harm, intimidate or in any manner unlawfully interfere with them.

The interdict would further order Mr Hoza to order his followers not to assault or threaten to assault, harm, intimidate or in any manner unlawfully interfere with the applicants

The residents were directed to appear to be examined and cross-examined as witnesses

ANC ready to hit civilians expert

CVE Trials 25/10/88

114

Supreme Court Reporter

THOUGH the stated policy of the African National Congress is that only military targets would be attacked, there was a growing perception among cadres that civilian targets could be attacked.

This was said yesterday in the Supreme Court by ANC expert Brigadier Hermanus Stadler in the trial of Ashley Forbes and 13 co-accused who had been convicted of terrorism, contravening Section 54 (4) of the Internal Security Act and furthering the aims and objectives of the ANC.

Stated targets of the ANC were military and police installations and political and economic targets, he said.

With the signing of the First Protocol of the Geneva Convention the ANC committed itself to attacking only military targets.

However, in subsequent speeches by Mr Johnny Makatini and ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo, it was said the distinction between "hard" and "soft" targets would disappear. As a result claims were made that the ANC was prepared to attack civilian targets.

A perception had grown among ANC cadres that because they operated on their own and were given orders to

find their own targets, civilian targets could be attacked, Brigadier Stadler said.

Mr Chris Hanu, chief of staff of Umkhonto we Sizwe, had also said that the distinction between soft and hard targets would disappear. Mr Tambo later said Mr Hanu's statement was a personal opinion.

Since 1985 there had been a dramatic increase in terror attacks which could be directly linked to the outbreak of unrest in the Vaal Triangle in September 1984.

Factors which played a role were that ANC guerillas who infiltrated the country had greater freedom of movement, the local population was more receptive to recruitment, more people could be locally trained, cells could be established and greater use was made of "instant" training.

Asked if there had been a difference in strategy between the emergencies of 1985 and 1986, Brigadier Stadler said the situation in certain magisterial districts had become out of hand and law and order was still the task of the police.

The hearing continues today.

The accused are Forbes, Peter Jacobs, Nicklo Pedro Nazonen Lowe Anwa Dramat, Clément Baadjies, David Fortuin, Jeremy Veary, Walter Rhoode, Wayne Malgas, Collin Cairncross, Ashraf Karriem, Colin Petersen and Leon Scott.

SA's blacks 'have repeated Kwame Nkrumah mistake'

The Argus Foreign Service reports from London *Argus 25/11/88*



Mr Aggrey Klaaste

SOUTH African blacks must stop looking for purely political solutions to their problems of helplessness, poverty and ignorance, says the editor of the Sowetan, Mr Aggrey Klaaste

In an interview with the Financial Times, Mr Klaaste says the black community has "repeated the mistake of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, who exhorted black leaders to seek first the political kingdom.

"But after the exhilaration of uhuru (independence), nation after nation in Africa tumbled, there were coups aplenty and the continent ran red with blood"

Mr Klaaste said that when foreigners asked about South Africa's black leaders, local blacks "usually answer pathetically that they are in jail, in detention or in exile

"That is simply not true and an insult to a growing number of serious black businessmen, doctors, lawyers, teachers, skilled workers, who could lead by their example if the concept of leadership was not restricted to the political sphere."

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"There is no doubt they created a powerful volk. The trouble is that they were selfish. Their injury to blacks and others, their contempt for the humanity of others, is reaping the whirlwind."

Blacks, he says, must not repeat this mistake, but be inspired by what he calls *ubuntu* — a uniquely African quality of humanity and compassion "It is a unique quality which makes us able to forgive and forget.

"Blacks, who are in an ever-growing majority, must take on themselves the responsibility for ensuring a peaceful and prosperous future for all the inhabitants of South Africa"

They must, he added, "create the type of leadership which decreases the fear in the hearts of young Afrikaners, who are convinced we are a vast population of gullible people easily swayed by communists and radicals".

'MANDIELA TO BE GIVEN BACK'

Sowetan 25/11/88

(11A)

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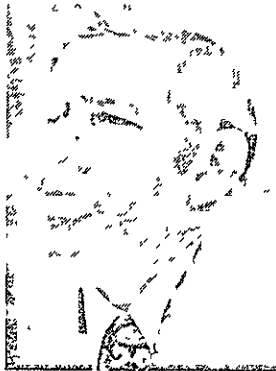
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SOWETAN FOREIGN SERVICE



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Earlier Dr Koornhof visited the State department to deliver the strongest possible protest to the US at a strong-worded condemnation by the US on Monday of the verdict of the so-called Delmas treason trial. The US also charged the Government with manipulating the judicial process to crush its opponents.

He met the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

A HIGH-POWERED delegation of South African church leaders will hold a meeting with the top leadership of the African National Congress in an African country today

Group of top churchmen meet ANC

The delegation consists of the president of the South African Council of Churches

(SACC), Bishop Manana, Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev

Desmond Tutu, SACC general secretary, the Rev Frank Chikane; a representative of the

Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop P Buthelezi; a Moderator of the

Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Rev M. Moore; a representative of ELCSA, the Rev

J A Steenkamp, and the president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Stanley Mogobo.

The decision to meet the ANC was taken by the executive committee of the SACC recently.

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE government has started the phased release of Mr Nelson Mandela with the announcement that he will not return to Pollsmoor Prison but will be moved from the Constantiaberg Clinic to "suitable, comfortable and secure" living quarters.

Although no indication was given of the type of accommodation envisaged or where it might be, it could be a house in a prison complex, probably in the Transvaal

A Justice Department source said today the move could be made soon if Mr Mandela maintained his present rate of recovery

The interpretation in political circles was that the announcement last night by Minister of Law and Order Kobie Coetsee was the start of Mr Mandela's phased release

However, top Nationalist circles are ruling out the possibility that he will be completely free in the near future

Civil unrest

They say that emotions in South Africa are still running too high

While the government is said to be keen to release him before he dies in prison, there are fears in security circles that his release could cause civil unrest.

There is the belief that a situation must be avoided where he might have to be re-detained or restricted

Government sources also pointed out that the question of the renunciation of violence remained

Mr Mandela has not been willing to accept this condition laid down by President Botha

At the recent Transvaal congress of the National Party, Mr Botha again stated that the government was not willing to negotiate with organisations or people who did not renounce violence

Appearing on television in the United States, the South African Ambassador, Dr Piet Koophof, said Mr Mandela was in the process of being "given back to society"

Mr Coetsee today declined to add to his statement, or in any way to elaborate. His statement said in full "Nelson Mandela's health has improved to such an extent that should the improvement continue it will eventually no longer be necessary to care for him in a clinic

"In view of the particular circumstances of the case, including possible threats to his safety from different quarters, it has been decided that when the time arrives he will be transferred to suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation, where he will be able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis.

"His family will be informed of the locality in due course"

In Johannesburg Mr Krish Naidoo, spokesman for the Mandela family, issued a terse statement in response. It said: "Mrs Mandela has absolutely nothing to say about the announcement made by the Min-

ister of Justice. The family has not been informed officially, and takes umbrage to being addressed through the media"

And a statement issued for Mrs Mandela by Mr Ismail Ayob, attorney for the Mandela family, a short while later said

(Turn to page 3, col 3)

Another step to freedom

(Continued from page 1)

"Mrs Mandela did not have any advance knowledge of the statement she attaches no significance to the statement Mr Mandela still remains a prisoner of the South African government and there is no indication of any imminent release"

Mrs Mandela's lack of enthusiasm was echoed by PFP leader Dr Zac de Beer, who said the move did nothing to ultimately address South Africa's real problems. Blacks, he said, would be "fairly sceptical" at the news about Mr Mandela. "They won't deduce that they will see Nelson Mandela playing a part in the politics of the country."

Miss Joyce Mokhesi, sister of one of the Sharpeville Six, said South African blacks were "not necessarily impressed" by the latest moves

The international community has been warned by SDP leader Dr David Owen not to take the statement as a signal to ease pressure on South Africa

Speaking on the BBC's *Newsnight* programme, Dr Owen, a former Foreign Secretary, said it was international pressure which had brought the South African government to the point where it was agreeing to independence for Namibia and making moves to release Mr Mandela

The South African announcement has made front pages and topped TV news slots in Britain. This, and Wednesday's reprieve of the Sharpeville Six, is heightening speculation that Mrs Thatcher will now seriously consider a visit to South Africa

Dr Owen said that President Botha was "no liberal, but a man under pressure. He is short of capital and new investment"

MANDELA: A NEW STEP TO FREEDOM

NR 645 25/11/88

114

BACK

Left clamours for unconditional release



Dr Owen ... wants international community to maintain pressure on SA.

STW 25/11/88

A strong call for the unconditional release of Mr Nelson Mandela was made by parties on the political Left today following the announcement that he is to be transferred to "suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation".

The Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement all urged the Government to release Mandela in order to enable him to play a role in the political process

And in Britain, former foreign secretary Dr David Owen said international pressure had forced South Africa's change of heart on Mandela. He urged the world community to maintain this pressure on SA.

Commenting on the Mandela move, PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said he was "sick and tired of the way in which the Govern-

ment plays games" on this issue

"People want to know whether the Government is going to release Mr Mandela. In a purely human way, anything which makes his life more comfortable and gives him greater access to other people is to be welcomed."

"But most importantly, he should be released to make his contribution towards our political crisis," Dr de Beer said

NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said

"It does not make sense to free a man without giving him his freedom simply because you are concerned about his life."

Although Mr Mandela was the key to political organisations on the Left, other political prisoners and banned organisations should also be freed, he said

IP leader Dr Denis Worrall

said the Government had clearly decided on Mr Mandela's phased release

"The question now is whether he will be fully released before Christmas or after a general election early next year. The IP favours his full release as quickly as possible."

In London, Social Democrat Party leader Dr Owen said the Mandela move should not be taken by the international community as a signal to ease pressure on SA

Dr Owen said Mandela was a man of great courage who was "probably the only person who can unite black leaders. It is therefore important to use his strength and stature while he is still fit and well" — Political Reporter and The Star's Foreign News Service.

cess of a worthy fun charity venture

Businessman and friend found dead

Reprieve from hanging welcomed, but . . .

Families 'concerned' over Sharpeville Six sentences

Mr Hassie Mokhesi . . . no arguing with the State President.

Mrs Leah Mokoena (65) . . . still firmly believes her son, Reid, is innocent.

By Jovial Rantao

Most family members and relatives of the reprieved Sharpeville Six welcomed yesterday the decision by the State President to spare their lives, but expressed concern at the long prison terms.

The Six — Duma Joseph Khumalo, Don Francis Mokhesi, Reginald Sefatsa, Reid Malebo Mokoena, Oupa Moses Diniso and Theresa Ramashemola — were reprieved together with nine other prisoners on death row, hours after the Appeal Court had dismissed an application to re-open their trial.

YOUNGEST

Mrs Leah Mokoena, the mother of the youngest of the six, Reid Mokoena, wept as she related to The Star the traumatic moments her family had to go through since the conviction of her son.

"I wish I could die or go to prison in his place. He is so young and deserves to be in a better place than jail," she said. Mrs Mokoena said

since the death of her husband seven years ago Reid had been a father to his younger brother and sister.

"He left school before completing his matric to go and seek work."

At the time of his arrest, Reid's son was three years old and he was planning to marry his childhood sweetheart, Dorothy.

INNOCENT

Reid's brother, Mr Louis Mokoena (22), said "Though I welcome the reprieve, I still believe my brother is innocent."

Seventy-five-year-old Mr Hassie Mokhesi, father of Don Francis Mokhesi, summed up the events of the past 4½ years by saying "Life is no more what it used to be."

Mr Mokhesi said the families had done everything possible to secure the freedom of their children, but the State President had taken a decision in his capacity as leader of the country.

"When my son was detained he left behind his then six-year-old daughter

and his wife, Mmanodise," Mr Mokhesi said.

Mr Mokhesi said his daughter, Joyce, and Mmanodise were in England campaigning for the freedom of the Six.

Mrs Julia Ramashemola, who had just returned from visiting her daughter, Theresa, a few hours after she was reprieved, said although her daughter welcomed the State

President's decision to spare their lives, she was deeply concerned about the long prison term ahead of her.

Mrs Ramashemola (52) said she hoped to see her daughter again in the near future.

The Diniso family could not have asked for a better day to celebrate both the birthdays of the head of the family, Oupa

Moses Diniso, and his daughter, Landiwe.

His mother, Mrs R Diniso, said after visiting Oupa at the Central Prison in Pretoria yesterday he was determined to survive the 18 years ahead of him and to be reunited with his family.

"I thank God for having spared their lives," Mrs Diniso said.

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

NEIGHBOURS and families of the "Sharpeville Six" yesterday gave the State President, Mr P W Botha's dramatic reprieve a thumbs down

However, they welcomed with relief the fact that they will not hang

The residents and families interviewed by the *Sowetan* said they wanted the "Six" back and felt that they should not have been charged in the first place.

They also felt that Mr Botha should not have treated them as "cold-blooded" murderers by giving them reprieve together with killer-policemen, Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe.

They were basing their argument on the fact that the six were convicted on "common purpose" whereas the policemen were sentenced for actual murder

Mrs Leah Mokoena, the mother of Malebo Reid Mokoena, broke down as she told how the commutation of the

sentence — 18 years imprisonment — for her son meant a renewed suffering

She said "Imprisonment is like death itself. Everyday I dream of Malebo coming back from work. Our fear for whites is painful.

"My husband died years ago and left me in this pain. Why, God, why?"

Mr Bassie Mokhesi, the 75-year-old father of Francis, said. "We must thank the mercy of the 'baas' instead of God. God no longer runs the

world, but man does"

He said he would start eating again after four years of his wish to die because his son was now going to live, albeit, 25 years in jail.

A resident, Mr Doc Mabunda said: "Do you expect me to be happy? Those people are not supposed to have been charged in the first place.

Mr Michael Moforotsi (19), said the reprieve was based on apartheid reaction. He said Mr Botha, in giving the six a reprieve as well as the policemen, was trying to

appease the whites.

If he wanted to reprieve the six, then he should have done so and not equate them with the policemen

Mr Elliot Tladi said "At least justice prevailed where injustice rules supreme. We welcome the decision, unlike the death penalty"

At a Press conference in Sebokeng yesterday, the Lekoa mayor Mr Samuel Kolsang congratulated the State President. He said it was a great relief.

Thumbs down for reprieve

Sowetan 25/11/88

VIA

Will move to 'suitable' quarters

Govt begins phased release of Mandela

11A Star 25/11/88

Staff Reporters

The Government has started the phased release of Nelson Mandela with the announcement that he will not return to Pollsmoor Prison.

He will be moved from the clinic where he is being treated to "suitable, comfortable and secure" living quarters

This was the interpretation in political circles today of the announcement by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee

The Mandela family's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, said in a statement today "Mrs Mandela did not have any advance knowledge of the statement made by the Minister last night. She attaches no significance to the statement. Mr Mandela still remains a prisoner of the Government and there is no indication of any imminent release

Security fears

"She has taken strong exception to the family not being informed in advance of the statement"

Top Nationalist circles are ruling out the possibility that Mandela will be completely released in the near future. They say emotions in the country are still running too high.

There are fears in security circles that his return could cause civil unrest. It is apparently felt that a situation where he might have to be re-detained or restricted must be avoided.

Mr Coetsee declined today to add to his overnight statement or to indicate when Mandela would leave the Constantia clinic in Cape Town, or where and how he is to be detained.

There is speculation that he may be held in a prison warden's house within a prison complex.

Government sources said that the question of the renunciation of violence remained. Mandela has not been willing to accept this condition laid down by the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Appearing on television in America, the South African ambassador, Dr Piet Koornhof, said Mandela was in the process "of being given back to society".

Last night, Mr Coetsee issued a statement saying Mandela's health had "improved to such an extent that, should the improvement continue, it will eventually

Toasting the success



Nine countries are represented at the Saturday Star-702 non-stop entertainment will be available between now and Christmas Hamper Fund and the 702 Crisis Centre.

SA warns Angola and Cuba against bid to 'crush' Unita

WASHINGTON — South Africa has told Angola and Cuba that any attempts to crush Unita militarily will wreck peace efforts.

This emerged in a television interview with the director-general of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, broadcast in the US last night.

Star
The Star
But Dr Savimbi said he had announced South Africa's intervention on Cuban troops. Speaking to Mr Rob Africa this week, Dr S

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Visitors

"In view of the particular circumstances of the case, including possible threats to his safety from different quarters, it has been decided that, when the time arrives, he will be transferred to suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation where he will be able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis.

"His family will be informed of the locality in due course," Mr Coetsee said.

Mr Coetsee's announcement came after renewed speculation that Mandela's release was imminent.

The speculation was fuelled by an American evangelist who had talks with President Botha and a top South African diplomat yesterday.

Dr Pat Robertson, evangelist and host of the "700 Club" on the Christian Broadcasting Network, announced after talks with Mr Botha that Mandela would not be returned to prison after his treatment for tuberculosis was completed, but might have to be held in protective custody for fear of left and right-wing assassination attempts.

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SOWETAN Editor Aggrey Klaaste spoke to Anthony Robinson of the *Financial Times*, London. Mr Klaaste denies that he had any implicit or explicit criticism of the ANC, UDF and PAC. He also denies, as is alleged in the article, criticism of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the sanctions lobby.

Voice of reason

JOHANNESBURG. The fading photograph on the wall behind Mr Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the *Sowetan* newspaper, is that which flashed around a shocked world in June 1976. It shows a black youth, his face contorted in grief, carrying the bleeding body of young Hector Petersen, the first fatal casualty of the Soweto uprising.

Sowetan
25/11/88
PHOTOS
11A

Under this reminder of a past he never wants to see repeated Mr Klaaste, a soft-spoken, chain-smoking intellectual confided to a caller over the telephone. I've become a celebrity overnight man and I can't handle it, before facing yet another interviewer

What has attracted the attention of diplomats, foreign correspondents — and the ubiquitous security police — to the drab, one-storey newspaper offices in Johannesburg's southern suburbs, is a campaign being waged in its editorial columns calling on blacks to reassess the path to liberation and engage in a new process of Nation Building

The starting point was Mr Klaaste's gradually mounting personal conviction that, without a fundamental change in black attitudes, another violent explosion of frustration would erupt in the townships. This would be followed inevitably by more bloody repression from a frightened but well-armed white government. The end result would be an economic wasteland and poverty, not only for South Africa, but the entire region

I am 48 years old and have lived through 40 years of National Party rule. It has been a daunting experience full of despair, small triumphs, helplessness, tempestuous bouts of anger, grief — and very little hope, he says

Having experienced the Sharpeville massacre of March 1960, the Soweto uprising 16 years later and the countrywide revolt of 1984-6, followed by mass detentions and the introduction of a seemingly permanent state of emergency, Mr Klaaste expresses the fears of many blacks when he adds. There is a holding of angry breath in the black community



PENSIVE: As a student, Aggrey Klaaste.

and a frightening swing to the right among whites. I can feel in my bones the silent preparation by blacks for the inevitable explosion. Somebody has to do something to stop this madness

Problem

Part of the problem, he believes, is that blacks have paid too much attention to seeking purely political solutions to their problems of helplessness, poverty and ignorance. "We have repeated the mistake of Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah who exhorted black leaders to seek first the political kingdom. But after the exhilaration of Uhuru (independence), nation after nation in Africa tumbled, there were coups aplenty and the continent ran red with blood"

He continues "When foreigners ask where are

the black leaders? We usually answer pathetically that they are in jail, in detention or in exile." But he adds "That is simply not true and an insult to a growing number of serious black businessmen, doctors, lawyers, teachers, skilled workers who could lead by their example if the concept of leadership was not restricted to the political sphere"

Mr Klaaste also argues that it is simply not good enough to blame whites for everything. "One moment we act like bowed, scraping slaves, happy to lick the baas's (boss's) hand. Next we engage in acts of unbelievable violence like placing a burning rubber tyre 'necklace' around someone's neck

How could the average white person have confidence — nay respect — for such people?" he asks

Mr Klaaste, who was himself jailed for seven months during the Soweto uprising, says the answer lies in emulating the Afrikaners who were themselves a despised and impoverished underclass in the wake of the Boer War. Before they won power in 1948 they formed their secret societies such as the Broederbond, patronised Afrikaner businesses and concentrated on raising the educational standards and cultural awareness of the Afrikaner volk (people)

"There is no doubt they created a powerful volk. The trouble is that they were selfish. Their injury to blacks and others, their contempt for the humanity of others, is reaping the whirlwind

"Blacks," he argues, "must not repeat this fatal error. Instead they

should be inspired by what he calls ubuntu — a unique quality which makes us able to forgive and forget," he says, pointing to the tolerance shown to whites in Zimbabwe, even after a bloody war

Blacks, who are in an ever-growing majority, must take on themselves the responsibility for ensuring a peaceful and prosperous future for all the inhabitants of South Africa. They must create the type of leadership which decreases the fear in the hearts of young Afrikaners who are convinced we are a vast population of gullible people easily swayed by communists and radicals

The *Sowetan* is a white-owned daily which circulates mainly in South Africa's largest and most sophisticated black township. Its Nation Building campaign has attracted a lively interest and raised circulation smartly to about 190 000 copies daily

The opening shots of the campaign were fired shortly after Mr Klaaste, a politics and psychology graduate of Witwatersrand University and one time Nieman Fellow at Harvard, was appointed editor in May

But Nation Building as a concept was publicly launched only at the end of October at a multi-racial leisure centre called Shareworld, outside Soweto

Ten days later, Mr Klaaste repeated his message at a conference on black economic empowerment sponsored by the Black Taxi Association (Sabta)

The men who came from nowhere to build a new service industry within a decade are the kind of black achievers which Mr Klaaste and an assistant editor on the *Sowetan*, Mr Sam Mabe, want to encourage to come forward to provide constructive leadership and role models for the young, unemployed and under-educated township youths. Their emphasis on self-help and improvement

Top SA churchmen meet ANC

HARARE — Leading South African churchmen and a top-level ANC delegation issued a joint statement here yesterday after six hours of talks which focussed on uniting efforts to topple apartheid, the question of attacks on civilian targets and the possible release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders.

The ANC delegation was led by the move-

LAURENCE BARTLETT

ment's president, Mr Oliver Tambo

The churchmen included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Peter Buthelezi, representing the Southern Africa Catholic Bishop's conference, the Rev Michael Moore, moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, president of

the SA Council of Churches, Bishop Bruce Evans of the Anglican diocese of Port Elizabeth, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Jacobus Steenkamp, representing the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa, and the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches

The joint statement said the two delegations met to discuss "the worsening situation" in South Africa and "a call was made to all the people of South Africa who desire a peaceful and democratic society to make a commitment to unity"

On the question of attacks on civilian targets the statement said the ANC "explained that the

● TO PAGE 2

Attacks worry ANC

Star 26/11/88 ● FROM PAGE 1.

increase in attacks of this nature had also caused serious concern among its leaders and members. Some of these operations had been carried out by agents of the apartheid regime"

The ANC reiterated its policy that it was opposed to attacking civilians. The situation in some of South Africa's townships where violence had reached "alarming proportions" was also reviewed and "it was agreed that the shameful situation in the Natal townships, in Kwanobuhle in Uitenhage and other areas should be ended immediately"

The statement continued "It is the responsibility of all of us, the liberation movement, church leaders, UDF, Cosatu, Inkatha, Azapo and other groups to do everything possible to end this destructive fratricidal strife"

Regarding the possible release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners "it was expected that broadly based reception committees would be formed. These committees would be responsible for organising the population's welcome of these leaders to eliminate confusion and unnecessary chaos"

The meeting between the ANC and the churchmen came against the background of a World Council of Churches conference here on solidarity with the Frontline States, which was attended by representatives of churches in 42 countries.

Wanted to leave clinic

APR Trans
25/11/88
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[Signature]

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and Staff Reporters
MR Nelson Mandela is to be moved from the Constantiaberg Clinic to "suitable, comfortable and secure" living quarters.

This surprise announcement was made last night by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee. He said Mr Mandela would be transferred to accommodation where he could see his family "more freely and on a continual basis".

Although the government would not disclose when Mr Mandela would be moved, it is expected that he will be transferred to the Transvaal before Christmas.

Mr Coetsee's full statement read "Mr Nelson Mandela's health has improved to such an extent that should the improvement continue it will eventually no longer be necessary to care for him in a clinic.

"In view of the particular circumstances of the case, including possible threats to his safety from different quarters, it has been decided that when the time arrives he will be transferred to suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation where he will be able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis.
"His family will be informed of the locality in due course."



Daughter asks judge to stop emigration to Aussie

Own Correspondent
MARTZBURG. — A 19-year-old Durban student yesterday obtained an urgent interdict in the Supreme Court here to prevent her parents forcing her to accompany them to Australia when they emigrate today.
In terms of the interim interdict granted by Mr Justice Pape yesterday

freely and on a continual basis

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"His family will be informed of the locality in due course"

Mr Mandela's staged release was brought a step closer by the government's move which is part of a strategy to defuse the drama surrounding the eventual release of the 70-year-old ANC leader by getting the public accustomed to the idea of a "free" Mandela

Top government sources have argued that it would be "foolish" to release Mr Mandela unconditionally at this stage on account of the "explosion of emotions" the event would unleash in an already volatile political climate

By gradually bringing Mr Mandela back into the public domain and allowing him free access to his family, the government hopes to "take away the mystery and the aura" surrounding Mr Mandela "so that when he is freed he is not like a Messiah", according to a senior government source

'To look like protection'

Mr Mandela has been receiving treatment in the Constantiaberg Clinic in Plumstead since August 12 for a tuberculosis infection picked up while he was imprisoned in Pollsmoor Prison

Leading human-rights attorney Mr Essa Moosa said last night that Mr Mandela would "probably be moved into a house where it looked as if the government was protecting rather than jailing him

"The house will probably be near Johannesburg to allow Mr Mandela's family easier access to him. It is unlikely that Mr Mandela's family will be allowed to stay with him permanently but will on occasion be allowed to stay overnight."

Mr Krish Naidoo, a spokesman for the Mandela family, said Mrs Mandela "has absolutely nothing to say about the announcement made by the minister

"The family has not been informed officially, and takes umbrage to being addressed through the media"

And Mr Ismail Ayob, attorney for the Mandela family, confirmed that Mrs Mandela had no advance knowledge of the move

"She attaches no significance to the statement Mr Mandela still remains a prisoner of the South African government and there is no indication of any imminent release

"She has taken strong exception to the family not being informed in advance"

Earlier yesterday, President P W Botha underlined government fears of Mr Mandela being assassinated when he met Mr Pat Robertson, founder and chairman of the Christian Broadcasting Network in the US and a right-wing candidate for the Republican nomination in this year's presidential elections

Mr Botha said Mr Mandela would not be returned to prison after he had recuperated but would be put in "some other environment", said Mr Robertson

"I believe President Botha was quite concerned as he expressed to me that there's a real possibility that Mr Mandela might be assassinated by people either from the left wing or the right wing of the country and he doesn't want that to happen," said Mr Robertson, who taped the interview with the President for his "700 Club" TV programme

In Washington, the South African Ambassador, Dr Piet Koornhof, said Mr Mandela was in the process of being given back to society

Commenting on Mr Coetsee's statement, the PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said he was "glad for the man (Mr Mandela) if his condition has eased, but it doesn't seem to me the move makes any contribution to the resolution of SA's political problem"

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Cape Times 25/7/88

Church leaders to meet ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — A top-level delegation of church leaders is to meet African National Congress leaders in "an African country" today, the South African Council of Churches said yesterday.

The church delegation includes the SACC president, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, Cape Town's Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev S Magoba, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the Rev M Moore, and the Rev Frank Chikane, the SACC's general secretary. — Sapa

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Redefine economic activity

Sowetan 25/11/88



THE launching of the Nation Building concept affords us the time to be critical of ourselves. The Sowetan under the leadership of Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe deserve to be commended for the timely launch.

A challenge has been effectively issued to all freedom lovers to rally around the call of Nation Building.

This is the time where we as the affected should take a deep introspection, interrogate all our values, scrutinise all strategies and possibly dream about our future and that of our children.

It is in this light that I want to single out one of the most talked about subjects in our community - "black economic empowerment".

The question that bothers me is economic empowerment. Is it a serious challenge facing the nation or is it a fashionable cliché occupying the minds of "liberal" blacks?

If it is a cliché I would despair as I observe an unfortunate continuation of failure on our side to grab opportunities that we have created. I know organisations like Nafcoc, BMF, Abasa, Soutacoc, etc have given this subject some attention in their various conferences.

I don't seem to see any concrete strategies coming out of the broader community to face up to this challenge.

I am of the opinion that the strategy to economically empower the people is a challenge all people (including the broad liberation movement and the trade union movement) need to address.

I believe economic strategies need to be worked out hand in hand with broad political strategies.

The experiences of our brothers and sisters elsewhere in Africa remind us that economics and liberation are Siamese twins that only cause disasters once separated.

In building any nation the wealth of that nation needs to be harnessed and maximised for the benefit of the nation. But right now in our country we have the majority of the people poor, jobless and voteless.

Just like we challenge the big bosses and captains of the industry to improve the lot of the workers we have to challenge the powers that be to empower the people.

We can only do this if we believe, and are sincerely committed to the truism that economic activity is vital for the development of the nation.

Black people are not involved in the decision of the economic activity in our country. The role played by blacks has always been that of consumers and workers. The few that have

ventured into small business have been reduced to survivalists in the jungle of the carnivorous and heartless system of racism and capitalism.

Those blacks who ventured into the 'white man's' field of banking, big supermarkets, big wholesaling big construction, etc, found booby traps laid for them all the way and they became victims thereof.

The blacks who are "making it" in the white corporate world as managers have to contend with the situation where the poles are shifted every time they want to score. All these incidents and many more inequities dictate the need for us to redefine our economic activity and empowerment.

I know some people within the broader liberation movement

would not touch anything that smacks of capitalism. Some have already started shooting me down for suggesting that the liberation movement should concern itself with business.

The involvement I am talking about is not business for the sake of business, business for self-enrichment.

But I am encouraging business as an economic activity. It is without doubt that I as member of the Black Consciousness movement in my private capacity and also in my public capacity stand for a scientifically based system of socialism in a future Azania.

The economic activity I am encouraging is the same that needs to be sustained and maximised in a socialist environment.

We have to be reminded that in any system of government or

economies the need to create wealth remains paramount.

It is the wealth of the nation equitably distributed that makes any nation self-supporting and fair to all its people.

The attempts made by the frontline states in forming the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference should be the indicator.

My challenge is to the broad liberation movement and the labour movement to interest themselves in economic activity. I am aware that it is our desire to keep the revolutionary and liberatory strategies pure.

But let us not lose sight of the axiom that we have to empower ourselves economically too in order to give direction to the future of this country.

I do not have to remind you that wealth concentrated in the hands of those who do not owe allegiance to the ideals of the majority can be very harmful.

The post Uhuru day experiences in countries like Mozambique, Angola, and even Zimbabwe show that economic strategies should become part and

parcel of the broader strategy.

The governments of these countries realised that even after shouting FREEDOM! there were multitudes of stomachs to be housed, countless number of uneducated and the unemployed.

These problems cannot be solved by political stogans but chiefly by the availability of wealth (economic power) in proper hands.

I submit that there are areas where the broader liberation movement and the labour movement can get themselves involved without compromising their beliefs.

Workers in the US, Europe and the Scandinavian countries, recognising their power have not only initiated good investment schemes for the membership but also created schemes that yield substantial surplus to the coffers of the unions.

This surplus after

creating meaningful institutions for the workers is used to assist the under-developed workers in other countries.

I believe the labour movement here at home potentially controls vast sums of investments through pension funds and provident funds.

These vehicles of investments can always be changed to suit the need of the workers.

In conclusion I believe that with proper networking within the community we can jointly come up with structures that can make all of us proud.

It is high time that we look at various options like pension/provident funds disinvesting companies and co-operatives.

Rajbansi in tape drama at probe

CHIEF TIMES
25/11/88
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DURBAN. — There was a dramatic, sensational and surprising start to yesterday's proceedings of the James Commission when special prosecutor Mr Anton Ackermann was given the go-ahead to play tape recordings of private conversations between Mr Amichand Rajbansi and a Chatsworth businessman, Mr Dave Pillay.

The commission is investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates

Mr Rajbansi's lawyer, Mr Vernon O'Connell, told commission chairman The Hon Neville James that Mr Ackermann had sprung the tapes on him, that he had no idea what they contained and that if the tapes were to follow Wednesday's cross-examination in which Mr Ackermann accused Mr Rajbansi of trying to discredit the commission to get a witness to perjure himself, then it would be earth-shattering evidence

Mr Rajbansi, suspended chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House, then told the court he was aware that his conversations with Mr Pillay were being taped and that he wanted the commission to know that Mr Pillay was an artist when it came to doctoring tapes

"It is common knowledge that Mr Pillay is a master when it comes to doctoring tapes. He once told me how he taped Mr Paul Fox of Checkers and how he doctored the tapes," said Mr Rajbansi

Mr O'Connell and Mr Rajbansi left the court for a few minutes after Mr O'Connell asked permission to advise his client on his privilege regarding self-incriminating evidence.

Just before the first tape was played through an amplified cassette player, Mr O'Connell slammed a book right in front of Mr Ackermann, who in turn picked it up and pushed it back aggressively — Sapa

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for Mandela

Churches and ANC to form 'reception committees'

CMK Times 26/11/85

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Own Correspondent
HARARE. — Leaders of major South African churches and the African National Congress yesterday decided to co-ordinate mass welcome ceremonies for Mr Nelson Mandela and other jailed activists on their release.

At the day-long meeting between the ANC and leading South African churchmen, it was agreed to form "reception committees" to co-ordinate the planned mass welcomes.

The two sides reiterated calls for unity among anti-apartheid groups and for ending factional violence in Natal and the Eastern Cape.

"With regard to the release of Nelson Mandela and other politi-

cal leaders it is accepted that broadly based reception committees will be formed.

"These committees will be responsible for organising the popular welcome of these leaders and eliminating confusion and chaos," said a joint communiqué.

'Soft targets'

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who represented South African Anglicans at the meeting, derided the government's staged release of Mr Mandela, saying "You cannot release a man stealthily". In this he was backed up by the ANC officials present.

The churchmen also said they had accepted ANC assurances that attacks on "soft targets" would end.

Bishop Manas Buthelezi of the Lutheran Church said the talks had focused on the need for unity

— not only between different anti-apartheid political organisations such as the ANC and its rival Pan-Africanist Congress, but also between church groups themselves.

With Archbishop Tutu and Bishop Buthelezi in the church delegation was Archbishop Peter Buthelezi of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference — the first time Catholics have joined with Protestants in talks with the ANC.

Also present were the moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, Rev Michael Moore, Rev Jacobus Steenkamp, who is general-secretary of the Methodist Church, Anglican Bishop Bruce Evans of Port Elizabeth, Rev Stanley Mogoba, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, and Rev Frank Chikane, general-secretary of the SA Council of Churches.



TUTU AND TAMBO ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu (left) and Mr Oliver Tambo in Harare yesterday

Picture REUTERS

Churchmen, ANC in six-hour Harare talks

Weekend Argus Africa Service
HARARE — Leading South African churchmen and a top-level ANC delegation met for six hours in Harare yesterday

The talks focused on uniting efforts to topple apartheid, the question of attacks on civilian targets, and the possible release of Nelson Mandela and other political leaders

The ANC delegation was led by the movement's president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and the churchmen included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Archbishop Peter Buthelezi, representing the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Rev Michael Moore, moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, Bishop Manas Buthelezi, president of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Bruce Evans of the Anglican diocese of Port Elizabeth, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Rev Jacobus Steenkamp, representing the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa, and the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South Africa Council of Churches

A joint statement afterwards

said the two delegations met to discuss "the worsening situation" in South Africa and "a call was made to all the people of South Africa who desire a peaceful and democratic society to make a commitment to unity"

Civilian targets

On the question of attacks on civilian targets, the statement said the ANC "explained that the increase in attacks of this nature had also caused serious concern among its leaders and members. Some of these operations had been carried out by agents of the apartheid regime"

"The ANC reiterated its policy that it was opposed to attacking civilians"

The situation in some of South Africa's townships where violence had reached "alarming proportions" was also reviewed and "it was agreed that the shameful situation in the Natal townships, in Kwanobuhle in Uitenhage and other areas, should be ended immediately".

The statement continued "It is the responsibility of all of us, the liberation movement, church leaders, UDF, Cosatu,

Inkatha, Azapo and other group, to do everything possible to end this destructive fratricidal strife"

At a joint Press conference earlier Archbishop Tutu said it was important to keep reminding the world that the ANC was made up of people "who care enormously about their country". They were not blood-thirsty ogres, he said

The meeting came against the background of a World Council of Churches conference on solidarity with the "frontline" states, which was attended by representatives of churches from 42 countries

A statement issued at the end of the five-day conference said delegates had resolved to "actively campaign for the isolation of the apartheid regime", which they accused of a "campaign of terror against the frontline states"

**Department
of Justice
told prison**

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COLLEAGUES 26/11/88

114 218

Blacks want powersharing, not total control: Survey

THE overwhelming majority of blacks in KwaZulu Natal support powersharing between all races in South Africa, with only a small minority favouring a black-only government.

They also support the free enterprise system, continued patience on the part of the black majority and a combined government for KwaZulu Natal. They oppose violent overthrow of the white government, sanctions, consumer boycotts and organised anti-Government labour actions.

These are among the final findings of a recent scientific study commissioned by the KwaZulu Natal Indaba.

Asked to respond to the statement "Powersharing between all races in South Africa is the best solution", 90% between all races in South Africa is the best solution", 90% of the sample agreed, as opposed to only 4% who disagreed, with the remaining 6% undecided.

Questioned as to which specific group or groups should rule South Africa, respondents answered as follows: All races together — 40%, black and white — 15%, only black — 11%, only white — 7%, don't know — 27%.

Further statements in the survey sought to ascertain what type of political future and society were desired by respondents. The statements and their respective responses were:

■ "When apartheid goes, free enterprise should continue and people should be given the chance to start and run their own businesses" — agree 78%, disagree 3%, don't know 19%

■ "The government of KwaZulu Natal should be combined or made one with the government of Natal" — agreed 65%, disagree 9%, don't know 26%

■ "Different areas and groups of people must be allowed to rule themselves in the best way for them" — agree 61% disagree 16%, don't know 23%



Attitudes towards possible strategies to be pursued towards change were explored in further statements seeking responses. These were:

■ "The removal of apartheid laws will allow for peaceful progress" — agree 90%, disagree 3%, don't know 7%

■ "The black majority must be patient and wait for the white government to make changes" — agree 51%, disagree 28%, don't know 21%

■ "Consumer boycotts are not a good way to bring about change" — agree 43%, disagree 28%, don't know 19%

■ "Violent overthrow of the present white government is the only way" — agree 16%, disagree 53%, don't know 31%

■ "Blacks should support sanctions as a means of political change in South Africa" — agree 11%, disagree 63%, don't know 26%

Attitudes towards potential agents for change were explored in a concluding section of the survey. The statements and responses were:

■ "The church has an important role to play in the solution" — agree 51%, disagree 24%, don't know 25%

■ "The black labour can force white government to accept black majority rights and rule" — agree 22%, disagree 43%, don't know 35%

Respondents were highly sceptical of the ability of white political parties to solve the country's problems, with only 18% of respondents believing any of them could do so, 35% disagreeing and 47% uncertain.

Commenting on the research results, Indaba Communications Director Mr Peter Badcock said the organisation was heartened by the confirmation that blacks are firmly committed to equitable powersharing.

"The survey proves that by far the majority of blacks favour peaceful powersharing and are firmly opposed to violent solutions and radical strategies for change."

The survey was carried out by the market research firm Research International during the period July-September this year and involved an area-stratified random probability sample of 802 black adults who were interviewed personally in their own homes in the language of their choice.

The accuracy and validity of the survey has been attested to by Ms Caroline Harben, managing director of Research International.

"Great pains were taken to design a sample which could be broadly represented of the attitudes of blacks in KwaZulu Natal and would guarantee statistical validity and reliability," she said. "I am satisfied that the questionnaire was objective and met the stringent standards demanded by socio-political work."

Another survey showed that the overwhelming majority of blacks in KwaZulu believe that a peaceful, negotiated solution to South Africa's problems is possible and they reject political violence as an alternative.

Asked to respond to the statement "A peaceful, negotiated constitutional solution to South Africa's problems is possible," 92% of those canvassed agreed, 3% disagreed and 5% were uncertain.

Mandela family to be reunited

11A

JAILED African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is to be reunited with his family in protective custody at a secret location — possibly a warder's house on prison property.

According to government sources, his family will be allowed to spend the night at his quarters, where it is understood he will in effect be under 24-hour house arrest.

Some government sources have indicated this will be the second phase in moving towards unconditional release for Mandela.

Security elements in the Government are understood to be unhappy about the idea of Mandela's immediate and unconditional release.

Government sources also said yesterday he would only be released if the security establishment was sure this would not

Protective custody at secret location 'next step in release'

**SATURDAY STAR
REPORTERS**

spark disturbances in the black community.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee announced on Thursday night that Mandela would not return to prison from the clinic where he was recuperating from tuberculosis, but would be moved to "suitable, secure and comfortable living accommodation."

He said Mandela's health had "improved to such an extent that should the improvement continue, it will eventually no longer be necessary to care for him in a clinic."

"In view of the particular circumstances of the case, including possible threats to his safe-

ty from different quarters, it has been decided that when the time arrives, he will be transferred to suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation, where he will be able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis.

"His family will be informed of the locality in due course," the Minister said.

Former American presidential candidate and evangelist Mr Pat Robertson, after an interview with the State President, Mr P W Botha, said he believed the Government intended releasing Mandela into protective custody for fear of left and right-wing assassination attempts.

He stressed, however, that "protective custody" was his own phrase.

Mrs Winnie Mandela said in a statement released through her legal representative, Mr Krish Naidoo, that "she has absolutely nothing to say, except that the family have not been informed officially and takes umbrage at being addressed through the media."

In a second statement released by Mr Ismail Ayob, Mandela's attorney, Mrs Mandela said she had no advance knowledge of the statement made by the Minister of Justice.

"She attaches no significance to the statement Mr Mandela still remains a prisoner of the South African Government and there is no indication of any imminent release."

"She has taken strong exception to the family not being informed in advance by the South African Government," the statement said.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice confirmed that Mandela was still in the Constanterberg Clinic.

Island prisoner Thabo to marry

2002 119
Cape Town 26/11/88

A ROBBER Island prisoner serving a 20-year sentence for terrorism will today marry his customary law wife in a civil ceremony at Pollsmoor prison in Tokai.

At 9am today former African National Congress guerilla John Thabo, 49, weds Sylvia Netshivhuyu, 29, of Sibasa in Venda, the prisoner's attorney, Mr Mike Evans, said yesterday. He and a close relative of the bride, Ms Sarah Ndou, will attend the ceremony.

Thabo, sentenced in September 1977, is due for release in 1997, the attorney said.

The newly-wedded Mrs Thabo will be visiting her husband on Robben Island tomorrow.

Approached for comment on telexed inquiries about the wedding, prisons spokesman Warrant Officer A J Slabbert said. "Considering that matters such as marriages by prisoners are considered as of a personal interest to the prisoner and the family involved, the Prisons Service is not prepared to make information of this nature public."

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Political Correspondent
GOVERNMENT sources were tight-lipped yesterday about the new venue to which Mr Nelson Mandela will soon be moved. Not even his family have been given any details.

976 TMS 26/8/88
Mandela
move a
mystery

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has described Mr Mandela's new living quarters only as "suitable, comfortable and secure".

However, there is speculation that the quarters will be within easy distance of Soweto to allow the ANC leader "to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis".

The government's other requirement is that Mr Mandela's new home be secure enough to discourage assassination attempts. Possibilities include a house in a prison or police complex.

Mr Coetsee said the Mandela family would be informed about the new locality in "due course", but it is widely expected that the move will take place before Christmas.

Could we start with a subject that resulted in court action and something of a storm in parliament recently: Your views on the ANC and on talks with the ANC. What is your position on the ANC?

I believe one cannot ignore the political point of view of any single group in South Africa. Therefore, we cannot deny the existence of radical and leftist political groupings.

The ANC's politics have to be addressed, as well as the emotions surrounding the AWB's politics.

Does this mean talks with the ANC? Or negotiation?

I believe the government of the day would be stupid if it wished to negotiate with any organisation aiming at overthrowing its authority with violence.

Any government in the world would be creating problems for itself by negotiating with such an organisation.

Talks are a different matter. I believe all the political extremes in South Africa probably have something to say to each other.

If I had been coloured or Indian I would have hated the Group Areas Act with my entire heart and soul

I believe the government has a lot to say which would surprise organisations like the ANC. And I believe even the radical ANC would have things to say that should be heard.

At the end of the day the issue of talks is about listening to each other, understanding each other, in order to reduce and, if possible, end the continuing conflict and violence.

Could you expand on that? What do you have in mind?

I think the ANC's political stand is probably fed by their own idea that the government's position is one of white baasskap — while government policy boils down to a system of power sharing, with power in the hands of different groups.

What is your view on those talks that do take place — Dakar, academics, students, businessmen and sports administrators who do go and talk to the ANC?

Firstly, I ask myself if it can serve any purpose because none of the people who participated in these conversations enjoys any official recognition.

Secondly, it is obvious to me that the ANC consistently sends in its second team for all its conversations with South Africans.

Why do you say that? Is Thabo Mbeki, for instance, not a top man there?

He isn't really. It is clear there is

tremendous propaganda value for the ANC in such talks, while the true value for the political players inside South Africa is not great.

Would you like to see talks between the government and the ANC?

I think the only conversation that would mean something in the end, is one between those leaders who really count.

Both groupings have strong points of view. The ANC wants to talk about transfer of power. The government, on the other hand, has an absolute stand of not talking before the violence is ended.

How are we going to solve this problem?

Eventually one side will probably realise that the other side cannot be removed by violence.

And the other side will realise that its opponents cannot be changed to its liking by violence. (Die een kan nie weg geskiet word nie en die ander kan nie "reg" geskiet word nie.)

In the meantime, South Africa will be the big loser.

The political price which the ANC eventually will have to pay, for the poverty unleashed in South Africa by international isolation, will be bigger than anything they may be thinking in their wildest dreams.

South Africa's people, black and white, are sick and tired of violence and those people who are behind it.

When you say "those people who are behind it", are you referring to the ANC?

Nobody involved with limpet mines, bombs and other forms of terror against innocent civilians, can wash his hands in innocence.

Some opponents accuse the government of state terror and official violence, resulting in a violence-counter-violence-reaction. What is your opinion?

If violence should be committed against people who wish to act politically, I would personally condemn it.

If people who commit violence should meet up with the violence of the state, it becomes a different matter.

The old system of apartheid, which was seen by many as institutionalised violence, has been shaken and changed to its core. Not even the severest critic could deny these reforms.

Some black South Africans say changes did take place, but not enough to make a change to their daily lives.

If we look at the scrapping of influx control, we are dealing with a fundamental change.

That has removed the old concept that black people do not belong to South Africa, and that they are here temporarily.

That has moved us from the apartheid

Why the ANC cannot be ignored

stereotype that such a place as white South Africa, where black people have no say, actually exists.

I think it was a fundamental adaptation.

I also think the government would be making a mistake if it expected black people to be grateful for it.

But nobody can argue that, in terms of National Party thinking, it was a dramatic change.

Another fundamental policy adaptation was when the citizenship of thousands of citizens of Transkei, BophutaTswana, Venda and Ciskei was restored.

The government would be stupid to think that these black people should be grateful for the restoration of something they, themselves, never regarded as having been taken away. In terms of white political thinking, however, it was fundamental.

White political thinking has also moved very far in its thinking on race. While a single, uniform identity document may at face value mean little to black people, it has a tremendous symbolic meaning to white people.

It simply means that a South African should be seen as an individual person, and not merely as member of a racial group.

These policy changes brought us closer to the admission in government circles that black people must and will be part of the government process at all levels.

There is no way we can turn back on this road.

Even if black people may not regard this process as fast or fast enough, in white political thinking it has a meaning of no return.

The question is no longer whether black people should be part of the parliamentary system, but simply how.

Do you think most whites see it in this way?

I would say most whites see these changes as the principle cornerstone upon which a new parliamentary system in South Africa will have to be built.

If we look at the scrapping of influx control, we are dealing with fundamental change

That is why the Right are so fanatically grasping back to the restoration of apartheid measures.

Do you mean an extension of the three-chamber system?

Although the three-chamber parliament means nothing to the vast majority of African people, and is probably rejected as cosmetic by a large and important section of the coloured and Indian communities, it remains a dramatic step in the white community.

It is the first step towards a political voice for blacks, coloureds and Indians. It is an irreversible step. It means more and more power to people who have for long been deprived of political power.

It is not the end, but against the background of 300 years of political history, it is of major importance.

Your perception is not shared by the great majority of black people. How are you going to convince them? So far the government has obviously not succeeded in getting black people to sit with them around a table?

I think all communities and the majority of political leaders still feel tremendous distrust about the good intentions of the government.

Whites are accusing the government of surrendering.

Blacks are accusing the government of the continuation of white baasskap. For most whites the truth is somewhere in-between.

To an important group of people, this truth may be very far from their truth.

But the choice is simple. Either shoot at each other, or we listen to each other. Maybe everyone will do something to hear.

I believe Dr Allan Boesak, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, something to tell my people. I believe there is a lot they should hear.

Above all, the question to them: me in our search for justice is if we build our country in the course of our search, or do we break it into pieces?

What good will it do us if we work for decades to rebuild the country a destroyed South Africa?

This brings us to the Conservative Party, which is a direct result of the government's moves away from apartheid. Do you think they really threaten the government?

Do you think they can still improve their position in municipal elections?

The CP's growth is built on the fear of thousands of whites.

CP growth of course suits government opponents, but will become of the country if they take over.

I believe such a takeover would be millions for harmony in South Africa.

That is why I do not believe I would be able to take over government in a general election.

What is very tragic, is the unbelievably negative racial politics being reawakened by the present politics.

It will take decades to pull a section of the whites, who now the CP, out of the grip of racism and the baasskap mentality.

What is your reply to arguments against participation in the elections? At the same time, what are your views on criminalising of propaganda participation? Does this interfere with the democratic process?

The fact that people are against participation is proof that there are people who do want to participate. If this was not so, the campaign participation would be no more shadow boxing.

I don't follow you.

The biggest victory for democracy in South Africa is that, despite all there still are people who participate.

I think the Labour Party has its participation in the three-

Vacancy

The SACHED TRUST, an independent non-profit educational organisation has a vacancy for a

resource/library person

to work in its Library project

The job will involve working in the Durban Centre and will include the following:-

- ability to organise easy access to SACHED resources for staff and our constituency
- to create an information system about our resources
- understanding of some cataloging
- use of the computers
- to work collectively with our staff and other structures
- to assist in some level of administration and be prepared to work for long hours

Proof of experience and qualification will be an advantage. Salary will be commensurate with experience. A pension and medical aid are available.

Application and CV and the name of 2 referees should be sent to:
The Co-ordinator
SACHED TRUST
PO Box 6043
Durban
4000
Closing date: 18th November 1988.

**SACHED
Trust**



MORE than often we are reminded of the right-wing threat to the Nationalist government. But what about the 'left' within the National Party? The threat of a breakaway on the 'left'. Until early last year Wynand Malan, now leader of the National Democratic Movement, was seen to lead this group. Now, Albert Nothnagel is regarded as the spokesman. His constituency is the middle of Pretoria, in the heartland of the Conservative Party. In this first candid interview with an alternative newspaper, he spells out to our special writer PIETER SCHOOMBEE his views on talks with the ANC, the Group Areas Act, blacks in parliament, and the anti-election campaign ban.

Nat MP

of system, contributed tremendously to the breakdown of discrimination and apartheid

Right from the introduction of the three-chamber system I have not been to a single meeting where the Labour Party either condoned or approved of discrimination

To me, there is no question about participation

I can fully understand the anti-government emotions in leftist circles I can understand the political emotions against the background of history But it makes no sense to me to refuse the opportunities to change the country by participation

In the long term there is no way you can shoot away participation in the political processes of the country — or intimidate the majority of the people to keep quiet while they can get a legal opportunity to speak out against apartheid, against injustices and against the system of the day.

And the fact that it is now not legally possible for people to speak out against participation in this process?

I don't believe it is possible for the government to really stop people speaking against participation

I believe Boesak and Tutu have something to tell my people. There's also a lot they should hear

Even if you lock up the most prominent speakers against participation, you would still not be able to destroy the emotion against participation

At the same time it is also not possible for people to shoot or intimidate away the emotion in favour of participation

The government as well as its radical opponents will in time see that the natural desire of people to stand up for their rights will be satisfied

Opponents of the government, as well as others who were in doubt about participation, may now have been antagonised by the government telling them that, by law, they are not allowed to oppose participation.

By doing that, I think the government has stigmatised the elections in the eyes of some people, who now think along these lines: Well, if the government is so desperately keen for us to vote, all of a sudden, then we should be suspicious about the government's motives.

Allright I think the government as well as its radical opponents are probably over-reacting

In the first place every person does have the right to participate according to his or her free choice, and therefore also free from intimidation

Secondly, everybody has the choice to speak out against participation There is no way sentiments against participation can be locked up or banned or pretended away

If that which is offered has more value than that which is prohibited, people will decide for themselves to participate You will not have to tell them

Could we get back to the ANC for a moment, specifically Nelson Mandela. The government has offered to release him if he renounces violence, but he refused. Should he be released anyway?

I believe very few people in South Africa would want to see Mandela back in prison

Whether you share his political sentiments or not, the political symbolism surrounding him is of great importance

I hope matters will develop in such a way that Mandela will not have to go back to prison

Group areas. Latest legislation did not make it through parliament and the three pieces now have to go to the President's Council to become law. Is the government not creating more damage than anything else here?

I have stated in Parliament that if I had been a Coloured or Indian, I would have hated the Group Areas Act with my entire heart and soul

I believe the majority of the people in my constituency share this sentiment

Our people have a built-in sense of fairness which will eventually triumph in the interest of peace in South Africa

Eventually the prejudice and emotions will be less important than the healthy judgment and the understanding and good neighbourliness

At the same time, there is no way the government can today scrap the Group Areas Act and survive at the ballot box.

Whether it is nice to say and admit this, is irrelevant It is a political fact

In a few years' time it may be a different matter The average Nationalist has shown me that his worst prejudices can make way for healthy judgment when it is in the interest of his country

After all, this is how the law preventing mixed marriages and Section 16 of the Immorality Act were scrapped

The parliamentary crisis around the Group Areas Act has made a number of things clear

For one, it will never again be possible to get discrimination written into the statute books Also, it will no longer be possible to amend discrimination, only to get rid of it

Many Nationalists are hoping that this legislation will not go to the President's Council, but that parliament will consider it again and again, until we find each other And until all of South Africa's people can understand that we will never again agree to introduce discrimination

Do you agree with Dr Danie Craven that we should get rid of apartheid altogether?

I can understand why he is saying that I share his sentiments, but as a practical politician I know that it is easier said than done

I don't think I would like to live in South Africa if the country is run by Dr Andries Treurnicht That is why I do not wish to help Dr Treurnicht to gain power

If the issue is sport, I share Dr Craven's views 100 percent No discrimination whatsoever on the basis

of race or colour should be allowed on the sports field

For instance, I think present government policy which allows for school committees and headmasters to refuse participation in racially mixed sport, is wrong It is morally and educationally wrong

How much of a jump is it from mixed sports fields to mixed schools?

Rightly or wrongly, we live in separate residential areas As a result we have own schools

So you can argue about the jump from mixed sport to mixed school on a hypothetical basis, but in practice we are talking about own schools

Where mixed schools do exist, they simply become part of the pattern of society And I believe in the new open areas it will be totally impossible to have separate schools for different groups

Schools established with state money in such areas will, of course be open to all children living there

The racial character of a school is now being, and will in future be determined largely by the character of its surrounding area

You have been in trouble with your party in the past. Does this have an influence on your actions? Do you sometimes feel it is better to keep quiet?

I have been told that even though I might be right, I was ten years ahead of my time My reply was that in my opinion I was ten years too late with many of my points of view

Therefore, if it should be true that I am ten years too early, I see little hope for my country

In that spirit I believe that outspokenly open thinking in the National Party is part of the reality of government politics, more than ever before

The reform debate in South Africa cannot be stopped In my opinion it is very important that it should also live and grow inside the National Party

Eventually the message of total reform should be the most important message of the party And I think the NP is further along that road than most of its critics will admit

Wynand Malan shared many of your views when he was still in the NP. Are you still friends? And why do you think he was wrong to leave?

He has always been a friend of mine He and many of my political opponents on all sides of the political spectrum, are still my friends

As representative of about 20 000 white voters, I have a responsibility to lead my people on the road to reform

To me it is not a question whether or

not I would have enjoyed it more outside the NP I only ask myself where I can make the best contribution to take my voters and as many whites as possible along on the reform road

Do you think Wynand should have stayed in the party?

I think there is room in South African politics for all groupings and all points of view So, I don't want to argue about his group's role

But I do think that a bigger and more dynamic role can be played inside the NP to keep our country on the road to reform, and to give momentum to the process

So you believe in working for change from within the governing party? Why do you think so?

My approach is If you say the unthinkable, then it is being spoken And if people speak about it, they start thinking about it Then the unthinkable becomes the possible And if the possible can become the probable, then surely there is a role to be played on the inside

How open is the broad mass of your party colleagues in parliament to the kind of role you are playing?

I don't see politics as an ego trip or solo effort I believe many colleagues in the National Party think the same things

Policy changes brought us closer to the admission that black people must be part of government process

Maybe they feel they are not senior enough to say it, or they may be too careful But it is not true that I am the only verligte thinker in the NP

Seldom in the NP's history did the party have so many people who think fundamentally verlig. That makes me very optimistic.

Earlier this year, when you were being attacked for your views on the ANC, and there was the possibility of your provincial leader taking disciplinary steps against you, the State President entered the debate and got you off the hook.

Do you regard it as significant that Pres Botha stepped in himself and defused the situation?

Well, it did not surprise me I believe the president does not see the NP as a group of people who all rigidly think the same

He knows there are many different points of view in his party and I think he regards it as part of the political reality

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Prison move surprises family

By SELLO SERIPE and KERRY CULLINAN

THE general secretary of the SA Youth Congress, Rapulane Molekane, has been transferred from the Protea Police Station to Witbank Prison in a move that has surprised his family

Molekane, who is also president of the Soweto Youth Congress, was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security

^{Class} Act on August 29, and held in solitary confinement until his transfer a few weeks ago

He is now being held under the state of emergency and is allowed visitors twice a month

However, his mother Mary Molekane, although relieved that she cannot afford to travel to Witbank to visit him

His lawyers have con-

^{27/11/88} firmed his transfer, but the SAP has refused to comment as it does not comment on emergency detainees

● Meanwhile, Sayco president Peter Mokaba, who is being held under Section 29, made an appearance in the Pietersburg Regional Court a few weeks ago on charges of terrorism

His lawyer, Fink Haysom, said he had not been

notified of Mokaba's court appearance and Mokaba had not been represented

According to Haysom, Mokaba is charged, along with two others, of being an ANC member or transporting arms on behalf of the ANC. He also allegedly trained someone to use a hand-gun

He appears in court again in February

UDF shattered by court ruling

11A
CNews
27/11/88

Chances of it being rehabilitated now seem null and void

By SOL MORATHI
THE future of the UDF was last week shattered by a Pretoria Supreme Court ruling that it was a violent organisation

The court also found that the UDF conspired with the outlawed African National Congress with the aim of making South Africa ungovernable

Chances of the organisation being rehabilitated are now void

Founded at Mitchell's Plain in Cape Town on August 20, 1983, the UDF was declared a restricted organisation in June this year

Nonetheless, there was still hope among UDF members and its patrons that the judge's findings about the activities of the UDF in the marathon Delmas treason trial might relieve the organisation

The ruling now gives the authorities power to effectively ban the UDF

Much of what should have gone into any review of the UDF is illegal in terms of the restrictions imposed on the organisation

But according to Law-

yers for Human Rights member Brian Currin it is still legal to state the facts of what the UDF represented before the restrictions on it and how it transformed South African politics

When the UDF was formed it was not known how profound its impact on society and politics was going to be

No one could have predicted the emergency restrictions that today makes it an offence not only to actively organise UDF structures, but also to promote its image

According to Prof Jack Spence, South African-born professor of politics at Leicester University in England, the challenge the UDF posed was different in kind and degree from that of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress in the 1950s and early 1960s

Spence said the UDF was a loose confederation of some 500 community organisations which focused on specific local grievances such as poor educational facilities, inadequate social services and amenities in the townships, and the abrasive attitudes towards the population of the local white bureaucracy

Secondly, Spence said, the UDF had successfully mobilised large numbers of blacks by establishing a connection between local dissatisfaction and its amelioration through support

for the organisation's wider political demands for full participation in the central organs of government

Thirdly, it made an impact on rural blacks in remote towns and villages as demonstrated by the large attendances at "political" funerals in, for example, Cradock in the Eastern Cape

Finally, the UDF had made effective use of the consumer boycott as a way of bringing pressure to bear on local businessmen, who, in turn, were expected to press local and central government on the need for significant reform

A strategy of that kind was difficult to police and ultimately emasculate by orthodox techniques of social control

When the UDF was formed it was said its aim was to unite disparate forces in opposition to the 1983 tri-racial constitution and a trilogy of related legislation known as the "Kooornhof Bills"

Soon after Allan Boesak made his call for a united front in the Johannesburg City Hall in January 1983, activists from communities, factories, schools and streets converged in their thousands for house meetings and rallies to discuss the form and content of the front

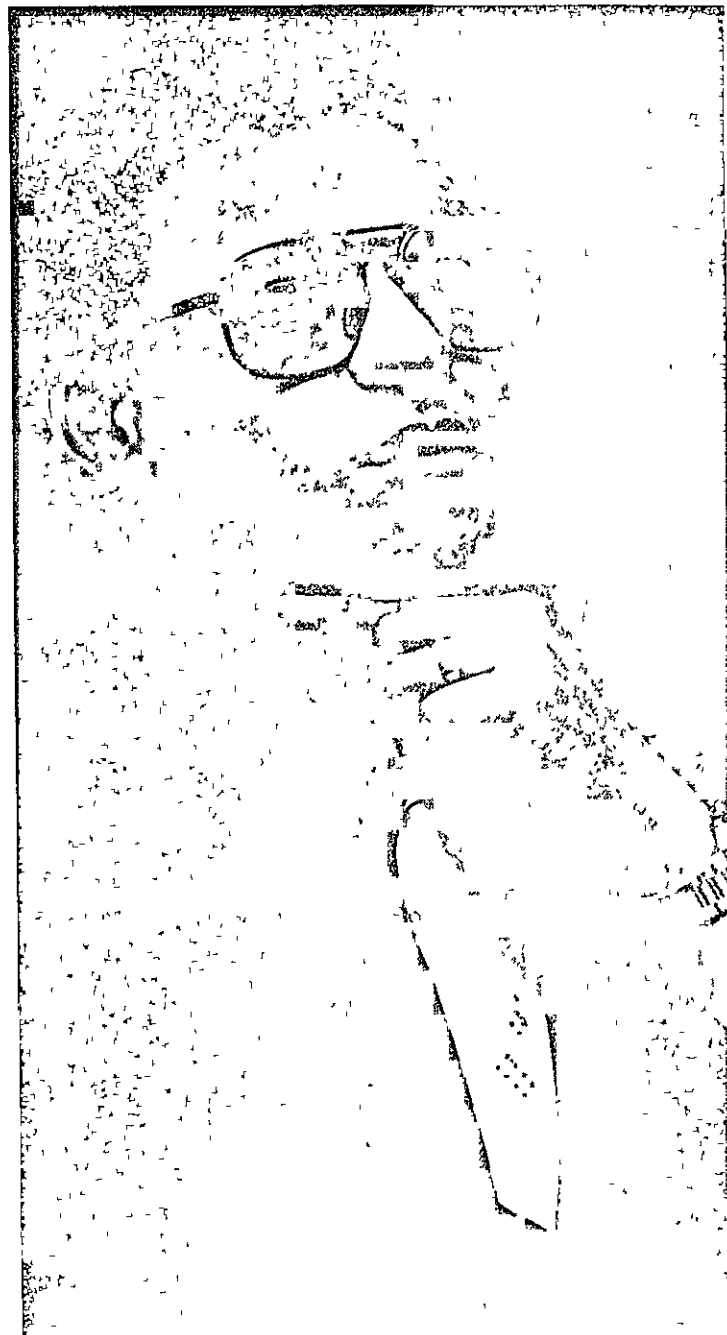
By the time it was launched, a national network of structures, newsletters and support groups had been created

When it was formed, it was structured as a loose alliance of 400 organisations. It was a simple linking of grassroots organisations and trade unions which had come into being in the late 70s

But right at the start there were those in the front who saw its structure as a safeguard against banning

The first phase of the UDF's politics was characterised by its adoption of the 1955 Freedom Charter as a sign of transformation from "an issue-based front to an anti-apartheid people's front" guided by a definite programme

The first issue of that phase was a campaign against the elections for



Allan Boesak... made call for a united front

Unleashing deep-seated grievances caused by housing shortages, expensive services, inadequate welfare facilities and poor education these struggles transformed black areas into arenas of confrontation

This period began with Vaal uprisings in September and soon spread across the Transvaal

Catapulting unions into direct solidarity action and connecting school boycotts to community struggles, these processes culminated

Black Persons Bill the measures the UDF opposed to become part of the established order

The UDF thus believed that time had come to move on with its allies in the trade union movement under the banner of the Charter in a quest for a universal adult franchise for all South Africans

Formal adoption of the Freedom Charter was associated with another important decision - rejection of the option of going underground

leaders and those of its 700 affiliates at local level - detained in droves, accounting for about 75 per cent of the estimated 30 000 people interned under the emergency decrees in the past three years

Detentions, however, was merely one of a series of blows suffered by the UDF

In October 1986 the UDF was cut off from foreign funds by the government's decision to declare it an affected organisation

50

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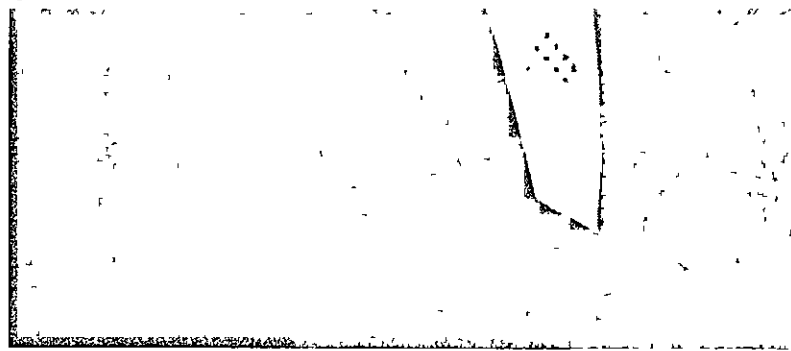
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The first phase of the UDF's politics was characterised by its adoption of the 1955 Freedom Charter as a sign of transformation from "an issue-based front to an anti-apartheid people's front" guided by a definite programme

The first issue of that phase was a campaign against the elections for new black local authorities in November-December 1983

With extremely low polls to their credit, UDF activists proceeded to mobilise constituencies across the country against the tricameral elections. The result was a severe blow to the legitimacy of the new constitution. The UDF's slogan "Apartheid Divides, UDF Unites" captured popular anti-apartheid sentiment

After the elections, protest shifted from anti-constitutional campaigns to local community struggles centred around civic associations, youth congresses, and women's and other organisations



Allan Boesak . . . made call for a united front.

Unleashing deep-seated grievances caused by housing shortages, expensive services, inadequate welfare facilities and poor education, these struggles transformed black areas into arenas of confrontation

This period began with Vaal uprisings in September and soon spread across the Transvaal

Catapulting unions into direct solidarity action and connecting school boycotts to community struggles, these processes culminated in regional stayaways in the Transvaal in November. That was a turning point because it mobilised over a million people and was underpinned by unprecedented solidarity between unions and community organisations

By early 1985, action shifted to the Eastern Cape. The "Black Week-end" of March 16-17, culminated in the Port Elizabeth-based stayaway on March 18 and the Langa Massacre three days later. These events triggered the Eastern Cape's involvement in the 1984-86 insurrection

But with the exception of the Orderly Urbanisation and Settlement of

Black Persons Bill, the measures the UDF was opposed to became part of the established order

The UDF thus believed that time had come to move on with its allies in the trade union movement, under the banner of the Charter, in a quest for a universal adult franchise for all South Africans

Formal adoption of the Freedom Charter was associated with another important decision - rejection of the option of going underground

Since the declaration of the partial state of emergency in July 1985, and more particularly since the national emergency came into operation in June 1986, the UDF had been forced to function semi-clandestinely as its leaders tried to avoid detention

The question of going underground like the outlawed ANC was not on the agenda and its primary role was to organise legal, mass-based opposition to apartheid

Burgeoning rapidly from its formation, the UDF became a major target when the State cracked down on militant anti-apartheid organisations

The UDF's national

leaders and those of its 700 affiliates at local level were detained in droves, accounting for about 75 per cent of the estimated 30 000 people interned under the emergency decrees in the past three years

Detentions, however, was merely one of a series of blows suffered by the UDF

In October 1986 the UDF was cut off from foreign funds by the government's decision to declare it an "affected organisation"

The UDF was the first organisation to be branded and "affected organisation" since the mid-70s when the National Union of South African Students and the Christian Institute were declared affected

The Affected Organisation Act was put in the statute book during the final months of the Schebusch commission of inquiry into certain organisations

If, as some observers thought at the time, the Schebusch inquiry evoked memories of the zealous patriotism and hysterical anti communism of the McCarthy era in the United States, then the Affected Organisation Act was seen as a law designed to curb the political activities of organisations deemed to be "un-South African"

The law's main purpose is to deprive organisations of foreign cash if, in the opinion of the State President, they engage in political activities in cooperation with or under the influence of foreign persons or organisations

The UDF's dependence on foreign funds was confirmed by its treasurer, Azhar Cachalia, in 1986

The commitment to universal suffrage and the strong presence of jailed ANC leaders among the Front's patrons immediately won it an extremist label in mainstream white politics

UDF patron Allan Boesak once shrugged off the fact that parties such as the ANC and also Russia had noted the UDF's existence with approval

But last Friday Judge F van Dykhorst declared the UDF a violent organisation that conspired with the ANC



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Top ANC, PAC prisoners freed

By **SHAUN HARRIS**
and **SHARON CHETTY**

TWO top political prisoners were released by the Government yesterday on "humanitarian and medical grounds"

They are ANC veteran Harry Gwala, 68, and Pan Africanist Congress president Zephania Mothopeng, 75

Mr Gwala is terminally ill with a neurological disorder. Doctors say he has only two years to live

Mr Gwala said shortly after leaving the Westville prison near Durban that he did not believe he was freed purely on medical grounds. His release should not be seen in isolation.

After his release Mr Gwala returned to his Maritzburg home which he left 13 years ago.

"We are so happy. We had no advance warning," his daughter Lulu said. "This is a wonderful Christmas present."

He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1975 for ANC activities.

A crowd, including his children, friends, former Robben Island prisoners and the media, were waiting for him.

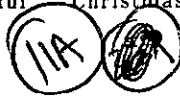
Mr Gwala said the authorities had asked him to renounce violence, but he had refused.

"I'm not a violent man. I would not renounce something I was not engaged in," he said.

Mr Mothopeng was elected president of the Pan Africanist Congress in 1986 while in prison.

He was serving 15 years for terrorism after his conviction in the 1978 Bethal PAC trial.

Mr Mothopeng was released from Diepkloof prison near Johannesburg. He was formerly a member of the ANC until the PAC came into being in 1959.



Times 27/11/88

Big welcome home for Mothopeng

as well as many former Robben Island prisoners crammed into the house

Mothopeng said he was surprised when prison authorities told him he was being released unconditionally

"I was shocked, but I am happy to be outside I still feel strange, though," he said

He declined to answer many questions, saying he would hold a Press conference in Orlando West today

Mothopeng, once a member of the ANC Youth League, helped form the PAC with people like Robert Sobukwe in 1958

Prior to being arrested in 1977 and prosecuted in the marathon Bethal trial,

Mothopeng had been held under 90-day detention and was restricted in the 1960s

Sapa reports that Gwala was non-committal about his future after more than 20 years in prison His first priority was his health He is suffering from "motor-neuron disease," which is said to be terminal

The two men have known each other since their school days Mothopeng was head prefect at Adam's College in Amanzimtoti while Gwala was a pupil there

← From Page 1

Crowds welcome PAC leader

ZEPHANIA MOTHOPENG, the 75-year-old leader of the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), has been released from prison on humanitarian grounds after serving 12 years of an effective 15-year term.

Known in political circles as "Uncle Zeph", he was released on Saturday at the same time as veteran ANC figure Harry Gwala, 69.

A convoy of cars parked outside Moth-

SIPHO NGCOBO

openg's Orlando West home yesterday as scores of well-wishers — both black and white — packed the premises and battled for a glimpse into the tiny bedroom where the PAC leader was being interviewed by the media.

Community and trade union leaders

● To Page 2

28/11/88

(11A)

SOWETAN, Monday, November 28, 1988

'MANDATELA TOLIVE' AMONG THE RICH'

NELSON Mandela could be moved to a house in the upper-class, whites-only suburb of Houghton in Johannesburg, a Sunday newspaper reported yesterday.

The paper quoted unnamed sources as saying Mandela's destination could be "a highly-fortified private home" in Houghton, where some of Johannesburg's wealthiest people live.

Mandela may, however, first spend time in a prison warden's house within a prison area, the report said.

'Highly fortified home' in Jo'burg's Houghton'

Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee announced last week that Mandela, who is recovering from tuberculosis in a Cape Town clinic, would not go back to prison.

The 70-year-old African National Congress leader would be moved to "suitable, comfortable and secure" accommodation with access to his family, the Minister said.

Mr Coetsee did not say where Mandela's new home would be.

Mr Krish Naidoo, spokesman for the Mandela family, issued a terse statement in response to Mr Coetsee's statement.

It said "Mrs Mandela has absolutely nothing to say about the announcement made by the Minister of Justice. The family has not been informed officially,

and takes umbrage to being addressed through the media."

And a statement issued for Mrs Mandela by Mr Ismail Ayob, attorney for the Mandela family, a short while later said

"Mrs Mandela did not have any advance knowledge of the statement made by the Minister of Justice.

"She attaches no significance to the statement Mr Mandela still remains a prisoner of the South African Government and there is no indication of any imminent release" — Sapa

MRS Winnie Mandela no advance knowledge.

HARRY GWALA

THE Government on Saturday released long-time prisoner Harry Gwala, a 68-year-old member of the African National Congress who is terminally ill with a neurological disorder, his family and lawyers said.

Mr Gwala's daughter, Lulu, said the prisons service told her Mr Gwala had been freed from Westville prison in Durban and was taken to the family home in Maritzburg.

Mr Gwala (68) has spent more than 20 years in prison and was serving a life sentence for his involvement with the outlawed ANC.

Mr Gwala has been suffering from a neurological disorder with no known cure, his family and lawyers said. The illness has left his hands paralyzed, but his mind is clear and he remains physically active, Mrs Gwala said.

"We are so happy, we

Release 'wonderful Christmas present'

had no advance warning," Ms Gwala said. "This is a wonderful Christmas present."

The decision to free aimed at reducing Gwala is the latest in a domestic and international series of moves by the Government that appear Africa.

Mr Gwala served eight years in prison from 1964-72 following a conviction on sabotage. He was arrested in 1975 and detained for two years.

In 1977, he was sentenced to life in prison for involvement with the ANC.

11A

We'll take the initiative — Hendrickse

ADKUS
28/12/88

From DAVID BRAUN, Political Staff

11A

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Rev Allan Hendrickse, Labour Party leader, last night announced that his party would take over the negotiation initiative from the government

Because the government had deserted negotiation Labour would make a new start to bring together people such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Nelson Mandela and homeland leaders with party organisations such as the ANC, the United Democratic Front and others to work out a strategy for the future, he said

Mr Hendrickse was opening the 23rd annual congress of the Labour Party in Bloemfontein City Hall

The blame for the government's inability to broaden the basis for its negotiations with black leaders should be placed at the door of the National Party and not at that of the black leaders, he said

It was evident that the NP was more concerned with negotiating with the Conservative Party than with getting black leaders round the conference table

He said the party found itself at a crossroads South Africa would not be the same after the congress

CANNOT BE TOLERATED

If the State President is not prepared to cross the Rubicon, then the Labour Party will have to do so on his behalf

"South Africa can no longer allow political divisions in the ranks of Afrikanerdom to delay the creation of a future South Africa

"We, the blacks of South Africa, have to realise that the National Party will never be able to lead South Africa to unity. In that regard, its history of discord, envy and personality conflicts hang like an albatross around its neck," Mr Hendrickse said

The congress would have to consider seriously the direction the party should encourage South Africa to pursue

Congress would have to spell out a clear-cut direction to the party leadership on four issues

● Was the party prepared to continue participating in the present three-chamber Parliament? If not, which direction should the party pursue?

● Following the government's desertion of the negotiation initiative, would the Labour Party have to take over this initiative from the National Party?

● Did the LP continue to uphold its resolution indisputably spelt out to the government that the Group Areas Act was standing in the way of reform, and was it essential that this Act should disappear from the statutes without any conditions?

● Did the LP uphold the view that the whole Parliament should go back to the South African voting public when its five-year term expired to determine how voters felt about the future of the country?

LABOUR
PARTY
CONGRESS



Rev Allan Hendrickse

Mr Hendrickse said that in the course of the past decade Labour had become a factor of political power in South Africa to such an extent that it was the party which today totally dominated parliamentary politics in the country

Ten years ago the LP was negotiating with the authorities. Today it was the authorities who were negotiating with the LP

Labour today held the balance of power but the government would not admit it openly

He said the LP decided five years ago at Eshowe to employ the tricameral system as an interim solution to undermine apartheid from within and to force the government to embark on discussions with black South Africans

OPENED DOORS

The Eshowe resolution opened doors for the party and the Labour Party would not allow itself to be ousted from these openings

Mr Hendrickse said that although the dispensation had been used successfully by Labour in the short term to give the interests of the voter first priority, it was an acknowledged fact that the concept of own affairs was wrecking the whole parliamentary system

As was clearly reflected in the Group Areas wrangle, own affairs, as far as parliamentary politics was concerned, was developing into a pitiful disaster not only for the National Party but also for South Africa

The LP was resolved to fight against legislation aimed at helping the National Party in its battle against the Conservative Party and which would be to the detriment of South Africa

Jakobus the inquest finding confirmed safety
was in in mining was not satisfactory

In the last five years there have
been five major mine disasters, in

After talks SA church leaders accept . . .

ANC pledge on 'soft targets'

(1A)
Bibby
28/11/88

HARARE — SA church representa-
tives had accepted a "categorical
statement" from the ANC that it
would not attack soft targets in
future, Archbishop Desmond Tutu
said yesterday.

Speaking after a day
of talks between the
church leaders and the
ANC, Tutu said it was
important he and his
delegation had re-
ceived the assurances
so they could carry
them back to church
members



● TUTU

Bishop Manas Buthe-
lezi, of the Lutheran
Church, said the talks
had focused on the need for unity not
only between different political organi-
sations opposing apartheid, such as the
ANC and PAC, but also between church
groups themselves

Buthelezi said there was a unanimous
agreement that not only Nelson Man-
dela but others imprisoned for their part
in "the liberation struggle" should be
freed

Tutu derided the SA government's

Own Correspondent

staged release of Mandela, saying "You
cannot release a man stealthily"

Other delegation members were
Archbishop Peter Buthelezi of the SA
Catholic Bishops Conference, Presbyte-
rian Church moderator Michael Moore,
Methodist Church general secretary Ja-
cobus Steenkamp, Anglican Bishop
Bruce Evans of Port Elizabeth, Method-
ist Church president Stanley Mogoba
and SA Council of Churches general sec-
retary Frank Chikane

Chikane and Tutu said the church's
programme of direct non-violent action
to confront apartheid would not mark a
new departure for churchmen who had
already defied what they regarded as
unjust laws

The SA church leaders/ANC meeting
coincided with the last day of a World
Council of Churches (WCC) conference
on solidarity with apartheid victims

WCC delegates from 42 states agreed
for the first time to urge their govern-
ments to give direct military aid to SA's
neighbours to protect themselves from
SA aggression

1958
being arrested in Bethal trial.



Sowetan

28/11/88

THE British Anti-Apartheid Movement at the weekend rejected a motion calling on it to stop sectarian assistance to South African and Namibian liberation movements and to also liaise with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania, the Black Consciousness movement of Azania and the South West Africa National Union

At the annual meeting in London which ended yesterday, the delegates voted by 172 against 135 to also bar a black South African student and a Namibian affiliated to Swanu, from attending the meeting as observers

The meeting reaffirmed an earlier policy of the AAF to only support the African National Congress and the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo).

THE release of senior African nationalist leaders Mr Zephania Mothopeng and Mr Harry Gwala over the weekend indicated the government was making a serious bid to improve its battered image overseas and ease internal political pressures, political analysts said.

The two ageing men — both seriously ill — were released unconditionally on humanitarian and medical grounds

Mr Mothopeng, 75, the banned leader of the Pan Africanist Congress, came home to a rousing welcome after his release from Diepkloof Prison near Johannesburg on Saturday

The releases follow hot on the heels of the Sharpeville Six reprieve, the decision to ease Mr Nelson Mandela's conditions of imprisonment and the acceptance of the Angola-Namibia peace plan

Terminal disorder

The initiative, considered impossible before the October municipal election, appears to be aimed at paving the way for negotiations with recognised black leaders ranging from Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo.

Mr Mothopeng is under treatment for a form of cancer and 69-year-old Mr Gwala, a senior ANC member, has a terminal neurological disorder — motor neurone disease — which has left him paralysed in both arms

Mr Mothopeng, president of the PAC since 1986, served 12 years of a 15-year sentence for furthering the aims of a banned organisation

Mr Gwala, a close friend of Mr Mandela's, was jailed for life in 1977 for plotting the overthrow of the government

The SA Prisons Service confirmed their unconditional release but would say no more

A PAC spokesman in Harare welcomed the release of the two but said his organisation was not thankful to President P W Botha for that

"The PAC is very happy that 'Uncle Zeph' has been released from prison. However the PAC is not thankful to P W Botha for releasing him because he never committed any crime and therefore did not deserve to be imprisoned"

Mr Mothopeng was greeted by joyous crowds when he returned to his Orlando West home. A convoy of cars parked outside his house as scores of well-wishers — both black and white — packed the premises and battled to get a glimpse of the tiny bedroom where the PAC leader was being interviewed by the media

Community leaders including former Azapo president Mr Khehla Mthembu, trade union leaders and an army of former Robben Island prisoners crammed the house

Looking tired, Mr Mothopeng said he was surprised when the prison authorities told him he was being released unconditionally

"I was shocked but I am happy to be outside. I am still estranged," he said

However he declined to answer many questions asked by the press and said he would hold a

To page 3

P. T. O.

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Capt Tinkis 28/11/88

Free PAC man
Crowds greet

Call to free prisoners on political grounds

After 28/11/88
114



Picture DION TROMP, The Argus

HANGING TEN: B Hugshamer demonstrates his skill during the Argus/Santa Monica Spur Western Province surfing championships. The contest is being held over two weekends for the first time. The masters, grandmasters, veterans and women's championships were held at the weekend while the other divisions will be contested next weekend.

MARITZBURG — Excited families and jubilant friends greeted the return home of released political prisoners Zephania Mothopeng and Harry Gwala, while in Ulundi, the Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, welcomed their release on humanitarian grounds but urged the government "to think more earnestly about releasing prisoners on political grounds as well"

"A great many blacks remain sceptical about the intention of the National Party to bring about meaningful reform," Chief Buthelezi said

"The release of political prisoners for clearly stated political reasons in addition to humanitarian reasons would most certainly be a step in the direction of convincing black South Africans that those whites who speak about reform are serious

Group Areas Act

"The Group Areas Act is on the Statute Book and by all evidence the National Party intends keeping it there for as far as we can see ahead

"The National Party still speaks about there being no majority in the country and it is still afraid of one sovereign Parliament in the future"

Chief Buthelezi said the National Party was "locked in party political conflict with the Conservative Party and the Conservative Party is campaigning against the National Party because it abandoned the political programme which was enunciated during the years preceding the years after Mr Mothopeng and Mr Gwala were jailed"

"The National Party is campaigning against the Conservative Party and yet the National Party is keeping political prisoners in jail who were jailed at a time when the National Party was doing what the Conservative Party wanted it to do

"If there has been sound reason for the National Party to move away from its 1950s platform, then there is political reason to release political prisoners who were jailed then"

"Didn't sleep"

ANC veteran Mr Gwala, meanwhile, was jubilantly welcomed at his Dambuza home by friends and family after being released from Westville prison on Saturday afternoon

"My release was totally unexpected I am still very excited in fact I didn't sleep last night," he said yesterday

His delighted daughter, Lulu, said his release was "like a dream"

Mr Gwala, 69, is suffering from motor neuron disease which is believed to be terminal and which has left both his hands paralysed. His release is unconditional

He was jailed for life in November 1975 for his involvement with the ANC — Sapa

Two die in Namibia car smash

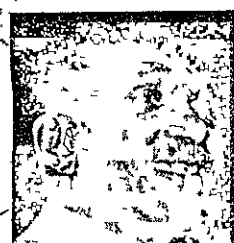
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Mothopeng call to international community

PUT MORE PRESSURE

11A

Sowetan 29/11/88



Mr ZEPH Mothopeng challenge.

THE president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, yesterday called for the continuation of steps which were being taken to bring about an end to apartheid.

Addressing his first Press conference in Soweto since he was released from jail on Saturday, Mr

Mothopeng issued a challenge to President P W Botha to unban "the vanguard liberation movement, the PAC and all other political organisations if he wanted to prove his bona fides of his intentions to change"

Mr Mothopeng said there were two gentlemen who he would like to see out of jail. These were Mr Jeff Masemola of the PAC, who is the longest-serving life political prisoner in the country and the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela

Unity

"I do not believe there is any justification for keeping those two gentlemen in jail," he said

"All those on death row should be reprieved from this archaic sentence based on retribution instead of rehabilitation," he said

He said his first task after his release from jail was going to be to do everything in his power to unite the African people "I have been committed to that unity and I am going to devote all my time and effort in seeing to it that the task is fulfilled," he said.

3 babies are Aids sufferers

THREE babies, all black, are among the 16 more people in the country diagnosed as HIV infected, the Advisory Group on Aids said yesterday. According to the secretary for the Advisory Group on Aids, Ms Louis Blake, the babies were all born in Natal. Their ages range between two months and 18 months.

She said they contracted the deadly virus

from their mothers during pregnancy. The total figure of all Aids cases in South Africa stands at 151. The provincial breakdown is Transvaal 92, Cape 29, Natal 28 and the Free State two.

The racial breakdown is 125 whites and 26 blacks. 29/11/88

The male-female ratio was 140 men and 11 women. The transmission categories were 116 homosexual - bisexual,

heterosexual 19, transfusions five, the haemophiliacs remained eight and three paediatrics

Meanwhile the period November 28 to December 1, 1988 has been declared Aids Week. This is according to the organisers, an awareness campaign that will culminate on December 1 which has been decreed World Aids Day by the World Health Organisation. *sowetan*

"Damelin makes
Mr J P Brummer, Principal, Damelin Correspondence College



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Dear Mr Brummer

SURPRISE



MRS Urbania Mothopeng hugs her husband Zephaniah at their Orlando West home, in Soweto, yesterday

I did not expect to be released says Zeph

London's most heroic



Surprise for Zeph

• From page 1

interview

He was to be treated by former Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) health secretariat, Dr Abu-Baker Asvat. An official statement by the Government said Mr Mothopeng and ANC veteran, Mr Harry Gwala (68), were released on "medical humanitarian grounds".

Mr Mothopeng was a teacher at Orlando High School for 17 years. He became the second PAC president in 1986 when elected while in prison. The first president was the late Mr Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe who died 10 years ago from lung cancer.

overseas. Several of the guests were church ministers seeking permission for their congregations to come and meet Mr Mothopeng and hold a short prayer service for him.

In a brief interview with journalists and television crews Mr Mothopeng said "I am not well now, but my condition is better. I want to have a complete rest and then I can give interviews."

"I feel quite nice and excited about my release. I did not expect to be released and was surprised when a prison official told me that I was being released without conditions," said Mr Mothopeng in response to questions from journalists at the

• To Page 2

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

ill, spiritually he is still very much alive. He is the Zeph we know," said Mr Gibson Thula, a former urban representative of the Inkatha as he left the bedroom in which Mr Mothopeng met all visitors.

Mr Thula was one of the many people who had come to meet "Uncle Zeph".

Many of them were whites — some from

SCORES of people from all over South Africa and overseas yesterday packed the four-roomed Orlando West home of the Pan Africanist Congress president.

Mr Zeph Mothopeng (75) was released at the weekend.

"They (the government) have broken him. Although he is physically

The day he got a card from the Prof

— See P6

Shot man tried to rob cashier

ONE of the two people shot dead at Ellis Park Stadium on Saturday

The two were killed before the Bob Save Super Bowl game between Orlando Pirates and Twika Kaizer

BLACK organisations are to work-out strategies to oppose the Boksburg Town Council's decision to reintroduce petty apartheid.

The council is controlled by the Conservative Party

The Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos), representing the organisations, said it will do everything in its power to work against the putting up of "whites only" signs in the town

The organisations involved are the South African Black Taxi Association, the National Black

By JOSHUA RABOROKO and Sapa

Consumer Union, African Builders Association, Fabcos Marketing, South African Cottage Industries, National Stokvel and Savings Association and the National Hawkers Association

In a statement Fabcos said it looked with despair at this attempt to revive the "Verwoerdian" policy of "baaskap" in an attempt to polarise further "our communities"

"Fabcos has noted that the council was elected by the white citizens of Boksburg and it seems to have the support of the business committee

Roots

Fabcos has resolved to:

- Do everything in its power to work against implementation of this unacceptable "whites only" legislation
- Consult with grass roots membership in and around Boksburg to work out strategies to signal opposition to the council's decision
- To look out at, and investigate ways to make shopping and the general purchase of goods and services more and easily available to black consumers, possibly by way of reduced shopping trips through taxis to neighbouring shopping centres
- Call on big business to liaise with Fabcos to

'Whites only legislation unacceptable'

show their attitude towards this turning back of the "clock"

In other developments the Natal Football Association has banned all its clubs from playing any games in the town in future

The South African Road Runners' Association has already expressed its opposition and the Amateur Swimming Union has vowed to defy the whites-only signs at swimming pools.

Several other sporting organisations are likely

to follow. Big businesses are considering withdrawing sport sponsorships

However, the Boksburg Management Committee is unperturbed. Mr Gideon Fourie, chairman of the committee said sports bodies in the town were powerless and he did not care about pressure from any race group, sport administrators or businessmen.

The United Municipalities of SA (Umsa) has urged the Government to

intervene in the Conservative Party's reintroduction of petty apartheid in Boksburg before it is too late

Mr Tom Boya, president of Umsa, said his organisation condemned the act by the Boksburg Town Council as not being conducive to good race relations in the country

A Vosloorus businessman, Mr Justice Radebe, said the people of Vosloorus were angry and bitter and had referred to the CP's act as a "national insult."

"We have experienced petty apartheid in the past and we don't want to experience it again," Mr Radebe said

He said a petition opposing the "racist act" would soon be presented to the Government by the people of Vosloorus

PLANS TO OPPOSE PETTY APARTHEID

WCC in call for help

Sowetan
29/11/88

THE World Council of Churches conference held in Harare, Zimbabwe, last week called on the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity to provide frontline states with military assistance to fight against South African aggression.

The conference, under the theme of Churches in Solidarity with the Frontline States, was attended by representatives from 42 countries. The ANC, PAC, and the BCMA as well as Swapo of Namibia were represented.

Isolate

The conference called for campaigns to isolate South Africa and for the effective application of comprehensive mandatory sanctions in all areas, especially finance, banking, oil and armaments.

The dismantling of apartheid and the transformation of South Africa into a united democratic society was a precondition for peace in the region, it was said. More assistance for refugees in the affected states, especially those from Mozambique, was called for.

FOR THE PEOPLE OF SOWETO

BOTHA FIRM ON VIOLENCE

WASHINGTON — State President P W Botha has ruled out freedom for African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela unless he renounces violence.



PRESIDENT BOTHA

This emerged in a report by US politician and televangelist, the Rev Pat Robertson, who interviewed Mr Botha in South Africa last week. Mr Robertson said that in private conversation, not part of the recorded interview, Mr Botha had said African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela would not be returned to prison.

SOWETAN Foreign Service

but probably would go to some sort of "halfway house". Nor would he be freed until he renounced violence. "He also indicated that there was fear that there would be an

assassination of Mandela by either the left or the right and that he did not wish to see him killed." Mr Robertson reported in a segment of a series on South Africa. The US State Department welcomed the decision not to return Mandela to prison

Sowetan 29/11/88

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ment's decision to ease the terms of Mr Mandela's detention may be taken as a step in this direction," he said.

In the interview, Mr Botha also sought to downplay the clemency he showed the so-called Sharpeville Six on death row describing it as a procedural step.

"It is an ordinary process taking place from time to time in South Africa," he told Mr Robertson, a candidate this year in the US presidential election.

"And it is not as a result of pressure being applied from outside because then I would have done it months ago," Mr Botha added. "I am not the type of person who will be pressured into a situation in which I don't want to go into."

South African Govern-

A plea for unity

Sowetan 29/11/84

11A

SOUTH African church leaders and the African National Congress have called for a commitment to unity by all people of South Africa in order to bring about a democratic society.

In a joint statement released after six hours of talks at a Harare, Zimbabwe, hotel on Friday, the two delegations said they "expected" the formation of "broadly based reception committees" to prepare for the imminent release of political prisoners.

The South African Council of Churches delegation was led by its president, Bishop Manas Buthelezi. It included the



BISHOP Manas Buthelezi.

metropolitan of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, Rev Stanley Mogoba, a representative of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, Archbishop P Buthelezi, moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, Rev

Michael Moore, a representative of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Southern Africa, Rev Jacobus Steenkamp, and the secretary of the SACC, Rev Frank Chikane.

The delegations also discussed the planting of bombs in public places. The ANC had reiterated its opposition to civilian targets, the joint statement said.

"The increase in attacks of this nature had also caused serious concern among its leaders and members. Some of the operations had been carried out by agents of the apartheid regime," the statement said.

CPG 7/15 29/11/88 110

Mothopeng: 'Intensify pressure'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Zephania Mothopeng, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) president who was released unconditionally on Saturday after 12 years in prison, yesterday called on the international community to intensify economic, cultural and diplomatic pressure on South Africa until oppression was removed.

Addressing a press conference attended by some foreign diplomats in Soweto, Mr Mothopeng said the international community must not be fooled by President P W Botha's cosmetic changes.

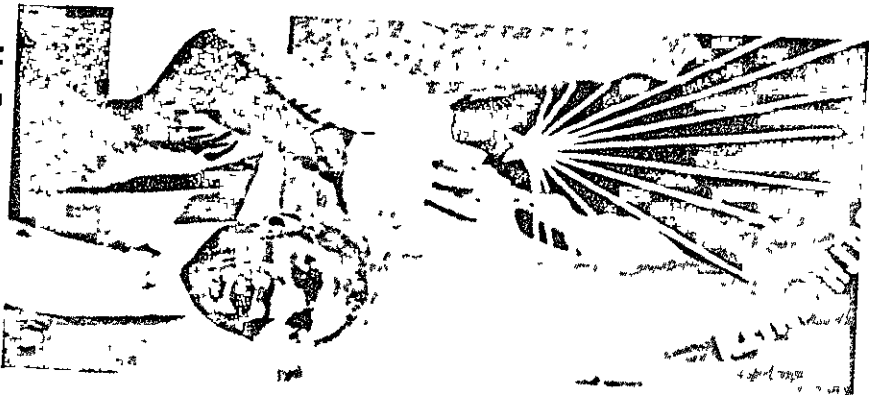
"I'm calling for the intensification and continuation of international economic, cultural and diplomatic pressure until the last vestige of oppression has been removed," he said.

To shouts of "Viva PAC" from supporters, Mr Mothopeng made a special call for the release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, the longest-serving prisoner on Robben Island, Mr Jeff Masemola of the PAC, and all other political prisoners.

Mr Mothopeng said his body was weak due to his ill health but that his political spirit was stronger than ever before. He would continue fighting for freedom of his people, he said.

"I am as determined to fight for the liberation of Azania today as I was the day I joined the liberation struggle as a young man. My ill health will probably not allow me to do as much as I would have loved to."

He said his main task was to unite the African people.



Mr Zephania Mothopeng addresses a news conference in Soweto yesterday

On the question of a negotiated settlement with the government, Mr Mothopeng said the PAC would not participate in what he described as a "Muzorewa-type" of political settlement.

21 'politicals' still serving life terms

By BARRY STREEK

WITH the release at the weekend of senior ANC member Mr Harry Gwala, there are still at least 21 people serving life sentences for "political" offences in South Africa.

Apart from ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, 15 of the others serving life sentences are members of the ANC.

Mr Mandela is scheduled to be released soon from Constanterberg Clinic and housed elsewhere in as yet undefined circumstances.

The longest serving life prisoner, Jeff Masemola, jailed in June 1963 before the Rivonia trials, is the only PAC member serving a life sentence.

Masemola was convicted of sabotage, along with five other PAC members. He is now being held in Diepkloof Prison.

Mr Mandela was jailed in June 1964, with six others, at the Rivonia trial.

One of the Rivonia accused, Mr Govan Mbeki, who was also given a life sentence, was released at the end of last year and restricted in terms of the



Mr Govan Mbeki

emergency regulations to Port Elizabeth.

The six remaining in jail are Walter Sisulu, 76, the former secretary-general of the ANC, Elias Motsoaledi, Wilton Mkwayi, 65, the former treasurer of the SA Congress of Trade Unions, Ahmed Kathrada, 59, the former chairman of Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, Andrew Mlangeni, 62, the ANC regional secretary in Soweto between 1988 and 1990, and Raymond Mhlaba, 68, formerly a member of the ANC's Cape provincial executive.

Vusumuzi Nene, Matthews



Mr Harry Gwala

Mayiwa and Z Mdlatse were sentenced to life in July 1977 in an ANC terrorism trial in Maritzburg after they were found guilty of plotting to overthrow the government and recruiting and sending people abroad for military training.

Mr Harry Gwala, 69, who was released over the weekend, was also jailed for life in this trial.

Johnson Ncimbuthi Lubisi, 34, Petrus Mashigo, 26, and Naphthali Mamana, 30, were initially sentenced to death in November 1982 after being found guilty of high treason for at-

tacking the Soekmeaar police station. Their sentences were commuted to life the following year.

Also sentenced to death initially, Johannes Shabangu, 31, and David Mose, 30, were convicted in August 1983 for the attacks on the Booyse's police station, a policeman's house in Malelane, the Sasol 2 installations at Secunda and the West Rand Administration Board offices in Soweto.

Dieter Gerhardt, the commander of the naval dockyard in Simon's Town until his arrest in 1983, was jailed for life for spying for Russia.

Daniel Mbockwane, Linda Hlophle and Sanna Twala were jailed for life last year for their role of the "necklacing" of Ms Maki Sikhosana in Duduza in 1985.

Twala is the only woman known to be serving a life sentence for a "political" offence.

Lizo Mgundwana was given a life sentence in the Cape Town Supreme Court last year after being found guilty of high treason. He was found to have been the ANC's regional commander in the Western Cape.

AFRICAN National Congress stalwart Harry Gwala, who was released in a surprise move on Saturday from Westville Prison in Durban after serving 12 years of a life sentence, says he has no intention of going back to politics

Mr Gwala, who said he was extremely ill with a motor neuron disease, has already lost the use of both his arms said that he would spend his time with his family in Edendale

"There is no point in playing hero," said Mr Gwala who was surprised when he arrived home and found his long time friend, Mr Natvarlal Babenia who served a 16-year term on Robben Island there to welcome him.

He said that he still regarded himself as a member of the Communist Party.

"I am optimistic about the future. I think that the country is experiencing birth pangs "

Gwala Sowetan 29/11/88 turns (11A) back on politics

He said he was surprised when he was told at 8am on Saturday that he was going to be released and that just four-and-a-half hours later he left the Westville Prison.

Mr Gwala was a security prisoner who served a number of jail terms, he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1976

He was sent to Robben Island before being moved to Maritzburg a few years ago

Labour Party sees benefits in participation

By DAVID BRAUN of The Argus Political Staff

THE decision of the Labour Party congress to continue taking part in the tricameral Parliament will no doubt attract much criticism from those who will see it in terms of politicians opting to stay on the gravy train.

However, the party may have had no choice if it is to remain relevant in South African politics.

The arguments in favour of continued participation are many and obvious. For this reason the Labour leadership had been intimating for several months that the congress decision would be a foregone conclusion.

The party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, set the tone when he opened the congress in the Bloemfontein City Hall on Tuesday.

Labour's participation in the parliamentary system had won it a real power base, he said. The government was obliged to negotiate with the Labour Party and the party totally dominated parliamentary politics.

Mr Hendrickse clearly showed his thinking on the issue of continued participation when he said participation had opened doors for the Labour Party, and the party would not be forced from those openings.

There is much evidence to show that the Labour Party has not been entirely successful in its mission to dismantle apartheid from within the system.

Five years ago, at its congress in Eshowe, the party decided to give the tricameral system a five-year chance. It would use the system to dismantle apartheid from within and to upgrade the coloured community in the fields of education and social welfare, it said.

If it did not succeed, it would get out.

As those five years come to a close, Labour is governing largely, in the words of one delegate at the Bloemfontein congress, as an appendage of the National Party.

There is no real power sharing because the NP controls Parliament through the President's Council and the loaded electoral college which elects the State President.

The Group Areas Act and Reservation of Separate Amenities Act remain firmly embedded as pillars in the foundation of the Population Registration Act. The house of apartheid still stands.

Mr Hendrickse has been sacked from the Cabinet and the State President, Mr P W Botha, happily governs without a single person of colour in this supreme executive body.

Mr Hendrickse and his Ministers' Council are in a sense the co-opted administrators of what used to be the Department of Coloured Affairs. That is about as far as their share of political power goes.

The Labour Party argues in its defence that it has achieved much success from using the system for its own ends. It refers in this regard to the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the law which barred sexual relations across the colour line.

It also takes the credit for the scrapping of influx control and the pass laws as well as the removal from the statute book of dozens of discriminatory measures.

In the field of upliftment of its own voters, the Labour Party sees much value from participating in the system. It has greatly narrowed the gap in state pensions paid not only to the coloured group but also to Africans.

Health centres, child care centres, homes for the aged, clinics and medical services have all proliferated since Labour took over the administration of health and welfare for the coloured community in 1984.

In 1984, Labour inherited a budget for coloured education of R726-million for that year. This year it spent R1 108-million.

Furthermore, in terms of its policy of affirmative action, the entire Education Department is now run by coloured people. Throughout the administration under its control there



The Rev Allan Hendrickse

has been a freeze on the hiring of white public servants.

In the field of housing, Labour has doubled the annual budget from R215-million in 1984 to R429-million this year.

But it is in the field of general affairs that the Labour Party has played its most important role.

Using parliamentary privilege and its immunity as a parliamentary party, Labour has become the most effective opposition grouping inside South Africa. It is highly unlikely that the government will be able to act against the party or its members while it remains in Parliament and it opposes violence.

The party is not entirely toothless, either.

Through an oversight on the part of the government's constitutional draughtsmen, the National Party cannot dispense entirely with the two minority Houses of Parliament.

Labour has certain trump cards in its hand, including the power to block the government's plans to extend the life of the House of Assembly and thereby postpone a white election which would otherwise have to be held next year.

Labour also uses Parliament to obstruct and retard general affairs legislation such as "improvements" to the Group Areas Act, forcing the government to undermine the institution by resorting to the President's Council to get its way.

This year the National Party was led a merry dance by the Labour Party's obstructionist tactics on group areas legislation, and this has clearly angered the government enormously.

Another reason offered by members of the LP for staying in the system is that if the party pulls out, the Carterites, as the right-wing opposition in the House of Representatives are derisively termed, would simply take over and do the government's dirty work.

Labour is therefore staying in the system right where it can continue to be a thorn in the government's flesh.

The next few sessions of Parliament can be expected to be acrimonious, particularly as Labour reaches out to negotiate with the African National Congress and other groups with which the government has forbidden contact.

No other party in Parliament has dared to have open relations with the ANC, and it remains to be seen how the government reacts to this new challenge, to its authority.

Picture REUTER

Community Settlement Act - as

In its report the committee said "cism"

Raj to seek legal redress in tapes row

Own Correspondent

STATE-appointed advocate Mr Anton Ackermann was the monkey responding to a hidden organ grinder, Mr Amichand Rajbansi said yesterday.

The remark prompted commission chairman Mr Justice James to warn the minister that he would be dealt with if he repeated that kind of remark.

The chairman of the commission warned Mr Rajbansi three times to be careful of what he was saying, when Mr Rajbansi objected to the

playing of his tape-recorded conversations

Mr Rajbansi refused to answer any more questions about the tape-recorded conversations until his expert had examined them, saying he would "seek relief in the courts."

His attorney, Mr Vernon O'Connell, having withdrawn from the proceedings early yesterday after saying Mr Rajbansi had "followed a course of action" with which he did not agree, Mr Rajbansi said he was to engage another legal representative. "You are going through legal advisers," commented Mr Ackermann in

one of his many terse exchanges with Mr Rajbansi "Is this your fourth one?"

The transcripts of the tapes which were admitted as evidence last week were "plain rubbish at law", said Mr Rajbansi, saying that in his "casual listening" he had detected several discrepancies.

While he was not on trial, he said, "all kinds of totally irrelevant malicious and damaging statements" had been made against him and he was not given a chance to rebut them having been told that the chairman was not going to report on the various

issues

Mr Justice James said he was to lay criminal charges against an MP of Mr Rajbansi's National Peoples' Party, Mr Mohammed Shah, who alleged at the party's weekend congress that the commission was being "bankrolled" for R2.8 million.

The facts were to be investigated by the police, said Mr Justice James, "to enable the Attorney General to consider whether a charge of criminal defamation or any other crime may be made against Mr Shah or any other person." The hearing continues today.

Hold on to the CD

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Rajbansi tells of religious veto of Indian appointment

Ad 445
30/11/88
117

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The James Commission investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates was told by Mr Amichand Rajbansi, Chairman of the Ministers Council, that a religious objection had been raised against a member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church, Mr Ronnie Charles, being appointed chief executive of Indian Education

Giving evidence here yesterday he said he believed Mr Charles should have been appointed and he felt Mr A K Singh, who eventually got the job, was a junior

Mr Rajbansi said he had reservations about Mr Singh's getting the job and felt that since Mr Charles was nearing retirement, he (Mr Singh) would have benefitted working under him for a few years before taking over

"I know that up till this day, Mr Charles has not forgiven me for his not being appointed head of Indian Education," said Mr Rajbansi.

He said that he felt that Mr Charles should have been appointed to the chief executive's post but because of religious objections from other quarters, he was not given the job

Mr Singh had come to him and asked that he be given five years onto his pension and he would resign

He said Mr Singh had told him that the African National Congress would take over and that they would all lose

what they had worked for all their lives

Cross-examined by special prosecutor, Mr Anton Ackermann, Mr Rajbansi denied that he did not accept Mr Singh's appointment

He said that he had had reservations about Mr Singh's being appointed and that there was an "ideological" disagreement

Mr Ackermann "You did not want him because he is not a yes-man"

Mr Rajbansi. "Nonsense"

Mr Ackermann Is he a yes-man?"

Mr Rajbansi "I do regard him to be a yes-man to his Minister (Mr Kessie Ramduth)"

"Not a yes-man"

Mr Ackermann "Is he your yes-man, too?"

Mr Rajbansi "In the sense that he has never disobeyed me"

Mr Ackermann then cross-examined Mr Rajbansi, asking him whether certain booksellers were not given orders because they were United Democratic Front supporters

"No," said Mr Rajbansi

Earlier, Mr Ackermann questioned Mr Rajbansi about documents which, it is alleged, he "ripped out of a file"

Mr Rajbansi said he removed the documents because they were wrongly filed

The hearing continues today

Gwala wants a passport

HARRY Gwala, the ailing black nationalist freed last Saturday from life imprisonment, said yesterday he would ask the government for a passport so he could get treatment abroad.

Gwala (67), was freed with Zephania Mothopeng, on humanitarian grounds (1A)

Both Mothopeng, president of the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Gwala, a veteran member of the African National Congress (ANC), have been seriously ill (2)

Gwala, a close friend of Nelson Mandela, is suffering from incurable motor neuron disease and has lost the use of his hands. Mothopeng (74) has developed cancer of glands in the neck. Gwala believes neurologists in the United States, and Europe could treat him (Sowetan 30/11/88)

"If they released me on medical grounds, they should give me a passport for medical reasons," Gwala said.

He said he would apply for a passport within the next few days.

Other freed black dissidents, notably high-ranking ANC member Goyan Mbeki who was released last November, have had their passport applications rejected.

Sapa-Reuter

CIVIC
leader
quits in
protest

By JOSHUA
RABOROKO

A MEMBER of the management committee in the coloured township of Reiger Park in Boksburg resigned and three others threatened to follow suit in protest against what they termed "the return of oxwagon apartheid"

At a meeting in Reiger Park this week the chairman of the local management committee, Mr Edgar Hansord, announced his resignation. He is a member of the Labour Party.

Three others, Mr Butch Jantjes, Mr Paul Looting, both of the LP, and Mr Johnny Arendse of the United Democratic Party, have threatened to resign.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, yesterday said South Africans should unite on this matter and make it clear to the Conservative Party leaders in Boksburg that sanctions and boycotts of a more severe nature would be introduced against South Africa if they carried on.

"The SA Government considers petty apartheid by Boksburg and other towns as a threat to the economic welfare and good relations of the people in the country," he said.

PLO, Mandela interrupt M-Net

Star 30/11/84
A foreign television news broadcast, focusing on the issue of Nelson Mandela's release and featuring a member of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) discussing his leader, Mr Yasser Arafat, interrupted the M-Net broadcast yesterday afternoon.

An M-Net spokesman, Mr John Badenhorst, ascribed the six-minute interruption to the accidental transmission

of a test signal between the Post Office earth station and the SABC in Randburg

(11A)
"The switching tower accidentally sent the wrong signal to the M-Net transmitting network," he said

A viewer in Kensington said the broadcast, from London, was made in three languages and featured a "man calling for Mandela's release".

'KINGMAKERS' ARE

Anti-Apartheid Movement is **SLAMMED**

accused of Sectarianism

Sowetan
11/12/88

BY MATHATHA TSEDU

THE weekend decision by the British anti-apartheid movement to reject a motion calling on it to stop sectarianism in its dealings with South African and Namibian liberation movements amounted to declaring South Africa a one party state.

This is the view of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) In a statement, the organisation's publicity and information secretary, Mr Vuyiswa Quntha, said while the BCMA welcomed "solidarity" and support from democratically minded people the world over, we harbor anyone who tries to use

solidarity and support in order to manipulate us or played the role of king maker in our country

"We have been ruled by colonialists, both British and Dutch, for centuries and we will not allow them to come back again even if it is under the guise of the anti-apartheid movement. They have declared a one party state from the colonial capital of London even before the

people of Azania decided on the issue themselves. We resent this," Mr Quntha said.

The BCMA was reacting to the outcome of the AAM meeting in London on Saturday and Sunday where it was decided that only the African National Congress and the South West African People's Organisation (Swapo) would continue to be supported

Rejecting calls for the opening of AAM public platforms to representatives of the PAC, BCMA and the South West African National Union (Swanu) by 172 votes to 135, the AAM instead mandated its leadership to prepare a report on "all other groups purporting to fight the apartheid regime"

A Black Consciousness activist studying in London, Mr Sello Rasethaba, and a Swanu member, Mr Huki Gandondo, were barred from attending the AAM meeting as observers because they were not aligned to either the ANC or Swapo

Mandela gets ^{AKG}
law degree ^{1/12/88}

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Nelson Mandela, one of 80 000 Unisa students who have received their examination results, has been awarded a Bachelor of Law (Lb) degree.

A National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) spokesman said it served as an inspiration to all prisoners and detainees.

Nadel's vice-president, Mr Mathole Mahlangu, said that considering Mr Mandela's age and health the achievement served as a reminder that imprisonment could not hold back an able mind.

● See page 3.

d 29 Motor No 30 and 31 Hing

ANC and IRA: One 'has vote'

The Argus Correspondent *ARGUS 1/12/88 49*
JOHANNESBURG — An important difference between the African National Congress and the Irish Republican Army was that members of the IRA had the right to vote, said British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher

In an exclusive interview with the editor of Beeld, Mr W J Wepener, in London this week, Mrs Thatcher pointed out several differences between the ANC and the IRA — and in the manner Britain and South Africa deal with the organisations

"South Africa and Northern Ireland can in no way be compared. There is no apartheid in Northern Ireland. There it is a case of people who have the vote, but do not want to accept the result of an election and turn to terrorism," she said.

"It is a completely different situation to that in South Africa, where you have apartheid and where people, because of the colour of their skin, are prevented from participating in the political processes."

As a political movement, the ANC was undoubtedly a factor in South African politics. The question was how to get it to abandon violence. The best approach was to hold out the possibility of negotiation, she said.

Once dialogue was accepted, she said, violence should be abandoned.

Mrs Thatcher also said there had been no proof in London that the ANC committed violence. If there was clear proof of incitement to violence in Britain, they would come into conflict with British law. "We watch this very closely," she said

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1/12/88

118

~~227~~

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Brigadier wins appeal against UDF

BLOEMFONTEIN —
The Appeal Court has allowed the appeal of Brigadier Ronald van der Westhuizen, Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, against a decision to grant an urgent application by the United Democratic Front

The application was granted by a Full Bench of the Cape Supreme Court on April 15, 1987. It set aside a decision of the brigadier to prohibit a meeting of the UDF in the Cape Town City Hall on that day. The prohibition was made under Section 7(1)(bA) of the Emergency Regulations of June 6, 1986.

Mr Justice Hefer yesterday set aside the lower court order and substituted one to dismiss the application, with costs, including the costs of two counsel —
Sapa

Mum thought dead ANC man at school

11/17
17/2/88
17/2/88

A MONTH after an ANC guerilla was shot dead by police his mother was still under the impression he was "attending school" in Johannesburg.

"It is terrible, why didn't they tell me before," said Mrs Momalizo Mkhonto, of Guguletu.

"I'm very shocked. I can't believe Mark is dead."

Mark Luthando Mkhonto, 23, whose four-year-old son, Arch, lives with his parents, is said to have been shot dead in Pietersburg a month ago.

Funeral restricted

His parents only heard about his death on Monday when police visited them at their home in NY 7. On Wednesday his father, Mr Washington Mkhonto, went to Johannesburg to identify his son he last saw in 1986.

Mkhonto is expected to be buried from his parents' home in NY 7 on Saturday morning.

Meanwhile the funeral of Simon Mbenenge, 28, of Mbekweni, Paarl, shot dead during a shoot-out with police in Soweto last month, has been restricted.

(118)

Zeph's unity vow

From MONO BADELA JOHANNESBURG — Released Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) president, Zephania Mothopeng said his first task would be to work towards reconciliation with the African National Congress and other political groups opposed to the government.

Speaking at a press conference at his Soweto home, he said, "I want to unite the African people. I have been committed to that unity and am going to devote all my time and effort to fulfill that task."

Mothopeng, 75, is expected to address a political rally this weekend.

He said the PAC will negotiate with the government only on the transfer of the land and wealth to its rightful owners.

Mothopeng, who has been in prison since 1976, issued a direct challenge to State President PW Botha to unban the PAC and other political movements.

Looking sick and weary, he told about 50 journalists in Soweto that he was calling on the international community not to be fooled by

cosmetic change.

He called for the release of PAC member Jeff Masemola and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, both serving life prison sentences.

They were "symbols of all other prisoners of conscience who naturally should be out of prison."

"They should be released not on the grounds of compassion or mercy, but because they are being held illegitimately."

Mothopeng was born in 1916 in the Eastern Transvaal and matriculated at St Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg.

He studied for a teacher's diploma at Adams College and later obtained a BA degree by private studies from the University of South Africa.

While teaching at Orlando High School in Soweto he was elected to several terms as president of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association and in this capacity was outspoken in his opposition to the introduction of Bantu Education.

He was fired in 1952 and later became an articulated law clerk.

Through his years in Orlando, Mothopeng was an influential figure in the Africanist movement, and when the PAC was formed in April 1979, he was elected to its national executive committee.

After the Sharpeville emergency, Mothopeng was one of the few top PAC leaders not to leave South Africa.

Since 1963, he has served a succession of prison sentences on political charges.

I'm no hero — Gwala

From CHRISTINA SCOTT DURBAN — "I don't want to be a hero," said old-guard ANC and Communist Party veteran Harry Gwala, 69, as thunder crashed and lightning zaggaged on his first night of freedom in 13 years.

The man who ran a laundry collection service for five years when barred from trade union organising and teaching said: "I still support ANC ideals. I believe a society as

envisaged by the Communist Party and the ANC to be the one to be striving for."

Gwala rejected the authorities' ritual request to "give up" violence.

"I am not a violent man. I would not undertake to renounce something I was not engaged in."

Although change was "something that will not come quickly," South Africa is "experiencing its birth pangs," he predicted.

The terminally-ill trade unionist, released on Saturday shortly before his Robben Island "schoolmate" and personal friend Zeph Mothopeng of the Pan Africanist Congress was freed from Diepkloof Prison, has simple plans.

"To get my health back," he said "I would like to be useful to the community. In what way is difficult to say. The people will decide."

"I want to make a contribution as

much as possible but I do not want to be a hero."

Gwala's mental alertness and stamina - he stayed awake for the entire night after his release - matched that of the amagabane (comrades) dancing and singing in the rain outside the Gwala home in Dambuza, part of warum Edendale.

The smiling former teacher said that "such enthusiasm" was exciting and unexpected - much like his

release from a life sentence, which he hoped was a trial run for Mandela.

His freedom and happiness were tempered. For one thing, he was back in the house where he spent five years of a banning order between an eight-year jail term for sabotage and a life sentence for supporting the arms of the ANC.

The former detainee suffers from a terminal neurological disease which has paralysed his arms and hampered his sight and hearing. Doctors have said he has two years to live.

And although he was reunited with daughters Lulu and Lindiwe, son Mandla and three new grandchildren, "my family is no minus one - my wife," he said.

Elda Gwala, a former activist with the ANC's Women's Federation, died in Cape Town in June 1984.

Her husband was not allowed out for the funeral and now says, "I feel a void. Something is missing in the family chain."

And two days after his release from Westville Prison outside Durban, he asked his daughter Lulu to take out a subscription to SOUTH. - DURBAN NEWS

Freed ANC man to seek passport

DURBAN - Freed former ANC leader Harry Gwala hopes to visit Europe soon for specialist treatment for the terminal disease from which he is suffering.

"I will apply for a passport to travel either to Britain, France and West Germany," he said at his house in Edendale, near Pietermaritzburg this week after his release from life imprisonment.

Gwala, 68, is suffering from motor neuron disease which affects the nervous system.

"I believe the government will be sympathetic to such a request," he said.

Gwala, sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977 for promoting the arms of the ANC, was released with Pan Africanist Congress leader Zeph Mothopeng last weekend.

Like Mothopeng, Gwala said he was surprised when he was released on Saturday.

"I did not believe it will be soon. I think they released us simply because we are both sick."

Gwala, involved with the ANC since he was 21, said he believed only the continued struggles of South Africans and external pressures would force the government to the negotiating table.

Gwala said he was still committed to the arms and policies of the ANC.

He was first imprisoned from 1964 to 1972 for promoting the arms of the ANC. On November 30 1975 he was arrested on similar charges.

He was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1977. In addition to

being a member of the ANC, he was also a member of the South African Communist Party before it was outlawed in the 1960s.

Before his first imprisonment he was an executive member of the ANC in Natal and played a leading role in recruiting members for the ANC in the Pietermaritzburg area.

In the 1950s and 1960s, Gwala wrote articles for the Guardian and New Age newspapers

- PRESS TRUST

neuron disease which affects the nervous system.

"I did not believe it will be soon. I think they released us simply because we are both sick."

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In the 1950s and 1960s, Gwala wrote articles for the Guardian and New Age newspapers

to take out a subscription to SOUTH. - DURBAN NEWS

11A

Activity is minimal in Eastern Cape

WAR ZONE

NOWHERE has the Government's counter attack against black militancy been more intense than in the once-embattled townships ringing Port Elizabeth

Bannings, detentions and deployment of army troops have enabled the Government to re-establish control of what was viewed by some activists two years ago as the first "liberated territory" in South Africa

Monitoring groups estimate that one third of the 30 000 activists detained without charge since mid 1986 were from the Eastern Cape region around Port Elizabeth

The crackdown has been so effective that even underground opposition activity is minimal, township residents say

Less than 10 percent of eligible voters in the area disregarded a call by anti-apartheid groups to boycott recent local elections



THE sight that became common during unrest. It could have been taken in any black township in the country

Fazzie (64) and Mkhusheli Jack (30) Fazzie's wife Beauty, is in detention, as is Ivy Geina (51) leader of a black women's organisation

"When they (the security forces) moved in, they assisted the community to identify the Government not as a saviour but as an enemy" said Mike Mjekula a staff member of a regional human rights organisation

to be quiet — they were not able to fight this overwhelming force," Mjekula said "Instead they adopted a more subtle form of resistance — they would not comply with the Government's wishes

Like other areas where black militancy was strong, parts of the Eastern Cape are targets of a "hearts and minds" campaign undertaken by the Government

Changing

Sakkie Louw a Parliament Member for the governing National Party from Port Elizabeth described 1985 as a terrible time but said the mood among some blacks was changing now

"The Government has done sterling work building new suburbs, trying to uplift people he said "Once a man has a good home a good roof over his head, he will be a different man from the one living under plastic bags, not having basic things like water and electricity"

In two new townships for middle-class blacks, the Government does seem to have won over some of the residents, many of whom are civil servants

"They now have something to lose said

which has drawn many of its leaders from Xhosa people of the Eastern Cape

"This area has had the most resilient resistance to apartheid" said Rev Mcebisi Xundu, an Anglican minister "On the surface it does seem the people have been made to lose their spirit I don't think they have"

In 1985, the peak of nationwide black unrest, Port Elizabeth's anti-apartheid groups organised one of the most potent consumer boycotts in South African history

Street committees run by militants held sway in many black areas, schools closed because of sustained student boycotts

At times young militants in Port Elizabeth and elsewhere employed violence against boycott-breakers and suspected Government collaborators

In June 1986, after 21 months of widespread unrest, the Government declared a national state of emergency

Two chief organisers of the consumer boycott have been detained since August 1986 — Henry

Judy Chalmers regional co-ordinator of the Black Sash civil rights group "They're not going to want to be involved in the next wave of unrest if they can possibly avoid it"

In the older larger townships, she said "there's a feeling of waiting"

Everybody is quite relieved to have a respite from the horrors of 1985-86. The kids are back in school — the leaders are in detention

The new middle-class developments are for the moment, an aberration. Nearly half of the half million blacks around Port Elizabeth live in shacks and most of the others live in aging overcrowded box like houses

Some of the shanty towns — red location and Soweto-by-the-sea for example — are among the most squalid in the country

Employer

A recent study calculated unemployment among Port Elizabeth's blacks at more than 50 percent the highest of any major South African city

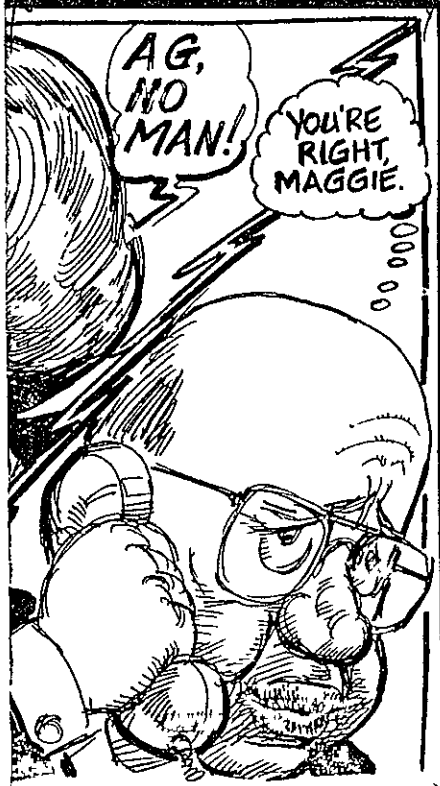
The automobile industry for decades Port Elizabeth's major employer has suffered through hard times lately as sales were slowed by fast-rising prices

In many grim respects the Eastern Cape is a mirror image of an unacceptable future other South Africans will have to face unless timely action is taken

Referring to other experts warnings that South Africa faces recession and worsening racial tension, Riordan writes "We have seen the future (in Port Elizabeth) and it doesn't work"

Bobby Stephenson a city councillor representing the anti-apartheid Progressive Federal Party, said there are limits to what Port Elizabeth's whites are able and willing to do to assist their black neighbours

"Security is the first priority in the minds of most whites" he said "They were very frightened in 1985 — Sapa AP



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub editing headlines and posters by Sydney Mathaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg

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MOLEFE'S FOCUS ON



DETENTIONS

Phaake
now
in for
902 ^{somefan} 2/12/88
days

THLORISO Phaake was only 18 years old when he last celebrated Christmas at home. Today he is 31 and has spent total of 902 days in state of emergency detention to date

Thloriso was 19 years old when in 1976, still a pupil at Phahama Secondary School — doing Standard Nine — in Mohlakeng on the West Rand, he was jailed for five years for sabotage. He spent the time on Robben Island

"He has never been home for Christmas since his release in mid-1981

because he experienced short spells of detentions regularly each time being released only to be redetained," a close friend said

On July 21 he was detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. He was released shortly after Christmas in 1985 and was arrested in January. On the 18th of that month, he and several people, members of the Azanian Students Movement, were charged with sedition

Bail was set at R750 each and Thloriso went "free". On July 21 he was detained in terms of the

state of emergency regulations. He is still there

Thloriso was still an emergency detainee when he was acquitted of sedition in the Johannesburg Regional Court on May 10 1987

• Mr Fundile Mafongozi, the vice-chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation in the Cape, whose plight was highlighted in this column on November 18, was released at 3pm on the same day after spending 288 days as a state of emergency detainee

• The National Association of Democratic Lawyers decided at the weekend that it would throw its full weight behind the plight of political prisoners and the welfare of their families

• The National Medical and Dental Association expressed deep concern about "the neglected health condition of detainees, and pledged to mount concerted efforts to have them afforded the necessary medical attention"

White shops, public transport to be shunned

Defiant blacks plan Boksburg Lake lunch

Boksburg's black community has responded to the withdrawal of facilities to blacks by planning a sit-down at Boksburg Lake today.

The announcement of the sit-down comes in the wake of a decision by the community to withdraw its buying power from "white" Boksburg and to refrain from using public transport.

Mr Butch Jantjes, chairman of the management committee, told a large press conference held in Reiger Park yesterday that people would go to the lake at 3 pm and "sit down and have a late lunch enjoying themselves at the lake".

He denied that blacks were boycotting the CBD. "How can we boycott when it is asked that the town be white and we are merely granting that wish by

26 Akasia traders affected

The newly installed Conservative Party town council of Akasia, near Pretoria, has made its first move towards old-style apartheid and called for whites-only trading areas.

A decision was taken at the council's first meeting to apply to the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning to have the town's free trade areas closed.

The curb will affect 26 black traders in Rosslyn Plaza and an Indian in Wonderpark.

Akasia mayor, Mr Nic Oosthuizen said big business concerns had said they would not consider moving.

He said the management committee had met Nissan. "They are not concerned with small politics, only with making their millions." — Sapa

By Carina le Grange and Lloyd Coutts...

withdrawing our buying power?" he asked.

Mr Jantjes also announced that Reiger Park management committee had not resigned and had no plans to do so. "We must join forces to break down the ungodly laws of apartheid but dissociate from all forms of violence," he added.

It was agreed at a meeting in Reiger Park on Wednesday night that residents would continue to work in Boksburg but would refrain from patronising its shops or using public transport. At the meeting, Reiger Park MP Mr Jac Rabie came out in full support of the action. Messages of support from trade unions and other communities were read out.

Residents were told that a centre had been set up at the St Anthony's Catholic training centre to help those needing advice on making hire purchase payments, collecting pensions and making bond repayments without going into Boksburg.

Residents would negotiate with a taxi association to provide transport to and from work, it was said.

Residents were urged to:

- Keep Boksburg white by staying out of the town.
- Shop in towns where they are welcome
- Close their accounts with Boksburg shops or, alternatively, request shops to collect their monthly instalments in the townships
- Not to use petrol stations or buy cars in Boksburg.
- Support all sport and cultural organisations that have decided not to organise further sport and cultural events at Boksburg venues

Tighter security as Rajbansi ^{ALL 4} hearing ^{2/12/88} ₁₁₁ hot up

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Current proceedings of the James Commission here have been marked by some of the most heated exchanges so far between special prosecutor Mr Anton Ackermann, and the Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

The commission, which is in its 61st day today, is investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates.

Mr Ackerman and Mr Rajbansi slugged it out verbally, as Mr Ackermann finished the eighth day of his cross-examination yesterday.

While tempers flare security has been tightened at the courtroom where the hearing is being held.

POLICEMEN IN THE COURT

Yesterday as Mr Ackermann and Mr Rajbansi traded questions, answers and jibes, plain clothes policemen were clearly visible in the well of the court.

An electronic screening device has been erected in the middle of the corridor leading to the courtroom and from today everybody entering and leaving will have to pass through the security check.

No reasons have been given for the security crackdown.

The commission chairman, the former Judge President of Natal, Mr Neville James, intervened a number of times yesterday, either to stop an argument or to talk to one of the two.

Mr James told Mr Rajbansi to remain quiet until he had finished talking. On another occasion, he told Mr Ackermann to carry on with his cross-examination when he failed to get an answer from Mr Rajbansi.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE

Tempers flared again when Mr Ackermann questioned Mr Rajbansi about a special committee having been formed to deal with the allocation of petrol service station sites.

Evidence led at the commission was that the formation had been motivated by Mr Rajbansi and that it had been kept secret from the former housing minister, Mr Baldeo Dookie.

Mr Rajbansi denied that he had appointed the committee.

Mr Ackermann read from the commission records where civil servants said that the committee had been formed with Mr Rajbansi's knowledge.

The hearing continues today.

THE TWO AILING BLACK POLITICAL LEADERS RELEASED THIS WEEK

RELEASED Pan Africanist Congress president Zeph Mothopeng is to address a rally to be held at Regina Mundi church in Soweto at the weekend

And in another development, a press conference for African National Congress leader Harry Gwala, who was released with Mothopeng, will be held today at the Pretoria-Matruha's Catholic Cathedral

The Mothopeng rally has been organised by the Mothopeng Reception Committee. Among the organisations invited are the Black Lawyers' Association and the National Council of Trade Unions. The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) has also been

PAC chief calls Regina Mundi rally

invited to attend. Mothopeng will speak on the unity of the South African masses, according to a reception committee representative. Other speakers include the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, the president of the SA Council of Churches, Dr Manas Buthelezi, the president-elect of the Methodist Church, the Reverend Stanley Mogoba, and Veronica Sobukwe, widow of former PAC president Robert Sobukwe.

Representatives of foreign embassies, including those of the Netherlands, Britain and the United States, have also been invited.

By THAMI MKHWANAZI

At the Gwala press conference, Dr Allan Boesak, SA Council of Churches general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane, Idasa director Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert and National Union of Mine Workers general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa will be among the speakers.

The daughter of the ANC veteran, Lulu Gwala, will describe her father's impressions of the ANC lead-

ers still in jail.

A report on his medical condition will also be read at the conference, according to a representative of Manu Gwala National Reception Committee. Gwala suffers from motor neuron disease.

The Maritzburg conference may be strenuous for Gwala, as his condition has deteriorated recently. In an interview, he said his arms were so weak he could hardly hold a pen.

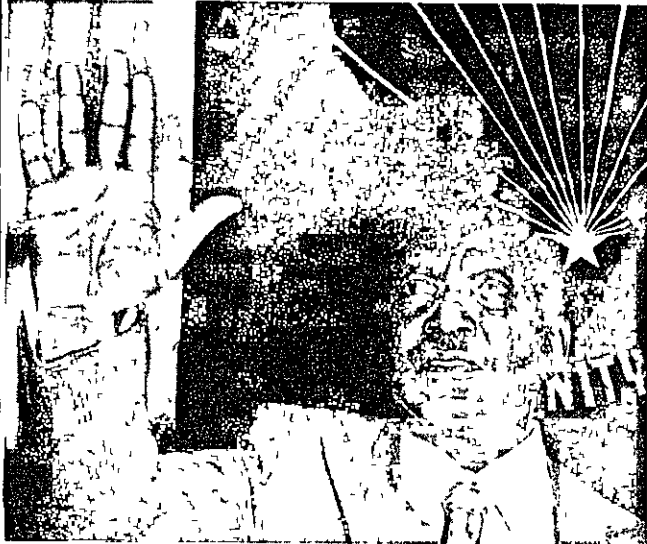
He told the Weekly Mail the Botha government expected the oppressed masses to surrender before negotia-

tions could take place.

As long the government insisted that jailed leaders renounce violence, and while it maintained a State of Emergency, curbed the press and restricted democratic organisations, negotiations were doomed to fail, he said.

He was confident, however, that the government would ultimately release Nelson Mandela and other leaders. This, he said, was due to mounting pressure inside and outside the country.

Gwala also said struggle was the most decisive factor in creating conditions conducive to negotiation.



Free at last Zeph Mothopeng (left) holds up his hand in a salute at his first news conference since being unconditionally released and Harry Gwala (far right) chats to fellow anti-apartheid campaigner Natoo Babania, who spent several years with him on Robben Island. Gwala was released by the government on humanitarian and medical grounds after serving 12 years. His official release papers are tucked away in his shirt pocket.

I SERVED part of my seven-year sentence with PAC president Zeph Mothopeng in the Johannesburg Prison, occupying a cell two doors from his. We had both been moved from Robben Island, apparently for medical reasons. At that time, he had several ailments, including diabetes.

Two years ago, I learnt from the prison grapevine that he was suffering from a terminal disease — throat cancer. A prison officer later confirmed this to me.

Fellow inmates decided not to disclose his condition to him. We feared the news might break him completely, considering his long sentence. Among us was a PAC cadre. He, too, felt the same way.

We believed, however, that his wife Urbana, a retired nursing sister, and his children had a right to know.

The matter was complex because we also had the moral and political duty to expose the government for keeping a dying old man in jail.

Mothopeng was then admitted to Johannesburg's Lady Dudley private clinic. We crossed our fingers and hoped the authorities would be forced to hang up their dirty linen in public.

But they did not. Until today, the old man's family has not been officially informed of his condition.

Before he was transferred to the Johannesburg Prison about three years ago, Uncle Zeph lived in the same section as Nelson Mandela on Robben Island. B section was occupied mainly by the ANC and PAC leadership.

It was in this section that I first met him. I spent three years of my seven-year-sentence on the island, mostly in B section.

He had lost weight when we met in the Johannesburg prison in 1985. He

Zeph and Gwala: Two men I served with on the Island

exercised every morning and was on a strict diet.

As he used to do on Robben Island, the PAC veteran paced up and down the prison courtyard. Bending slightly forward, with his hands behind his back, he whistled or hummed classical music, often Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*.

A former music teacher, Uncle Zeph also hummed along with some of Mozart's greatest music during the screening of *Amadeus* at the Johannesburg Prison.

We spent most of our time reading newspapers or studying. At the Johannesburg Prison, he read for a commercial diploma and I for a law degree.

He often called me to read his paper when there was news relating to Charterist politics, and I did the same whenever there was something about the PAC. With a bag full of jokes, Uncle Zeph was a source of inspiration.

Despite our political differences, Charterists and Africanists stood firmly united against our jailers in matters of common interest, and avoided any situation that would compromise this unity.

HARRY GWALA, who was released from prison this week, is one of the African National Congress leaders most likely to sit face to face with the South African government at the negotiation table.

Whether he will in fact do so de-

Journalist THAMI MKHWANAZI served on the island with both Zeph Mothopeng and Harry Gwala. Here he remembers the two men in prison: the one, a cheery music lover, the other an earnest student of Marx and Lenin.

pends on how long he lives.

Having spent some time with him on Robben Island, I believe Gwala has enough political clout to place him in the same league as ANC leaders Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu.

Informal political education on the island was considered not just a pastime but an obligation. Outside political classes, inmates engaged in political discussions, cataloguing everything

from analyses of events in South Africa to international news.

Gwala's main occupation on Robben Island was teaching the theories of Marx and Lenin to inmates of the Charterist persuasion.

A former member of the banned Communist Party, Gwala's insight into revolutionary politics and his uncompromising Marxist beliefs made him the idol of many youths, especially guerrillas, on the island.

I was one of those who attended his classes. We had to learn from scratch the development of society as understood by Marx.

Hand in hand with the ANC top leadership, Gwala was instrumental in giving political direction whenever a deadlock was reached on a controversial political issue.

Like Mandela, he was either assigned to write, or wrote on his own initiative, lengthy essays analysing the South African struggle and its re-

lationship to international politics.

These essays and speeches were also used in the "classroom" or became part of the programme in the commemoration of political events such as June 16, May Day, MK Day and the Bolshevik Revolution.

But at the end of my seven-year sentence last year, Gwala was no longer capable of producing many political essays.

By then 66 years of age, he suffered from a terminal condition — motor neuron disease. His left arm was semi-paralysed and the other was gradually being affected.

During the last weeks of my sentence I had to carry his food to his cell. He could no longer do his laundry.

The first celebration in my section coincided with the 75th anniversary of the ANC in January. Gwala was to chair the occasion, and I was to deliver a paper on the history of the South African struggle.

With his health failing, the ANC veteran struggled for days to write his opening speech.

Gwala, who never failed to produce his assignments, delivered his speech — an overview of 75 years of struggle.

Police seal off UWC campus in massive raid

UNIVERSITY of the Western Cape authorities are considering legal action following an unprecedented, four-hour police raid of the campus yesterday.

Entrances were sealed off after a large contingent of police — including detectives, uniformed police, an unarmoured unit, dog squad and security branch members — moved onto the Bellville campus around 9am.

A warrant issued by the local magistrate was handed to UWC rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel, stating that the internal security of the country, alternately the maintenance of law and order, were threatened by the existence of allegedly illegal documents.

UWC's SRC offices and those of Sansco and the Education Resource and Information Centre were searched along with each

room in every residence.

Western Cape SAP liaison officer, Lieutenant Atte Laubscher, said no arrests were made but that a "large number of pamphlets, documents, video tapes as well as a locally manufactured firearms and ammunition" were seized.

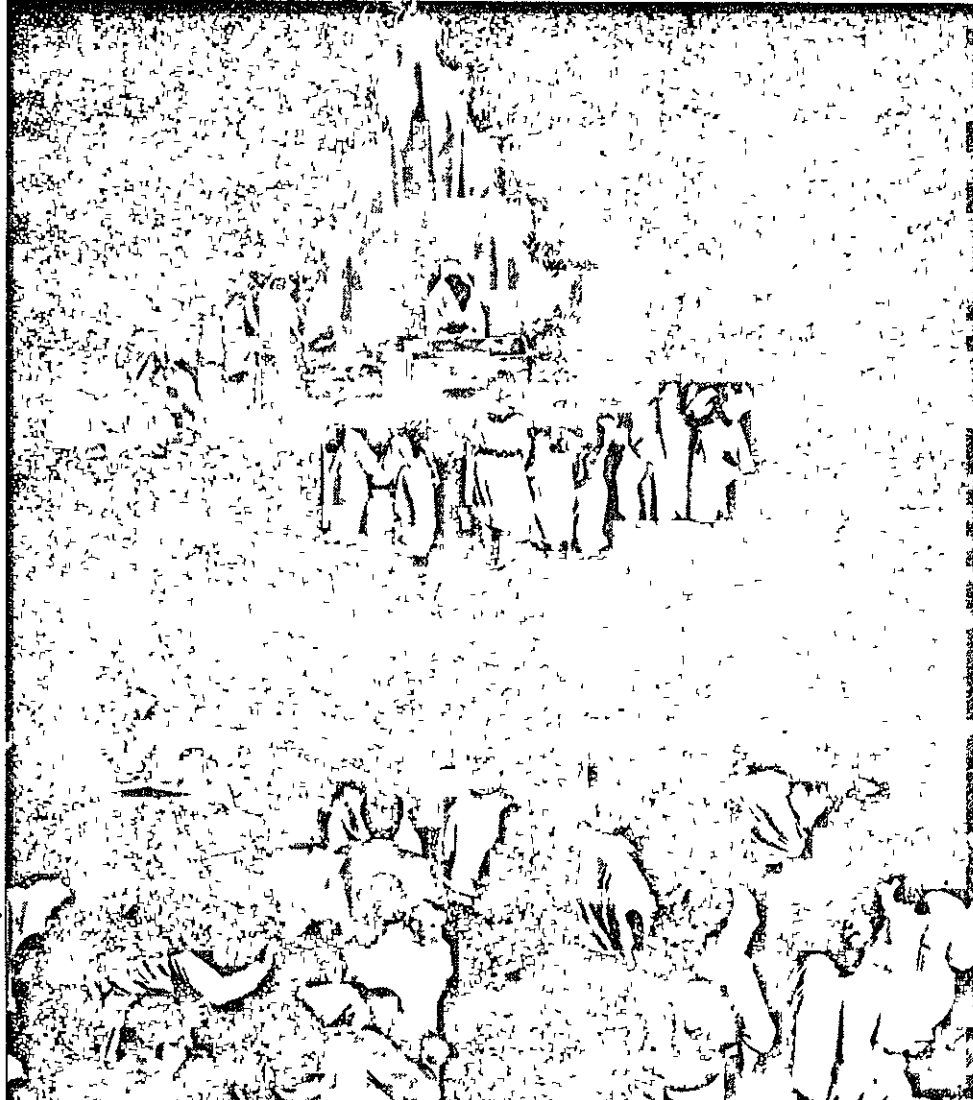
He said the action was the first of its kind taken at UWC and described it as "100 percent successful".

4/2/88

Handwritten advertisement for Helms de Leeuw at Hyde Park Corner. The text is written in a cursive, handwritten style and includes phrases like 'lots to buy', 'lovely just to blooming be in this marketplace that sings with a multiplicity of things made by many', 'It's all happening at Helms de Leeuw at Hyde Park Corner', 'We're open All Day Saturdays to boot so come and get your loot Helms de Leeuw'. There is a small starburst graphic on the right side.

Death-fall youth tailed for more than a month, say police

ARCUS
2/12/88



Picture ANDREW INGRAM The Argus

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG — The suspected ANC member who apparently jumped to his death from a city flat yesterday had been followed by police for more than a month before his arrest in Klerksdorp, a spokesman said.
 Mr Amos Khoza, 18, offered to take security police to his "contact" in Claim Street, Johannesburg, an official police statement said.
 People told how they watched in horror as the youth fell seven storeys to his death while under security police escort.

The Commissioner of Police announced yesterday that Mr Khoza, allegedly recruited to undergo training overseas, had "evaded his security police escorts and jumped from the seventh floor of Wonder Court in Claim Street".
 General Hennie de Witt said one of South Africa's top police generals, deputy CID chief Major-General J Joubert, has been ordered by him to personally investigate the circumstances leading to Mr Khoza's death. General Joubert is also heading an investigation into alleged rightwing terror incidents.

Witnesses said Mr Khoza had been shackled at the feet at the time he fell.

"Lean over"

One woman, who asked not to be identified, said she was standing in her flat kitchen when she saw Mr Khoza lean over the railing and lift himself slightly.

She said she could not say whether he had jumped or whether he had slipped.

His security police escorts were about three steps behind him when he fell. They tried to grab him but he was already over the edge, she said.

She said she heard Mr Khoza hitting the railings on other floors.

Mr Khoza's death was a sequel to his midnight arrest in Klerksdorp yesterday.

Police had information he was in possession of an AK47 rifle and "other terrorist weapons", said General de Witt.

He said there were witnesses who saw the accident and that statements had already been taken from them.

100 years of rugby

JOHANNESBURG — A special postage stamp series will be issued to mark the centenary of the South African Rugby Board next year, Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, has announced — Sapa

Army officers ousted

SANTIAGO — Chile's military President Augusto Pinochet, undertaking a gradual withdrawal of the armed forces from power, has replaced army officers with civilians in 16 local government posts — Sapa-Reuter

The nativity scene during the St Johns Hostel Carols by Candlelight drew a capacity crowd

Wind-blown candle pageant

Staff Reporter
CANDLELIGHT and smiling faces marked one of the first Christmas pageants to be held in Cape Town this year.

Although the Cape Doctor played havoc with the candles and made people reach for jackets and jerseys to keep out the chill, the St John's Hostel Carols by Candlelight in Cape Town drew a capacity crowd, young and old, to the hostel's

open-air theatre yesterday.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was to have been a special guest, could not be present because he could not get back from Port Elizabeth in time.

But neither the wind nor the absence of the Archbishop dimmed the enthusiasm of the people taking part. Crowds streamed into the grounds long after the official starting time to join in the singing.

Change
CA. mt's
'likely *2/12/88*
to involve
1/A
violence'

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The structural change needed in South Africa was likely to involve violence and it was up to people who accepted the need for change to minimise the disruptions, Stellenbosch Economics Professor Sampie Terblanche said here yesterday.

Prof Terblanche was delivering a lecture at the Royal Commonwealth Society on the subject "Botha's reforms versus Gorbachev's perestroika".


He said democratic movements, including the ANC, wanted to give precedence to political transfer of power.

But reform-minded academics in South Africa stressed the need for economic change as a precondition for a peaceful and stable transfer to a non-racial system

South Africa could not achieve economic reconstruction as long as the National Party was in power.

"Botha's attempt has failed. It is not possible to reform apartheid in the way he tried to do it

"In a sense South Africa has fallen behind history They can't catch up so they denounce history What is happening in South Africa goes against the grain of the history of the world in the past ten years."

Difficult for
CA. mt's
SA doctors *2/12/88*
to
stay ethical' 

JOHANNESBURG. — It took great courage for doctors to refuse to set aside their ethical standards in the name of so-called patriotic duty, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, a leading Johannesburg pathologist, told medical graduates at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday.

"Those in authority — often in the name of patriotism — urge doctors to submerge their ethical standards for the supposed greater cause. It takes great courage for the doctor to say no to the senior police officers who would want the detainee to be interrogated before a painful condition is treated," said Dr Gluckman.

"It may require even greater courage for a doctor to intervene on behalf of a detainee by insisting that he should not be returned to social isolation if the subject is depressed and there is some danger to his life."

Dr Gluckman, who conducted the post-mortem on Steve Biko, said that all too often a prisoner was at the mercy of personnel of the lower echelons of the police and prisons services who either could not or would not appreciate the medical problems that might arise while an individual was incarcerated and, as a result, frequently made it difficult if not impossible to have access to proper medical care.

Dereliction of duty

"There are denials of various forms of ill-treatment of detainees. Those in authority often query the veracity and good faith of those who say that detainees, including children, are ill-treated.

"Numerous court records and substantial sums paid out by the government to the injured or their widows and children speak for themselves," Dr Gluckman said.

"To quote McQuoid-Mason: 'District surgeons should refuse to treat detainees who are kept in cruel, degrading or inhuman conditions, or when their clinical independence is interfered with by the detaining authorities. They should also refuse to administer to detainees where no proper treatment is possible'.

"Panels of doctors are available in all areas to assist any prisoner or detainee if requested. The system cannot work, however, without sufficient awareness among the public and the co-operation of the authorities. Let these panel doctors be called upon regularly to intervene on behalf of those who need their help," Dr Gluckman urged. — Sapa

'ANC man jumped from flat'

B Day 2/12/88
AN 18-year-old man, allegedly recruited by the ANC for training, died yesterday after he jumped from the seventh floor of a Hillbrow block of flats, said Police Commissioner Gen Hennie de Witt

Amos Khoza had been arrested early on Thursday by security branch members in Klerksdorp, after information had been received that he was in possession of an AK47 rifle, De Witt said

Khoza then agreed to lead the investi-



BRENT MELVILLE

gating team to a Johannesburg flat where, before his arrest, he allegedly made contact with an ANC member

Khoza led two policemen to the seventh floor of Wonder Heights, in Claim Street, Hillbrow, at 12 30pm where, witnesses said, the shackled prisoner lifted himself on to a railing outside a seventh floor flat and "appeared to slip"

Gwala: What it's like to be home

RECENTLY released ANC veteran Harry Gwala (69) has to adjust and survive in a totally different and polarised society in his home town in Maritzburg, Natal.

Inkatha had only just been formed in 1975 when Gwala was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island, and he still has to make sense of the conflict between the organisation and youths calling themselves Amaqabane, paying allegiance to the United Democratic Front (UDF) and to a lesser extent the Black Consciousness Movement

About 1 000 lives have been lost in the conflict that is still continuing in Mpumalanga township, Hammarsdale

Speaking from his Dambuza Road home, the ailing Gwala said it was too early for him to make an impression of the political situation in the area, as he had not gone out for a first-hand look yet

"However, I have been following the events in newspapers and know a bit of what has been going on

No Inkatha official has come to see him yet Even if they wanted to come, there is no way they can set foot in the UDF-controlled "Angola" — as Dambuza is known — and remain alive

Does it worry Gwala that he might have to

FOCUS

SOWETAN Reporter

take sides in the conflict?

"For me it is not a question of taking sides My first concern would be to the voice of reconciliation, particularly to the peace initiative that Cosatu and Inkatha have started

"It would be wise for the State to allow the UDF to be participant since they are so much involved in this" The UDF was banned earlier this year and its leaders restricted They cannot take part in the peace initiative

Youths

Hundreds of youths from all over Natal were waiting for him doing the Toyi-Toyi when he arrived home, and the family and neighbours celebrated all night

"When I arrived they were already waiting for me They were all over I enjoy seeing children very much, they were not that much in the picture during our time When they were involved it was only nominal They are now playing a very important role During our time we were in the Youth Movement, in the Youth League

"It is good for any organisation in any

Talking to a returned ANC veteran

1(A)
Sowetan
2/12/88

country to get the youth involved

"They are the men of tomorrow Take the people who were in the Youth League, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Oliver Tambo They were in the Youth Movement and now they are playing a very significant role in the senior organisation"

Asked whether he thought the youths' actions were not blind actions, he said "The state of emergency makes it difficult to know what is happening in the form of discussions and

student circles I should like to believe they are not involved in blind actions, that their action corresponds with theory"

He said blind action had never been useful to anyone "It is like blind anger Action must be combined with discussion and proper motivation Before youth publications were banned during our time, a lot of discussion went on"

And about the Natal killings? "They are one of the ugly aspects of a revolutionary situation

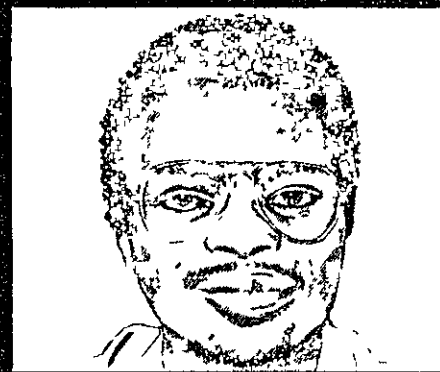
Some of these killings have come from deliberate actions designed to stifle the struggle of the people, but we cannot say they are inevitable If I come with a trade union in name only in order to destroy the trade unions of people, we cannot say that (violence) is inevitable"

His personal programme at the moment is to get a passport to travel to Britain, France, West Germany, and the USA to seek medical treatment for the Motor Neuron disease which has left him without the use of his arms

"These countries should have a wide experience from World War 2 treating the problem of nerves"

He believes the Government should give him a passport for medical reasons

MOLEFE'S FOCUS ON



DETENTIONS

Phaake now in for 902 days

Sowetan
2/12/88

the Times 3/12/68 (119)

Rajbansi 'misled' petrol station committee

DURBAN — The James Commission, which is investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates, continued with yet another fiery session yesterday. Special prosecutor Mr Anton Ackermann accused the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, of misleading the Allocations Committee which handled applicants for petrol service station sites. He also accused him of filling

in false information on an application form. Mr Rajbansi denied this, saying that it was supplied by the applicant.

The commission chairman, Mr Neville James, described this as distasteful. "A man who takes the responsibility of filling in forms for others and then blames the other man for giving him incorrect information is not acceptable."

In his cross-examination, Mr

Ackermann said the committee allocated sites to six people, but this had been changed and he accused Mr Rajbansi of altering it.

He told the commission that three applicants were rejected by the committee, but Mr Rajbansi, who had filled in their application forms, reinstated them. Mr Rajbansi admitted that petrol service station sites were given to all three people — Sapa

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230

Butchered bodies found in Natal Hundreds flee in fear of Inkatha-UDF storm

PRETORIA — The bodies of two men — one hacked and the other stabbed to death — were found in Natal, the Police Directorate of Public Relations reported yesterday in its overnight unrest report

The report said police found the hacked body of a man at Mpumalanga, Hammarsdale. The second body was found at Shongweni, also in Hammarsdale

At Sinating, Edendale, a bus was stoned and at Imbali, Maritzburg, a taxi was stoned

Police dispersed the Imbali crowd with shotgun fire. Two youths were wounded and three arrested — Sapa

MARITZBURG — Hundreds of people are fleeing the area of Trust Feed, near New Hanover, in the wake of violence which has swept the area since Wednesday last week.

Refugees said they were leaving because they feared that a massive confrontation was looming between members of Inkatha and affiliates of the United Democratic Front

Already four people have died in clashes in the area this week, numerous others have been wounded, houses have been burnt, cars stoned and people assaulted

Many residents have fled to neighbouring areas and are living wherever they can find accommodation — Sapa

Teleletters

CAP 10m 3/12/88
Mothopeng ban

PRETORIA — The police have banned all gatherings, welcoming the release of Mr Zephania Mothopeng, 75, president of the Pan Africanist Congress

Mr Mothopeng was one of two activists released unconditionally a week ago — Sapa

119

[Handwritten mark]

At 75, ailing PAC leader remains defiant, unbowed

ZEPHANIA Mthopeng stood to attention. His hand was raised in the open-palm salute of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress. It shook slightly.

The words of the African anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel' i-Afrika*, reverberated in the crowded room at the Ipelegeng Community Centre in Soweto as the historic press conference drew to close less than 48 hours after his release from prison last weekend.

The scene was joyful but poignant. Mr Mthopeng, president of the outlawed PAC, was free, having been released from prison less than two days earlier. But the 75-year-old Africanist was clearly ailing. Even if he were not suffering from cancer, time would be running out for him.

The open-palm salute reflected his determination to continue the quest for a united Azania. The quivering hand was a sign that the struggle would be against advanced age and poor health as much as it would be against any political foes.

Wearing a jacket and tie his sideburns reaching down before running along his cheekbones to

dent said, his clear, resonant voice hunting at oratorical power of younger days.

"But I must stress that it is only my body that is weak and not my spirit. I am as determined to fight for the liberation of Azania today as I was on the day I joined the liberation struggle as a young man."

It was typical of the man, of his political tenacity. Having spent nearly half of the last 30 years in jail for refusing to abandon the Africanist cause, Mr Mthopeng was not about to retire gracefully to his deathbed.

A founding father of the PAC in 1959, he helped launch the PAC's non-violent campaign against the pass laws in 1960. It led, tragically, to the Sharpeville shootings, to the declaration of a state of emergency, to the outlawing of the PAC and to the incarceration of many of the PAC leaders.

Mr Mthopeng was one of those arrested with the PAC's first president, Robert Sobukwe. He was jailed for two years for his role in the 1960 campaign. It did not break his spirit.

In 1984 he was imprisoned for another three years after being

Personality

ZEPH MTHOPENG

Written by:
PATRICK LAURENCE

convicted of furthering the aims of the PAC. In 1979, he was back in jail again, having been convicted under the Terrorism Act for furthering the objectives of the PAC between 1963 and 1977.

Typically, he and his co-accused refused to plead in 1979. They would not recognise the court, asserting that it was formed under laws which the African people had no share in making.

Mr Mthopeng used his first public appearance after his release to plead for the freedom of the imprisoned leader of the rival African National Congress, Nelson Mandela. It was a gesture of political fraternity, from one African nationalist to another.

He named Mandela and the lo-

gest serving political prisoner, Mr Jeff Masemola, prisoners of conscience who symbolised the plight of political prisoners in jails throughout South Africa.

"They should be out here and working for the return of our land," Mr Mthopeng said to cries of the PAC slogan *Izwe Lethu* (Our Land). "They should be released not on grounds of compassion or mercy, but because they are held illegitimately."

By inviting Nelson Mandela to join the PAC in its struggle for the return of the land, he was reaching across ideological barriers to grasp the ANC man by the hand and saying "Let us go forward together."

Major ideological difference exist between the PAC and the ANC. But the idea of them forming a united front, on the lines of the Patriotic Front forged by Zimbabwean nationalists, has been fermenting for some time.

It was raised again last weekend when church leaders from South Africa had talks with the ANC in Zimbabwe. It has been put on the agenda of a meeting of the liberation committee of the Organisation for African Unity in

are Africans, too."

Libya next February. Mr Mthopeng and Mandela share a common past, both were members of the ANC Youth League, which stood for "rallying and uniting African youth into one national front on the basis of African nationalism."

If the PAC has sometimes given an exclusive, biological definition to the term African, restricting it to the indigenous or native people of Africa, Mr Mthopeng used it in the alternative broader, inclusive sense.

"We don't look at the colour of a person," Mr Mthopeng said in reply to the question of whether whites could qualify as Africans. "We consider his convictions."

It was reminiscent of Sobukwe's definition of an African as a person who owed his loyalty only to Africa and who accepted democratic rule of the African majority.

On the prospect of unity between the PAC and the ANC, Mr Mthopeng replied "I can only answer for the Pan-Africanist Congress. I said my first task is to unite the Azanian nation nation includes all the Africans. The members of other organisations are Africans, too."

99-100-15 (114)
3/12/88

LP expels Poole over mancom

Political Staff

THE Labour Party yesterday expelled another MP, Mr Archie Poole, after he refused to resign from a management committee

Mr Poole, who represents Belhar in the Cape Town area, is the ninth Labour Party MP to be expelled from the party this year for refusing to withdraw from the management committees. One of the nine later returned to the party

Although Mr Poole did not stand for election to the newly formed Belhar Coloured Management Committee, he was nominated to the committee and elected chairman

The Labour Party decided before the October 26 municipal elections that none of its MPs should stand for the mancom so that other people could be trained in leadership positions.

Mr Poole said he had battled against radical elements in Belhar for 10 years to get a mancom established and had told the head committee he could not leave the mancom in the lurch

New party has no hope — LP

Political Staff

THE Labour Party has dismissed the formation of the new Democratic Reform Party, which hopes to become the official opposition in the House of Representatives, and accused the DRP's interim leader, Mr Carter Ebrahim, of representing "coloured nationalism".

Labour's public relations officer, Mr Peter Hendrickse, MP, said Mr Ebrahim had no chance of winning an election

By LULAMA LUTI

SOUTH Africa needs leaders who will lead its people to self-respect, and these leaders will probably be women, manager, National Beverage Services social responsibility programmes manager, Eunice Sibiyi, told a seminar at the weekend.

Speaking at the seminar that marked the 40th anniversary of the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roo-depoort, Sibiyi said South Africa required a concerted effort by dedicated leaders who would lead the people.

She said women had always been known to take the bull by the horns and bring about positive results.

"Women are practical and sensitive, and never turn away when the going gets tough," she said.

Speaking on the theme "Working together is a Success"; Sibiyi said working together was successful whether within a family, an organisation or a professional group.

Leaders who will lead SA with dignity will be women

"We should not emphasise our differences, but should look for common ground and learn to accept our dissimilarities," she said.

Over a hundred delegates from different community organisations as far away as Namibia attended the three-day seminar organised by the Women's Informal Training Institute.

"An undeniable fact is that our lives revolve around our mental attitudes. It is not so much

what happens to us or around us that matters, but our attitudes towards it," Sibiyi said.

"Our achievements depend on our beliefs, our beliefs depend on what our minds have conceived," she added.

Defining community development, Sibiyi said it was the alleviation of ignorance, poverty and disease and urged community workers to focus on alleviating the three.

"Every professional and businesswoman in the com-

munity should have a social responsibility to the community around her.

"This ensures a healthy society that enjoys physical, mental, social and economic well-being."

She said that culture was among the resources people could use.

"Culture is our fountain of wealth and wisdom. We need to preserve our culture and refine it to be relevant to current trends. Culture is never old-fashioned nor primitive - it is dynamic."

"In preserving our culture we have a legacy for our children and grandchildren to appreciate what kind of people they are and from whom they descend."

She challenged women to reach out for knowledge.

"We have to stop looking at what we don't have - let us look into what we have and make the best of it and what we'll achieve will be beyond our expectations," she said.



Rev Frank Chikane

ANC still cautious ^{11A} on Mandela's release

THE ANC said this week it was still cautious about the release of Nelson Mandela despite the freeing of two activists. *C/Prin 4/12/88*

Last Saturday the SA Government freed PAC president Zephania Mothopeng and veteran ANC member Harry Gwala because of ill-health.

Mandela, 70, jailed for life in 1964, is being treated for tuberculosis in a Cape Town clinic.

The government said last week he would not go back to prison when he recovered, but would be moved to "suitable, comfortable and secure accommodation," with easier access to his family.

The move heightened speculation that Mandela would be released in stages. - Sapa

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Cosatu questions Six reprieve motive

BY KERRY CULLINAN

WHILE Cosatu this week welcomed released prisoners Harry Gwala and Zeph Mothopeng "back into the fold", the federation said it was criminal that political leaders of the stature of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were still imprisoned

"At the same time as this government indicates it wants to move away from apartheid by releasing the senior leadership of the democratic movement, it wants to send the cream of our present leadership in the Delmas trial to prison

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They must understand it is only genuine negotiations with all credible leaders that can lead to a lasting settlement," the federation added

Cosatu also said that, if the government's motivation for reprieving the Sharpeville Six was to appease the rightwing by reprieving "some policemen who had committed blatant murder", no basis for trust could be established

"Unless the government is prepared to negotiate on the legitimate aspirations of the majority, there will be more Strydoms and increased civil conflict"

SOUTH AFRICA, post 1984, has experienced a hitherto unknown fluidity

The era of political stereotypes and single track political directions is for ever over.

New forces straddle the political scene. Such forces, born out of circumstances of instability and turmoil, tend under such conditions to veer towards polarisation. This process takes place at the expense of the forces of moderation.

The vast majority of opinion-makers and influential people who form the backbone of society, through an absence of choice, veer towards one or the other poles.

This process, left unchecked, generates a momentum of its own. Voices of moderation within such polarised spheres are simply drowned by the general thrust. Voices outside such spheres are treated with contempt.

The reaction to United Democratic Front co-president Archie Gumede's tentative call for a review on participation in 1987 is a pertinent example of such a phenomenon.

The response to one form of political straitjacket is thus another form of political straitjacket.

A classical illustration of the absence of moderation is the refusal by many people to communicate or negotiate differences — "we do not speak to terrorists/we do not speak to racists".

Non-racialism must succeed because it is intrinsically and infinitely better than the best form of separatism.

Sowetan editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste describes the phenomenon in the following words.

"There is also a swing to the right in white politics which is perhaps as frightening as the necklace phenomenon of the '80s... Somebody must do something to stop this madness, or at least to cushion the blow when it comes."

He calls for a programme of nation-building to avoid the catastrophe that the whirlwind of polarised politics will reap.

When newspaper editors like Mr Klaaste see fit to take up the political mantle of moderation, then surely it is time for the scores of organisations that believe in

How to close the gap

S. Times 4/12/88 11A

Ismail Omar

a President's Council member, argues for participation politics

bridge-building politics, who operate independently in a host of structural bases, to take stock and begin the process of directing their different constituent units towards a more unified and streamlined approach.

For too long have these organisations been the butt of contempt by those who seek monopoly in wearing the mantle of "liberation".

A vivid current example of such straitjacket thinking is evident in the proposed symposium by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa on strategies for change.

Not a single organisation of colour belonging to the participation camp has been invited to deliver a paper lest they offend the "authentic liberationists".

Ironically, in an almost inverse form of racism, white organisations which participate are invited.

There is, however, no vacuum in the moderate sphere.

The forces of moderatism that can accommodate both black aspirations and white fear are scattered and, therefore, ineffective.

United, as a moderate front, I believe they can be the single most important force in this country and can marshal the power to give direction in abolishing apartheid, attaining a just and democratic order, achieving national reconciliation, and protecting and developing our economic infrastructure.

Tutu in frank question, answer session

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said this week he was for and against trade sanctions against South Africa

The Kenilworth parish in Cape Town, hearing Tutu criticised as a "political priest" and also for his calls for sanctions against the SA Government, invited him to a meeting this week for a question-and-answer evening to hear what he had to say

The questions submitted by parishioners were put to Tutu by a panel and other questions were asked from the floor. They ranged from sanctions to women in the priesthood, and other controversial issues

"Yes and no", Tutu said in reply to a question whether he was in favour of trade sanctions against SA and whether he was in favour of multi-national companies disinvesting from SA

"Yes in so far as you are looking for a non-violent way of ending apartheid and I hope that people will have read what Mr Pik Botha said. About the to-do in Boksburg - where he says all of what is happening there is going to bring worse sanctions than the United Nations ever dreamt of because, he says, of apartheid. Which is what we are saying and they go and give men credit"

He said he loved South Africa passionately and would not like to see it destroyed - that is why he talks to the ANC

"I've been three times in the last 1-1/2 years. One time I said why don't you suspend your armed struggle and call the government's bluff. I wouldn't do that if I was longing to see this country destroyed"

He said that in 1980, he saw the Prime Minister, Mr P. W. Botha and put forward proposals

He told the Prime Minister in 1980 if they had done that, he (Tutu) would have stood on the roof and shouted to the people please give them a chance

To applause Tutu said "I don't want sanctions. I said to the State President I love this country. I love it passionately and I think I love it more than you, for we fought against the Nazis, you didn't"

S/Times 4/12/88

By MANDLA TYALA

A NEW book claims that African National Congress leader at one stage encouraged Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to fight apartheid from within the system.

And, acknowledging his role in the black struggle, they advised him not to "rock the boat" so as to avoid arrest.

The biography of the Zulu leader also claims that the Inkatha movement's growing popularity — not a difference in ideology — led to the acrimonious rift between Chief Buthelezi and the ANC.

Buthelezi — The Biography, published by Hans Strydom Publishers and written by Kwazulu-born former magazine editor Jack Shephard Smith, will be released next week.

It traces Chief Buthelezi's involvement with the ANC in the early '60s when, aged 14, he had his first meeting with Dr John Dibe, first president of the ANC and founder of the Durban Zulu-language newspaper, Ilanga. Interestingly, the newspaper is now

ANC warned Buthelezi to play it cool, book claims

owned by Inkatha

Chief Buthelezi says of those early days, shortly after the National Party came to power: "As a member of the ANC, I was torn between desires to serve my organisation and the need to devote my energies to my hereditary leadership role."

"It was Chief Albert Lutuli (former ANC president) who did more than anyone to persuade me I had no option but to combine the two roles. This I set about doing."

The young Buthelezi went on to serve on the Natal executive of the ANC's Youth

League in the early '50s

Throughout those days, Chief Buthelezi's support for the ANC and its original, firmly stated policy of non-violence remained unshaken.

"Both in South Africa and abroad I argued in public that the ANC had been driven underground by South African police brutality and it was understandable that in an exiled position, where they were rejected by the West, the Mission-in-Exile should seek recourse in violence."

"I, however, never accepted the unilateral decision which the ANC Mission-in-Exile made to commit black South Africa to the armed

struggle as the primary means "of bringing about change"

The book claims that before the serious rift between Buthelezi/Inkatha and the ANC developed in the late '70s, ANC leader Oliver Tambo, a long-time friend of Chief Buthelezi, was particularly concerned that the "ANC connection" did not rub off on the Kwazulu leader and cause him trouble with Pretoria.

Says the biographer: "When Buthelezi visited (Tambo) at his home in London on his first overseas trip in 1963, the ANC leader was extremely jittery over the possibility that Buthelezi had

been shadowed by South African Intelligence agents and urged him to be seen in visiting South Africa House in order to 'balance' the visit to his house."

Chief Buthelezi also recalls an occasion in 1971 when Mr Tambo made a special trip to Malawi to personally deliver a warning to the chief, who was visiting Dr Hastings Banda.

"I was quite astounded one evening when I was approached by one of Dr Banda's top men, who whispered in my ear that when I visited the lake Oliver

Tambo would be there to talk to me.

"Because the old man, Banda, was so close to the South African Government, I was scared it was some sort of trap. But the president was acting as an African patriot."

"Sure enough, when I got to the place there he was. He had come all the way there simply to warn me to 'cool it' before I landed myself in hot water."

Later, Chief Buthelezi was to meet Mr Tambo in Nigeria and Stockholm. They kept in touch via emissaries and relations were extremely cordial.

This air of comradeship, the book argues, continued until the ANC leadership saw its front-runner status being challenged by Inkatha's "phenomenal growth".

"Increasingly, they see the initiative in the anti-apartheid struggle moving from the ANC to Inkatha, an alarming development for the organisation which for generations has regarded itself as the sole, unchallenged champion of South Af-



CHIEF BUTHELEZI Told not to rock the boat

rica's black millions," claims the biographer.

The bitter enmity between the two parties took on new intensity in the '80s, when public acrimony was exchanged. The book says the most effective medium for ANC attacks on Chief Buthelezi has been Radio Freedom, which is broadcast chiefly from Addis Ababa and is beamed southwards, encompassing the whole of southern

and South Africa. On occasion, the biographer says, Radio Freedom has broadcast not-so-subtle exhortations to put an end to Chief Buthelezi.

"One particularly vitriolic attack said: 'It is clear that this puppet Gatscha is being groomed by the West and the racist regime to become a Savimbi in a future free South Africa'."

Chief Buthelezi has fired back with charges that the ANC Mission-in-Exile is hopelessly out of touch with black attitudes and sentiments in SA and that the banned organisation, these days was hardly African any longer, being dominated by European communists.

Says Chief Buthelezi: "Black South Africans know that Mr J. P. W. Botha is the most powerful man in Africa and that he can direct the most efficient killing army on the continent against whomsoever he desires. It is madness to declare an armed struggle if you cannot win

PAC welcomes release of Zeph Mothopeng

11A CP Press + 1/12/82

Freedom for leader a 'victory' for political activists in SA

CP Correspondent

THE external mission of the PAC this week welcomed the unconditional release from prison of its president, Zeph Mothopeng, on Saturday.

In a statement issued from the PAC headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, the organisation viewed Mothopeng's unconditional release by the South African authorities as a "victory" for those who fought for his and other political prisoners' freedom.

The organisation gave special credit for "this achievement" to "our political fighters, our youth, our women, trade unions, the church and other political organisation in the country".

"The moral lesson here is that our people have proved that when they embark on a campaign, they aim at nothing less than victory," said the statement.

The organisation ex-

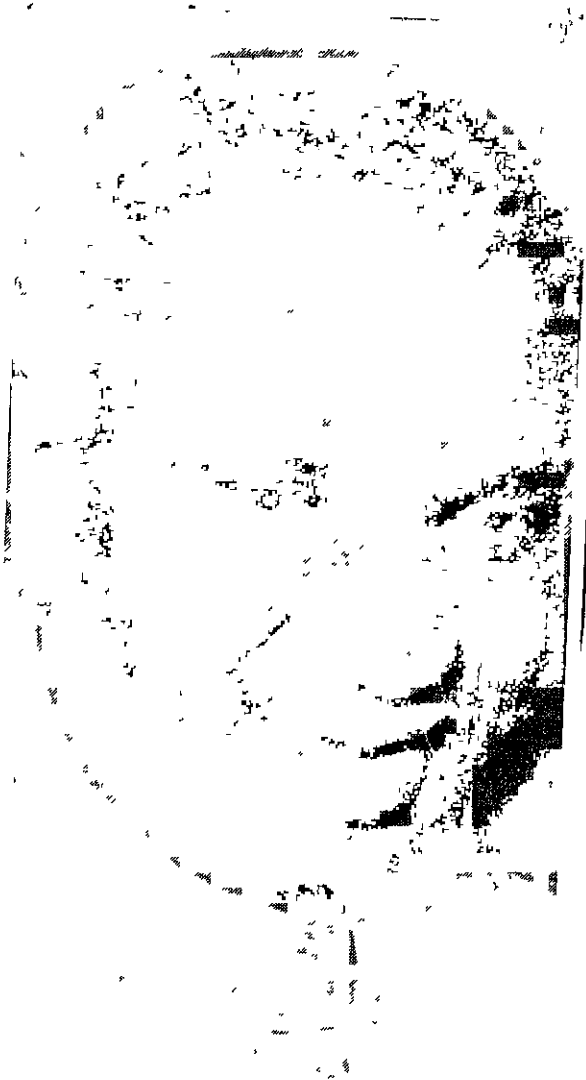
pressed its gratitude to all support groups and organisations that campaigned for Mothopeng's release.

The statement cited the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, the Organisation for African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement, the World Council of Churches and the Commonwealth as the organisations which played "a leading role" in the PAC leader's release.

Unnamed friendly countries, non-governmental organisations and individuals were also cited.

The statement called for an intensification of the campaign for the release of all political prisoners, the "Sharpeville Six" and others on death row - ANO.

● Meanwhile, at his first public appearance this week, the 75-year-old Mothopeng called especially for the release of ANC leader Nelson



Zeph Mothopeng ... his release welcomed.

Mandela and the longest serving political prisoner, Jeff Masemola

He added that the release of the two leaders

and all other political prisoners should be granted not out of compassion, but because they are being held illegally.

Major award for Sisulus

By KERRY CULLINAN

THE Sisulu family - one of the country's most active anti-apartheid families - has won a major international human rights award

The presentation of the Carter-Menil Human Rights Award - named after philanthropist Dominique de Menil and former US president Jimmy Carter - will take place in Atlanta in the US on December 10, International Human Rights Day

Although the award is for Walter and Albertina Sisulu and their seven children, it is likely that only Max and Lindiwe Sisulu - who live in exile - will be able to attend the ceremony

Walter Sisulu is in prison serving a life sentence for treason

Albertina is restricted and unlikely to be given permission to leave the country

C/Proc 4/12/88 110

But only their exiled children can attend New York ceremony

New Nation editor Zwelakhe has been in detention under state of emergency regulations for almost two years while his younger brother, Jonumsi is serving a five-year sentence for furthering the aims of the ANC

It is unclear whether Nonkululeko, Berel and Mlungisi will be given per-

mission to attend the ceremony

In announcing the award, Carter called the continued existence of apartheid "a blot on the conscience of mankind"

"The courage and dedication of the Sisulu family symbolises the invincibility of the human spirit in the face of inhumanity and

cruelty," said Carter

Their leadership, fortitude and unwavering commitment in fighting apartheid has given hope to all in South Africa who oppose and suffer under this unjust system," he added

Prison terms, detentions, house arrests, beatings and continual harassment have totally dis-

rupted the family's life

The children have seen their father infrequently, while Max and Lindiwe's decision to leave the country and join the ANC has made communication between family members difficult

● Meanwhile, the detention of Zwelakhe was highlighted in a five-minute programme on BBC television this week

The programme, part of a week-long series entitled *Prisoners of Conscience*, was introduced by the editor of the *London Daily Telegraph*, Max Hastings

Sisulu, founder of *New Nation*, was detained in December 1986 Hastings said Sisulu had never been charged with any crime

"There has never been any suggestion that he's involved with violent opposition. He is simply a highly articulate opponent of the SA Government paying a bitter price for the expressed views"

OUT - DON'T

ON BACK PAGE

Mothopeng to address 'unity' meeting

4/12/88 *(118)*

By SELLO SERIPE

ZEPH Mothopeng, the recently released president of the banned PAC, will address a "unity" meeting expected to draw thousands at the Regina Mundi Church, Soweto, on Sunday

Mothopeng, 76, of Orlando West, last appeared on a public platform in the early 70s when he addressed the now-banned Black People's Convention in Maritzburg, Natal

Sunday's meeting, organised by the Mothopeng Reception Committee, starts at 1pm

Leading political figures have been invited to speak

Among them are Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Verónica Sobukwe, widow of the late PAC founder-member Robert Sobukwe, Rev Stanley Mogoba and representatives from Cosatu, Nactu, SACC and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference

Church, cultural and political organisations of various affiliations are welcome to attend

"We want to show the world that we love each other by coming together under one roof," a spokesman said

● See Page 4

Zeph rally banned

11A Sowetan 5/12/88

THE banning of a rally to welcome the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, scheduled for Soweto yesterday, is disgusting and senseless, the Sobukwe Commemoration Co-ordinating Committee said yesterday.

An order, in terms of the state of emergency regulations, was made late on Friday night and published in the *Government Gazette* by the Commissioner of Police, General Henne de Witt.

It effectively banned all gatherings to welcome Mr Mothopeng organised by the Mothopeng Reception Committee.

The ban, which expires on January 5 1989,

BY THEMBA MOLEFE

prohibits any gathering in any building which may be organised by the Mothopeng Reception Committee and in any building excluding a bona fide gathering of members of his family which may be organised with the "purpose of honouring Mothopeng".

The rally was to be held at the Regina Mundi Church in Rockville.

The Sobukwe Commemoration Co-ordinating Committee said "We wish to express our total disgust at the senseless banning of the Mothopeng welcome rally, and which banning deprived thousands of the opportunity to listen to a

truly national leader

The banning of Uncle Zeph's rally exposes the myth of unconditional release of leaders. Only a few days after Uncle Zeph called on the international community not to be fooled by cosmetic change, the Government exposed its inhuman face by depriving an elderly statesman and ailing man a welcome reception by the people who love him.

"The African people regard the main reason for the banning as Uncle Zeph's ability to unite all African people irrespective of political affiliation and all workers regardless of trade union affiliation," the statement said.



MR ZEPHANIA Mothopeng . . . welcome rally banned.

10 1227
11A
22

Welcome for PAC leader banned by Govt

Star
5/12/88

By Jon Qwelane

The Commissioner of Police banned yesterday's mass meeting scheduled for Regina Mundi in Rockville, Soweto, to welcome back to the community the president of the Pan-Africanist Congress, Mr Zeph Mothopeng

A notice in the Government Gazette, issued in terms of Section 10 of the emergency regulations, has outlawed "any gathering in any building which is, or may be, organised or advertised" anywhere in South Africa "during the period up to and including January 5 1989" for the purpose of honouring or welcoming Mr Mothopeng

Exempted from the all-embracing banning order are bona-fide gatherings of members of Mr Mothopeng's family

Mr Mothopeng, the PAC leader whom a Bethal Circuit Court judge in 1978 found had planned and spear-headed the widespread uprisings of 1976, was released from prison last weekend after serving 10 years of two 15-year terms running concurrently

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FREE BUT CHAINED

NEW Nation Editor
Zwelakhe Sisulu has been released after almost two years in detention, but restriction orders his attorney described as the "harshesht" she has seen were immediately slapped on him.

Sisulu (38), was freed from Diepkloof Prison at 2pm on Friday, but immediately served with a series of restrictions under state of emergency regulations

Sisulu, the son of jailed Rivonia defendant Walter Sisulu, may not

- Return to his job at the weekly newspaper,
- Give interviews to journalists;
- Leave the Johannesburg magisterial district without police permission

Home

- Be outside his Dube, Soweto home between 6pm and 6am daily,
- Take part in the activities of some 10 organisations,
- Be in the same room with more than 10 persons, including himself,

Women's

- Enter the premises of any formal education institution;
 - Attend any gathering at which Government or local authority policy is criticised, and
 - He also has to report to the Orlando Police Station twice daily, between 6am and 9am and 2pm and 5pm
- Also freed was national co-ordinator for the National Education Crisis Committee, Mr Eric Molobi — a close associate of Sisulu — and Hood and Allied Workers Union members, Mr Raymond Sibanda and Mr Phillip Ziqubu
- Also released was Ms Jesse Duarte of the women's organisation, Fedaw

Deep imprint on the political landscape

By PATRICK LAURENCE

SKV 5/12/88
11A
The release from detention of PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng has focused attention on his organisation's roots and on the bitter struggle for African nationalism.

In the past 10 days the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress has been spotlighted by governmental action first its ailing leader, Mr Zephania Mothopeng, was released from prison and then a welcome home rally in Soweto, planned for yesterday was banned.

The first step reflected Government confidence, the second led at nervousness. Both attitudes are understandable. Long weakened by internal strife, the PAC has lived very much in the shadow of the rival ANC since it was outlawed with the ANC nearly three decades ago.

Aged 75 and suffering from cancer, Mr Mothopeng — who was elected PAC president while in jail — was an unlikely candidate for the arduous task of challenging the white hegemony.

Yet in its short life — it was founded in 1959 — the PAC has made a deep imprint on South Africa's political landscape.

The heir to a proud tradition, Africanism, in the history of black resistance, the PAC took the lead in challenging the pass laws in 1960. Its non-violent campaign led to the Sharpeville shootings, in which 69 black civilians were shot dead

by nervous police. The shootings provoked worldwide condemnation and placed apartheid on the world agenda as a scourge to be eradicated.

South Africa's white rulers so feared the first PAC president, Robert Sobukwe, that they detained him on Robben Island for six years after he had completed the three-year sentence imposed on him as leader of the 1960 campaign.

When he was released in 1969, it was under harsh restrictions to a small township near Kimberley. The restrictions were maintained until his death in 1978.

SETTLERS

The driving force of Africanism was African nationalism. Its central objective was to regain the land that it contended had been usurped from the indigenous black people by white settlers. Africanism saw the struggle in SA in terms of race, not class, as a contest between dispossessed indigenes and dispossessing aliens.

The Africanists broke from the older ANC, largely because

of the adoption of the Freedom Charter of 1955.

The charter proclaimed: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white."

The Africanists disagreed, asking "Do stolen goods belong to a thief and not to their owner?" They added "The African people have an inalienable claim on every inch of the African soil."

Linked to their commitment to African nationalism was deep suspicion of whites and Indians, irrespective of whether they identified themselves as liberals or radicals. At times Sobukwe labelled them "minority groups", contrasting them with the indigenous people.

Those members of the minority groups who professed sympathy for the African cause were suspected of doing so with an ulterior motive to dilute its commitment to Africanism.

can nationalism to protect their relatively privileged position.

Africanists accused representatives of the minority groups of responsibility for the Freedom Charter, warning that Africans who renounced their claims over Africa risked being "crushed with the oppressors".

BIKO

After the PAC was outlawed and many of its leaders imprisoned or driven into exile, the Black Consciousness (BC) movement, pioneered in South Africa by Steve Biko, surfaced.

In many respects, BC was ideologically akin to Africanism. There were differences, but they were outweighed by similarities.

BC shared Africanism's scepticism of white liberals and radicals (while opening its ranks to Indians as fellow victims of discrimination).

The white liberal-radical nexus was part of the problem rather than the solution. The BC slogan "black man, you are on your own" echoed the Africanist belief that "we ourselves hold the key to our salvation".

Biko endorsed a profoundly Africanist sentiment when he seconded a key resolution at a student conference in 1972. It declared "(South Africa) belongs to black people and to them alone."

As a witness for the defence in a major trial of BC leaders, he explained in 1976 that the resolution meant that whites would have to live in South Africa on "terms laid down by blacks", just as blacks who lived in Europe had to do so on conditions determined by Europeans.

It was perhaps not coincidental that Biko's brother, Kaya, was jailed for nine months in 1963 after being con-

victed for being a member of Poqo, the PAC's underground wing.

If BC has waned since Biko's death in detention in 1977, Africanism has experienced a revival in the past few years and particularly since 1985.

There have been several indicators of its modest resurgence. To mention a few.

- Increased activity by PAC guerrillas (last year 85 members of the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army were killed or captured by South African security forces)

- A rise in the number of people charged with offences relating to their alleged membership of the PAC (18 people in four trials)

- The emergence of organisations operating within the law openly espousing Africanism as a philosophy (Azanian National Youth Unity and the SA Black Municipal Workers Union)

As recently as September 1986 the immediate past Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, told Parliament there "was evidence of a sharp

increase in PAC subversion, some of it aimed at recruiting "ordinary masses" for terror attacks.

It was in that context that Mr Mothopeng was released. Within 48 hours of his release he gave notice that he had no intention of lying down gratefully to die.

Addressing a press conference in Soweto, he declared, "It is only my body which is weak and not my spirit. I am just as determined to fight for the liberation of Azania today as I was the day I joined the liberation struggle as a young man."

Cries of "izwe lethu" (our land) reverberated in the crowded room.

ANIMOSITY

If the authorities were hoping that Mr Mothopeng's release might rekindle animosity between the PAC and the ANC, they were disappointed. Mr Mothopeng called for the unconditional release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and PAC stalwart Jeff Masemola.

Perhaps hunting at the need to bury or, at the least, postpone ideological differences, he said "They should be out here and working for the return of our land."

Boston honours SA blacks

IT WAS a moment of pride for Black South Africa when two of its sons, Aggrey Mbere and Themba Vilakazi, were among 350 blacks who were recently honoured in Boston, one of the major cities in the United States. But for Mbere the honour would have been sweeter if it had come from his community.

The Museum of the Afro-American History Programme honoured the 350 in recognition of the presence of Afro-Americans in Boston.

The programme is in honour of Afro-Americans who arrived here in 1638. To do this we have saluted 350 contemporary black people of various disciplines,' Marcus Mitchell, co-chair of the Rejoicing Event Committee said in a speech. According to him the criteria used was based on contributions made by individuals in their respective fields.

Mbere elder brother of Soweto gynaecologist Jiyane "GG" Mbere is an educationist at the local Roxbury College. Vilakazi runs a community project which also reaches into South Africa. He is presently recovering from injuries he suffered when he was trapped in a lift and could not be interviewed.

According to Mbere both were also honoured for their participation in community projects for Boston's black community. These projects include the fight against racism, the provision of education, health care and housing and the increasing unemployment in these communities. Mbere is also in a committee that scrutinises Afro-Americans who want to run for public office.

Said Mbere "I am sure that Themba shares my views when I say we would have been happier if this honour came from our people in South Africa. We are very happy to have served this community, but would have been happier if we had used our skills to serve our people in Soweto where we both come from."

"Because of apartheid our skills are now being utilised by other communities. But this honour is an important milestone. It helps us understand the deeper connection between Africans and Afro-Americans. To be honoured by them was the bringing together of African people in the African diaspora. It

By THAMI MAZWAI

symbolises the individuality of our struggle as Africans and Afro-Americans" he continued 5/12/88

Mbere is a familiar figure in Boston's political and academic circles. Most of the time he is in an 'Ayers and Smith' cap, sent to him regularly by GG.

"He buys it in Kort Street where I used to buy mine before leaving South Africa," he said. An "Ayers and Smith" was a status symbol in a number of South Africa's urban black areas during the fifties and is presently one of his sentimental links with the country.

He has an impressive collection of Adullah Ibrahim (Dollar Brand), Hugh Masekela and mbaqanga records. To him they represent another emotional connection with South Africa. He boasts that despite having stayed in the United States for more than 20 years he has not lost his Xhosa accent.

Study

He fled South Africa in 1965 after the Government crackdown on the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress. After spending time at a number of ANC camps he received a United Nations scholarship to study in the United States.

He received his first degree at Occidental College in 1969 and an MA at Cornell University in 1971. He taught for five years and then won another scholarship. He studied at Harvard University and in 1979 was awarded a doctorate in history. He teaches history at Roxbury.

"Roxbury is a predominantly black campus with students from Haiti, the Caribbean, West Indies, Africa, Latin America, the United States and we even have a few Russians now and again. I teach world history and have focussed on the Caribbean, modern history, slavery and modern Africa," he said.

Asked about his



AGGREY and Musa Mbere pictured in Boston

involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle he said "One cannot abandon the struggle. My activities here in Boston are a manifestation of my commitment

Our struggle is international in scope but is based on local issues.

"As South Africans we personify that deep concern and anguish we experience as Africans in

the Western world and the only solution is our collective response to this dehumanisation. The support here in Boston for the struggle at home is linked to the socio-economic plight and history of Afro-Americans here in the US. We are suffering what they suffered under slavery."

He is married to another South African, Musa Ngcobo from Durban. They have a son, Jiyane, named after Soweto's GG Aggrey and 'GG' last met three years ago when GG was in London to accept a fellowship from the Royal College of Gynaecologists. Aggrey is also in regular contact with his three sisters in South Africa: Mbikazi, Nozipho and Msuthukazi.

Mbere is a member and representative of the ANC in Boston. He is also in the Regional Political Committee, the organisation's highest political organ in the United States.

An "Ayers and Smith" cap is Mbere's sentimental link with South Africa

Senior ANC exile dies in hospital

CH 7/12/88
5/12/88
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From MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE — Mr Johny Makatini, 56, head of the foreign affairs department of the ANC, died suddenly on Saturday in Lusaka's teaching hospital

The death of the fourth most powerful figure in the ANC leadership may have far-reaching repercussions for its hierarchy, observers believe, with Information Secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki considered a likely successor

An ANC spokesman said Mr Makatini had diabetes and had been due to travel to Harare on Sunday for treatment

He was a former schoolteacher and a graduate of the University of Natal who went into exile after Pretoria outlawed the ANC

He served as the ANC's chief representative in Algeria until 1972

In 1987 he became the ANC's chief representative at the United Nations in New York, a post he held until five

years ago when he became the organisation's director of international affairs

With his dapper three-piece suits and knowledge of international politics, he was a polished lobbyist at the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity, in Western Europe and with eastern bloc states tempted to favour the rival PAC

He was credited with a major role in organising the cultural boycott against South Africa and maintaining the momentum for comprehensive economic sanctions

Mr Makatini was considered a pragmatist with a strong Christian background rather than a hard-line ideologue

● Mr "Mac" Maharaj, another veteran member of the ANC executive who might have been in line to succeed Mr Makatini at the ANC foreign affairs department, is understood to be in Moscow awaiting a kidney transplant

Cape Times 5/12/88
Police ban Mothopeng welcome

JOHANNESBURG The welcome-home service for Pan Africanist Congress of Azania leader Mr Zeph Mothopeng, who was released from prison late last week, did not take place at the weekend as it was banned by the Commissioner of Police, General Hennie de Witt. Despite the banning there was a large security force presence outside Soweto's Regina Mundi Church — Sapa

13 die in Natal massacre

*Cape Town
5/12/88
114*

MARITZBURG. — Thirteen people were killed when a group of armed men — alleged to be Inkatha vigilantes — attacked residents of Trust Feed near New Hanover in Natal early on Saturday morning.

Refugees from the area yesterday said the vigilantes began the attack about 3am by knocking on the door of a house where non-Inkatha people were staying. When the door was opened, the vigilantes opened fire, killing 12 occupants.

Another man was stabbed to death nearby.

Last week hundreds of women and children fled the area after vigilante attacks on members of a community-elected crisis committee. Four people were killed, scores wounded, houses burnt, cars stoned and people assaulted.

Police reported a total of 12 people killed in Trust Feed at the weekend.

Refugees told reporters the vigilantes were being bussed into the area and they feared a major attack on members of the 5 000-strong community in an attempt to drive out non-Inkatha people.

The Inkatha central committee member for Trust Feed, Mr Zakhele Nkehli, said he was not aware of vigilantes being bussed in and blamed the United Democratic Front for the violence. Because the UDF is restricted, its leaders may not be quoted.

A police team was investigating at the scene yesterday and murder dockets have been opened. A police spokesman said the situation was "under control". — Sapa

Senior ANC member dies

LUSAKA — A senior member of the African National Congress, Mr Johnstone Makatini, died in the university teaching hospital here on Saturday after a brief, undisclosed illness. *Spw 5/12/88*

A former school teacher and Natal University graduate, Mr Makatini went into exile after Pretoria outlawed the ANC.

In 1977, he became the ANC's chief representative at the United Nations in New York.

He held this post until five years ago, when he became the organisation's director of international affairs. — Sapa-
Reuter.

IS IT TREASON TO OPPOSE APARTHEID?

The following organisations express their solidarity with the Delmas trialists and restate their rejection of apartheid in all its forms:

Congress of SA Trade Unions (COSATU)
Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)
Act to Stop evictions (ACTSTOP)
Johannesburg Youth Congress (JOYCO)
Five Freedoms Forum (FFF)
Black Sash
Free the Children Alliance
Students for a Democratic Society
SA Catholic Bishop's Conference (SACBC)
Justice and Peace Commission (JPC)
SA Council of Churches (SACC)
National Union of SA Students (NUSAS)

National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU)
JHB Democratic Action Committee (JODAC)
Human Rights Commission (HRC)
National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA)
Federation of SA Women (FEDTRAW)
Black Students' Society (BSS)
Northern Transvaal People's Congress (NOTPECO)
Transvaal Anti-PC
Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG)
National Democratic Movement (NDM)

We apologise to other organisations who would have wanted their names included. We were unable to approach everyone because of time and other logistical problems.

PROTEST MEETING

Allan Boesak * Frank Chikane
Jay Naidoo * Acquitted Delmas trialist
FLOWER HALL WITS UNIVERSITY
7.30 PM TUESDAY 6TH DECEMBER



THE DELMAS TRIAL

Issued by Delmas Trialists Ad-Hoc Support Committee

D586

Star 5/12/88 (11A)

Unity: ANC is under the lash

SIR — All political organisations strive for unity — white or black. We have heard the State President Mr P W Botha on many occasions calling for unity.

In the recent past, there were unity calls by UDF and Azapo leaders. On numerous occasions trade unions have been urged to unite.

Very recently soccer bosses, after an ANC conference, are now initiating unity talks with different soccer federations. This is the unity the whole world is striving for. *Unity is strength*, so goes our national slogan.

I was impressed when the ANC called for Nactu and Cosatu to unite. I also learnt that the ANC had urged the SA rugby bosses to unify all rugby associations. A similar note of unity call was echoed to Solomon Morewa and his entourage in Lusaka by the ANC. Very impressive.

Unity is the word. Yet! Yet! What is behind this call for unity? After these recurring calls had impressed me, an alarming note of caution, slowly, but firmly encroached my easily impressed mind and challenged my satisfied vindications with this question.

If the ANC is seriously propagating and advocating unity within the different organisations and sporting bodies within South Africa while they are in exile (as they chose), what makes it difficult for them (ANC) to start unity talks with other South African liberation movements in exile, namely the PAC and the BCMA, either in Lusaka, Harare or Dakar?

To me it sounds ridiculous for anybody to listen and adhere to an organisation which does not practise unity itself, yet it pretends to advocate unity.

It was reported on September 28, 1988 from Lusaka that the ANC through Andrew Mongale rejected talks for unity with the PAC and that people were surprised to learn about the PAC's existence outside the country. Yet we all know that the PAC does exist and is

operating as much as the ANC.

To me, it seems, quite clear that the ANC is, in its ongoing efforts, attempting once more to undermine and suppress the PAC. By so doing, the ANC wants to gain all efforts and credits of the struggle for itself alone.

This means that they are a manipulative organisation attempting to win the hearts of the masses on its side, by applying dirty undemocratic tactics. They want to totally and wholly dominate the political arena as well as the liberation alliance.

Fortunately, for us, all South Africans, this manoeuvre by the ANC, has become so obvious and conspicuous that many of us do not even see the reason to mention it, during the process.

We in the liberation alliance are mindful of many similar efforts and sacrifices, that other organisations have equally contributed towards social liberation and economic emancipation for the oppressed, exploited and dispossessed masses of South Africa (Azania).

So now, here and today, should there be any proposals for unity, then we must emphasise it within the liberation forces. Hence, the ANC, before it advocates unity of the people in South Africa, they must enhance, in earnest, unity with both the PAC and the BCMA and look at the gains and losses that have been suffered and speak frankly to one another about such progress and problems they might have encountered to elaborate strategies for a joint action and to look into the question of ways and means of ensuring that their resolutions are translated into reality.

The struggle demands sacrifices from all of us, not only from the ANC. Who are they to claim the struggle as theirs? Who are they to dictate to us about unity while they fail their own fellow-compatriots in advancing this unity?

The ANC has been falsely credited with authenticity they wrong-

ly acquired. Start talking unity with your fellow-compatriots in exile before engaging us in your manipulative futile unity exercises.

We are not so blind to fail to recognise your hidden intentions which have for the past three decades managed to derive a split and discontent from among its members, even up to this day.

The ANC is already trying to tell us that other liberation movements are irrelevant. Much to their desires, the ANC, equally, like the MPLA, disregarded Unita, are breeding a similar ground to disregard other organisations.

Those who choose to talk to the ANC only, are promoting this dreaded state of affairs.

PATRIOTIC

Hammanskraal

WHEN I arrived at the offices of Skotaville Publishers on the third floor of Hampstead Building in Braamfontein this week, Mr

Mothobi Mutloa-tse, director of the publishing house, was manning the reception

He was standing in for the receptionist who was helping out in the preparations for the month-end stock-taking. The visit was about the forthcoming celebration of Skotaville's sixth anniversary.

"Publishing for me was a calling as a black man. I found it a historical mission which I had or as such black people in Africa had to fulfil. We are following on the great vision of the late Mr Mweliso T D Skota who realised that unless Africans — from Cape to Cairo — would only have control over their destiny if they could interpret their own history and culture," said Mothobi.

It was in 1983 when Mothobi with a few others like Jackie Seroke (presently charged with promoting the ideals of the Pan Africanist Congress) and Joe Masinga, armed with the "dream and theory" of publishing books, set shop in Braamfontein and in the vision of Mr Skota founded what today — six years later is widely known as Skotaville Publishers.

Asking Mothobi what his impressions were and which of the overall achievements of Skotaville had impressed him most, the answer was "We have survived," he said.

Edging on the brink of an emotional outburst Mothobi said

"Five years ago when we started publishing we were ignorant. We had

Men with a mission

FOCUS

By MOJALEFA MOSEKI

no publishing experience, no role model in the country or even the whole of Africa to follow. We had to cover new ground on our own and we progressed on a trial and error basis, admittedly with more mistakes than expected."

Then Mothobi and his staff worked on minimising mistakes as they learned the tricks of their trade. But still Mothobi with a frown on his face choked as he strained to retrace events during the five years of survival.

Without any easy answer at hand he lapsed into yet another burst of emotion. "Our very existence was a miracle. Moreso, when black organisations were being clubbed and throttled by the Government. Our perseverance in the face of high-handed harassment and our survival is a living symbol of the resilience of blacks in this country."

Mothobi, sounding like a marketing expert, said that Skotaville owed its success to its donor-authors, donor-readers and donor-contributors.

Black-owned publishing house Skotaville Publishers is six years old

"We are a large family. Skotaville Publishers is not just the board of directors and staff, but the black community at large. Our non-profit making stance justifies that conviction and policy."

He said Skotaville would be rich if it had pursued a profit-oriented policy since its launching in 1983. As an example Mothobi said Skotaville was selling the book published by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) 'How to Read a Balance Sheet' at R10.95 which would cost R39 if any individual was to import it.

Problems

In fact their non-profit making policy went further than that because their objectives for the first five years of publishing were:

- To first make books available by publishing them,
- To generate an interest on all books published by Skotaville, which at present has 53 titles to its credit, and
- Distribute the books and, fourthly, sell them.

One of the major problems facing Skotaville is the distribution of their books because they are considered "not commercial" by most booksellers.

Skotaville books have not been taken up by the libraries, which could mean the sale of 500 books in one province, because they regard them not to be compatible with the way of life led by whites, who are commercially and politically dominant.

Some books such as Dr Mokgethi Motlhabi's 'Black Resistance Against Apartheid', a comprehensive account of the black struggle in South Africa since 1880, was banned and Skotaville had to secure the services of Professor John Dugard at the Wits Centre of Applied Law to fight the banning order.



DIRECTOR Mothobi Mutloa-tse

The book was un-banned and has since become a big seller. It is prescribed at the University of Swaziland and has been recommended as reference material in many universities, locally and abroad.

The first declaration of the state of emergency and its subsequent renewal has affected the sales and distribution of Skotaville books.

Tutu

One book that usually falls foul of this situation is Archbishop Desmond Tutu's *Hope and Suffering*, the first book published by Skotaville in 1983. The book has been translated into nine foreign languages and has gone through three reprints since its launching.

"That is the kind of success that satisfies us. We are not making money, but we have made a name for ourselves and have in fact been able to tell the world about our situation from our own perspective," said Mothobi.

In a rising tone coupled with a waving of hands while at a loss for words to express himself

Mothobi paused then with a jerk forward stated "Without fear of contradiction Skotaville will certainly have some of its authors as members of the future cabinet of this country."

But, if there is anything that has touched Mothobi about Skotaville on the success trail, it is the support that the budding publishing house has had from South Africans who are living in other African countries and overseas.

"It was a vote of confidence on Skotaville when Miriam Makeba asked that her recent book — *Makeba My Story* — be published by us at home. We felt greatly honoured by the request," said Mothobi.

Among the people who approached Skotaville to publish their books is Philip Kgosana, who led the anti pass march in Cape Town in 1960 when he was 23 years old. His book *Lest We Forget* is moving up the sales table and clocking better sales every month since its launching this year.

Mothobi also mentioned a list of academics, professionals and intellectuals in Zimbabwe and Ghana and other African countries who have been in touch with Skotaville with a view to having their books published here.

Concerning their celebrations at Funda Centre on Sunday which starts at 1pm Mothobi said their main task in the coming years would be to "liberate black languages" from the clutches of westernisation and white control of education.

Political comment in the

IS IT TREASON TO OPPOSE APARTHEID?

Somefan
11/19/88 (11#)

The following organisations express their solidarity with the Delmas trialists and restate their rejection of apartheid in all its forms:

Congress of S A Trade Unions (COSATU)	National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU)	S A Catholic Bishop's Conference (SACBC)
Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC)	Justice and Peace Commission (SACBC)	Federation of S A Women (FEDTRAW)
Act to Stop Evictions (ACTSTOP)	S A Council of Churches (SACC)	Black Students' Society (BSS)
Johannesburg Youth Congress (JOYCO)	National Union of S A Students (NUSAS)	Northern Transvaal People's Congress (NOTPECO)
Five Freedoms Forum (FFF)	JHB Democratic Action Committee (JODAC)	Transvaal Anti-PC
Black Sash	Human Rights Commission (HRC)	Anti-Censorship Action Group (ACAG)
Free the Children Alliance	National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA)	National Democratic Movement (NDM)
Students for a Democratic Society		

We apologise to other organisations who would have wanted their names included. We were unable to approach everyone because of time and other logistical problems.

PROTEST MEETING

Allan Boesak * Frank Chikane
 Jay Naidoo * Acquitted Delmas trialist
 FLOWER HALL WITS UNIVERSITY
 7.30 PM TUESDAY 6TH DECEMBER

DELMAS TRIAL

Issued by Delmas Trialists Ad-Hoc Support Committee

I support Umkhonto we Sizwe, says Gordimer

Internationally renowned author Nadine Gordimer, testifying for the defence in the Delmas treason trial in Pretoria's Palace of Justice, acknowledged yesterday that she supported Umkhonto we Sizwe "as part of the African National Congress".

She held that the ANC could not be characterised as a violent organisation viewing its entire history, she noted that the military wing had only been formed in 1961.

"Basically, it remained a non-violent organisation in the majority of its manifestations and actions".

It was in this context that she supported Umkhonto we Sizwe as part of the ANC

Mitigation

Asked about violence practised by the ANC, Miss Gordimer said "I'm against violence and I regret it very much. But having lived here for 65 years I am well aware for how long black people have abstained from violence. We white people are responsible for it."

Miss Gordimer was the fifth witness to give evidence in mitigation of sentence for the 11 men convicted in SA's longest trial. The proceedings took place in a courtroom guarded by scores of policemen.

Hundreds of supporters were barred from entering the building because only 70 seats were made available in court.

Four of the 11, including United Democratic Front leaders Popo Molefe, Terror

Lekota, Moss Chikane, and SA Council of Churches field worker Tom Mantshata, have been found guilty of treason.

Seven more, prominent members of the Vaal Civic Association, have been convicted of terrorism as a result of their role in the recent protests of 1984.

Among the principal findings of Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst in the treason conviction was that the UDF had created a revolutionary climate and had fomented hatred against the Government and its institutions.

In addition, he found the UDF to be a revolutionary organisation that was conceived by the ANC. The dominant leadership of the UDF was considered by the judge to have functioned as an internal wing of the ANC.

Since the UDF had openly sided with the ANC, which was for all practical purposes at war with the Government, the UDF's intent was no less hostile than that of the ANC, the judge ruled.

Miss Gordimer, University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel and kaNgwane Chief Minister Mr Enos Mabuza said they regarded Nelson Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo as their leaders.

Professor Gerwel testified that the ANC was seen, in the community from which he came, as a political organisation rather than a terrorist group.



Staff Reporters



"They are seen as patriots, as men and women of strong conviction who have sacrificed a lot because of their conviction."

He answered during cross-examination "If there were free and fair elections, with the ANC unbanned, I think the chances are very high I would vote for them."

He qualified this answer by saying he believed a cessation of violence would be part of the elections.

Miss Gordimer, who was at the 1983 conference at which Dr Allan Boesak called for a united front, said she had experienced that as a watershed.

"After the long (racial) separatism I'd experienced in the 70s, he held out the hand of friendship to democratic whites. I remember he said with emphasis 'Join us'."

Mr Mabuza, asked if he condoned violence, answered "I condemn it, but respect people who feel there is no other option after democratic procedures have come to an end. I respect the decision of those who have opted for violence."

Commenting on the consequences if the UDF three were jailed, he said he believed this would turn the clock back "in the sense that credible leaders would find it difficult to take part in the negotiation process while other leaders are in exile or in prison."

"The fact that they have been found guilty of treason or terrorism does not change their leadership position among the people of South Africa."

Evidence in mitigation continues today



Author Nadine Gordimer (right) descends the steps of the Palace of Justice, Pretoria, after testifying for the defence in the Delmas treason trial. With her are defence lawyers Ms Frances Potlifer and Mr Zac Yacoob. Picture by Sean Woods

YOUR CHRISTMAS COSTS LESS WITH SOME • YOUR CHRISTMAS COSTS LESS WITH SOME • YOUR CHRISTMAS COSTS LESS WITH SOME

Tearemake 'only

PR645 6/12/88
Produce your
tape expert, Mr
Rajbansi told

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — The James Commission, which is investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates, is due to end its hearing this week.

The former Judge President of Natal, Mr Justice Neville James, will then study the record before making a report to President Botha, probably in about a month.

A surprise announcement came from special prosecutor Mr Anton Ackermann yesterday when he began his re-cross-examination of the Chairman of the Ministers' Council,

Mr Amichand Rajbansi.

Mr Ackermann told Mr Rajbansi that he must get an independent expert to testify on the authenticity or otherwise of tape recordings of telephone conversations and meetings between himself and a Chatsworth businessman. He has refused to answer questions until an expert has declared the tapes authentic.

"The hearing is due to come to an end this week and we would like to have your expert soon," said Mr Ackermann.

The commission adjourned until tomorrow.

Heunis to meet Labour today

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

Cape Times
6/12/88

THE leaders of the Labour Party and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, are to meet in Cape Town today for the first time since they clashed heavily in Parliament in September.

Today's meeting follows a warning in the President's Council last week by LP representative Mr Billy Ross that if the government forced through its proposed laws on the Group Areas Act and squatting the government could expect every law to end up in the President's Council next year.

Mr Ross hinted that the Labour Party, the ruling party in the House of Representatives, would refuse to pass any bill submitted to it.

A Labour Party spokesman said yesterday that today's meeting was being held at Mr Heunis's request.

Members of the party's leadership and the Ministers Council in the House of Representatives, including the party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, will be involved in today's discussions.

The talks are the first since Labour Party MPs walked out of a joint sitting of Parliament to discuss the trilogy of group areas bills in September.

Earlier the party's national executive passed a resolution accusing Mr Heunis of being unwilling to negotiate.

No indication has been given of what will be discussed at today's meeting, but it seems likely that it will be aimed at trying to develop a more harmonious working relationship.

Official manipulated education minister, says Rajbansi

DURBAN — The director-general of the House of Delegates, Mr Peter Wronsley, was yesterday accused by the chairman of the Minister's Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi, of manipulating the Minister of Education, Mr Kessie Ramduth.

Mr Rajbansi was giving evidence at the James Commission investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates. He was being cross-examined by advocate Mr Colin Mann, representing four departments in the administration of the House of Delegates.

Mr Mann drew Mr Rajbansi's attention to a letter from Mr Wronsley to Dr G K Nair telling him not to participate in the efficiency rating of schools.

However, Mr Rajbansi invited Dr Nair to a meeting with Ministers' Council members and top officials to discuss policy matters relating to book orders.

Mr Mann wanted to know why Mr Rajbansi went ahead and invited Dr Nair. Mr Rajbansi said he had come to an arrangement with Mr Ramduth that this meeting should be held, as Dr Nair with his past experience could make a contribution.

Mr Mann produced a letter from Mr Ramduth to Mr Wronsley telling him that Dr Nair should not be allowed to attend the meeting. It was then that Mr Rajbansi accused Mr Wronsley of manipulating Mr Ramduth.

"This is Mr Wronsley's work. He is behind this letter," said Mr Rajbansi. — Sapa

Mr Wronsley work has to be concentrated on the townships, where

Arab schools rig up

Plan- Development and Constitutional Mr Roelf Meyer

Two US
senators

CAPE TOWN 6/12/88

meet UDF

JOHANNESBURG —
Two senior US senators,
Mr Sam Nunn and Mr
David Boren, arrived in
South Africa on Sunday
night on a week-long
fact-finding mission and
have already held meet-
ings with top United
Democratic Front offi-
cials

The UDF's publicity
secretary, Mr Murphy
Morobe, said the two
Democrats asked ques-
tions on a wide range of
issues, including the
possible release of Mr
Nelson Mandela

Mr Morobe said the
delegation told them
while the UDF would
welcome his release,
"we do not see the moves
to release older activists
as an act of benevolence
on the part of the govern-
ment, but rather one
which takes the atten-
tion of the world away
from what is being done
to the younger people
who are expected to take
over the reins."

Gordimer: Ib back ANC

Cape Times
6/12/88
11A

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — There were gasps from the public gallery at the Delmas treason trial yesterday when author Nadine Gordimer testified that she regarded Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo as her leaders.

Ms Gordimer was one of five defence witnesses who gave evidence in mitigation of sentence in respect of the 11 convicted trialists before Mr Justice K van Dykhorst in the Palace of Justice.

Three UDF leaders — Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Popo Molefe and Moss Chikane — and black consciousness activist Tom Manthata were found guilty of treason two weeks ago.

Seven Vaal Civic Association activists have been convicted of terrorism.

The judge found that the UDF had conspired to overthrow the government with violence and that its dominant leadership had acted as the internal wing of the ANC.

Defence witnesses were called yesterday to give evidence on how the UDF, the ANC and the leaders of both are perceived.

'Not violent men'

Ms Gordimer told the court she supported the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe as part of that organisation.

"I myself am against violence," she said, "but I can see that in the circumstances brought about in South Africa by the intractability of the establishment to black aspirations the time had to come when there had to be some sort of military wing."

Ms Gordimer said she did not regard Mr Mandela and Mr Tambo as "violent men".

Looking at historically, she said, the ANC had since its formation in 1912 explored many alternatives and had only formed a military wing in 1961.

"Basically it remains a non-violent organisation in the majority of its manifestations and actions."

Ms Gordimer said she was aware of incidents of violence in South Africa.

"But having lived here for 65 years I am well aware of for how many years black people have abstained from violence."

"So I can understand that it can occur I think we white people are responsible for it."

The rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, said in his evidence that if the ANC were free "the chances are high that I would vote for them".

Asked whether he regarded the government as an enemy, Prof Gerwel replied that it was certainly not his greatest friend.

He said he was not prepared to unilaterally con-

From page 1
denied the ANC's armed struggle

Asked about car bombs, Prof Gerwel said he would not describe himself as a principal pacifist, but if indiscriminate killing occurred, he was prepared to express sadness.

Asked about the effect of youth leadership of adults Prof Gerwel said the adults sat back in awe at the courage and fearlessness of the youths.

Addressing the concept of peoples' power, he told the court that this was the opposition of apartheid.

He said peoples' education had been widely discussed in academic circles and he also dealt with it in his inaugural speech last year.

Prof Gerwel described peoples' education as the most innovative curriculum to come out of the education struggle.

At this stage Mr Justice van Dykhorst intervened and asked Mr Arthur Chaskalson for the accused, what the purpose of this evidence was as he had listened to the "situation" for three years.

Mr Chaskalson replied that the evidence was relevant to sentencing.

Prof Gerwel said the ANC was recognised as a proponent in South African society.

Asked about the perception of the ANC's armed struggle, Prof Gerwel said he could not simply condemn it.

"I feel if I were to advise on South Africa's politics, and unfortunately I am not asked to do so, it would be irresponsible for the ANC to lay down its armed struggle."

Prof Gerwel said the ANC leaders were not perceived as terrorists but as men and women of strong convictions who had sacrificed a lot.

Asked by the judge why he would not condemn the UDF as moderate, Prof Gerwel said it was a slur to be a moderate and he would not want to be one.

Before the start of the case the judge asked the defence and the state whether they had any objection to the presence of the only assessor, Mr W F Krugel. Both counsels said they had no objections and the judge assured them that the decision of sentencing would be his.

Inside and outside the Supreme Court security was tight with riot policemen and dogs controlling a crowd of about 100 people including relatives of the accused who were not allowed into the courtroom.

Members of the press who were not accredited with the SAP were initially not allowed to enter the court building, until the judge had granted them permission to do so.

One of the accused Mr Sam Matlole, 63 was granted leave to see a specialist today.

The trial continues to day.

A policeman bars Bavumile Vilakazi from entering the crowded Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday during the Delmas treason trial

Gordimer backs Mandela

SUSAN RUSSELL

THERE were public gallery gasps at the Delmas treason trial yesterday when authoress Nadine Gordimer said she regarded Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo as her leaders

She was one of five witnesses who gave evidence in mitigation of sentences on 11 trialists before Mr Justice K. van Dijkhorst in Pretoria's Palace of Justice

Three UDF leaders — Patrick Lekota, Popo Molefe and Moss Chikane — and black consciousness activist Tom Manthata were found guilty of treason two weeks ago.

Violence

Seven Vaal Civic Association activists were convicted of terrorism

The judge found the UDF had conspired to overthrow the government with violence and its dominant leadership had acted as the internal wing of the ANC

Defence witnesses were called yesterday to say how the UDF, ANC and their leaders were perceived

Gordimer said she supported the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe as part of that organisation

"I am against violence but I can

see that, in the circumstances brought about in SA by the intractability of the establishment to black aspirations, the time had to come when there had to be some sort of military wing," she added

Gordimer said she did not consider the ANC a violent organisation, nor did she regard Mandela and Tambo as violent men

Looked at historically, she said, the ANC had, since its formation in 1912, explored all sorts of options and formed a military wing only in 1961

"Basically, it remains a non-violent organisation in the majority of its manifestations and actions"

Gordimer said she was aware of violence and added "Having lived here for 65 years, I am well aware of how many years black people have abstained from violence. So I can understand that it can occur. I think we white people are responsible for it"

KaNgwane's Chief Minister Enos Mabuza testified that Mandela and Tambo were respected and regarded as heroes by people in his constituency

He said they were seen as national, not only ANC, leaders

"My attitude to the ANC is that it is a long-standing political organisation," he added

"My movement and I associate ourselves with the aims and objectives stated by the ANC, of a united, non-racial SA, but we are opposed to its strategy of armed struggle"

He regarded the ANC as central to any solution of SA's problems

Negotiate

"I think you have to live in a bantustan where people have been forcibly settled on arid land, where they can hardly subsist, or live in a township ghetto and smell the stench and see the poverty there to understand the frustration and bitterness," Mabuza said

He added that people who left to join the ANC were hero-worshipped. Jailing Delmas trialists would make it difficult for credible leaders to negotiate with government while others were in prison

Mabuza said the fact they had been found guilty of treason did not change the perception of the role they played in the leadership structure

Trial continues today

ANC welcomes releases

Star 6/12/88
LUSAKA — The African National Congress has welcomed the recent release of political prisoners and expressed the hope that Nelson Mandela would also soon be freed.

The release of the long-term prisoners was the fruit of the struggle, it said.

Reacting to news that Mandela may not be returned to prison, but instead be moved to a secure place after his treatment for TB at a private clinic has ended, the ANC said he should be released unconditionally — The Star's Africa News Service (11A)

RENOWNED novelist Nadine Gordimer yesterday told the Delmas treason trial in Pretoria she supported the ANC

Mandela is my leader — Nadine Gordimer

Her replies under cross-examination by the State drew gasps of surprise from the public gallery

Gordimer said she regarded ANC leaders Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela as her leaders

The trial resumed under heavy police security before Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst two weeks after he found three UDF leaders and a black consciousness

activist guilty of treason Seven co-accused were found guilty of terrorism

Streets leading to Church Square were cordoned off by police and a fleet of police vans, cars and armoured vehicles was parked outside the Palace of Justice and around the square

● See Page 4

SUSAN RUSSELL

6/12/88

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12/88

Rent protests (1A)

• From page 1 Churches field worker Tom Manthata created a revolutionary climate and had fomented hatred against the government and its institutions

Seven more, prominent members of the Vaal Civic Association, have been convicted of terrorism as a result of their role in the rent protests of 1984

In addition, he found the UDF to be a revolutionary organisation which was conceived by the ANC, the dominant leadership of the UDF was considered by the judge to have functioned as an internal wing of the ANC

Among the principal findings of Mr Justice van Dykhorst in the treason conviction was that the UDF had

TALKS WITH THE UDF

TWO senior United States senators, Mr Sam Nunn and Mr David Boren, have arrived in South Africa on a fact-finding mission and have already held meetings with top United Democratic Front 'officials,' the US Information Service said yesterday.

The Democratic senators are due to remain in South Africa until Sunday and are due to hold talks with "a wide range of South Africans," the USIS said.

Mr Nunn, from Georgia, is a member of the Senate Armed Services Committee and Mr Boren, from Oklahoma, is the chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

The UDF's publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, one of the four detainees who holed up in the US consulate in Johannesburg for more than a month, was part of the UDF delegation who met the senators on Sunday night.

Questions

Mr Morobe said the Americans asked a number of questions on a wide range of issues and also wanted to find out how the UDF felt about the possible release of ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

The delegation told them the UDF would welcome the decision but felt the Government was being open on the one

older leaders who had been in jail but were working hard at restricting the younger leaders, who would have to take over from them.

"We do not see the moves to release older activists as an act of

benevolence on the part of the Government, but rather one which takes the attention of the world away from what is being done to the younger people who are expected to take over the reins," Mr Morobe said.

The UDF members also drew the senators' attention to the Delmas treason trials of whom 11 were found guilty of treason or terrorism.

Mr Morobe said the senators would not commit themselves to

any comments on the discussions but added that they would "weigh up very carefully" what the UDF had told them when reaching a conclusion regarding their South African visit — Sapa

I back ANC, Gordimer tells court

Archives
6/12/88

111P

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA — Internationally acclaimed writer Nadine Gordimer has testified in the Pretoria Supreme Court in mitigation of sentence for 11 people found guilty of treason and terrorism.

During cross-examination by the State yesterday, Ms Gordimer was asked whether she supported Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military wing. She told the court she supported the ANC and therefore Umkhonto we Sizwe because it was part of it.

Ms Gordimer said she was against violence but "could see the time had come for a military wing".

She told the court she regarded jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela as her leader.

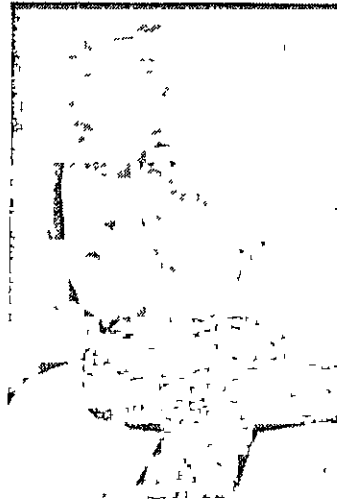
Planting bombs

When counsel for the State told her he was a violent man, she disagreed.

Asked about her perceptions of the ANC planting bombs in the country, she replied "I am against violence. I have lived here for 65 years and in many of those years, the ANC has abstained from violence but I can understand their violent stand."

Ms Gordimer added that the whites were also responsible for the violence in the country.

When counsel for the State asked the writer whether she was aware that Mr Mandela was a self-confessed communist, Ms Gordimer told the court that that was a wrong assumption and based on a state-



Nadine Gordimer

ment by Mr Mandela which had been taken out of context.

She said that the reputations abroad of Mr Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo were "extremely high", and that this was based on the world's perception of the injustices in the country. "There is no moral authority like sacrifice," she said.

Ms Gordimer testified that she had heard "Terror" Lekota speak several times and was impressed by his non-racialism and reasonableness.

Earlier the Rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Jakes Gerwel, told the court that if the ANC were free "the chances are high that I would vote for them".

Asked whether he regarded the government as an enemy, Professor Gerwel replied that it was certainly not his greatest friend.

Ban on publication lifted

DURBAN — The Publications Appeal Board in Pretoria yesterday declared not undesirable the March/April edition of the Muslim publication *Al-Qalam*

Attorneys Sayed and Lockhat of Durban for *Al-Qalam* said the Committee of Publications had concluded that the publication indicated sympathy with the ANC which could lead to the escalation of "The present revolutionary climate" in South Africa

The attorneys said the committee had based its decision on

- Objections to a call for the release of political prisoners
- Objections to the political situation in South Africa being compared to that of Israel.
- The military struggle of the ANC against South Africa being explained

away during interviews with ANC leaders

- That the involvement of children in the South African struggle was described in "flowing language", and
- Objections to a report which claimed that the NGK had stated that certain Christian churches and Islam were being used by the ANC in its armed struggle

In the successful appeal it was argued that the committee's reasons were insufficient, based on an uncontextual reading of the publication and were not in accordance with the guidelines laid down by the Publications Appeal Board — Sapa.

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Slabbert evidence at Delmas trial

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — The severity of the sentence imposed on the three UDF leaders convicted of treason would have a profound effect on the views of the organisation's supporters and sympathisers, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert told the Supreme Court yesterday.

Dr Slabbert, former PFP leader who is a director of Idasa and a visiting professor at the Wits business school, was giving evidence in mitigation at the Delmas treason trial.

UDF leaders Patrick "Terror" Lekota, Popo Molefe, Moss Chikane and black consciousness activist Tom Manthatha were convicted two weeks ago.

Dr Slabbert said the three convicted UDF leaders were not mavericks but shared views held by a substantial number of people.

"I regard the UDF in a sense as the child of the tricameral Parliament. In a short space of time, it managed to capture the imagination of a great number of people in this country and managed to articulate some of the ideals and views of these people."

Dr Slabbert said he viewed the ANC as one of the most important organisations in the South African political context. The trial continues today.

Senior ANC man dies

LUSAKA — The ANC's director of foreign relations Mr Johnson Makathini, died in Lusaka on Saturday aged 56. He had been suffering from diabetes.

Mr Makathini was regarded as a leading moderate on the ANC's executive committee. As one of the organisation's most experienced diplomats, he worked for better relations with the United States and opposed the influence of the South African Communist Party on the ANC.

Sunday Mirror

Senators can't see Mandela

Star 7/12/88 (11A)
By Kaizer Nyatumba

Two US senators in SA on a week-long fact-finding mission, Mr Sam Nunn and Mr David Boren, have been refused permission to see Nelson Mandela.

The two Democratic senators met President Botha in Cape Town yesterday morning, and he turned down their request to see the ANC leader.

A member of the senators' entourage told The Star that an opportunity to see Mandela was one of the main reasons the senators had come to South Africa.

Before they left Washington, they had met SA ambassador Dr Piet Koornhof to discuss the possibilities of seeing Mandela while they were here.

"The senators had made that (seeing Mandela) one of their highest priorities, and that is why they flew to Cape Town so that they could personally press the issue to the President," the member of the entourage said.

A member of the entourage later told The Star that the senators were disappointed with the State President. Asked to give his assessment of Mr Botha, the entourage member said, "All I can say is that Mr Botha looked well-fed."

On their return from Cape Town, Mr Nunn and Mr Boren toured Soweto. They visited Mshenguville, Nancefield Hostel and Funda Centre, and talked with Mrs Winnie Mandela and Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

The director of the US Information Service in Johannesburg, Mr Harvey Leifert, said the senators met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha on Monday.

They discussed "a range of issues such as bilateral relations with the US and the Angola-Namibia talks", Mr Leifert said.

Star 7/12/88

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Slabbert speaks for 'Delmas' four

Peace pledge by ANC is recalled

Staff Reporters

The "Delmas" treason trial was reminded yesterday of an ANC statement a year ago in which it undertook to abandon violence if conditions were such that it could participate legally in the political processes in South Africa.

This was said in evidence by Dr van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party, before Mr Justice van Dijkhorst in the Palace of Justice, Pretoria.

He was appearing for the defence to give evidence in mitigation of sentence for four men convicted of treason and seven of terrorism.

United Democratic Front leaders Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota and Moss Chikane, and South African Council of Churches field worker Tom Manthata have been found guilty of treason.

The other seven are prominent members of the Vaal Civic Association.

Among the principal findings of Mr Justice van Dijkhorst in the treason convictions were that the UDF had created a revolutionary climate and had fomented hatred against the Government. He also found it to be a revolutionary organisation conceived by the ANC. The dominant leadership of the UDF was also considered to have functioned as an internal wing of the ANC.

Since the UDF had openly sided with the ANC, which was for all practical purposes at war with the Government, the UDF's intent was no less hostile, the judge ruled.

Dr Slabbert told the court "I do not support violence or the armed struggle."

He said that having had talks with ANC executive members on several occasions, he was convinced that the decision to wage the armed strug-

gle was taken "as a last resort" after the banning of the organisation and the incarceration of its leaders in the early 1960s.

"I can understand why they committed themselves to the armed struggle. I understand it was a decision not taken lightly."

Dr Slabbert added "I view the UDF, in a sense, as the child of the tricameral Parliament. In a short time it managed to capture the imagination of a great number of people. It articulated the ideals and views of the people."

He said there was no question about the popularity of the UDF.

Asked whether the three key UDF figures in the dock were "mavericks", he said they were not — they represented the views of a substantial number of people.

Earlier, Professor W J Kalk of the University of the Witwatersrand's Medical School, and a senior physician at Johannesburg Hospital, gave evidence in mitigation of sentence for Mr Tebello Ramakgula, a diabetic convicted of terrorism.

Professor Kalk said he had written a report informing the Commissioner of Prisons of problems he had with Mr Ramakgula's treatment while in jail.

Referring to the prison's management of Mr Ramakgula, he said the doses of insulin in relation to meal times were inappropriate, especially because the evening meal was served at 3 pm.

"There was no way a dose of insulin (at that time) could last through to the next day."

Evidence in mitigation continues today.

Star 7/12/88

Prayer meeting held for 11 men

Staff Reporters

Hours after the Commissioner of Police imposed a ban on a Johannesburg support meeting for the Delmas treason defendants yesterday more than 800 people filed into the Central Methodist Church in the city to pray for the 11 convicted men.

The evening service was organised by the churches, while the banned gathering was to have taken place under the auspices of the Delmas Trialists Ad Hoc Support Committee.

Ministers conducting the service battled to keep the emotional crowd within the bounds of a prayer meeting, with the Rev Peter Storey stressing that the venue was a "sanctuary and house of God".

ILLEGAL

The service was brought to an abrupt end after about 90 minutes, when Security Police and members of the riot squad filed into the hall behind Mr Storey.

They occupied the podium as he announced that the prayer service had been declared an illegal gathering. The crowd dispersed peacefully after saying a brief prayer.

NG Sendingkerk Moderator Dr Allan Boesak, who was preaching when the interruption took place, was acclaimed with chants of "Boesak, Boesak, Boesak" as he rose to speak.

TREASON

The convicted include three UDF leaders — Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota and Moss Chikane — and a church worker, Tom Manthata. They have been convicted of treason.

Seven other men, all members of the Vaal Civic Association, have been found guilty of terrorism.

Dr Boesak said he had sat through a day of the trial in the Palace of Justice this week. "My overwhelming emotion was one of utter confusion. I did not recognise the UDF those people were talking about. I did not recognise the South African Council of Churches those people were talking about. I did not recognise the Popo Molefe and Terror Lekota those people were talking about."

Dr Boesak questioned whether opposition to apartheid and resistance to a tyrannical regime were treason, and if mobilising the voiceless also constituted this crime.

SACC general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane said anti-apartheid activists faced a basic dilemma. How was one to resist the system and not fall foul of the law if the "very constitution of the country is unjust and is founded on racist domination".

When the service was ended with the announcement of its illegality, police ripped an SACC banner off the balcony. They also confiscated film from cameramen and photographers.

UDF treasurer Mr Azhar Cachalia and Dr Boesak were briefly questioned by police.

1/16/81 12/81 (11)

ANC radicals, moderates vie for top post

From Gerald L'Ange
Argus Africa News Service

JOHANNESBURG — The death in Lusaka of Mr. Johnny Makatini, The Africa National Congress's director of international relations, has opened a contest between moderate and radical factions.

One of those tipped to succeed him is Mr. Steve Tshwete, a reputed radical who was recently moved to the international relations department from the ANC's military wing.

Although Mr. Makatini was a militant of long-standing, having been among the first group of ANC members to leave Natal for overseas military training in 1962, he has been regarded as a moderate in ANC terms.

11A

8/12/88
Cape Times, Thursday, De

Hendrickse, Heunis to meet in mid-January

Political Staff

THE discussions between the Labour Party leadership and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, are to be resumed again next year before start of the new Parliamentary session.

No statement was issued after their meeting on Tuesday, and no details were disclosed yesterday by either Mr Heunis's office or the Labour leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse.

All Mr Hendrickse would say was that the discussions were "general" and that they had agreed to meet again on January 14.

But, it is understood, pending legislation and next year's session of Parliament were discussed.

A Labour threat to block all legislation following government's move to push the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill through the President's Council was apparently not discussed.

CAPE TOWN (11A)
September 8, 1988 1-7

Rajbansi charges true witness

DURBAN — Chatsworth businessman Mr Dave Pillay, who made allegations against chairman of the Ministers' Council, Mr Amichand Rajbansi and then withdrew them, said yesterday that the charges he originally made were the truth.

In a series of disclosures Mr Pillay said he had been overpowered by Mr Rajbansi's strong character into withdrawing allegations which he made to the Advocate-General and which featured prominently among previous charges made to the James Commission of inquiry which is investigating alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates.

He said since he had come under Mr Rajbansi's influence he had lost almost all his possessions, stood to lose his home and was on the brink of bankruptcy.

He said that he had decided to come to the Commission in a bid to win back his credibility and acceptance in society by telling the truth.

The hearing continues. Sapa

Ch. 70.15. 8/2.81
**Buthelezi
meets freed
PAC leader**

114
JOHANNESBURG —
KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday visited Mr Zeph Mothopeng, the recently released leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, to wish him well

Mr Mothopeng said the meeting, at Chief Buthelezi's request, had centred around black unity

"Chief Buthelezi conveyed to me his best wishes," he said, adding that the Inkatha leader had also sent a letter of good wishes

"Chief Buthelezi also handed me a cheque for R2 000. The gesture touched a chord in me, but I feel there are more needy people," said Mr Mothopeng. He donated the money to the Soweto Old Age Home

"My fundamental task, that of uniting all the oppressed masses . . . remains unchanged," Mr Mothopeng said

Chief Buthelezi said he was pleased to see the elderly, ailing PAC leader — Sapa

Buthelezi meets 'one of SA's black heroes' 119

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday met Mr Zeph Mothopeng, president of the banned Pan-Africanist Congress, who was recently released from prison, and described him as "one of South Africa's black heroes" *Star 8/12/88*

Chief Buthelezi said he was pleased at the opportunity of seeing the ailing PAC leader yesterday because he took every opportunity to respond to requests from old PAC and ANC members to meet them. He would now be able to take Mr Mothopeng's greetings to his own colleagues.

"As a black leader I have always campaigned for the release of all political prisoners. It makes no difference to me what organisation they belonged to when they were imprisoned. Nobody should be in jail for political reasons. One of the fundamental freedoms is the freedom of association as far as I am concerned. Without that freedom there can be no real democracy," he said after the meeting.

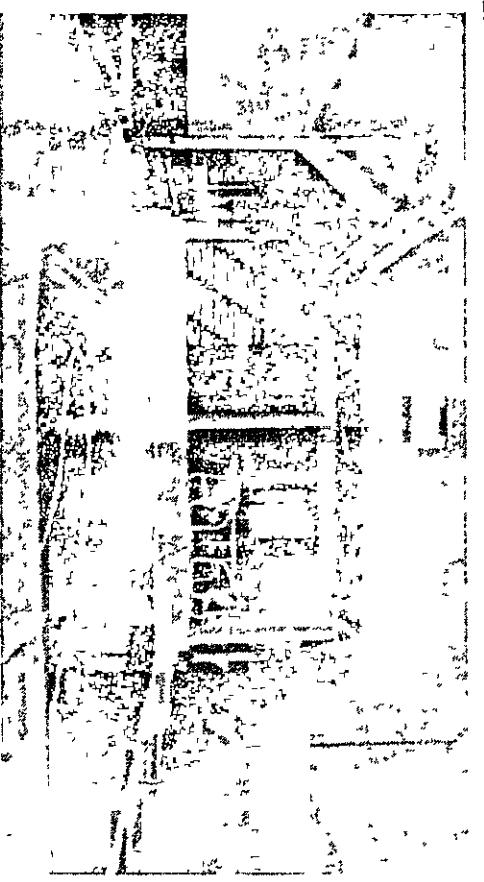
"For me there are some things that are quite be-

yond party politics. I have never been a member of the PAC, but I can still say that Mr Zeph Mothopeng is one of South Africa's black heroes. I was therefore very pleased to be able to respond to his request to see me, to greet him and to bring the smile of black South Africa to him as I expressed my joy that he is now surrounded by his family and friends.

"I am particularly pleased to have been able to see Mr Mothopeng because I regard him as my elder and so wished to shake him by the hand as one who has suffered so much for so many years in jail and as one who has been released from jail for humanitarian reasons."

Chief Buthelezi said leaders like Mr Mothopeng were repositories of some of the wisdom South Africans would need for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The Inkatha leader added that he went to see Mr Mothopeng in the hope that he would add his voice to those calling for black unity — Sapa



The backyard and swimming pool of the house in Paarl where Nelson Mandela will stay

Mandela transferred to a house on prison farm

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was transferred yesterday evening from a clinic to a suburban-style house on a prison farm outside Cape Town.

Aside from stays in hospitals, it marked the first time since 1962 that the 70-year-old prisoner, South Africa's best-known black leader, has lived outside a cell.

Prison officials said Mandela's wife, children and grandchildren would have unlimited access to Mandela at his new quarters, a modern, one-storey staff house on prison property. It has a patio, flower garden and swimming pool. His wife, Winnie, however, rejected the offer and will continue to make the standard 40-minute visits to her husband until he is freed, according to the family's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob.

The Government has been under intense domestic and international pressure to release Mandela unconditionally, particularly

since he was diagnosed in August as having tuberculosis. Officials have indicated that his outright release is not imminent and that restraints on him will be eased in stages so the Government can assess the political impact of his possible freedom.

The transfer was announced by Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, who said Mandela was moved to "a suitable, comfortable and properly secured home" at the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

Mandela has been imprisoned since 1962 and is serving a life sentence for plotting an ANC sabotage campaign against the Government. He has rejected previous offers to set him free if he renounced violence.

Mandela was transferred from Cape Town's Pollsmoor Prison to a State hospital after the tuberculosis diagnosis in August. Later, he was moved to the Constantiaberg

Clinic near Pollsmoor, and Mr Coetsee announced on November 24 that Mandela would not be returned to Pollsmoor when his recuperation was complete.

Reactions to the transfer from opposition leaders were not enthusiastic.

Mr Dullah Omar, a human rights lawyer and leader of the United Democratic Front, called the move "utterly disgraceful and callous".

"What we were looking forward to was his release, not a transfer from a clinic back to prison," Mr Omar said.

Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, welcomed the transfer on humanitarian grounds, but added, "Unless Mr Mandela is given the freedom to participate in the political process of the country, he is denied the opportunity of making his contribution towards the future" — Associated Press

SAHAWARY HRTGAS

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Delmas trialists: evidence led in mitigation

It is logical to unban ANC, says banker

SUSAN RUSSELL

intimately but I had heard of them and know they enjoy tremendous support among black people."

Motsuenyane appealed to the judge to be lenient in sentencing the 11.

"I believe the severity of the sentence would certainly impact on the attitude of people, particularly black people in SA, and could erode the goodwill which this country requires at this time"

Motsuenyane told the court he was a member of the ANC until its banning in 1960 because it

was the only black organisation fighting for black political rights in SA at the time.

The ANC had felt forced to change direction and emphasise the importance of an armed struggle in the early 1960s, after years of peaceful protest, after seeing no visible signs of change from government

Motsuenyane said although he did not personally subscribe to violence, he thought it was merely an ANC attempt to evoke a quick response by the authorities to go to the negotiating table.

Asked by defence counsel A Chaskalson, SC, why these men were regarded as heroes, Motsuenyane said they had sacrificed professions which would have brought them prosperity and spent their lives in jail for the freedom of those in the black community who held the same views

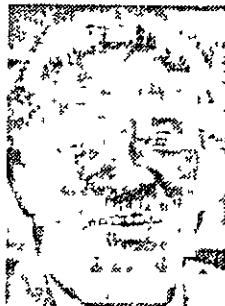
THE ANC had a silent constituency although it was banned, and it was realistic and logical to unban it so it could take part in the creation of a new SA, African Bank chairman Sam Motsuenyane told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Motsuenyane was called by the defence to give evidence in mitigation on behalf of the 11 Delmas trialists.

Referring to the three UDF leaders convicted of treason, Motsuenyane said he had great admiration for the spirit of fortitude with which they had led their organisation

He said: "I have no doubt these young men have a role to play in the SA of the future. My perception (of the UDF) is it fulfils a needful role in our community.

"I did not know the leaders



● MOTSUENYANE

11A
b/200
8/10/88

Moderates, radicals compete for Makatini's job

Rivalry over key ANC post

The death in Lusaka of Mr Johnny Makatini, the Africa National Congress director of international relations, has opened a major post in the organisation to a contest between moderate and radical groups within the organisation

One of those tipped to succeed him is Mr Steve Tshwete, a reputed radical who was recently moved from the ANC's military wing to its international relations department

Although Mr Makatini was a militant of long standing, having been among the first group of ANC members to leave Natal for overseas military training in 1962, he was regarded as a moderate in ANC terms and

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

relatively sympathetic to the Western bloc

He was viewed as a supporter of the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo

Before leaving South Africa, the Durban-born Mr Makatini, who was educated at Adams College, helped organise the anti-apartheid strike in 1961

ANC-watchers are now waiting to see whether he will be replaced by somebody close to Mr Tambo or one of the younger group who are not always sympathetic to the organisation's president Mr Tshwete is thought to be popular among the latter

Dr Ian Phillips, lecturer in political science at the University of Natal and an expert on the ANC, believes that other candidates to succeed Mr Makatini include Mr Stanley Mabizela, the ANC representative in Harare, Mr Tamu Sindelo, the Kenya representative, and Mr Sindiso Nsenyane in East Germany

Dr Phillips cautions against the simplistic view of a split in the ANC between the old guard led by Mr Tambo and the younger group, and says Mr Tambo has wide support across the board within the organisation

Mr Makatini will be buried in Lusaka on December 14

ANC resorted to violence to evoke quick response

THE African National Congress held views for a democratically-elected government and only resorted to violence to evoke quick response from the South African Government to come to the negotiating table, Mr Samuel Motsuenyane, president of Nafcoc and the African Bank, told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday. (1/A)

Testifying in mitigation of sentence of the 11 accused in the Delmas treason trial, Mr Motsuenyane made an impassioned appeal to Mr Justice van Dijkhorst to impose "as light and considerate" a sentence as possible.

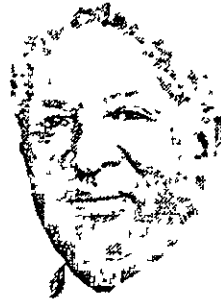
"These young men have a role to play in reconciling differences between races and a severe sentence will erode the spirit of goodwill

By MONK NKOMO

which we require," said Mr Motsuenyane

Himself a former member of the ANC, Mr Motsuenyane said although he did not subscribe to violence there were justified grievances that sparked off violence throughout the country during 1984 and 1985

He said "Violence took place against



Mr MOTSUENYANE ... belonged to ANC.

increased tension in the land and during the creation of the Black Local Authorities and the Tricameral Parliament which people did not accept That is to be regretted because we businessmen suffered greatly and among the victims were business-

men who lost their lives and property"

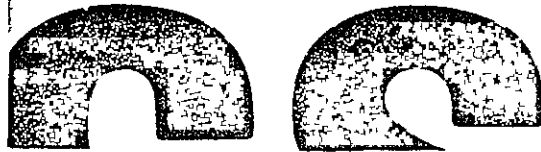
Three of the 11 men convicted of treason include UDF officials Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota and Moss Chikane Another accused is Tom Manthata, field worker of the South African Council of Churches

The seven others who were all found guilty of terrorism charges are members of the Vaal Civic Association

Mr Motsuenyane, who met ANC leaders, including Mr Oliver Tambo in Lusaka in 1986, said the organisa-

● To page 2

ns that ...



ANC on violence (1/A)

● From Page 1
Sewetan 8/12/88
 tion enjoyed great respect in the black community and some of its leaders, including the late Chief Albert Luthuli, were held in high esteem because of their commitment to a non-racial and democratic government in South Africa.



Mayor is snubbed

FACTFILE - by Norris McWhirter

VETERAN politician and newly elected mayor of Daveyton, Mr Shadrack Sinaba, is out in the cold — snubbed by his council officials since he was elected to the hot seat after the October municipal elections.

A bitter Mr Sinaba told the *Sowetan* how he had "not had the co-operation" of officials on

SOWETAN Reporter

his staff and among others listed the following as examples

- He had not been given the Mayoral Fund to change the signature of the outgoing mayor or even been informed about the balance thereof.
- He and his council members have not been formally introduced to the council employees.
- He had recently missed a function in a neighbouring municipality where he had been invited because he was not told by his officials.

He only learned about the invitation when the hosts contacted him later

BELGIAN BOBBI SHEIKA DENA AL FASSI, 23 FILED THE HIGHEST EVER ALIEN CLAIM OF \$3000 AGAINST HER FORMER HUSBAND SHEIK MOHAMMED AL FASSI, 28 IN LOS ANGELES IN FEBRUARY 1987. THE SHEIKS INCLUDE 14 HOMES IN FLORIDA AND NUMEROUS PRIVATE AIRCRAFT. SHE ALONE AWARDED \$91 MILLION (PAGES 457-458)

MRS ANNE BASS FORMER WIFE OF SID BASS OF TEXAS IS SAID TO HAVE REJECTED \$535 MILLION (PAGES 44/45) AS TO MORE QUALITY TO BE IN DECEASED MRS BASS WHO HAD BEEN WIDELY REPUTED

THE LARGEST DIVORCE SETTLEMENT \$300 MILLION WAS AWARDED TO SORINA KHANSHOGGI WHICH WAS PLUS PROPERTY FROM HER HUSBAND ADMAN

Drawn by DICK WILLINGTON



RTIOO Same

on this Yotaka Music Centre.



Mr SINABA . . . "not told about invitation"

S

118 Smith 8-14/12/88

From LOUISE FLANAGAN EAST LONDON.

Transkei courts this week acquitted three men of terrorism and ANC related charges in two separate trials.

In one case, Mhleli Madaka was facing charges of undergoing military training in Angola and East Germany in 1983.

Co-accused Dr Warren Zohle Nombe was charged with harbouring Madaka and illegally possessing arms and ammunition.

Both men were acquitted at the end of the state's case because of a lack of evidence.

Madaka has been in custody since he was

Three freed on ANC charges

detained more than three years ago and is the longest-serving Transkei detainee. Nombe has been held since February 1987.

Nombe was also charged with harbouring several other ANC guerillas in February 1987 in the Sterkspruit area.

The charge sheet named these guerillas as Wehle, Mpilo and Streaker.

Evidence in other Transkei security trials has identified "Mpilo" as Mazizi Attwell Maqhekeza.

Maqhekeza was named by South African authorities as helping another guerilla escape from Willowvale to Lesotho after a 36-hour shootout in January last year.

Gunned down

Maqhekeza was subsequently gunned down by unknown men in his hospital bed in Maseru, while under police guard.

In the second case, heard by the same magistrate, Mr E S Ndengezi, Lungisa Matutu was acquitted on charges of membership of the ANC and undergoing military training.

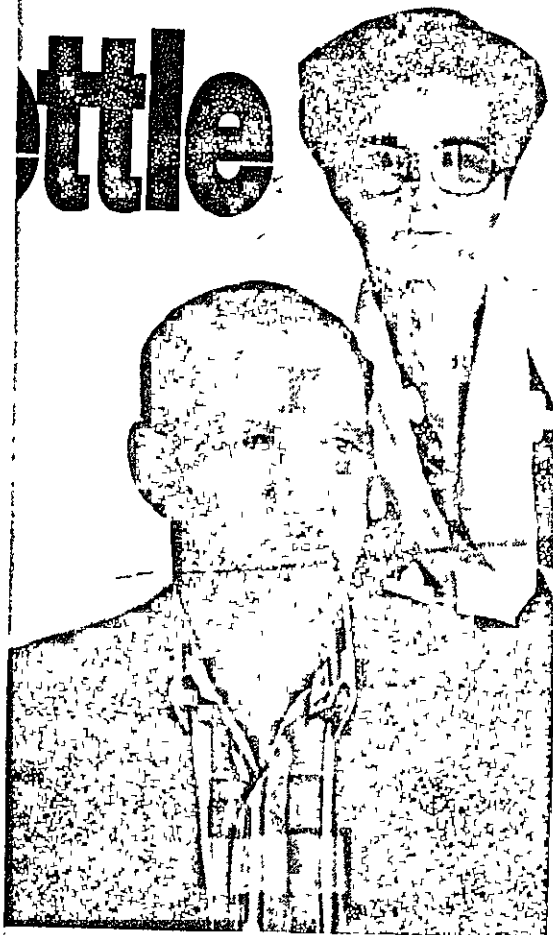
Matutu was also acquitted due to lack of evidence.

During the trial, Matutu claimed he had been originally arrested in Bophutswana, handed over to South Africa and then passed on to Transkei police without any formal extradition procedure.

His lawyers alleged he had been severely assaulted during interrogation. At one time he had been so ill it was impossible to consult with him — ELNEWS

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Jacobus and Maria Joseph

UDF: THE ROAD AHEAD

By A M OMAR

MANY questions have been asked since the judgment in the Delmas Treason Trial last month

Does the judgment mean that all the activities of the UDF and its affiliates are illegal? Does it mean that UDF equals the ANC?

Forgetting for a moment the severe restrictions placed on the UDF under the emergency regulations, does the judgment effectively illegalise the UDF and all its activities?

Back to Rivonia

When Terror Lekota and others were found guilty of treason by Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst in the Delmas Treason Trial, many minds went back to the Rivonia trial.

It is not a shocking irony that while the whole world today clamours for the release of the Rivonia trialists, Nelson Mandela,

Ahmed Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Andrew Mlangeni and Wilton Mkwayi, and with the government so clearly on the retreat on this issue — not knowing which way to turn — the same scenario appears to be repeating itself

Is history going to repeat itself? Are we going to be plunged into another period of darkness, demoralisation and pessimism which followed the outlawing of the ANC, PAC and the Rivonia trial in the early 1960s?

These, too, are questions which are being asked

Short answer

The short answer to the question is an "EMPHATIC NO".

There is no way in which history is going to repeat itself

The 1980s is a very different period from that of the 1960s. There is no way, I believe, that our struggles can be pushed back

Despite three years of state of emergency, the regime has still not been able to wrest back the initiative from the mass democratic movement

Despite setbacks, differences and often divisions, the mass democratic movement — and particularly the vast rising progressive trade union movement — grows in strength and poses the biggest challenge the apartheid government has ever faced

Delmas or no Delmas, the struggle will go on. Archbishop Desmond Tutu echoed the thoughts of thousands of South Africans when he said that if the accused in the treason trial were guilty of treason, then we are all guilty of treason

The Delmas judgment

I have not read the whole of the judgment but only summaries. Whatever one says must be read subject to this limitation

It is clear, however, that the judgment is of a far-reaching nature.

In the 1 521 page judgment, Van Dijkhorst dealt with the uprising in the Vaal Triangle in 1984

Unrest in the Triangle — known

as the industrial heartland in South Africa — was sparked off primarily by the Vaal Civic Association, an organisation with close links with the UDF

The VCA meetings, said the judge, followed the same pattern as the UDF meetings. They were persistent in their hatred for councillors and black local authorities and supported riots against the system

They never deplored violence

According to the judge, councillors were falsely blamed and they (the civics) strove for their resignation

Violence was a necessary, intended facet of the uprising in the townships throughout South Africa

Who are the enemies of the UDF?



Third, the centrality of the unions has resulted in the emergence of a clear conception of the relationship between workplace and community struggles

Resulting from Cosatu's criticism of the ad hoc heavy relations between national executives during the National United Action campaign, both the UDF and Cosatu have committed themselves to building the united front from below

This involves turning the shop steward locals into centres of organisational gravity for a wide range of community, student and women's struggles

Fourth, complementing the "going deep" tactic of building working class leadership in the front from below, there is the "going wide" tactic of "broadening the anti-apartheid front" into sectors not previously affected by the democratic movement

The envisaged proceedings of the banned anti-apartheid conference would have contributed immeasurably to building the "unity of the people"

Fifth, given the importance security planners attach to "socio-economic upgrading", many local organisations have returned to their organisational roots by taking up these basic grassroots issues

In areas where civics and unions are strong, urban struggles of this nature have led to what has become known as "local-level negotiations".

Sixth, one of the most remarkable developments in 1988 has been the emergence of "policy thinking".

This refers to the widespread view that transformation may be on the agenda, but for this to bear fruit, the democratic movement is going to have to commit material and personnel resources to the task of research-based studies of alternative policies.

This will help to dispel the liberal view that the left is only interested in reactive responses to the status quo and not proactive formulations of alternatives

The recently published Constitutional Guidelines are a crucial part of this process

For the state, the survival of organised mass opposition outside its control poses a serious problem.

After three years of emergency rule, the security planners have yet to deliver the promised annihilation of the democratic movement

To this extent, the emergency may have averted a defeat for the state, but it has by no means ensured that desired victory

We should expect many more battles before this stalemate is broken

By mid-1986 it was patently clear that the Coetzee doctrine had failed

Reform was in ruins, mass struggles were on the march and the state had lost the political initiative.

It was in this context that a new security strategy was devised, the so-called "counter-revolutionary warfare" position.

The "counter-revolutionary warfare" starts from the strategic assumption that the conflict has developed into a form of warfare between a state that has lost the initiative and a broad section of the population (about 20 percent of the total) committed to "revolution"

The task of the state, a booklet circulated by the Department of Military Intelligence argues, is to coordinate all resources and apply them to the task of "regaining the initiative"

Three tactics were used by the new "counter-revolutionary war" strategists.

(a) "eliminate the revolutionaries", that is direct physical removal of the leaders from their communities,

(b) upgrade townships to eliminate the "legitimate grievances" that revolutionaries are presumed to

"exploit" - the so-called "winning-hearts-and-minds programme ("Wham"), and

(c) counter-organise the communities to install pliable "leaders" and organisations that the state can recognise - no independent oppositional organisations should be allowed to form

In short, by the time the state of emergency was declared, the Coetzee doctrine had been replaced by a position that advocated the denial of all space for resistance.

The Van Dijkhorst judgment fits in perfectly with this policy because it effectively makes all extra-state politics treasonable

If this would have been done during the early 1980s, it may have succeeded

However, to implement it after a prolonged period of extensive mobilisation and organisation, the state is trying to cut at the root of what has become a vibrant grassroots political culture that depends on the small group of national leaders to a very limited extent

What does this all mean for the democratic movement?

Does it mean the space for legal

mass struggles has been eliminated? Does it mean the strongest pillar of the struggle has been removed? Or must the space for legal mass struggle be defended and widened despite the new "counter-revolutionary warfare" position?

As 1988 reaches a close, it is clear that the democratic movement has not been smashed to smithereens like the prophets of doom predicted

It may have been severely battered in some regions (especially the Eastern Cape) and lines of communication undermined

But the fact remains that some of the key institutions of the democratic movement have survived relatively intact, the alternative press, progressive churches, trade union federations, a number of local community organisations, alternative cultural and academic organisations, almost all the service groups and the white political organisations

All these institutions were at one time or another under direct threat

Some of the key indicators of popular resilience include the three-day June stayaway, ongoing rent boycotts and the low election poll during the municipal elections

More significantly, however, is the ongoing sense of resistance, re-organisation, determination and a culture of defiance one finds across the country

Now that some detainees are coming out, this confidence will most definitely receive a boost.

The publications and speeches of the democratic movement have articulated the building blocks of future struggles.

First, there is the new emphasis on "organisation before mobilisation" One hears in different regions the notion that a weakness of 1984-86 was that mobilisation moved too quickly ahead of organisation

This left organisations vulnerable to attack. The solution is carefully to re-build sound organisational foundations over a long period of time

Second, Cosatu has become the central driving force of the structures of mass mobilisation

Deftly exploiting contradictions between capital and the state during the emergency era, the unions have not only defended their space to organise, but they have been able to give political direction during trying times

RELEASE MANDELA CALL

● From Page 1
the world wants is for the State to release the man so that he cannot only have the privilege of seeing his family, but that he can participate fully in the life of the nation. That is what the demands remain."

Mandela's wife, Winnie, said in a statement through his attorney, Ismail Ayob, that she would not take advantage of the prisons service offer of unlimited visits with him.

"She does not intend taking more than the 40-minute visits (one a month) that she had been allowed in the past until all political prisoners are given the same privileges," Ayob said.

"She said that there was no word on the fate of Mr Mandela's colleagues — Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba and Elias Motsoaledi, who were also sentenced to life imprisonment at the same time as Mr

Mandela" (11A)

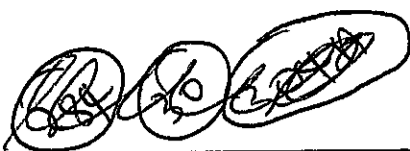
All were convicted in 1964 of sabotage and plotting to overthrow the Government.

The Government has been under intense domestic and international pressure to release Mandela unconditionally, particularly since he was diagnosed in August as having tuberculosis.

However, officials

have indicated that his outright release is not imminent and that restraints on him will be eased in stages so the Government can assess the political impact of his possible freedom.

Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said last July that Mandela had served enough time to pay for his crimes — Sapa-AP



THE irony of the Conservative Party's victory in several municipalities during the October elections is it's been a triumph for the National Party.

The Nats have turned the CP's attempts to reintroduce visible public apartheid (VPA) into a public relations exercise which makes them look like bleeding-heart liberals to their friends abroad and those inside South Africa who desperately seek signs of genuine change.

In fact, it is part of the "red-herring factor" on which the Nats thrive. For long, black political analysts have noted how the Nats take a sidetrack on the road to reform.

The small CP victory has given the Nats a wonderful opportunity. The Nats have asked the CP if it is aware of the wider consequences, namely tighter international economic sanctions, and damage to domestic race relations.

That question suggests two things: one that sanctions and damaged race relations are the result of the reintroduction of visible public apartheid, not the Nats' own crude apartheid policies, and two, that the Nats themselves no longer practise apartheid and their policies are accepted by blacks.

The Nats avoid the question: "If we are good enough to work, eat, play and patronise cinemas in white-designated areas, why are we not good enough to live and attend schools there?"

From the old Terrorism Act in the 1960s through to the current Internal Security Act and the Emergency regulations, it has been a criminal offence to advocate economic boycotts and sanctions. Yet this week, SABC news bulletins have been repeating statements by black groups that they will "withhold" their economic support of white businesses in Boksburg.

That smells fishy. It suggests that it is kosher to call for boycotts of "racist" whites, but not of the other. In fact, recent municipal and parliamentary elections show that some 80 percent of whites support either the VPA of the CP or the less visible public apartheid of the Nats. "Withholding economic support" is

CP racism lets Nats off the hook

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA, editor of the Indicator

a euphemism for sanctions and boycotts. Should extra-parliamentary groups call on its followers to withhold economic support from all white businesses until the Nats introduce genuine democracy, they would soon face charges of treason.

The red-herring factor is repeatedly seen in issues such as the Menlo Park affair. An African youngster at a predominantly white private school is barred by the Menlo Park school from its athletics track.

A huge outcry follows — orchestrated by the SABC which warns about greater international sports isolation. The government

State president PW Botha

gives the impression that it believes in nonracialism by criticising the Menlo Park move.

White sportspersons who claim they are not interested in politics suddenly dance to the Nat/SABC tune, endorsing anti-Menlo Park petitions.

The central issue is overlooked. If our children are acceptable enough to run alongside whites on a school athletics track, they are good enough to sit alongside whites in the same classroom.

The Nats in fact are doing exactly what the CP says it will do.

Black classrooms are chronically

overcrowded, white schools are closed for lack of pupils. Instead of doing the obvious, the Nats expect us to applaud when they reveal how much more money they are pumping into black education.

Similarly, Baragwanath Hospital is chronically overcrowded.

The Nats announce again that another hospital will be built in Soweto. Amid the applause, little mention is made of under-utilised hospitals for whites which could give some relief to black patients.

In the Lenasia/Ennersdale area, more than 300 000 people have waited more than 30 years for a

public hospital. A 98-bed facility is eventually built.

For more than two years, the provincial authorities responsible for the hospital plead that insufficient funds or staff (or both) are available to open it. Eventually, after widespread public protests, the House of Delegates steps in to announce that it has found enough money to open the hospital next January.

The announcement comes during the run-up to the municipal elections. Residents are expected to believe that the good Nats have made it possible for their good, apartheid-entrenching HoD to properly utilise the tricameral system created by the Nats in the first place.

The government creates an artificial housing shortage in our areas by delaying proclamation of land for development.

Eventually, some land is made available. The government announces a subsidy for first-time home-buyers. We are expected to applaud it for its generosity.

Then the government introduces a red-herring: henceforth, the land will be developed by the private sector, thus pricing new houses out of the range of many ordinary workers.

Now the developers, and the employers who cannot provide housing loans, are seen as the culprits, not the policies of the Nats which force the economically worst-off to stay furthest away from their workplaces.

These red herrings are gobbled up, not by those of us who often wonder what the fuss is about when they can't feel the benefits of Nat "reform", but by Pretoria's "friends" abroad, and whites in South Africa who are annoyed by our refusal to be grateful.

For most of us forced to accept Nat rules and regulations, the CP apartheid uproar is a red herring. Never mind VPA, if all residents of Boksburg, Pietersburg, Springs, Brakpan and elsewhere were allowed to vote in the municipal elections irrespective of race, the CP wouldn't be in control.

Nor, for that matter, would the Nats. And that is the crux of Nat-style reform.

By SYLVIA VOLLENHOVEN

RIGHT-WING people look different, they talk different and they are, well, just different.

This is not prejudice, it is a fact gleaned from a whole day of research in Boksburg.

I sometimes imagine that in hell there are several trains.

One of the worst ones has a giant snorr standing on a platform shouting "Boksburg Brakpan, Benoni, Springs. Alle stasies".

Journalists like to make the world think they speed to each assignment with confidence and ease.

But if one is told to go to Boksburg and ask the whites there what they think, the confidence evaporates and you hope you have a minor accident that lands you in hospital with a badly bruised (but easily mended) something.

However, instead of the hordes of Neanderthal lynchings and racists who run prying blacks out of town, I found nothing but confused, embarrassed and panicky whites in Boksburg.

They look so different because they are so different.

At the famous Boksburg Lake I found only people who wanted to share their stretch of water with everyone.

For those of you who have been too bored to follow this "Dallas of the Dumps" saga, the story so far is

that the CP won the majority in the Boksburg town council and now they want everything — the parks, lakes, halls, sitkamers, waslappies, broekies, prayers etc — to be so spierwit that most of the CP would not qualify for the usage and abuse if this were to happen.

Maybe that's why they look so different.

The "other" Boksburg whites, whatever they might be, say they have always been such nice people but you know how it is.

One does not get involved in politics when one lives with one's soft-spots firmly ensconced in that "taste test" stuff.

No real butter in Boksburg.

Outside of a minority of serious people, white politics does not

involve thinking or skill. It is only a gut reaction — invariably prehistoric — to discomfort or comfort.

In Boksburg black people have been threatening, for the first time, to remove the Rama.

But if you went to Boksburg last week you would swear that this is a town where the whites are clandestinely part of the struggle and the CP was just a passing, alien aberration.

They had a mass meeting — there was, I swear, an *amper*-fist in the air — where a Nat smoothie spoke of "solidarity".

I could quote some sentiments that sounds mind-boggling for Boksburg but the truth is that the whites were being punched in the pocket, the only attack they

understand.

A successful consumer boycott had been launched and one statistic stands out. In one day, one of the big supermarkets had their usual average takings for December 1 drop from R90 000 to R18 000.

Don't worry to ask where the police, dogs, guns, Casspirs and emergency regulations disappeared to.

This was a boycott in support of, well, the Nats who were sore that they lost this verkrampte town to the CP who in turn want to put the shame back on apartheid.

So next time the anti-apartheid activists get together, they should probably make sure they include some whites whose sole qualification is that they are anti-CP.

Amandla! As Boksburg's whites amper join struggle

South
8-14/12/88

Oh, I almost forgot about The Lake, the centre of the controversy.

It is a flat, dull, greenish, dirty stretch of water with manicured lawns, a lifeless fountain and old coloured light bulbs that do not get turned on at night.

We, down here, can afford to be snotty about their "sacred" scenery.

In any case, why do they desert such shrines to descend on us, round about now?

Who knows what alien forms could be defiling the Lake in the next few weeks while they moan about our beaches, sizzling fat and falling short of waistlines, decent manners and the exchange rate.

OK, I have one admission to make to the Boksburgers (surely there should be another term, this one makes them sound edible), I was really scared ONCE.

An African photographer and I were crossing one of the cute wooden bridges, next to a silent, giant wheel on the water (with more dead, coloured light bulbs).

A man in blue overalls, swinging a heavy chain started coming towards us.

We were mesmerised by the chain. My micro-second mental flashes went through a range of possibilities. Did we jump into the dirty green water? The worst.

Or did we face the chain — no choice for people like us who have actually braved evolution.

The man passed without incident.

The thousands of people who voted for the far-right were nowhere in sight during my study in Boksburg.

One white woman said they were all "down the munes".

Looking at the week's massive loss of profits for the business people, they are more likely down in the dumps.

AZASM (11A) ANNUAL INDABA 8/2/87

THE Azaman Students Movement will hold its 5th annual congress in Durban at the weekend

According to the organisation's president, Mr. Thami Hlekiso, the gathering will start tomorrow and end on Sunday

The theme of their congress will be 'Concretise and Advance for a Socialist Cause'

Among the issues to be tackled at the congress will be the restrictions on some of their members as well as restrictions placed on community-based organisations.

Transport will leave from Lekton House, No 5 Wanderers Street, Johannesburg tonight, Mr Hlekiso added. Those who want to make bookings should contact their office at (011) 23-0013.

Gwala's vision of non-racial SA

By MARIMUTHU SUBRAMONEY

DURBAN - Former ANC leader Harry Thembu Gwala, released from life imprisonment last month, believes co-operation with homeland leaders in the future cannot be completely ruled out

Interviewed at his home at Edendale, Maritzburg, Gwala said "They are not in the democratic movement and their tactics at the moment are not intended to advance the cause of the broad democratic movement

"But the future is a difficult thing to predict because politics is not static. It has its slow movements and its own changes

"Some of these people who are engaged in the homeland structures and councils may find it necessary, wise and prudent that the only way is for all the people to come together in a democratic struggle to build structures for a democratic South Africa

"One cannot say what they are going to do tomorrow and what they are not going to do"

Referring specifically to the KwaZulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Gwala said "If I'm not mistaken Buthelezi was in the Congress. In fact, we worked with him when he was dismissed from Fort Hare as a member of the ANC Youth League

"One may not rule out completely the day when there might be that kind of co-operation again"

On the question of "black unity", Gwala said democrats should not fall into the trap of the "ruling class" who preached only about groups and group rights

"I don't go by that terminology. I go by the terminology of the people of South Africa

"Some whites are great patriots and many others are daily becoming great patriots. I do not regard them as whites but as South Africans

"At the same time there are reactionary blacks

"You can't say because they are black their actions should be excused and you can't say because those are whites you cannot work with them

"I judge people on merit and not by the colour of their skins

"When the Kliptown Congress of the People was held we had white people, Coloured people, Indians and Africans drafting the Freedom Charter

"Similarly, in the UDF you find people of all colours working together to bring about a non-racial and democratic society and government.

Harry Gwala

"If people can work together in these structures there is no reason why they cannot work together in the future as South Africans"

His view of a future South Africa was one where the present philosophy based on group rights was eliminated

"This does not overlook the fact that people have their cultural and national backgrounds," he explained

"While these would be accommodated the whole aim would be to have a South African nation irrespective of colour or race"

Gwala said it was essential for negotiations to take place but he did not think the Pretoria government was ready for this

"The government is not prepared to negotiate with the ANC. It only lays down and dictates terms on which the ANC should come to it," he said

"It says renounce violence when by and large people have not been violent. It says lay down your arms and come and work within the structures of the country

"These are apartheid structures. The government expects people fighting against apartheid to surrender to these structures

"I believe the ANC should only negotiate on the question of creating a non-racial South Africa which would have a single parliament, where blacks and whites would meet as South Africans"

Gwala said jailings, detentions and the general onslaught against democratic forces had not made South Africans succumb to apartheid

"Since the 1950s people have been engaged in various forms of action to bring about a democratic South Africa

"Even today that is what is happening. Otherwise there would not be a state of emergency, the white community would not be armed to the teeth

"The people are committed and they cannot no longer go back. People are committed to the way forward. I believe the future of this country is bright"

Gwala said he would like to see a mixed economy in South Africa

Private enterprise should develop side by side with public ownership of some of the concerns which would be to the benefit of the people

"The economy must be to the benefit of all South Africans and not just the few," he said - PTSA

As the bells ring out 1988, the democratic movement returns to its corner like a wounded boxer - battered and stunned by the twin blows of the February restrictions and the judgment in the Delmas trial

Whereto in 1989? What are the State's tactics and what new strategies are required to keep alive the hope and the struggle for a nonracial and democratic South Africa?

Eminent advocate Dulla Omar, newly-released ANC veteran Harry Gwala and Wits political scientist Mark Swilling examine the prospects:

By MARK SWILLING

CONTRARY to all expectations, the broad tide of events has swung in favour of the democratic movement.

There may be a new terrain of struggle and a realignment of forces in the power bloc, but this has not destroyed the democratic movement's capacity to recover and regain its balance.

The continued political bankruptcy of state reform and the absence of legitimate alternatives from the so-called moderate capitalist world, means the demand for a non-racial democracy as articulated by the democratic movement remains centre-stage of the political debate.

It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate the changing political terrain

Clearly the shifts in state strategy are partly responsible for these changes and should, therefore, be comprehended before any sense can be made of current events and prospects for the future

During the early 1980s, state security policy was framed by the "Coetsee Doctrine" - that is the policies advocated by the then chief of police, General Johann Coetsee

Coetsee argued that the conflict in South Africa could best be described as being between a legitimate state and a small effective group of insurgents

His "counter-insurgency" (or "Coim" position) was designed to protect the state from insurgency.

The Coetsee doctrine advocated the use of propaganda, intelligence, infiltration and reform to achieve two objectives

* The "demoralisation" of the insurgent without removing him from his community,

* The "driving of a wedge" between the radical leaders and their support-base

This strategy of political brinkmanship believed, therefore, that it was possible to outwit the opposition without forcibly banning the organisation or eliminating the leaders

Hence the decision to allow civics and then the UDF to form. This security policy rested on the absurd view that mass struggle had nothing to do with legitimate grievances and was all a product of insurgent agitation

A NATION IN CRISIS

The Southern African Society of Journalists welcomes the release of New Nation Editor Zwelakhe Sisulu, but is gravely concerned that his release is conditional and urge that he be granted full and unrestricted freedom.

The SASJ is also still deeply concerned about two other journalists still in detention — Brian Sokuto and Veliswa Mhlauli — and remains ever hopeful that they and all other detainees, will be granted their release.



SOUTHERN AFRICAN SOCIETY OF JOURNALISTS



Top ANC officials for Makatini burial

From MONO BADELA

JOHANNESBURG — Senior representatives of several governments are expected to attend the funeral in Lusaka next Wednesday of Johnnie Mfanafuthi Makatini, director of the ANC's Department of International Affairs. Makatini, the fourth most

powerful man in the ANC, died in the Zambia University Teaching Hospital last Friday. He was 56.

Makatini had suffered from diabetes and had been due to travel to Harare in Zimbabwe on December 5 for medical treatment. He went into a coma a week before he died.

Diplomats are speculating that he will be succeeded by the ANC's Head of Information Thabo Mbeki.

Makatini was born in Durban in 1932 and studied at Natal University. He lived in Greyville until he was moved under the Group Areas Act. He did a BA degree majoring in

Social Work and History, and later taught at a black high school in Amanzimtoti.

Makatini was active in the ANC Youth League while it was still legal.

He left the country after the banning of the ANC and was sent to head its first foreign office in

Algeria.

From there he became the ANC's first representative at the United Nations until 1985 when he returned to Lusaka to head the exiled movement's International Department with 39 foreign missions. Makatini was married with one child.

Chief Buthelezi visits Mothopeng

Soweto 8/21/68

KWAZULU's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday visited Mr Zeph Mothopeng, the recently released leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of Azania to wish him well and to speak about black unity, both the Chief and Mr

Mothopeng said yesterday.

Mr Mothopeng said yesterday's meeting, at Buthelezi's request, was informal and centred around black unity.

"Chief Buthelezi conveyed to me his best wishes," Mr Mothopeng

said, adding that the Inkatha leader had also sent a letter expressing his good wishes.

"My fundamental task, that of uniting all the oppressed masses . . . remains unchanged," Mr. Mothopeng told Sapa.

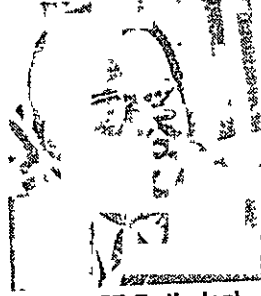
"Chief Buthelezi also handed me a cheque for R2000. The gesture from the Chief touched a chord within me.

"I felt, however, that there are more needy people than me

"I then deem it fit to donate the cheque to the Soweto Old Aged Home," he added. — Sapa.



Mr ZEPH Mothopeng



CHIEF Buthelezi

Alleged ANC cell man briefs Minister

Sowetan

8/12/88

HPA

A MEMBER of the alleged Broederstroom ANC cell, cracked by the police earlier this year, briefed Gaborone's Minister of External Affairs, Dr G Chiepe, in Pretoria on the ANC's activities

Mr Hugh Lugg had had "a confidential conversation" with Dr Chiepe on Monday, the

senior chief deputy Commissioner of the South African Police, General Johan van der Merwe, confirmed

Dr Chiepe and other members of her government were in Pretoria to discuss security matters with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr

Adriaan Vlok and the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan

She told newsmen after the meeting at the state guest house that she still did not know of insurgents using Botswana to infiltrate South Africa, as Pretoria had repeatedly alleged Her government was "studying the whole situation, using whatever information we get."

She did not refer to her meeting with Mr Lugg

Police sources have indicated that the investigation into the Broederstroom four — who allegedly amassed an arsenal including a Sam 7 missile in a rented house west of Pretoria — had virtually been completed, and that a court appearance was imminent — Sapa

THE two senior United States senators presently in South Africa on a week-long fact-finding mission, Mr Sam Nunn and Mr David Boren, have been refused permission to see imprisoned African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela

The two Democratic senators met the State President, Mr P W Botha, in Cape Town and Mr Botha turned down their request to see Mr Mandela

A member of the senator's entourage in Johannesburg said

11A ~~33~~
**Senators
can't see
Mandela**
Sowetan 8/12/88

**SOWETAN
Reporter**

that an opportunity to see Mr Mandela was one of the main

reasons the senators came to South Africa

Before they left Washington they had met with the South African Ambassador, Dr Piet Koornhof, to discuss the possibility of seeing the ANC leader while they were here, he said.

"The senators had made the seeing of Mr Mandela one of their highest priorities, and that is why they flew to Cape Town so that they could personally press the issue to the president," the member of the entourage said



THE secretary-general of the Institute for Contextual Theology, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, accepted an honorary degree from a West German university last week "on behalf of the workers, the poor, the youth, the church and the struggling women of South Africa."

Addressing a Press conference Father Mkhathshwa said he had been "pleasantly surprised" when the senate of the University of Tübingen informed him he had been unanimously selected as one of the candidates for the award

Biko

He was able to collect the award on Wednesday, November 30, after he was granted a passport and permission to travel, but restricted to West Germany and only allowed to leave the country for eight days

He had previously been refused a passport to travel to the US in 1987 to collect the Steve Biko Human Rights Award which he eventually received in October this year.

THE United Democratic Front is crucial to the resolution of South Africa's political crisis, says UWC's rector Jakes Gerwel

In evidence in mitigation of sentence of the accused in the Delmas Trial in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, this week, he said the strong following the UDF developed for its nonracial policy was a "social miracle".

"I think that I can best explain my opinion by referring first to my own political experience and development I was at university in the early 1960s. That was a time of total repression and domination of blacks by whites.

"It was a time of political paralysis. It was demoralising and embittering for blacks and there was little if any sense of a nation ever being able to come to together. It was a situation that had within it the seeds of deep conflict."

He said the doctrine of black consciousness took root at universities and colleges.

"Many of us were drawn into the movement. That happened to me in 1972. I had just started teaching at that time and was attracted to the new movement," he said.

"This was very much a youth phenomenon and at the centre of it was SASO, the national students' organisation which developed on the campuses of black universities."

The fact that the resistance was led by youth had important repercussions within the black community.

"Large sectors of the adult and parent population sat back in awe at this development and did not know how to cope with it. The youth saw the adults as having done nothing to change their situation and as being responsible for the predicament in which the youth found themselves at that time."

"After the crushing of the black consciousness movement, the adult community began to show concern about this unnatural situation, in which the youth had assumed the role of leaders of the liberation struggle. Gradually, new structures began to emerge in which adults took a prominent position."

"They believed that it was possible to mould a very divided society into one united nonracial nation and in 1983 when the UDF was established it became the most important carrier of this idea."

He had always viewed the UDF as a body operating lawfully within the

UDF crucial to solving crisis — Gerwel

South
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country and which had embodied in organisational and practical terms the ideals of a non-racial society. It had publicly committed itself to non-violence on many occasions.

Gerwel said "I have seen such statements I have always believed them to reflect the basic orientation of this organisation."

His political position was one where he was publicly connected with the UDF.

He continued "In my view, one of the most important functions of the UDF has been to defend and operate within legal space in order to advance the struggle against apartheid and the impetus towards a negotiated settlement of the basic problems of this country."

"I have always understood the UDF to be an organisation committed to functioning within the law and to using non-violent methods to promote its ideals of a non-racial society."

"I have attended a number of UDF meetings and have spoken on UDF platforms. I have mixed with leaders of the UDF and nothing in my own experience has ever led me to see the UDF as a violent or unlawful organisation."

With the emergence of the UDF and the growth of its influence there was an increasing awareness that adults could not leave the struggle to the youth.

He said "There were attempts to

threatening on the campus and without their assistance things would have been much worse than they were."

Gerwel said since the launch of the front, UWC had been a strong UDF campus.

"I consider 'people's education' to be the most exciting educational innovation in this country. Students firmly view education as being a primary part of the apartheid order."

"Initially the rejection of this was manifested by protest and withdrawal (through the medium of boycotts) and then came the first attempts at alternative programmes. This has in recent years developed into the more mature phase of 'people's education' which I view as a more responsible and constructive phase."

"As distinct from the boycott phase, the people's education movement has involved adult participation to a large extent and which has given it a solid and constructive base."

He said he related the concept of "people's power" to that of "people's education" in the sense that "people's power" was notionally the opposite of apartheid.

"People's power simply means that the people as a whole shall govern themselves. It is therefore appropriate that there should be an education policy consonant with it."

Gerwel continued

"This is broadly what 'people's education' is about, namely that the ideological underpinnings should be that of the ideals of a unitary democratic structure and not of one based on fragmentary politics and separation."

"I have never considered 'people's power' to mean that violence forms any part of the articulated base of student activism on my campus and negotiation has always played a central role in relation to this."

Gerwel said the decision of the ANC to incorporate a platform of armed struggle had to be viewed within the particular historical situation.

"I would not be prepared to condemn the armed struggle. Historically, it would be irresponsible for the ANC to unilaterally terminate its involvement in the armed struggle, unless there was a clear commitment to negotiations."

"In my view, the ANC in fact has very little 'culture of violence' I regard it primarily as a political body with a military wing."

He said he regarded the ANC as the "dominant presence in this environment."

He publicly promoted the idea of the unbanning of the ANC.

"I regard this as essential for it to play its role as negotiating partner and believe strongly that this would be possible," he said, adding that the tricameral parliament increased rather than diminished the potential for conflict. He, along with many others, rejected it.

"At the time I feared that the exclusion of blacks from the political process and the implications of such exclusion at a time of reform would lead to violence. It came as no satisfaction to me when that prediction proved to be correct," he said.

"In my view the divisions and polarisation within the nation will be sharpened and exacerbated by the taking of action against the UDF and its leaders."

"I fear that harsh action against the leaders of the UDF will lead to bitterness on the campus, to further polarisation, and to disruptions. The removal of leadership figures such as Pope Molefe and Terror Lekota and the crushing of the UDF will leave a void which will be filled with the seeds of anger and bitterness and in time lead to greater violence and polarisation within our society."

11A

Do the Soviets and the



UCT political scientist Hermann Giljomee attended the recent conference of a delegation of Africanists from the Soviet Union, a group of Afrikaner academics and the ANC at Leverkusen, West Germany. In the latest edition of SA Foundation Review he provides an insight into Soviet relations with SA and the ANC.

The changed US-Soviet relationship, particularly after the rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev and the Russian leader's programme of *perestroika*, has given rise to speculation that the Soviet Union may drastically curtail its involvement in Third-World trouble spots — including south-western Africa. This speculation has been fuelled by interesting new noises emanating from Moscow, suggesting a changed Soviet perception of the SA conflict.

Briefly summarised the following statements attracted attention

- In June 1986 Gleb Starushenko, a deputy director of the Africa Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, at a Soviet-African conference for "Peace, Co-operation and Social Progress," encouraged the ANC to "work out comprehensive guarantees for the white population" and implied that Russia was not pressing for "broad nationalisation of capitalist property".
- In mid-1987 Victor Goncharov, also a deputy director of the institute, distanced himself from Starushenko's remarks, however, he stressed the need for a political solution in SA and criticised the tendency of some ANC members to give priority to a socialist revolution rather than to national liberation, and
- Another prominent Africanist, Boris Asoyan, in October 1987 published an article described by analysts as a sober and

realistic assessment of white politics in SA

The German analyst Winrich Kuhne, who recently had extensive talks with Soviet bureaucrats and academics, has come to the conclusion that there has indeed been a significant shift in Soviet policy towards southern Africa under Gorbachev. Writing in a publication of the Washington-based Center for Strategic and International Studies, Kuhne concludes that the shift is away from giving priority to the armed struggle in order to promote revolution, towards an emphasis on finding political solutions in southern Africa. Kuhne ascribes the Soviet shift to its fear that an escalating violent struggle may destroy the southern African economy and, more importantly, may seriously impair the improved Soviet relationship with the Western world.

The Soviet statements and subsequent academic assessments have caused the inevitable round of confusion in SA. Some cautioned against accepting the Soviet statements at face value, since they may amount to nothing more than the Soviet bears assuming a more cunning, and hence more deadly, guise. Others opted for optimism. Russia, they argue, is in such serious trouble that it is prepared to do anything to revitalise its economy. For these optimists it is not too much to believe that Russia is prepared to reduce significantly its support for both the Cubans in Angola and the ANC and even to collaborate with the SA government in the marketing of minerals that both countries produce.

The Leverkusen conference shed considerably more light on the question of Russian involvement in southern Africa under the Gorbachev regime. First, it is clear that Russia will continue to be a player in any major political and diplomatic conflict in the region. Things are different from a decade ago in that Russia no longer seeks world domination. Nor is it locked in an all-embracing ideological conflict with the US over

THE BOMB.

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ANC understand?

the comparative virtues of capitalism and communism. However, Russia is still engaged in a great power rivalry with the US. It will not allow any of its clients to suffer a humiliating defeat, nor will it significantly curtail its backing if this could be interpreted as leaving them in the lurch.

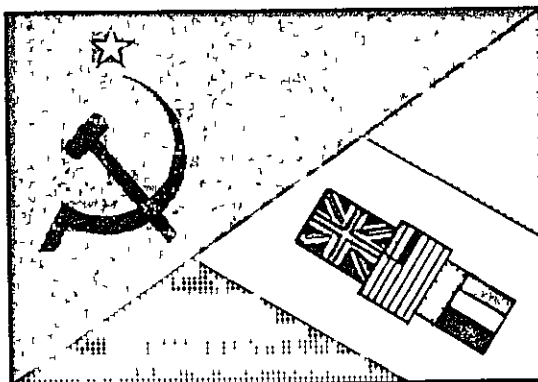
Secondly, the Soviets will continue to press the ANC to effect a transition by means of negotiations rather than through attempting to overthrow the State. The Soviets will, however, maintain their support of the armed struggle as the only means by which whites could be brought to the negotiating table.

Thirdly, there is little inclination on the side of the Soviets to warm up to the SA government or do anything that could be seen as a condonation of apartheid. In his controversial speech, Starushenko had proposed a post-apartheid parliament that might "consist of two chambers — one formed on the basis of proportional representation and the other possessing the right of veto on the basis of equal representation of the four communities." At Leverkusen the Russian delegation went out of its way to stress that Starushenko was merely voicing his own opinion and that this speech had caused considerable embarrassment.

There can be no doubt that the ANC leadership must have been deeply dismayed by this speech. Its delegation was clearly delighted that the Russians were so determined to distance themselves from the speech. Yet there is a puzzle here. The kind of proposal made by Starushenko well sums up the minimum political demands of a large majority of whites. It can be safely assumed that they would not be prepared to sit down to negotiations with the ANC if anything less were on offer.

The ANC's new constitutional guidelines make it clear that the movement resolutely rejects any political system that even vaguely

resembles the Starushenko lines. It accepts a multi-party system, but rules out the recognition of any party that mobilises on the basis of racial, ethnic or regional distinctiveness. The ANC does not favour a pluralist reconstruction of SA in which groups seek an accommodation, like the Jacobins of the French revolution, it demands the destruction of the ethnic vestiges of the old order.



The puzzle is this: how could the ANC (and the Russians) hope for a political settlement in the absence of any proposal that would remotely interest whites? The answer is simply that there is a pervasive belief among the ANC leaders (also evident at the Dakar meeting of July 1987) that at one stage or other the nerve of the whites, and of the Afrikaners in particular, will crack. The ANC hopes to facilitate this process by setting itself up as the government-in-waiting. It is ready to receive a whole range of bodies, organisations and spokesmen for internal groups or movements. It listens sympathetically to representatives, and it offers to take reasonable account of the wishes of the whole range of public opinion once it becomes the politically decisive force in SA.

What is missing on the part of the ANC is a definite political or ideological commitment. It denies that it is an African national-

ist movement. It denies, somewhat implausibly, that it is unduly influenced by communists. It professes to be a nonracial movement whose bona fides must be accepted by whites who should only be too glad to expunge their apartheid sins.

If the issue at stake had been the captaincy of a bowls club, one could rally support for the sentiment of nonracial fair play. It is another matter when it comes to political control of a country and presiding over its vast assets. But there seems to me precious little chance of gaining support for the ANC's positions and sentiments among the average white SA voter.

As a generalisation one can say that he is neither overburdened by guilt nor prepared to abandon his ethnic affiliation, nor willing to jeopardise his material interests. It is a mystery why the ANC believes that such a creature would put everything at risk by accepting the ANC's new constitutional guidelines at face value.

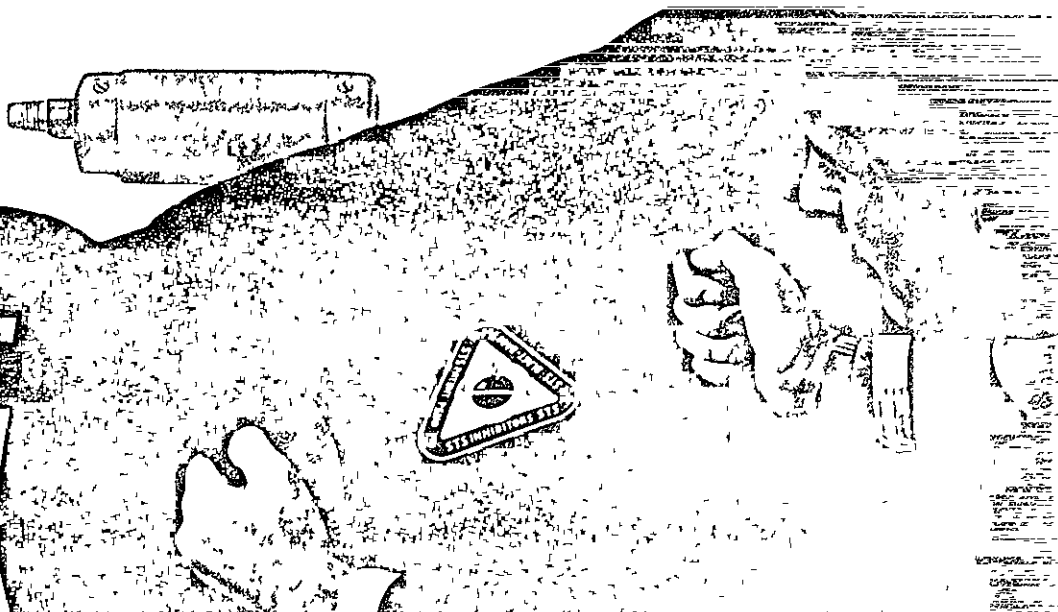
It is an even greater mystery why the Soviets appear to back the ANC strategy as the best route for achieving a political settlement.

Gorbachev has destroyed many of the myths of Soviet history, but the reputation of Lenin as the master strategist is still very much intact. And it was Lenin who insisted that communist revolutionaries should always promise a large measure of autonomy or self-determination to national minorities as part of the process of winning them over for radical reconstruction.

It was a strategy that worked time and again when communists in Russia, China, Vietnam, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia struggled to win power. One has to assume that the Soviets consider SA some special case where tried and tested strategies are not to be applied. The basis for this conviction was unclear to at least this observer at Leverkusen.

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HBGAA 12284/M



AS THREE COURT MEN go to jail, a last message

By VUSI GUNENE
and JENNI TENNANT

THE three United Democratic Front leaders in the "Delmas" treason trial began lengthy prison sentences yesterday with a message of hope for South Africans.

UDF former publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment, while the former national secretary, Popo Molefe, and former Transvaal secretary Moss Chikane were sentenced to 10 years each.

South African Council of Churches and black consciousness stalwart Tom Mambutha was sentenced to six years imprisonment. All four were convicted of treason.

Vaal activist Geina Malindi was jailed for five years for terrorism. The other six accused received five-year suspended sentences for terrorism.

"We view the present trial as an interim affair," the UDF three said in a joint statement, released from the dock before they were led down to the cells.

"Somewhere in the future lies a date when black and white South Africans will take a second look at these moments of our history.

"They will evaluate afresh the events now in contention and our role in them. And since the privilege will belong to them, they will pass final judgement. We are convinced that there will be contrary to the present one.

"They will vindicate us," the three said.

As the judge left the court, cries of "Viva UDF" broke out and the crowd began singing the national anthem, *Mkosi Sikelele i Afrika*. Police tried to hurry the men down to the cells but well-wishers kept stopping them.

Tears rolled down the faces of defence counsel, advocates George Bizos and Zac Yacoob, as the crowd sang and the trialists raised their fists and shouted "Amanzila".

Family and friends wept as they left the building. The day was marked by tight security.

The trial was also attended by a number of political and trade union leaders and a large group of diplomats, including US ambassador Edward Perkins and British ambassador Robin Renwick.

The sentences came at the end of a 45-minute address by the judge during which he praised some of the trialists — and cited them as potential future political leaders — before sending them down to the cells.

The sentences will mean that some of the most prominent political leaders of the 1980's are out of circulation, following South Africa's longest and most expensive trial.

They have already been in custody for three years.

However, of the 18 original accused from the Vaal, all but one of them are out of prison. Three were acquitted at the end of the state's case, and another eight were acquitted two weeks ago.

In granting suspended sentences on the other five, Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst imposed severe conditions on the six — amounting to the equivalent of banning orders.

This is unprecedented, and will effectively remove the six from political life for five years without sending them to prison.

The conditions are:

- They may not be found guilty during the period of their suspension of treason, sedition, public violence, terrorism, sabotage and subversion in contravention of the Internal Security Act, or arson;
- For two years they may not attend any meetings except church services



Jerry Thlopane, one of the acquitted trialists, negotiates with police to allow relatives into the packed courtroom

in their own parishes and sports meetings.

● They may not, during the next two years of their suspended sentences, be with more than 20 people.

● They should not issue public statements nor give any interviews to journalists during the first two years.

● They may not serve as executive members on any political or youth organisations, or participate in the activities of those organisations for the first two years of their sentences.

● They may not participate in, or organise, any form of public protest action.

In sentencing the UDF leaders, Justice Van Dijkhorst said he accepted that the UDF was seen by many as working towards a negotiated settlement and that the demise of the UDF may well slow the process of reform.

"I accept in order to work out through a process of negotiation a peaceful co-existence, a credible leadership is needed. I accept the UDF is seen by many to have an important role in the process.

"I fully appreciate that the demise of the UDF may leave a void which may take a number of years to fill. It may well be this will slow down the process of reform, as was alleged.

"For this consequence, the UDF has itself to blame," he said.

The judge said the UDF was a viable movement with a message which merited attention. He acknowledged that the UDF had a large and enthusiastic following but said it chose the path of violence instead of moderation and thereby did South Africa a disservice.

In sentencing Mambutha, the judge cited a previous conviction for public violence.

An application for leave to appeal will be heard on Monday.

FREE
Caroline Gillman

RAVE REVIEWS INTERNATIONALLY

WHITE TRIBE DREAMING

A COMPASSIONATE HISTORY OF THE AFRIKANER

White Tribe Dreaming is the work of 8th generation Afrikaner, Mandy de Villiers. Follow him as he traces the history of his own ancestors and

PAC man injured in prison clash

JERF MASEMOLA, South Africa's longest serving prisoner, is in crutches following a clash with other jail inmates at Johannesburg Prison on November 29.

According to sources, Masemola was admitted to the Baragwanath Hospital and his knee was encased in Plaster-of-Paris.

Masemola, who was convicted for high treason for Pan Africanist Congress activities in 1963, has been in

By MUSA ZONDI

prison a for longer period than African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

●Prison Services comments: "It is confirmed that the prisoner was slightly injured in an accident involving fellow prisoners on 29 November 1988, for which he received the necessary medical treatment."

88/2/51-6
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Crowd in court breaks into song after sentences passed

By Adele Baleta and Jo-Anne Collinge

Three leaders of the United Democratic Front, convicted of treason, were jailed for a total of 32 years yesterday as the "Delmas" trial, the longest in South African history, came to an end.

Another six of the 11 men convicted walked out of the Palace of Justice, their entire five-year sentences conditionally suspended in an unusual move calculated by the judge to help "heal the wounds" in the Vaal Triangle townships.

The remaining two men in the dock received lesser jail terms than the UDF trio.

The usually restrained crowd in the gallery, prompted by a shout of "Viva UDF" from one of the men in the dock, broke into song immediately after sentence. Hastened by a large number of riot police, the men descended to the cells to the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

The UDF publicity secretary, Terror Lekota, received the stiffest of the sentences — 12 years. National secretary Popo Molefe and a former Transvaal secretary, Moss Chikane, were jailed for 10 years each.

Violent option

"The extreme penalty would be wholly unwarranted," Mr Justice K van Dykhorst said of the UDF three.

"I hold the view that these accused, especially Molefe, can in the future play a constructive role on the political scene, provided that they by their words and deeds forswear the violent option and act within the law. The sentences should therefore not frustrate this possibility."

Lekota's heavier sentence was imposed because he had a previous conviction for terrorism.

The fourth man found guilty of treason, South African Council of Churches worker Tom Mantlata, was jailed for six years.

Three UDF leaders jailed for treason

Found guilty of a single act of incitement and for his identification with the UDF's arms, Mantlata was convicted for a "less serious class of treason."

In convicting the UDF men of treason, the judge declared the Front a revolutionary organisation which held policies which included the violent option and were intended to render the country ungovernable.

The three had been part of a "conspiratorial core" of the UDF. This had fomented a revolutionary climate and had organised in order to lead mass action against Government institutions.

"Violence was a necessary, intended and inevitable component of such action by the masses," the judge said.

The judge said he accepted that the need for credible leaders to find peaceful solutions to national problems.

"I accept that the UDF was seen by many to have an important part in that process. I fully accept that the demise of the UDF might leave a void which will take a number of years to fill," the judge commented.

The judge said the UDF was a viable organisation with a message that merited attention, but "it chose the path of violence instead of moderation. Thereby it did South Africa a disservice."

He agreed there was cause for some leniency for Molefe, Lekota and Chikane because none had been shown to have planned or executed direct violence.

In a rare move, Mr Justice Van Dykhorst conditionally suspended for five years the entire five-year sentence imposed on each of six Vaal Triangle leaders convicted of terrorism. They are David Mphahlele, Naphali Nkopane, Tebello Ramakgula, Sekwadi Mokoena, Jacob Hlangane and Sam Matlole.

The seventh, Genia Mahand, will serve his five-year term because of a previous conviction for public violence.

Conditions

The light sentences for the Vaal accused were explained by the judge. "I hold the view that the Vaal accused should as soon as possible be reintegrated into their community and that the wounds caused by the Vaal riots should be healed sooner rather than later. In this respect I would rather err on the side of leniency."

The conditions applicable to the suspended sentences are that the men must not commit specified security offences for five years, that for two years they must not attend public meetings, except church services and sports gatherings, that they may not in the next two years give interviews to the press, that they may not play a leading role in political, civic and youth organisations, they may not participate in public protests.

An application for leave to appeal will be heard on Monday.

Tragic consequences foreseen as Delmas accused are sentenced

Star 9/12/88

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STAFF REPORTERS

The sentencing of the Delmas 11 in Pretoria yesterday has met with strong criticism from inside South Africa and abroad

And serious questions have been raised over the conditions attached to suspension of sentence of six of the trialists — described by lawyers as being “tantamount to imprisonment”

Archbishop of Cape Town Desmond Tutu has promised to “leave no stone unturned in an effort to overturn the sentences and conviction”

He said “If what these guys have done is treason, then we are guilty of treason I am not going to hold back in what I intend doing”

Others have expressed anger and sadness, and predicted tragic consequences following the “criminalisation of leaders of such calibre”

The United States Embassy hoped the Appeal Court would “take into consideration the broader implications of the case” in reaching its decision

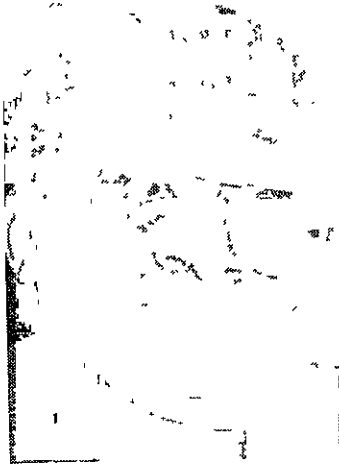
An embassy spokesman said that even though the sentences were not as harsh as they might have been, the judgment was still regrettable because of “its grave implications for those who were committed to pursuing political change through peaceful means”

“We have been in constant contact with the defendants and know them to be men of goodwill working peacefully for a non-racial, democratic South Africa”

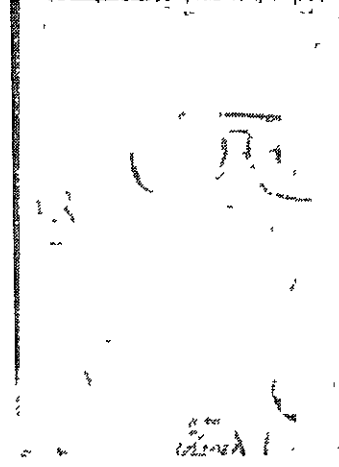
The Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said the sentence on the three convicted of treason was extraordinary, in that they should not have been tried at all

“I believe that if you allow this to happen, that means that we will concede that everything we have been doing is criminal, is illegal, is wrong, is treasonable”

Mr David de Villiers, a senior practising counsel in Cape Town and a member of the eight-man leadership committee of the National Democratic Movement, said “The condi-



Archbishop Desmond Tutu
I will leave no stone unturned



Dr Allan Boesak they should not have been tried at all

tions of suspension of the terrorism sentences are certainly novel. Lawyers generally have regarded such banning restrictions, when imposed by the executive, as making serious inroads on civil liberties and the rule of law

“Whether the courts themselves should employ such mechanisms in suspending sentences might well prove to be a serious bone of contention”

He regretted “it was necessary at all to impose sentences on men of such calibre”

Progressive Federal Party spokesman on justice Mr Dave Dalling said the sentences were “likely to attract condemnation from most observers in the outside world and would certainly do nothing to assist the process of reconciliation in SA”

He added “It is peculiar and inappropriate for a judge in a case such as this to attach conditions to the suspension of a sentence which prevent the convicted person from pursuing lawful activities

“It is certainly a new and unhappy departure for a judicial officer to utilise restrictions used in the past by the political executive of the country”

A Black Sash spokesman said “The criminalisation, jailing and restricting of these leaders who have courageously opposed apartheid will have tragic consequences for our society

“We are angered and sad-

dened by the sentences. We know, admire and respect many of the accused and believe they are important figures on the South African political scene who have a vital role to play in the resolution of conflict here”

Lawyers for Human Rights director Mr Peter Mothle deplored the restrictions, which were “tantamount to imprisonment”

He said “The crux of the evidence led by the defence in mitigation is that the UDF and in particular the Delmas trialists should be released to society to make a contribution to the efforts aimed at reaching a peaceful resolution of the country's problems. It would have been proper to have the entire sentences suspended and keep the trialists out of prison”

Mr Mohammed Valli, one of three men who sought refuge at the US Consulate after escaping from detention, said he was taken aback that some people regarded the sentences as light, as they were “extremely harsh”

“Government needed this trial to justify its arbitrary action against the UDF,” he said

He added that there were thousands of people who were involved in the same activities that the accused had been convicted for, but they were free

The sentences would not act as a deterrent as heavier sentences dished out in the past

had failed to stop the freedom struggle

Mr Cassim Saloojee, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, an UDF affiliate, described the sentences as tragic. Despite the judgment, his personal experience left him convinced that the UDF was a non-violent organisation

He said many anti-apartheid activists had seen the UDF as the last-ditch non-violent initiative

“These sentences make it almost impossible for people outside of Government-created structures to attempt to work non-violently and peacefully for change”

Dr Max Coleman, of the Human Rights Commission, pinpointed the judgment as the problem — not the sentences.

He said the 11 were given relatively light sentences because the Government wanted to project a better image abroad. The sentences were light in comparison with the judgment

The National Union of Mine-workers expressed “deep anger and shock” at the sentences meted out to “democratic and peace-loving men, regarded by the majority in this country as outstanding and responsible leaders”

“They have been found guilty of expressing the will and hopes for the future of black South Africans. If this is treason, then surely the Government should charge every black South African”

The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry refused comment “as yet”. The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut refused to comment

In a statement the National Union of South African Students condemned the sentences “in the strongest possible terms” and said the removal of representative and responsible leaders had serious implications for the possibility of peaceful change in SA

“The implication of the Delmas judgment is that almost any extra-parliamentary opposition to apartheid will be regarded by the Government as a criminal activity”

Black student movements restricted

By Deborah Smith and Carina le Grange

The Black Students Society (BSS) at the University of the Witwatersrand

and the Rhodes University Black Students Movement (BSM) have been effectively banned by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriarn Vlok

Mr Vlok prohibited the organisations from carrying on or performing any activities whatsoever in terms of an order issued under the Security Emergency Regulations

The restriction was published in yesterday's Government Gazette

An executive member of the BSS said she could not comment on the action before the whole executive had met. A meeting was scheduled today

The restriction is an attack on the rights of all students, the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) said in a statement yesterday

Nusas made the statement on behalf of the stu-

dent representative councils of the universities of Wits, Cape Town, Rhodes, Natal, the University of Stellenbosh Nusas local committee and the University of Pretoria-based Students for a Democratic Society as well as the Concerned Students Group at the University of Port Elizabeth

"The bannings are an attempt to stifle the non-racialism being built on these campuses and the unity between black student organisations and Nusas BSS and BSM, our sister organisations at Wits and Rhodes, have consistently worked to create non-racial student unity and have provided popular and responsible student leadership. These organisations represent black students in all areas of university life

As free as a bird in a cage

9/12/88
 Political Staff
 MR. NELSON MANDELA'S
 transfer to a "safe" house on
 government property close to
 the Victor Verster Prison
 complex near Paarl is an-
 other step to freedom

But, in the meantime, it appears he will be about as free as a bird in a cage — able to move about in the confines of the complex, but not able to get out.

The 70-year-old ANC leader will live in a white-painted suburban house with garden and pool and access to a variety of facilities, making him the most privileged prisoner in South Africa.

A Prison Services spokesman confirmed yesterday that Mr Mandela remained a prisoner. "Mr Mandela's juridical position remains unchanged."

He also confirmed that visits to Mr Mandela by members of his immediate family would be "unlimited".

Mrs Winnie Mandela has however rejected the offer, saying she will confine herself to the standard 40-minute visits she has been allowed in the past.

"The possibility of other visitors is not excluded, but will be subject to prior approval and consideration of other factors," said the spokesman.

Asked what the "other factors" were, he said the Prison Services would prefer to say no more.

Asked if Mr Mandela would have freedom of movement, he replied "Mr Mandela is not confined to the house and has free use of a wide range of facilities."

When questioned about these details he said "To give more details would be to intrude on Mr Mandela's privacy".

The Prison Service has said it remains responsible for Mr Mandela's security and care and providing his meals. However, Mr Mandela could, at his own cost, order and have food prepared in the house.

A spokesman said that an interview with Mr Mandela was "not opportune".

Britain yesterday welcomed the decision not to return Mr Mandela to prison, but repeated its call for his unconditional release and the unbanning of the ANC.

"The fact remains, however, that he is still a prisoner no matter how comfortable his accommodation."

"We remain convinced that his complete and unconditional release — and the release of all political prisoners — is essential if peaceful change in South Africa is to be achieved," it said.

Rev Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, said "Transferring him to Victor Verster prison, to live in one of the prison cottages there still makes him a prisoner."

"The General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said Mr Mandela was still a prisoner, and called for his unconditional release as well as that of all political prisoners."

Staff at the offices of Mrs Mandela's lawyers said arrangements were being made for Mrs Mandela to fly to Cape Town on Saturday to visit her husband.

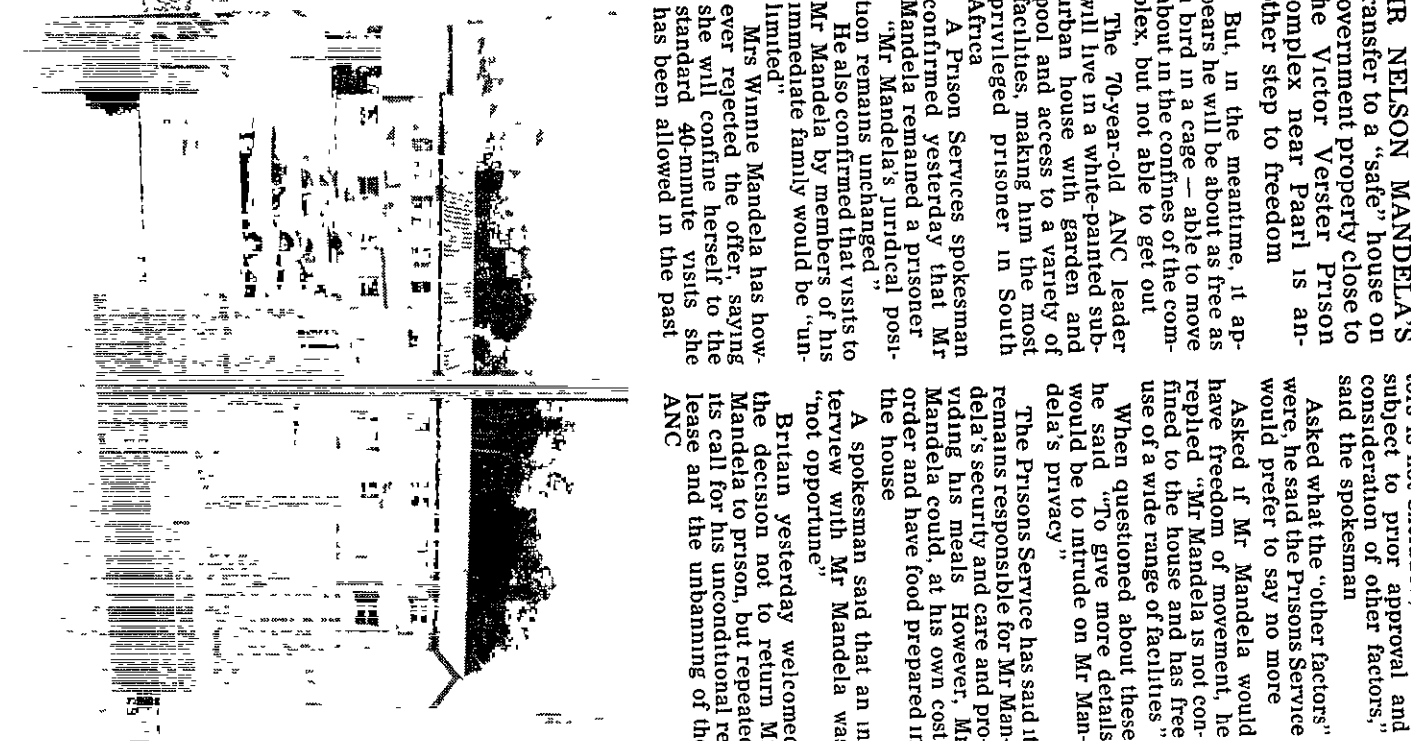
TOP LEFT The lounge section of Mr Mandela's suite at the Constantiaberg Med-Clinic. Here he enjoyed his meals, studied, wrote exams and received visitors.

FAR LEFT The door to Mr Mandela's luxury room at the clinic.

LEFT... The block of flats outside Mr Mandela's room at the clinic. He had an unspoilt view of Constantiaberg on the far left side of the flats.

Pictures:
RICHARD BELL

Clinic staff tell of 'sweet' Mandela's passions



Lovely funny play for the birds

MAX'S EGG by Don Hay-Whitton, directed by Royston Stoffels for Capab at the Nico Malan Theatre.

DON HAY-WHITTON has written a lovely and often very funny play which will serve SANCOCOB, and children's theatre, well.

From the introductory Penguin Polka, the stage was set for a pen-gun invasion. At the entrance of the first two, played by André Samuels and Pauline O'Kelly, the young audience fled like a shoal of fish.

Not surprising. The white masks and black and white suits bore an extraordinary resemblance to giant pen-

ays only, nanging

By CHRIS STEYN

THE FIRST details ever of Mr Nelson Mandela's recent life as a prisoner emerged yesterday when the Cape Times was allowed into the suite of rooms he occupied at the luxury Constantiaberg Medical Clinic and met some of the people who were close to him.

His departure from the clinic was described as "sad" by hospital sources who spoke with nostalgia of the "sweet man" who loved fishcakes for breakfast, had a passion for glazed fruit, and sent flowers to an ill staff member.

Mr Mandela was "well-liked" by all the hospital staff who came in close contact with him. He loved "chatting" to the nurses and expected to be told all about their weekends off and their shopping trips.

For breakfast, the elderly ANC leader "loved" fishcakes, which were specially prepared for him by kitchen staff.

He first spotted the fishcakes on an *à la carte* menu from which he was allowed to choose his

meals. But because the fishcakes were not on the menu every day, a special arrangement was made to have the cakes prepared whenever he wanted them for breakfast.

Mr Mandela was on a "low-cholesterol" diet and mostly chose fish or chicken for lunch.

Although he did not eat sweets, he had a well-known "passion" for glazed fruit, which he ate almost every day.

Mr Mandela never ordered wine, although he was at liberty to do so. He also did not smoke. He usually ate alone at a diningroom table in the lounge of his suite.

In the same room, he studied at a desk with a big armchair. He also wrote his I.L.B. exams there.

The spacious room also features a comfortable lounge suite where Mr Mandela received visitors. He cycled everyday on an exercise bicycle in a small "gym" near his bedroom.

Evenings were spent mostly in bedroom D22 on

the first floor from where he had a spectacular view of Constantiaberg. His bathroom was en suite. He watched M-Net most nights, but never let on which programmes he preferred.

Sources at the hospital said Mr Mandela was treated "very well" at the clinic and "loved it here".

He often received flowers and once sent a bunch of flowers to a staff member who had fallen ill.

A Prison Services spokesman said last night that Mr Mandela's new "safe house" on the Victor Verster Prison Farm near Paarl "was originally the permanent residence of a civilian but had lately been temporarily occupied by prison officials".

Elaborating on the announcement that his family could stay with him on a continuous basis, the spokesman said: "This will of course be a matter to be decided on by Mr Mandela and his family themselves — there would be no obstacle in (them) doing so".

Mandelas receive UN human rights awards

HARARE — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie are among six people to be honoured by the United Nations today for outstanding human rights achievements to mark the 40th anniversary of the UN's human rights declaration.

The others are the chairman of the Gandhi Memorial Leprosy Foundation and the National Leprosy Organisation of India, Murlidhar Devidas Amte, former director of the UN Human Rights division and founding president of the Canadian section of Amnesty International, Mr John Humphrey, first president of the Supreme Court of Poland, Mr Adam Lopatka, and the late Mr Leonidas Proano of Ecuador. — Sapa

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1985
PSY201F Gen Psychology 201
PSY202S Gen Psychology 202
CLA106W Latin Intensive

1986
RDL200W Roman-Dutch & Private Law I
RCL200W Roman Law I
PSY301F Gen Psychology 301
PSY302S Gen Psychology 302

LAJ100-X Latin (UNISA) — (Credit for Latin

Mr Mitchell cont'd

Theatre.
F.A.R.E.I. Ved cest. bl
This is an advertisement for a theatre venue with plenty of parking and 400 seats. The name of the theatre is partially obscured but appears to be F.A.R.E.I. Ved cest. bl.

9/12/88
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and cut off from their livelihoods and families, the judge said.

"All of this was done for good reasons but it does not diminish the hardship to the accused.

"Secondly, I hold the view that the Vaal accused should, as soon as possible, be reintegrated into their communities and wounds caused by the Vaal riots be healed sooner than later.

"In this respect I would rather err on the side of lenience

"In arriving at an ultimate sentence I have given due weight to the history of hardship of each accused and their personal sense of grievance," he said.

"On the other hand reintegration into the community should not fan the old flames that existed before September 1983

"The solution lies in imposing conditions of suspension"

The Vaal trialists may not attend any public meeting except bone fide church services or sports meetings for two years

A public gathering will be more than 20 people.

They may not issue public statements or grant interviews for two years and may not serve on the executive of any political, civic or youth organisation

They may also not address any public meeting or participate in any organisation or public protest action

He said he had taken evidence in mitigation from black leaders Mr Enos

Mabuza and Mr Sam Motsuenyane into consideration

However, he also said other mitigatory evidence presented by the defence — by Prof Jakes Gerwel and Ms Nadine Gordimer — had been a futile exercise because the witnesses had been biased and had shown a limited perspective

When the sentences were regarded against the background of those imposed in the past, as at the Rivonia trial, it would be seen that the pleas for leniency had not been in vain, he said.

"There is some case for leniency," he said "None of the accused have been found guilty of planning or executing direct violence"

He said the UDF leaders, especially Molefe could play a role in politics in the future

"The sentences should therefore not frustrate this possibility."

He said the courts were in an invidious position when dealing with political cases.

"The courts have to uphold the law of the land and in sentencing have to reflect the sentiments of the community

"Where the community itself is divided, any sentence will be seen by some as too lenient and by some as too severe

"If this is the result achieved, the sentence will probably be fair and moderate"

Application for leave to appeal will be considered on Monday

UDF 3 jailed for 32 years

CAP TWINB

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09/12/88

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Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The three men who formed part of the United Democratic Front's "conspiratorial core" were sentenced to a total of 32 years in jail by Mr Justice K van Dijkhorst in the Supreme Court yesterday.

Moss Chikane and Popo Molefe were given jail sentences of 10 years each for treason, while Patrick "Terror" Lekota was sentenced to 12 years.

Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst, during sentencing, said UDF leaders could play a constructive role on the political scene in future provided they forswore violence and acted within the law.

Molefe and Chikane were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment each. Lekota, who was released from jail in December 1982 after serving six years of a 10-year sentence for terrorism, was given 12 years by the judge.

Black consciousness activist Tom Manthatha was sentenced to six years for treason.

The court found the UDF was a revolutionary organisation with a policy of mass action, including violence, against government institutions.

There was a conspiratorial core among the dominant leadership of the UDF which included Molefe, Chikane and Lekota, the court found.

Six prominent members of the Vaal Civic Association who were found

guilty of terrorism for their part in the unrest in that area during 1984-86 were given wholly suspended sentences of five years. But the judge imposed restrictions on them which effectively prevents them from taking part in any form of protest politics.

One of the Vaal activists, Gcinumuzi Malindi, who had a previous conviction for public violence, had none of his five-year sentence for terrorism suspended.

The judge accepted the UDF was seen by many as having an important role to play in the negotiation for a new South Africa.

"I believe the demise of the UDF may leave a void which may take a number of years to fill," he said.

"It may be that this will slow down the process of reform as alleged.

"For this consequence, however, the UDF has itself to blame.

"It was a viable movement with a message. It had a large and enthusiastic following.

"It chose the path of violence instead of a policy of moderation," he said, "thereby it did South Africa a disservice".

Referring to the Vaal trialists, the judge said terrorism could not be lightly shrugged off but gave two factors which he had weighed in imposing the sentence he did.

After a "long incarceration" awaiting trial, they were granted bail during the course of the case but effectively banish from where they lived

P.T.O.

EXCLUSIVE



Inside Mandela's ward — Page 3

Mandela move a step to freedom?

ONE TENTS 9/12/88
11A
By BARRY STREEK

THE government believes a new phase in the possible eventual release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has been reached with his transfer to a house near the Victor Verster Prison outside Paarl.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, was guarded about Mr Mandela's position during a brief interview yesterday — though he was clearly pleased with developments.

Asked if Mr Mandela was still regarded as a prisoner, Mr Coetsee replied "His juridical position is unchanged"

Mr Coetsee repeated this when asked if Mr Mandela could be interviewed, making it clear that he will still be subject to Prisons Service controls and regulations.

Asked about the conditions under which Mr Mandela would live at the Victor Verster house, Mr Coetsee said "He has facilities and privileges which are virtually unlimited"

● Mandela remains a prisoner — Page 3

ing protection, maintenance, technology training, source centre, services health care, medical care, nutrition & domestic craft for trainees, long term self-programme labour intensification, com-

nt Corporation

Tulametho Community Centre
P O Box 25
3330 LOSKOP
Tel (0220) 1212

Functions To instill a self-help attitude in people to encourage group development to improve the quality of life amongst the local people

Vuleka Trust
3660 P O Botha's Hill
Tel (031) 75-1956

Functions To promote the development of people in personal and spiritual growth, interpersonal and leadership skills and human relations and community development. Current programmes include human relations, leadership, community service, etc.

Women's Centre
10 Ecuemical Centre
20 St Andrews Street
4001 DURBAN
Tel (031) 301-2696

Functions Provide resources and services for women and women's groups that are working towards women's equality now and in a bet-

ter society; help women gain more confidence, skills, etc. to be able to participate in decisions for the future.

Women for Peace
P O Box 87233
2041 HOUGHTON
Tel (011) 646-4501

Functions To become aware of needs and problems of people in SA to promote communication and better understanding between the different races, to work towards equal opportunity for all races, and to utilize the power of women. Current programmes include cooking demonstrations, trials, penfriend club, supply of school books, soup kitchens advice centres, etc.

World Outreach
P O Box 180
1685 HALFWAY HOUSE
Tel (011) 805-2381

Director Mr A de Flu

Philosophy The philosophy as a Christian organization is to first reach out to and secondly to develop people to realise their full potential within the framework of the Christian church. Once people are developed within the framework of Christian ethic/morality they are better equipped for life.

Functions
- Evangelism - Church planting for various denominations in South Africa, Swaziland and Botswana.
- Bible School for Christian Education in Soweto. To be expanded soon to facilitate a day school for children.

- Church headquarters based at Midrand provides a multiracial Christian school facility at present for 65 children (Gr o - Std 10)

- Christian aid programme to Mozambique refugees. Includes supplying services ie toilets, etc at Giyani - Gazankulu
- Very basic bible correspondence course to introduce converts to Christ to bible reading, etc.

At inception the organization was primarily involved in correspondence courses for black Christians. Later expanded to evangelism in townships. Headquarters was moved to Halfway House in 1970/71. A church was started at that time. A Christian bookshop was opened in Rockville Soweto in 1979. The Bible School was started in 1980 operating from the existing premises. A new training centre and Christian school is planned for the Pimville suburb of Soweto. The Midrand King's School was opened in 1987. The mission got involved in aid programmes in South Africa and Mozambique in 1986/87/88

World Vision of Southern Africa
P O Box 1101
1710 FLORIDA
Tel (011) 674-2043

Director Mr J E Allwood

Philosophy "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and he feeds himself for a lifetime." World Vision's work will be assessed as to how it hinders or enhances the transformation of society. It will result in the true releasing of potential in people in terms of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, applied in a holistic way. The development of authentic local community organizations is believed to be a solid basis for the community development process: educating community members, providing training in technical and leadership skills, and giving priority to education of children.

Activities Education and training on health services, agriculture, water development, women in development, leadership skills, job creation youth programmes and crisis intervention. Also funding and carrying out development activities.

networking, assistance to the poor, and dealing with the causes and effects of underdevelopment. Runs 240 human development programmes in SA.

Zimzilemi Child and Family Welfare Society
P O Box 3095
4490 MANDINI

Functions Mainly youth entertainment to promote well-being of the child, and to stabilize family life and to improve social and educational environment for the children

Zizobakamise
12 Mitchell Drive
4240 PORT SHEPSTONE
Tel (0391) 21834 (mornings),
20573 or 21764 (afternoons)

Functions Providing water creches, school feeding schemes, books to scholars, youth clubs (Bible) building a high school, establishing a trade school employing local people establishing a handicraft centre home for orphans, and helping the elderly and disabled

Mandela a prisoner — Minister

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said today that Nelson Mandela's judicial status as a prisoner remained unchanged

He would therefore still be subject to Prisons Service controls and regulations

He would at the same time be entitled to every facility and privilege that was possible under his present, more open detention in a house adjacent to the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl

The Minister declined to give more details of Mandela's new living conditions as this would infringe on his privacy

COMPLETE RELEASE

Mr Coetsee declined to react to the suggestion that the latest step was another phase in moves to release him completely, but it is seen as such in some top Government circles

A spokesman for the South African Prisons Service said today visitors, other than the family, were not excluded from seeing Mandela. However, it was not possible to say whether visitors would have to apply for permission. The family had been granted unlimited visiting rights.

Mrs Winnie Mandela has rejected the offer of unlimited visits and will continue to restrict her visits to the 40 minutes she has been allowed in the past, according to the family's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob

UDF leadership jailed for treason

bl/day 9/12/88

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bl/day

PRETORIA — UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota was yesterday jailed for 12 years while fellow members of the UDF "conspiratorial core" — Popo Molefe and Moss Chikane — received 10 years after being convicted of treason by Mr Justice van Dijkhorst in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The marathon trial, which lasted for close on three years, flowed from the Vaal Triangle uprising in 1984-85.

Black consciousness activist Tom Manthata was sentenced to six years. Vaal activist Gcinumuzi Malindi, who had a previous conviction for public violence, was jailed for five years for terrorism.

Six members of the Vaal Civic Association (VCA), also convicted of terrorism, were given wholly-suspended five-year sentences. But the judge imposed a range of restrictions on them.

Sapa reports that family members and supporters in the packed public gallery burst into song as the jailed men, all wearing red carnations and giving black power salutes, were led to the cells after the country's longest and most costly trial.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said he accepted the UDF was seen by many as

SUSAN RUSSELL

having an important role to play in the negotiation for a new SA.

"I believe the demise of the UDF may leave a void which may take a number of years to fill. It may be that this will slow down the process of reform as alleged. For this consequence, however, the UDF has itself to blame."

He said the UDF was a viable movement with a message, but it "chose the path of violence instead of a policy of moderation".

Referring to the VCA members, the judge gave two factors which he had weighed before sentencing.

Firstly, he said, that after a long incarceration they were granted bail that effectively banished them from their families.

"Secondly, I hold the view that the Vaal accused should, as soon as possible, be reintegrated into their communities and the wounds caused by the Vaal riots should be healed sooner than later. In this respect I would rather err on the side of lenience."

The judge said, however, that reinte-

© To Page 2 →

UDF leadership jailed in treason trial

gration "should not fan the old flames" and "the solution lies in imposing conditions of suspension"

He imposed restrictions that include two-year prohibitions against attending any public meeting (more than 20 people), issuing Press statements or addressing public meetings.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said when the sentences were regarded against the background of those imposed in the past it would be seen that pleas for leniency had not been in vain.

"There is some case for leniency. None of the accused have been found guilty of

← © From Page 1

planning or executing direct violence."

The judge said the courts were in an invidious position when dealing with political cases and sentences had to reflect the sentiments of the community.

"Where the community itself is divided any sentence will be seen by some as too lenient and by some as too severe. If this is the result achieved the sentence will probably be fair and moderate."

Application for leave to appeal will be considered on Monday.

bl/day 9/12/88

There are two sets of clips but the

Seroke to face sentence today

9-15/12/88
SENTENCE in the trial of three Pan Africanist Congress members will be passed in the Springs Regional Court today

Jaki Seroke (28), editor of the only black-owned publishing house, Skotaville Publishers, and two others were last week convicted of terrorism and being members of the banned PAC.

The court found Seroke's two co-accused, Mandla Cele and Thembin-kosi Khonongwe, both 24, had received military training outside the country and that they were members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla)

In his judgement, the magistrate, H Hoffman, said Seroke belonged to the "propaganda section of the PAC", but found that he had not received any military training

Evidence in mitigation was given by Professor Fatima Meer, a sociologist from the University of Natal, on Monday this week.

Professor Meer said the three men were victims of "deep material and emotional deprivation and poverty, a social condition over which they had no control".

"We are not here dealing with criminals — we are dealing with victims of society, victims of laws passed by a white government which at the time of their passing were strenuously opposed in our country and abroad," she said

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 9/12/88
 SOWETAN

THE Chief Minister of Kwazulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, last night said a biography about him was really about South Africa.

He was speaking at the launch of "Buthelezi — The Biography" by media consultant Jack Shepherd-Smith in Johannesburg last night.

"Quite a lot has been written about me lately. Some of it awful, some of it pretty good, but what Jack Shepherd-Smith has written is distinctly different.

"I do not see it as so much a book about me. I see it rather as a book about South Africa," the Inkatha leader said.

"It is a book about events in South Africa and about me in the context of those events."

Memories

Chief Buthelezi said the biography did not give readers impressions of what the Chief Minister saw from his eyes nor did it "attempt to get inside" him or deal with his personal memories.

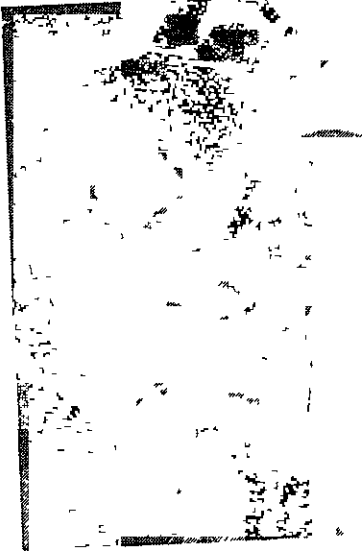
Reading the book one gathers a sense that the author sees a kind of neutrality in a process

by which racist South Africa is being turned on its head and all the ugly things being shaken out of it.

"The author sees a progress towards a multi-racial society as a natural process which has, somehow or other, picked me up and carried me with it. I found that Jack Shepherd-Smith was the

chapters is called "History is made by majorities, not minorities".

"We who exercise any kind of political leadership must never delude ourselves that we are important. Jack Shepherd-Smith has made the people of South Africa so much more important than Mangosuthu Ga-



CHIEF Buthelezi

kind of man with whom I could talk quietly and naturally about important things. He had a sense of the drama of the moment with which the history of the 1980s is presenting us all."

The book, Chief Buthelezi said, talked about his role in South Africa.

"Every discerning reader will see why I was pleased that one of the

isha Buthelezi. For this I thank him."

He added that the book showed the extent to which the history of tyranny was the history of how ordinary people got rid of the tyrant.

The author had put Chief Buthelezi in the perspective of an ordinary man "working with ordinary people to bring decency which

should be so ordinary in every civilised society", the Chief Minister said.

The author had taken the venom out of the "polemic tirades" other writers had attempted to dramatise in exchanges between Chief Buthelezi and ANC leader Oliver Tambo.

Jack Shepherd-Smith "does not paint pictures of insoluble conflicts between Oliver Tambo and myself.

Idiom

"He paints pictures of people living out their lives in life which is full of dilemmas. The Oliver Tambo and the Mangosuthu Buthelezi that Jack Shepherd-Smith paints are Tambos and Buthelezis who can be brought together, and in terms of the idiom of the book, should be brought together."

"The book like history decreases not only that Oliver Tambo and I should get together, but it also decreases that (the State President) P W Botha and I should get together."

Chief Buthelezi felt the book should be recommended reading at all schools and universities.



OLIVER Tambo . should get together with Chief Buthelezi.

I'm dreaming of a free Christmas

The family that hasn't much to cheer about this festive season

THE father is serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison. The mother has been banned for a total of 18 years in her lifetime and has spent 10 of those under house arrest.

One son is serving a long-term sentence on Robben Island and another has just been released after almost two years in detention without charge and is now restricted.

Other members of the family are in exile.

The Sisulus, of Soweto, are not quite the typical South African family. Nevertheless they are an extreme example of what decades of activism against apartheid have done to families who have become used to enduring the enforced absence of their loved ones at Christmas.

But they are not the only politically committed family to suffer banishment, house arrest, detention without trial and exile from their homeland.

Restricted

Walter Sisulu, 75, former secretary-general of the ANC, was convicted along with Nelson Mandela and others in the Rivonia trial and was committed to Robben Island. He was moved recently with Mandela to Pollsmoor.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 70, co-president of the United Democratic Front, is restricted to her house in Soweto. She has been an active campaigner against apartheid since the 1940s.

In addition to house arrest, she has been in and out of jail for her activities which date back to campaigning against the introduction of Bantu Education.

Her son, Zwelakhe, 33, distinguished journalist and trade unionist, has just been released from detention. Among stringent restrictions imposed on him he may not return to his job as editor of the weekly "alternative" newspaper, New Nation.

Award

The family has just been awarded the Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize for giving "hope to all in South Africa who oppose and suffer under this unjust system (of apartheid)".

For the Sisulus and many other families in the townships there is little to be merry about today.

At a time when most

By MANDLA TYALA

blacks are getting down to the first "normal" Christmas for more than a decade, others have to contend with their enforced status as "social lepers". They have to stay at home in terms of their restriction orders.

For the past 10 years community organisations have called for a "black Christmas" each year, contending that there was nothing to celebrate while leaders and other activists languished in "apartheid jails".

The festivities that go with Christmas had to be forgone, and at one stage instructions went out for candles to be lit in township homes to honour those engaged in the political struggle.

Owing largely to the effects of the emergency and the banning of several pressure groups there have been no such calls this year, and most blacks are splashing out.

But the twilight people, those who are neither inside jail nor outside, have to stay at home and watch while the rest of the country revels.

Human rights groups say the position of the restricted is worse than that of the detainees.

According to a fact paper from the Human Rights Commission, by August this year an estimated 30 000 had been detained under the emergency regulations since June 12 1986.

Some of the detainees are breadwinners. Detention has left families destitute.

The National Detainees

UDF co-president and anti-apartheid campaigner Albertina Sisulu... facing another lonely Christmas



Zwelakhe Sisulu, his wife, Zodwa, and their children

Forum planned to brighten up this day, especially for teenage detainees, by bringing them Christmas parcels.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg chapter, the Detainees Aid Centre, says this had been the practice over the years. The parcels usually contain a variety of food, mainly confectionery.

"But response varies from one prison to another. The detainees sometimes do not care we normally donate it to an old age home or some charity."

It is also the forum's function to provide detainees with monthly pocket money and minor requirements like toiletry.

For families with detained breadwinners this Christmas will be even bleaker. The dependants receive monthly allowances from the South African Council of Churches and there normally is an "extra" at Christmas.

But it is understood that this Christmas that "bonus" will not be forthcoming because of the bombing of the SACC's Johannesburg headquarters this year.

By MARLENE BURGER
WHEN they awoke this morning, it was to the sound of clanging cell doors, not church bells.

And for more than 100 000 men, women and even some children of all population groups, Christmas in prison will be just another day.

Not for them the traditions of turkey and tinsel, presents and plum pudding, carols and crackers.

For the faceless felons, Christmas Present is a sharp reminder of the family festivity of Christmas Past.

Locked away from the society against which they have transgressed it's a day to fantasise — about the freedom of Christmas Future.

The authorities don't like the festive season.

Brood

"Prisoners don't work over this period — and the devil finds work for idle hands," says a senior officer at a maximum security prison.

"It's a difficult time of year. Prisoners want to go home for Christmas, and they have time to brood about their situation."

"The frustration level is high — but the goodwill is there too."

"Frankly, it's a relief to get back to the normal daily routine in January."

Few concessions are made to the season of peace and goodwill by the SA Prisons Department.

Prisoners are not allowed to receive or send gifts of any kind, although they may send 12 Christmas cards and receive an unlimited number, over and above their annual quota of post.

Visits — depending on the status of the prisoner — will take place between 9 am and 3 pm today, and church services are held at all institutions.

But there is no sign of festive fare.

Menu

Unless the recreation clubs which exist at most large prisons have made provision for a special meal, prisoners will receive their normal rations.

Contributions to club funds are made by the prisoners themselves, and are used throughout the year to hire TV sets and videos or buy recreational equipment.

Today, they may have purchased ingredients to be prepared in the prison kitchens and menus will include such luxuries as roast mutton and trifle.

But for the rest, one of today's meals will consist — as it does every other day of the year — of five slices of brown bread, a dollop of white margarine, a spoonful of jam and a glass of cold drink.

The second meal will be a porridge but today, but in some cases prisoners may supplement their diet over this period by spending R10 more than the

DOVE OF PEACE

usual monthly allowance sweets, biscuits cold and tinned food.

Some cells will have decorated by the — in the Western Cape, cially, competition is keen the inter-cell contest for best decorations.

The keyword is imprisonment since access to is limited.

With a little time and a great deal of time, ever cells are festooned baubles fashioned from magazine pages and paper.

The annual Christmas cert is the highlight of year. Sketches, items and comedy are on programme and the attended by prisoners staff alike.

Nativity scenes on may include the use of a manding officer's half-braai disguised as a white sheets serve as tans.

In the Western Cape inter-prison competition for Day and New Year's Day. In the Eastern

World sees Mandela as a bird in a gilded cage

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Nelson Mandela's transfer from a Cape Town clinic to a heavily guarded bungalow in the grounds of a Paarl prison continued to feature in world headlines yesterday

It ranked high in TV and radio news bulletins despite the developing drama of Russia's earthquake, but continued to be seen as little more than incarceration of a different kind

So far only the French government has recognised it as a step on the road to his release

In Rome, government officials were unavailable for comment, but the Vatican said the Pope was extremely satisfied with the way things seemed to be shaping up.

The British Foreign Office repeated its call for Mandela's unconditional freedom and reminded President Botha that many more reforms were

needed

In West Germany Chancellor Kohl's office said it was extremely difficult to welcome the changed circumstances of Nelson Mandela's detention, since, after all, he was still being detained

The West German Foreign Office added that a golden cage was still a cage and it continued to insist on complete freedom

Italian papers reported that the ANC leader had gone back to prison, though not in a cell.

This interpretation was echoed in most of Britain's newspapers

The London *Evening Standard* carried the report under the headline "Mandela, prisoner in a rose garden"

Even France's usually pro-Pretoria conservative daily *Quotidien* asked "Does this mean that Mandela leaves one cell only to go to another?"

RELEASE MANDELA CALL

● From Page 1
the world wants is for the State to release the man so that he cannot only have the privilege of seeing his family, but that he can participate fully in the life of the nation. That is what the demands remain."

Mandela's wife, Winnie, said in a statement through his attorney, Ismail Ayob, that she would not take advantage of the prisons service offer of unlimited visits with him.

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"She does not intend taking more than the 40-minute visits (one a month) that she had been allowed in the past until all political prisoners are given the same privileges," Ayob said.

"She said that there was no word on the fate of Mr Mandela's colleagues — Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba and Elias Motsoaledi, who were also sentenced to life imprisonment at the same time as Mr

Mandela" (11A)

All were convicted in 1964 of sabotage and plotting to overthrow the Government.

The Government has been under intense domestic and international pressure to release Mandela unconditionally, particularly since he was diagnosed in August as having tuberculosis.

However, officials

have indicated that his outright release is not imminent and that restraints on him will be eased in stages so the Government can assess the political impact of his possible freedom.

Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe said last July that Mandela had served enough time to pay for his crimes — Sapa-AP

18/6/87

B/Day

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Workers turn to unions for change on the farms

A QUIET revolution is taking place in the SA countryside. Despite government and farmer antipathy, farmworkers are increasingly turning to trade unions to spearhead their demands for higher wages and better working conditions.

An announcement by Premier subsidiary Farm Fare that it was signing a recognition agreement with the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) is seen as proof that farmworkers are at last coming in from the cold.

Breakthrough

"It is an important breakthrough for farmworkers and we will be looking ahead to signing more agreements," Fawu president Chris Dlamini said.

"We hope to cover more of the farms. The reason we decided to organise workers is that they have been exploited for years and have worked under disgraceful conditions — wages are far below the standard of living. That is deliberate because the farmers want to own workers to exploit them."

PATRICK BULGER

Yet Dlamini stresses that much of the impetus for trade union organisation has come from workers themselves, and not union leadership.

Farm labourer organisation is not new to SA. In the 1920s, the Industrial and Commercial Union, and later the ANC, gained huge farmworker backing, especially in the eastern Transvaal.

In the case of the Farm Fare agreement, Fawu has a strong following in that company's processing plants.

"We believe that workers in firms dealing with farms would serve as a legal lever to help farmworkers," Dlamini said.

In other words, while farmworkers are not covered by the Labour Relations Act which accommodates the collective bargaining process, their counterparts in allied sectors are

This puts them in a position to compensate for the lack of legal protection offered farmworkers.

This legal protection has been a

long time coming. A National Manpower Commission report on farmworkers completed in 1984 has been put firmly on the shelf.

And the SA Agricultural Union remains adamant that the structure of the agricultural sector does not lend itself to trade unionism.

"We have lost any hope that the farmworkers' lot will be improved through new laws. The strength of the farmworkers themselves will achieve that," Dlamini said.

Militancy

Rising farmworker militancy has not only been reflected in Fawu's efforts to organise workers. Farming implement companies have jumped on the social upliftment bandwagon.

Government has indicated it is looking at ways of improving the lot of labourers with housing subsidies.

In Natal, the Inkatha-backed United Workers Union of SA has been organising farmworkers, and the SA Allied Workers' Union has established a strong presence on sugar estates.

Number of

n & Stewart Inc.

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GREY PHILLIPS BUNTON MUNN L & BLAKE 0212 1140

BORN in Durban on February 8, 1932, Johnny was a bright and gifted child. A talented debater at school, he was articulate, with an aptitude for languages — qualities he developed from his mother, Mama Jali, who was a well-known radio personality.

Johnny attended high school at Adams College, Natal, where he was one of the soccer stars. Upon matriculating, he went on to train as a teacher. He taught at Mzinyathi in the Inanda area, and was soon active in organised opposition to the imposition of Bantu Education in African schools.

Rather than serve under this hated system, he resigned from the teaching profession and registered as a part-time law student at Natal University. He devoted the rest of his time to organising the people as an activist of the ANC, becoming a key youth and student organiser around Durban and in the rural areas of Natal.

He was actively involved in all the ANC campaigns of the period and was arrested on numerous occasions. Johnny was one of the principal organisers of both the historic Maritzburg conference of March 1961 which was addressed by Nelson Mandela and the highly successful anti-Republic strike of May 1961.

In 1962, Johnny was among the first group of volunteers from Natal to be sent out of the country for military training. In Johannesburg they were joined by volunteers from other parts of the country and Johnny, assisted by Joseph Jack, was put in charge of the combined group.

Nelson Mandela, the then "Black Panther" gave the group a staggering shock when, wearing a holster with a pistol and looking like an accomplished soldier, he suddenly walked into a room, in Dar es Salaam, interrupting a song about him which the group were singing, believing him to be in South Africa.

Johnny often referred to that incident, claiming

Tribute to Makhathini



MR. MKHATHINI
Sonny Mkhathini died in Lusaka on December 3, 1988, after a short illness.

that he nearly fainted. Johnny led part of the group to Morocco, with instructions that on completion of the training he should remain in Morocco to receive new groups of trainees, which meant he was the ANC representative in that country. This was the beginning of a record of diplomatic work in the service of the people of South Africa.

Trudging the streets of Rabat on an empty stomach and thrown out by one landlord after another for unpaid rent, Johnny nonetheless quickly lapped up the French language and within a year he spoke it with surprising fluency.

Invaluable

This proved invaluable and fed into his inexhaustible zeal for discussing apartheid and the struggle with every one he met, for 24 hours if necessary.

It gave him access to the vast French and English speaking world, which he exploited to the fullest.

In Morocco he worked and struck a close friendship with leaders of liberation movements from the then Portuguese colonies, among them, Marcelino dos Santos of Mozambique, Dr Agostinho Neto of Angola and Amilcar Cabral of Guinea Bissau.

In 1963, Algeria became independent. An ANC mission was promptly opened in Algiers, headed by Robert Resha, a member of the national executive of the ANC.

Johnny, his vision of the struggle broadened and deepened by fraternal association with freedom fighters from other African countries, was transferred to join Robbie Resha in Algiers. The two made a dynamic partnership in Algiers, which hosted many liberation movements mainly from Africa, and including the PLO, was a beehive of political activity involving solidarity support for the liberation struggle.

Robbie and Johnny proved more than equal to the challenge. The status of the ANC in Algeria rocketed. Apart from his close friendship with freedom fighters whose countries later became independent, Johnny was an active and leading member of the Pan-African Youth Movement, most of whose members grew to hold important positions in government.

Diplomatic

It was these qualities that contributed to his appointment as head of the ANC mission to the United Nations in 1977 and later, in 1983, as head of the ANC department of international affairs.

Johnny's unique flair for diplomatic work flowered during his years at the United Nations. No UN diplomat did not know Johnny Makhathini and few escaped his persuasive tongue. The point was even reached when some accused the ANC of dominating the UN.

While establishing strong relationships with government representatives, organisations and

people from all corners of the world, and particularly in Africa, Johnny paid special attention to the solidarity movement in the United States, winning millions of friends and supporters for the struggle, not least among them, the Reverend Jesse Jackson.

After the 1985 national consultative conference of the ANC, Johnny transferred to Lusaka to give personal attention to his departmental responsibilities.

Johnny Makhathini was an indefatigable organiser and campaigner on behalf of the African National Congress. He worked tirelessly and travelled ceaselessly throughout Africa and to many parts of the world in pursuit of a single goal — the liberation of the people.

This took its toll on his health, and despite the appeals and remonstrances of his colleagues, he stubbornly persisted with a rigorous schedule of appointments and meetings.

The very weekend before he was hospitalised he had returned from strenuous missions to Nigeria, Mali and Egypt, which he had continued with even when he started feeling unwell.

Johnstone Mfanafuthi Makhathini is survived by his wife, Valerie, and a five-year-old daughter, Nandi, as well as by his mother, three brothers, and a sister. His funeral takes place in Lusaka on Wednesday — ANO

LET STRONGHOLD BUILD YOUR DREAM HOME TODAY

DOBSONVILLE SILUMA VIEW
TEMBISA VOSLOORUS
MOHLAKENG Marimba Gardens
KAGISO

Teaching: LP's actions slammed

Mr Sonn 10/12/81

114 Staff Reporters

THE president of the Cape Teachers' Professional Association, Mr Franklin Sonn, yesterday lashed out at Labour Party "meddling" in education and charged that LP supporters were being appointed to senior positions in schools

Speaking at a CTPA representative council meeting in Bellville South, Mr Sonn challenged the Minister of Education, Mr Allan Hendrickse, to appoint an independent commission of inquiry to investigate "widespread allegations of LP nepotism"

"If the minister refuses, then the public will know who to believe

"These party-political appointments are undermining the integrity of the teaching profession and making it an instrument of a political party," Mr Sonn said

School shortage criticised

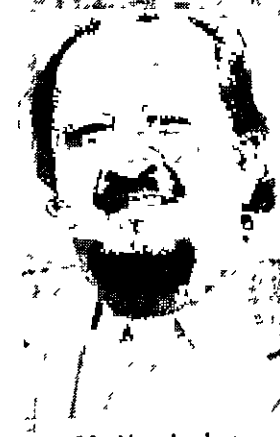
Other speakers at the meeting were prominent anti-apartheid activist and advocate Mr Dullah Omar and Mr Randall van den Heever, deputy president of the CTPA

Mr Sonn also decried the acute shortage of schools and said that only one school had been provided for the burgeoning new coloured suburb of Blue Downs "The school expects applications from 600 pupils in Std 7 alone and yet it has been built to only accommodate 800 pupils," he said

Mr Omar made a strong appeal for teachers to strive for unity in their communities and to help with local organizations so that they were run in a truly democratic fashion



Mr Sonn



Mr Hendrickse

News pictures of Mandela are still against the law

EAST LONDON. — Photographs of Nelson Mandela may not be published in spite of recent changes of the terms of his imprisonment

A spokesman for the Prisons Department in Pretoria said that Mr Mandela's juridical position "had not changed"

On Friday a weekly newspaper published six photographs of Mr Mandela, one of which featured on the front page stating that photographs of him could be published because he was no longer considered a prisoner by the government.

It was the first time in 27 years that photographs of Mr Mandela had been published in a South African newspaper.

Terms eased

On December 8 Mr Mandela was moved from Constantiaberg Clinic to a house in the grounds of a prison in Paarl.

Earlier the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the terms of Mr Mandela's imprisonment were being eased and that he would be transferred to "suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation".

The prisons spokesman was not prepared to comment on whether action would be taken against the newspaper

The spokesman referred to Section 44 (1) (e) of the Prisons Act of 1959 which states that a photograph of a prisoner may not be published without the permission of the Commissioner

Press conference

● Mrs Winnie Mandela is to visit her husband in his new quarters today. It will be her first since he was moved from Constantiaberg

Mrs Mandela will hold a Press conference at the University of the Western Cape this afternoon.

Mr Coetsee said last week that Mr Mandela's family could stay with him "on a continuous basis" at the new house, but Mrs Mandela has spurned the offer

● Former detainee Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, restricted editor of the New Nation, is to visit his father, Ruyonia treason trialist Walter Sisulu, in Pollsmoor Prison today.

PAC men jailed for 10 years (11/19)

Sfor 12/12/84
An editor at Skotaville Publishers, Jaki Seroke, was sentenced to 12 years jail and his two co-accused to 10 years in a Springs Regional Court on Friday for terrorism and membership of the banned Pan Africanist Congress

The magistrate, Mr H Hoffman, ordered that two years of Seroke's sentence — for belonging to a prohibited organisation — should run concurrent-

ly with the 10-year sentence for terrorism. The other accused were Mandla Cele (24) and Thembinkosi Khonongwe (24)

Advocate Mr Essop Patel had pleaded on behalf of the three men that the magistrate should consider suspended sentences, especially in the light of similar sentences at the Delmas treason trial

Bloody 'Zulu War' foreign to whites

MARITZBURG. — No one is sure how the small black community of Trust Feed got its odd name, but it was put horrifically on the map at 3am on December 3.

An unknown number of gunmen burst into a house in Trust Feed and mowed down 13 people aged between four and 66, killing 11.

Trust Feed thus joined the dismal roll call of black communities which have fallen victim to the so-called "Zulu War".

It is not a conflict that most South African whites know or care about, partly because official information on it is sparse.

"White society has been kept blissfully ignorant of what is happening around us," said Mr Radley Keys, a PFP official who monitors the conflict.

Mr Peter Kerchhoff, who runs a church group which also keeps watch on the violence, says the conflict may be of obscure relevance to most whites, but it is most certainly bloody.

He said that, according to his own unofficial count, 570 people died up to the end of November in the Maritzburg area, which is the main centre of the unrest. In 1987 400 died.

The 1988 toll will probably rise sharply before the year ends, because migrant workers returning home for Christmas will want revenge for what has happened to their homes and families, he said.

Just who was responsible for the Trust Feed massacre is a subject of controversy.

Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthe, lezi has denied his organisation, Inkatha, was to blame and has threatened to sue anyone who suggests that it was.

Inkatha members have, however, been locked in a power struggle with UDF members, who accuse Inkatha of being in the pocket of the government.

Liberals like Mr Keys and Mr Kerchhoff blame Pretoria for the strife "It's the whole story of the government's deliberate attempt to keep people divided," Mr Kerchhoff said.

There also were reports on Friday that Inkatha landowners have reportedly taken full control of Trust Feed and residents say they are being forced to join the organisation.

A resident who wished to remain anonymous because of fear of victimisation said people still living in Trust Feed were being made to join Inkatha.

The Kwazulu MP for Vullindlela, Mr Velaphi Nalovu, said the claim was "nonsense" and denied allegations of forced recruitment.

Sapa-Reuter

QMC Trans 12/12/88

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11A

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S/Times

11/12/88

11B

The shadow of Ma

As old black leaders were being released, new ones were sentenced ...

By DAVID JACKSON

THE name of 70-year-old Nelson Mandela — now living in a gilded prison near Paarl — featured large in the closing stages of the Delmas treason trial this week.

At the Palace of Justice in Pretoria 25 years ago, an armoured vehicle whisked the African National Congress leader off to a life sentence which he is still serving after being convicted of sabotage and conspiracy.

This Friday, at the same Palace of Justice, a new generation of black political leaders began their incarceration after the most notable political trial since Rivonia.

United Democratic Front publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota, who had a previous conviction for terrorism,

was jailed for 12 years. Fellow UDF leaders Popo Molefe and Moss Cikhankane received 10-year sentences — all for treason.

Black consciousness activist Tom Manthata got six years for treason and Gennumuzi Malindi with a previous conviction for public violence was jailed for five years for terrorism.

In addition, six Vaal Civic Association members were given suspended five year sentences for terrorism. A series of conditions were attached to the suspensions.



AT THE READY... police lined up in front of the crowd



GIVING SUPPORT

Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Nadine Gordimer

process while other leaders were in jail.

African Bank chairman Sam Molsuenyane said he joined the ANC before its banning in 1960. Mandela and Mr Tambo, who were his friends, had the popular support of the black community in general.

While he and other businessmen regretted the violence during 1984 and 1985, this had to be seen against the backdrop of increased tensions because of the creation of black local authorities and the tricameral Parliament which was not accepted by the local community.

Asked whether Mandela

was still his hero, Dr Molsuenyane replied: "Unquestionably he is my hero."

"I support the objectives of the ANC except for the violence."

"I believe the ANC would come to the conference table and talk if a proper political climate was created."

Former PIP leader, Idasa director and Witwatersrand University business school professor Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert said the ANC would have to be unbanned and Mandela released before any meaningful negotiation could take place.

Calls made by the UDF for the release of Mandela and

the unbanning of the ANC were general calls not only limited to the UDF. Calls had been made by the Eminent Persons Group, Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthe, and Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Dr Slabbert said he did not support violence. But he had learnt from discussions with the ANC's national executive committee that the armed struggle was a last resort after decades of peaceful protest.

The release of Mandela, the unbanning of the ANC and the freedom of political association were crucial to reconciliation.

Sang

And — as they did 25 years ago — supporters in the crowd sang the African national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika*, raised clenched fists and chanted slogans.

Outside the court as the sentences were announced, armed police lined the pavement facing the entrance to the Palace of Justice. More straddled the stone steps as knots of blacks looked on from Church Square.

They waited for news of the destiny of the UDF leadership. Moving among them, white handymen with step-ladders, bare shirted in the Pretoria heat, went about erecting the loudspeakers for the Great Trek "volksfees", due to begin from the same square the next morning.

In a week of subtle symbolism, it was a tableau all on its own. A tale of two nationalisms.

On the steps leading to the entrance, a white policeman in shorts with a gun in holster reclined with a newspaper whose headline read: *Mandela moved to house*.

Inside the court, some of the undertones and the ironies did not pass unnoticed.

Irony

Defence counsel Mr A Chaskalson, SC said it was "ironic" that at a time when old leaders were being released, "a group of new political leaders is about to be sentenced".

He told Mr Justice van Dijkhorst these were people seen as heroes by the black community "with different perceptions made in terms of different values and different criteria".

He reminded the judge: "You are a white judge sitting in judgment on black leaders."

There was no specific reaction from Mr Justice Van Dijkhorst to this observation. Throughout the defence summing up, the judge looked on with an air of contemplation, taking notes and occasionally seeking a point of clarification.

Earlier, giving evidence in mitigation, KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza said he and his constituents regarded Mandela and Mr Oliver Tambo as their leaders. He said "credible leaders" found it difficult to take part in the negotiation.

STimes 11/12/88 11A 152

Shadow of Mandela

By DAVID JACKSON

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Pictures. JUHAN KUUS

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— perhaps as they dozed for a few seconds. At other times they listened absorbed as witnesses argued their place in history.

They grabbed the few precious seconds at the end of each session for a brief chat with friends and loved ones in the gallery before being ushered down the steps to custody below. There would be a wave, a blown kiss — or even snatched hugs and kisses from admirers.

Now and again the tension was tangible. Such as when police anxious to get the accused from the courtroom at an adjournment had a verbal brush with the prisoners.

"Moeme vat aan my," (don't touch me) remonstrated one of the UDF men with a policeman as a heated argument ensued.

The court found the UDF was a revolutionary organisation which had chosen the violent option and aimed to render SA ungovernable. The three UDF trialists had been part of the conspiratorial core.

Executed

Mr Justice Van Dykhorst, passing sentence said it was a well conceived plan, executed over a long period with devastating effect.

Although not all unrest related damage could be blamed on the UDF and its affiliates, the UDF had "a lot to answer for."

He said he appreciated the demise of the UDF might leave a void which could take a number of years to fill. It might even slow down the process of reform as had been alleged. But the UDF had only itself to blame for those consequences.

The UDF was a viable movement with a strong message. It had a large and enthusiastic following. But it had chosen violence instead of moderation. It had done SA a disservice.

The judge also remarked "I hold the view that these accused, especially Molefe, can in the future play a constructive role in the political scene, provided that they — by their words and deeds — forswear the violent option and act within the law. The sentences should therefore not frustrate this possibility."

Sang

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(11A)

Zeph and wife want to go on holiday, 'but can't afford it'

By CHARLES MOGALE

THE ageing, sickly leader of the PAC, Zeph Mothopeng, and his wife, Urbania, want to take a holiday - but they cannot afford it.

Mothopeng, 76, who was released from prison two weeks ago, had been in jail since 1976.

Speaking from their home in Orlando West, Mothopeng said he needed rest to regain his health.

"Actually, if we could afford it, a holiday away from home would be ideal. I need to rest for the sake of my health and also to give myself a chance to study the whole situation afresh."

He said he would prefer to keep out of the public eye at this stage.

"You can understand what it is like. My release came as a total surprise. I only knew on the day I was released that I was to be a free man. It caught me unawares," he said.

Speaking about the government ban on a welcome rally organised for him, Mothopeng said all he meant to do was thank the nation for a warm welcome.

"I am really touched by the reception I have received. That is all I wanted to say. Anyway, I am still dedicated to liberation, every African is dedicated to the course of liberation," he said.

Shortly before Mothopeng's release, his wife disclosed that she was struggling to make ends meet. She said she and her family were surviving on a bi-monthly handout from the Red Cross.



Zeph Mothopeng, can't go on holiday.

S/Times 11/12/88

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By MANDLA TYALA

FROM Harry Gwala's front door you can actually see the killing fields of Maritzburg — a beautiful area of green rolling hills.

And the 68-year-old ANC veteran, recently released from life imprisonment, speaks with passion when he discusses the mauling and taking of life between alleged Inkatha supporters and other forces during the past year.

On the day we interviewed Mr Gwala, the local newspaper reported that yet another 12 people had died in a vigilante attack in a nearby district.

Now Mr Gwala, widely seen as one of the ANC's big brains, finds himself, after two spells on Robben Island, implanted back into a situation of escalating violence

Mr Gwala a Marxist, served an eight-year sentence on Robben Island for sabotage from 1964. He was convicted again in 1977 for

HORROR OF THE KILLING FIELDS

An ANC veteran tells of his new life in an area where violence rules

furthering the aims of the ANC

It is hard to speak to him alone at his home for any length of time. Between a steady flow of visitors there are endless phone calls from newspapers.

"This is embarrassing," he says sitting in a chair dressed in a robe. "I sit here looking like a Zulu monarch with all these people queuing to speak to me."

Although his health is failing — he has lost the use of both arms from an incurable nerve disease — he still hopes to play a role in politics if at least in a consultative capacity.

For the first time since his

release Mr Gwala spoke at length on a number of major issues: what Nelson Mandela's release would mean for the ANC; Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's claim in his new biography that the ANC asked him to fight inside the system; and chances of ending the deadly feud between groups of Inkatha and UDF supporters in Natal.

Mr Gwala says that, notwithstanding recent peace overtures, the chances of a complete ceasefire have diminished for two primary reasons: what is widely perceived as the authorities'

partiality towards Inkatha, and uncontrollable vigilantes who appear to take their instructions from warlords.

Mr Gwala also confirms Chief Minister Buthelezi's claim that the ANC asked the Zulu leader to stay inside the system and keep his head down.

He says this was a move to counter the banhustan system. The ANC was happy with the formation of Inkatha. It was hoped the movement would be a broad-based organisation which would enjoy grassroots support.

"It was felt at the time that, although the Black People's Convention and other structures were doing

good work, they were drawing only intellectual support and did not reach the masses."

The big rift between the ANC and Inkatha did not come, as alleged by Chief Buthelezi, because Inkatha grew phenomenally and the ANC felt its position as sole representative of the people was threatened.

"How could the ANC be threatened by Inkatha's growth? To have a big organisation operating inside was the intention in the first place. The trouble started when the organisation assumed a tribal profile. Its leadership started turning it

into a provincial organisation for the Zulus."

He says it's not true that the ANC has ordered the elimination of Chief Buthelezi. "He would be gone by now, if that were true."

Mr Gwala will not speculate on the possibility of Mandela's release — "It's like jumping in the dark."

But he accepts that on medical grounds Mandela may soon be going home.

"The Government may not be humane, but they are still human beings. They do not want old men to die in jail."

Mr Gwala laughs off the Government contention that the ANC is imprisoning Man-

dela and his release would spark a leadership wrangle in the organisation.

"The people saying that should have learnt from the Swapo experience. They were saying when Toloja ja Toloja was released that Swapo would come apart because of a power struggle between him and Sam Nujoms. I hope they are eating their words now."

"It should be noted that when he was arrested, Mandela was not the president of the ANC. He was not even general secretary."

"He was only a member of the national executive and deputy chief of the military wing."

"Oliver Tambo is president of the ANC, having taken over the reins from the late Chief Albert Lutulu."

"To suggest there may be a wrangle between Mandela and Tambo is ludicrous. The two men grew up together. They shared a legal practice in Johannesburg and think highly of each other."

85 to quit Labour

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

S/ Times 11/12/68

IN what could be the biggest mass exodus from the Labour Party, all 85 card-carrying members of the Ravensmead branch near Cape Town plan to quit tomorrow.

Their action is part of a backlash against party leader Allan Hendrickse's decision to expel all MPs who defy a National Executive Committee ban on MPs serving on management committees.

The vice-chairman of the Ravensmead Management Committee, Nick Dirks, said yesterday that the Ravensmead branch of the LP had decided to break off ties with the party at a meeting in Cape Town tomorrow night in protest against Mr Hendrickse's "autocratic action".

S/Times 11/14/88

Prisoner in jailer's home

11A

By RUTH GOLEMBO

IN a strange paradox, Nelson Mandela now lives in a home meant for one of his jailers

In the dark hours of Wednesday night he was moved from a Cape Town clinic to a comfortable ranch-type house on a prison farm that was originally constructed for use by a senior official

From his new terrace he can look out at the picturesque Cape winelands bordered by majestic mountains

Apart from his stays in hospital, this is the first time the ANC leader has lived outside a prison cell in more than 26 years

But his juridical status as a prisoner remains unchanged

The authorities say that, within the perimeters of his



GILDED CAGE .. the house where Mandela lives

gilded cage, Mandela can virtually do as he pleases — including cook for himself in the modern kitchen at his own cost

"The Prisons Service remains responsible for providing his daily meals

"But he is free to acquire additional foodstuffs and

confectionary," a spokesman said

He can move freely about the grounds of the Victor Verster prison near Paarl

But he cannot get out

The prison farm, designed for rehabilitating criminals, maintains its own chicken farm, giving inmates the opportunity to learn the basics of farming

It also has a library, sports facilities and beautiful gardens

A spokesman said "Mr Mandela's residence is not part and parcel of the Victor Verster complex"

Further details were withheld to avoid "infringing on his privacy"

However, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee has said that the Prisons Service may at a later stage "open up" on this subject

Mandela's wife, Winnie, and other members of his immediate family — who until now have been allowed only brief visits — will be allowed unlimited access

And the possibility of other visitors has not been excluded

However, Mrs Mandela has said she will continue to limit her calls to brief visits because her husband is "still a prisoner"

The 70-year-old prisoner's family had planned to visit him this weekend, but flights to Cape Town were fully booked. They are expected to make the journey later this week

Luxurious

Mr Coetsee said Mr Mandela's family would be allowed to stay "more freely and on a continuous basis" at the new residence

For the past four months Mandela has occupied a private suite in the luxurious Constantiaberg clinic in Cape Town recuperating from tuberculosis

A spokesman for the hospital declined to disclose how much his stay had cost the State

"We negotiated a rate with the Government and were paid accordingly," he said

Struggle still on for dying Gwala

11A

CP Correspondent

CP/Pre 11/1/88

MARITZBURG-born veteran ANC activist Harry Themba Gwala last week set foot for the first time in 26 years in his neighbouring city of Durban

Last week, after being freed from prison, he went to Durban for his first independent medical examination.

The 69-year-old former member of the SA Communist Party shuffled from the clinical chambers of his neurological specialist doctor

According to the president of the National Medical and Dental Associ-

ation, Dr Diliza Mji, who accompanied him, the specialist confirmed the terminal motor neuron disease afflicting him.

And later in the week, when he addressed a news conference, his eldest daughter, Lulu, had to interrupt at intervals to wipe sweat from his spectacles and face

However, 21 years in prison have not blunted the man's commitment to the struggle and his political acumen. At the conference he displayed an indomitable spirit and deftly fielded questions from journalists - Concord

to Page 3

c/p news 11/12/88 (11A)

The passing away of a great fighter

CP Correspondent

WITH the death of Johnny Mfana-futhi Makhathini at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka last weekend the ANC and the people of South Africa have lost a talented diplomat-cum-fighter the ANC said from Lusaka

Makhathini died of complications arising from a diabetic condition that had plagued him for the past year. He was due to be treated in Harare this week, but went into a coma a week before he died.

"His shining qualities will continue to inspire his colleagues and the younger generation with the added determination needed to complete his life's work," the ANC said.

As director of the ANC's department of international affairs, which controls 39 missions worldwide, Makhathini ranked number four in the organisation.

Already diplomats are speculating who will be his successor - and most agree that the current chief of the ANC's information department, Thabo Mbeki, would be the man named.

He was born in Durban on February 8, 1932, and grew up a bright and gifted child with an aptitude for languages which he developed from his mother, Mama Jali.

He went to Adams College and later trained as a teacher, but stopped in protest at Bantu education. He was at the time teaching at a high school at Amanzimtoti near Durban after he read for a BA degree in social work and history.

While in Natal, Makhathini was an active member of the ANC Youth League. He was one of the

main organisers of the historic Maritzburg conference of March 1961 which was addressed by Nelson Mandela and the anti-apartheid countrywide strike of May 1961.

In 1962, Makhathini was among the first group of volunteers from Natal to be sent out for ANC military training after which he was appointed head of the ANC's first foreign mission in Algeria in 1966.

His diplomatic career was given a boost when he

was appointed the ANC's first representative at the United Nations in New York where he stayed until 1985 - a period of 10 years.

During his long stay in the US, Makhathini proved himself a very competent diplomat and a lobbyist of incredible energy.

Probably his most important work from the ANC's point of view, was that he succeeded in bringing South Africa into the debate in the UN and the consequent international

isolation of the country.

After the ANC national consultative conference in 1985 at Kabwe, Zambia, he was moved to Lusaka to head the international relations department.

Makhathini leaves his wife, Valerie - a Caribbean woman - and his five-year-old daughter Nandi.

Makhathini will be buried on Wednesday, December 14 in Lusaka.

UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar

sent condolences to the ANC.

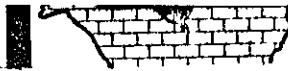
"His death will be a great loss to his family, his country as well as the many friends he made during his long stay abroad," Perez de Cuellar said.

"At the UN he won the respect of many for his unqualified devotion to his country and as an outstanding spokesman for the cause he represented," the Secretary-General added. - Ane



Johnny Makhathini (standing) . . . won respect at the UN for his devotion to his country.

Makhathini was respected worldwide for his struggles as diplomat of the ANC



C/Pres 11/12/88 (11A) (12)

MANDELA

The name on everyone's lips

By SOL MORATHI

LAST week Nelson Mandela was moved from the Constantiaberg Clinic in Cape Town to a "luxury home" adjacent to the Victor Verster prison - fuelling speculation that this was part of the government's plans for his "phased" release.

Renewed speculation of his release from prison faltered after government officials indicated this was not yet on the cards.

The government's response to demands for Mandela's release was first made clear in 1985. State President PW Botha said in Parliament that the government was not insensitive to the fact that Mandela and others had spent many years in prison.

In August last year, Botha clarified this view during his budget debate. He emphasised that policy concerning ordinary criminals and security prisoners should be the same.

This meant that the renunciation of violence should be taken into account, but only together with the intentions of the punisher, the interests of the community and the State, the nature of the crime and its motives, the duration of sentence, previous criminal records, the prisoner's reaction to the sentence imposed and the general composition of his personality.

This statement indicated the government's increasing flexibility in its approach. The possible release of fellow ANC member Govan Mbeki, mentioned in person by Botha in that regard, was a further indication.

But predicting just when Mandela will be released is still a hazardous business.

Nonetheless, amid all the uncertainty generated by the government about Mandela's freedom, a persistent feeling has arisen that the ANC leader will soon be released.

The government has moved steadily closer to freeing him over the years.

Less than a decade ago, there was no room for speculation. Law professor John

Dugard of Wits, said less than a decade ago that the government's policy was one of denying remission to political prisoners.

But then it was easy to forecast that Mandela and others sentenced for life would remain in jail until death.

Then came January 1985, when Botha announced he was willing to consider the release of Mandela and others.

Mandela was then not prepared to be released conditionally. Only one prisoner, Dennis Goldberg, accepted Botha's conditional release.

The next offer for Mandela's release came in 1986. Botha said he was prepared to release Mandela on humanitarian grounds - a new criterion - in return for the removal of restrictions on two Soviet dissidents, Anatoly Scharansky and Dr Andrei Sakharov, and the freeing of Major Wynand du Toit, a South African commando captured in Angola.

Nothing came of that, although the two Russians were freed over the next 18 months.

Then in August last year, Botha told Parliament that the release of political or security prisoners would not be governed only by the renunciation of violence, but by the same principles as the release of ordinary prisoners.

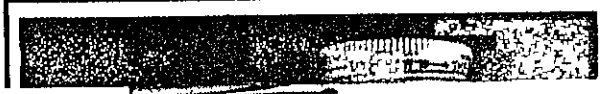
Diplomats saw this as a move away from his January 1985 position. By setting a renunciation of violence as a condition, Botha had surrendered the initiative to Mandela.

The new policy enabled Botha to regain the initiative. He could determine when and how Mandela would be released, even if he refused to publicly renounce the armed struggle.

In November last year, fellow Rivonia trialist Mbeki was released on humanitarian grounds. He was not required to publicly repudiate the ANC's armed struggle.

But despite predictions that Mandela will be free by Christmas, the probabilities are that Botha is still keeping his options open.

Karate



The Times says Mandela move deserves quiet encouragement

Star 10/12/88

(1A)
(327)

LONDON — Pretoria's decision to move Nelson Mandela's one step closer to freedom merits quiet encouragement, not noisy condemnation, says *The Times*.

In an editorial yesterday headed "Freedom by Instalments", it says President Botha is clearly trying to condition both black and extreme white opinion to the point where the political shockwaves can be kept to a minimum.

But this strategy is not without risk, particularly in the international context, where the benefits to South Africa's reputation will probably be discounted long before Mr Mandela is finally freed.

The paper says Mr Botha's response to almost universal lack of credibility has been political inertia.

"Today, however, emboldened by the results of the nationwide municipal elections, which appeared to indicate that the parties of the far right would

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

grow no further, and by the need to rescue his relations with Mrs Thatcher in particular, he is beginning to display a new and welcome political sophistication.

"A series of positive decisions in the last few weeks are all symptoms of a new, if still tentative, pragmatism in Pretoria .

"Mr Mandela's release by instalments indicates just how tentative that mood is and how premature any advance applause might be.

"Nevertheless, the fact that Pretoria has seen fit to move the ANC leader one step closer to freedom merits not noisy condemnation but quiet encouragement — both from those who genuinely seek his liberty and from those who would spur President Botha on to greater courage."



COMFORTED BY FRIENDS Mrs Martha Chikane, wife of former Transvaal secretary of the UDF Moss Chikane, was comforted by friends outside the court on Thursday Her husband was sent to jail for 10 years ● Picture by Herbert Mabuza

Delmas 4 accept jail terms without rancour

THE four men convicted of treason in South Africa's longest trial served the first full day of their prison sentences yesterday, having walked down the same stairs from the same dock that Nelson Mandela traversed nearly a quarter of a century ago.

But even before their sentences began, the four men — Popo Molefe, Patrick Lekota, Moss Chikane and Tom Manthata — had been in jail as awaiting-trial prisoners for longer than the two Afrikaner nationalists who were convicted of treason in 1915.

The Afrikaner nationalists were Generals Christiaan de Wet and Jan Kemp. They were sentenced to six and seven years respectively for their role in the 1914 rebellion, but were released less than two years later.

Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC, focused on that comparison in his address to the court on behalf of Molefe, Lekota and Chikane, all of whom were senior men in the United Democratic Front (UDF).

Arguing in mitigation of sentence, Mr Chaskalson said "They have all been in custody since their arrest on April 23 1985 and that means they have already served over three and a half years in prison. That is longer than the periods served by Generals de Wet and Kemp.

The long period of incarceration of the four men weighed heavily in the determining of sen-

tence, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said when passing sentence before a packed court.

Molefe and Chikane were sent to jail for 10 years. Lekota was sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment, his earlier conviction under the Terrorism Act in the 'black consciousness trial' of 1976-77 counting against him. Manthata, a stalwart of the black consciousness movement, was sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

The four men went to jail without rancour, smiling at their friends in the gallery.

Red carnations

They — and their seven co-accused who were convicted of terrorism but given suspended sentences — wore red carnations in their lapels. They tossed the carnations into the gallery as their voices filled the courtroom with the African national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelela iAfrika*.

Mr Chaskalson dealt with the theme of reconciliation in his address, weaving it into his brief sketches of the three UDF men.

Molefe had faced great adversity in his life, but emerged "with out bitterness or a desire for retribution", Lekota "acted out of conviction" and "would serve his sentence without bitterness", Chikane had shown himself to be "a man of peace".

Mr Chaskalson did not refer to

Manthata. His co-defence counsel, Mr George Bizos, SC, did He recalled testimony of several defence witnesses on Manthata's deep Christian convictions and his role as a reconciler.

Mr Justice van Dijkhorst picked up the theme of reconciliation when sentencing the men. He had considered it in his search for a sentence which would neither frustrate the possibility of reconciliation nor be so lenient as to bring the administration of justice into disrepute.

Recalling his finding that the UDF leadership had pursued a policy in which violence was an "integral, necessary and inevitable component" the judge said "These accused can in future play a constructive role in the political scene, provided they, by word and deed, forswear the violent option and act within the law".

Of Manthata, whom he found to have made speech at a meeting in the Vaal Triangle calling on town councillors to resign on pain of death, Mr Justice van Dijkhorst said "I am lenient in the hope that accused 16 (Manthata), on his return to society, will assume a leadership role but in a more constructive way".

Linked to reconciliation was another theme: a younger generation of black leaders was going into jail as an older generation of leaders was being released.

Only hours before sentence was passed on Thursday, Mandela was moved from a private clinic in Cape Town to a comfortable house in the grounds of the Victor Verster prison in Paarl, in what many observers believe is another stage in his phased release to freedom.

The period between conviction and sentence in the Pretoria trial saw two major releases: those of the president of the Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephaniah Mothopeng, and ANC life prisoner Mr Harry Gwala.

Crossing of paths

Noting the crossing of paths of the younger and older generations of black leaders, Mr Chaskalson said of the younger men "They are respected leaders and they have an important role to play in the new South Africa. There is in our submission every reason for them to be dealt with in a way that will make it possible for them to play their part in the creation of that new South Africa."

People convicted of political offences today qualify for remission under revised penal policy. Thus the prospect of the four not hav-

ing to serve their full sentences cannot be discounted.

Black notables — some of whom were acquitted of treason in the 1985 Maritzburg trial of major UDF and trade union members — have already served notice that they regard the Pretoria quartet as patriots rather than traitors and a campaign to secure their freedom is on the agenda.

But the Pretoria trial left the immediate future of the UDF in doubt. Mr Justice van Dijkhorst found the UDF was an internal wing of the outlawed ANC thus clearing the way for the authorities to ban the already severely fettered organisation.

The Commissioner of Police, General Henne de Witt, referred to Mr Justice van Dijkhorst's finding when he banned a planned solidarity rally for the treason defendants on Tuesday.

But as Mr Chaskalson pointed out the core of the problem did not lie in the UDF per se and the conspiracy which — Mr Justice van Dijkhorst found — it had entered into with the ANC.

The conflict between the State and the UDF had in Mr Chaskalson's carefully chosen words, "its origins in the legitimate and deeply felt grievances of an underclass excluded from the mainstream of society and subjected to humiliation and discrimination".

8/10/12/85
PATRICK LAURENCE

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December 13 1988 3

Optimism as party merger talks continue

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

PARTY spokesmen involved in efforts to form a new leftwing party expressed optimism today as they prepared to report back to their leadership

It appeared as if the three parties have become so "locked in" in the moves to have a new party that not one could break away at this stage without seriously damaging itself

A committee of Progressive Federal Party, Independent Party and National Democratic Movement representatives has to report back at a meeting of the three groups at the home of businessman Mr Louis Luyt in Johannesburg tomorrow

The committee was expected to draw up a statement of intent and of principle and to make suggestions for structures and strategies for a party left of the National Party

LEADERSHIP QUESTION

Mr David Gant, co-chairman of the IP, said there had been good, constructive talks at yesterday's meeting of the committee and that the leadership question had been fully aired

Mr Wynand Malan MP, leader of the NDM, said he remained optimistic. There was a tremendous potential for the force that could be developed by putting the three parties together

In PFP circles there are, however, misgivings about the IP's leadership proposals — that Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan must be co-leaders with Dr Zac de Beer as chairman

11A

Labour Party 'should stay in system'

Political Correspondent

CALLS to the Labour Party to remain in the tricameral system are contained in resolutions for its annual congress in Bloemfontein from December 27 to 29

In one resolution, the Eastern Cape region of the party says the congress should accept that the party must continue in the system in spite of its deficiencies as it is the only party putting political pressure on the government to step up reform

The Oranje-Kalahari region has a resolution stating the party must continue in the sys-

tem for five years with the aim of negotiating constructively to bring about change

Another Eastern Cape resolution attacks the hypocrisy of the government in condemning the Conservative Party for wanting to put up apartheid notice boards in towns under its control while the government is itself guilty of maintaining the Separate Amenities Act, and while towns in the constituencies of leading Cabinet Ministers still have beach apartheid boards prominently displayed

Another resolution condemns the Pretoria massacre and

says that until the philosophies of apartheid and separatism are eradicated, South Africans can never feel safe

A call for the release of all political prisoners such as Mr Nelson Mandela so that a process of negotiation on a new constitutional system can start is made in another resolution

Contact with all organisations opposed to apartheid must be continued, it says

The Labour Party leader, Mr Allan Hendrickse, will open the congress in the Bloemfontein City Hall on the evening of December 27

13/12/88
**Massacred 11
were Inkatha'**

ULUNDI — The victims in the Trust Feed massacre when 11 of 13 people in a house were mowed down by gunfire — were Inkatha members, the chief minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said here yesterday.

He said in a statement that as a result of the tragedy he had instructed attorneys to investigate "this horrific incident".

"I have now received a preliminary report from my attorneys and from the information received, it has been ascertained that the victims were in fact Inkatha members.

"The investigation is continuing," he said —
Sapa

Zwelakhe visits his father, Walter Sisulu, in Cape Town prison today

RESTRICTED editor of the *New Nation*, Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been given permission by the police to visit his father, Walter Sisulu, who is serving a life sentence for ANC activities at Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town

Mr Sisulu was released two weeks ago after spending 720 days in detention. He was held under the emergency regulations.

A spokesman for his lawyers yesterday said Mr Sisulu was given permission last Friday to visit his father.

Mr Sisulu left with his wife, Zodiwa, and their three children yesterday for Cape Town. They will spend 40 minutes with Mr Sisulu senior today and they will return tomorrow.

After his release from prison Mr Sisulu was issued with harsh restrictions under the state of emergency.

In terms of his restrictions, Mr Sisulu may not

activities of the UDF, SACC, DPSC, NECC, Education Policy Unit of Wits University, People's Education Crisis Com-

mittee, Soweto Civic Association, Nusas of Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee and between 2pm and 5pm to the Orlando police station twice a day, and between 6am and 9am Mr Sisulu must report

By MZIKAYISE EDOM

- Return to his job at *New Nation*,
- Give interviews to journalists,
- Leave the Johannesburg magisterial district without police permission,
- Be outside his Dube, Soweto, home between 6pm and 6am daily,
- Enter any educational institution,
- Be in the same room with more than 10 people, including himself,
- Attend any meeting at which government and local authority policy is criticised, and
- Take part in the

MR ZWELAKHE SISULU



Winnie to visit Nelson's new pad

13/12/88
Mrs WINNIE Mandela is to visit her husband, African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, in his new quarters near Paarl today.

The visit will be her first since Mr Mandela was moved from the Constantiaberg Clinic in Plumstead to the Prisons Service staff house "adjacent to" the prison last week.

The visit was confirmed by Mr Ismail Ayob, the Mandela family attorney, who will accompany Mrs Mandela to Paarl.

She will hold a Press conference at the University of the Western Cape after her visit, he said.

Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said last week that Mr Mandela's family could stay with him "on a continuous basis" at the new house.

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RECENTLY - released ANC activist Mr Harry Gwala was the surprise speaker on Sunday at a ceremony to mark the unveiling of tombstones for four people slain two years ago by vigilantes in Mpophomeni, near Maritzburg.

Hundreds of people, mainly trade unionists, gathered at St Anne's Roman Catholic Church in the township on Saturday for an all-night vigil, which culminated in a mass celebrated by the Archbishop of

Durban, the Most Rev Dennis Hurley

Sarmcol workers and shop stewards, Mr Simon Ngubane and Mr Phineas Sibiyi, and Miss Florenah Mnikathi, the daughter of a Sarmcol worker, were burnt to death when the car in which they had been abducted by vigilantes caught fire

"These people are warriors," Mr Gwala said referring to the slain four "We should not shed tears We must learn

from these comrades We are all in the battle. We will never retreat We will continue the struggle"

Mr Gwala, who was instrumental in founding in the 1950s the first union at what was then the Howick Rubber Factory, was later joined by another surprise guest, one of the three United Democratic Front presidents, Mr Archie Gumede

Because he is restricted Mr Gumede could not address the crowd — Sapa

Mandela gets ^{AKG}
law degree ^{1/12/88}

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Nelson Mandela, one of 80 000 Unisa students who have received their examination results, has been awarded a Bachelor of Law (Lb) degree.

A National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) spokesman said it served as an inspiration to all prisoners and detainees.

Nadel's vice-president, Mr Mathole Mahlangu, said that considering Mr Mandela's age and health the achievement served as a reminder that imprisonment could not hold back an able mind.

● See page 3.

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ANC leader cut off from contact with colleagues and friends

sec 14/12/88
Mandela lonely in new prison

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela's move to new quarters at Victor Verster Prison was a cruel and retrogressive move, the family's legal representative, Mr Ismail Ayob, said at a press conference at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) yesterday.

Speaking on behalf of Mrs Winnie Mandela after she, her daughter Zinzi and three grandchildren had paid an 80-minute visit to Mandela yesterday, he said they had felt an "upwelling of loneliness" in the jailed ANC leader.

He repeated Mrs Mandela's earlier statements that her husband was still effectively a prisoner and that, despite the unlimited access she had been offered, she would take up only the visiting privileges that had been available at Pollsmoor Prison.

Although she had been on the premises of Victor Verster for about two hours yesterday, some of that time had been taken up with administrative arrangements and she had spent only the standard two 40-minute periods with her husband that she had been allowed previously.

SAME PRIVILEGES

She would not take up the offer of greater access until the same privileges were given to all political prisoners. Her husband was in total agreement with this.

Mandela was surrounded by a great many prison officials, but had no contact at all with any of his colleagues or friends. While there had been no prison officials in the room where yesterday's meeting took place, they had been "all around" elsewhere in the house.

Mandela had not been consulted about the move. He had been given literally a couple of minutes' notice of the move.

The family had received no indication of whether further moves were planned.

Asked if Mandela had been taken to Victor Verster against his will, Mr Ayob said "He had no choice — he is a prisoner."

Mandela's health had improved a great deal and he was moving about.

A large banner painted in the ANC colours of green, yellow and black, and bearing a picture of Mandela, was hung on a wall in the centre at the UWC where the press conference took place. — Sapa

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Divisional Commissioner of Police in the Western Cape, Brigadier Roy During, has been granted leave to appeal against a court decision that overturned the police banning of the Mandela Birthday

Appeal over Mandela concert

Committee Concert

Dr Allan Boesak represented the Mandela Birthday Committee in the urgent application to overturn the banning of the concert at the University of the Western

Cape on July 17

Yesterday Mr Justice C T Howie granted Brigadier During leave to appeal against the decision

5/21/1987

In papers before court Brigadier During said the

basis of his appeal was that the court had erred in finding the banning of the concert unjustified, in requiring reasonable grounds and in finding that these were not present

11A

Mandela 'worse off' after move

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From page 1

Mandela



VISITING . . Mrs Winnie Mandela outside Victor Verster prison yesterday with Mr Dullah Omar

By PETER DENNEHY

THE move of Mr Nelson Mandela to a house inside the Victor Verster prison complex has left him completely isolated from any friends, according to the Mandela family lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob

Although he is surrounded by many guards who do not leave him alone, "he has no contact at all with his comrades", Mr Ayob said at a press conference

"The move is in fact a retrograde step," Mr Ayob added

Prison authorities, who claim to be releasing Mr Mandela in phases, will allow his family members to visit him for an unlimited amount of time at the house which is now his prison. But his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela, has declined to take up this offer

Mr Ayob said family members would have to imprison themselves to be with Mr Mandela for any length of time

Mrs Mandela has taken the view that until all political prisoners are given the same privileges, she will limit herself and her family to the visits she

was allowed previously

She said yesterday that Mr Mandela agrees with her on this.

Mrs Mandela, her daughter Zindzi, and three grandchildren Zondwa, 11, Zoleka, 8, and Gadaffi, 5, were in-

To page 3

side the prison complex for more than two hours yesterday on their first visit there, but they spent only two 40-minute periods with Mr Mandela

When Mr Mandela was in Pollsmoor, his wife used to pay him "double visits" of 80 minutes. The rest of her time inside yesterday was taken up by "making arrangements"

Mr Ayob, who did not accompany the family members into the prison but spoke to them afterwards, said the family "felt saddened and hurt when they saw what had happened to him (Mr Mandela), and felt particularly keenly about his loneliness"

The ANC leader, who has been in prison for 26 years, had not been consulted about the move. Sources at the Constantiaberg Clinic say he had been happy there

"The family has the impression that he is worse off than before," Mr Ayob said. He added that Mr Mandela had in fact been kept alone since 1985

Mr Mandela did not say he was lonely, but the family had got the impression that he was. He saw no sign that his release was imminent at all

Mr Mandela's prison house has a pool, but the ANC leader has not been using it. Mr Ayob said he did not think Mr Mandela was able to swim

"He lived in Soweto," he said. "Possibly as a child he swam in pools in the Transkei."

Mr Mandela does have a radio and a television set, and he may subscribe to some newspapers, as was the case while he was in Pollsmoor

Mr Ayob did not wish to reveal what was discussed during the family visit.

He said Mr Mandela's family had applied for a Christmas visit, but whether they come down or not will depend on whether they are able to get seats on a flight

Mandela move condemned

Sowetan 14/12/88
NELSON Mandela's move to new quarters at Victor Verster Prison was a cruel and retrogressive move, the family's legal representative Mr Ismail Ayob, said at a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking on behalf of Mrs Winnie Mandela after she, daughter Zinzi and three grandchildren, paid an 80-minute visit to Mr Mandela yesterday, he said they had felt an

"upwelling of loneliness" in the jailed ANC leader. He repeated Mrs Mandela's earlier statements that her husband was still effectively a prisoner and that despite the unlimited access she had been offered, she would take up only the visiting privileges that had been available at Pollsmoor.

Although she had been on the premises of Victor Verster for about two hours yesterday, some of that time had been taken

up with administrative arrangements and she had spent only the standard two 40-minute periods with her husband that she had been allowed previously.

She would not take up the offer of greater access until the same privileges were given to all political prisoners. Mr Mandela was in total agreement with this (11A) ~~22~~

The family's impression had been "the welling up of 26 years of loneliness." Mandela

had been alone since at least 1985 "and now it's become worse"

He now had no contact at all with any of his colleagues or friends,

• To page 2

REPORTS, pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency

No change

Sowetan 14/12/88
• From Page 1

Mandela had not had surrounded by a great enough water to take a bath. For that time he had been totally isolated.

"It's a normal house but it's in a prison cell. (11A) ~~22~~ What's happening is that from being held in a cell in prison he's now gone to a house in prison. This is not freedom."

There had been no change in Mandela's status as a prisoner beyond the concession on visits from his family.

Photographs of the house had shown a swimming pool nearby. For the past 26 years

Mandela had not had enough water to take a bath. For that time he had been in a concrete cell. (11A) ~~22~~

The prisons' authorities should rather release photographs of that cell.

Before he went to prison Mandela did not have the luxury of a pool.

"I don't even know if he can swim."

Asked how far Mandela could move from the house, Mr Ayob said "I assume as far as the photograph goes."

People will decide'

From page 8

longer the decision of the people of Angola. It is the decision of America and those who are giving them aid.

But we value aid if it is done correctly. It must have no strings attached.

Akh: What support is the PAC getting from other countries?

Exploit

Moth: That is difficult for me to say. By the way, we are not relying on others, it is our duty to liberate ourselves. We rely on the people of South Africa.

If we allow the colonialists to exploit us as individual countries, we will be divided. We shall remind them that they drew up the boundaries, that the imperialists are regrouping. In 1992 they are forming one economic order in Europe.

Wealth

Are we going to be divided and allow them to make Africa a patchwork of colours on the map? Must we allow them to redraw that map? We cannot form any social order that will survive unless our raw materials, the wealth of Africa, are used in Africa. The routes of Africa are now leading to the sea, taking all the raw material.

Our wealth is stored in the vaults of Switzerland. Where are our diamonds cut? In Israel. It is exactly a colonial situation. What Botha is trying to do now is create the Latin American situation where — I'm sorry to use that term — they are banana republics.

"Many businesses have indicated large turnovers, although I do not have the exact figures. The business is booming every day.

"The reintroduction of petty apartheid in Boksburg is a sign of being narrow minded," he said.

Achib's president, Mr Lawrence Mavundla, has encouraged hawkers to take advantage of the status quo.

Africans. That is why they stopped them from going to parliament.

Akh: In the last 12 years while you were in prison, the tricameral parliamentary system and institutions like black local authority councils were introduced. How do you view them?

Moth: You see, that is the problem. We reject the ideas of the oppressor in toto. We are not interested. We have our own ideas, our own programme.

It is completely different from that of the oppressor. We will meet them at the crossroads. The one that is superior will prevail.

Banned

Akh: You have mentioned that the PAC cannot measure its internal membership because it is banned, but there are reports that there is a movement among young people towards it. Are you aware of it?

Moth: It is difficult for me to make such an assessment because I was in jail. But I was happy to hear that that is what is happening. But I don't want to be presumptuous. I believe in reality, I want to be in touch and be able to say, yes this is true. If it is true then I will say Hallelujah!

Interests

Akh: In terms of foreign involvement, what type of role can other countries play in the liberation process?

Moth: They must look at the interests of the South African people. Involvement of foreign countries must have no strings attached. They must have no say in what structures and social order we are going to create.

What is happening now in Angola and elsewhere is arm-twisting. America is saying this, South Africa is saying this, others are saying that. It is no-

From Page 6

(Africans) was born which was adopted by the slave masters. Therefore, they were the first colonial people to give their colonial masters their language.

There is this misconception that people who developed the Cape were mainly from the colonialist group. Those people from the East had a long civilisation, they discovered the wheel, for example. They were artisans. Their skills were not taught to them by the

colonialists. That is why their contribution to the development of the country was enormous. They adapted their skills, they became Africans. Later on the British wanted to develop the sugar fields in Natal, so they also brought people of Eastern origin, mainly from India.

They were also brought here as wage slaves and they could therefore identify with Africa, the people of Africa. They became Africans, interested in genuine liberation.

So I hope it is clear who are the Africans. They don't fear the majority. They want a non-racial democracy.

By the way, we were the first people to use the word "non-racial". It was introduced and popularised by our movement. Everybody else was calling themselves multi-racial, now they call themselves non-racial.

When other people ask us why we are going to share with whites and Indians and so on, we say there are no whites and blacks in Africa, there are only Africans and colonialists.

But I'm not quarrelling. As soon as people have accepted that, we are moving forward. Multi-racialism means

Objectives

Now the fact is that the colonialists are here. It is an objective condition. They are ruling the country. We must be very clear who is interested in

the true liberation of South Africa and who is oppressing and exploiting the people and wealth of South Africa, from whom must the people of South Africa liberate themselves?

There were two waves of colonialism here — Dutch colonialism, followed by British colonialism. I'm not going to talk now about how, that is history.

The Dutch colonialists were defeated by the British colonialists, but they ultimately merged to form one colonialism

in 1910 and called themselves Boer colonialists.

They went on to make a British colony. It was, however, technical, it would be difficult for the British to run so they saw the opportunity of getting other people to further the dispossession. The colonialists are still running this country as colonialists. The wealth of this country still goes out to the colonial mother countries.

The Dutch were used as farmers to produce food to feed the towns and mines in particular. It was economic joint exploitation of the Africans between British imperialism, which enjoyed the wealth, and the Dutch, who would administer to lessen the cost of running this colony. Even now it is run along those lines.

To page 18

Ruthless

Let us just go back in history. The colonialists say that when they came here and went into the interior there were no people there. So how come there was conflict with the people?

Everywhere they went in Africa they met the African people. Africa has no boundaries. These were created by the imperialists.

The colonialists were ruthless. They went as far as exterminating the San and Xhosi people. They brought people of Eastern origin as slaves, they didn't take African indigenous people as slaves to the East.

Because they could not understand the language of the slave masters the people introduced their own language which was related to that of the oppressor, the exploiter and the colonialists.

A new language

To Page 8

look at the interests of the people

FROM U

Friday, December 14, 1988

'IDEOLOGY IS THERE' - MOTHOPENG

Sowetan
14/12/88
11A

ZEPHANIA Lekoane Mothopeng (75), president of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, has been released unconditionally from jail after serving 12 years of his 15-year sentence under the Terrorism Act. On December 3, the day before a service of welcome was scheduled for him in the Regina Mundi Church, AMEEN AKHALWAYA interviewed him in his Soweto home. The interview has had to be severely censored, firstly because of the stringent state of emergency regulations and because it is a criminal offence to "further the aims" of a banned organisation. In addition, because of his health, Mr Mothopeng finds it difficult to talk for long spells.

AKHALWAYA: Mr Mothopeng, you've been in prison since 1976. How were you able to keep up with what was going on in the country?

Mothopeng: I was sent down in August, 1976. It was very difficult. It took a long time before we could be in contact with the outside, before we were permitted to buy newspapers.

It was round about 1984 when we were allowed to buy newspapers. Just before I was transferred from Robben Island (off Cape Town), we were receiving all the papers in the section where I was, called Section B.

It accommodated leaders and a few of the people who were thought to be difficult with the authorities.

When I was transferred to (the new) Johannesburg prison, I could get almost all the big newspapers.

Akh: When were you transferred there?

Moth: In December 1984. Later on we were allowed to buy radios, as long as they did not have shortwave.

So, we were bombarded of course with this government's propaganda, but in the end, we were not badly off as far as news was concerned.

Akh: Govan Mbeki (an ANC leader jailed for life), has been released with restrictions, you and the ANC's Hairy Gwala without. Do you have any indication why?

Moth: I can't answer for the government.

Akh: In relation to what's happening in South Africa now, where is the PAC internally?

Moth: That I can't answer because in the first place PAC is banned. But you can't ban all the people who are members of the PAC because they are very many.

I don't know where they are, but they are there and they are in the majority all the time. The



ideology is there.

The PAC is banned, so how can they tell the newspapers who they are? It's a silly question!

Akh: The question is asked because an impression has been created that the PAC virtually doesn't exist.

Moth: The newspapers have always been against us. We have not been created by the impressions of the newspapers and our progress is not



MR ZEPH Mothopeng and his wife Urbania.

going to be determined by them.

That has been the aspect from the start, even when our activities here were dominating before we were banned (in 1960).

We were the first organisation to quote our membership numbers.

Confusion

By the time we were arrested, we had covered the whole ground. Many of those people are still alive.

Does anyone expect them to go around saying 'I am PAC' when they

don't know who might be the security police?

I am still going to study the situation, but as far as I am aware — I don't know what their activities are — they are there.

Akh: In South Africa, there is some confusion about the membership of the PAC, that it is all-African. Some interpret this to mean indigenous African, while PAC leaders abroad say the PAC is non-racial, that 'African' means all who owe allegiance to Africa. Can you clarify?

Moth: The confusion is created by people who don't like us. They create their own monster, and then they destroy it. They don't destroy the PAC.

We believe in non-racial democratic rule of the African people in South Africa. A person must accept this.

We do not look at the colour of his skin. We look at his ideas, his loyalty. For example, I say there are no "Indian" people here, but people of Eastern origin, provided they have become Africans.

The same applies to people of European origin or any other origin. A person must not say he belongs to a certain grouping. He is an African if his only loyalty is to Africa, and he accepts the non-racial democratic decisions of the African people.

He is not going to say he is a minority if he is an African.

How many people have read our literature? **Akh:** Very few, because most of it is banned.

Moth: That is what I mean when I say they have created their own monster.

P.T.O

85 to resign from Labour Party

Staff Reporter

News 15/12/88
ALL 85 members of the Ravensmead branch of the Labour Party are to resign over the expulsion from the party of their MP, Mr Hansie Christians.

But party secretary Mr Fred Peters today denied he had been officially informed of the resignations.

Mr Peters said "I am aware unofficially, that they are going to leave the party, but I have not had a letter from them. Until then, it is unofficial"

He said he was aware of unhappiness among members of

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the Ravensmead branch over the expulsion of Mr Christians, one of six Labour MPs expelled because they stood in the October municipal elections

In doing so they defied a party resolution passed in April that MPs could not serve on management committees

Mr Christians was elected chairman of the Ravensmead Management Committee

Mr Peters said "We outlawed it because it amounts to robbing the taxpayer — MPs who stand on management committees get two salaries and I do not believe they can do both jobs properly"

Brazzaville Pact seen as heavy blow to ANC and Unita operations

> for 15/12/88

(S) (11B)

By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

The African National Congress has been dealt a heavy blow with the signing of a peace agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba

The price for this, however, appears to be the severing of direct military support for Unita

An informal understanding between South Africa and Angola concerning the ANC and Unita appears to have been an integral part of the Brazzaville Protocol agreed to between the two countries and Cuba earlier this week

CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD

According to diplomatic and security sources, it is clearly understood by the three countries that an implicit part of their agreement is a cessation of all direct assistance by Angola to the ANC and by South Africa to Unita

The understanding is apparently embodied in the New York Principles agreed earlier by the three, and is ratified by the Brazzaville Protocol

South African security sources say the understanding reached with Angola is a major setback for the ANC, provided that Angola can be relied upon to carry out its part of the bargain

Effectively, they say, Angola and South Africa have come to an Nkomati Accord-type agreement which prevents either side from supporting actions or movements aimed at undermining each other's security

South African security sources say

the ANC moved its most important forward training bases to Angola after the signing of the Nkomati Accord

According to South African intelligence, the ANC operates at least eight bases or facilities in Angola

Not all of them are used for the direct training of insurgents but include transit bases for political indoctrination and for accommodation for trainees en route to East Germany, detention camps for dissidents and suspected South African agents, creches, stores, a hospital and a farm supplying pork and vegetables to the other bases

Security sources say the loss of these facilities would undoubtedly be a blow to the ANC as Angola currently accommodates the movement's most important training and forward bases

They say the understanding between Angola and South Africa excludes the normal international conventions regarding refugees, and bases accommodating such people would remain

EASILY MONITORED

South Africa would easily be in a position to monitor Angola's commitment to the understanding, they say, because the high capture rate of ANC operatives in SA would soon yield updated information with regards to their origin and places of training

South African sources expect Angola will honour the understanding for fear that Pretoria could retaliate by giving Unita bases in South Africa

● See Page 6.

V

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SADF 'preventing ANC infiltration'

Own Correspondent

Star 15/12/84
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DURBAN — The northern Natal border with Mozambique was not a problem area for the Defence Force but some African National Congress infiltration had taken place across it, the Deputy Minister of Defence Mr Wynand Breytenbach said in Durban yesterday.

He said there were intelligence reports of ANC infiltration across the Natal border. He described the SADF's role on the Natal border as "a question of preventive action."

Accompanied by senior officers, he has undertaken a two-day tour of operational units on the Natal border and Citizen Force units supporting the police in townships.

"These chaps worked hard over the year. It is not the most pleasant time of the year to do such duty I am touring to thank the chaps for doing their work and to wish them a happy Christmas and a prosperous new year."

Mr Breytenbach has already visited border units in the Free State, around the Lesotho border, and units in Soweto, Alexandra, Langa and Khayelitsha

MGUS 15/12/88

Angola agreement big blow to ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress has been dealt a heavy blow with the signing of a peace agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba.

The price South Africa had to pay for this appears to be the severing of direct military support for Unita.

An informal understanding between South Africa and Angola concerning the ANC and Unita apparently formed an integral part of the Brazzaville Protocol agreed to by the two countries and Cuba this week.

According to diplomatic and security sources it is clearly understood that an implicit part of their agreement is ending all direct aid by Angola to the ANC and by South Africa to Unita.

Understanding

The understanding is apparently embodied in the New York Principles agreed to earlier by the three countries and which is ratified by the Brazzaville Protocol

Diplomatic and security sources say that although this agreement does not say it explicitly, all the parties understand that it means direct support for Unita and the ANC must be

cut once the trilateral agreement formally adopting the Brazzaville Protocol is signed by the three countries in New York next week

South African security sources say the understanding reached with Angola is a major setback for the ANC. Angola is expected to honour the understanding for fear that Pretoria could retaliate by giving Unita bases in South Africa.

● At the United Nations talks resumed on measures for verifying the withdrawal of Cuban troops A UN spokesman said details still had to be worked out for the signing of the final agreement.

The Security Council is expected to be called into session next week to consider sending UN military observers to Angola.

● In Luanda, Swapo welcomed the signing of the Brazzaville agreement and pledged its readiness to play its part in Namibia's transition to independence.

It was ready to proceed with the implementation of Resolution 435 and to play its "leading role" in moves to independence. — Political Correspondent, The Argus Foreign Service and Argus Africa News Service.

Angolan pilot inexperienced, lost'

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — The Angolan pilot of the MiG21 jet fighter which landed in Namibia this week was clearly inexperienced, probably completely lost, and had no hostile intentions, according to the South African Defence Force.

Asked whether the Air Force had been prepared to intercept the MiG21 as it strayed more than 300km into Namibian airspace on Tuesday afternoon, a SADF spokesman said:

"The Defence Force knew he had exceeded the operating range of his aircraft. Therefore he could not have returned to Angola because of insufficient fuel.

"The Defence Force was fully aware of the movements of the aircraft, including its flight path, because it was tracked on radar for a long time and the pilot's radio transmissions were monitored.

"From this it was clear he was inexperienced and probably completely lost and confused because of the thick cloud base.

"From all these facts it was obvious that the aircraft posed no threat, had no hostile intentions and would be forced to land."

The plane landed in a hay field on a cattle ranch about 70km from Otjiwarongo in northern Namibia.

MGUS 15/12/88

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Dogs chase crowds as ANC chief Forbes gets 15 years

By GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town

POLICE unleashed dogs on crowds gathered outside the Cape Supreme Court yesterday at the conclusion of the eight-month trial of African National Congress commander Ashley Forbes and 13 co-accused.

Throng of supporters, many dressed in the banned organisation's colours of black, yellow and green, crowded pavements outside the cordoned-off supreme court building. They gave a heroes' welcome to four trialists who walked free after receiving suspended sentences.

Forbes, 24, the former Wynberg schoolboy whose grandmother's forced removal from District Six sparked his political awakening and who admitted being an ANC commander, was sentenced to 15 years jail and a further 10 years suspended for five years.

The judge described him as a "dedicated terrorist".

Forbes and five of his fellow trialists were convicted of terrorism as defined by the Internal Security Act after admitting responsibility for limpet mine, hand-grenade and petrol bomb attacks in the Peninsula.

Peter Jacobs, 22, and Nicklo Pedro, 21, were sentenced to 14 years with a further 10 years suspended for five years, Anwa Dramat, 20, to 12 years with a further 10 years suspended for five years, Nazeem Lowe, 25, and Clement Baatjes to 10 years with a further 10 years suspended for five years.

Four of the trialists, convicted of aiding people they suspected were guerrillas and who admitted to storing explosives, were sentenced to two years' jail each with a further five years suspended for five years. They are David Fortuin, 23, Jeremy Veary, 25, Wayne Malgas, 22, and Ashraf Karriem, 22.

Walter Rhoads, 25, Collin Cairncross, 23, and Colin Petersen, 24, were sentenced to five years suspended for five years. They failed to report to the police people they knew were planning attacks.

Leon Scott, 29, who was convicted of furthering the aims of the ANC for compiling and publishing a pamphlet, "The Call to Form Mass Revolutionary Bases", was also sentenced to five years suspended for five years.

Unusual conditions imposed by the judge mean the trialists will spend the duration of the suspension period reporting on a fortnightly basis to security police.

Forbes and the others jailed will have to do this on completing their sentences.

If they want to leave Cape Town they must inform the security police who will allocate a security policeman for them to report to elsewhere.



Shoulder-high: Supporters welcome Collin Cairncross, who got a suspended sentence. Picture: RASHID LOMBARDI

If they wanted to leave the country, they could apply "to this court to amend the order".

Before a packed courtroom, Mr Justice DM Williamson said sentencing was never easy — and made more difficult because none of the accused had any previous convictions, nor had they acted for personal gain. It was clear they acted because of their political convictions.

The accused were all members of the "coloured" command of the ANC and the thrust of evidence in mitigation of sentence focused on the sufferings and grievance of that community and its effect on them.

"I was told that apartheid is an affront to the dignity of the 'coloured' people and the intense feeling of resentment created by the Group Areas and education policies.

He was "fully aware of the grievous hurts" inflicted and events put before him had put this into sharper focus.

Referring to the ANC, he said it was sad to contemplate how an organisation which had much to commend it had turned to violence. The argument was that "legal space" for protest had shrunk to the extent that resorting to violence was inevitable and necessary.

"In truth there are two sides to this matter. Legal space in certain areas of protest and politics has indeed shrunk.

"Yet on the other hand, by virtue of the tricameral system and regional service councils legal space has increased."

But the accused did not like the legal space afforded by these structures and had been persuaded that armed violence was the answer.

It was not necessary to analyse the evidence in any detail, the tenor was that resort to violence was seen as a justifiable last resort enjoying the ap-

proval of the "coloured" community. He had sympathy with their grievances but could neither agree with nor condone the methods employed by the accused.

Referring to the "somewhat unusual" conditions attached to the suspended sentences, he said "New challenges require new responses".

The suspended sentences were "deliberately heavy" to impress upon the trialists the need to comply.

Once the judge and his two assessors left the courtroom the gallery sang *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* (Go well, Mkhonto) and the trialists — all wearing black, green and yellow flashes on their shirts — turned and saluted weeping friends and family.

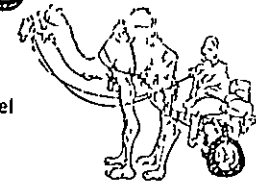
Outside, as people ran for a glimpse

of the police van returning some of the trialists to prison, an elderly tramp was bitten in the leg by a police dog. People gathered a policeman shouted an order and the crowd scattered as police with dogs ran at them. A woman who fell was bitten at least twice, an *Argus* reporter was bitten and there were reports of other attacks.

Later, friends, family and supporters crowded into the stone chapel of Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu's St George's Cathedral.

After rising to its feet to applaud the trialists' legal team the crowd heard Tutu say "When — and not if — this country is free, then it will be obvious who the true patriots were, and who really had a passionate love for their land."

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An angry young voice is silenced

It is a normal day at the University of the Witwatersrand, with heads bowed over lecture notes in a social science lecture theatre. Suddenly the doors fly open and students are thunderstruck to see a man pointing a gun at one of their numbers — the police are here. They leave with a student, Peter Mlungisi Mlusi, of Witbank.

On June 3, a flag bearing the hammer and sickle emblem and the letters 'ANC' and 'SACP' is hoisted by Wits students before police break up a protest meeting with rubber bullets, teargas and symbols.

Both incidents can be seen as a product of the radicalisation of campus politics by an organisation which was effectively banned by the government last week — the Black Students Society.

The BSS was launched at Wits in the mid-1970s. But because of its black consciousness orientation, which took it away from the campus mainstream, and the small number of black students at "white" universities at that time, its impact was limited.

Says Dalil Mpofo, former BSS president: "The black student bodies were formed at a time when there were very few black students on 'white' speaking campuses.

"Black students at that time identified with the black consciousness movement.

As on campus and in the broader society was unique to them. For example, they needed permission to study at white universities. They therefore felt the need to organise separately."

The revival of non-racial resistance politics in the early 1980s prompted a shift of ideological direction. In 1981, the BSS came under Charternist leadership, and links with left-wing white students were forged.

The Charternists also made inroads into the societies at the universities of Cape Town and Natal. On Rhodes campus, a Charternist-Black Consciousness split among black stu-

With increasing numbers of black students at 'white' universities, the Black Students Society grew in size and political influence. Last week the government made tacit recognition of that power when it made the BSS the 26th organisation to be restricted this year.

By THANDEKA GQUBULE

den baptised in the fire of the 1976 riots, brought to these institutions their grievances about the distribution of power in South Africa. They brought with them their protest. They challenged the composition of the universities, and their ethos."

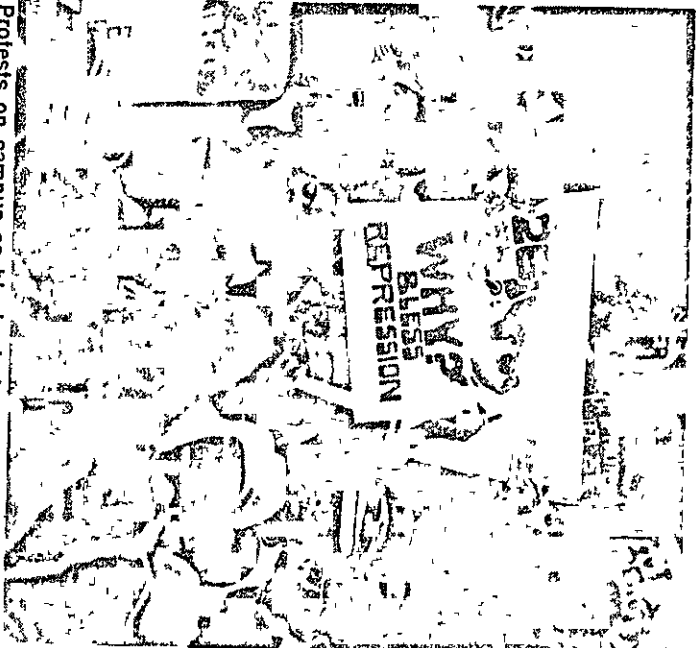
Says Mpofo: "Our country is polarised into two worlds, the turbulent Third World and the peaceful First World. Black students saw it as their role to bring to campuses a reality hidden from white South Africa."

White students initially found it difficult to relate to the form of black student protest and its symbols — the black, green and gold flag, the clenched fists and the *loy-loy*.

Mpofo adds that because of the black presence on campus, the universities began to realise that they had to adjust — academically and in other ways — to being in Africa.

"The BSS was in the forefront of an internal debate over the universities' role. It argued that the universities could not separate themselves from their troubled milieu."

The society took the point beyond argument into direct action. Marches led by the black students led to fre-



Protests on campus as black student numbers increase

quent police invasions of the campus — and that not all opponents of apartheid, and the use of dogs, teargas and batons against student demonstrators. In 1981 the South African flag was burnt on Wits campus.

Shubane said it was not only the administrators that were learning from the clash of two worlds on the campus — black students were learning too. The BSS structures began to mature politically.

"Black students learnt the importance of alliances. They learnt that the South African situation had subtleties

hicups, according to Mpofo — one notable setback being the breakdown in communication over black students' refusal to allow the Angolan rebel organisation, Unida, to speak on campus.

The administration made its stand on the liberal principle of freedom of speech, while the students took the view that there was no such freedom in South Africa — only an unequal propaganda war between the state and its opponents.

A similar row flared over the lecture tour of Irish academic, Conor Cruise O'Brien, which black students saw as violating the academic boycott.

The fierce restrictions imposed last week on the BSS and BSM — they are prevented from engaging in any activities except maintaining their books — are part of a creeping clampdown on organisations linked to the United Democratic Front, and particularly its youth affiliates.

Both BSS and the BSM were affiliates of the now-banned South African National Student's Congress (Sansco), which was in turn a UDF affiliate.

Asked about the future of the black student movement, Mpofo commented: "The debate as to whether or not it is time for black and white students to organise themselves into one body is an ongoing one on the campuses."

"Black students will continue to examine the reasons why they advocate non-racialism and yet continue to organise separately. The issue will be resolved by conditions on campus, and will not be accelerated by government bans.

"The silencing of organisations does not remove the reasons for their existence," he added. "Students will regroup."

As his hand moved toward my knee, I felt the earth tremble. My chair was not for me.

Monday, December 15, 1988

11A

'Serving people is not a political slogan'

ALTHOUGH Danisa Baloyi is no newcomer to student politics, she will find her plate always overflowing as new president of the South African Azanian Student Movement

Saasm was launched 20 months ago to protect the interests of black South Africans studying in the United States. Baloyi succeeded Saths Cooper as president when the organisation had its congress at Boston University recently.

The Soweto-born Baloyi (32) is studying for a doctorate in applied linguistics at New York's Columbia University. "There is so much to do. Serving people is not a political slogan. It is doing the job," she said.

Danisa bustles with energy. She is one of the many thousands of angry young students, a product of the Soweto 1976 unrest. She is still an angry young woman.

Her first words when elected president were typical of her. "Well, you are stuck with me and I am stuck with you. We will just have to make the most of it." The delegates, from about 30 institutions, who seemed to have been waiting for just this outburst, cheered her in spontaneous delight. She grinned back, and was in stride to face her first challenge as president.

Two delegations at congress, after making various accusations against the leadership, walked out. Political rivalries were at the root of the walkout.

"We have been mandated to deal with the walkout. Everybody in Saasm has the right to be heard and listened to," was all she said as she prepared to visit the campuses involved.

Differences between the ANC, the PAC and BCM frequently spill into Saasm, as they do to all organisations of black South Africans, whether

Angry Danisa takes the lead

Sowetan 15/12/88

11A

- Saths bows out



By THAMI MAZWAI

overseas or in South Africa. Saasm has managed to keep them at bay by pursuing a policy of non-sectarianism.

"We have ANC, PAC and BCM supporters. In addition to this, many of our members are not affiliated to any of the three. To keep our organisation intact and serve the interests of our members, we will not affiliate to any political organisation but we will participate in the broad liberation struggle," she said.

Expelled

Danisa is one of five children in her family. She schooled in Soweto. She was among those expelled from the University of Zululand when the 1976 unrest spread to black campuses. The following year she enrolled at the University of the North and in 1980 received her first degree.

She came to the United States two years later and now has two Masters degrees in education.

"Most black students consider it a dream of a lifetime to come and study in the United States. But they find that life is not so rosy soon after their arrival. This is where Saasm comes in," she said. At this stage Miss Baloyi's enthusiasm was irrepressible as she described the challenges of study in the US and Saasm's many roles in it.

According to her there were many refugee and immigrant black students in this country. The refugees were student activists who fled South Africa in the 1970s. The immigrants were those who were now in resettlement centres and would soon qualify as American citizens.

"These, particularly the refugees, were vulnerable and walked a political tightrope all the time. With no home to go to they found themselves searching for countries that would accept them when scholarships were cancelled and visas annulled.

Many immigrant students were placed in universities in the backwoods of America. "They were caught flatfooted by the racism at some of these



SATHS Cooper.

institutions.

"Students also received reports that family members, sometimes parents, had died.

"But the most serious issue facing students here in the US is that of scholarships. Scores of South Africans were stranded this year when the United Nations failed to grant or renew scholarships. Some were in their second or third years while many first years had already enrolled and were waiting for funds. A desperate situation faced us.

"With the Organisation of South Africans for Liberation Education (Ocale) we got assistance

from the Ford Foundation and several universities. This was insufficient. Many students now work as domestic servants, garbage collectors or shop assistants in their spare time," she said.

A toll-free telephone with an answering service has been installed to deal with emergencies.

"The problems we deal with include student informing us that relatives, sometimes parents, had died, the cancellation of scholarships, expulsion from the country, insensitivity to sometimes downright racism from the scholarships agencies, preparing a thesis presentation

Talking

UNITY? GWALA SCOFFS AT THE NOTION

11A
W.M.K./C
15-22/2/88

Harry Gwala dismisses the unity calls of the man released along with him, PAC leader Zeph Mothopeng

By THANDEKA GQUBULE and MZIMKULU MALUNGA

HARRY GWALA, the newly-released African National Congress leader, scoffs at the Pan Africanist Congress call for unity talks

It's a mere "publicity stunt", says Gwala

Interviewed at his house in Pietermaritzburg, Gwala was responding to a call for talks by the prisoner released with him, Zeph Mothopeng, president of the PAC.

"I have difficulties with these unity talks. My difficulty arises from the fact that it is not the ANC that broke away from the PAC. It is the PAC that broke away," he says.

Gwala walks slowly into the room for the interview. He walks as if he is marching, with his hands at his sides. Motor neuron disease has deprived him of the use of his hands.

He is greeted by a row of men, each of whom embraces him, kisses him on both cheeks, slaps him hard on the back and calls him "Mnt' omdala" (old person).

He stands quietly in the face of so much affection. His face shines. Much laughter follows — these are his former fellow-inmates who have come from all over the country to see him. Some are old bearded men and some are youngsters.

"I love just to hold your hand Mnt' omdala," a young man says as he holds Gwala's limp hand.

Gwala seats himself in an armchair and looks slowly at us. He answers questions in a warm, relaxed manner.

"The ANC is engaged in a struggle of life and death against the forces of



Harry Gwala .. queues of old friends to greet him

Picture PAX MAGWAZA, Afrapix

tion. All those who talk about unity must be seen to be involved in the struggle against apartheid and not in rhetoric."

Not much unity exists in his own home town, Pietermaritzburg. Despite the peace agreement between Inkatha and the Congress of SA Trade Unions,

and frightened. It sees power slipping away from the Afrikaner and therefore engages in desperate acts."

As the "struggle against white domination" escalates, so would right-wing desperation, he said.

On the recent cold-blooded killing of six blacks in central Pretoria, he said "One would have expected that the killer would have been detained under the security laws and interrogated, as happens with people from the left. But he was immediately brought before a magistrate and sent for mental observation."

"Government clampdowns on the right will only be nominal, to deceive the international community, because the government itself is right-wing."

Gwala, 69, became a trade union organiser in the textile industry in 1944. In 1950 he was one of the leaders of a national stayaway.

In 1963 he was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment on Robben Island. He was detained again in 1975 and subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment for ANC activities.

In prison he studied for a BA degree with the University of South Africa. His wife, Eida, died of an asthma attack four years ago.

A grandfather, Gwala lives in Dambuza, a section of the Edendale township in Pietermaritzburg.

His disease, which is incurable and which he describes as the "rotting of the nerves", can spread and cause the entire

currently confined

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11A
b/dwy 15/12/88

CAPE TOWN — ANC commander Ashley Forbes was yesterday sentenced to 15 years in jail plus 10 years suspended for five years by Mr Justice D M Williamson in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

Other ANC operatives sentenced were

- Collin Cairncross, 22 — five years suspended for five years,
- Peter Jacobs, 23 — 14 years imprisonment with 10 years suspended for five years,
- Nicklo Pedro, 20 — 14 years in

ANC commander, members sentenced

jail with 10 years suspended for five years,

□ Nazeem Lowe, 24 — 10 years in jail with 10 years suspended for five years,

□ Anwa Dramat, 20 — jailed for 12 years with 10 years suspended for five years,

□ Clement Baadjies, 20 — 10 years jail with 10 years suspended

ed for five years,

□ David Fortuin, 22 — jailed for two years with five years suspended for five years,

□ Jeremy Veary, 25 — same sentence as Fortuin,

□ Walter Rhooode, 23 — five years suspended for five years,

□ Wayne Malgas, 22 — two years in jail with five years sus-

ended for five years,

□ Ashraf Karriem, 22 — jailed for two years with five years suspended for five years,

□ Collin Petersen, 23 — five years suspended for five years, and

□ Leon Scott, 30 — five-years suspended for five years — Sapa



ANC operative Colin Cairncross, 22, is welcomed outside the Cape Town Supreme Court yesterday after receiving a five-year suspended sentence for activism.

Picture REUTERS

Green light to form united opposition

declined to comment on whether he would be available to lead a new party

Malan said there had been no discussions on former PFP leader and Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert assuming a leadership position

De Beer said "We believe we are moving towards a new party we know how to do it and we see no reason why the wheels should now come off"

Worrall said a "remarkable degree of concurrence" had been achieved

The three leaders were particularly optimistic about the chances of a new party in a House of Assembly election

A statement said it would maximise the strengths of each existing party the PFP's organisation and infrastructure, the IP's "effective marketing orientation" and the "doors which the NDM has opened between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics to bridge the division between the two"

The three leaders agreed on broadly

← ● From Page 1
liberal principles, including the establishment of a "purely SA democracy" with a "representative government for all the country's inhabitants"

There was also agreement on an independent judiciary, the rule of law, freedom of speech, voting and association and the rejection of racism and political violence

As an apparent compromise on the tricky economic issue, the leaders agreed on "a system of private initiative with conditions conducive to a high rate of growth and with recognition that the state has important functions of human development and upliftment"

It was also resolved to develop interaction with groups and individuals outside Parliament, regardless of whether they shared stated missions

R100m Boksburg shops plan put on ice

indicated they would rather live in nearby towns like Kempton Park and Benoni than make the embarrassing admission

← ● From Page 1
tions pointed to an about-face on the

11A

Pan Africanism in profile

Mr Mothopeng, you've been in prison since 1976. How were you able to keep up with what was going on in the country?

A: I was sent down in August 1976. It was very difficult. It took a long time before we were allowed to buy newspapers in 1984 just before I was transferred from Robben Island. On the Island I was accommodated with other leaders in Section B which was reserved for people thought to be difficult. When I was transferred to (the new) Johannesburg prison, I could get almost all the big newspapers.

When were you transferred there?

In December 1984. Later we were allowed to buy radios, as long as they could not pick up short-wave.

So we were bombarded, of course, with this government's propaganda, but in the end, we were not badly off as far as news was concerned.

Govan Mbeki (an ANC leader jailed for life) has been released with restrictions, you and the ANC's Harry Gwala without. Do you have any indication why?

I can't answer for the government.

Since your imprisonment, the tricameral parliament and local authorities have been introduced. How do you view these systems?

We reject the ideas of the oppressor in toto. We are not interested. We have our own ideas, our own programme.

It is completely different from that of the oppressor. We will meet them at the crossroads. The one that is superior will prevail.

In terms of foreign involvement, what type of role can other countries play?

They must look at the interests of the Azanian people. Involvement of foreign countries must have no strings attached. They must have no say in such structures and social order we are going to create.

We are not aligned to any power. In fact, we don't want any powers to interfere in our struggle. Their assistance must be in accordance with assisting us to achieve liberation. We don't want arm-twisting.

What is happening now in Angola and elsewhere is arm-twisting. America is saying this, South Africa is saying this, others are saying that. It is no longer the decision of the people or Angola. It is the decision of America and those who are giving them aid.

By the way, we are not relying on others, it is our duty to liberate ourselves. We rely on the people of Azania.

When we liberate ourselves that is not the end. We are Pan Africanists. From there we will negotiate with our compatriots of Africa for the destruction of colonialism and

neo-colonialism.

If we allow the colonialists to exploit us as individual countries, we will be divided. We shall remind them that they drew up the boundaries, that the imperialists are regrouping. In 1992 they are forming one economic order in Europe.

Are we going to be divided and allow them to make Africa a patch-work of colours on the map? Must we allow them to redraw that map? We cannot form any social order that will survive Africa. The routes of Africa are now leading to the sea, taking all the raw material.

How are you going to do that in the light of the divisions we have in our politics?

I'm not worried about that because the people are going to decide. When I talk about unity I'm talking about the people. It is the people of Azania who must liberate Azania.

In terms of internal resistance politics...

No I'm not interested in internal resistance politics. It is the people of this land who will decide.

What I'm getting at is that because of the number of organisations we have, all pulling separately towards the same goal.

We can't have a situation where there is no competition. But who finally decides? It is the people. I can't talk for the other organisations because I don't even know what they are.

The final arbiters are the people. They know that is happening.

How do you view people who are working within the system?

If a person is sick there is all the more reason to speak to him. The doctors will not run away from him, they must cure him. I must not run away from them. I must teach them what I stand for. We must be positive, man! If a man is ignorant, if he can't read, we must teach him.

There are people who are collaborators, there are those who have courage, there are those who are just ordinary people. My duty is to teach everybody.

But I'm not going to collaborate with the collaborators. Collaborating and teaching are two different things. I can't collaborate with a person who works with the system. But it is my duty to educate him.

If I can teach him, then I have done my job. I'm not going to run away from the challenge just because he is suffering from a political disease.

In the 12 years you have been inside what has changed?

Nothing. The people continue to suffer. When there is an economic boom we suffer. I've seen many booms in this country but the Africans have never benefited. From 1960 this country suffered many economic setbacks. But the capitalists came back and the system didn't change.

PAC president Zephania Mothopeng, 75, released from prison last month after serving 12 years for PAC activities, was a close associate of Robert Sobukwe in the formation of the organisation and served on its national executive. Since 1963 he has served a succession of prison sentences on political charges. SOUTH correspondent AMEEN AKHALWAYA recently interviewed Mothopeng.

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CAPE TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION



STATEMENT ON DELMAS TRIAL

In 1915 General Christian De Wet and Jan Kemp were sentenced to six and seven years imprisonment respectively for their active part in the 1914 Afrikaner rebellion. School history books today show them to be heroes. We who suffer under the legacy of apartheid think differently.

Seventy-five years later four men, Patrick Lekota, Moss Chikane and Tom Manthata, go to jail for much longer periods and not once did they raise weapons as De Wet and Kemp did. Let us remember what defence Adv. Chaskalson said of these men: "Lekota acted out of conviction and would serve his sentence without bitterness. Chikane had shown himself to be a man of peace". Adv. Bizos reflected on Manthata as a man of deep Christian convictions and a man of reconciliation. Molefe, says Chaskalson, had faced great adversity in his life but "emerged without bitterness or desire for retribution."

De Wet and Steyn only served two years of their sentence. What will a State professing Christianity do with these four? We who are interested in peace and genuine reconciliation without apartheid do not believe that these charges and convictions will promote reconciliation.

F A SONN
PRESIDENT

was ... gang was cornered ... in one of the ...

LECTURE ON LEGENDS 11A

THE Annual Memorial Lecture on the country's three political legends will be held at Funda Centre in Diepkloof, Soweto, tomorrow, from 1pm.

The lecture which was launched last year, has generated interest among the public, hence it was resolved to be an annual event. The lecture deals extensively with Albert Luthuli, the president of the African National Congress during the 1950s. The greater part of the lecture deals with an in-depth profile on Robert Sobukwe, president of the Pan Africanist Congress and Steve Biko, the father of

Sowetan 15/12/87
black consciousness in South Africa who died in detention, a decade ago

The co-ordinator of the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs, (Ceapa), Ms Thembi Mboobo, said there were indications that more people will attend, judging from the interest shown during the launching.

Ceapa — which has organised the indaba — has invited the Reverend Itumeleng Jerry Mosala as the guest speaker. The organisers indicated that the Reverend's talks will deal extensively with "unity"

FACTFILE - by Norris McWhirter

THE FIRST WEIGHTLIFTING CHAMPIONSHIPS ENTITLED WORLD WERE STAGED AT THE CAFE MONICO PICCADILLY LONDON ON 28 MARCH 1891

OF THREE MEN WHO HAVE ACHIEVED 8 WORLD TITLE AND OLYMPIC WINS THE MOST RECENT IS SUPER HEAVYWEIGHT VASILY ALEKSEYEV (USSR) (6 7 JAN 1982) BETWEEN 1970-7



THE YOUNGEST WORLD RECORD HOLDER IS NANA SULEIMANOV (NOW NEMO SNALAMANOV) (BULGARIA) (6 23 NOV 1967) WHO SET 56 kg WORLD RECORDS FOR CLEAN AND JERK (160kg) AND TOTAL (285kg) WHEN AGED 15 1/2 AT ALLENTOWN NEW JERSEY USA ON 26 MARCH 1963

...ing for ...

Commissioner petitioned

Sowetan 15/12/81
THE Commissioner of Prisons has been petitioned to release life prisoner Mr Wilton Mkwayi (65), to attend the burial of his wife, Irene, in Soweto on Saturday.

Mrs Irene Mkwayi (64) died at the Hillbrow Hospital after a short illness last Friday. She was the leader of the Isihlo Manyano group of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa and the first vice president of the Release Mandela Campaign Committee.

She had to wait for 23 years before she could marry Wilton. For all those years she had remained his common-law wife.

The reason for the delay was the continued

denial of the government to grant them permission to marry.

Mr Mkwayi, an ANC member and former commander of the Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC military wing, was convicted of high treason and sentenced to life in 1965.

A special wedding ceremony for the two was held at Pollsmoor Prison in Paarl last November.

1105
Their marriage was solemnised by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who will also conduct the requiem mass on Saturday.

The funeral service will be held at the United Congregational Church, formerly American Board in Orlando East starting at 10am.

The cortege will proceed to the Avalon Cemetery at 1pm.

PAC admits two ambush deaths

SIPHO NGCOBO

THE PAC has claimed responsibility for two Soweto ambushes in which two policemen died last week.

A spokesman in Harare for the outlawed organisation said its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, carried out the attacks.

The first, on an SAP vehicle, was at about 9 20pm on Thursday at a stop street near Orlando Stadium.

Two of the five policemen aboard were killed when their vehicle was riddled with AK-47 bullets. Those killed were Sgt Mabasa and Const Mkhasebe.

The second attack, on a municipal police patrol in Diepkloof on Saturday, left three policemen seriously injured.

The three attackers disappeared in the darkness. A massive hunt is still going on for the insurgents.

Mandela now advocate

NELSON Mandela this week achieved the highest academic qualification available in the South African legal system that has kept him in prison since 1962.

Professor Marinus Weichers of the University of South Africa said on Wednesday that Mandela (70), was told this week he had passed his final examination for admission to the bar as an advocate.

"It is a great achievement," said Weichers, who teaches law at the Pretoria-based correspondence university that has thousands of students as far away as Europe, Australia and the United States.

Mr. Mandela was an attorney before he went to prison," he said. "Now he has achieved the highest academic degree available for a law practitioner in South Africa.

He now has the qualification required to become an advocate, the

South African equivalent of a barrister in Britain."

Weichers said Mandela studied in the Robben Island and Pollsmoor prisons, but took his final examinations last month in the luxury Cape Town clinic where he was being treated for tuberculosis.

Mandela, who is serving a life sentence for conspiracy to overthrow the State, has since been moved to a bungalow near Paarl.

His lawyer, Ismail Ayob, said after visiting him on Tuesday that he was lonelier than ever in the isolation of the house inside the guarded grounds of the Victor Verster prison. Ayob said he heard nothing to confirm Mandela's move could be a prelude to his release after 26 years in custody.

Weichers said Mandela was a model pupil throughout the six-year course which was interrupted by a Government ban on prisoners studying law. — Sapa-
Reuter



MANDELA — 'A GOOD JURIST'

Nelson Mandela has completed an LLB degree with the University of SA (Unisa), his results were expected to be announced as the *FM* went to press

Mandela, who has served more than 26 years of a life sentence for treason, qualified as an attorney in 1963 and later, while on Robben Island, received permission from the Prisons Department to continue law studies. He was described by a Unisa law lecturer as "conscientious and a good jurist," and an "above average student."

It is uncertain (and doubtful) whether Mandela will be allowed to attend Unisa's graduation ceremony in May.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee recently said that he would not be returned to Pollsmoor prison after being discharged from a Constantia clinic where he has been convalescing from tuberculosis. Instead he was moved to a house next to Victor Verster prison in Paarl, where his

family has free access to him.

But Coetsee quashed any doubt that the move changed Mandela's status as a prisoner (*The Weekly Mail* published photographs of him for the first time last Friday — before Coetsee made his statement).

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* reported in March that Mandela would receive his degree this year.

The newspaper said that Mandela received the necessary assistance from prison authorities and Unisa staff to obtain legal textbooks.

In his dissertation Mandela took a closer look at SA and its emergency laws since June 1986. His lecturer described it as a "sober viewpoint" without any political connotations.

If released, and should he wish to pursue a career as an advocate, Mandela would have to pass one more hurdle — Afrikaans — as part of the Bar exams.

Bases not part of deal, says ANC

The Star's Africa News Service

star 16/12/88
LUSAKA — The African National Congress has denied any knowledge of a pact or understanding between South Africa and Angola that would lead to the dismantling of ANC bases in Angola following the signing of

the Brazzaville Protocol

(119)
The ANC in Lusaka said that while there had been many rumours to the effect that ANC bases had been sacrificed as part of the Brazzaville deal, the organisation had yet to be informed of any such deal by the Angolan government

Hitch in rents write-off

Council's plan may be scuppered

MARK GLEESON and STAN HLOPE

A LEADING political analyst has warned against optimism over the Soweto City Council's decision in principle to halt evictions and write off the massive R167 million owed in rent arrears.

Mr Mark Swilling of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies predicts that the Joint Management Council, which oversees local government affairs, might try to stop the council's plans as it sets a precedent for other areas.

"A lot of water still has to pass under the bridge," said Mr Swilling of the council's decision, which came after negotiations with several prominent anti-apartheid activists.

After their meeting last Friday with a delegation including Archbishop Desmond Tutu, South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, UDF president Mrs Albertina Sisulu, author Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo and Sister Bernadette Ncube, the Soweto council pledged to stop all rent evictions and dawn raids and said a firm decision on the writing-off of arrears would be announced next month.

Soweto Mayor Mr Sam Mkhwanazi said the council agreed with the delegation's view that the R167 million the council had lost through the rent boycott be written off.

But Mr Swilling cautioned that JMC might try to break up the agreement because it went against Government policy of not negotiating with "revolutionary organisations" like the UDF or giving credibility to anti-apartheid leaders.

"This is a precedent that might well become a model for future negotiations. A lot depends now on the State. If the JMC decides that it is too great a threat because it gives credibility to extra-parliamentary leadership they could close down proceedings."

He predicted that such a step might have dire repercussions. "There is substantial grassroots pressure for a settlement of the issue. It's in response to that pressure that these negotiations took place."

"But struggles within the State structure over the agreement still have to come over the issue. On the one hand you have councillors keen to negotiate and then you have the JMC who are told not to."

"But local-level negotiations between groups like the UDF and Government is nothing new. We have seen them in the Eastern Cape before and the process there is reproducing itself exactly in Soweto."

On the practical aspects of writing off such a large sum, Mr Swilling pointed out that there was only one black council that did not receive bridging finance from the Government. "The Department of Finance has been bailing out councils right across the Transvaal for some years now," he said.

"Christmas bonus"

Soweto residents, too, have received the council promises with mixed feelings. Those interviewed at random by Saturday Star heaved a sigh of relief and described the news as a "Christmas bonus". However they feared the council would increase water and electricity tariffs to make up for the goodwill.

Residents, who wished to remain anonymous, said the announcement was welcomed and appreciated.

An Orlando West mother, however, said everyone would like to see where the council would get its money. "If the Government does not come to the council's rescue, I see no other way to get the money but from the residents."

She urged the council to credit those residents who had been paying rent and service charges all along. "People like me who had no alternative but to pay for water and electricity after being threatened with eviction and harassed in the middle of the night, would be glad to see what the council's attitude is going to be," she said.

A father of three at Emden North said the announcement was gratifying. However he urged the council to clarify its statement because residents would like to know when and how the debts would be written off. He asked if the council would levy a flat rate, or whether the charges would include site rental and service charges. "And what about those who have bought their houses and occupied them for 30 years or more?"

He further urged the council to reinstate dismissed workers as a matter of urgency.

A mother of two, from Zola, said it was victory for the residents who have waged a bitter battle with the authorities.

"This was a boycott against rent in which everyone was expected to play a role. If some people paid they should consider their money as having gone down the drain."

The council's change of attitude comes in the wake of the Appeal Court's ruling that the council had collected rents illegally from the residents and that evictions were unlawful.

The judgment followed an appeal by Mr Themba Mngomezulu and two others against the decision of the Witwatersrand Division of the Supreme Court which had ruled in favour of the council.

Mandela's 'freedom' upsetting ⁽¹¹³⁾

C/Pres 18/12/88

CP Correspondent

NELSON Mandela has been given the use of a swimming pool, but in the past 26 years he has never had enough water to have a bath.

The ANC leader was a lonely man who had not used the swimming pool at his "home" at Victor Verster Prison near Paarl, said his attorney, Ismail Ayob, in Cape Town this week.

Ayob accompanied Winnie Mandela, her three grandchildren, Zozo, Zondwa and Gadaffi, and her daughter Zinzi, on a visit to the prison this week.

They were allowed to see Mandela. Ayob was not.

After the 80-minute visit, Ayob held a news conference at the University of the Western Cape at Mrs Mandela's request.

An upset Mrs Mandela and her family sat in on the conference, but did not take part.

It was quite clear to the Mandela family that Mandela remained a prisoner, Ayob said.

"This is no freedom," he



Winnie Mandela and Ismail Ayob... Mandela is still a prisoner.

said.

The Mandela family felt saddened and particularly hurt when they saw what was being done to Mandela, Ayob said.

He was now more isolated than ever before, and his status was unchanged - he was still a prisoner and had had no say in his transfer to Paarl from Constan-

tinberg Clinic, Ayob said.

He was only given a couple of minutes to get ready after he had been told that he was being moved. He is still a prison-

er. The only concession made is that his family have been told that they will have unlimited access to him.

Mrs Mandela still stood by her rejection of an offer from Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee that the Mandela family could stay with Mandela "on a continuous basis" at the new house, he said.

"Mandela agrees with her," Ayob said.

The move to Paarl was not part of a staged release as Mandela had merely been moved from one prison to another, he said.

The State had released photographs of Mandela's new house and the swimming pool on the property, but it should have contrasted his new quarters with his concrete cell of the past 26 years.

"I don't think he can even swim. For the past 26 years he has never had enough water to have a bath. The picture of the swimming pool was supposed to have shown that he is being kept in luxury."

Win a Christmas bonus for road safety - turn to Page 3

WAITING FOR MANDLA

TALL with silver hair and horn-rimmed glasses, Govan Mbeki strikes a statesmanlike figure in the Port Elizabeth township of New Brighton.

In the year the 78-year-old ANC leader has been back in this bastion of resistance to apartheid he has settled down to a quiet life in a township not all that far from the fortified structure that houses the local police.

The life Mr Mbeki is forced to live now is a far cry from the black puppet days of a legal ANC, of going underground to evade the law and then 24 years in a cell on Robben Island.

Many around him believe Mr Mbeki is not the same man who was once a call to duty Nelson Mandela. He is waiting.

The former ANC chairman was the first to be arrested in 1963 in a police swoop on the Lilliesleaf Farm Rivonia. Along with other Rivonia trialists he was sent to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

Grounded

On his release last summer Mr Mbeki, former teacher for 20 years, was an educated politician — was widely held as the first of the Port Elizabeth old brigade, who, it appears, are being released gradually to set the scene for Mandela's homecoming.

But after a government sanctioned Press conference in Port Elizabeth and a brief public appearance in Johannesburg, Mr Mbeki was grounded within weeks of his

For the old man of the ANC — the man they call Oom Gov — life outside jail means keeping an ear open for a new call to duty

MANDLA TYALA reports from New Brighton township

He may not leave Port Elizabeth without magisterial permission and may not give interviews to working on local and international journalists, among other restrictions.

Many argue that the Government became unbecomingly table with the legal of Govan Mbeki. He is now in a house in New Brighton, a township in his reference by many in his



FLASHBACK Govan Mbeki gartanded after his release from jail

community spends his days in his suburban house reading voraciously, receiving a steady flow of visitors and working on local and international correspondence.

These close to him describe him as an intellectual. He holds BA and B.Ed degrees from the old Port Hope University College as well as a BA honours degree in social science which he studied for privately while serving his life sentence on Robben Island. In education, a

honorary doctorate in social science by the University of Amsterdam for his work. The peasant Revolt, which was published in Britain in 1944

and is banned in South Africa. Mr Mbeki, affectionately known as Oom Gov or this old man, by those around him, is said to spend his days on one of his farms. But in terms of the banning order his work may not be published. His movements are scheduled. His movements are

Despite widespread concern for his well-being, Mr Mbeki still strikes a visitor as a man of reasonable health for his age and for someone who has spent more than two decades in forced exile. He is still walks with long strides and gives a knuckle-crushing handshake.

Mr Mbeki is said to be meticulous about his daily schedule. His movements are controlled by a committee of local friends. The Port Elizabeth chapter of the Interdenominational Ministers Association of South Africa served as a reception committee for Mr Mbeki on his release and has been instrumental in making the township available to him.

Although Mr Mbeki never turns away a visitor, he is said to prefer that callers announce an intended visit in advance.

He shakes hands with acquaintances and strangers, but those close to him — comrades and family — always get a Russian-style bear hug.

For the former member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa, these are far quieter days than the 1960s when he helped consolidate ANC support to an extent that the very township he is now restricted to became the hub of congress support in South Africa.

Port Elizabeth township became one of the most important in the campaign of civil disobedience against apartheid, a station devised by Mandela, who was effectively imprisoned.

Now Mr Mbeki finds himself in New Brighton in the aftermath of a Government crackdown on street demonstrations and "people's courts".

Bigwig

He finds himself in a clinic when a young man who was detained for what he stood for are now languishing in detention without charge for the third successive year.

In his day Mr Mbeki was dismissed twice from teaching posts for his political activities and voicing his opposition to the introduction of Bantu Education. He published a number of articles on this subject in various journals.

Mr Mbeki is said to miss his exiled sons dearly. His application to visit them abroad has been turned down by the Government.

One of the boys, Thabo, is a bigwig in the external mission of the ANC. Comrade Thabo, as his father is said to refer to him, holds the degree of MA in economics from the University of Sussex and the public secretary of the ANC. His other sons, Cosika and Jama, are also in Zamb



DR MANAS Buthelezi, Mr Oliver Tambo and the Rev Frank Chikane take a break during a meeting in Harare

WILL THE GAP BE BRIDGED?

Sowetan
19/12/88
11A

FOCUS

THE African National Congress believes that the best recipe for unity with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is for the PAC to cease making claims at international forum.

A senior spokesman for the ANC said in an interview with the *Sowetan* in Harare that as far as the organisation was concerned, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania was a "fringe element" deserving no notice

Unity of the black people in the attainment of self-determination is crucial. In the past few weeks, the OAU, the SACC, and a host of other organisations and individuals have spoken out for unity. *Sowetan* reporter, MATHATHA TSEDU, recently spent two weeks in Harare, Zimbabwe, and spoke to representatives of the PAC, BCMA and the ANC

The interview was conducted following reported moves by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) liberation committee to reactivate an ad hoc committee on unity between the ANC and PAC

Nigeria was said to be behind the move which is to be raised at the liberation committee's meeting in Tripoli, Libya in February next year

Unity

The interview also followed a meeting with a high-powered South African Council of Churches delegation after which a call for unity was made by both the ANC and SACC

The spokesman said the ANC was not aware of the OAU intentions and did not think it would, if true, bear any fruits

"There is no way in which the OAU can impose a solution on people who are independent forces. After their record and experience in such attempts in Chad, Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and other areas I even doubt that the OAU would like to

set up any committee on the issue," said the ANC spokesman

The spokesman said the ANC believed there was "need to work consistently everyday for the greatest possible unity and seeking greater areas of co-operation," with all organisations opposed to apartheid

This was why the organisation met with rugby chief Dr Danie Craven, Kaizer Motaung, delegations from the National Council of Trade Unions, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Institute for the Democratic Alternative for South Africa and church leaders

The organisation had welcomed the aborted Cape Town conference called by the Congress of South African Trade Unions where the Black Consciousness and Africanist formations inside South Africa were invited

But on unity with the

PAC, the spokesman said the OAU had been informed that the "principal importance is to oppose the apartheid system. The PAC must do something to make their own contribution in acting against the present regime

Forces

"In the process of struggle it is inevitable that the forces will be drawn together. Activity is basic and we don't feel that there is anything substantial that the PAC is doing to oppose the apartheid system," the spokesman said

The spokesman said BC formations inside the country, such as Azapo, Azacco, Azayo and Azasm, had to be consulted for unity

But the externally based BCMA was "a fringe element" of which the ANC did not know much. The BCMA, the spokesman added, was a non-factor in the unity bid

Clear

The spokesman made it clear that the ANC's perception of unity was between itself externally and the internal organisations of SA. The PAC and the BCMA were nonentities in this regard

The unity call by the SACC and the ANC after talks in Harare on November 25 should be understood in that context, the spokesman said

Many attend Makatini's funeral

LUSAKA — Chiefs of Eastern and Western bloc diplomatic missions joined mourners at the funeral of Mr Johnny Makatini, the ANC's foreign affairs head, in Lusaka on Saturday.

Mr Makatini, a former teacher, died of natural causes in a Lusaka hospital on December 3.

At a two-hour memorial service, Mr Jesse Jackson, jun, son of the American civil rights activist, wept and described Mr Makatini as a "son of Africa".

South African Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane denounced the South African Government for not allowing Mr Makatini's body to be sent home for burial.

"There are thousands of people in South Africa who would have liked to come here," Mr Chikane told mourners at the Holy Cross Anglican Cathedral.

"The apartheid regime does not want us to call those who have gone into exile our brothers and sisters," he said.

"These are our brothers and sisters. They are not terrorists because the real terrorists are the South African security forces."

Mr Jackson, wiping back tears, praised Mr Makatini as a "humble man" who had refused to be called a dignitary.

In more than 250 messages received from heads of state and Cabinet Ministers from many parts of the world, Mr Makatini was described as a political moderate and a talented diplomat.

— Sapa-AP... 11/14/85

Sowetan 19/12/88

Police attend Biko (11A) lecture

By MOKGADI
PELA

POLICE were among the audience of the Luthuli, Sobukwe, Biko memorial lecture at Funda Centre on Friday — with the permission of the Johannesburg Chief Magistrate.

The policemen, who were dressed in civilian clothes, presented the organisers of the lecture with a notice signed by the chief magistrate authorising them to attend the lecture. They also said the lecture would pose a threat to law and order. They filmed the lecture.

Diversity

The annual lecture, which was organised by the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs, called on black people to accept a diversity of political trends. Opening the talk, educationist Mr Fanyana Mazibuko said the black community had been wrecked by unfortunate events of inter-organisational violence due to lack of tolerance of different thinking.

He also commended Ceapa for providing black people with a centre to reflect on their culture.

Cape Town University lecturer, Dr Jeffrey Mosala, who was also a guest speaker, kicked off his address by explaining to the audience "what it means to have roots". He said "We must know where we come from so that we know where we are going".

He went on to say in honouring people like Chief Albert Luthuli, black people were rededicating themselves to the ideals he stood for. He said as a Christian, Chief Luthuli managed to link the life of the inner person with that of an outer person.

Struggle

He added that Robert Sobukwe differed with Chief Luthuli in that he insisted on the autonomous launching of the struggle by the oppressed masses. "It is a requirement of Christianity that those who are oppressed must fight on their own," Dr Mosala said.

The tradition of Steve Biko represented forthright approach never seen in the country before. Steve Biko, he said, added that there was a problem not only with the status quo but with liberals. "Not only have they kicked the black but they have also told him how to react to the kick."

Southan
 1/12/88
 11A

What's Uhuru all about?

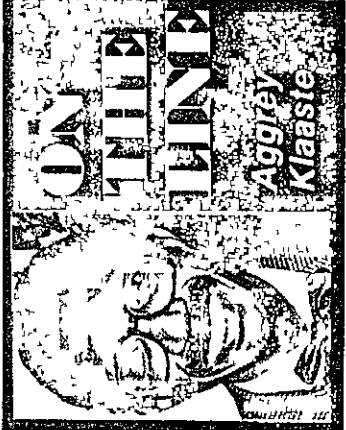
Areas Act

I have much more to write about this project I can see us breaking race barriers, without coercion, without noble if misguided attempts for people embracing across the colour-line. We can create areas people will be able to develop, create wealth for themselves and probably spend the test of their lives there.

The dream is practical and has enormous potential

If we can spruce up many parts of our townships, if we can convince not only tourists but particularly white South Africans to spend their time and money in our townships, if we can create the ambience that will turn the ghetto into homes, then we have killed many birds with one stone.

In the end if we can convince those people to the right that they can have their "boerestans" but keep them open, allow us to spend our time and money with them, we may crack the Group



— the garden competition I have not spoken at length to Mr Ball about the overall idea but I will I am looking for people, be they South African or foreign, who can assist in the realisation of this

body Mr Chris Ball, chief of First National Bank, if he will forgive the clumsy pun, has already picked up the ball. He has donated R10000 towards the first phase of the rebuilding of this area

under-utilised instead of getting in great numbers to Funda Centre or the Career Centre in Soweto the kids rather stream to Wits University. There are obviously many reasons for this but the chief one I would suggest is we simply wish to get the hell out of these unlivable places, given half the chance.

So the Orlando East new-style ethnic suburb I wish to see built, might help to change this. One of the shrewd things about nation building is we are prepared to seek and accept help from any-

Orlando East garden-ethnic mode of development that has excited me without including some socio-political and even historical factors that come into play.

South African blacks are in the happy position of being able to learn from the mistakes of history. While some of us believe, after liberation the scales will be turned upside down — that blacks will move into white areas and vice versa — not many of us believe it will be that simple.

And yet there are other serious factors about living in the ghetto. For many years we were made to believe we were "temporary sojourners" in the urban areas. Our dwelling places were compounds, houses at best, and not homes.

More pertinently we were forced to live in townships, many of us hated. We from Sophiatown (where there was freehold land tenure) had our spirit and hopes shattered when we were moved to Meadowlands.

Many of us in the various townships hate the places, though they are our "homes". We stream out in our thousands over the weekend to get out, to get to Johannesburg, anywhere out of the townships.

Many of some useful facilities in the townships (I am always told) are

JUST before the Belgian Congo received its independence in 1960 some rabble rousers had successfully convinced many people that Freedom meant that they would be free to ride on the buses and trains without the need to pay.

"Many even more serious interpretations of freedom were common and anticipation was high. Some believed that they could take over the homes and cars of the whites. Some were even persuaded to pay deposits to buy them at a low price."

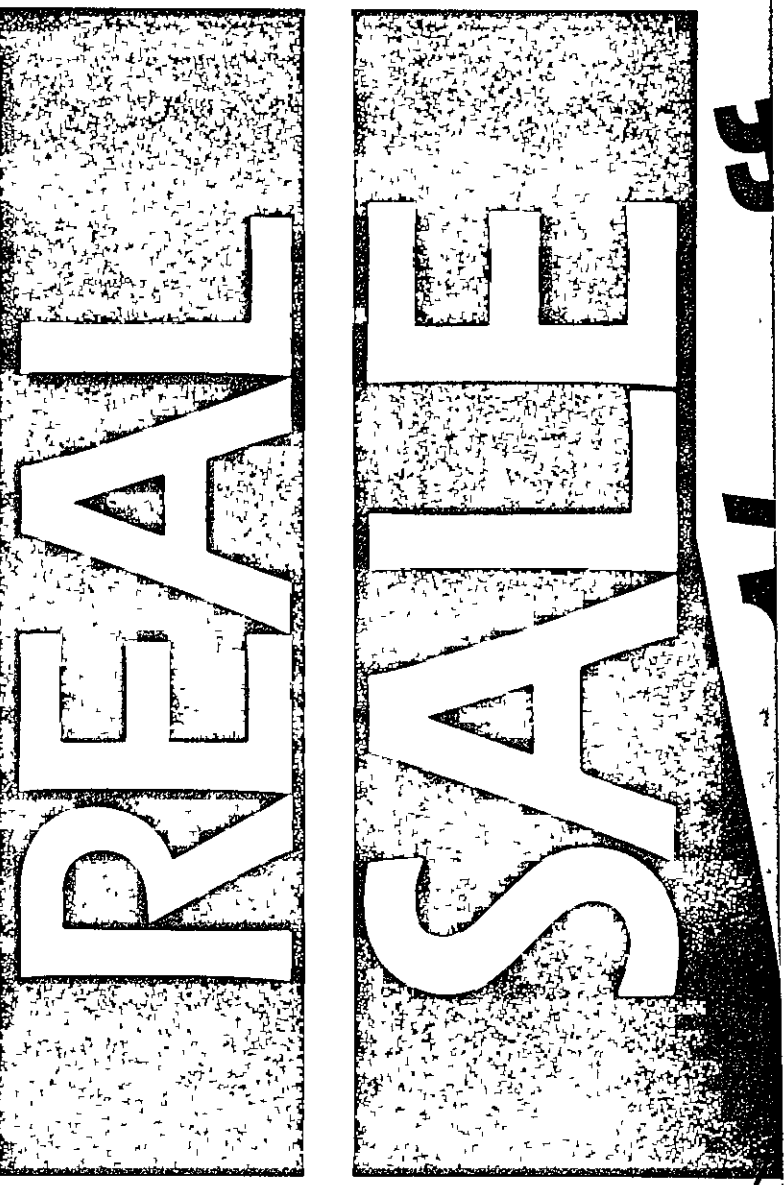
"These hopes were rapidly shattered soon after independence. No wonder the country was plunged into civil war two weeks after the great day."

I picked up this quote from an unpublished manuscript for a book, and have taken the liberty to use it now. I will eventually do a write-up on the book and mention the author as soon as it is published.

The reason for the quote is to give an indication of the type of history lesson that concentrates the minds of us, the nation builders.

South African blacks are perhaps not as naive as those chaps in the Congo before independence. But I am afraid that some of the historical factors that have impacted on the lives of blacks give them the tendency to, at least think or hope, along similar routes.

I cannot write about one of my pet projects — the



Winnie appeals to cops at burial

JOHANNESBURG — Mrs Winnie Mandela intervened between Soweto police and marching youths and women at the funeral of Mrs Irene Mkwayi yesterday

Mrs Mkwayi, wife of the Robben Island prisoner and African National Congress leader Mr Wilton Mkwayi, was buried at Avalon cemetery. A nurse with a long career as an anti-apartheid activist, she died this month at the age of 64.

A Captain Bester told the crowd setting off to march to the funeral that it had been restricted in terms of the emergency regulations.

The crowd had been marching from Mrs Mkwayi's home in Orlando West, Soweto, to the United Congregational Church of South Africa.

Mrs Mandela, clad in the green and black colours of the Federation of Transvaal Women, appealed to Captain Bester to allow the procession to

go through. She said the procession was not in contravention of emergency regulations, and a court ruling on an application to have restrictions on the funeral relaxed was awaited.

After a heated discussion with Mrs Mandela, Captain Bester agreed the procession could carry on providing there was no chanting or clenching of fists.

Police followed the procession to the church and went inside.

The Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, asked police to stop interfering with youths.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu defied the court order forbidding political statements at the funeral service. The order also limited the number of mourners to 200. In fact more than 500 mourners including a handful of Western diplomats attended. Sapa-Reuter

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Fedtraw member arrested amid ugly scenes at funeral

By Stan Hiophe

A member of the Federation of Transvaal Women (Fedtraw), Ms Amanda Kwadi, was yesterday arrested by Soweto police at the Avalon cemetery as mourners paid tribute to Mrs Irene Mkwwayi, wife of Robben Island prisoner and ANC leader Wilton Mkwwayi.

Unsuccessful pleas for the release of Ms Kwadi were made to the police by the Mkwwayi family's lawyer Mr Amichand Soman, by Mrs Winnie Mandela and by Mr Audrey Mokgena.

The police spokesman said Ms Kwadi was being arrested for contravening the funeral restrictions issued by the Divisional Commissioner of Soweto Police, Brigadier J. J. Viktor.

Ms Kwadi was taken to Protea police

headquarters where she was detained under the emergency regulations.

Mr Soman said a Rand Supreme Court judge, Mr Justice R. J. Goldstone, had yesterday granted the family four hours — an extra two — to conduct the funeral. This was the sequel to an urgent application by Mr Sipho Mhlongo, Mrs Mkwwayi's son, challenging the severity of the restrictions issued by Brigadier Viktor.

The funeral, which was characterised by heavy police presence and the chanting of freedom songs and marching, nearly ended abruptly when the police barricaded the streets and forced youths and Fedtraw members to refrain from their actions.

Earlier, Mrs Mandela intervened and saved what could have been an ugly scene. The police spokesman was adamant that

in terms of the emergency regulations, no marching and slogan-chanting would be allowed.

Mrs Mandela appealed to the police captain to allow the marchers to proceed to the Congregational Church of South Africa in Orlando East.

While paying tribute to Mrs Mkwwayi, Archbishop Desmond Tutu levelled a scathing attack on the Government for allowing the police "to deny the people to exercise their democratic rights to bury their beloved ones."

"They now tell us when we can weep. They tell us on what day and how to hold our funerals."

The archbishop also criticised the police for disturbing the peaceful unveiling of a tombstone in memory of his mother, Mrs Mkwwayi, in Munsieville at the weekend.



Makatini

Hero's burial for ANC's Makatini

From MONO BADELA

LUSAKA — Johnstone Mfanafuthi Makatini, director of the ANC's international affairs department and a long-standing member of the movement's national executive committee, was given a hero's burial here at the weekend

Makatini, a former teacher, died of natural causes in hospital on December 3

A message of sympathy and condolences from United Nations secretary-general Javier Perez de Cuellar was among over 250 messages received from heads of state and cabinet ministers

Other messages received included ones from the commander-in-chief of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), Yassar Arafat, Swapo's president Sam Nujoma, the Organisation of African Unity, the World Council of Churches, the Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement Dr Robert Mugabe, the Zambian government on behalf of the Frontline states, the Soviet Union, Algeria, the Zimbabwe government, Cuba, Zimbabwe's ruling party ZANU PF and the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva

Oliver Tambo

The main funeral oration was delivered by the ANC's president Oliver Tambo

At a two-hour memorial service, Jesse Jackson, son of the American civil rights activist, broke down and wept

Jackson, wiping back tears, lauded Makatini as a "humble man" who had refused to be called a dignitary

The general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, denounced the South African government for not allowing Makatini's body to be sent home for the burial, and for banning a service in Durban to commemorate his death earlier in the week.

SACC should avoid sectarianism – PAC

'We must have unity'

Sowetan 20/12/88 (11A)

Unity of the black people and the attainment of self-determination is crucial. In the past few weeks, the OAU, the SACC and a host of other organisations and individuals have spoken out for unity. Sowetan reporter MATHATHA TSEDU recently spent two weeks in Harare, Zimbabwe, and spoke to representatives of the PAC, BCMA and the ANC.

UNITY of the people in this country was of paramount importance, but it has to be based on a minimum of basic principles

This is the view of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) as expressed by the organisation's director for foreign affairs, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim in an exclusive interview with the Sowetan

Mr Ebrahim said the absence of unity as evidenced by the killings in the Natal and Eastern Cape townships, was a source of great concern to the PAC and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

Various African leaders, including those of Nigeria, Egypt and Congo Brazzaville, have made public overtures for exploratory talks on unity between the PAC and the African National Congress

This is to be taken a step further in February next year when the OAU liberation committee meets in Tripoli, Libya. Mr Ebrahim said Nigeria had already indicated that it would call for the revival of an ad hoc committee formed several years ago to work towards unifying the PAC and the ANC

But, said Mr Ebrahim, the PAC believed that

unity should be based on certain minimum requirements which the parties to the Unity should accept

- Among these are
- That apartheid cannot be reformed but should be totally eradicated
- There should be agreement that the vehicle for change is the people and not the regime
- They must agree and work towards keeping the East/West conflict out of the South African situation

Reluctant

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC was putting the points "not as preconditions but as a working paper"

He said the PAC had a positive attitude towards unity and said the ANC had always been reluctant

He said no formal meeting had ever been held with the ANC. A meeting to discuss unity was held with the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in Tanzania in 1983. He said it was the PAC's



GORA Ebrahim



relief that unity between the BCMA and the PAC would be easier to achieve "because there are no fundamental differences between us"

Idasa

Mr Ebrahim said the principles applied to all organisations. He said all "tendencies had a right to put their programme to the people"

A meeting to discuss unity with liberal organisations such as the Institute for the Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) could be held "anytime if those organisations agreed with the principles", he said

He said the PAC would not deal with individual while liberals

who denounced apartheid, such as Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, because "the conflict in South Africa is not a conflict of individuals but a conflict of social forces"

Mr Ebrahim said people and organisations such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) who profess to work towards unity should avoid sectarian treatment of nationalist forces

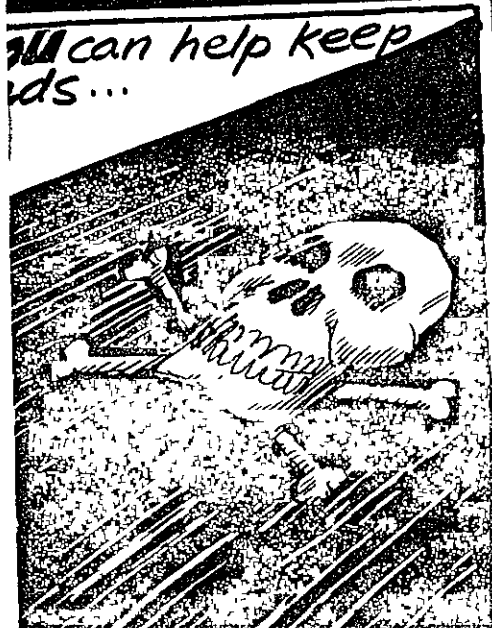
"If they go about as if there is only one organisation in South Africa, then they lose their intermediary role," he said

Charter

Mr Ebrahim said recent amendments to the Freedom Charter which were proposed by the ANC had moved the ideological positions of the two organisations nearer to each other

Mr Ebrahim however said the ANC had painted itself in a corner of insisting that no other organisation existed in South Africa

"It might be very impossible for them to swallow their pride and meet with the PAC and other nationalist organisations," he said



The Media Council

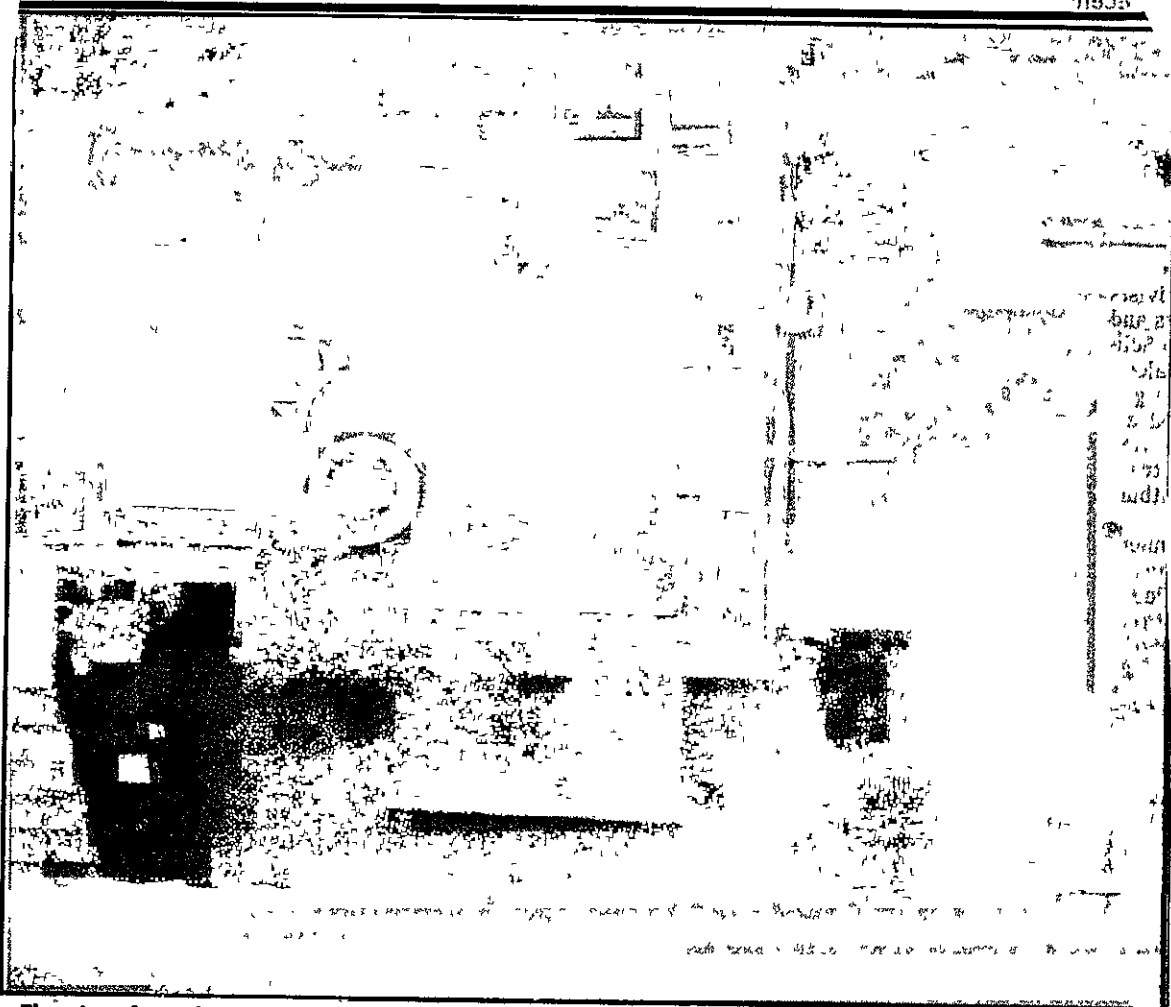
THE South African Media Council is an independent body established to deal with various matters affecting media reporting and comment

One of the council's functions is to receive and act upon complaints from members of the public who have not been able to get satisfaction by approaching a newspaper or other news media directly. Complaints must relate to

published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced

The address is The Conciliator/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone (021) 46-7317. Inquiries are welcomed

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg



The view from the seventh storey of Wonder Court, in Claim Street, Johannesburg, where an alleged member of the ANC fell to his death yesterday.

ANC suspect falls to his death

11A

Star 2/12/85
By Craig Kotze and Tim Cohen

Witnesses watched in horror as a suspected ANC member fell seven storeys to his death at about 1 35 pm yesterday at a Johannesburg block of flats while under security police escort

The Commissioner of Police announced that Mr Amos Khoza (18) — allegedly recruited to undergo training overseas — had “evaded his security police escorts and jumped from the seventh floor of Wonder Court in Claim Street”.

General Henne de Witt said one of South Africa's top police generals, deputy CID chief Major-General J Joubert, had been ordered personally to investigate the circumstances leading to Mr Khoza's

death. General Joubert is also heading a probe into alleged right wing terror incidents.

Witnesses said Mr Khoza had handcuffs on his feet at the time of falling.

One woman, who asked not to be identified, said she was in the kitchen of her flat when she saw Mr Khoza lean over the railing and lift himself slightly. She could not say whether he jumped or slipped.

His escorts were about three steps behind him when he fell. They tried to grab him, but he was already over the edge.

Mr Khoza's death was a sequel to his arrest by security police in Klerksdorp just after midnight yesterday. Police had information that he was in possession of an AK-47 rifle and “other terrorist weapons”, General de Witt said.

His statement did not say whether any arms were seized.

General de Witt said Mr Khoza had agreed to point out a flat where he was to have made contact with an ANC member.

“Mr Khoza was handcuffed and escorted by members of the security branch. On the way to the flat he managed to throw himself over a wall and consequently fell to his death.”

RAJBANSI DEFIANT

11/12/88 1117

By DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

A DEFIANT Mr Amichand Rajbansi said today he was a stayer and a fighter and he would not be resigning from Parliament nor would he be stepping down as leader of the National Peoples' Party.

Mr Rajbansi has been relieved of his two Ministerial portfolios from January 1 by President Botha, who acted on the strength of a preliminary report of the James Commission of Inquiry into alleged malpractices in the administration of the House of Delegates

The report has not been released to the public and it may not be available until early in the new year. Not even Mr Rajbansi has seen it.

Mr Rajbansi has been chairman of the Minister's Council of the House of Delegates since the position was created in September 1984.

He has also been Minister of Housing in the Administration of the House of Delegates and until the appointment of the James Commission, when he was suspended, has been a member of Mr Botha's Cabinet.

"Not bitter"

The NPP leader said in an interview today he was not bitter with the President personally, although he was bitter that he had not been shown the James report and therefore he did not know why he had been dismissed.

He said President Botha had acted too hastily and should have listened to his side of the story.

"I would like the President to appoint an independent inquiry into the manner in which the James Commission conducted itself. I said from early on in the proceedings that I was not happy with the way the commission was doing its business," he said.

"I believe that a certain bias was shown and that I was muzzled to the extent that I was not always given the full opportunity to have my say."

Mr Rajbansi said he had done nothing criminally wrong, had not enriched himself nor done anything dishonest.

"I do not deserve this treatment. I am requesting the President to consider my party's complaints about the James Commission."



SACKED BUT STILL FIGHTING: Mr Amichand Rajbansi with his wife, Ashadevi, at their Durban home today.

Tape-recordings

He still stood by his claims that certain tape-recordings used as evidence against him in the commission hearings had been fabricated.

If these had formed part of the commission's findings he would have wanted to test their authenticity in the Supreme Court.

He said the NPP stood solidly behind him and there was no question of his not staying on as leader.

Asked about his position as MP since he has been suspended from the House of Delegates by the governing coalition of the chamber, Mr Rajbansi said the suspension was only a temporary matter and he was certainly staying on as a member of Parliament.

"I am staying on as MP even though it would be a better financial proposition for me to resign because of the pension due to me."

"However, I am a fighter and I will be going back to the electorate at the first opportunity and I will come back to the House of Delegates as leader of the majority party."

Mr Rajbansi said he had conducted himself as a Minister with great dedication, working 20 hours a day.

"Restrictive"

In a sense he would be pleased to be relieved of his Ministerial duties because he could spend more time with his family and devote himself to his business activities.

He said he had found that being a Minister had been restrictive because of all the Ministerial rules laid down by the President.

For example, he had not been able to open a business.

He said he would be moving out of his ministerial residence in Cape Town from the end of the year, but his reduced status would not affect his lifestyle in Durban because he had all along lived in his own home.

Solidarity and governing coalition leader Dr J N Reddy said today he hoped Mr Rajbansi's departure as chairman of the Minister's Council would put an end to the petty bickering in the House of Delegates.

Rajbansis Out

9/12/88
2/12/88
11/11

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

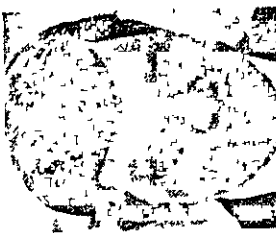
MR Amichand Rajbansis, the controversial chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, has been fired by President P W Botha

Mr Botha said in a statement yesterday that he had decided to terminate Mr Rajbansis's services in view of the findings of a preliminary report of the James Commission.

Mr Rajbansis is to lose his positions as a member of the cabinet, from which he had been suspended, as chairman of the Ministers' Council and as the Minister of Housing as from January 1 next year.

In his statement, Mr Botha said he had appointed Mr Kassipershad Ramduth, the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, as acting chairman of the Ministers' Council and as acting Minister of Housing, as well as retaining his current portfolio.

Mr Rajbansis, whose National People's Party lost its majority in the House of Delegates ear-



Mr Amichand Rajbansis



Mr Kassipershad Ramduth

lier this year and who has been suspended from the proceedings in the House of Delegates, remains as MP.

He has been chairman of the Ministers' Council ever since the inception of the tricameral system in 1984.

In the statement, Mr Botha said "A preliminary report of the James Commission of Inquiry has been put at my disposal and in view of the findings contained in the report, I have decided to terminate your services as member of the cabinet, chairman of the Ministers' Council and the Minister of Housing with effect from January 1, 1989.

"Please accept my appreciation for the ser-

found that a donation of R15 000 to the NPP was followed by successful tenders for business with Mr Rajbansis's administration, but Mr Rajbansis denied the allegations and dismissed the report as "suspect".

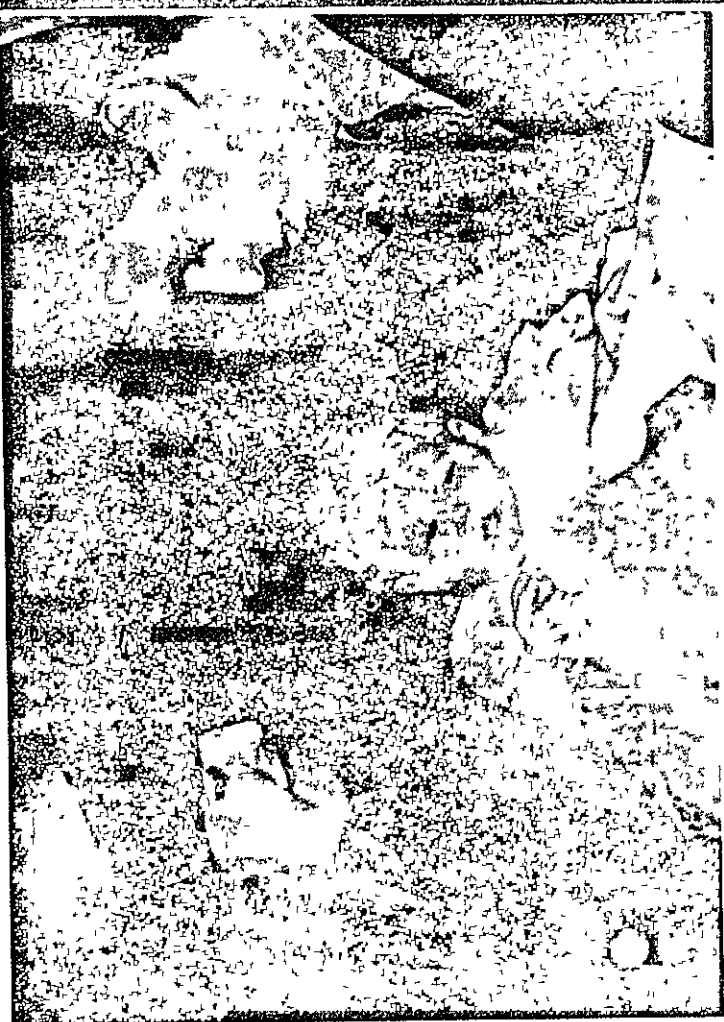
This was followed by another select committee report in August in which Mr Rajbansis was found to be guilty of "glaring" maladministration and of attempting to deceive it, but Mr Rajbansis described the report as "one of the few shameful acts we have had".

He continued with this defiant attitude in the James Commission hearings, but though the findings of the preliminary report have not yet been disclosed, it is clear that the commission has found against him.

Whether "The Raj", as he is widely known, will be able to continue his knife-edge political career remains to be seen, but as from the beginning of next year he will lose a handsome salary and allowances, official houses in Durban and Cape Town, a luxury chauffeur-driven car and the other perks of office.

Parties to merge in HoD? — Page 2

beatrice baptised



ROYAL CHRISTENING The Duke and Duchess of York and their daughter, Princess Beatrice Elizabeth Mary, before her christening at St James's Palace in London yesterday Report, page 3
Picture REUTER

Africa could storm world, says SA cleric

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

AFRICA could become a major economic force in the world if a Lagos-Pretoria-Nairobi economic axis could be developed, says the president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Rev Stanley Mogoba

He said it was significant that African states were looking at South Africa, "believing that if we can solve our problems in this land and create a non-racial state, Africa will become an even more exciting place in which to live"

Mr Mogoba, who is also president of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, published his impressions in the latest issue of Race Relations News of a two-week conference in Nigeria on the political and strategic issues confronting Africa.

While the conference recognised that apartheid was destructive, it also acknowledged that issues "closer to home" which impeded progress should be confronted and dealt with.

"We could see that as the rest of the world appears to be moving forward economically, we are moving backwards

But there was a strong commitment to the creation of economic communities that could provide muscle for Africa in world markets, Mr Mogoba said

"For example, there was talk of the strength which a Lagos-Pretoria-Nairobi economic axis could have, and one does not have to stretch one's imagination to release that Africa could become a major economic force in the world if its leaders should work out a programme of economic co-operation"

Star 2/12/88 (119)

Zeph Mothopeng visits squatter camp

By Montshiwa Moroke

The president of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress, Mr Zephama Mothopeng, yesterday visited squatter camps in Soweto and came away three hours later describing them as "startling".

Mr Mothopeng was met at Mshenguville, in Mofolo, by a barrage of local and international media representatives at the start of the tour.

The 75-year-old veteran leader later visited the Naledi transit camp and the Dlamini squatter camp.

Grassroots organisation

He was accompanied by the president of the National Congress of Trade Unions, Mr James Mndaweni, and members of the Azanian National Youth Unity.

Later, back at his Orlando West home, Mr Mothopeng, who was recently released from long-term imprisonment, said he had undertaken the visits to familiarise himself with the situation and to meet the grassroots people, "because we are a grassroots organisation".

"The purpose was to meet the man in the street and to acquire first-hand information and thereafter formulate my own opinion."

'Horrible conditions'

"It was startling, to say the least that people can live under such horrible conditions. The conditions were absolutely appalling. I would have wanted to wish those families a merry Christmas, but no one can be happy under those conditions," Mr Mothopeng said.

The PAC leader walked hand-in-hand with his 66-year-old wife, Urbana, who walked with the support of a stick, as he walked through Mshenguville, stopping here and there to shake hands and speak to families who told of their hardships.

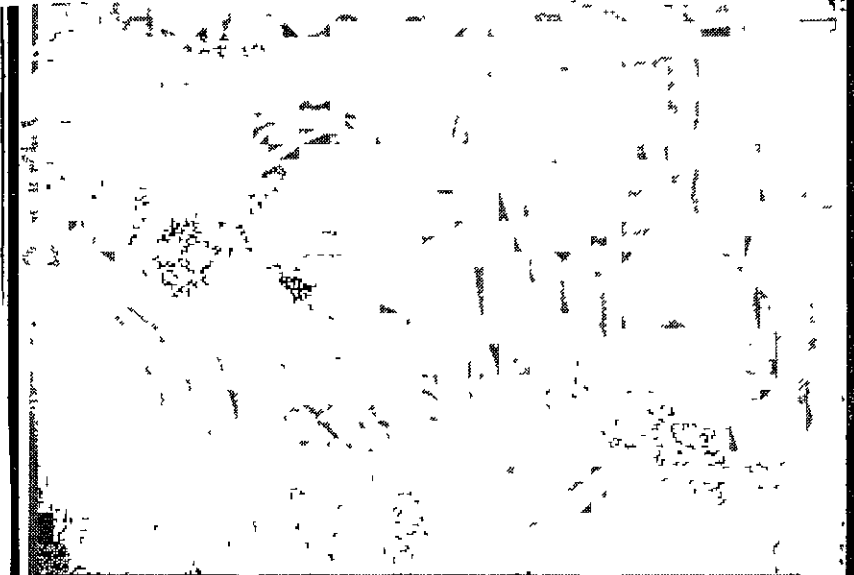
He inspected a row of communal toilets and stopped in disbelief to gaze at a dumping lot with a stagnant pool in the middle where a strong stench greeted the entourage.

Curious shack-dwellers came out of the tiny homes to have a glimpse of Mr Mothopeng. Children followed behind.

Mrs Abigail Mafudlula, a mother of six, told Mr Mothopeng her family had been forced to live there with her husband Edwin and their children, whose ages range from 17 years to five months, because they could not find accommodation elsewhere in Soweto.

A woman carrying a baby on her back came to the door of her tin shack and said: "Our children are suffering from double pneumonia."

Zeph in visit to shack people



Mr ZEPH Mothopeng, president of the outlawed Pan Africanist Congress, and his wife, yesterday paid a short visit to the Mshenguville squatter camp in Soweto. They were accompanied by Mr James Mndaweni, president of Nactu, and Mrs Sonti Madi, vice-president of Masakhane Mshenguville project. *Sowetan 22/11/88*

New move to bar Rajbansi 'for good'

ASC 43
22/12/68

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN — A new move to bar former chairman of the Ministers' Council Mr Amichand Rajbansi from Parliament "for good" was launched only hours after President Botha fired him

Mr Rajbansi is barred from entering Parliament until February 20 following his suspension by members after a parliamentary select committee submitted an interim report on maladministration in the House of Delegates

Parliament resumes on February 3 and according to Progressive Federal Party MP Mr Mamoo Rajab his group will spearhead the move to keep Mr Rajbansi out of Parliament "for good"

INTERIM REPORT

"We will make the move within the first few days of Parliament and by that time we will have the findings of the James Commission, which in-

vestigated alleged irregularities in the House of Delegates," said Mr Rajab

Mr Rajbansi was fired as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates and from the Cabinet after an interim report was submitted to President Botha by the chairman of the commission, Mr Justice Neville James, this week

Mr Rajbansi said he was not giving up politics and he would continue fighting any move against him

He was aware of moves to oust him, but he believed he had the resolve to continue to fight

There is no need to kill each other

Sowetan 22/12/88

11A

CHIEF LUTHULI

ROBERT SOBUKWE

'There have always been different perspectives'

THE call for unity among political organisations in the black community received renewed impetus during a lecture programme in Soweto. Exiled organisations — the ANC, PAC and BCMA — have expressed calls for unity although they have had different interpretations of what that unity means.

The impetus came during the Centre for Enrichment in African Political Affairs' annual Luthuli-Sobukwe-Biko memorial lecture at the Funda Centre.

Chief Albert Luthuli is a former president of the

FOCUS

By
**MIKE
TISSONG**

African National Congress, Robert Sobukwe is the founding president of the Pan Africanist Congress and Steve Biko spearheaded the Black Consciousness movement.

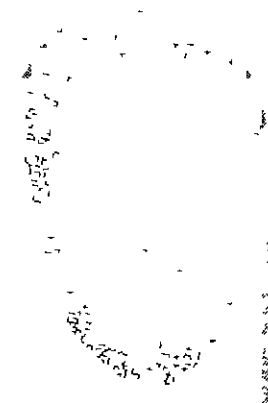
The ANC's guiding document, the Freedom Charter, maps out a

future South Africa in which socialist and capitalist structures co-operate.

The PAC's Pan Africanist Manifesto calls for an "African socialist democratic social order".

The BCMA's Political Programme calls for a scientific socialist economy in which the "land, sea and air space" shall be vested in the State.

The ANC and PAC have a non-racial approach to membership while the BCMA is an exclusively black organisation.



STEVE BIKO

Both the chairman of the Ceapa programme Mr Fanyana Mazibuko and the guest speaker, Dr Itumeleng Mosala stressed the need for political tolerance among activists of the three political trends.

Dr Mosala's talk was delayed for 15 minutes when about 15 policemen entered the hall, took up

places at the front and filmed proceedings.

Dr Mosala said members of the black community "have never been uniform in their political thinking. There have always been different perspectives."

"But there has never been a need to kill each other."

"There is a serious political crisis because we have reached the stage where we have witnessed internecine strife."

"This is a crisis we need to creatively and systematically address ourselves to."

Dr Mosala also criticised what he referred to as "firebrigade leadership" which reared its head in times of crisis.

"This leadership is histrionic, theatrical in its strategy. It is TV-based, newspaper-based and internationally oriented."

"And it is not quite organically based in the community. But you get them speaking on behalf of the people!"

Dr Mosala said those seriously interested in the struggle would appreciate the role played by each of the three trends of political thought.

"We have to appreciate them, not against one another, but in conjunction with each other."

"Unfortunately, some organisations suffer from amnesia when they draw up political programmes because these do not take cognisance of the spectrum of politics in the black community."

Nobody objected to the call for unity.

It is now up to the leadership and rank-and-file of these trends to give the call real meaning in terms of unity.

What the Raj will lose

Mr. Raj's 22/12/85 11R

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Sacked cabinet minister Mr Amichand Rajbansi will lose more than just his title when he vacates the chairmanship of the Ministers Council on January 1.

On Tuesday Mr Rajbansi was sacked by President P W Botha. The sacking takes effect on January 1. Mr Rajbansi said yesterday he had "certain unfinished business" to complete before he handed over the reins to the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates, Mr Kassie Ramduth, who has been appointed acting chairman of the Ministers Council.

On January 1 he has to vacate his plush, oak-panelled Malgate Building offices — the Durban headquarters of the House of Delegates.

On that day he also loses his chauffeur-driven Mercedes Benz, his palatial home in Pelican Park in Cape Town and his ministerial home in Pretoria, in addition to a huge part of his monthly take-home pay.

He will also lose a monthly allowance of about R1 000 for using his Arena Park home in Chatsworth as a ministerial home.

It is expected that his yearly salary of R17 000 would be slashed to R70 000 from January 1 when he reverts to the status of an ordinary MP — for the first time since he assumed power four years ago.

Asked how he was going to cope with a big pay cut, Mr Rajbansi said "The pay was something which I had not relied upon

forward to the next general election for the House of Delegates, which I think will take place sometime next year."

● Indian politics remained in a state of turmoil yesterday with no indication yet of who will finally assume The Raj's mantle

Throughout yesterday, there was frantic behind-the-scenes lobbying among contenders for the powerful position of Ministers Council chairman

Early indications are that opposition Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy is one of the favourites

While Mr Ramduth has been appointed acting chairman, observers believe that Dr Reddy is likely to emerge as the eventual leader

Although Dr Reddy and Mr Rajbansi had briefly formed a pact during the early stages of the tricameral Parliament, the division between the two has grown

Plans to merge Solidarity and the People's Party of South Africa are expected to be discussed at a meeting in Durban early next month, while Mr Rajbansi's NPP is also convening a meeting to discuss the latest situation

Mr Mamoo Rajab, acting leader of the PFP in the House of Delegates, said that although Mr Ramduth was a good choice, he would have to gain the confidence of the House and his colleagues

● A Mercedes

● Two houses

● R47 000 pay cut

"I will immediately qualify for a minister's pension and a minister's gratuity, which should fairly compensate for the loss

"I've never lived beyond my means

He said he would be "financially stronger" if he retired. But he vowed "I am going to carry on in politics"

Asked how he felt about his axing, he said

"I feel more relaxed now that a burden is off my shoulders, but I hope that they (his successors) can have the courage to take bold decisions and deal with the left wing

"My trump card is the election. I am looking

Cape Times 22/12/88 109

Future role priority issue as LP meets

Political Staff

THE Labour Party's continued participation and future role in the tricameral system is expected to dominate next week's congress in Bloemfontein

Resolutions thus far submitted indicate that the LP will stay within the system, despite previous hints of a withdrawal should the government choose to ignore opposition forces and use the President's Council to ramrod through Group Areas legislation

One resolution specifically calls for a mandate to continue within the tricameral system, saying the LP is now the only party which can exercise political pressure on the government to introduce reform

Bolstered by its success in blocking some racial legislation this year, there is little doubt the LP congress will decide to persist with its confrontational role in 1989

Recent events in Boksburg are likely to heighten that resolve, as illustrated in a resolution submitted by LP leader Mr Allan Hendrickse's Eastern Cape region

The resolution criticises the "hypocrisy of government in condemning the Conservative Party for wanting to put up apartheid-enforcing notice boards in towns under their control, while the

government itself is guilty of maintaining the Separate Amenities Act"

There seems to be little doubt, therefore, that the congress will provide Mr Hendrickse with a mandate to continue the type of tactics that has dominated the affairs of the LP-controlled House of Representatives this year

Some differences of opinion may be voiced over his continued blocking of proposed changes to the constitution that would permit the enlargement of the House of Assembly

There are certain LP MPs who believe this has forced them into participating in next year's general election — an event which could end a few of their political careers

Mr Hendrickse, however, appears determined to stand firm on the issue and he is expected to spell out his position in no uncertain terms when he opens the congress on December 27.

He was clearly not prepared to capitulate and arrange any sort of deal during recent talks with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis

Aside from these fundamental questions, other resolutions indicate that the congress will focus on bread-and-butter issues, specially the plight of the unemployed and the working conditions of farm workers

22/12/88

Dutch church group comes out in support of the ANC

By Ada Stuijt,
The Star's Foreign
News Service

AMERSFOORT (Holland)

— The religious-pacifist group Kerk en Vrede (Church and Peace) in Holland has thrown its full support behind the African National Congress, in spite of the ANC's use of violence.

This was said in a formal statement issued by the movement's general council in Amersfoort.

The group referred to German theologian Mr Dietrich Bonhoeffer, executed by the Nazis because of his involvement in a failed plot to murder Hitler.

Mr Bonhoeffer had said that some situations were so violent it would be "impossible and irresponsible to withhold oneself" from violence.

The group also referred to the Reverend Beyers Naude, the Reverend Allan Boesak, Mr Frank Chikane and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who "while personally following the road of non-violence, have all expressed solidarity with others who do use violence".

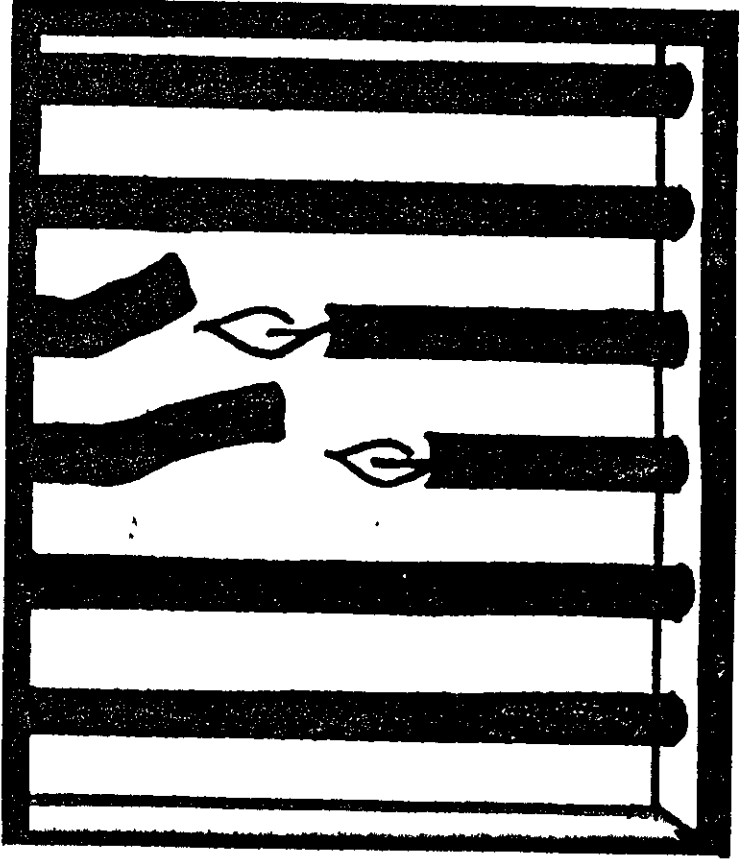
● The State University of Groningen has announced that Mr Chikane will be the first black South African to receive an honorary doctorate from their faculty of theology early next year.



Lord Mischon said today that he would sue for costs on Jones's behalf. — The Star's Foreign News Service.

It is better to light a candle, than to curse the darkness.

BRING MANDELA HOME FOR CHRISTMAS



Show your support!

**Light a candle of
hope this Christmas
eve.**

Issued by SACBC and SACC, Box 941 Pretoria

Star 23/12/88

WA

Days of 'the Raj' may finally be over despite vow

By DAVID BRAUN of The Argus Political Staff

ARE the days of the Raj finally over?

This question may well be asked after dismissal this week by President Botha of his chief Indian Minister, Mr Amichand Rajbansi

Mr Botha sacked the Raj, as he is widely known in the political world, on the strength of the preliminary report of the James Commission into alleged malpractices in the administration of the House of Delegates

Mr Rajbansi says President Botha acted too hastily "I will be back," he vowed in an interview

For the moment, however, the days of high political office for the Raj are indeed over

Mr Botha has not only relieved him of his positions as Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates and as Minister of Housing in the same administration, but he has also dropped him from the Cabinet

Earlier this year, Mr Rajbansi lost his position as leader of the majority party in the Indian House when members of his National Peoples' Party crossed the floor to form a new majority coalition with Solidarity

This majority tried every means available to it to rid Parliament of Mr Rajbansi, who stubbornly refused to resign his position as Chairman of the Ministers' Council

Eventually, it voted to suspend the NPP leader from the House, but Mr Rajbansi continued to govern the Indian own affairs administration without a parliamentary base and without his own seat in the legislature

It took President Botha's drastic action this week finally to remove him

Mr Rajbansi, who was born in Durban nearly 46 years ago, is no stranger to political turmoil

At the height of the political struggle between Mr Rajbansi and his opponents, the balance of power in the House of Delegates swung first one way and then the other, with one MP crossing the floor no fewer than four times before bursting into tears and saying that he could no longer take the pressure

As allegations of corruption on both sides piled up, President Botha's patience snapped and he appointed the James Commission to investigate once and for all the incessant torrent of accusations

and counter-accusations which had rocked the House of Delegates from its inception

According to Sheila Gastrow's *Who's Who in South African Politics*, Mr Rajbansi studied history and psychology at the Indian University College in Durban. He also had a great interest in art and in 1960 won the Rembrandt competition with three of his sketches.

Mr Rajbansi has worked as a sports administrator, professional soccer referee and teacher. He has also had jobs in the dairy industry and has owned a butchery

Mr Rajbansi entered politics when he joined the now defunct South African Indian Council in 1974.

According to Mrs Gastrow, he served on the Southern Durban Local Affairs Committee, but was expelled in 1977 by Natal's Provincial Executive Committee for contravening the Local Government Ordinance by not declaring his financial interest in a debate

Cabinet council

He was reinstated after his insistence that he had been a victim of a campaign.

Mr Rajbansi's career on the Indian Council was stormy. He resigned from the executive in 1976 in protest at the council's decision to join the inter-Cabinet council proposed by the government and which was to exclude Africans

He and other members who resigned formed the Reform Party under the leadership of Mr Y S Chinsamy

A dispute with Mr Chinsamy saw Mr Rajbansi suspended from the party. He then resigned from both the party and the Indian Council

In 1981 Mr Rajbansi stood again for election to the council on the basis that bread and butter politics were as important as ideology and that the council served as a means to an end

Familiar interlude

There followed a familiar interlude of wheeling and dealing with Mr Rajbansi forming the National Peoples' Party to oust the Democratic Party leader, Mr JB Patel, as newly elected chairman of the Indian Council

Mr Rajbansi took the top office for himself as head of the new majority party. In 1984 Mr Rajbansi led the NPP into the first elections for the House of Delegates

Neither the NPP nor its chief rival, Solidarity, was able to win an outright majority and there followed a period of intense political agitation before Mr Rajbansi emerged as leader of a coalition with majority support.

Mr Rajbansi's actual administration won him praise from the State President this week and there has been much recognition for his contribution, particularly towards improved housing and better health services for South Africa's Indian people.

Noble idea of ridding ourselves of fears

ABOUT three months ago, I was privileged to be briefed, and consulted, by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe on the evolutionary stages of the nation-building idea. It caught my imagination immediately.

True, we South Africans tend to grasp at any straw in our desperate search for solutions to this country's dilemmas. But, in what Mr Klaaste calls the *Great Idea*, there seemed to me essentially white mind lateral breakthrough in the range of options proffered to us.

The fibre of the nation is there, waiting to be woven into beautiful cloth. It needs shaping — but I know it is there.

No sooner had my two colleagues outlined the *Great Idea* to me than, again, my white ethnic wanted to push ahead with propagating it instantly.

But Aggrey Klaaste was right. Let it



Jolyon Nuttall is general manager of the *Sowetan* and *The Star*.

ferment, he said. Don't rush me.

Here was a black man saying to his fellow blacks: Look, people, we must start with ourselves. We must restore our communities, repair our damaged social fabric, encourage leaders of all kinds to come forward, honour our heritage — and build a nation that will eliminate fear in others.

For me, that is a noble ideal. It is an ideal that gives me

deprecatingly, adding, "at the age of 48, even though I may look younger" — and everyone knowing this frail person laughs.

Each Monday, in his regular column, he lets slip a little more thinking on the concept. Stage by stage, it evolved, giving us each time a new perspective to reflect on.

Then came the official launch, at the *Sowetan's* Nation Building dinner at Shareworld, on October 21, 1988. I was honoured to speak first on that marvellous evening, not knowing what Aggrey would say.

"Real progress," I said, "requires someone to take up a position different from those occupied by 'them' and 'us'."

I believe that what Aggrey Klaaste has started in the first term of his Editorship of the *Sowetan* represents a new perspective on an old ideal. It is innovative and courageous.

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And then I added, "As I understand the concept of Nation Building, let the work start now. Begin now, in small ways or in big ways, but in as many ways as possible, to build the nation, restore the pride, and replenish the spirit, so that we can all live together — without fear."

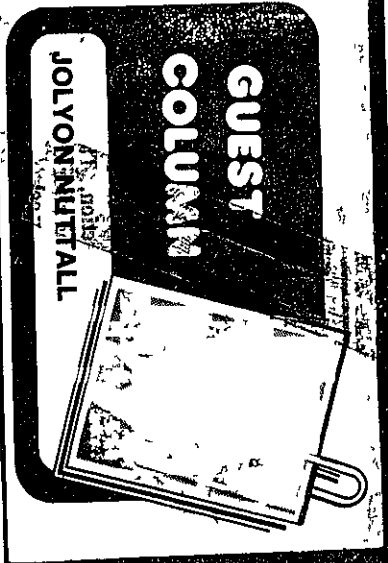
For me, Nation Building has made 1988 a year worth living in. It has inspired those it was not designed to inspire — like myself — so I can imagine the impact it has had on its target.

In the process, it has enhanced the soul of the *Sowetan*, the quality of every newspaper needs if it is to have any prospect of becoming great.

Hal, Aggrey Klaaste
Hal, Nation Building

Celebrity

Since October 21, Nation Building as an idea, and indeed as a programme, has taken off. "I am a celebrity", says Aggrey, self-



The figures show ANC's alive and bombing

23 Dec - 12/1/89

THE African National Congress carried out an unprecedented number of guerrilla attacks this year, despite security force claims that the movement's momentum had been broken.

According to South African Police statistics, a total of 238 guerrilla attacks took place in the first 10 months of 1988, compared with 234 during the whole of last year, 230 in 1986, 136 in 1985 and 44 in 1984. These figures do not include attacks in the "independent homelands".

This means that there has been a 640 percent increase in the number of guerrilla attacks from 3,66 a month in 1984 to 23,4 a month this year.

General Basie Smit, chief of the security police, said recently that in the eight years from 1976 to 1984 there had been 267 attacks, while in the nearly four years since then there had been 847.

Of the 245 guerrilla attacks recorded by mid-November this year, 70 were aimed at members of the security forces (including 14 at the SADF), 65 at government targets (including local authorities), six at the judiciary, 30 at the economy and 73 at civilians, according to SAP figures.

Among the suspected guerrilla attacks on security force members over the past two months were the following:

- In mid-October six policemen were wounded in Katchong. AK-47 cartridges were found at the scene.

- SAP member Sergeant Fanie Pretorius was killed in a shootout in Orlando West on November 9. Two ANC members were also shot.

- A policeman was shot dead by an unknown gunman at a railway station in Umlazi on November 21.

- A policeman was shot and wounded at Lindokuhle Station in Umlazi on November 21.

- Two policemen were killed and another wounded in an ambush in Orlando, Soweto, on December 8.

- Three municipal policemen were seriously wounded by AK-47 gunfire

Guerrilla attacks have increased 640 percent since 1984, despite claims that the African National Congress has lost momentum, reports GAVIN EVANS

in Diepkloof, Soweto on December 10

While the Pan-Africanist Congress has claimed credit for the last two attacks, the credibility of the claim has been questioned. The pattern of previous attacks and the Soviet origin of the weapons used is more consistent with that of the ANC.

In June, ANC military leader Chris Hani gave notice of an ANC drive to concentrate attacks on army and police personnel, pro-government judges and others linked to the "system".

The increased number of PAC guerrillas captured and killed this year is evidence of a significant infiltration drive, but there has been no independent verification of successful PAC attacks in 1988.

Earlier this year a group of alleged PAC guerrillas were killed in a shootout with security forces. Surprisingly, among the weapons captured were archaic British sub-machine guns and weapons of Yugoslavian and Chinese origin.

According to security force statistics, a dramatic upsurge in attacks was recorded from July, when there were 31 incidents, until the beginning of November. In October, there were 54 attacks.

Brigadier Herman Stadler, outgoing chief of the SAP's security intelligence, attributed the rise in the number of attacks to a "maximum effort" by the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, aimed at disrupting the October municipal elections.

By mid-November this year, 38 people had been killed in guerrilla attacks, compared with 30 last year and 56 in 1986.

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GUNFIGHT AT WHITE CITY

Not just a B-movie, alas

It sounds like an incident in a Len Deighton novel, or a Hollywood B-movie. At dead of night, police surround a darkened house in a quiet residential street. Suddenly, guns blaze. In the crossfire, three men die. Trouble is, when peace is restored, they turn out to have been shot by their own side.

In fact, it's a balls-up, from which only the ANC will benefit, of a nature that in many countries would lead to irresistible calls for somebody senior's resignation. While it may be too much to expect that here, nevertheless there are important questions that demand answers.

One is, simply, why it took so long for the news to seep out. Anybody naive (or foolish, or misguided) enough to think that censorship of facts or muzzling the media can ever be in the public interest should reflect that it took several days for the news of the White City shootout to emerge, and then apparently only in response to a press inquiry.

If this can happen to an event that must have wakened hundreds of Sowetans, within 50 km of the centre of Johannesburg, is it any wonder that some people dare to doubt that we are told all that happens in more remote areas?

Those who dismiss such considerations as mere media bleating self-justification still have weighty issues to ponder.

First, a major aspect of our society is the steady proliferation of public-sector bodies of overlapping functions, some-

times contradictory aims, and little accountability. In brief, Heunisbabble has won out over P W Botha's initial promise of a streamlined, more efficient administration.

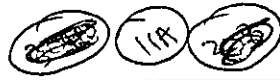
It is alarming that this breakdown of effective co-ordination has spread to the security forces. An incompetent civil service that costs money is bad enough, inadequate liaison that sets rival uniformed bands killing each other in the streets of Soweto is far worse. Simply to say that mistakes do happen will not console the families of the dead policemen.

But the fundamental issue is this: precisely what is the army's role in the townships? There were considerable misgivings among people of all political persuasions when the Defence Force was first deployed in this way. For the army to defend the civil authority domestically could be the start of a slippery slope down South American way.

Broad reassurances were given that the two bodies' activities would be clearly distinguished. It was even suggested that the boys in brown would be a sort of superior social worker, winning the hearts and minds of the populace while the police got on with the work they're paid to do.

That at least placated parents (and conscripts) who could see the case for defending SA's external border, but were less happy to take part in what could be considered civil war.

Now that seems to be a distinction without a difference. ■



NEWS IN REVIEW / 88

WHEN the president of South Africa's largest youth organisation goes on trial for terrorism in Pietersburg early next year, the "time of the comrades" will have entered a new — and apparently irreversible — phase

Peter Mokaba, leader of the South African Youth Congress (Sayco), "disappeared" on March 21 this year. Police later announced he was being held under the Internal Security Act — it was clear that his arrest formed part of an unprecedented state war of attrition against youth militancy

This war is one of the most outstanding features of the relationship between state and resistance in South Africa in 1988. It also seems to have changed the form and tactics of youth politics forever

No less than 12 youth and student groups have been proscribed under the Emergency regulations this year. The February clampdown removed the major national and regional structures: Sayco, the South African National Students Congress, the Cape Youth Congress, the Soweto Youth Congress, and the Azanian Youth Organisation. All had been key players during the 1984-1986 period, when

Under siege. Slogan-chanting students retreat underground

the youth played a key role in anti-apartheid activity

The bannings dealt a debilitating blow to groups which had been struggling to adapt to the fundamentally altered conditions of nationwide Emergency rule. The days of "street revolt" were a distant memory, and the "semi-underground" mode of operation was still in its infancy

Yet youth resistance sputtered on. There was a march in Soweto after the funeral of slain youth activist Sicele Dhlomo in February. Sporadic student stayaways took place in the Transvaal and Cape between March and August. Organised youth played an important part in an effective three-day stayaway in June

In addition, poorly organised regions were affected by youth activism. The Far Northern Transvaal Youth Congress, for example, was

The state has launched a sustained attack on youth resistance. Organisations may have been silenced but they have not been immobilised.
By SHAUN JOHNSON and VUSI GUNENE

instrumental in organising a successful stayaway in Venda

Such activities took place against the background of relentless repression. Groups could no longer meet and consult openly, top activists were detained on a continual basis, and the numbers of assassinations, disappearances and extra-legal forms of harassment shot up alarmingly

Then came the next round of re-

strictions: the Soweto Students Congress was effectively banned at the end of October, to be joined two days later by the Transvaal Students Congress and the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress. Barely a week later, Wits University's Black Students Society and Rhodes' Black Students Movement were proscribed

Then, on December 12, the Mitchell's Plain Students Congress and the Western Cape Students Council joined the ranks of the silenced

It is increasingly difficult to assess the state of the myriad youth structures around the country. Thus the membership figures which are normally given — about 700 000 in Sayco's case — cannot be tested. But as in the past, youth organisations appear to have replaced the decimated ranks of their leaders. This is no mean achievement, given that only

one member of Sayco's executive remains out of detention as 1988 draws to a close

Thus while the positions of Mokaba — and other imprisoned Sayco office-bearers like Rapu Molekane and Ephraim Nkwe — have not been technically filled, it is clear that there is a leadership, and it is operating

In an interview with members of Sayco regional affiliate, the Natal Youth Congress (Nayco) this week, the fact was stressed repeatedly

The Nayco representatives said because Sayco was "formed" (in March 1987) under conditions which did not allow for above-board activities, we managed to weather the state attack

"The size of the organisation, and its regional, local and zonal structures, has made this possible"

The youth activists concede that "underground is not a healthy terrain of struggle for an organisation that wants to reach the masses, make statements and operate above-board. But conditions of near-illegality have been forced on us"

This has led to a sober assessment of the options open to youth, and it has been decided that the emphasis must be to build an advanced contingent of young activists. A tightly-knit organisation to operate like an advanced unit

The leaders say the quality of the youth activists, rather than their numbers, is paramount in mobilising "the broadest range of youth, be they in church groups or on the streets, and even those who are outside the Sayco mainstream, like the Inyandza Youth Organisation in kaNgwane"

This illustrates the strategic distance travelled by the youth in three short years: the uncompromising anti-collaborationist stand maxims have given way to pragmatism. It is believed that while kaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza's Inyandza movement does not see entirely eye to eye with the "mass democratic movement," there is enough common ground to allow for co-operation

This also forms part of the perceived need to explore and "manoeuvre within whatever legal space there is" for youth campaigns

This will not hamper the already-advanced moves in Sayco to forge working alliances with other groups within the resistance fold — notably "the progressive labour movement", student or pupil-based groups and community organisations

"The South African youth have not been crushed. The militancy is certainly still there," say the Nayco representatives — and there are hundreds of youth organisations still operating in the townships

But their style has changed — from shouting slogans and chanting in the streets to organised and disciplined formations on the ground

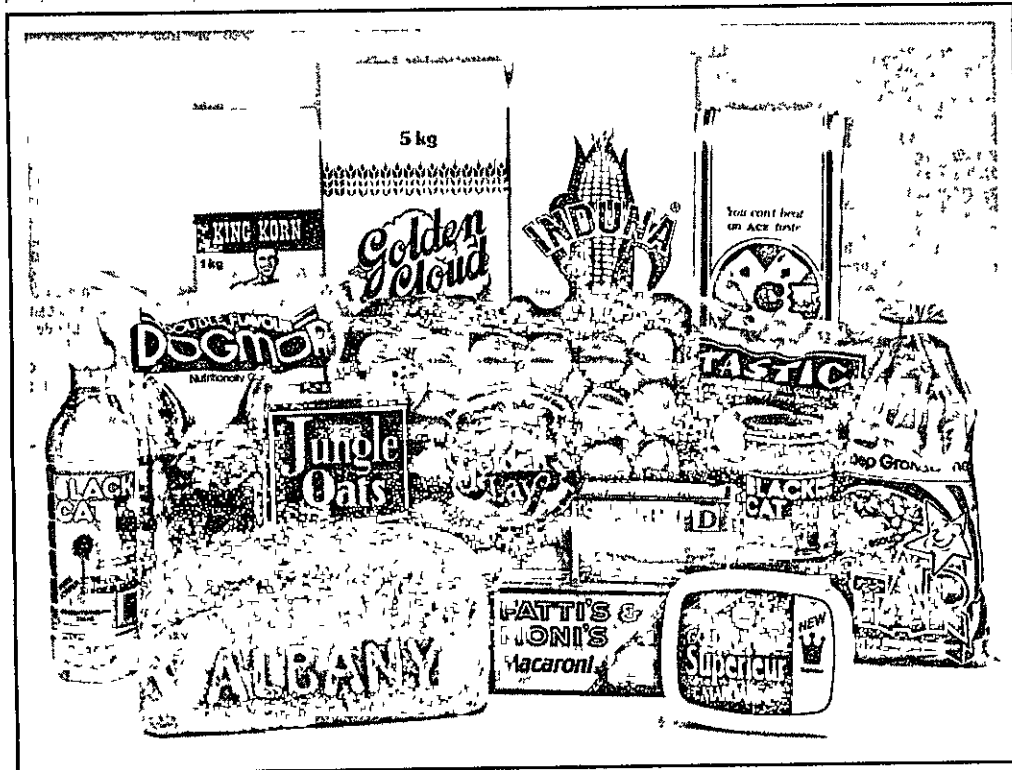
The leaders believe the government is under extreme pressure. "As the struggle heightens and as the regime becomes more isolated, the country becomes more tense," said one

They are so prepared for a long haul. Pretoria has been pushed to the point where it must fight for its survival and use up all its resources to sustain its policies. In 1989, we are sure there will be maximum suppression of opposition and resistance

"But as far as the youth are concerned, the groundwork is being done in the townships"

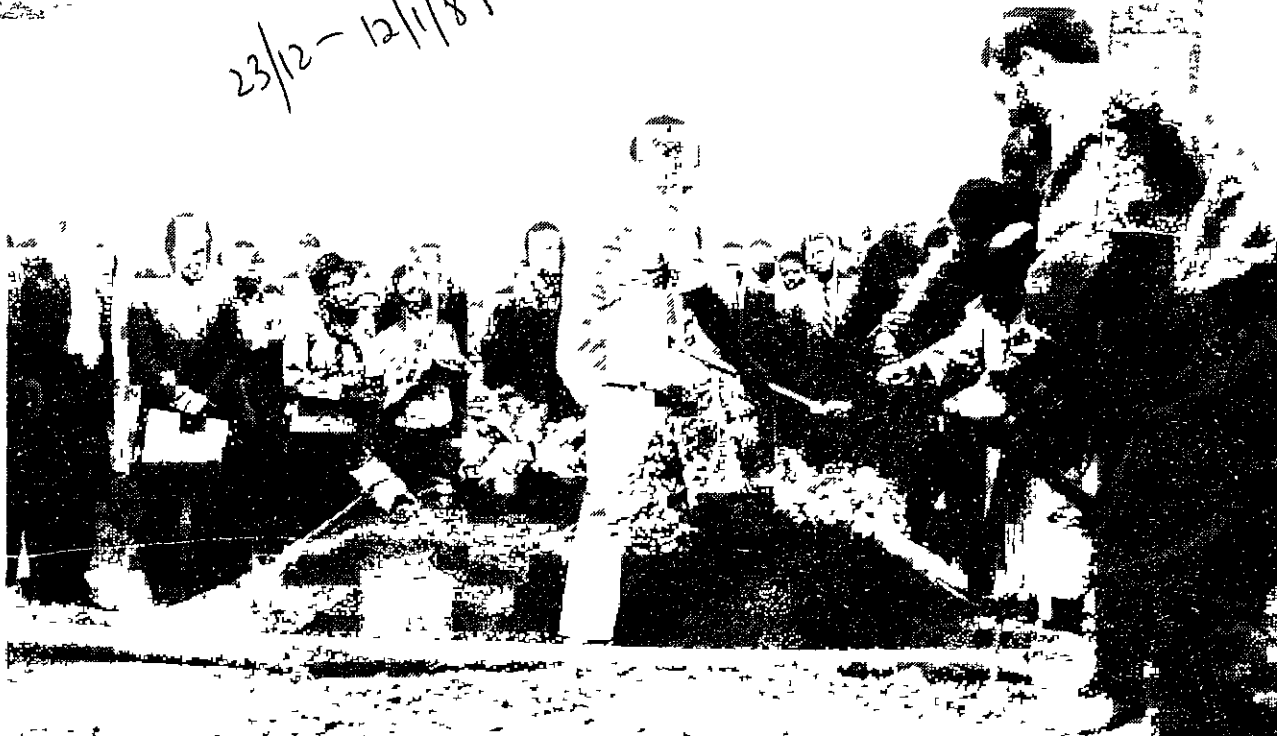
● Peter Mokaba goes on trial, along with Malebane Tswai and Sam Siphoro, in Pietersburg on February 20 1989. They face charges of terrorism, alternatively furthering the aims of the outlawed African National Congress. There is a further alternative charge under arms and ammunition laws

May there always be good food on your table



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23/12 - 12/1/89.

DEPT OF MAIL
WEEKLY MAIL



A rare meeting of internal and exiled leaders: Beyers Naude and Frank Chikane (left) look on as an ANC soldier (right) and other ANC members fill Johnny Makatini's grave

Picture: ANTON HARBER

At a funeral in Lusaka, a prayer in an unexpected tongue. Afrikaans

ANTON HARBER reports

DR Beyers Naude stood over the Lusaka grave of an African National Congress leader on Saturday, raised his hands in the air, closed his eyes and prayed in Afrikaans

"Allow me to say this in my own language," he said, "a language which has for many become a swear-word, a word of pain and of agony

"I do this deliberately, in the hope and belief that the day will come when even the blessing, the peace and the joy will come from those people who persecute and in so many ways cause the suffering of our people"

Standing opposite him, listening solemnly, was almost the entire national executive committee of the ANC, including president Oliver Tambo, secretary-general Alfred Nzo, military leaders Joe Modise and Chris Hani, and the SA Communist Party general secretary, Joe Slovo

They were burying one of their number, Johnny Mfanafuthi Makatini, a long-standing ANC executive member and head of the organisation's international relations department.

Makatini died two weeks ago, at the age of 58, of diabetes. His funeral, a day-and-a-half long ceremony attended by about 400 people, was conducted like a state funeral with official messages from governments, a small escort of uniformed but unarmed ANC soldiers, and the organisation's green, black and gold flag draped over the coffin.

It also provided one of the rare public displays of contact between exile leaders and those internal to the organisation still free to travel to such an event. It is not often that one sees Naude talking to Slovo, or the Reverend Frank Chikane, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, engaged in discussion with Tambo.

Earlier, Chikane had delivered a "message from South Africa" during the ceremony at the Catholic cathedral in Lusaka.

"I bring you a message suppressed in South Africa, for our people who are not allowed to mourn the death of this father of the struggle

"The apartheid regime would not like us to be here today, because the regime would want to perpetuate the divisions between us

"They want us to say that the minute you have taken a stand against apartheid, you are no longer our brothers

"If I have to stand for the truth, as the church's eye-witness, I must say this is a lie. These are our brothers and sisters, and nothing in the world can stop this

"This is why we are here today," he said

Chikane also had praise for Makatini: "The government would like us to believe that Johnny Makatini was an enemy of South Africa. I would like to say that the white minority regime is an enemy of South Africa. Its cruel and unjust policies are going to cause the destruction of our country. The Organisation of Human Rights was adopted 40 years ago precisely to stop this sort of thing. The question people are asking is how long will this be allowed to continue?"

The keynote address was delivered by Tambo. He spoke about Makatini, his personal contribution to the ANC and the ANC's view of the prospects and

the effects for South Africa of a settlement in Angola/Namibia. Tambo is "listed" and cannot be quoted.

Messages were read out at the funeral from Winnie Mandela, Dr Nthato Motlana, the Rev Jesse Jackson, Javier Perez de Cuellar, the Organisation of African Unity, Swapo, the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the World Council of Churches and the governments of the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua, Sweden, Zimbabwe and Zambia, among others.

It was clear from the funeral that the ANC would have trouble replacing a diplomat as experienced as Makatini. ANC members reject outside speculation that the likely successor is Thabo Mbeki, the current head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity.

However, they give little clue as to who is likely to take what is a crucial job for an organisation that devotes a lot of energy and resources to diplomatic work.

Makatini was a Natal teacher who resigned when Bantu Education was introduced and became an ANC activist. He was, according to the ANC, the head of one of the first groups of volunteers to be sent out of the country for military training in 1962.

He was trained in Morocco, and stayed there to receive new groups of trainees. This position, as the ANC's official representative in that country, appointed to the ANC executive in 1974. Three years later he was appointed head of the ANC mission to the United Nations, where he played a crucial role in establishing the organisation's status there as an observer.

He was appointed head of the International Department in 1983 and moved back to Lusaka shortly afterwards.

New PAC envoy

THE Pan Africanist Congress' Australian envoy, Mr Maxwell Nemadzhivhanani, has been appointed as the organisation's new chief representative to the United Nations.

The decision was taken at the plenary session of the PAC's central committee in Tanzania last week.

He replaces Mr Samuel Makanda, who

has been appointed the organisation's secretary for labour. Mr Nemadzhivhanani will be based in New York, while Mr Makanda will be based in Tanzania.

Mr Nemadzhivhanani's responsibilities include representing the PAC in most forums of the UN and conference, and working within the Organisation of African Unity.

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It's Christmas in townships after 12 years

PAT DEVEREAUX and RICH MKHONDO

For the first time in 12 years there has been no outright call for a "Black Christmas" in South Africa's townships, but as thousands celebrate they will reflect on the current political situation, say black leaders of various political and religious groupings

Since 1976 political groupings have declared each festive season a "Black Christmas", but this year — excepting for Boksburg — there have been no organised consumer boycotts

Soweto residents say the word is being passed from political leaders "It is time to have some fun"

Now, however, the message is that the thoughts should be the same, but without the penance of past years, the Soweto residents said

The streets of Johannesburg and other cities bustled this week with black shoppers buying food, clothes and toys

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said blacks recognised the goodness of Christ and would celebrate Christmas in that spirit

● TO PAGE 2.

No 'Black Christmas'

● FROM PAGE 1.

Blacks should not forget their leaders and friends detained without trial, imprisoned for political offences or gagged by tough house-arrest orders forbidding them to hold or attend any sort of gathering," said Archbishop Tutu

Aggrey Klaaste, editor of the country's biggest-selling black newspaper, the *Sowetan*, said the calls for fun did not mean blacks had given up their demands. "People are prepared to celebrate," he said. "After a long time it seems we are going to have a normal Christmas, but the irony is that all our grievances are still there"

"Our people are still locked up in jail, but I guess they themselves would be happy to see Christmas celebrated the way it used to be," he said

Writer Muriel Tlali said earlier this week that Christmas would be marked in the townships this year, but added "Black people are still where they were in 1976. There is nothing to celebrate"

The banning of 18 organisations in one fell swoop on February 12 this year and the later sporadic banning of 10 other groups, combined with the press restrictions, have clearly had an effect on mass mobilisation, said United Democratic Front and Cosatu members this week

But it seems that most groupings will focus on the plight of detainees and political prisoners this Christmas

Yesterday prison officials refused to accept Christmas goodies from the Free the Children Alliance, meant for children detained under emergency regulations, co-ordinator Mrs Dawn Ingle says

In adverts, the South African Council of Churches and the South African Catholic Bishops' Conference have urged people to "Bring Mandela home for Christmas" and "Show support and light a candle of hope this Christmas eve"

The Black Sash and Western Cape organisations have planned a range of events to focus on the plight of political prisoners and detainees

A highlight of the campaign is the women's music festival at a Langa church, organised by the United Womens' Congress and the Federation of South African Women

This year, families of about 1 500 detainees will set an empty place at the Christmas dinner table and special church services will be held country-wide on Christmas and New Year's Eve to remember those in detention

Protest strategies have varied since 1976, including boycotts of white-owned stores, fasting on Christmas Day and, in some cases, anti-apartheid rallies

In 1985, several people were killed when black youths, "comrades", enforced a boycott of white shops

In 1986, every township household was required to douse the lights and burn a candle in the window to protest against the imposition of the emergency

Last year saw police raids on Khotso House and Cosatu offices only hours after the UDF's "Peoples' Christmas against the Emergency" call

Unity: an elusive goal for rival groups

UNITY between the various black political groupings campaigning for self-determination is regarded as crucial. In the past few weeks, the OAU, the SACC, and a host of other organisations

and individuals, have spoken out for unity. MATHATHA TSEDU, a reporter on the Sowetan, recently spent two weeks in Harare and spoke to representatives of the PAC, BCMA and the ANC...

The position of the ANC

THE African National Congress believes that the best recipe for unity with the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania is for the PAC to cease making claims at international forums

A senior ANC spokesman said the organisation regarded the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania as a "fringe element" deserving of no notice

The interview was conducted following reported moves by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) liberation committee to reactivate an ad hoc committee on unity between the ANC and PAC

Nigeria was said to be behind the move which is to be raised at the liberation committee's meeting in Libya in February

The spokesman said the ANC was not aware of the OAU intentions and did not think it would, if true, bear any fruit

The ANC believed there was need to work consistently, every day, for the greatest possible unity and to seek greater areas of co-operation with all organisations opposed to apartheid

This was why the organisation met with rugby chief Dr Danie Craven, Kaizer Motaung, delegations from the National Council of Trade Unions, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Institute for the Democratic Alternative for South Africa and church leaders

But on unity with the PAC, the spokesman said the OAU had been informed that the "principal importance is to op-

pose the apartheid system. The PAC must do something to make their own contribution in action against the present regime

"In the process of struggle it is inevitable that the forces will be drawn together. Activity is basic and we don't feel that there is anything substantial that the PAC is doing to oppose the apartheid system," the spokesman said

The spokesman said BC formations inside the country, such as Azapo, Azacco, Azayo and Azasm, had to be consulted for unity

The spokesman made it clear that the ANC's perception of unity was between itself externally and the internal organisations of SA. The PAC and the BCMA were non entities in this regard

Stance taken by the PAC

UNITY of the people in this country was of paramount importance is the view of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) as expressed by the organisation's director for foreign affairs, Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim

A meeting to discuss unity with liberal organisations such as the Institute for the Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) could be held "anytime if those organisations agreed with the principles", he said.

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Mr Ebrahim said the absence of unity shown by the killings in the Natal and Eastern Cape townships, was of great concern to the PAC and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

But, said Mr Ebrahim, the PAC believed that unity should be based on certain minimum requirements which the parties to the unity should accept.

Among these are.

- Apartheid cannot be reformed but should be totally eradicated
- There should be agreement that the vehicle for change is the people and not the regime
- They must agree and work towards keeping the East/West conflict out of the South African situation.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC was putting the points "not as pre-conditions but as a working paper"

He said the PAC had a positive attitude towards unity and the ANC had always been reluctant

A meeting to discuss unity with liberal organisations such as the Institute for the Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) could be held "anytime if those organisations agreed with the principles", he said

He said the PAC would not deal with individuals liberals who denounced apartheid, such as Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, because "the conflict is not a conflict of individuals but a conflict of social forces"

Mr Ebrahim said people and organisations such as the South African Council of Churches (SACC) who profess to work towards unity should avoid sectarian treatment of nationalist forces.

"If they go about as if there is only one organisation in South Africa, then they lose their intermediary role."

Recent amendments to the Freedom Charter which were proposed by the ANC had moved the ideological positions of the two organisations closer. However the ANC had painted itself in a corner of insisting that no other organisation existed in South Africa.

"It might be very impossible for them to swallow their pride and meet with the PAC and others," he said

The BCMA's viewpoint

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), probably the youngest of the three externally based liberation organisations, welcomes all genuine moves to achieve unity

BCMA chairman, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, said that attempts by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) to bring unity between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) had been "useful" but not conclusive

The BCMA, formed in 1979 as an umbrella organisation for the Black Consciousness activists who had belonged to formations that were banned in 1977, is not recognised by the OAU as liberation movement

This means that all OAU sponsored efforts

regarding South Africa excludes the BCMA

Mr Mangena said the reported intention of the OAU Liberation Committee to reactivate an ad hoc committee on unity between the ANC and PAC, was constructive

But the BCMA believed that the greatest effort at unity should be made by the people of South Africa themselves who understand the dynamics of the situation on the ground much more profoundly than outsiders

The OAU has a part to play, but the much more fundamental thrust should come from the people within SA

The BCMA favoured creation of a broad front in which autonomy of each organisation would be initially respected

Mr Mangena said the BCMA met the ANC in

1979 but "nothing was achieved" No other meeting had been held

The organisation met the PAC in Tanzania in 1983 in a formal meeting to discuss unity

"We discovered when we sat together that essentially there are no basic differences to speak about. As far as the BCMA is concerned, unity to form a front between the two should have happened a long time ago

"The BCMA ratified all agreements reached in Tanzania," he said

Mr Mangena added that the prevailing division among the oppressed people hampered progress

"Feuds, mudslinging and killings are a dissipation of energy spent struggling against each other," he warned

CALL THIS 24/2/18
5 'ANC men' in court

MBABANE. — Five suspected ANC members appeared in the Manzini Magistrate's Court yesterday for bail application hearings. The five are Mr Zwelibanzi Nyanda, Mr Bethuel Nthethwa, Mr Ansar Khan, Mr Paul Ntiwane and Mr Theodore Jones Segals. The bail application hearings were postponed until December 30.

I'm dreaming of a free Christmas

The family that hasn't much to cheer about this festive season

THE father is serving a life sentence in Pollsmoor Prison. The mother has been banned for a total of 18 years in her lifetime and has spent 10 of those under house arrest.

One son is serving a long-term sentence on Robben Island and another has just been released after almost two years in detention without charge and is now restricted.

Other members of the family are in exile.

The Sisulus, of Soweto, are not quite the typical South African family. Nevertheless they are an extreme example of what decades of activism against apartheid have done to families who have become used to enduring the enforced absence of their loved ones at Christmas.

But they are not the only politically committed family to suffer banishment, house arrest, detention without trial and exile from their homeland.

Restricted

Walter Sisulu, 75, former secretary-general of the ANC, was convicted along with Nelson Mandela and others in the Rivonia trial and was committed to Robben Island. He was moved recently with Mandela to Pollsmoor.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu, 70, co-president of the United Democratic Front, is restricted to her house in Soweto. She has been an active campaigner against apartheid since the 1940s.

In addition to house arrest, she has been in and out of jail for her activities which date back to campaigning against the introduction of Bantu Education.

Her son, Zwelakhe, 38, distinguished journalist and trade unionist, has just been released from detention. Among stringent restrictions imposed on him he may not return to his job as editor of the weekly "alternative" newspaper, New Nation.

Award

The family has just been awarded the Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize for giving "hope to all in South Africa who oppose and suffer under this unjust system (of apartheid)".

For the Sisulus and thousands of other families in the townships there is little to be merry about today.

At a time when most

By MANDLA TYALA

blacks are getting down to the first "normal" Christmas for more than a decade, others have to contend with their enforced status as "social lepers". They have to stay at home in terms of their restriction orders.

For the past 10 years community organisations have called for a "black Christmas" each year, contending that there was nothing to celebrate while leaders and other activists languished in "apartheid jails".

The festivities that go with Christmas had to be forgone, and at one stage instructions went out for candles to be lit in township homes to honour those engaged in the political struggle.

Owing largely to the effects of the emergency and the banning of several pressure groups there have been no such calls this year and most blacks are spilling out.

But the twilight people, those who are neither inside jail nor outside, have to stay at home and watch while the rest of the country revels.

Human-rights groups say the position of the restricted is worse than that of the detainees.

According to a fact paper from the Human Rights Commission, by August this year an estimated 30 000 had been detained under the emergency regulations since June 12 1986.

Some of the detainees are breadwinners whose incarceration has left families destitute.

The National Detainees

UDF co-president and anti-apartheid campaigner Albertina Sisulu... facing another lonely Christmas



Zwelakhe Sisulu, his wife, Zodwa, and their children

Forum planned to brighten up this day, especially for teenage detainees, by bringing them Christmas parcels.

A spokesman for the Johannesburg chapter, the Detainees Aid Centre, says this had been the practice over the years. The parcels usually contain a variety of food, mainly confectionery.

But response varies from one prison to another. The authorities sometimes do not allow the food in, and in that case we normally donate it to an old age home or some charity.

By MARLENE BURGER

WHEN they awoke this morning, it was to the sound of clanging cell doors, not church bells.

And for more than 100 000 men, women and even some children of all population groups, Christmas in prison will be just another day.

Not for them the traditions of turkey and tinsel, presents and plum pudding, carols and crackers.

For the faceless felons, Christmas Present is a sharp reminder of the family festivity of Christmas Past.

Locked away from the society against which they have transgressed, it's a day to fantasise — about the freedom of Christmas Future.

The authorities don't like the festive season.

Brood

"Prisoners don't work over this period — and the devil finds work for idle hands," says a senior officer at a maximum security prison.

"It's a difficult time of year. Prisoners want to go home for Christmas and they have time to brood about their situation."

The frustration level is high — but the goodwill is there too.

"Frankly it's a relief to get back to the normal daily routine in January."

Few concessions are made to the season of peace and goodwill by the SA Prisons Department.

Prisoners are not allowed to receive or send gifts of any kind, although they may send 12 Christmas cards and receive an unlimited number, over and above their annual quota of post.

Visits — depending on the status of the prisoner — will take place between 9 am and 3 pm today, and church services are held at all institutions.

But there is no sign of festive fare.

Menu

Unless the recreation clubs which exist at most large prisons have made provision for a special meal, prisoners will receive their normal rations.

Contributions to club funds are made by the prisoners themselves and are used throughout the year to hire TV sets and videos or buy recreational equipment.

Today, they may have purchased ingredients to be prepared in the prison kitchens, and menus will include such luxuries as roast mutton and trifle.

But for the rest, one of today's meals will consist — as it does every other day of the year — of five slices of brown bread, a dollop of white margarine, a spoonful of jam and a glass of cold drink.

The second meal will be a balanced hot meal, but all prisoners may supplement their diet over this period by spending R10 more than the

DOVE OF PEACE

usual monthly allowance sweets, biscuits cold and tinned food.

Some cells will have decorated by the — in the Western Cape, cially, competition is keen the inter cell contest for best decorations.

The keyword is imagination since access to magazines is limited.

With a little imagination and a great deal of time, ever cells are festooned with baubles fashioned from magazine pages and paper.

The annual Christmas cert is the highlight of the year. Sketches, items and comedy are on programme and the — attended by prisoners staff alike.

Nativity scenes on may include the use of a — manding officer's half-braai disguised as a white sheets serve as tains.

In the Western Cape, Inter prison Coon hold each year on Day and New Year's Day. In the Eastern T...

Timing of a Christmas

By MARLENE BURGER

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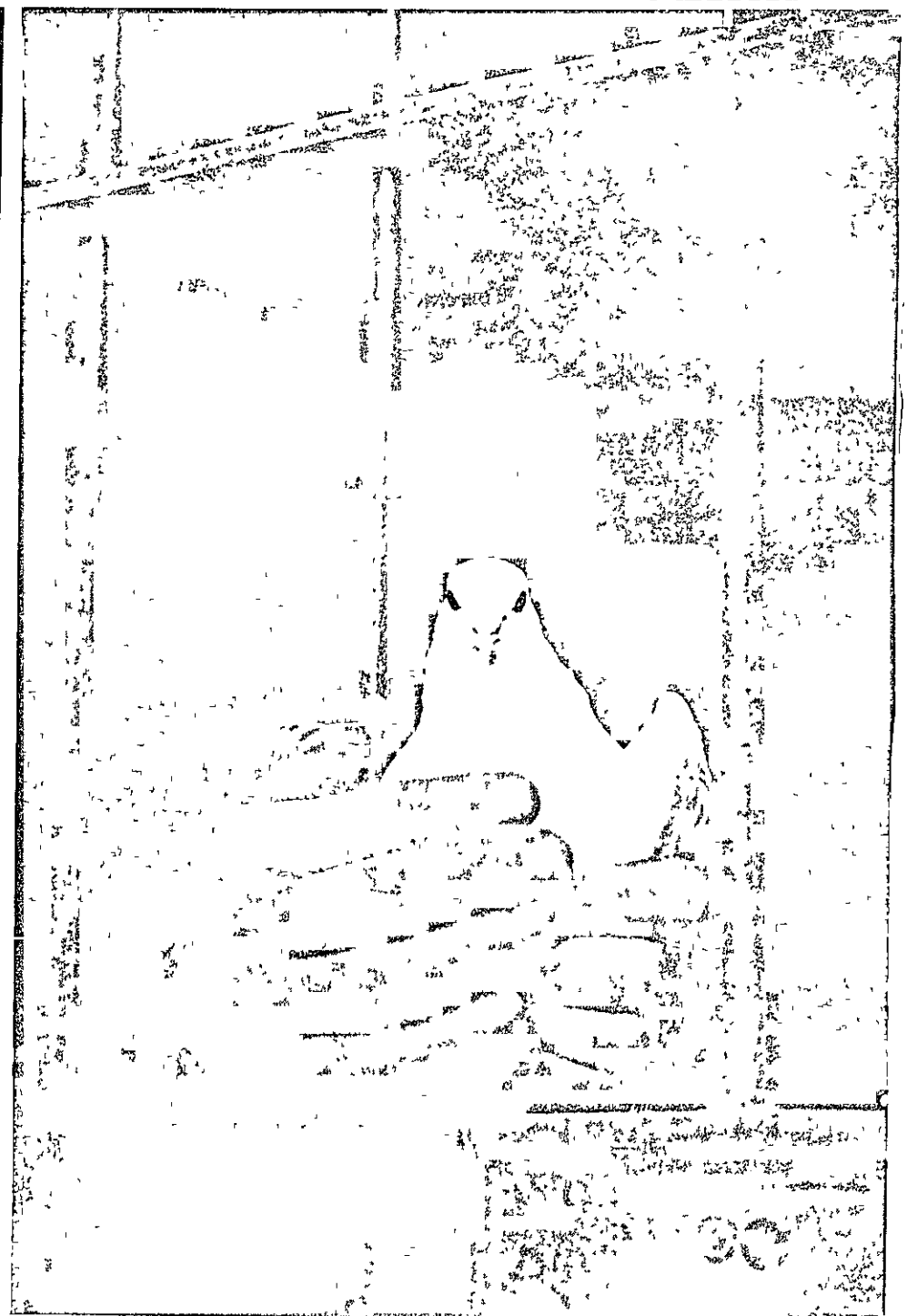
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DOVE OF PEACE but little goodwill behind bars

Pictures JAMEC SQUILLIER

usual monthly allowance on sweets, biscuits cold drinks and tinned food

Some cells will have been decorated by the occupants — in the Western Cape especially competition is keen in the inter cell contest for the best decorations

The keyword is improvisation since access to material is limited

With a little imagination and a great deal of time however cells are festooned with baubles fashioned from soap, magazine pages and toilet paper

The annual Christmas concert is the highlight of the year Sketches, musical items and comedy are on the programme and the event is attended by prisoners and staff alike

Nativity scenes on stage may include the use of a commanding officer's half drum braai disguised as a crib, while sheets serve as curtains

In the Western Cape, an inter prison Coon Carnival is held each year on Family Day and New Year's Day In the Eastern Transvaal

tribal dancing competitions are on the programme and it's a poignant experience to see strapping Swazi men, bearing shields made from cardboard and wearing raffia skirts over their drab prison shorts perform the age-old rituals

Choir

In the words of an attractive middle aged woman jailed for five years for fraud and spending her third Christmas in prison today

"This is the worst time of the year We try to make the best of it but really, all we want is for it to be over It's much easier to cope with the everyday routine of prison life"

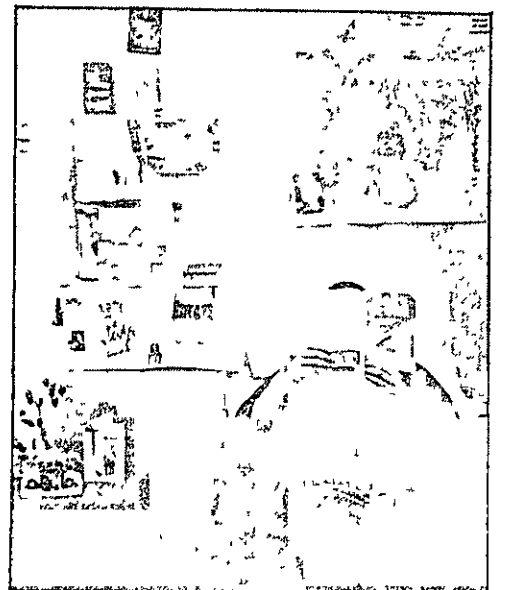
But as a choir of convicted rapists murderers and robbers harmonising at the Victor Verster maximum security prison outside Paarl sang

I don't know why Jesus loves me

I don't know why Jesus cares

I don't know why Jesus sacrificed His life

Oh but I'm glad He did



His precious Christmas cards displayed on the wall, this inmate has time to reflect on his crime



Zodwa, and their children

brighten up for bring-parcels the Jo-the De-says this over us-u-of food,

es from The do not in that to some

It is also the forum's function to provide detainees with monthly pocket money and minor requirements like toiletry

For families with detained breadwinners this Christmas will be even bleaker The dependants receive monthly allowances from the South African Council of Churches and there normally is an "extra" at Christmas

But it is understood that this Christmas that "bonus" will not be forthcoming because of the bombing of the SACC's Johannesburg head quarters this year

ANC bases get the 1000th?

11A S | Times 25/12/88

MILITARY bases belonging to the African National Congress in Angola will be relocated — possibly to a north African country

SA takes tough line on Angola's stance

By BRIAN POTTINGER

But Luanda will still maintain its public, rhetorical support for the organisation. This is one of the firm but still secret agreements reached between the war-torn country and South Africa in the negotiations which led to the signing of the tripartite agreement in New York on Friday.

The future of the ANC bases and the position of the US and South African-backed Unita forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi are the two elements in the complex southwestern peace negotiations that could prove most troublesome in the near future.

The question of the ANC bases came into sharp relief on the tension-laden signing

of the peace agreement at the United Nations on Thursday when Angolan Foreign Minister Alfonso van Dunem insisted his country would continue supporting the ANC. But it is understood that the Angolans have already agreed that in terms of the treaty the bases will have to go — in some quarters it is being suggested they could be sent to Ethiopia.

As many as 13 000 ANC members may be based in Angola, although not all of these would be combatants in the heavy fighting along the Lomba River from August last year through to February this year. ANC units were reportedly involved in combat on the side of the Angolan government forces.

The Angolan government, meanwhile is trying to play down the issue of the ANC bases because of fears that it will be accused by the Organisation of African Unity of short-changing the ANC.

The implications of the tripartite agreement, however, are quite clear. Luanda has to deny its territory to the ANC for attacks against South Africa.

Foreign Minister Van Dunem insisted this week that his government would continue supporting the ANC but South African sources indicated that this should be read to mean moral, not material, support for the outlawed organisation.

The ticklish question of

Unita also topped the agenda this week.

South Africa is now pledged to end its military assistance to Unita but it will certainly continue providing moral backing for Dr Jonas Savimbi, the Unita leader.

However, General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence, cautioned the Angolan government that if it attempted to move against Dr Savimbi it could expect South Africa's re-entry into the fray.

Another crucial issue to be handled next in the delicate phase of the peace process is the dissolution of the 25 000 strong SWA-Namibian Territorial Force and the winding down of the feared South West African Police Counter-insurgency Unit (Koevoet) during the UN-supervised run-up to elections in terms of United Nations Resolution 435.

Winnie says no presents or a special meal for Mandela today

By MANDLA TYALA
 FOR one of the world's most famous prisoners there will be no Christmas presents today

And although Nelson Mandela's comfy new abode at the Victor Verster Prison farm includes a kitchen with opulent fittings, his family will not be cooking a special meal for him when they visit today

5 Times Shuttle 110
 25/12/88

As the SA Prisons Service's sole "special category prisoner", Mandela could have had his wife and children stay in the house with him this weekend

Instead, they have elected to visit him for only a total of

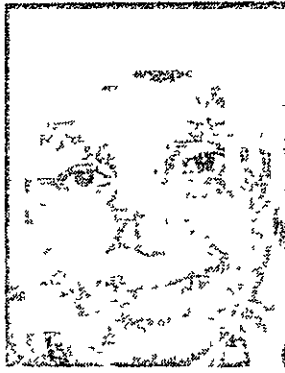
four hours today and tomorrow

The family left Johannesburg yesterday to visit the 70-year-old ANC leader They planned to shuttle between Cape Town and Paarl

In her first interview since Mandela was moved to the prison house, Mrs Winnie Mandela said the family refused to be duped by "this illusion of semi-freedom"

She said "Mr Mandela still has the status of a prisoner and we will continue to treat him as such We will decline all privileges that are not extended to other political prisoners — men who are in jail for the same reason as Mr Mandela"

She describes the present situation of Mr Mandela's (it's never my husband — but



WINNIE MANDELA

our leader, Comrade Mandela or Mr Mandela) as a "sarcastic version of imprisonment"

The family did not attach any particular significance to Christmas, but regarded it as a family day, she said

They had, over the years, always reserved for this period five visits of 40 minutes each from the annual quota They normally took two visits — 80 minutes — on the 25th and three visits — two hours — on the 26th, and this year will be no different

Over the past four years the family has been allowed "contact" visits, which means they would sit in a prison lounge with warders staying within hearing distance

Mrs Mandela said her first visit to the house at Victor Verster earlier this month was the "most hurtful" of all visits

She said she was so disturbed that she could not bring herself to address journalists who were waiting outside the prison She left the task to the family lawyer

"Mr Mandela has over the years never shown any emotions about his situation because it is a national situation But that day I saw decades of solitude welling up on his face"

Facilities

She said he now lived in complete isolation When he was at Pollsmoor Prison he knew that his comrades were within reach

"On the floor above or the room next door he knew there were men who shared his views Now he is in his golden cell all by himself"

On the official position that his family could join Mandela at his present quarters, Mrs Mandela said the Government could not have expected her to "jail my family voluntarily"

The house is surrounded by prison officer's homes

The SA Prisons Service said no special arrangements would be made for Mandela over Christmas

Day man, poor man

(11A)

By GEORGE MAHABER and NORMAN WEST
SACKED Cabinet Minister Mr Amichand Rajbanshi may be down but not out — out of pocket, that is

The colourful and controversial politician was summarily fired this week by President Botha after receiving a preliminary report of a judicial inquiry into allegations of irregularities during Mr Rajbanshi's term of office. Eminent Mr Rajbanshi will hit his salary cut from R137 000 a year as a Minister to R65 000 as ordinary MP

Happy

He will have to give up his house at Pelican Park in Cape Town, lose his subsidy on his private home in Durban, say goodbye to his chauffeur and official Mercedes and bid farewell to his bodyguards.
 But he will not be coming out on the short end.
 ● He receives a golden handshake of R70 000 when he vacates his oak-pannelled

But the good life goes ahead for 'win some, lose some' Minister

S/Times 25/12/85

ministerial suite in Durban school.
 "The cost was so high that I found myself worse off than an ordinary MP. I am also going to be happy as my children will again be living with me and not at boarding school."
 "I will have more time to spend with my wife and five children and will also be able to concentrate on my work within the community."
 "I am still an ordinary man. I have not enriched myself by becoming a Minister."
 "I have held the position of chairman of the Minister's Council in the House of Delegates with uncertainty because I was never sure when

I would be toppled," Mr Rajbanshi said.
 Meanwhile, the departure of Mr Rajbanshi from his post as chairman of the Ministers' Council (he was suspended from the central cabinet when the James Commission began) has encouraged moves in the fractious House of Delegates towards unity.

It has also sparked a scramble for the vacant post. Both the leader of the Solidarity Party Dr J N Reddy, and the acting chairman of the Ministers' Council and member of the People's Party Mr Kassi Ramduth yesterday declared themselves available to lead the Indian Ministers' Council.

They have also confirmed their parties would merge in early January to become the new ruling party. The party would then elect a chairman of the council.

Mr Rajbanshi said yesterday that he was looking forward to the next elections, but should he win the majority of seats as he expected he would "not be interested in the chairmanship again."

Alliance

In May Mr Ramduth and all other Indian Ministers except for Deputy Minister S V Naicker defected from Mr Rajbanshi's National People's Party (NPP) and formed the People's Party of South Africa (PPSA), led by a Benoni attorney, Mr A E Lambert.
 The PPSA has 11 members, equal to the 11 MPs of the official Opposition Solidarity Party led by Durban banker Mr Reddy. Mr Rajbanshi remains leader of the majority 16 member National People's Party.

The PPSA and Solidarity have formed an alliance of which Mr Reddy is chairman. If the PPSA and Solidarity merge early in January they will have at least 22 members and the right to nominate a new chairman of the Ministers' Council and elect or re-elect a new Ministers' Council.

Mr Rajbanshi, will then most probably end up as leader of the official Opposition — if he is not ejected from the NPP as has been suggested by party functionaries who claimed he was too much of an embarrassment.



TOGETHERNESS Amichand Rajbanshi and his wife Ashadevi "We'll now have more time to spend with our five children" Picture RANJIT KALLY

Mandelas in Cape Town

THE family of jailed black leader Nelson Mandela arrived in Cape Town on Saturday carrying presents and a cake for a Christmas Day visit.

Mandela's wife, Winnie, their daughter Zinzi, and their three grandchildren planned an 80-minute visit on Sunday with Mandela at his suburban-style house on the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison.

Mandela, leader of the African National Congress was moved to the house on December 7 after recuperating from recuperating from tuberculosis at a Cape Town hospital.

The family is allowed unlimited access to Mandela. However, Mrs Mandela has said the family will not accept any special privileges from the white-led government and will make only the standard prison visits of no more than 80 minutes.

Mrs Mandela did not speak to reporters when she arrived on Saturday at Cape Town's D F Malan Airport from Johannesburg. The family, carrying several presents and a cake, was greeted by anti-apartheid activist Allan Boesak. The family planned to attend a Sunday morning church service led by Boesak before visiting her husband.

"The fact that (Mandela) is spending his Christmas in prison is to me and our followers an added incentive to step up the campaign to release Mandela and all other political prisoners," Boesak said.

Mandela (70) has been imprisoned since 1962 and is serving a life sentence for sabotage and plotting to overthrow the Government.

The Government's decision to place Mandela in a prison staff house is seen as part of an effort to release the black leader in stages. The Government has said a sudden, unexpected release of Mandela could re-ignite black unrest that has been largely quieted under the 30-month-old state of emergency. The Government also is concerned about a backlash among right-wing whites who oppose Mandela's release.

In another development, two detainees were released on Saturday after being held more than three months without charge, the *Argus* newspaper in Cape Town reported.

The two are Saleem Mowzer (25), a teacher and a member of the banned National Education Crisis Committee, and William Simmers (48), chairman of a Cape Town community group in a mixed-race township.

From December 29th, think sale, Summer half-price sale at Smart Centre.

	WERE	NOW
Mens suits	159,99	79,99
Mens double breasted suits	199,99	99,99
Mens casual denim jackets	95,99	47,99
Mens casual trousers	64,99	32,49
Mens casual shirts	55,99	27,99
Mens knitted short sleeve shirts	49,99	24,99
Boys casual suits	85,99	42,99
Boys casual jackets	49,99	24,99
Boys jeans	49,99	24,99
Boys casual shirts	29,99	14,99
Ladies dresses	119,99	59,99
Ladies summer dresses	149,99	74,99
Ladies blouses	69,99	34,99
Ladies skirts	99,99	49,99
Ladies tops	45,99	22,99
Ladies summer skirts	59,99	29,99
Ladies cocktail dresses	129,99	64,99
Ladies soft suits	159,99	79,99
Girls dresses	49,99	24,99
Girls ensembles	77,99	38,99
Girls dress/jackets	45,99	22,99
Mens fashion shoes	109,99	54,99
Ladies fashion shoes	59,99	29,99
Ladies shoes	43,99	21,99

Many more smart specials available.

**TOP
CENTRE**

**SMART
CENTRE**

To look good, think smart.

'Conflict in Parliament if Areas Act not dropped'

Political Staff

ARGUS 78/12/88

(11/12/88)

BLOEMFONTEIN — White voters will be going back to the polls in the new year and the next Parliament will be marked by conflict and confrontation unless the Labour Party gets its way on the Group Areas Act.

This was the thrust of the message to the State President, Mr P W Botha, from the leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, at a public meeting here last night

Opening the party's 23rd annual congress, Mr Hendrickse

appealed directly to the white community to get rid of the Group Areas Act lest it rebound and eventually threaten white survival

If the white community persisted with laws such as the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the degree of eventual vengeance could increase and the survival of whites in a future South Africa could be in jeopardy, he warned

Mr Hendrickse told the congress this year's unpleasantness around the Group Areas Act once again clearly demon-

strated that many whites did not show the vaguest conception of how much damage the Act had done to South Africa

He said "The National Party and the white voters will in years to come have to pay a high price for this unholy and unChristian act"

He said the LP was convinced the great majority of Nationalists believed the Act was the greatest obstacle on the road to reform

Mr Hendrickse challenged Mr Botha's contention that there was majority white and coloured support for the Act

and said he would never dare to call a referendum on the Act

"I would like to caution the State President not to present such statements (on alleged support for the Act) to the people of South Africa as Gospel," he said

Mr Hendrickse also dealt at length with the Boksburg issue, saying the re-introduction of petty apartheid in the town by the CP town council was the government's own fault for scrapping the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act

09/06/79 28/12/88

ANC office in Maputo ransacked

MAPUTO — The office of the ANC here was ransacked at the weekend

The Mozambican news agency AIM, quoting an unidentified ANC source, yesterday said the office was broken into on Sunday night. Desk drawers were opened and documents were scattered on the floor

Under the terms of a 1984 non-aggression treaty, Mozambique pledged to prohibit ANC military activities on its territory, but it has continued to allow the organisation to maintain an office in Maputo — Sapa-AP

SA Indians
invited to

New Delhi

DURBAN — Talks with Indian government leaders, including Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, are on the cards for Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress members in the new year.

The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) confirmed yesterday that it had been invited to meet Indian government representatives in New Delhi.

Details of the discussions are still to be settled, but it is believed the meeting will focus on issues raised in Lusaka when NIC and Transvaal Indian Congress members met ANC members.

— Sapa

SA Embassy protests to BBC

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LONDON — The South African Embassy in London has protested to BBC Television about the re-screening on Christmas Day of a pop concert dedicated to Nelson Mandela.

The embassy said the broadcast could be described only as "overt endorsement of a self-proclaimed terrorist organisation".

BBC TV showed more than five hours of the concert which was staged last June at London's Wembley Stadium.

The concert featured top pop acts such as Dire Straits, Whitney Houston, Stevie Wonder, George Michael and Sting.

The embassy, which condemned the original "live" BBC TV transmission of the concert, said it had protested at the highest level about the re-screening, but the BBC had reacted by describing the concert as a purely musical event.

The embassy said "For the corporation still to maintain, as it does, that the concert is a musical and not a political event is stretching credulity".

"An Early Day Motion in the House of Commons on December 7 congratu-

lates the BBC for deciding to screen the concert again and welcomes 'this contribution as part of the efforts of the international community to secure the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela'."

The embassy said that through its transmission of the concert the BBC was helping to "glorify an organisation which has committed many acts of violence against innocent people in South Africa, in many cases leading to loss of life".

"It is incongruous and offensive that this should be linked to Christmas".

The embassy said African National Congress acts of violence had continued since the concert was staged last June.

"In a television interview on BBC's 'Newsnight' on July 14, a leading spokesman of the ANC restated and defended the organisation's commitment to violence".

"In the same television interview the spokesman, referring to the ANC's planning of sabotage in 1961, said that Mr Mandela was never just a planner but had participated 'on the ground'".

— Sapa

ANC office ransacked SA blamed

MAPUTO — The African National Congress said yesterday its offices in the Mozambican capital Maputo had been ransacked and blamed South African government agents.

The ANC said it was convinced the break-in on Sunday night was the work of "agents of the South African white minority regime"

"The attackers broke in through the front door, apparently using heavy metal objects," it added.

Rampage

"They then went on to rampage through several rooms inside the building, leaving filing cabinets and desk drawers in disarray"

Neighbours told reporters that a Mozambican security guard posted outside the office after the break-in was shot dead on Monday night

There was no confirmation from Mozambican authorities and the ANC declined to comment

The ANC has quasi-diplomatic status in Mozambique, permitted under the 1984 Nkomati non-aggression pact with SA so long as its Maputo office does not involve itself in guerrilla activities in SA

Under pressure from SA, the Mozambican authorities agreed in 1984 to limit the number of ANC staff there to 10

In May 1987 three people were killed in a series of attacks in Maputo which the government blamed on South African commandos

ANC offices were also a target of the raids but no-one there was killed.

— Sapa-Reuter

LP vows to have talks with ANC

Sowetan 29/12/88

THE Labour Party, the second largest party in Parliament, yesterday resolved to reach out to the banned and exiled African National Congress as soon as possible.

The party meanwhile yesterday received assurances of support for a more solid front against the Government from Dr Denis Worrall's Independent party, Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, and two homeland leaders, Mr Nelson Ramodike, Governor of Lebowa, and Dr Kenneth Mopedi, Chief Minister of QwaQwa.

**SOWETAN
Correspondent**

The party's annual congress voted unanimously in the Bloemfontein City Hall to take over the negotiation initiative from the Government because the National Party had failed to bring black leaders to the conference table

The party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, appealed to the congress on Tuesday night to decide on a new policy on seizing the negotiation initiative itself

December 29 1988

CITY



Labour decision seen as challenge to Nats

From DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

ARGUS 29/12/88

BLOEMFONTEIN — A formal decision by the Labour Party congress that all three Houses of Parliament should go into a general election next year has been seen by politicians as a challenge to the authority of the National Party and particularly President Botha

The Conservative Party has questioned whether President Botha should not resign, saying the confrontation between the LP and the National Party was largely of his own making because of the way he has treated the Rev Allan Hendrickse, the Labour leader

Labour resolved at its congress in Bloemfontein yesterday that the party would not

accede to pressure from the government to amend the constitution to enable the life of the House of Assembly to be extended until 1992

The National Party had hoped to give the Assembly a five-year term from the date of the last white general elections in May last year

Areas Acts repeal

At present the constitution stipulates that all three Houses must be dissolved when the life of the current Parliament expires in September next year

All three Houses must agree to any constitutional amendments affecting the life of Parliament. The President's Council is specifically excluded from having any say on the matter

Labour's Mr Hendrickse said in an interview today that the congress decision was irrevocable unless the government came forward with a new initiative

Such an initiative would have to include the whole question of the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, he said

The Conservative Party was, however, delighted with the congress decision, because it meant there would be a white general election within the next 15 months (the President must call an election within six months of the dissolution of Parliament) and because the National Party would be seen by the white electorate as being forced by the Labour Party to go to the polls

Police score successes against terror

Vlok warns ANC and PAC insurgents

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Police have arrested 326 suspected Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress insurgents — 78 ANC members since October alone — and are poised to round up many more soon, the

Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, announced yesterday

Police have also seized huge quantities of arms over the past year, including 60mm mortar bombs, two mortar tubes, hundreds of limpet, anti-personnel and land mines, RPG-7 rocket

launchers, guns and ammunition

Mr Vlok said 48 ANC members and four PAC members had been killed by police since the beginning of the year, and seven ANC members since October

He warned all suspected ANC and PAC members still in the country

that police would act after obtaining information from their captured comrades

Four ANC members and two collaborators were arrested on the East Rand and Soweto while another two were detained in the Western Cape recently

Mr Vlok said the PAC statistics included 38 PAC members arrested and four killed. These figures include members of other Africanist groups which work closely with the PAC

He said detectives were investigating the possibility that the suspect arrested in Cape Town, while Mr Vlok was opening the Crossroads police station, was a member of the ANC cell rounded up by police recently

Benoni murder — man arrested

By Paula Fray

A man has been arrested in connection with the murder of a Jan Smuts Airport meteorologist whose naked body was found in his Benoni home yesterday

Mr Neville Mattheus (49) was found in his blood-splattered home in Cambridge Street, Farmere, early yesterday with seven stab wounds in the chest

Mr Mattheus's missing car, a red 1984 Ford Es-

death. She and her 10-year-old daughter, Ingrid, are on holiday there

The East Rand Murder and Robbery Unit had traced Mr Mattheus's two sons, Andre (21) and Deon (19), and had told them of the murder

Mr Mattheus's body was found at 6.30 am after a colleague, Mr Andries Bester, arrived at his home to look for him when Mr Mattheus did not turn up for work at

Police spokesman Brigadier B Scholtz said there were no signs of forced entry and the alarm had not been activated

He believed Mr Mattheus was murdered late the previous evening as the blood had already dried when his was found

The killer had apparently rifled the house

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Closed-door talks strive for peace in Natal

MARITZBURG — Intense negotiations, which are believed to involve the ANC, UDF, Inkatha, Cosatu and the South African Council of Churches, are taking place behind closed doors in a bid to resolve the conflict in Natal's troubled townships

Sources say the negotiations aim to get all parties to sit down at one table to thrash out a peace formula

The sources say a meeting has been set tentatively for January 25 in Harare.

It is believed the ANC leadership — in particular, Mr Oliver Tambo, publicity secretary Mr Thabo Mbeki, and secretary-general Mr Alfred Nzo — are very concerned at the violence in the townships, which has cost nearly 700 lives this year alone

The violence has also left hundreds homeless

It is believed the ANC has been monitoring the Inkatha-Cosatu "peace accord" closely, but sees it as inadequate because it does not involve the other major party to the conflict — the UDF

Sources say representatives of some of the parties met in Lusaka recently and decided it was essential to hold a round-table conference of all parties

But it is believed that while the parties would welcome open and frank discussions on the violence, because of the immense political differences between some of them, the negotiations are now at an extremely delicate stage.

The Chief Minister of kwaZulu, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said this week though he had not received any message about the Harare meeting, he had received messages "from Mr Tambo, through third parties, expressing concern about the violence in the greater Maritzburg area and Mpumalanga"

UDF sources were tightlipped over the possibility of a meeting in Harare. They said while the UDF would welcome it, the leadership, because it was restricted, would not be able to attend. But community leaders could represent the organisation — Sapa

Peace talks 'don't mean (118) SADF won't pursue ANC'

Stev 7/11/88
DEPUTY Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach says South Africa reserves the right to fight terrorists in neighbouring states, despite recent peace talks in New York

He was addressing South African troops on the northern and north-western Transvaal border yesterday

He said the peace initiative between South Africa, Cuba and Angola did not mean peace had come to southern Africa, but rather that a more intense onslaught could be expected from the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress

Referring to Zimbabwe, Mr Breytenbach said the country's leader, Mr Robert Mugabe, was out of step with the rest of Africa

He warned that South African forces would not hesitate to launch hot-pursuit operations against terrorists

Meanwhile, two explo-

sive devices detonated in the Cape Town area on Thursday night caused minimal damage and no injuries

The first went off at police barracks in Mitchell's Plain at 10 05 pm

A limpet mine discovered at 11 pm on Thursday in Main Road, Mamre, was detonated

11A
3/12/88

the ANC Shaped?

■ It was a tough year for the Press, and doubly hard for the alternative media. Several newspapers were served with warnings, and three were closed down temporarily by Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha. Which? Weekly Mail for four weeks, South for a month and New Nation for three months. All are now back on the streets.

OCTOBER 22

■ National Education Minister F.W. de Klerk throws up his hands in horror at the latest moves in South African rugby. But, Dame Craven is unrepentant. What did he do this time?

With Transvaal rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt and SARTU head Ibrahim Patel he went to Harare for a cordial meeting with African sports leaders, who turn out to be mainly high-ranking members of the ANC.

■ A Happy Families fairytale — or nightmare, depending on your point of view — comes to an end with this divorce. Who are they?

Colin and Susan Rosenkowitz, parents of the world's first surviving sextuplets, judge the York Father gets out of the picture.

Once the Angolan bases have been closed down (the ANC is expected to retain only a "diplomatic mission" in Luanda), the closest ANC bases will be in Tanzania, and Umkhonto we Sizwe's Ho Chi Minh trails, therefore, will have to pass through countries like Mozambique and Zimbabwe, inviting cross-border raids by South African security forces.

These countries will discourage the use of their territory for transit routes. At present, Umkhonto's main transit routes are through Botswana, and this has brought Botswana under constant pressure from Pretoria.

As supplies of arms and explosives smuggled into South Africa dwindle, a conflict of views is expected to arise within ANC ranks on the most effective use to which the supplies can be put. ANC militants are expected to challenge the organisation's official policy of avoiding "soft" (civilian) targets.

MOST anti-apartheid strategists appear to agree that the international campaign for sanctions must be intensified. Renewed pressure will be put on the new Bush administration in the United States and on the European Community.

As the EC approaches 1992 — "Europe without frontiers" — the ANC sees an opportunity to weaken the still strong bilateral bonds between South Africa and its trading partners in Western Europe and see them replaced by a tougher, collective EC attitude.

A widely-held anti-apartheid view here is that the respite which South Africa has earned by signing the Angola-Namibia peace settlements will be short-lived, and that once the novelty of the settlements has worn off the international community will direct its full attention to South Africa itself and the inadequacy of its race reforms.

If South Africa fails to inject new life into its reform policy — and the unanimous view of anti-apartheid strategists is that it will fail — a unique opportunity will present itself to sanctions campaigners everywhere to intensify their campaigns.

Some strategists, however, taking a longer view, believe that as the armed struggle declines, the ANC will be forced to give more serious consideration to what has become known as the Great Participation Debate — whether anti-apartheid organisations should participate in official institutions, like the tricameral parliament and local councils.

THE ANC has been following the debate closely, and the Soviet Union is known to be encouraging the organisation to shift itself into a negotiating framework with the South Af-

rican government — and to give serious thought to acknowledging the claim of the white population for minority rights.

The Soviet Union's problems with its own nationalities makes it sensitive to this question of "group rights".

The ANC is still implacably opposed, officially, to participation in apartheid institutions. It also shares the Botha government's view that for the present there is nothing to negotiate about.

But if the ANC's armed struggle declines, and the organisation's struggle increasingly becomes "internalised" and legitimate, then President Botha's precondition that it should "renounce" violence virtually will have been fulfilled.

Interestingly, the US Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act provides for the withdrawal of US recognition from the ANC if the South African government offers to negotiate with the organisation, and it refuses.

There are tentative indications that two lines of thought will open in the ANC in 1989. One is that President Botha's government will run increasingly into trouble, internally and internationally, and that the ANC's response should be to strike quickly and hard to hasten apartheid's downfall.

The other line of thought is that while this is the obvious course of action, the ANC should be flexible enough to perceive the opportunities that undoubtedly will present themselves to further its aims not only by militant action, but also by negotiation. This twin-track approach, according to reliable sources, is expected to gather more support in ANC ranks as 1989 unfolds.

LP to attempt talks with ANC

119
B/boy 30/12/85
BLOEMFONTEIN — The LP would initiate contact with extra-Parliamentary organisations, including the banned ANC and PAC as soon as possible, LP leader Rev Allan Hendrickse said yesterday in his closing address to the party's annual congress.

He emphasised this contact, in terms of a resolution passed this week, did not mean only the ANC, the PAC or the UDF

The resolution was broad enough to include initiating contact with all organisations, inside and outside the country, who were opposed to apartheid and dedicated to the dismantling of the system

This was in line with another which called on the party to "take over the negotiation initiative from government", as government was incapable of gathering leaders that counted around the conference table.

Hendrickse said his party would start initiating contact with these organisations "whether they recognise us or not"

He said government only wanted to talk to people who were "irrelevant" to the South African situation — such as people in Malawi and other African states

Charity started at home and it was hypocritical of government not to enter into negotiations with its own people, he said.

The congress yesterday unanimously adopted a call for the immediate release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees

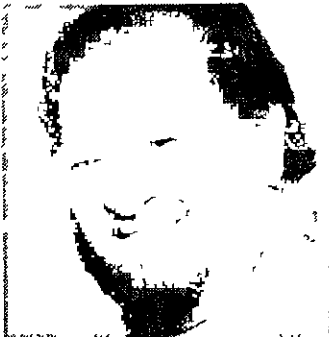
There was no discussion on the resolution before it was put to the vote.

The congress also called unanimously for government to establish a single education department for all race groups and to immediately open white technical and agricultural colleges to all.

Another resolution, opposing international sanctions and trade boycotts against SA was also approved. — Sapa.

Star 30/12/88 (11A)

Hendrickse invited to inauguration of Bush in Washington



Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is to attend the inauguration ceremony of the new president of the United States, Mr George Bush

Mr Hendrickse yesterday told the Labour congress in Bloemfontein he would not be able to attend the opening of Parliament and the State President's speech and debate early in February because he would be on a business trip in the US.

"My wife and I have the great honour to be representing the Labour Party at the inauguration of the new American president," he said.

TV SHOWS

Mr Hendrickse was invited to the inauguration and to a prayer breakfast hosted by President-elect Bush by American evangelist Mr Pat Robertson.

Mr Robertson, a close friend of Mr Bush and who was himself a candidate in the early stages of the recent US presidential election, visited South Africa

Rev Allan Hendrickse . . . invited by the Rev Pat Robertson

earlier this year.

He broadcast a series of television shows from South Africa to the US which featured a wide range of South African leaders including Mr Hendrickse

It is not known at this stage whether the Labour Party leader, who will possibly be the top ranking South African politician at the inauguration ceremonies will have a private meeting with Mr Bush.

He said yesterday he hoped to have the opportunity to talk to the new president.

OTHER TRIPS

Apart from Washington, Mr Hendrickse will be visiting New York and San Francisco

● The Hendrickses will be making at least one other international trip next year

A delegate at this week's congress said he would be paying for the LP leader and his wife to have a holiday in Mauritius "because they deserved a rest from their hard work"

LP throws down gauntlet to P.W.

Sowetan 30/12/88



SOWETAN CORRESPONDENT

A FORMAL decision by the Labour Party congress that all three houses of Parliament should go into a general election next year has been seen by politicians as a challenge to the authority of the National Party and particularly the State President, Mr P W Botha.

The Conservative Party has as a result questioned whether President Botha should not resign, saying the confrontation between the LP and the National

Party was largely of his own making because of the way he has treated Mr Allan Hendrickse, the Labour leader.

Labour resolved at its congress in Bloemfontein that the party would not accede to pressure from the Government to amend the constitution so as to enable the life of the House of Assembly to be extended until 1992.

The National Party had hoped to give the Assembly a five-year term from the date of the last white general elections, in May 1987.

At present the Constitution stipulates that all three houses must be dissolved when the life of the current Parliament expires in September next year.

All three houses must agree to any Constitutional amendments affecting the life of Parliament. The Presi-

dent's Council is specifically excluded from having any say on the matter.

Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said in an interview the congress decision was irrevocable, unless the Government came forward with a new initiative.

Such an initiative would have to include the whole question of the repeal of the Group Areas Act and the reservation of Separate Amenities Act, he said.

Clamp on 4 more groups

Sowetan 31/12/88

THE MINISTER of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, yesterday restricted four more organisations in terms of the security emergency regulations.

The Democratic Teachers' Union, the National Detainees'

Forum, the Western Cape Students' Congress and the Western Cape Teachers' Union were prohibited from carrying on or performing any activities or acts whatsoever, in terms of regulation 7 of the

security emergency regulations

This brings to more than two dozen the number of organisations that have been restricted in this way

A spokesman for Mr Vlok, Lt Peet Bothma,

said in Pretoria the National Detainees' Forum had been founded in order to perpetuate the aims of the Detainees Parents' Support Committee, that had been among the 17 organisations that were first

restricted in terms of regulation 7 on February 24

The National Detainees' Forum had been founded in order to circumvent the emergency regulations

The Western Cape Teachers' Union (for coloured teachers) and the Democratic Teachers' Union (for black teachers) were both founded in 1985, and endeavoured to mobilise pupils, assisted pupils, and teachers in demands for an alternative teaching system, and played an active role in the people's education struggle — an ANC-inspired education system for South Africa

PLEA FOR SAUNUNITY

Sowetan 30/12/88

11A



THE future of South Africa is indeed in the hands of her children. Wishing all Sowetan readers a happy and prosperous New Year are (from left) Nkosana Nkosi (6), Letatsi Moodley (5), Fizah Zamar (7) and Nondumiso Nkosi (5)

By THEMBA MOLEFE and MOKGADI PELA

UNITY among blacks and peace in South Africa should be a priority in 1989, various leaders and organisations said in their New Year messages yesterday

The National Union of Mineworkers said "It is only through a united action of all democrats and the workers in their different formations that we can face up to the challenges ahead. "No ruling bloc in history has ever handed power to the oppressed without struggle

Struggle

The Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union said The black working class will have to truly lead the liberation struggle in its totality based on solid principles and discipline. "This leadership must be used to root out unnecessary confrontation in its ranks.

The editor of *Tribute*

• To Page 2

REPORTS pictures and comment in this edition may be censored in terms of the Government's state of emergency

Sowetan 30/12/88

New Year plea

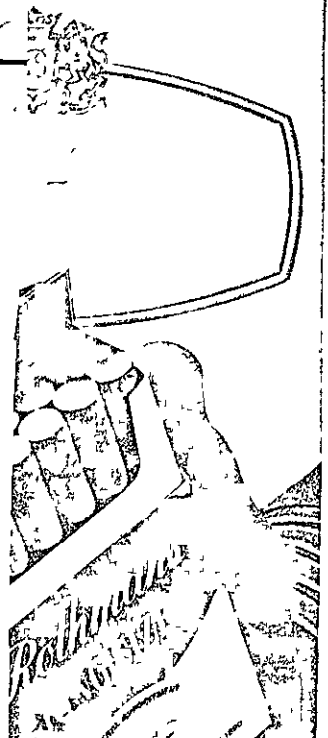
• From Page 1

magazine, Mrs Maud Motanyane, called for an end to inter-organisational conflict

She said "I wish to encourage reconciliation between differing groups and hope that they would get down to redefining the enemy, and the goal — which is liberation — and understand that whatever differences there are should not be allowed to stand in the way"

The exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania also hoped for tolerance of the different thinking that exists between liberation organisations

The BCMA said "It would appear that in the heat of the struggle we at times become intolerant of one another to the extent of denying each other the right to hold different views. The democracy and justice we seek to bring about require that we grant each other the right to think and express ourselves without fear"



The manager of the top professional soccer club Moroka Swallows, Mr Stanley "Screamer" Tshabalala, said "I pray that 1989 should see better political, social and economic unity among all our people. Let us get into the New Year prepared to stand together against our main enemy — division and discrimination"

• Leaders and spokesmen of business, church, education and various other political and community organisations could not be reached as they were said to be on holiday.

• The Lusaka headquarters of the African National Congress said a message would be released in the new year

Matric results move

THE matric results of 173 000 private candidates who wrote the Department of Education and Training examinations will only be available at the centres where the candidates wrote

Mr James McNeil the DTT's public relations officer in Pretoria told the *Sowetan* yesterday

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

that they were still working on the results and hoped to have them ready in the next 10 to 14 days

Mr McNeil explained that the Press would find it difficult to publish such a volume of results

because different candidates had written different numbers of subjects. As a result he said the DTT would have to print the subject next to each name

It is meaningless for the department to get a percentage pass but not all private candidates

• To page 2

Editor and staff of Sowetan wish all readers a happy and prosperous new year

SA 30/1/88 (11A)

Four regions to host next LP congress

Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The 23rd annual congress of the Labour Party, which ended in Bloemfontein yesterday, accepted an invitation from four regional formations of the LP to hold next year's event in either Kimberley or Durban

The four regions are northern Cape, Kalahari, Natal and Karoo

Labour's 25th annual congress, which will be a special festive event in 1990, will be held in Cape Town.

Yesterday, the LP leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, denied that the party had invited the Free State National Party leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, to this year's congress

According to a Bloemfontein newspaper, Mr Coetsee said he had not been invited so Mr Hendrickse could not say the NP had not bothered to reply to Labour's invitation

Mr Hendrickse said the three Bloemfontein MPs of the NP and the member of the President's Council who lived in the city had been invited, but they had not bothered to respond

Guests of honour who did attend included the leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement

Advantages for LP in being within the system

11-8
Bry

star 30/12/88

BY DAVID BRAUN, Political Correspondent

Were Labour Party politicians acting, as some might allege, from self-interest in deciding to stay in the tricameral system or did they have no alternative?

The decision of the Labour Party congress to continue participating in the tricameral Parliament will no doubt attract much criticism from those who will see it in terms of politicians opting to stay on the gravy train

However, the party may have had no alternative choice if it is to remain relevant in South African politics

The arguments in favour of continued participation are manifold and obvious, and for this reason Labour leadership has been intimating for several months that the congress decision would be a foregone conclusion

The Labour Party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, set the tone when he opened the congress in Bloemfontein City Hall on Tuesday night

Labour's participation in the parliamentary system had won it a real power base, he said

The Government was obliged to negotiate with the Labour Party and the party totally dominated parliamentary politics, he said

Mr Hendrickse clearly showed his thinking on the issue of continued participation when he said participation had opened doors for the Labour Party and the party would not be forced from those openings

There is much evidence to show the Labour Party has not been entirely successful in its mission to dismantle apartheid from within the

system Five years ago, at its congress in Eshowe, the party resolved to give the tricameral system a five-year chance

It would use the system to dismantle apartheid from within and to upgrade the coloured community in the fields of education and social welfare, it said

If it did not succeed, it would get out

As those five years come to a close, Labour is governing largely, in the words of one delegate at the Bloemfontein congress, as an appendage to the National Party

There is no real power sharing as the NP controls Parliament by way of the President's Council and the loaded electoral college which elects the State President

The Group Areas Act and Reservation of Separate Amenities Act remain firmly embedded as pillars in the foundation of the Population Registration Act The house of apartheid still stands

Mr Hendrickse has been sacked from the Cabinet and the State President, Mr PW Botha, happily governs without a single person of colour in this supreme executive body

Mr Hendrickse and his Ministers' Council are in a sense the co-opted administrators of what used to be the Department of Coloured Affairs That is about as far as their share of political power goes

The Labour Party argues in its defence it has achieved much success from using the system to its own ends

It refers in this regard to the repeal of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and the law which barred sexual relations across the colour line

It also takes the credit for the scrapping of influx control and the hated pass laws, as well as the removal from the statute book of dozens of discriminatory measures

It has greatly narrowed the gap in pensions paid not only to the coloured group but also to blacks

Health centres, child care centres, homes for the aged, clinics and medical services have all proliferated since Labour took over the administration of health and welfare for the coloured community in 1984

In that year, Labour inherited a budget for coloured education of R726 million for the year This year

it spent R1 108 million

Furthermore, in terms of its policy of affirmative action, the entire Education Department is now by coloured people

In the field of housing, Labour has doubled the annual budget from R215 million in 1984 to R429 million this year

But it is in the field of general affairs that the Labour Party played its most important role

Using parliamentary privileges and its immunity as a parliamentary party, Labour has become the most effective opposition group inside South Africa

It is highly unlikely that the Government will be able to act against the party or its members while it remains in Parliament and it opposes violence

The party is not entirely toothless

Through an oversight on the part of the Government's constitutional draughtsmen, the National Party cannot dispense entirely with the two minority Houses of Parliament.

Labour has certain trump cards in its hand, including the power to block the Government's plans to extend the life of the House of Assembly

Labour also uses Parliament to obstruct and retard general legislation, such as "improvements" to the Group Areas Act, forcing the Government to undermine the institution by resorting to the President's Council to get its way

This year the National Party, who led a merry dance by the Labour Party's obstructionist tactics

Another reason offered by members of the LP for staying in the system is that if the party pulls out the Carterites, as the right-wing opposites are derisively termed, would simply take over and do the Government's dirty work

Labour is therefore staying in the system, right where it can continue to be a thorn in the Government's flesh

the small society

by Brickman



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6-4

BRICKMAN - Yates

Star 30/12/85

(11A) (11B)

Majority of coloureds oppose segregation but want own areas

Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — While 83 percent of the coloured population oppose the Group Areas Act, 79,5 percent would not want people of other race groups to settle in areas reserved for their own community, a survey commissioned by the Labour Party has found.

The results of the survey were published in the Labour mouthpiece, *Steadfast*, and distributed at the party's congress in Bloemfontein this week.

The poll was based on 1307 questionnaires sent at random to people registered as voters of the House of Representatives.

A total of 842 questionnaires was completed by ministers of religion, businessmen, teachers, public servants, artisans, clerks, policemen, salesmen, general workers and pensioners.

Another 30 questionnaires were returned by the Post Office.

COMBAT APARTHEID

Nearly 92 percent of those who responded said the LP was correct to work within the system for change and to combat apartheid, 76 percent said the party was effective in Parliament, 85 percent believed the LP should continue to participate.

Just over 71 percent rejected violence as a solution to the country's problems, but 25,3 percent found it acceptable.

There were 91 percent opposed to sanctions on South Africa.

A little more than 56 percent agreed the African National Congress and Pan-Africanist Congress should be banned, although 63,5 percent believed that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners should be released without condition.

Although 83 percent did not support the Group Areas Act, 79,5 percent said that while there was a shortage of houses and land for the coloured community, they could not agree that persons of other ethnic groups should acquire homes and buy properties in areas set aside for their community.

According to the poll, the most popular political figure named by the respondents was Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, who was selected by 81 percent.

Mandela polled 8 percent, Archbishop Desmond Tutu 4 percent and Dr Allan Boesak 2 percent.



PAWNS IN POWER - Iniquity of chess games

THE year has finally drawn to a close, and as an oppressed nation we need to take stock and balance our national account. We live in embattled times where violence has become the norm, injustice the rule and stresses and strains the praxis.

On the homefront the National Party has fervently pursued the Verwoerdian grand-plan Africans were once again called to vote for their oppression. October 26 has gone down the annals of history as the day when the African people disgraced the Government by their feet when they refused to vote.

The sustenance of life for the indigenous depends on land which is priced beyond their reach. For their survival they have to migrate to towns. Crowding becomes the logical outcome of such migration with the result that Africans are relegated to a marginal existence.

Closely allied to this is the Labour Relations Act which has been amended to reinforce the defence of capital against labour. It should be noted that the Wiehahn Commission sought to ease tension between capital and labour. The viable recommendations have since been undone with the stroke of a pen.

Racial tension is a direct by-product of the Verwoerdian ideal. Eric Sambo cannot go unmentioned. Two puppies were worth more than his life. Three more Africans were attacked by a motorist on the Reef. Violence is rife. We are on record as saying the only solution to the racial madness lies in the concept of non-racialism.

The Botha government undertook an intense image building campaign. It released a few political prisoners and reprieved the Sharpeville Six but hastened to balance the account by repressing La Grange and others.

The Government further curtailed its excursions to neighbouring countries and strengthened Unita and the MNR in Namibia. A pledge to uphold Resolution 435 was made though the Government stuck firmly to linking the withdrawal of Cubans from Angola.

On the whole the image building exercise was a mockery. We need to respond to the clarion call by Robert Sobukwe in the 1960s to be alert, vigilant and decipher the writing on the wall.

Action

The courageous action on the part of the masses counted on the credit side of the national account. It should be recalled that it takes living fish to swim against the tide.

Squatting has become the order of the day. Why do African people squat? Squatting is the outgrowth of the capitalist system. Man is rendered landless in that land is by definition a factor of production and a marketable commodity.

Nowhere in the world has any government backed capital so overtly. But workers remain unthundered in the accomplishment of their historic mission. The current labour strife attests to this.

Newspapers have been gagged and banned as a result of the renewed state of emergency, which has become a scourge. The *New Nation*, *Weekly Mail* and *South* have tasted the deadly sting from Stoffel Botha. The idea mooted to register journalists is a

Our children have had to contend with Bantu Education for too long. Students should be able to structure themselves in a way that makes their interests a priority.

The year closes with the tripartite accord signed in New York. What are the implications of this accord? South Africa pledges to desist supporting Unita. The question is how far can the Government go with this promise. It has a poor track record in this regard hence the outcry from the Frontline

States. We should remain sceptical. We cannot forget the farce of the Nkomati Accord.

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Strife

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Misery

We have always identified ourselves with the struggle of the people of Palestine. Their struggle is almost like ours. America in the end has not shed its role as the policeman for so-called Western democracy. In our eyes democracy is the will of the African majority and not the dictates of the mounted sector. British imperialism and colonialism has caused our misery and suffering.

We extend our deepest sympathy to the people of Armenia after the dreadful earthquake, while we cannot forget the people of Natal who have had to suffer from more floods.

Finally we wish all the peace-loving people of the world a prosperous New Year and call on the super powers to stop using small states as pawns in their power-hungry chess games.

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NIC, TIC to discuss Indian visit curbs

Own Correspondent

30/2/81

DURBAN. — The proposed tightening of restrictions on visits to India by Indians participating in SA government-created structures will be among the subjects discussed when a delegation from the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses and the government of India meet early next year.

A leading member of the NIC committee, Dr Farouk Meer, has confirmed that members of his organisation and the TIC would fly to India early next year at the request of the Indian government.

Dr Meer said the Indian government was "committed to keeping out of the country all people working in collaboration with the SA government, like the participants in the tricameral Parliament."

"There are some problems as far as the implementation of this policy is concerned. Perhaps they need information from us such as photographs and identity numbers of black-listed collaborationists," he said.



Allan Hendrickse

Election deal too late, says LP

CAPE TIMES 20/12/88 119

Own Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Labour Party was no longer prepared to negotiate with government on postponing a white general election until 1992, the LP's annual congress decided here yesterday

LP leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said the party would "under no circumstances extend the life of Parliament" beyond the March 1990 deadline set by the constitution

In his closing address at the end of the three-day congress, Mr Hendrickse said the government had left it too late to negotiate with the LP on postponing a white election

The LP previously insisted on the abolition of the Group Areas Act in return for postponing the white elections, which the government favours

Mr Hendrickse said "We want to say emphatically, as the result of the attitude of government and its inability and unwillingness to negotiate with the LP, that we will under no circumstances extend the life of Par-

liament Even if concessions were made now, we say 'too late'"

A general election is now expected late next year, following a recent announcement that State President Mr P W Botha intended appointing a delimitation commission for the House of Assembly early next year

Mr Hendrickse was non-committal on whether the LP would continue its confrontational strategy in Parliament. Indications were, however, that there would be little deviation from the LP's current approach

He said the LP would soon start setting up contacts with parliamentary and extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid groups in line with the policy decided at the congress of taking over the negotiating initiative from government

• Mr Hendrickse disclosed yesterday that he and LP deputy leader Mr Miley Richards had been invited to attend the inauguration of US President-elect Mr George Bush

Inkatha 'to decide on LP'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The decision-making organs of Inkatha would decide whether the organisation could have any political business to do with the Labour Party at this stage, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said yesterday

He was commenting on a resolution adopted at the Labour Party's congress in Bloemfontein that the party would like to open talks with Inkatha

Although the Labour Party differed from Inkatha as far as their participation in the tri-cameral parliamen-

tary system was concerned, the organisation had never adopted the attitude that it should not speak to them

"In 1984 we failed to persuade the Labour Party from participating in the tri-cameral parliamentary system in which we blacks are excluded," he said

"Their decision to continue to participate shows that we have not been successful in influencing them as far as this decision is concerned

"The matter seems to rest there at present and we have nothing further to say to them," he said

Labour Party will force early white poll, congress told

From DAVID BRAUN
Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The Labour Party has decided not to negotiate with the government to extend the life of the House of Assembly and postpone a white general election until 1992

The Labour leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, told the party's congress in Bloemfontein yesterday that it was now too late for the government to make any concessions to get the party to change its mind

"Particularly as a result of the attitude of the government and its inability and unwillingness to negotiate with the Labour Party, we will under no circumstances extend the life of Parliament"

In terms of the Constitution, all three Houses of Parliament must agree to any amendment affecting the life of Parliament. The President's Council has no jurisdiction over such amendments

Mr Hendrickse said the Labour Party would be bound by the decision of the congress that all three Houses would have to go to the polls when they were constitutionally obliged to do so — within six months of the expiry of the life of the current Parliament in September next year

President Botha will now have very little room to manoeuvre

He may call an election for Parliament any time between now and March 1990, but not a day later. He had hoped to extend the life of the House of Assembly until 1992, giving it five years from the May 1987 general election

The Conservative Party has already reacted with glee at the President's predicament. A spokesman, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said the Labour Party was dictating to the whites when they should or should not have an election

Wrapping up the Labour congress, Mr Hendrickse said his party's approach to the next session of Parliament would

still have to be determined by its caucus

However, Labour would certainly not support legislation providing for the appointment of blacks to the Cabinet if this did not have the support of the black community

Such a law, which had been proposed by the government, would first have to be referred to the black community before Labour decided whether to support it or not

Referring to the issue of taking over the negotiation initiative from the government, Mr Hendrickse said Labour would start as soon as possible to make contact with leaders inside and outside the country.

The Labour congress had not bound the party to talking only to the African National Congress, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the United Democratic Front. The congress decision was broad enough to enable Labour to talk to all people inside and outside the country who opposed apartheid

● See page 12.

Two views of Areas Act

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — While 83 percent of the coloured population opposes the Group Areas Act, 79,5 percent would not want people of other race groups to settle in areas reserved for the coloured group while there was a shortage of houses and land, a survey commissioned by the Labour Party has found.

Results of the survey were distributed at the party's congress in Bloemfontein this week.

The poll was based on 1 307 questionnaires sent at random to persons registered as voters of the House of Representatives.

A total of 842 questionnaires were returned completed by ministers of religion, businessmen, teachers, civil servants, artisans, clerks, policemen, salesmen, general workers and pensioners.

Nearly 92 percent of those who responded said Labour was right to work within the system for change and to combat apartheid.

Just more than 71 percent rejected violence as a solution to the country's problems.

Nearly 91 percent were opposed to sanctions against South Africa.

Just more than 56 percent agreed that the ANC and the PAC should be banned, although 63,5 percent believed that Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners should be released without condition.

The most popular political figure named by the respondents was Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse (by 81 percent).

Nelson Mandela polled eight percent of the votes, Bishop Desmond Tutu four percent and Dr Allan Boesak two percent.

'Political action affected passes'

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Students who boycotted their classes and teachers who were more interested in politics than instruction were to blame for this year's lower pass rates in coloured teachers' training colleges.

The Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, said at the Labour Party congress that the number of students who had passed their junior primary diploma this year was 363, while the number of failures was 164.

The pass rate was 69 percent compared with 78 percent last year.

The pass rate for senior primary diploma students was also down on last year.

But the number of higher education diplomas was up.

7 suspected ANC people shot dead

SEVEN suspected ANC terrorists had been shot dead and 78 suspected ANC terrorists and collaborators had been arrested during the past three months, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

He said police recently arrested four suspected ANC terrorists and two collaborators on the East Rand and in Soweto and two suspected ANC terrorists in the Western Province.

This was in addition to the five sus-

EDYTH BULBRING

pected ANC terrorists recently arrested in the Western Province.

After the arrests, four arms caches were found. One of the arms caches was in the roof of a black high school on the Witwatersrand, while the others were unearthed near Soweto.

Between January and December 26,

To Page 2

29/12/88

Seven suspected ANC people shot dead

security forces arrested 156 suspected ANC terrorists, 111 collaborators and 21 trainee ANC terrorists. A total of 38 suspected PAC terrorists, collaborators and trainee terrorists had been arrested.

The security forces killed 47 suspected ANC terrorists, one alleged ANC collaborator and four suspected PAC terrorists, he said.

In the same period, 293 limpet mines and 844 hand grenades had been confiscated as well as 24 RPG 7 rockets.

From Page 1
A man holding a limpet mine arrested in October during the opening of the Crossroads police station attended by President P W Botha may be a member of a terrorist cell in the Western Province.

Vlok said police had information which led them to believe Robert Maliti was a member of a cell of five suspected terrorists arrested recently.

There are two sets of clues but the --

Labour to stay in tricameral system

LP to negotiate with the ANC

Star 29/12/88
By David Braun
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Labour Party, the second largest party in Parliament, yesterday resolved to reach out to the banned and exiled African National Congress as soon as possible

At the same time the LP congress voted overwhelmingly in favour of continued participation in Parliament

The decision, which came as no surprise, was opposed by only three delegates, including Mr Tommy Abrahams, MP for Wentworth, who wanted the party's MPs to resign their seats in Parliament and then seek re-election at the next election

After an hour-long debate in the Bloemfontein City Hall, the congress adopted two resolutions

- That the party must proceed with participation in the tricameral system in spite of its shortcomings. The party is the only one in the House of Representatives putting pressure on the Government to speed up reform
- That the Labour Party should continue to participate in the tricameral system for a period of five years with the aim of negotiating constructively in order to bring about change

Among the delegates who argued in favour of continued participation were Mr Abe Williams, MP for Mamre, Mr David Curry, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Agriculture, and

Mr Chris April, Minister of Health and Welfare Services.

Mr Williams said that if the Labour Party quit Parliament now, it would be the biggest Christmas present that could be given to the National Party, which would get a bunch of yes-men to take Labour's place.

Mr April said: "We haven't arrived yet. Our task is to educate the white man to accept all South Africans as fellow citizens."

Mr Curry said the time was not ripe for the party to pull out of the tricameral system.

The party yesterday received assurances of support for a more solid front against the Government from Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party, Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party, and two homeland leaders, Mr Nelson Ramodike, Chief Minister of Lebowa, and Dr Kenneth Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa

The congress voted unanimously to take over the negotiation initiative from the Government because the National Party had failed to bring black leaders to the conference table.

The party leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, appealed to the congress on Tuesday night to decide on a new policy of seizing the initiative

The Government had deserted negotiation in favour of talking to the Conservatives, he said.

All leaders, including homeland leaders, Nelson Mandela and organisations such as the ANC and the UDF would have to be brought together to break out of the country's political impasse

Did Govt misread the years of black violence?

Star 29/12/88

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The Government responded to mass township mobilisation between 1984 and 1986 on the false assumption that this activity represented a move to 'ungovernability', and therefore policy makers committed the error of moving in security forces instead of negotiating teams.

This is one of the conclusions reached by Mr Mark Swilling, researcher for the Wits University Centre for Policy Studies, in a recently published paper, "Beyond un-governability township, politics and local level negotiations".

So-called revolutionary organisations, with support well-founded on a web of street and area committees, were actually involved in complex negotiations with local white power groups in many areas, he says.

But the central Government — less sensitive than local officials to the need for and the possibilities of negotiation — employed a security policy which eliminated the organisations they could have been talking to

Another round

A precious moment was lost, argues Mr Swilling, and a policy of negotiation might not find a fertile climate in the immediate future.

It may mean another round of mass protest and the violent consequences this necessarily entails. Maybe next time the outcome will be positive in the long term — not repressive action based on a policy perspective which rests on false assumptions.

Mr Swilling's argument for negotiation is based on his rejection of the thesis that mass-based organisations were bent on making the country ungovernable. It relies on an analysis of resistance as it occurred in 30 townships.

The turmoil and bloodshed of 1984 to 1986 might have looked like the surest road to ungovernability, Wits University researcher Mark Swilling concedes. But on closer inspection, he says, it proves to have been a path to little publicised negotiation between popular leaders and local officials. **JO-ANNE COLLINGE** reports on the research which argues this view.

He argues "Township protest was a general response to structural oppression and specific local urban grievances triggered the development of social movements.

"These social movements emerged, initially, to mobilise community power against the State's refusal to deal with local grievances. When this met with a coercive response from the security forces, local movements united into organised national fronts that defined popular interests as lying in the total dismantling of apartheid.

"Despite this trend towards national action, local initiatives persisted, resulting not in anarchic breakdown as the ungovernability thesis asserts, but in local level negotiations between local power groups."

Mr Swilling cites examples from Natal, Transvaal and the Eastern Cape to substantiate his position that the first response of local leaders was not to use township grievances to whip up mass resistance, but to use negotiation in order to avoid conflict.

The earliest case he mentions is the approach of the charismatic political leader of the Zwilde Residents Association, Mr Thozamle Botha, to the East Cape Development Board in 1979 in an attempt to resolve housing grievances, about which residents' associations and councilors had failed to reach agreement.

"After the board refused to attend to the problems, the leadership was forced to find alternative methods

of pressure," Mr Swilling says.

He says this response was not uncommon. "In case after case the authorities either ignored, rebuked or repudiated the petitioners."

For instance, board officials stated that they were rendered powerless by decisions taken by the elected representatives of the people — the councillors.

Or they said the matter was being attended to and the community must wait and be patient.

Sometimes they said authorities higher than local authorities had to deal with the matter or they questioned the support of community representatives.

Only one option

"Faced with official rebuke, active elements in the community had only one strategic option mass mobilisation.

"If activists had access to higher echelons of the State through the media, intermediaries, political parties or intellectuals, then recourse to mobilisation may have been delayed or even rejected," Mr Swilling reasons.

He outlines how the building of a complex web of cross-cutting organisations was built up from below.

A common combination of organisations in each community included a youth congress, student organisation (a branch of the Congress of South African Students until its banning in 1985), women's organisations

and, in the metropolitan areas, a trade union local committee that acted more independently.

Mr Swilling believes that this network was assisted in making a national political impact by the founding of the United Democratic Front which helped articulate common goals. In turn, the UDF's real power lay in its affiliates.

"The point is that local activists were able to build grassroots grievances into a coherent social movement that expressed the deepest interests, values and demands of the oppressed and exploited communities. Power was not built predominantly through the use of fear and intimidation, but through an ability to articulate, and give organised expression to, popular aspirations."

Various tactics to demonstrate power were used by organisations — marches, stayaways, strikes, consumer boycotts, rent boycotts, school boycotts, election boycotts, mass rallies, press statements and petitions.

Mr Swilling maintains that despite ultra-radical insurrectionary rhetoric the reality was that boycotts merely facilitated the expression of community power and did not constitute a frontal assault on the State. They were never backed by a sustained armed presence.

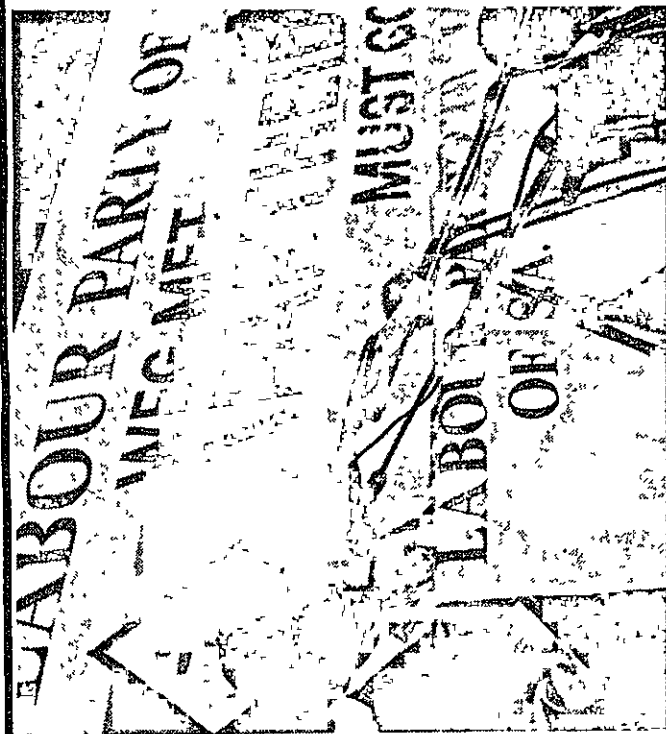
He argues that repression, especially prior to the first state of emergency in 1985, served to fuel rather than quell organisation.

"Faced with violent resistance to their demands, all the communities could do was redouble their efforts to strengthen grassroots organisation. This in turn intensified the level of repression and so the cycle continued. A logic of escalating violence was therefore intrinsic in State response, rather than the intended outcome of a revolutionary strategy."

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Homeland leaders support Hendrickse's call for unity



By David Braun,
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — Two homeland leaders yesterday called for a united nation in one South Africa, and endorsed the Labour Party's attempts to start negotiations with all the country's leaders, including those of the ANC.

The leaders were Dr Kenneth Mopeli, Chief Minister of QwaQwa, and Mr Nelson Ramodike, Chief Minister of Lebowa.

They were speaking to a crowd of more than 1 000 delegates at the Labour Party congress in Bloemfontein.

Another guest speaker at the

congress yesterday was Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Progressive Federal Party.

All three guest speakers threw their weight behind the stand of Labour leader Rev Allan Hendrickse and his party on the repeal of apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

Dr de Beer expressed the hope that the PFP, or the new party being formed by the PFP and two other white parliamentary groupings, would come to a working arrangement with the Labour Party.

The theme of unity was taken up by Dr Mopeli and Mr Ramodike, who also endorsed co-operation between like-minded people and organisations to break South Africa's political impasse.

Mr Ramodike said yesterday "We need to pool our resources together to evolve a new political order which will unalterably lead to a complete transformation of our society into one that will consider the worth and not birth of an individual."

"Therefore the need for the establishment of a broad opposition as suggested by the Independent Party, the PFP, the National Democratic Movement

and other instances should be seriously considered

"Those on the left of the political arena should come together to find common ground and to devise ways and means of convincing the Government and the right wing that it will pay us dividends to live together as brothers in this country or we will all perish together as idiots"

He said Lebowa considered the Government's proposed national council to be stillborn because it promoted the politics of exclusivity as against the politics of reconciliation and reconstruction

It was hypocritical for the Government to talk to Cuba, the Soviet Union and other countries but refuse to talk to its own subjects

He called on the State President to declare a moratorium to enable those in exile to return home to take their rightful places at the negotiation table.

Dr Mopeli said QwaQwa still had strong reservations as to whether it should participate in the national council

"South Africa will not have justice until apartheid has been completely dismantled," he said

Laying down the law ... Rev Alan Hendrickse spoke against apartheid but stressed the need for negotiation.

ANC: We'll close bases in Angola if asked to

Star
24/11/88 The Star's (B) (IA)
Africa News Service

LUSAKA — The African National Congress is prepared to reduce or close its military bases in Angola if asked by the MPLA government or if it helps the peace initiative in the region, the organisation said yesterday.

But the ANC said it was not aware of the leaders of the Frontline states having agreed at their summit in Lusaka this week that the ANC should move its bases out of Angola.

This was reported after the summit by the Reuter news agency, quoting a source close to the meeting. "The ANC is already moving out of Angola be-

cause it has been given alternatives."

But the ANC denied that the organisation had begun moving its forces from Angola, though it had realised for some while that it might have to withdraw.

"We have expected to be approached by the Angolan government, and we will do whatever it wants us to do. If Angola asks us to reduce our numbers, or close our bases entirely, we will do so. We will do what is best for the peace initiative."

The ANC said there were several countries in the area which would be prepared to accommodate its military bases, but refused to name them.

ANC's Maputo office ransacked

MAPUTO — The office of the African National Congress was ransacked over the weekend, the Mozambican news agency AIM reported yesterday.

AIM, quoting an unidentified ANC source, said the office was broken into on Sunday night. Desk drawers were opened and documents were scattered on the floor (11A) (S2)

Under the terms of a 1984 non-aggression treaty, Mozambique pledged to prohibit ANC military activities on its territory, but it has continued to allow the organisation to maintain an office in Maputo.

There was no immediate official statement from the ANC or Mozambican authorities regarding the attack.

South African security forces in the past have staged numerous cross-border raids aimed at ANC facilities in neighboring countries — Sapa-AP.