BLACK POLITICS

1 April 1980 - 25 April 1980
CPC deserves support

Mr M D Arendse

THE Government has decided to close down the CRC and replace it with a temporary, nominated, 30-member Coloured Persons Council.

As could be expected, the new CPC has been condemned and rejected — as, no doubt, will be those who will serve on it.

In assessing the new body, certain facts, unpleasant though they are, must be faced.

The first fact is that when they look at the CRC and now the CPC, most people, white as well as coloured, suffer a serious illusion. This is that the CRC could have been used to change the political situation in South Africa because it had 'legislative powers'. Conversely, they reject the CPC because they say this body will not be able to change the political situation since it will have no legislative powers.

The truth is that the CRC had no powers. Laws it made (three in ten years) were subject to the approval of the Minister. The 'power,' such as it was, thus lay not in the CRC but in the whites-only Parliament.

The CRC, people should now realise, was an institution established by the Government as part of its policy of separate development — and it was as politically powerless as the new CPC is obviously going to be.

And just as the CRC was merely an institution through which socioeconomic changes could have been achieved — if it had been used correctly — so too will the CPC be but an instrument of socioeconomic change. It cannot be anything else for only the politically naive will ignore the fact that the political situation can be changed only in Parliament — it, when, and where the National Party decides to do so.

This must be acknowledged if there is to be any movement in the 'coloured' aspect of our national problem.

Of course, the people who will serve on the CPC can and probably will make it clear to the Government that they as all disenfranchised people do — demand the right to elect and be elected to Parliament. They also will, no doubt, make it clear they expect all racially discriminatory laws to be repealed, and that all laws will apply equally to all South Africans, regardless of race, colour or creed.

But that is as far as they can go in bringing about political change. The same applied to the CRC.

So there is no fundamental difference between the CRC and the new CPC. Both are apartheid institutions and to pretend that the CRC was 'better' because it had 'elected members' and so-called 'legislative powers' is silly.

The hard truth is that the CRC has been closed down — at the request of the CRC itself (some suspect they were caught with their pants down when the Government agreed to do so) and there is nothing anyone can do about it. So could the Government be prevented from establishing the CPC?

The question remains: Should people serve on it or should it be boycotted?

There are protagonists for both approaches. My view is that it should not be boycotted, if only for the reason that the Government will go ahead with it regardless.

Men and women of standing, who put the needs of the people above their personal ambitions and know what must be done to improve the lot of the coloured people should offer to serve on the CPC. Otherwise people who can be manipulated by the Government may be put there.

That would hamper our socioeconomic progress which can be achieved through the CPC. Much can be achieved because, in my opinion, the Government will want the CPC to succeed. And we should take advantage of the fluidity in the current situation.

Of course, some will say: But what socioeconomic changes were achieved by the CRC which had legislative powers? That is precisely the point. Little or nothing, because instead of recognising the CRC as merely an instrument for socioeconomic change, its participants are 'playthings' of Parliament. And in doing so, they spend 10 years sorting political positions off each other and trying to change the political situation which, through the CRC, was impossible.

By M D Arendse, former national president and leader of the Labour Party of South Africa

THOUGHT FOR THE DAY

By Pilgrim

"Father forgive them: They do not know what they are doing." — Luke 23:34.

We must be grateful that Jesus says this about us too.
Arendse leaves Labour Party

Staff Reporter

The Labour Party of the Rev Alan Hendrickse has lost another member. He is Mr M D Arendse, a veteran politician, who was leader of the party when it gained a landslide victory in the first CRC elections in 1969.

Mr Arendse's active political career came to an end in 1975, when he stood as an independent in the Tafelberg constituency. He was beaten by the Labour Party candidate. Since then Mr Arendse has taken a back seat in politics, but has retained his membership of the Labour Party.

He said yesterday that he had decided to resign as the Labour Party leadership is not pragmatic and out of touch with reality in their confrontation with the government.

His resignation follows other recent departures of prominent members from the Labour Party, all of whom have been mentioned in political circles, as possible candidates for the wholly nominated Coloured Persons Council (CPC), the body established by the government to replace the CRC.

The CPC came into being officially yesterday, with the publication of the South African Coloured Persons Act, Act 24 of 1989.

Since December last year the Labour Party — which has forbidden its members to participate in the new CPC — has lost its chief whip, Mr Luty Adams; a former leader, Mr Sonny Leon; a former CRC "speaker" Mr Les du Preez; CRC member for Haarlem, Mr Eric le Plastre; and Mr Donald Caanecross, chairman of the Eastern Cape region of the Labour Party and member for Gelverdala, of the now defunct CRC.

Meanwhile Mr Willie Aria, leader of the Freedom Party opposition to the ruling Labour Party in the CPR, is reported to have indicated his willingness to serve in the new CPC.

On each occasion when a resignation from the Labour Party has been tendered, the party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, has reiterated that he had the support of the majority of coloured people, that members who resigned would find themselves out in the political cold, and that their credibility would be completely lost if their resignations were linked to participation in the new CPC.

The latest to resign, Mr M D Arendse, was asked whether he was available for the CPC. He said: "My position regarding the new CPC is still a matter for conjecture."
Leon may form new political party

PORT ELIZABETH. — The former leader of the Labour Party, Mr Sonny Leon, may soon spearhead the formation of a new political party — a development certain to cause a major upheaval in coloured politics.

In another disclosure last night it was alleged that the Department of National Security (DNSN) had taken a hand in preparing the way for the government's proposed Coloured Persons' Council (CPC).

Mr Leon has emerged as the 'link figure' in the state of resignations from the Labour Party and he hinted strongly in a telephone interview from his Kimberley home yesterday that more resignations could follow.

He also disclosed for the first time that he may make himself available for nomination to the CPC.

So far, at least one Labour Party member, Mr Morris Lewis, of Durban, has indicated that he will be available for nomination to the CPC, even if it costs him his membership of the Labour Party.

Another Durban member, Mr Charles Mkhize, the school principal, Labourite and chairman of the Durban Local Affairs Committee, said yesterday that he had been approached by the regional representative of the Department of Coloured Relations in Durban to make himself available for nomination to the CPC.

Mr Leon said last night that the formation of a new coloured political party was more than just a possibility.

'I don't see any reason, if people called on me to form a Labour Party men had sought his advice before their resignations.

Asked if he would make himself available for nomination to the CPC, he replied: 'Isn't it a natural thing for people at times to feel they can serve their communities in a more meaningful way?'

There are people in the Labour Party who feel they have been left out in the cold. There are a number who, with the abolition of the Coloured Persons' Representative Council, do not qualify for pensions.

Mr Elmar Theunis, Labour Party member for Upington, said yesterday that he had recently been visited by DNSN officers from Kimberley.

They had discussed with him the attitude of the coloured community towards the government with particular reference to their feelings in the wake of the 1976 student riots.

'They at no stage asked me if I was prepared to stand for the CPC, but wanted to know my attitude towards it. I said I did not want to comment.'

Mr Leon said he was not prepared to make himself available to the CPC.

Groundwork

Interviews with other leading coloured politicians suggest that DNSN has become involved in laying the groundwork for the creation of the CPC.

DNSN officers, they claim, have visited Labour Party men to sound them out about trends in coloured politics and the general attitude of the coloured community, and have asked them their views on the CPC.

'Mr Donald Cusworth of Port Elizabeth, who resigned from the Labour Party six days ago, now seems likely to make himself available for nomination to the CPC.

In an interview yesterday, however, he would not commit himself and expressed surprise at the possibility of a new party being formed.

Political parties have had their chance. I believe that strategy has now failed. As a CPC representative, I was able to help people in concrete ways. They are not able to understand why I can no longer help them and want me to consider standing for the CPC.'
Labour may expel nominees for CPC

Own Correspondent
PORT ELIZABETH. - The national executive of the Labour Party, which meets in Durban tomorrow, is strongly expected to decide to expel any member who makes himself available for nomination to the government's Coloured Persons' Council.

The national leader of the party, the Rev Allan Hendricks, yesterday labelled recent developments in coloured politics as a clear attempt by the government to split the Labour Party and ultimately divide the coloured people.

He accused the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, of engineering the attempt.

Speaking from Uitenhage yesterday, he said everything that had happened in recent weeks made him recall the "reified threat" by Mr Botha, after the abortive meeting with the Labour Party leadership on November 9.

"The prime minister said he was aware that we did not represent the views of all Labour Party members. He also told us to remember that he could be ruthless, if necessary, when dealing with certain situations," Mr Hendricks said.

"That was his immediate reaction when it became apparent that he could not just get his way."

Create a division.

Mr Hendriks said the unspoken but clear wish of the government -- to get Labour Party members to serve on the proposed 30-member CPC -- was a transparent attempt to create division in the party and consequently the coloured population.

Tomorrow the national executive of the Labour Party meets in Durban and it will be asked to ratify a policy directive from the leadership, comprising Mr Hendriks, Mr David Curry and Mr Norman Middleton, to expel any party member who makes himself available for nomination to the CPC.

Mr Hendriks said there was "absolutely no doubt" that the decision would be taken.

He added that all members scheduled to attend had confirmed that they would be at the national executive meeting, discounting the hint by the former leader of the party, Mr Sonny Leon, who resigned his membership earlier this year, that the party might have to face more defections.

Attempt to divide

This whole thing is an attempt to divide us, but it will not succeed," said Mr Hendriks.

He also scoffed at the possibility that Mr Leon's near legendary image might persuade many Labour Party supporters to desert the party and join him in any new party he might launch.

Mr Hendriks said any attempt by Mr Leon to rely on his image would fail.

"The party has already proved that it is stronger than personalities. In 1999 a Labour man, Mr Godfrey Jules, standing in Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, won the second biggest majority in the country during the elections.

"After resigning from the party and standing in 1979 as an independent against Mr Donald Carington, then a Labour member, he lost his deposit," said Mr Hendriks.

Colleagues tell Leon to retire

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. - The former Labour Party leader, Mr Sonny Leon, came under heavy fire yesterday for intimating that he might form a new political party and accept nomination to the new Coloured Persons' Council.

Old Labour colleagues urged him to retire "gracefully" from politics and save his credibility from being damaged even further.

Mr Leon was not available for comment yesterday, but there has been considerable speculation for some time that he would start a new party with the expelled Labour Party chief whip, Mr Loftus Adams. Both are unhappy with the present Labour hierarchy's handling of apartheid.

Mr Leon was among a handful of people who resigned recently from the Labour Party. Labour's deputy leader, Mr Norman Middleton, said: "It is a tragedy that after all these years, he has seen to destroy all he has built.

"Again advise him to retire gracefully from politics."

Mr Middleton said Mr Leon had only a few weeks ago given him the assurance that he would not return to politics and although there had been approaches to form a new party, Mr Middleton challenged his former colleague to call a meeting in his Kimberley constituency to gauge the feelings of the people.

"Mr Leon has little credibility, and if he goes ahead with his plans, that credibility will be destroyed completely," Mr Middleton said.

The Rector of the University of the Western Cape, Professor Richard van der Ross, who is a founder of the Labour Party, felt it was still too soon for "people to consider forming new parties."

Mr Sonny Leon
Ex-ANC leader returns; joins Inkatha

Weekend Argus

DURBAN. — A former senior official of the African National Congress, Mr Jordan Ngubane, returned to Durban from an 18-year exile yesterday to join forces with Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Mr Ngubane, who worked closely with former ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli, fled South Africa to Swaziland in 1962 under threat of being banned.

After nine years, he was employed at Howard University in Washington for a year. He has spent his time since lecturing in the USA and writing three books.

He said yesterday he had been offered a $3,000 job at Howard University, but had not hesitated to come home.

He travels on a British passport, and has been given a South African visa valid for a year.

Chief Buthelezi said last night that Mr Ngubane would work both for KwaZulu and Inkatha.

'REAL TALKS'

'The day is going to be very valuable in the days ahead, now that we are beginning to see the beginning of real talks in this country.

'It is wonderful to have him back. He will be a concrete demonstration of a link between the founding fathers of the African liberation movements and our own efforts in Inkatha.'

It had taken almost three years to persuade Mr Ngubane, who had been declared a prohibited immigrant, to come back.

'This' Minister of Co-operation and Development, Mr P. J. Koosenhof, had been instrumental in the negotiation, Chief Buthelezi said.
SUNDAY POST
Reporter
THE president of Swapo, Mr Sam Nujoma, was among the thousands of people who this week added their support to the Free Mandela campaign.

Speaking from Lusaka where he attended a summit meeting with leaders of the Front Line states, Mr Nujoma said, "The imprisonment of Mandela is illegal. I fear that South Africa will continue to detain Mandela until the whole apartheid system is overthrown. It is clear to all peace-loving people that Mandela must be released," Mr Nujoma said.

The one-month-old campaign, started by SUNDAY POST, to free Mandela and other imprisoned leaders from Robben Island, and to allow those in exile to come back, has received massive support from all over the world.

The number of people who have signed the petition has grown in the last week to 30,905.

In the north-western Cape the Bishop of Kimberley and Kuruman, the Rt Rev Graham Chadwick, said in this week's issue of his church's newsletter that the Free Mandela campaign was a "real attempt to ensure peaceful change for South Africa. As such it deserves our genuine support," he said.

"The Ciskei Minister of Agriculture and Forestry, Rev W Xaba, who is a former member of the ANC, also came out in support of the campaign this week.

"I joined the ANC through Mr Mandela. If he can be released from jail I will be very happy," he said.

The Editor of SUNDAY POST, Mr Percy Qoboza, has appealed to people who have petitions to send them in as soon as possible.
Two visions of South Africa hung over Lusaka conference

ANC president Oliver Tambo... his presence in Lusaka represents a different view of South Africa's future.

THE SHADOW of "big brother South Africa" loomed large over the economic union talks held in Lusaka this week by nine independent black states.

The delegates, including the presidents of the five frontline states and Prime Minister-designate of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe, came to Lusaka seeking "economic liberation" from South Africa.

Instead, they left after laying bare harsh economic realities which will mean continued heavy trade with the white-rulled south for years to come.

Most of the states at the conference see South Africa and the apartheid they abhor as neo-colonialist, but there is little they can do about it without massive international aid running into hundreds of millions of rands.

But the presence of ANC president Oliver Tambo at this week's conference raised, for some at least, the vision of a future sub-continent line-up with South Africa not the villain but the future powerhouse for real development of the area.

After several days of preliminary deliberations by Ministers it was clearly accepted that if South Africa quietly slipped into the sea tomorrow the economies of most of the nations assembled would quickly slide in after it.

For black Africa the main value of the conference was as a historic declaration of unity.

The five traditional frontline states - Zambia, Tanzania, Angola, Mozambique and Botswana - saw in the independence of the new Zimbabwe the possibility that their dream now had a chance of working.
They believe that their "unbroken inter-continental belt", as President Kenneth Kaunda put it, will eventually be strong enough to break South Africa's economic dominance of the sub-continent.

For the first time they invited to their talks the three nations with closest South African links — Swaziland, Lesotho and Malawi — in a clear bid to snatch them out of reach of the "constellation of states" being pushed by Mr P W Botha.

This time the realities stifled the stormy rhetoric. One by one heads of state and other representatives warned that the new independence they sought would be a long time coming.

Mozambique: President Samora Machel stated bluntly that the nine were not in any condition at present to create a regional economic community.

And, he said, they were not "declaring war on South Africa".

The history of Africa was unfortunately rich in examples of attempts that failed, he said, and the plans of the black states must have humble beginnings.

"We must construct first the foundations and not the roof," South Africa, he said, saw its black neighbours as suppliers of raw materials and cheap labour. But the people of these black states rejected goods made in Zambia or Tanzania as inferior to those stamped "Made in South Africa". That had to stop.

Now was the time for national jealousies to go and for each nation to see its neighbour's advancement as its own.

President Machel warned that there was "no such thing as aid or charity in international politics". Help was based purely on the interests of those giving it.

Several black leaders warned that "forces opposing their plans for the region" — a clear reference to South Africa though the name was apparently deleted from the final draft of speeches — would try and undermine their plans for an economic union.

But they went ahead with a unanimous declaration of their determination to improve and co-ordinate their economies.

South Africa aside, this makes sense.

In general their economies are in poor condition. Best off are those who have long admitted they needed South Africa to survive but they all have major problems.

The see the migrant labour from which they gain much of their foreign exchange as unhealthy but cannot employ their people at home.

They have inherited a transport system designed to suit a group of rival colonial powers and not an international co-operative.

To improve the transport situation a communications commission will immediately be set up in Maputo, capital of the Mozambique they hope will take over from South Africa as a main gateway to the sea and trade routes.

An international donor's conference will be held there in November to co-ordinate aid.

The new Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Mugabe, who arrived in Lusaka to a hero's welcome, will host a meeting of senior ministers in Salisbury in September.

Botswana's President Seretse Khama has been cast in the role of co-ordinator of a seven-point plan for regional development.

A regional agricultural research centre will be established to study ways of growing crops in semi-arid areas. An interesting point when the vast majority of farmland in countries such as Zambia is lying idle or underutilised.

The programmes are essentially very long term ones and the main message to come out of the conference was that results will be a long time in coming. — SUN- DAY POST Correspondent.
These stratagems only confirm one thing

CAMPAIGNS for the freedom of Nelson Mandela were for the release of a “terrorist” and not a political leader, and those who support it should realise this.

Such is the view of both the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, and the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys, expressed after Friday’s attack on the Booyssens Police Station.

Those responsible for the attack were trying for the release of Mandela and (Walter) Sisulu, their prepared joint statement said. (The attackers had left behind pamphlets calling for the release of the two men.)

The authorities, employing a devious combination of statement and implication, have attempted to connect the incident with the “Free Mandela” campaign, and in so doing have tried to suggest that the campaign, this newspaper, its editor, and all those who support them are responsible for inciting the attack.

It is true that the statement did not actually SAY it, but its wording left no doubt as to its meaning.

As a propaganda exercise, it is appallingly inept; the motives behind it being so transparent.

Firstly, the police must be feeling somewhat uncomfortable over the fact that two vans filled with smuggled weapons could avoid their security precautions, such as they are, and drive round the streets of the biggest city in the country.

It is to be expected, therefore, that they would want nothing more right now than to pinpoint blame somewhere, anywhere, so as to try to avoid the full impact of any possible public censure themselves.

Secondly, white politics being as inbred as it is, in that whites usually ever only talk to the people they agree with, the statement was probably intended primarily for this country’s minority of hardliners, which group both the Minister and the General identify with strongly.

This is the group both men wish to impress and maintain full credibility with, so they tell them what they must want to hear.

If this is all the effect the statement will have, it would be easy to dismiss with the lukewarm contempt that it deserves. But we fear that this will not be the case.

The statement, without making any direct accusation, cleverly associates the campaign, and therefore SUNDAY POST, with guerrilla activities.

Because it was made by two respected members of the white community, it will be valuable ammunition for critics of the campaign in their enthusiastic attempts to prove that it has incited anti-South African feelings and that action should be taken against it.

The statement on its own is not enough to achieve this. But it adds considerable weight to a growing body of similarly contrived “evidence” against the campaign in particular and the black Press in general.

We look upon these stratagems with mild amusement. They confirm yet again that the political initiative has been taken from whites; that they know it and are now wriggling in their discomfort.
EXACTLY a year ago today Solomon Mahlangu stood before the gallows and, with a smile, gave the salute of the African National Congress. Moments later he was dead — hanged by the neck. 

The execution of Mahlangu, convicted of murder for his involvement in the Goch Street shootings of June 1977, aroused a storm of international protest. But although he died what many regard as a martyr’s death, Solomon Mahlangu’s story echoes that of thousands of others of his generation — the angry youngsters at the heart of the 1976 uprising.

Mahlangu, born in Sekukhune land in July 1954, grew up in Pretoria as the youngest of the six children of divorcée Mrs Martha Mahlangu. He was the only one of the six to receive an education, and according to his mother was a loving and caring person.

But then in September 1976 he disappeared suddenly, without telling his mother where he was going. He had in fact been recruited into Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) the military wing of the ANC which was formed in 1961 when the organisation felt that it had exhausted all avenues for non-violent resistance to the Government.

Along with many other young South Africans, Mahlangu received training at ANC camps in Angola and Mozambique. He re-entered this country in the company of two of his fellow trainees, Mandy Motloung and the group’s leader, Lucky Mahlangu.

Their first task was to hide the guns and hand grenades they had brought with them, the organisation sees armed struggle as the only way to freedom in South Africa, the loss of life is to be avoided wherever possible.

The tea-drinking workers were probably no more than the unfortunate victims of Mandy Motloung’s fright and confusion.

When the policeman at the taxi rank saw the three guerrillas’ weapons, he fled, screaming for help.

Mahlangu said later that Lucky disappeared, never to be seen again. Mahlangu and Motloung, however, picked up their weapons and fled down Jeppe Street. looking for a place to hide.

Mahlangu said that he had been injured on the ankle, and that when the pair reached Goch Street, he realised he could run no further.

He fired three times into the ground to frighten off the police before collapsing. Mahlangu, who had killed no one, and who claimed that he had in fact not even pointed his gun at anyone that day, was sentenced to death as an accomplice in the shootings.

His lawyers immediately began the battle to save his life — a battle that was to drag on for more than a year as the condemned man sat waiting in the death cell in Pretoria.

Mr Justice Theron, the man who sentenced him to death, refused him leave to appeal, as did the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein. In July 1978 the
'Solomon did not kill why must he die?'

British Anti-Apartheid Movement launched an urgent campaign to stop the hanging, mounting weekly pickets outside South Africa House in London. In November 1978, when Mahlangu had already spent more than 250 days in Death Row, his lawyers applied for a retrial. But the application, heard again by Judge Theron, was refused. The judge said such that granting the appeal would amount to “an abuse of the process of the courts”.

Two months later, in January 1979, the campaign received another blow when the Chief Justice, Mr Justice F L Rumpff, rejected a petition asking for a retrial. This left Mahlangu with only one option—a direct appeal to the then State President, Mr John Vorster. The appeal was made by his family that same month.

Said his brother Steven: “All I know is that Solomon did not do the actual shooting of the two whites. Why must he now carry another man’s responsibility? I hope the State President will pardon him.”

With two days to go before the execution was due to take place, no reply to the petition had been received from the Vorster’s office.

On April 6, with one day to go, the British Foreign Secretary Dr David Owen and President Carter of the United States appealed directly to Mr Vorster, and Justice Minister Jimmy Kruger said that any request for clemency would have to be submitted to his department in writing.

That night friends and family kept an all-night vigil as the General Secretary of the SACC, Bishop Tutu, flew to Cape Town in a last minute bid to get the Government to change its mind.

But it was of no avail.

Early on the morning of April 6, Solomon Mahlangu kept his date with the hangman.

“He died like a soldier,” said his mother afterwards. “His last words were: ‘Do not worry about me but worry about those who are suffering. I have done my bit of contribution’.

Mahlangu’s body was buried secretly by the Department of Prisons, but his name lives on—as a symbol not only of the harsh justice of apartheid but of a new mood amongst young South Africans that their own lives might well be the price they must pay in the struggle for the freedom they long so deeply for.

A ceremony for the unveiling of Mahlangu’s tombstone will be held in Mamelodi this month.
SIR — Kindly allow me space in your dynamic newspaper to express my view concerning the Government's handling of matters affecting our very existence.

It is upsetting how the Nats are unwilling to learn or accept the fact that they cannot go on imposing things on us without proper consultation with us.

Throughout the years, Nats have been passing piece of legislation after the other on us, despite our strongest protests, and there is little hope that they will deviate from this irresponsible course.

After they were voted into power some 30 years ago, they went about their task ruthlessly. This is what they did:

- They exploited the South African ethnic diversity, to their own advantage by further dividing us, while they encouraged unity among whites, irrespective of language or cultural differences.
- Imposed the bantustans on us, disregarding our protests, which silenced by imprisoning all those who dared raise a murmur.

that the black urbanite cannot be wished away, they are now going to play on the falsety that the urban blacks' aspirations are different from those of his cousin who lives in the rural areas and whose aspirations, they would argue, can be accommodated in the Bantustans.

My appeal to my people is that we must fight this division with every might at our disposal.

We demand equal rights in our country. There has been this hint about a new constitution which would include urban blacks against their brothers in the Bantustans.

I can assure the Nats that this tactic won't work. Urban or rural, the people of this country demand a stake in their fatherland, both politically and economically. Any constitution which aims to defuse the explosive situation in our country must take this into account.

The time to do these things is now. They urged their friend Smith to negotiate and release the patriots of his country. Why can't the Nats do the same?

TRUE AZANIAN
Ga-Rankuwa.
The Mandela band wagon

I'M GETTING quite confused about the Free Mandela campaign. I was always under the impression that SUNDAY POST had started it, but it appears I'm completely wrong.

Gatsha Buthelezi, who first hailed the campaign and the next week dissociated himself from it (when a politician is confused, he's REALLY confused) now claims that he started it.

But he's got a rival: In the Transkei Legislative Assembly this week George Matanzima got up and said that Transkei had in fact first made the call as far back as 1977.

And because it had made the call three years ago, he saw no reason to support the present campaign.

The Citizen newspaper, which is doing its best to drive the campaign to an early death (a page one headline this week was "Mandela won't be freed" — quoting a senior Government source, and you can take your Pik which source that was) claims that Beeld started the campaign.

Myself, I think that what really started the campaign was just plain commonsense. No country in its right mind would leave its leader in jail for 16 years.

Have a bash

IF YOU'RE one of the country's hundreds of thousands of unemployed and you have a bit of rural experience behind you, here's your chance to cash in on Miungu's most recent strange undertaking.

There is apparently a plague of dassies (rock rabbits) in the millionaire holiday resort at Plettenberg Bay and the authorities there have just come up with what they consider the best way of dealing with it.

I quote from a newspaper report this week. "A survey found that a young black armed with a knobkerrie is the only effective method to control the dassie plague, Mr Barry Stroebe, a town councillor, said."

I wonder if they'll pay by the scalp.
Pro-Mandela challenge

The great debate in South African politics is now taking place outside the precincts of Parliament.

It is between those who want an egalitarian society and one individual state and those who are prepared to accept nationhood on ethnic grounds.

There were reportedly 30 000 Ciskeians loyal to Chief Lennox Sebe at the annual congress of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party who are pressing their leader to go for separate statehood for their people.

Transkei, Bophutatswana and Venda are already independent. It seems unlikely now that they would give up their autonomy voluntarily.

If Ciskei joins them in independence the late Dr Verwoerd's concept of separate development will have advanced considerably.

And Mr P. W. Botha's plan for an eventual constellation of Southern African states will also be a step nearer — at least within the borders of the former Union of South Africa.

But against this drive for ethnic self-identification and self-rule, stand a few million urban blacks, many of the Indian population, most of the Coloured people and also the Zulu people under Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

These groups, although not politically united, have a common purpose — equal citizenship with whites and majority rule, or at least power sharing through a single Parliament.

They have no established leader acceptable to all elements of the loose amalgam. They tend, therefore, to seek identity with proved opponents of white authority who have suffered the consequences of refusing to compromise with such authority.

Hence, more and more, the name of Nelson Mandela, imprisoned for life on Robben Island, is mentioned at their gatherings.

It happened again at the national executive committee meeting of the Labour Party in Durban at the weekend. The Labour Party, representative of Coloured people, is now also claiming Nelson Mandela as its "natural leader".

This may surprise Mr Mandela himself, who led only the African National Congress before he went to jail. His following must have grown considerably since that time.

So much so that there is now a massive move to persuade the government to set him free.

The motivation is both political and humanitarian. In its political context, however, it represents a challenge not only to white authority but also to Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda, Ciskei and even Kwazulu.

That is the problem.
Dr K pledges friendship

Big ZCC service

By MANTHATA TSEDU

It must have been the biggest gathering ever in South Africa when hundreds of thousands of Zionist Christian Church followers converged on their Moria headquarters during the Easter weekend.

Hundreds of buses and about 1,000 other vehicles caused a 10-kilometre traffic jam winding along the mountainous route, but did not dampen the spirit of the followers.

Many white motorists on their way to holiday resorts at Magoebaskloof were baffled by the congestion.

It was indeed ZCC Easter and their 70th anniversary.

The people started trickling in on Tuesday when 200 Namibians arrived. By Friday afternoon many thousands of people had settled in and a carnival mood hung over the rock headquarters.

A feature of the huge gathering was the lack of violent incidents throughout the four-day ceremony.

Not a single policeman was at hand and there were no fights.

Bishop Lekganyane . . . speaking at ZCC
There was also a colourful guard of honour formed by men and women in their gold, green and blue uniforms for the arrival of the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof.

The khaki-clad dancers, known as Mkhulu, in their big white boots were jumping sky high. They fascinated people with their body rhythms and foot stomping.

For the first time the Press was allowed in after first being banned.

Photographers and reporters were each assigned an escort to show them around and ensure that they did not take pictures of "domestic affairs".

Even a German TV station was present.

Among the dignitaries present were the Chief Ministers of Lebowa and Gazankulu, Dr Phatudi and Prof Nisanwisi, Sobwe Community Council chairman Mr M. Thebehle, who arrived with Dr Koornhof in the R48 000 Mercedes of Bishop Lekganyane, Mr T J

* To Page 2
Mahlangu remembered

By MALOSE MATSEMELA

ABOUT 500 people converged on the Atteridgeville cemetery on Sunday morning to commemorate the death of Solomon Mahlangu, an ANC guerilla.

About a year ago Mahlangu was executed after being sentenced to death for his part in the Groote Street shootings in which two whites were killed.

Pamphlets stating that Mahlangu was a "martyr of the ANC" were distributed at the graveyard and in the township.

Freedom songs were sung intermittently after the last statement Mahlangu made before he died and was read.

Speaker after speaker said Mahlangu, in life and in death, was a man who symbolised ANC's aspirations for construction of peaceful existence in South Africa, and the determination to sacrifice women and children — black or white — to achieve the goal.

It was also said that Mahlangu went to the gallows in submission to his fate and that the black man should realise that time had come to follow this spirit.

A speaker said Mahlangu died as he lived, in the dark and shamed by all, the way of the "guerilla". He further said people responded to his testimony with the sure knowledge that life is cheap.
Police progress in terror hunt

JOHANNESBURG — Progress was being made in the search for the gang which attacked Booisens Police Station last week, a spokesman for the SAP Directorate of Public Relations said here yesterday.

He declined to comment on a newspaper report that a "breakthrough" had been made in the search.

Booisens Police Station came under RPG rocket and light automatic arms fire on Friday morning when a group of armed men attacked the station.

The gang fled in a gold-coloured Valiant and a yellow Kombi, and headed towards Soweto.

Pamphlets, demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, both prisoners on Robben Island, had been found on the scene.

Police have denied reports that two youths helped fight off the gang.

In this fourth attack on a police station, it was the first time RPG rockets had been used.

Col Leon Mallet, of the PRO Directorate, said police were confident of capturing the attacks.

In London, the exiled Pan Africanist Congress yesterday denied any responsibility for the terrorist attack.

Sources close to the PAC claim the attack did not have the PAC's "signature." The PAC would not demand the release of two ANC leaders, like Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. They would probably demand the release of all political prisoners.

Also, the PAC most likely would seize on a broader issue than the release of political prisoners if it launched a terrorist attack in South Africa.

Most exile sources here believe the ANC carried out the attack on the police station. — DDR-SAPA.
Academics denounce CPC after party decision

By Hugh Robertson

Opposition to the Coloured Persons' Council mounted sharply today with a barrage of denunciation from some of the most widely respected academic leaders in the coloured community.

They made it clear that the council, whose 30 members all will be appointed by the Government, has become the centre of bitter division inside the community and is bound to be resented by many.

Among those who spoke out on the CPC today, in interviews with the PFP mouthpiece Deurbreek, were Professor R E van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, the well-known poet Mr Adam Small, and six other prominent academics, including the president of the Cape Professional Teachers' Union, Mr Franklin Sonn.

Their criticisms follow a weekend decision by the national executive of the Labour Party, which held the overwhelming majority of elected seats in the defunct Coloured Representative Council, to expel members of the party who might serve on the CPC.

At the same time, the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, has claimed that more than 150 members of the Coloured community have made themselves available for appointment to the new body.

In his comment to Deurbreek, Professor van der Ross said that although the coloured people had never taken the CRC seriously, the new council "will have even less impact."

Mr Sonn commented: "It is only through absolute impotence or through disregard and contempt, that the Government could decide on a nominated council — something which it cannot afford in the case of a community already up on its hind legs."

Mr Small said: "Anyone who is prepared to serve on this council deserves our contempt. The word traitor would not be inappropriate. The old CRC was a joke, the new body is no longer one."
ALTHOUGH the African National Congress of South Africa has been invited to attend this month’s independence celebrations of Zimbabwe, this does not mean the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, holds any brief for the organisation.

The ANC and Pan Africanist Congress leaders will on April 17 and throughout the two days of celebrations in Salisbury, following the granting of independence, be feted along with other dignitaries and other heads of state from all over the world.

CONSENSUS

The consensus in the ruling ZANU (PF) Party was that the ANC, which fought in this country alongside Mr Joshua Nkomo’s ZIPRA forces, should not have been invited. But the Prime Minister himself felt that although the organisation had not been friendly towards his party, it should nevertheless be invited because it was a liberation movement.

Some ZANU (PF) executive members felt very strongly that only the PAC, which appears from here, anyway, to be a minority party in South Africa, should have been invited.

According to informed sources in Salisbury the Prime Minister felt that the ANC should not be given the same treatment as the South African Government which has not been invited and also choosing one organisation and not the other would have been tantamount to interfering with the politics of South African blacks.

The official view is that the Government of Zimbabwe will not concern itself with the internal struggles within the black nationalist movements in South Africa, nor for that matter with the politics of South Africa as a whole.

The ruling party here finds itself easily disposed towards the PAC and diplomatic support would be willingly given, but not so military support, which Mr Mugabe has on many occasions stated is out of the question.

The ANC has, over the years, gravitated towards Mr Joshua Nkomo’s Zapu party and in the late 60s when ZIPRA opened the north-western front, a number of ANC guerrillas crossed into Rhodesia together with ZIPRA forces which gave South Africa an excuse for sending its policemen to fight alongside Rhodesian security forces.

Also the fact that the ANC operates out of Zambia where Mr Nkomo’s forces were based helped forge closer links between the two parties, a thing which incensed ZANU (PF) executives. The Prime Minister’s view however is that all this should not be allowed to influence the government’s choice of visitors for the celebrations.

TIES

Despite the close ties between the ANC and Zapu, ZANU (PF) officials do not expect black South African nationalists to interfere in any way in Zimbabwe politics.

This would to a certain extent, necessitate a cooling of affections between the ANC and Zapu. If this does not happen, the ANC could find itself, like white South Africa, playing the role of an ugly sister at the ball during the forthcoming independence celebrations.
Homeland backing sparks criticism

By PHIL MTIMKULU

BISHOP BARNABAS LEKGANYANE, leader of the Zion Christian Church (ZCC), has come under strong criticism for calling on his followers to accept homeland governments.

Addressing more than two-million people who had converged on the church headquarters at Moria over the Easter weekend, Bishop Lekganyane said it was not for the individual to judge whether the law was just or unjust.

He also said his church fully supported homeland governments, chiefs, local authorities and “our motherland South Africa.”

Reverend Tebogo Moselane of the Anglican Church said that though the Church is the conscience of the people, it should not fail in its conscience by being irresponsible by supporting an unjust policy, which apartheid is.

Father Moselane said: “The Church must be above politics. If the Church involves itself in politics then the Church gets confused because it will not be able to speak the truth. In the Bible the only time when the Church supported the government was during the time of St Paul when the Roman government was a benevolent government.

“But right throughout the Bible and even during Christ, no church authority supported an unjust government. The resurrection of Jesus was a victory against the state.”

He said that if a sect which accepted bishopric as a hereditary position, then the Church became confused — and I pity the Church in such situations."

Dr Motlana said it was very depressing for a man of the cloth to adopt an almost purely party political attitude by saying he supported a policy which was oppressive and divisive. This policy was separate development.

“It behoves a man of his standing not to make a statement that he supports a policy that is abhorrent to the majority of the people,” said Dr Motlana.
- die omvang van neem sal moet w
- die meriete van dié van illustra
diel nie voldoend meerdere siening
- die risiko van be die voorstelle -
by moontlike toek. ondersoek, indier 'n S.O.A.K. as om aanvaar sou word.

(b) Die Landbou

(i) Tendense

Die nasionale groeikoers van die landbousektor, wat vergelyk kan word met tendense vir die Wes-Kaap soos weergegee in tabel 3.1, is 3,71% per jaar. Die groottotaal samegestelde verwagte groei Koers vir die Wes-Kaapse landbou is 4,88% wat voortvloei uit die volgende afdelingsgroei koers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Landbou</th>
<th>Groei Koers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuinbou</td>
<td>4,44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veeteelt</td>
<td>5,12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akkerbou</td>
<td>5,58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Die aanvraag vir intermediere insette neem, t.g.v. hierdie groeitendense asook die toenemende gewig van die intensiewe produksie-afdelings, toe teen groei koers beduidend hoër as die uitbreiding in produksie-volumes self.

(ii) Pluimveeboerdery

'n Dramatiese struktuurverandering het stilweg plaasgevind in die landbousektor in die Wes-Kaap wat voortspruit uit die toenemende vestiging van intensiewe pluimveeboerdery alhier - die aktiviteit het die besondere voordele dat slegs die swakste landbougroun vir vestiging nodig is en daarby is die afset grootlik gerig op die uitvoermark.
Azapo officials held in Soweto

Argus Correspondent

Johannesburg.

Three prominent officials of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) were today detained by security police in Soweto and driven to Protea police station.

The officials include Mr Sammy Thobatla, administrative secretary of Azapo and Mr Leitsatlh Motsa, a committee member. The third man has been identified as Manfred.

They were driving into the city today when they were allegedly stopped. The car was searched and certain documents confiscated. They were then ordered to drive to Protea police station.

An officer at Protea told The Star he knew nothing of the detention of the three Azapo officials.

QUESTIONED

Two weeks ago, Mr Thobatla was questioned at the Azapo offices when security police came to search for a handbag of Miss Thoko Mphahane who, with Mr Ismael Mhabela, had been detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act.

Another black consciousness proponent, Mr Ben Langa, a former general secretary of the banned South African Students Organisation (Safo) was last week taken in for questioning by security police in Durban.

Sources in Durban said Mr Langa, an official of the black student society and a member of the Azanian Student Organisation (Azazo), was picked up from the campus of the University of Natal where he is studying.
UCT students give Black Power sign

MORE than 350 students at the University of Cape Town rose today — many with fists clenched in the Black Power salute — when Mr Curtis Nkondo, former chairman of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo) asked them to pledge their solidarity with 'all who denounced the release of Mandela.'

The meeting, held under the auspices of the UCT SRC, heard Mr Nkondo with his own fist raised in the Black Power salute — pledge solidarity on their behalf also with all political prisoners, black and white, and the return of those in exile to be with us to plan a new, brighter, future for Africa.'

The meeting was attended by UCT students and many black students.

Mr Nkondo said throughout the years blacks had bitterly complained of the unjustifiable edicts which has been thrust on them by the white racist regime.

LIBERATION

Mr Nkondo said there were two kinds of liberation. The first could be likened to the civil rights movement of black Americans — but in the South African context this 'defective and confused.'

It called chiefly for the removal of apartheid — but 'I say no — economic, industrial, technological and other factors will contribute to its removal. Apartheid is a necessity.'

The other kind of struggle, Mr Nkondo said, was, in fact, the fight against capitalism.

'It seeks the unity of all blacks (blacks, coloured people and Indians) and the acquisition of political power for all blacks in the land of their birth.'

'This does not in any manner threaten the right of whites to live happily in this country. It would be obvious to everyone that whites have no such right as anyone else to live,' Mr Nkondo said.
Rhodesia to release ANC men

SALISBURY — Thirteen guerrillas of South Africa’s ANC movement are to be released from jail in Rhodesia before independence on April 18, a spokesman for the Governor, Lord Soames, has confirmed.

The spokesman, acting on claims by Mr. Archibal Ngcobo, leader of the newly formed Azanian Independence Movement, who said that inquiries were being made with the Rhodesian Ministry of Justice to discover whether the men would be released and possibly returned to South Africa.

While he was in Khami jail in Bulawayo two years ago, Mr. Ngcobo said, there were 17 ANC guerrillas imprisoned with him, but three or four of them had died. Some of them had been arrested by Rhodesian security forces as long as 14 years ago, he said.

section, consisting of 5 films and 5 lectures, will be presented by Mr. Freddy Ogerop of the Provincial one of the most knowledgeable experts in this field. The cinema comprises carefully selected films and lectures at up-to-date information available in this exciting

FILM:

reveals one society to another may be regarded as an...n. Any film which reveals the texture of human life on as possible: the appearance of a people and their surroundings, their society and their values, is not only a valuable historical but also increases society’s knowledge of the present. There is a shortage of this kind of film material in South Africa. It will suggest some of the strategies and problems involved in film-making.

The need for context. Film: The Nuer (70 min.)
Whole acts. Film: Rivers of Sand (88 min.)
History as it happens. Film: Chulas Fronteras (59 min.)
Backyard Ethnography. Film: Daguerrotypes (76 min.)
The local scene. Film: Bushmen of the Kalahari (50 min.)

OR a selection of local films

CINÉMA-VÉRITÉ

Some people think of cinéma-vérité, or direct cinema, as a modern version of candid camera, that is, recording life as it is lived by means of hand-held cameras and natural sound. It was, interestingly, a film style born out of technological developments and then evolved into a social concept. Largely applicable to documentary film-making, the phrase was coined to describe Jean Rouch and Edgar Morin’s Chronique d’un Été and has since been applied to many films that employed the techniques without necessarily subscribing to the philosophy. The first 2 lectures in this series will explore the idea of cinéma-vérité as it emerged in France, Canada and the United States and the third will discuss possible applications to a relatively recent development, the committed, local-issue advocate.

Lecture One

The observer: The fly-on-the-wall approach
Film: Chiefs (20 min.) or A happy Mother’s Day (26 min.) Running fence (57 min.)

Lecture Two

The catalyst: Acknowledging one’s presence
Film: The moontrap (84 min.)

Lecture Three

The militant: Fighting the good fight
Film: It’s ours whatever they say (39 min.)

NOTE: Additional films related to this course will be screened each afternoon at 5.30 p.m. It is advisable to see as many of these as possible. Fee: 50c per session. The programme will be available in the final Summer School programme.

The organisers may change some of the film material listed above, depending on what is available from abroad.
Nkondo spells out the ‘real struggle’

Staff Reporter C.-T. 10/4/80

The real struggle in South Africa is against capitalism and neo-imperialism and not against apartheid, the suspended president of the Azanian Peoples’ Organization (Azapo), Mr Curtis Nkondo, said yesterday.

"Apartheid is a non-issue," said Mr Nkondo. "Participants in the struggle against apartheid believe that once apartheid is removed, all of us, and blacks in particular, will have attained our freedom, that we will walk day and night without a reference book, and, if they have the money — which, of course they will never have — they will be able to buy a house in Houghton, in Parktown and so on."

Mr Nkondo said that even if apartheid were removed, the struggle between those who owned land and wealth and those who did not — would still exist. There would still be rich people and poor people.

Mr Nkondo, who was addressing University of Cape Town students at a lunchtime meeting yesterday, is chairman of the Soweto Teachers’ Action Committee. He was suspended as president of the Azanian Peoples’ Organization (Azapo) in January this year, after dissension in the party’s leadership ranks.

"What we are working for is an equitable distribution of land and wealth. We want the land to be divided amongst all the people. The land shall belong to those who work it," he said.

Mr Nkondo said this did not threaten the right of whites to live happily in this country. Whites had as much right as anyone to live here. The order would not be changed if white domination and exploitation were to be replaced with black domination.

"We are working for an open society where race, creed and sex will no longer be important issues. Where women will not be discriminated against. Where no one person will have more food than others," he said.

Sapa reports that three senior Azapo officials were questioned and released by the security police at the Protea police headquarters near Johannesberg yesterday.

The officials were the administrative secretary, Mr Sammy Tsokota, and two committee members, Mr Letsatsi Mosala and Mr Manfred Yende.
Even moderate coloureds are turning against the Nats now

The Government's intention wholly to appoint members to what was the Coloured People's Parliament has so angered the coloured community that moderates are being driven into the radical camp.

A broad spectrum of coloured leadership including, significantly, academics who previously removed themselves from purely political questions, have spoken out against the creation of the Coloured Persons Council.

The Government's position — that it scrapped the Coloured Persons Representative Council in response to requests to do so and is creating the CPC as an interim measure — makes no difference.

The denunciations of the CPC, whether as interim or not, by coloured leaders indicates that the Government may have badly misjudged coloured opinion and the mood of the community.

The depth of feeling is most sharply highlighted by the fact that erstwhile moderates and those branded in the past by coloured militants as "sell-outs" and "collaborators" are among those in the forefront of condemnation of the CPC.

It seems that anti-apartheid, anti-government feelings have solidified to the extent that those who were recognised as being ambivalent to government policy appear to be joining the militants.

A host of University of the Western Cape academics, including the Rector, Professor R E van der Ross, have expressed resentment.

Professor Van der Ross, who formed the Coloured Labour Party in 1967 but who later, through his work for the coloured education department and his acceptance of the top post of an "apartheid" university, the University of the Western Cape, came to be seen as a sell-out, has now "come all the way" according to one coloured leader.

Other academics, such as Mr Franklin Sonn, Professor Jakes Gerwel, Mr Jimmy Ellis, and Mr Henry Bredenkamp, all of the UWC, have been regarded by the coloured Left as middle-of-the-road establishment people. They, too, appear to have hardened against the Government because of the CPC.

The leader of the majority Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, said the outspokenness of academics was a symptom of "a change in the coloured community."

"In my recent travels and contacts I have confirmed the view that there is a complete rejection also by moderate people of local standing of the CPC. They say that the only people who serve on the council will be those who do so for their own gain and prestige."

Van der Ross ... has "come all the way" to opposition.

The creation of the by-appointment-only CPC has hardened coloured opposition, reports HUGH LEGGATT.
Indian leader Dr Moola dies at 72

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Dr A M Moola, chairman of the South African Indian Council and one of the country's leading Indian politicians, died at Durban's St Aidan's Hospital early today aged 72.

Dr Moola was admitted to the hospital on Friday after suffering a mild stroke at his Asherville home. His condition improved slightly over the weekend, but he had to be admitted to the intensive-care unit early today after developing respiratory problems.

Well known for his moderate stand in politics, he had led several delegations to South African Prime Minister on matters affecting the Indian community in the country.

Born in Umsindo in 1914, Dr Moola's career in public life began when he held various positions in the Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Organisation, and was president of the South African Indian Organisation for 10 years.
ONE of five restricted Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) leaders, Mr Daniel Dumile Qepe, 51, appeared briefly in the PE magistrate's court on Tuesday on a charge of contravening his banning order.

Outlining his defence, Mr Herbert Fischat, for Mr Qepe, said he denied visiting Uitenhage on March 3, thereby contravening a banning order restricting him to the Port Elizabeth magisterial district.

No evidence was led and the case was postponed until May 7. He is out on warning.

Mr Qepe is a prominent sports administrator and businessman.

The other banned Pebco leaders are Mr Thozamile Botha, Mr Mono Badele, Mr Lizo Pityana and Mr Paulo Tshume.

Mr Qepe and Mr Tshume are reported to be the only ones among them who have been able to continue their work.
ANC men to be freed

THIRTEEN GUERRILLAS of South Africa's African National Congress (ANC) are to be released from jail in Zimbabwe before Independence in 10 days time, a spokesman for the Governor, Lord Soames, has confirmed.

The spokesman was reacting to claims by Mr Archibald Ngeboho, who heads the newly-formed Azanian Independence Movement, who said that enquiries were being made with the Rhodesian Ministry of Justice to discover whether the men would be released and possibly returned to South Africa.

While he was in prison in Khama Jail in Bulawayo two years ago, Mr Ngeboho said, there had been 17 ANC guerrillas incarcerated with him, where three or four of them had died. Some of them had been picked up by Rhodesian security forces as long as 14 years ago, he said.

The spokesman for the governor said the 13 were still in jail, and it was his intention to have them released "almost certainly" before Independence on April 18. — Sapa.
Azapo three quizzed

By KINGDOM LOLWANE

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has condemned the detention of three leaders yesterday.

The three held for questioning for more than four hours, by security police at Protea police station were Mr. Jekisetha Mosala, national organiser; Mr. Samuel Nkomo, general secretary, and Mr. Manfred vendu, Soweto branch executive member.

They were arrested about 9 am and released in their car at Protea.

In a statement, the Azapo publicity secretary, Mr. George Wachoppo, said, "This kind of intimidation of Black Consciousness leadership has gone unchallenged, and so it needs to be confronted in the strongest terms."

"The struggle does not begin and end with Azapo, but will continue for as long as the people are oppressed."

"Azapo challenges the security police to take whatever action they intend taking against the organisations as quickly as possible."

"We want to make sure that we know of any intimidation or harassment that is being commited, especially when we confront the Police on matters for the oppressed."

Mr. Wachoppo said several documents were obtained from police officers and he had the right to challenge them.

The statement ended with the following: "We need the support of the people and the Black Consciousness leaders to continue the struggle."
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The spokesman for the governor said the 13 were still in jail, and it was his intention to have them released “almost certainly” before independence on April 18. — Sapa.
Nkondo calls for 'solidarity with Mandela'

MORE than 350 students at the University of Cape Town yesterday rose — many with fists clenched in the black power salute — when Mr Curtis Nkondo, former chairman of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), asked them to demand the release of Mandela.

The meeting held under the auspices of the UCT SRC, heard Mr Nkondo — with his own fist raised in the black power salute — pledge solidarity on their behalf also with all political prisoners, black and white, and the return of "those in exile to be with us to plan a new, brighter, future for Azania".

The meeting was attended by UCT students and a large number of black students.

Mr Nkondo said throughout the years blacks had "bitterly complained of the unjustifiable odium which has been thrust upon them by the white racist regime".

Mr Nkondo said there were two kinds of liberation.

The first could be likened to the civil rights movement of black Americans — but in the South African context this "deceives and confuses."

It called chiefly for the removal of apartheid — but "I say, no — economic, industrial, technological and other factors will contribute to its removal. Apartheid is a non-issue."

CAPITALISM

The other kind of struggle Mr Nkondo said was, in fact, "the fight against capitalism."

"It seeks the unity of all blacks (Africans, coloureds and Indians) and the acquisition of political power for all blacks in the land of their birth.

"This does not in any manner threaten the right of whites to live happily in this country. It should be obvious to everyone that whites have as much right as anyone else to live," Mr Nkondo said."
JOHANNESBURG — Three senior officials of the Azanian People's Organisation were questioned and released by the Security Police at the Protea police headquarters near here yesterday.

The publicity secretary of the organisation, Mr. George Wauchope, said the officials — Mr. Sammy Tloubatla, who is the administrative secretary, Mr. Letsatla Mosala and Mr. Manfred Yende, both committee members — were held by police yesterday morning.

They were driving to the city when they were stopped. Their car was searched and some documents were allegedly confiscated. They were then asked to drive to Protea.

In a statement released here, Mr. Wauchope said: "This kind of intimidation and provocation of black consciousness leadership has gone unchallenged for so long it needs to be condemned in the strongest terms. "Azapo challenges the Security Police to take whatever action they want to against the organisation, but want to assure them that no form of harassment or intimidation will deter us from our goals, especially when we consider the 1980s as the final decade for our liberation."

An executive member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Mr. Tom Manthato, said:

"Black people will continue to protest against actions taken by the police in an attempt to deprive them of the right to talk."

— SAPA
Azapo meeting to hear how Nkondo suspended

The meeting where Mr Curtis Nkondo was suspended as president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will be recalled at a meeting of the Soweto branch of the organisation this Sunday.

The branch executive reports on the national council meeting that led to Mr Nkondo's suspension at the Swiss Mission in Chiawelo.

The meeting starts at 2 pm.

The suspension in January led to a split in the black consciousness movement when some organisations working closely with Azapo insisted on Mr Nkondo's reinstatement.

The national executive of the organisation has been under pressure to bring their annual congress forward so that the suspension can be reviewed.

At Sunday's meeting a report by a community development sub-committee will also be discussed.

Among the things the sub-committee will report on are increased rents, the Soweto transit camp, and the increase in railway fares.

A seminar on labour, that Azapo is planning, will also be discussed. There will also be discussion on "informal education."
Azapo officials may face prosecution

THE THREE officials of Azapo, who were detained by the Soweto security police on Wednesday may be charged with possession of banned literature, according to the organisation's publicity secretary.

But when POST asked the police directorate of public relations, Brigadier B Grobbelaar, he said he would not comment on "normal police investigations."

The directorate, however, told the afternoon newspaper The Star: "Depending on the seriousness of the crime, the Public Prosecutor or the Attorney-General of the Transvaal may decide to prosecute him (Mr Mosa- la) when investigations have been completed."

POST had earlier sent a telex to the directorate: "We learn that several documents found by police during a search of the car in which three Azapo officials were travelling have been taken by the police.

"Are the three, Mr Le- tsatsi Mosa-la, Mr Sammy Tloubatla and Mr Manfred Yende, likely to face charges relating to these documents?

"Since most Azapo executive members have been questioned by security police, are charges being investigated against Azapo?"

"Mr Tloubatla claims that police told him you report again at Protea next Tuesday. May we know why?"

"For how long were these men held at Protea on Wednesday."

Mr George Wauchope, publicity secretary of Azapo, told POST that the police took some books.
ANC men for Zambia

The Star's Africa
News Service
SALISBURY—Members of
the African National Con-
gress of South Africa will
be sent to Zambia on their
release, a Government
source said here today.
"Zambia has agreed to
have the men. They should
be released fairly soon
now," the source said.
One source is adamant
there are only 12 while a
Ministry of Justice source
insists there are 13 and
the International Red
Cross says there are a lot
more.
The sources agreed they
would be released before
Independence Day, April
18.
They were arrested in
the late 1960s in western
Rhodesia while operating
with a Zipra band.
Buthelezi ready to join PM’s committee

OWN CORRESPONDENT

DURBAN — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is prepared to join Mr. P.W. Botha’s proposed committee of black leaders with the aim of defining black attitudes for change in South Africa.

Speaking at Boksburg’s Vosloorus Stadium today, Chief Buthelezi, president of the Inkatha movement and chairman of the South African Black Alliance, said he had come to the East Rand for a mandate on whether to accept or reject the Prime Minister’s invitation.

Two fundamental questions had to be answered before he could decide, would Mr. Botha’s move enable blacks to act democratically within the national interest, and would such a committee hasten the formation of a national convention, which was necessary for a return to democracy in South Africa.

"Those who adopt a non-co-operative stance towards the Government are living in a fool’s paradise," Chief Buthelezi said.
DURBAN. — The KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday said that Natal was “ideally placed” for a proposed pilot multiracial commission which would consider the political future of the province within the context of one South Africa.

Speaking at the annual KwaZulu Legislative Assembly prayer breakfast in Durban, he said: “We in Natal are in a sense the most cosmopolitan region of South Africa, which is ideal for a pilot project in good human relationships and also for gearing attitudes towards one common destiny for all South Africans.

“I ask for your prayers as I put to the assembly a proposal this month for the appointment of a commission comprising representatives of the white community of Natal, and selected experts of all races, to consider the political future of Natal within the context of one South Africa.”

Chief Buthelezi also asked for prayers for the white community of Natal not to adopt “intransient stances” if and when such a plan was placed before them.

Earlier, welcoming Mr. P. W. Botha’s initiatives, Chief Buthelezi said the Prime Minister’s visits to urban and rural black areas were long overdue.

Chief Buthelezi also reaffirmed black opposition to independent homelands, a stance that he made clear during Mr. Botha’s visit to Ulundi last year.

“It is clear to me, as I have always maintained, that a just solution to our difficulty will involve nothing less than a full part in the Government and decision-making processes of this country and a full place as citizens of this land, for all its people.”

Referring to the political changes in Rhodesia, Chief Buthelezi said his knowledge of the Prime Minister-elect, Mr. Robert Mugabe, encouraged him to expect that under his leadership the country would go from strength to strength.

“Take my assurance that there is nothing to fear about the future of Zimbabwe, so long as our brother Robert Mugabe holds the reins in that land.” — Sepa.
Banned Pebco man now hawks to make a living

Weekend Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Banned black civic leader Mr Thozamile Botha has been forced to become a vegetable hawker to make a living.

This follows official refusal to relax his three-year banning order to allow him to work at his old firm, the Ford Motor Company, as a trainee draughtsman.

Mr Botha, former leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), was banned in February immediately after his release from detention.

TERRORISM

A series of events starting with his becoming chairman of Pebco led to his detention for nearly six weeks under the Terrorism Act and his subsequent restriction.

At the end of last year his resignation from Ford Motor Company sparked off a spate of strikes at the company.

TURN DOWN

Mr Botha resigned because of a clash between his work at Ford and his involvement in Pebco.

The company wanted to take back Mr Botha. But the Chief Magistrate, Mr C B van Zyl, turned down this application for a relaxation of his banning order.

Mr Botha has taught here before going to Ford.

Mrs Eenska Botha said her husband had started two weeks ago to sell fresh vegetables on a pavement in Vepiana.

FOOD

She said so far it had not proved too successful although many people bought because they knew her husband's plight.

Until now they had to rely to a large extent on their in-laws for food, she said.

Her husband had been out of work since October last year. They had a four-year-old child to feed and debts to settle.
Soweto election: Inkatha may stand

By Derrick Thema

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi’s Inkatha movement, whose membership is believed to exceed 300,000, is likely to take part in the Soweto Community Council elections later this year.

Chief Buthelezi said it was necessary to use existing civic organisations to turn the tables against the Government.

“There is no principle involved in participating in such elections and I am for my Soweto branch taking part but then, the final decision will have to come from them,” he said.

The kw'ahlulu Chief Minister also rejected Prime Minister P W Botha’s idea of a constellation of states if it were based on a confederal formula.

REJECTED

“If this is the position, I will not touch it with a bargepole because it will mean opting for independence, which I have vehemently rejected because it will entail the fragmentation of the country,” he said.

He said that although he was prepared to continue talking with the Government, he would not be party to implementing any of the apartheid government’s policies.

Chief Buthelezi, who arrived in Johannesburg today for rallies in Vosloorus tomorrow and Soweto on Sunday, said that he would be speaking on the challenges of the black liberation struggle and the strategies for liberation, 20 years after Sharpeville and five days before Zimbabwe’s independence celebrations.

section, consisting of 5 films and 5 lectures, will be presented by Dr. Freddy Ogerop of the Provincial Museum, one of the most knowledgeable experts in this field.

The cinéma-vérité, or direct cinema, as a modern film which reveals the texture of human life on as the appearance of a people and their surroundings, a quality of their interpersonal relationships, the and their values, is not only a valuable historical us society’s knowledge of the present. There is, of this kind of film material in South Africa, some of the strategies and problems involved in

the need for context. Film: The Nuer (70 min.)

hole acts. Film: Rivers of Sand (88 min)

story as it happens. Film: Chulas Fronteras

9 min.)

ickyard Ethnography. Film: Daguerreotypes

8 min.)

le local scene. Film: Bushmen of the Kalahari

0 min.)

a selection of local films

inéma-vérité, or direct cinema, as a modern that is, recording life as it is lived by means of tural sound. It was, interestingly, a film style developments and then evolved into a social to documentary film-making, the phrase was Roux and Edgar Morin’s Chronique d’un applied to many films that employed the tech-

 observer: The fly-on-the-wall approach

Film: Chiefs (20 min.) or A happy Mother’s Day (26 min.) Running fence (57 min.)

The catalyst: Acknowledging one’s presence

Film: The moontrap (84 min.)

Lecture Two

The militant: Fighting the good fight

Film: It’s ours whatever they say (39 min.)

Lecture Three

NOTE: Additional films related to this course will be screened each afternoon at 5.30 p.m. It is advisable to see as many of these as possible. Fee: 50c per session. The programme will be available in the final Summer School programme.

The organisers may change some of the film material listed above, depending on what is available from abroad.
Bid to heal black feud

Tribune Reporter

Dr. Nithato Molana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, would like to see an end to the exchange of insults between himself and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. "I regret having used the word 'traitor' about Chief Buthelezi. At the time I tried to have my remarks withheld from print but this was impossible."

Dr. Molana said he understood from private sources that the KwaZulu leader was also anxious to 'purify the atmosphere between us'.

"There are fundamental differences between us but this does not mean it is necessary to use such words."

Relations between the leaders reached perhaps their lowest point in October last year when Dr. Molana called Chief Buthelezi a traitor at a public meeting, provoking a series of angry retorts from the chief and other officials of Inkatha, the Zulu cultural liberation movement.

Dr. Molana was rebuking Chief Buthelezi for a speech in which he said that Inkatha had strengthened its ties with the banned African National Congress.

In turn Dr. Molana was called a "political baby," and opportunist seeking personal prominence on the backs of suffering blacks and over bodies of dead children, and was accused of despising workers and peasants.

Asked if the easing of tension meant the two black leaders might meet, Dr. Molana said no meeting was planned.

"First the atmosphere between us must be purified. This can only be done if we desist from insulting each other. Those who oppose the Government should not be seen to be fighting each other."

Meanwhile, Chief Buthelezi said in Durban this week that there was nothing to fear about Zimbabwe's future so long as Prime Minister Robert Mugabe held the reins there.

Speaking at the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly's annual prayer breakfast, the Inkatha leader cautioned his audience against being misled by cynics to whom the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe meant only violence, pillage and suffering.

"True enough, these tragic happenings have been the price paid in Zimbabwe which we in this country can avoid paying, not by intransigence, but by doing what is right in the eyes of God and man at the right time."

"To avoid these problems and reach a proper black-majority government and stable conditions in Zimbabwe, we need a different approach. The situation which we face today is creating an atmosphere that could lead to an explosion. The world must look to the day when we will be able to sort out our problems and put an end to the bloodshed and suffering."

"We must face up to this challenge—everyone, from the head of state down to the unemployed, to the poor and to the rich, to the powerful and to the weak. We must all work together to build a better future for our children."

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The value of this goal will be realized when the country's economy is stable and prosperous. It is not enough to just say we want peace; we must do something about it. The government must provide jobs and housing for all citizens. The schools must be improved and the health care system must function properly.

"We must also ensure that education is available to everyone, regardless of race or colour. It is only through education that we can truly address the challenges facing our society."

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The struggle against apartheid has not ended. It continues today, as we work towards a better future for all South Africans. The government must continue to listen to the people and act on their concerns. Only then can we truly achieve peace and prosperity for all.

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The text is a mix of English and Afrikaans. It appears to be a newspaper article discussing political issues and relations between leaders. The article mentions the desire for a peaceful resolution and the challenges ahead in achieving that goal.
We smashed the Great Nat Dream — Buthelezi

Tribune Reporter

The National Party no longer believes in its vision of apartheid, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday.

"It has abandoned that belief."

Even if it tries to persist in its apartheid ways, the end of the Afrikaner is having to face the dilemma of change or die.

"That is not our dilemma. We don't envisage change because of change. We can only die for change."

The Inkatha leader was addressing a rally at Boksburg's Vosloorus Stadium.

He said Pretoria's dream of a constellation of independent homelands, being satellites to a powerful white-only economy was already destroyed.

"It is no longer possible; it is finished."

Inkatha was a living symbol of the fact that blacks could hold each other's hands in solidarity despite harassment and persecution. It was an indestructible element of the South African political scene.

It had defeated the Verwoerdian dreams of independent homelands.

Chief Buthelezi said the people faced the "stark reality" of joining either the armed struggle or the political struggle.

"If you struggle in this country, your duty is to join the democratic struggle which wages a political war which will ensure victory."

He said he was disgusted with the tendency among some blacks and many white liberals to exclude the black man's will to fight a democratic battle by landing the cause of violence.

The struggle for liberation in South Africa was as much a struggle to liberate blacks.

"Whether whites like it or not, they are going to be saved by us. Our responsibility is to establish the standards of civilization in South Africa. White political backwardness has failed dismally."

Logistically, the reconstruction of South Africa was impossible without whites.

"Logically taken a step further doesn't that you can just simply forget about strengthening the white government militarily and driving them into the sea."

"Such attempts can only create a terrible wasteland of human stupidity and hate about a new stance for the rest of mankind."
Each of these men plays a part

SIR — We blacks should by now have learnt the lesson that our unity as oppressed people is of vital importance for any move we may aspire to take in the pursuance of the struggle for liberation.

By now we should have understood what it is that brings about unity, and how to bring about that unity.

I am referring in all this to a report, where it was reported that a Wasa representative said at Mngqaci’s funeral: “We know who our leaders are and where they are. The Matanzimas, the Buthelezis, the Thebehalis are not our true leaders.”

Can we now say that the Wasa representative had fairly considered what his statement would do to black unity? If he did, does he love unity? Has he fairly weighed the implications of his statement as regards black unity?

I do not think he had, because to talk about Matanzima now in terms of the South African liberation struggle is very much irrelevant. Matanzima endorsed himself out of South African politics on October 26, 1976, of his own volition.

No sane South African can tell us about Matanzima now when he discusses South African black leadership. In much the same way no South African in his sober senses can confuse the role of Mr Thebehali in Soweto with that of the liberation movement’s leadership.

Mr T is “Mayor” of Soweto. He never called himself a nationalist leader. To confuse a mayor of a city or town with the leader of a political party is typical of people who fight for political one-upmanship, and people who are only bent on name calling for their own political eminence.

The statement that Buthelezi is not a true leader tampers with black unity in the liberation struggle. To fail to draw a line between Matanzima’s role and Buthelezi’s role is a deliberate divisive play.

If you oppose him (Buthelezi), well that is your right to do so much as it is my right to do so with him.

The fact that you do not recognise him as your leader does not mean that other people do not regard him as a true leader.

That you wish he has no following does not necessarily mean that his following vanishes with your wishes. It is under these circumstances that I see the role of that Wasa representative as only to lay a foundation of hatred between brothers.

We, followers of Buthelezi, do not hate Wasa, neither do we want to. But Wasa is forcing us to hate them. Wasa should not appoint leaders for us, but they must respect our own choice and our right to elect our own leaders.

If Wasa has people who have become darlings in their circles, whom they think must be our darlings also, they are very much mistaken.

In the name of unity, let us stop this dirty game. In the name of the struggle for liberation, let Wasa behave responsibly.

K M ZONDL

Fort Hare.
Promises, promises - but still no action from Govt

By PHIL MTIMKULU

BLACKS do not take seriously the promises made last year by Cabinet Ministers about moving away from discrimination, but nevertheless keenly followed the parliamentary session.

It has always been argued that once an announcement by a Cabinet Minister is not followed by a Bill passed in Parliament, nothing will come of it. This is the reason why blacks who take an interest in Parliament followed the current session which will reconvene this week after adjourning for the Easter holidays.

Dr Nthato Motlanu, chairman of the Committee of Ten, was not optimistic that something good would come of the current parliamentary session.

He said the duty of the National Party was to safeguard the interests of the whites and this they were doing faithfully. He said he was not surprised by the Prime Minister in the no-confidence debate.

With the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, showing the way, the Nationalists attacked some aspects of separate development. Dr Koornhof was even bold enough to declare that apartheid was dead, while Mr P W Botha was critical of the in fact, fulfilled a promise.

So far there has been no indication from Parliament that the Government intends to act boldly. The euphoria which followed the announcements has now been overtaken by despair – even by those who are optimistic of the Government's good intentions.

On the other hand, a Squatters Prevention Bill was pushed through. The Bill empowers the Government to force local authorities to demolish squatter shacks outside their areas of jurisdiction and on private ground by arbitrarily extending their areas of jurisdiction.

A parliamentary correspondent, writing about the Prime Minister's speech, said perhaps the lesson was that a Nationalist Prime Minister remained a Nationalist Prime Minister whatever the demands of the situation and whatever he personally felt.

This goes for all Nationalist Party MPs – and particularly for Dr Koornhof who was forced to withdraw the experimental scrapping of the 72-hour influx control regulation.

LEARNING POST

The men behind the slave trade
Gatsha says ANC achieved little

SOWETO — Twenty years of armed struggle by the African National Congress had achieved little and had not set the stage for the sudden overthrow of the South African Government in the next decade, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Addressing a huge crowd, the Inkatha president urged blacks to adopt a multi-faceted strategy to bring concerted political pressure to bear to force the authorities to hold a national convention.

He disclosed that an attempt had been made two years ago to dissuade him from getting involved in the “democratic struggle at home” on the grounds it detracted from the ANC’s armed struggle.

“I remember refusing aid which Inkatha was promised if it recognised that position. When we see the infiltrations of the Security Branch in those very circles, I thank God that I stood firm and refused assistance on those terms,” he said.

Political institutions, including homeland and legislative assemblies and township community councils, should be used at both regional and local level in the multi-strategy campaign, he said.

Blacks had potential power as workers and consumers. The economy was dependent on black workers and black consumers had the ability to destroy vast companies.

“These are strategies we as blacks have not yet employed. They are viable strategies which will get the liberation struggle off the ground if one gets rid of the infighting within the black leadership.”

“Those who give an exclusive heroism to people involved in violence are more than stupid. They are treacherous. What is more, they are moral cowards.”

He said he wondered whether those engaged in the campaign to free ANC leader Nelson Mandela were sincere.

“Unqualified leadership support, not because some newspapers say so,” he said.

— DDC-SAPA.
Azapo's Soweto branch endorses Nkondo suspension

By LEN KALANE

The Soweto branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has endorsed the suspension of Mr Curtis Nkondo as president of the organisation.

Mr Nkondo was suspended as president of Azapo in January by his national council for allegedly violating policy and protocol.

About 50 members of the organisation heard yesterday at a meeting at the Swiss Mission in Chiawelo of the events that led to Mr Nkondo's suspension.

The meeting unanimously endorsed the suspension. The meeting resolved the suspension was legitimate and constitutional.

A motion was also passed at the meeting to have Azapo start labour committees. These committees will look into the problems of workers.

The committees will hold labour seminars, conduct clinics, study the economic situation, the Rieker and Wielhalm Commission reports. They will also study the Manpower Utilisation Commission results.

Azapo will also involve itself in sport and recognise the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) as a relevant body.

In education, Azapo will forge relations with Transvaal United African Teachers' Association (Tuata). A committee will investigate the present education structure.

The Soweto branch introduced membership cards for a fee of R2.00 for adults and R1.00 for scholars. A report on the progress of sub-branches was also detailed at the meeting.

The sub-branches are: Jabulani (chairman, S Mncwango), Chiawelo (chairman, Richard Skole), Mofolo (chairman, Mr Thabo Ndabeni), Killiecrankie (chairman, Mr Tebogo Magometsane), Rockville (chairman, S Yende).
By KINGDOM LOLWANE

AN estimated crowd of 15 000 yesterday told the Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, not to serve on Premier Botha's committee to draw up a “declaration of intent” on the political future.

The crowd at the Jabulani Amphitheatre in Soweto roared its disapproval when he asked if he should serve on the committee or not.

The rally was also attended by representatives of the Labour Party — a member of the Black Alliance — including its new Transvaal leader, Mr Sam Solomon.

It was the end of Chief Buthelezi’s two-day visit to the Reef. On Saturday he addressed a crowd of about 6 000 in Boksburg.

“I have come to you for a mandate,” Chief Buthelezi said. “You as a community have a God-given right to say yes or no to Mr Botha.

“I told Mr Botha that I could not agree to serve on his committee to draw up a statement of intent before I consulted you. Mr Botha wanted to use that statement of intent to author the future in your name,” Chief Buthelezi added.

He said he felt it an honour to be rejected by newspapers. There was speculation which received good coverage in newspapers — both locally and internationally — that Mr Robert Mugabe would lose the elections in Zimbabwe. But this speculation was proved incorrect.

Referring to the Writers Association of South Africa he said they were not his enemy.

“If they were my enemy then they would be the enemy of the people. They should not destroy black solidarity.

“Azapo and other black movements are my brothers since we are faced by a common enemy — Pretoria,” he said.

On the Free Mandela Campaign, Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela should be released on the pronouncement of people and not newspapers.

On his arrival in Soweto yesterday morning, Chief Buthelezi attended a church service at the Holy Cross Anglican Church in Orlando West.

With him was Inkatha’s Publicity Secretary, Mr Gibson Thula, Mrs Rheina Steinweck — a member of one of Holland’s political parties — and other Inkatha representatives.

He later visited the Dube Memorial Chapel at the invitation of the caretaker, Mr Frans Khoti who is also a Soweto councillor.

At the Chapel Mr Khoti pledged solidarity with Inkatha and later announced that he was joining the movement.
Black power will win, says Buthelezi

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The strength of the South African army did not concern him, because it could not inhibit the growth of black power, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, told more than 18,000 supporters in Soweto yesterday.

He was speaking at the Jabulani amphitheatre, the venue for his annual Inkatha rallies.

He said the army would never prevail against black power, which in the end would achieve victory.

"It does not ultimately matter what the white man does, because victory is ours. Ours is the responsibility of exercising power, not groping for it as though we did not have power."

"Black power is in our hands, and all that remains is for us to employ it. We will only employ it if the fratricidal strikes cease forthwith at leadership level."

NOT THE MASSES

Chief Buthelezi said it was not the masses who made the whites hang but people bent on positions of eminence among the leadership.

"Those who present white terror as necessitating violent action, and violent action only, insult you and the crucial role you have to play in reconstructing South Africa."

The ordinary people carried the yoke and burden that had made the final implementation of apartheid impossible.

"Mr Botha's dream of a constellation of states is a non-starter if he does not start by abandoning apartheid. No black state worth its salt can soil its hands with any relationship with Mr Botha's constellation if apartheid remains South Africa's policy," Chief Buthelezi said.

"I believe the time will come when civic action will be joined with labour action and consumer-group action to produce a viable political front which will in the end dictate events and bring South Africa to a point where there is no recourse but to hold a national convention and discuss formulae for power-sharing."

Chief Buthelezi denied a report in a Sunday newspaper that he would serve on a committee envisaged by the Prime Minister as the basis of a constellation of states.

The crowd roared 'No!' when he asked if he should serve on it.
Azapo pass worker motion

SOWETO. — The Azania People's Organization yesterday passed a motion that the organization launch a labour committee to take care of all workers' problems.

The Azapo branch meeting was held at the Swiss mission church in Chiawelo here yesterday. The organization elected a five-person committee on labour to study the economic situation and the reports of the Riekerl and Wibahn commissions.

The labour committee would also organize labour seminars and conduct clinics in Soweto.

The Soweto branch chairman, Mr O Molefe, told the meeting that the Azapo council's last meeting noted that immediately after the 1976 disturbances, many Soweto parents registered their children at white schools. — Sapa
Buthelezi: No survival in Africa with apartheid

SOWETO. — South African whites could not survive in Africa if they continued with their apartheid policies, the KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday.

Speaking at a prayer meeting at Jabulani Amphitheatre, Chief Buthelezi told about 12,000 people that for the white man to safeguard his survival in this part of Africa, he would have to agree to talks with the black population at a national convention.

"The white man is terribly concerned about his survival. The world at large, neighbouring States and Africa are necessary for white South Africa. South Africa cannot have increasing access to Southern Africa and the world if its persists in its apartheid policy."

Chief Buthelezi said the Prime Minister's "dream" of a constellation of States was a "non-starter" if Mr Botha did not start by abandoning apartheid.

Referring to methods of the "liberation struggle" in South Africa, Chief Buthelezi said there were two options open. One was to "join the armed struggle" and the other was to remain and fight "a democratic battle". Those who criticized him for "operating within the system" were free to cross the borders and join the armed struggle.

Referring to the campaign to free the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, who is serving a life sentence, Chief Buthelezi said he wondered whether those engaged in the campaign were sincere in their efforts. His doubts stemmed from the "cavalier fashion" in which the campaign was conducted.

He said he was the first person to ask the former Prime Minister, Mr B J Vorster, that Mandela be released. He would continue to do this through available channels. — Sapa
Buthelezi plan
'capitulation'

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's strategy for the black liberation struggle was described as "capitulation" today by Committee of 10 member Mr Tom Manthata.

Mr Manthata was reacting to the Inkatha president's weekend call on blacks to use homeland assemblies and community councils as part of a multi-faceted strategy in the struggle for liberation.

Chief Buthelezi had said nothing creative and constructive about the need for change or the liberation struggle, said Mr Manthata.

The Inkatha president, who is also Chief Minister of kwazulu, had not brought about any changes in his homeland, apart from the negative one of getting homeland citizen certificates issued to people in kwazulu.

Resettlements and re-movements were taking place in kwazulu just as they were elsewhere in the country, said Mr Manthata.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said he agreed with Chief Buthelezi's argument that the strategy should be a multi-faceted one. He said there was no single way in which the necessary fundamental change could be brought about in South Africa.
Power—Butchering Growth of black Army won't stop
Azapo confirms Nkondo decision

Staff Reporter

THE Soweto branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) yesterday endorsed its national council's decision in January to suspend national president, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

The report-back meeting was held at the Swiss Mission Church in Chinwelo.

Mr Nkondo was suspended by council in Hammarskraal, four months after his unanimous election as president, for violating its policy and principles and for not respecting protocol.

The shoddy suspension caused an outcry from leading black consciousness organisations, which had working relations with Azapo, and led to intensive behind-closed-doors meetings and the demand by several organisations for the immediate and unconditional reinstatement of Mr Nkondo.

Some of the alleged "violations" included:
- Violating a resolution he had initiated at an Azapo congress to the effect that statements should only be made to members of the Writers' Association of South Africa (Wasla) - which represents most black journalists.
- Meeting a visiting U.S. Senator when Azapo policy was not to talk to officials of the "Western Five" countries because of their involvement in Africa.
- Making statements without reference to at least one other executive member.

The council report by Mr Popo Molefe, chairman, was adopted and the branch supported the decision to suspend Mr Nkondo as legitimate and constitutional.

The meeting also supported a council decision that the national congress to be held in September as scheduled, and not be brought forward, as had been proposed in certain quarters.
Gatsha call for political 'onslaught' 

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Deputy Political Editor

TWENTY years of armed struggle by the African National Congress had achieved little and had not set the stage for the sudden overthrow of the Government in the next decade, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said in Soweto yesterday.

Addressing a huge crowd in the Jabulani Amphitheatre, the Inkatha president urged blacks to adopt a multi-faceted strategy to mount concerted political pressure to force the authorities to hold a national convention.

He disclosed that an attempt had been made two years ago to dissuade him from getting involved in the "democratic struggle at home" on the grounds that it detracted from the ANC's armed struggle.

"I remember refusing aid which Inkatha was promised if it recognised that position... When I see the infiltrations of the Security Branch in those very circles, I thank God that I stood firm and refused assistance on those terms."

Political institutions, including homeland legislative assemblies and township community councils, should be used in the multi-strategy campaign.

"I believe that local administration and regional administration are political fronts where blacks can participate with profit. Referring to the Soweto Council, Chief Buthelezi said: "Those who are not in favour of involvement have their democratic right to campaign against it. But once Sowetans have established a representative council, it must be an accepted front in the black struggle for liberation."

At a rally at Vosloorus on Saturday, he said: "We are not afraid of going into battle on fronts chosen by our enemies..."

Blacks, he added, already had potential power as workers and consumers; the economy was dependent on black workers, and black consumers had the ability to destroy vast companies.

"These are strategies we as blacks have not yet employed. They are viable strategies which will get the liberation struggle off the ground if one gets rid of the infighting within the black leadership."

On the failure of armed struggle in the 20 years since the Sharpeville shootings and the banning of the ANC, Chief Buthelezi said:

"No-one should misread my analysis as condemnation of the ANC as such."

He listed two pre-conditions for the success of armed struggle: "An enemy regime plagued by deep-rooted internal problems" and "a set of logistic and geographical circumstances which allowed armed struggle to operate from bases within the country."

Neither applied in South Africa, said Chief Buthelezi. But he did not "quarrel with those who fall compelled to wage armed struggle - only with those who advocated it to the exclusion of what he termed the "democratic opposition" within South Africa."
Street named after Mahlangu

PARIS — A French industrial town, Amiens has named one of its streets after executed South African nationalist Solomon Mahlangu amid further calls to end links between France and South Africa. Lamps inaugurated the street at the weekend, describing the gesture as a way "through Solomon Mahlangu" of honouring the entire South African people.

He said: "The struggle against racism is part of our municipalities' main preoccupations."

The christening of the street was welcomed by a former prisoner of South Africa, Alexander Moumbaris, who escaped from Pretoria Central prison last December, after seven years imprisonment.

Mr Moumbaris recalled that after Mahlangu's execution on April 6, 1979, others had taken up the struggle, such as James Mange, now under sentence of death in South Africa.

Amiens MP Maxime Gremetz used the street-naming ceremony to denounce continued French links with Pretoria, calling for an end to them in all fields, including economics and sport.
Azapo plans links with TAC, not Tuata

IN yesterday's POST it was wrongly reported that the Soweto branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) was to forge links with the Transvaal United African Teachers' Association.

Azapo is to seek links with the Teachers' Action Committee, whose chairman is Mr Curtis Nkondo, the suspended Azapo president.
May says he will not quit

Indaba Reporter

PORT ELIZABETH — Mr Wilberforce May, the expelled foundation member of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco) and general secretary of the Zwede Residents Association, told Indaba he would not resign from Pebco.

He said he had been expelled because he told Pebco officials they were failing to call meetings in that it was the parent body’s duty to take over the Zwede rents case instead of promising to offer financial backing if the Zwede Association took the matter to court.

He said he had also clashed with Pebco officials when he heard that they had gone to the Zwede Township superintendent. By doing this they had violated the Pebco policy of non-negotiation, Mr May said.

“I told them the rents issue was out of the hands of township superintendents and was at the level of the chief director of the East Cape Administration Board (ECAB) and the Minister of Co-operation and Development,” he said.

The Pebco president, Mr Wilson Skosana, said Mr May had caused dissenion among Pebco and Zwede Residents Association members.

“The decision to expel him was taken at a full Pebco executive meeting in New Brighton last week where he undermined my association’s officials”, he said.

I am not prepared to open any dialogue with Mr May. As far as I am concerned this matter is closed.”

The chairman of Zwede Resident’s Association, Mr L. Duze said “Mr May is wrong if he thinks I went to negotiate with board officials.

“There is a difference between negotiating and demanding to know. How is ECAB going to calculate pensioners and the unemployed?”

that excess of the marginal product over his shore catch for the right to fish on board. Competition for the right to fish on board would bid up the offers to transfer essentially all that excess to owners of the boat. When five people are on board, the marginal product on the boat equals the marginal product on shore. The gain, obtained by the owner, is the shaded area out to where the two marginal products are equal.

The total payment to the owner is at a maximum when the number of fishermen on board gives a marginal catch on board just equal to the marginal catch on shore.

If six had been on board, the marginal on-board catch would be two, but four fish from shore are sacrificed with a net social loss of two fish. The fee from each would be at most 2 (= 6 − 4), the per capita average on board minus what could be caught on shore. That difference—the fee he could charge—from six people is 12 (= 6 × 2), and is less than the 14 with four (or five) people on board. So the boat owner would refuse six on board. Under the present private-property arrangements, five at most are allowed aboard; the community catch of fish is maximized, with all the gain going to the boat owner by people’s competitive bidding to get on board. The social total is 40′4 fish. (Remember there are 1000 people fishing, either from shore [995] or on board [5].)

What is pertinent in this example is that five fishermen on board is the number that maximizes the social total. That is achievable only if: (a) someone has the right to determine how the boat
PRETORIA — Nine self-confessed members of the banned African National Congress appeared briefly in the magistrate's court here yesterday on charges of treason, murder, attempted murder and participation in terrorist activities.

All the men pleaded not guilty.

Two charges of murder and 21 of attempted murder relate to the siege at the Volkskas Bank at Silverton on January 25 where two women were killed and 21 people held hostage. — SAPA.

Full details, page 14.
Buthelezi’s bold gamble

IT IS DOUBTFUL whether many whites realise how bold Chief Gatshe Buthelezi has been in committing his Inkatha movement to challenging the controversial community council system. It is a step whereby he puts himself on the line in terms of black politics — and at the same time challenges the Government more directly than it has ever been before to permit rapid and meaningful change to take place through the established political system.

Chief Buthelezi has touched the core issue of black politics with this action. The division which is cleaving the black community with great emotional intensity these days is between the pragmatists, who believe in trying to work through the existing political system for peaceful change, and the radicals who denounce this.

The radicals argue that such efforts are not only worthless but actually supportive of the Government by lending false credibility to the system. Though they do not say so openly, they presumably believe that violent struggle is the only way. And in this they have received a psychological boost from Mr Robert Mugabe’s victory in Rhodesia and the annihilation of Bishop Muzorewa.

Against this Chief Buthelezi presents an argument which is impeccable in its logic. White South Africa is too powerful, he says, for armed struggle to succeed here as it did in Rhodesia: in the 20 years since it adopted a strategy of violence the ANC has achieved little. Peaceful methods stand a better chance: blacks have not yet exhausted the means at their disposal, such as using their worker and consumer power. In any case, he adds, a multi-faceted strategy makes more sense than a one-dimensional struggle.

But whatever the logic, this is a highly emotional dispute. Inkatha’s entry into the community council system, especially in Soweto, is likely to polarise the black community more heatedly than ever. The struggle for the hearts and minds of the black masses will intensify.

The point about it all is that if Inkatha enters this controversial system and fails to deliver meaningful change — if Government hesitancy and bureaucratic obduracy make that impossible — then the radical argument will gain credibility in black eyes. Chief Buthelezi will be discredited, and the whole cause of black pragmatism with him.

Chief Buthelezi’s gamble, of course, is that the Government must realise this. He offers them the opportunity to give real credibility to their system and to their promises of change — with the knowledge that if they fail they will kill the cause of moderation and play into the hands of the extremists.

That becomes a huge new pressure which Chief Buthelezi has shrewdly placed upon Mr P W Botha and his Government.

Cruelty to the aged

ONCE again public attention has been riveted on a single individual in the that long, shuffling queue of black pensioners.

The particular pensioner, Mrs Eliza Molefe, is queuing to no purpose. Her pay card has been lost, and the Commissioner of Community Development says it will be difficult to find it. Mrs Molefe has now gone unpaid since last July.

The family whose sub-tenant she is, has let her off paying her rent. That is what the township poor are doing about her problem. It is less clear what the authorities are doing. They say there are 88,000 cards to be sorted, so they seem more concerned with the administrative difficulty she poses than with her not being paid.

But then it is the pensioners, old and ill, who must get to the payout points, who must queue from before dawn if they are not to be disappointed. One payout was halted because of heavy rain, leaving the pensioners rain-soaked, empty-handed, and forced to drag their aged bones back the next week.

The Black Sash, who have been investigating the administration of black pensions, will convey their findings to Dr Koornhof. Will he, can he, do anything?
ANC's plan to recruit white soldiers

THE ASSEMBLY. — The coming to power of previously unlawful organisations in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola had created an atmosphere in South Africa which strengthened the activities of undermining and revolutionary elements, the Strydom Commission reported.

The moving of key personnel of the banned South African National Congress to Maputo had heralded increased infiltration into South Africa and action against selected targets in the country such as the bank raid in Silverton. Terrorist activities sought to achieve the maximum psychological effect.

For that purpose terrorism relied heavily on the deliberate and non-deliberate support of the mass media.

Terrorism aimed at destroying the democratic political process and, to achieve its aim, terrorism misused democratic institutions.

In the South African situation, the media had a heavy responsibility to ensure that through their news coverage of terrorist incidents they did not promote terror and revolution.

Describing the role of the ANC in the South Africa conflict situation, the commission said the movement saw itself as the only true “liberation movement” in South Africa. It was supported in that view by several foreign pressure groups:

Mr Joe Slovo, a key figure in the revolutionary council of the ANC and the South African Communist party, had recently sent a number of youths back to South Africa with the instruction that it was not merely enough to die for the revolution: they also had to kill for the revolution.

One of the ANC-SACP’s major supporting organisations was the International University Exchange Fund which openly sided terrorist movements in SWA/Namibia and South Africa.

The IUEF also provided financial aid to organisations inside South Africa on the approval of the ANC.

The banned Black Peoples’ Convention and the South African Students’ Organisation received aid from the IUEF to seduce people to Nigeria for military training.

Membership of the ANC was not limited to blacks, it also had a number of white members in South Africa.

The ANC recently issued an instruction that fully-trained white National Servicemen should be canvassed for membership of the ANC.

It had also ordered its members to infiltrate the Southern Cross Fund and succeeded in infiltrating the International Red Cross.

Through the IUEF contributions were made to the Committee for South African War Resistance which had as its objective to exhort South African youths to evade military training. — Sapa.
ANC's plan to recruit white soldiers

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Black nationalism 'is underplayed'

THE ASSEMBLY. — Black nationalism was often underplayed in South African politics, the commission report said.

Political thinking among non-whites ranged from that which found expression in the existing framework to outspoken black nationalism and the more radical "majoritists."

The radicals canvassed support from young black radical "students" and strove to promote black nationalism and black consciousness for the radical cause.

"Black nationalism is a factor which is often underplayed in South African politics.

It could be expected that the forces of nationalism would seek aid from any foreign source to promote their political aims unless an acceptable political solution was offered.

The commission reported that the policy statements of Rhodesian Prime Minister designate Mr Robert Mugabe about South Africa seemed promising at first glance.

"But a period of consolidation will now follow and his policy directions would crystallise only after that." — Sapa.
‘Guilt no reason for chopping off heads’

Political Staff

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. — The Nationalist Minister of Justice in 1948 and South Africa’s first State President, Mr C R Swart, said a man’s head could simply not be chopped off because he was guilty of high treason.

He made this statement on September 9, 1948 when justifying his Government’s decision to grant pardon to political prisoners sentenced during the Second World War.

Yesterday his words were recalled by the Leader of the Opposition, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, when he replied to the Minister of Justice, Mr Louis le Grange, who had attacked the “Free Mandela” campaign.

Mr Swart, replying to Opposition criticisms about the Government’s decision to release Robey Leibrandt, who had been convicted of high treason and who was under sentence of death, said then: “We have two races in the country and things have happened which stirred up bad blood, and which caused us to take the field against each other.

“Always afterwards, the position that mercy had to be shown was that things had to be done in order to calm down feelings, and it was done.

“Example which we have always reminded of is that of Dr Jameson and the raid into the Transvaal in 1896. Is there anyone in South Africa who regrets that mercy was shown to him?”

“Did President Kruger not put a wonderful example to South Africa that we should not bear any hatred towards each other? Did he not set the example that we should not at the first opportunity chop each other’s heads off?”

“In the war of 1899-1902 there was a rebellion. No one less than the Hon Leader of the Opposition (then General Jan Smuts) crossed the borders of the Cape Province and induced people to commit high treason. He persuaded them to commit high treason against their Government and their Queen. Does anyone blame him for that today?”

“The war of 1914-1918 was also high treason in South Africa. Men took the field with arms and there were fights between them.

“After the war and during that war, those men were convicted of high treason and put into jail.

“Subsequently, those men who had been convicted of high treason sat with the present Prime Minister on these benches — sat with him in the same Cabinet. Did he and his Government regret that they had shown mercy?”

“One of those men who had been found guilty of high treason was appointed by the Hon Leader of the Opposition and his Government to act as administrator of the Transvaal.

“I mention these things to show that in our country one cannot so lightly shout that a man’s head should be chopped off because he is guilty of high treason,” Mr Swart said.

Continuing his speech, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said that today, peace in South Africa depended on negotiation between whites and the true leaders of other population groups.

“The most important thing is for us to find a constitutional dispensation acceptable to all the people in South Africa.

Dr Slabbert said it was the Government’s responsibility to determine the extent of Mandela’s representative leadership.

South Africa faced the dilemma of survival politics and the campaign to release the convicted ANC leader had nothing to do with the Progressive Federal Party. Any member taking part in the campaign did so in a personal capacity, Dr Slabbert said.

Differences of opinion existed within the party on the issue, but those had been discussed openly and the PFP was not maintaining a merely cosmetic unity, as had been alleged, because the matter did not involve any fundamental principles.

“The PFP has never said, nor has any of its members said, that Mandela is the only black leader of importance in South Africa. There are numerous truly representative black leaders and they must be found.

“It is possible that Mandela is one of the most important and we should discuss our eyes to this.”

“The possibility of effecting peaceful change would be diminished if truly representative black leaders were ignored.

Dr Slabbert noted that it was general international practice to review cases of political detainees from time to time and to release political prisoners.

A judicial commission could be appointed to review such cases, in South Africa, and he believed that Mandela should not be singled out.

He then turned again to the ‘Tact’ that the National Party had itself released from prison people convicted of treason in an effort to effect a climate of reconciliation between divided white South Africans.

More recently, the South African Government, through the Administrator-General of SWA, had offered total amnesty to any Swapo leaders who laid down their arms and had also encouraged the release of Mr Joshua Nkomo, the Rev Njabingi Sithole and Mr Robert Mugabe from detention in Rhodesia to negotiate that country’s future with its white Government.

The steps had been taken to try to de-escalate violence in SWA and Rhodesia and while South Africa differed from those countries, it also was fighting terrorism and had political detainees.

“This Government has encouraged the involvement of the two to involve communists in negotiations. I say we must find ways for peaceful negotiation towards a dispensation acceptable to all our people.”

South Africa was involved in a struggle for survival and the PFP was committed to holding a national convention of all representative leaders who rejected violence.

If the Government found that Mandela represented a majority of blacks, it should ascertain whether he was prepared to reject violence.

Dr Slabbert rejected ‘with contempt’ a suggestion that his party supported terrorism. By releasing Mandela or other political prisoners, the Government would not necessarily indicate support of communism, but rather an intention to end violence.

South Africa should not look to the police to solve the problems of terrorism on their own.

“The Defence Force tells us the solution to terrorism is 80% political.”

Parliament should enter into a debate of survival. It should take a realistic look at the situation and consider methods to prevent the country from being caught up in violence such as had happened in Rhodesia.

The most outstanding symbol of constitutional bankruptcy was the new Coloured Persons Council.

The disbanded Coloured Persons’ Representative Council had failed because the Government wanted to negotiate with coloured leaders on its own preconditions. If those conditions proved unacceptable to other leaders, ‘then we will decide whom we will talk’.

Such a recipe led to conflict.

The PFP would not deviate from its standpoint that peaceful constitutional development depended on negotiations between whites and the representative leaders of other groups.

Dr Slabbert said
Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — It was the responsibility of the Government to determine the nature and extent of the leadership of Nelson Mandela, the former ANC leader, the leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Dr Slabbert was replying to a speech by the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, during the second reading debate on the Budget in which he criticised Dr Slabbert for his stand on the campaign to release Mandela.

Dr Slabbert’s speech was frequently interrupted by a barrage of interjections and he had to resume his seat on several occasions as the Speaker appealed to the House to allow him a hearing.

DIFFERENCES

Mr Le Grange ruled out the possibility of the Government releasing Mandela saying he was a communist who had not changed his views and was still in contact with the ANC and other subversive organisations.

Dr Slabbert said the voice of the结构调整s should be heard; you cannot have your cake and eat it too.

Government is adamant over Mandela

Political Staff

THE ASSEMBLY — The Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, yesterday rejected all pleas for the release of Nelson Mandela from his imprisonment on Robben Island and said he would have to serve his sentence.

Speaking in the Budget debate, the Minister said the Government’s attitude to campaigns for Mandela’s release was clear and could be stated in a single word — no.

Mr Le Grange said that since Mandela’s imprisonment there had been no indication that he had changed his views.

Mandela was still a communist and he was still in contact with the African National Congress and other banned anti-South African organisations.

Mr Le Grange accused members of the Opposition of siding with enemies of South Africa in seeking Mandela’s release.

He also rejected the idea of a national convention at which black leaders such as Mandela could participate in working out a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

Denouncing Mandela, the Minister said the impression was being created that Mandela was a man who stood for peace and order.

But the factual situation was that Mandela was a proven and sworn communist whose aim was the violent overthrow of the Government.

He had joined the ANC in 1944 and served as its vice-president and also as president of the organisation’s youth wing.

Mandela and other top communists had propagated a national convention and, along with Joe Slovo, Mandela had helped to form the militant wing of the ANC.

After leaving South Africa, Mandela had visited countries in Africa and countries behind the Iron Curtain. He had undergone military training so that he could lead the offensive in the overthrow of the South African Government.

The Rivonia raid had proved that Mandela had stood for the total destruction of the white man.

Mr Le Grange expressed concern that news agencies and organisations had asked for the release of Mandela.

These calls, coupled with demands for a national convention and for the release of all political detainees, had been launched in the emotional climate following the election results in Rhodesia.

The calls had been followed up by virtually every English-language newspaper in South Africa.

The official Opposition was now linking itself to international groups, some of which were out-and-out communist groups which wanted Mandela released.

Dr A L Borain (FFP Pinelands) in particular had joined in these calls, the Minister said.

There were differences of opinion among members of the official Opposition about this matter.

Mr Le Grange said the leader of an organisation responsible for terrorist attacks such as those at Booyens and Pimville would not receive any favours from his Government.

The Government took note of those leaders of peoples in every sphere, but would not recognise self-appointed leaders or those seeking attention for their causes.

The whites had a right to self-determination and to citizenship. This right could be exercised and the Government was not prepared to negotiate on this issue.

Anyone trying to remove this right by violence would have to face the full power of the State, Mr Le Grange said.

Today’s Business

THE ASSEMBLY — Questions, resumption, Budget debate — Sapa.
PRETORIA. — The Supreme Court trial date has been set for the nine alleged ANC members accused of high treason and murder following the Silverton bank siege and the attack on the Soekmekaar police station.

They will appear in the Supreme Court Pretoria, on June 2 following the Attorney-General’s decision, until the trial has been disposed of.

A Pretoria magistrate, Mr B J O van Schalkwyk, today ordered that all men will remain in custody until the trial.

The men have pleaded not guilty to nine charges involving high treason, two murder counts after the death of two women hostages, 21 attempted murder charges, and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances.

TERROR ACTS
The remaining four are alternative charges dealing with the participation in terrorist activities.

The accused are Mr Ncebinhle Johnson Labzat, 28, Mr Petrus Teelo Mashuso, 20, Mr Naphati Manana, 24, Mr Khotso Yene Moses Molebatsi, 27, Mr Mobile Benjamin Tau, 24, Mr Phumulani Grand Shoji, 24, Mr Jeremia Badebe, 26, Mr Borse Japhonie Bogatsane, 28, and Mr Thomas Ntshani, 28. No addresses were given.

HIGH TREASON
The State alleged the men committed high treason by conspiring with members and/or active supporters of the ANC by committing certain acts with the intention of furthering aims hostile to the State.

They are further alleged to have been aware of the treasonable deeds of the organization and failed to report them to the South African authorities.

The murder charge concerns two hostages, Miss Cynthia Valeria Anderson and Mrs Anna Maria de Klerk, who were killed when three terrorists besieged the Silverton Volkskas Bank on January 25. Mr Ta’u allegedly conspired with the terrorists, namely Humphrey Makubu, Stephen Fanile Mafeko, and Wilfred Madela.

Nineteen of the attempted murder charges deal with injuries suffered by hostages and policemen.

POLICE STATION
The remaining two charges concern the attack on Soekmekaar police station in Soetpanburg on January 4 where two men were injured.

Mr Molebatsi and Mr Tau, are also alleged to have made plans of a petrol depot for a future attack and Mr Molebatsi is said to have made plans to attack the Villiers police station.

They all allegedly underwent military training in Angola but they refused to comment on this when asked in explanation of plea.

They are also alleged to have set up military bases in South Africa to undermine State security.
Mandela: Ask the blacks, says PFP

By HELEN ZILLE
Political Correspondent

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The government had a duty to establish the extent of Nelson Mandela's support among blacks, to establish if he was a representative leader, Dr Fredrik van Zyl Slabbert, leader of the Opposition, said yesterday.

If it was found Mandela had significant support and that he was prepared to negotiate, the government had a responsibility to negotiate with him, as South Africa was involved in "survival politics", Dr Slabbert said.

He was addressing Parliament on the campaign to free Mandela, shortly after the minister of police, Mr Louis Le Grange, said the government's response to the campaign could be summed up in a single word: No.

Adopting an uncompromising attitude towards the campaign, Mr Le Grange said:

"Amnesty had been necessary and desirable in the interests of reconciliation and resolving conflict. Mr Swart said in Parliament shortly after the government came to power in 1949."

Dr Slabbert said the same course had been followed in Rhodesia, where black nationalist leaders had been released in the interests of reconciliation.

"This was done with the active encouragement of the South African government, he pointed out."

And in South West Africa, the Administrator-General, Dr Gerrit Vrijen, had extended an amnesty to all SWAPO fighters in the interests of reconciliation.

All these steps had been taken to involve people who had been caught in war - they were often regarded as communists - in negotiated political settlements. In order to end the killing.

"Were the lives of the police and security forces in Rhodesia considered more precious than the lives of people inside South Africa?" Dr Slabbert asked.

It was nonsensical to claim the supporters of the campaign to free Mandela were communists or propagators of violence.

It was precisely because such people rejected violence that they sought to involve representative leaders of all population groups in a negotiating process.
Inkatha waits for answers

By AMEEN AHNALWA
Political Reporter

INKATHA's West Rand region will wait for government clarification on the financing of community councils before it makes a final decision about participating in October's Soweto council elections.

The region's publicity secretary, Mr. Pitie Davidson, said yesterday his colleagues were studying the present financing of the Soweto Community Council.

He said Inkatha has already indirectly requested details on the finance question from the Government.

But the region would formulate its own financial proposals and forward them to the Inkatha leadership. Once the proposals were ratified, the Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, would officially convey them to the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr. Koornhof.

Mr. Davidson said: "Soweto has no freehold rights, and as a result, has no land-based tax. We want to know how this shortfall is to be made up and from where source."

Mr. Davidson made it clear that Inkatha was, in principle, in favour of using community councils for strategic reasons. "But until the financial aspect is cleared up, we will not participate in the Soweto elections," he said.

In his weekend speech in Soweto, Chief Buthelezi also referred to the financial aspect. He said that once "Sowetanians have established a representative council, it must be an accepted front in the black struggle for liberation."

"Discussion should then revolve around how that black platform can best be used for the ends towards which we all strive. I accept the feeling that the question of financing Soweto services needs more clarification from the South African Government," Chief Buthelezi added.
More ANC terrorists waiting Le Grange

Political Correspondent

ZWELENTSHA (Ciskei) — The Minister of Police, Mr L. le Grange, said today that more trained terrorists of the African National Congress were waiting in neighbouring states to infiltrate South Africa.

Opening the new session of the Ciskeian Legislative Assembly here, Mr le Grange said many trained terrorists had been arrested since infiltration started and a vast quantity of foreign arms, ammunition and explosives had been confiscated.

Many of ANC recruits had left the Republic and had received military training in East Germany, Angola, Russia and China.

Some of those who had completed their training were in neighbouring states.

THE AIM

The aim of these terrorist groups was to play a major role in breaking down the morale of the people by acts of intimidation, sabotage and attacks on innocent and defenceless people.

Urban terrorism had become an important aspect of modern total war. This had developed to such an extent that alliances had been established and operated across international boundaries in what is called a 'liberation struggle'.

The role Moscow and its ANC cohorts played in this regard had become obvious in the total onslaught against Southern Africa.

Terrorists hoped to compel the Government to enforce strict and unpopular security measures which they hoped would antagonize the inhabitants and lead to a decline in the Government's popularity.

The tactical concepts of the terrorist and his technical skills and devices had become more and more sophisticated and difficult to combat.

The security forces of South Africa were acquainted with the techniques and had succeeded in crippling the efforts of the terrorists. Serious losses had been prevented and lives protected by the timely application of constructive counter-measures, Mr le Grange said.
Buthelezi may meet Motlana

In a move that might bridge the gap between the powerful Inkatha organisation and the black consciousness movement, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Dr Nkazo Motlana may meet for talks to resolve their differences.

Dr Motlana, chairman of the Soeto Committee of Ten and leader of the growing Soeto Civic Association, rejects some of Chief Buthelezi's ideas, but says he is prepared to have talks with the KwaZulu leader and his Inkatha movement as long as his executive committee agrees.

"We can disagree on basic issues but I do not think there is any need for mud-slinging between us," said Dr Motlana.

Chief Buthelezi said from Ulundi that he was prepared to talk to Dr Motlana. "We are involved in the same struggle in spite of the different strategies we use.

However, he was cautious because Dr Motlana had only made overtures through the Press. "Let him get in touch with me," he said.

Because Dr Motlana's People's Party wins a larger social vote, he could ask that the party be included in the government. But Dr Buthelezi said the Inkatha organisation would not consider such a move for the moment. He said he had already indicated his willingness to talk to Dr Motlana.

The Inkatha leader said he was prepared to talk to the Soeto Civic Association about the black consciousness movement and the Soeto Civic Association's rejection of his idea of an alliance was a black-consciousness issue.
Mandela not a leader, says Raw

1979, Peaky 1979

The Assembly. — South Africa had not reached the stage where a proven convicted Marxist revolutionary such as Nelson Mandela should be taken from prison to try and help for peace, the leader of the New Republic Party, Mr. Ivan Ross, said in the House yesterday.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Bantu education bill, he said that calls for treating Mandela and others like him as political prisoners was a major fundamental error.

The fact that Mandela's release was raised in Parliament was making it very clear that a whole bunch of black leaders and making it very difficult for any of those who were there to resist the black. He was not a leader, even among his people. He said that he would come to terms with the situation.

The most important of the whites is in telling the blacks their leaders and not his.

Mr. Ross said that in his speech yesterday, the Leader of the Opposition, P. J. Behring, had called for Mandela's release and had implied a difference between the situation in the Republic and the situation in Bophuthatswana.

"This is a serious implication. What he is in effect saying is that the black and white leaders and that we will never get any realization by talking to you. We must fight it from the bottom up and rebuilding from the bottom up."

I reject this wholeheartedly, I reject it completely, he added.

"We cannot take people like Mandela from jail and say for peace with them and. We have not reached that stage," he said.

Sapa

The constant income receipt in the normal market is a constant income received in the market.

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ONE THING South Africa can certainly do without is a mindless tug-of-war between a strident 'Free Mandela' lobby on one hand and a totally obdurate and inflexible Government on the other.

Yet that is the direction in which we seem to be heading after the uncompromising statement by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, in Parliament that Nelson Mandela will spend the rest of his life in jail.

In justifying his refusal even to consider the release of the former African National Congress leader, Mr le Grange has revealed that the Government is no less guilty of failing to think the matter through than those who have been stumped by Mr Robert Mugabe's triumph in Zimbabwe into believing that the same is likely to happen here unless Mandela is unconditionally released from Robben Island to take his place messiah-like at the head of his people.

The Minister reminded the House that the Rivonia raid had proved that Mandela stood for the violent overthrow of the Government and the total eradication of the white man, and claimed that Mandela had not changed his views, was still a communist, and was still in touch with the banned ANC and other anti-South African organisations.

Mr le Grange did not explain how this contact was possible in South Africa's maximum-security prison, nor did he venture to discuss whether the views Mandela held at the time of his conviction 16 years ago might conceivably change if he were fully acquainted with the changes that have taken place since then and the new dispensation of co-operation and constitutional progress that has been proclaimed since Mr P W Botha became Prime Minister.

The question is relevant because the substance of Mandela's plea from the dock was that he had been driven to do what he did because he could see no other way of furthering the legitimate aspirations of his people.

That eloquent address is, of course, banned in South Africa. It in no way excuses Mandela's crimes, but if it were unbanned now we should at least all know what we were talking about in our dramatically changed situation in Africa.

There are many unanswered questions — and glib assumptions — about Nelson Mandela: his current beliefs, his capacity and willingness, if any, to play a constructive political role, the nature and extent of his following, and so on.

The very least the Government should be doing is finding the answers to these questions by means of a judicial tribunal or commission and whatever other inquiries may be necessary.

If Mandela refused to give assurances that he would abide by the law and behave in a politically responsible manner if he were released, then that would be the end of the matter. He would stay in jail and history would take its course.

But the Government should realise that flexibility does not mean weakness or a surrender of values or of control over one's destiny. Rather it is a sign of strength, confidence and the wisdom to seek the correct responses to the challenges of the time.
NELSON MANDELA has become a “mythical figure”, idealised by “just about every black”, and blacks both inside the country and outside recognise him as the black leader, according to Mr Ken Bosman, former ANC youth league member.

At a meeting organised by the Stellenbosch Ak- tuale Aangeleentheids kring (Sank) Tuesday night, Mr Bosman of Langa, said the Mandela he had known in Johannes burg was “a powerful leader, and very gentle”.

Referring to the African National Congress in the years before it was banned, Mr Bosman said the organisation had always been willing “to work with people of all races”.

The tone was one of negotiation, and once established — in Bloemfontein in 1912 — the ANC had sought consultation with the Government on key issues.

“All along peaceful ways and means were sought to persuade the Government to take notice of the grievances of the black man,” he said.

In the mid-1950s “treason trial”, Mr Bosman said, it was proved that the charter (of the organisation) was “neither criminal nor communist, nor seditious, nor treasonable,” and all 156 leaders arrested in 1956 were acquitted.

At the time the ANC was led by Chief Albert Luthuli, and despite pressure from within the organisation Chief Luthuli refused to abandon the principle of non-violence.

“It was not for nothing he was awarded the Noble Peace Prize,” Mr Bosman said.

“Mr Bosman was asked if it was true that Mandela was a self-confessed communist.”

He replied that Mandela had, at least up to the time of “going underground,” shown no “communist attachment.” Only those who worked closely with him after the March 1961 banning of the ANC could explain what had happened since.

Silverton: date set for trial of accused

PRETORIA — The Supreme Court trial here of nine alleged ANC members accused of high treason and murder in the Silverton bank siege and the attack on the Soekmekaar Police Station has been set for June 2.

Announcing the Attorney-General’s decision in the Regional Court here yesterday, the magistrate, Mr B. J. O. van Schaalkwyk, also ordered that the men remain in custody.

They have pleaded not guilty to 28 charges involving, high treason, murder, two murder counts relating to the death of two women hostages, 21 attempted murder charges, and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances.

The remaining four are alternative charges dealing with their participation in terrorist activities.

The state alleges the men committed high treason by conspiring with members and/or active supporters of the ANC to commit certain acts with the intention of furthering aims hostile to the state.

They are also alleged to have been aware of the treasonable deeds of the organisation and failed to report them to the South African authorities.

The murder charge concerns two hostages, Mrs Cynthia Anderson and Mrs Anna Magrieta de Klerk, who were killed in the Silverton Volkskas bank siege on January 25.

Mr H. B. Tau allegedly conspired with the three terrorists — Mr Huphrey Makhubu, Mr Stephen Fanie Mafoko and Mr Wilfred Madela.

Nineteen of the attempted murder charges deal with injuries suffered by hostages and policemen.

The remaining two charges concern the attack on Soekmekaar Police Station in Soutpansberg on January 4 when two men were injured.

Mr I. Molebatsi and Mr Tau are also allegedly to have made plans of a petrol depot here for a future attack, and Mr Molebatsi is said to have made plans to attack the Villieria Police Station.

Mr J. Radebe is charged with planning to attack the Port Natal Administration Board offices in Durban.

Mr Molebatsi is further alleged to have had control and/or knowledge of an arms cache found in Springs.

Sub-machineguns, Bayonets, Makarov pistols, magazines, detonators, explosives, hand-grenades, photographs of President Neto of Angola, copies of the South African Communist No. 78, 3rd quarter 1979, and stickers worded “Unite and fight to liberate new motherland, Amadinda” were found at the site.

The courtyard in which the truck carrying the accused back to Pretoria Central Prison was locked and guarded by armed policemen as the men were led into the truck.

— SAPA.
Birth of Zimbabwe service for Dube

Political Reporter

THE Soweto branch of the Azanian People's Organisation is to hold a public service tomorrow evening to celebrate the birth of Zimbabwe.

Leading black personalities will address the meeting, to which a number of black organisations have been invited.

The meeting will be at 6.30 pm at the Dube YWCA.

A spokesman said: "The Azapo branch believes this is one day that cannot and must not pass unnoticed in the history of the black struggle against oppression."

"The birth of the new State of Zimbabwe did not only deal an irresistible blow to the imperialists and the enemies of African self-determination and nationalism, it also brings a message of hope and inspiration to the masses of Azania."

He added: "The branch appeals to all members of the community and all progressive organisations to honour this great day regarded the world over as a landmark in the struggle of the oppressed people of Southern Africa against racism, exploitation and oppression."

Among the speakers at the service will be Rev Lebamaang Selebi, the Rev Buti Thalakgale, Mr R.C. Msomi of the Bar's Lawyers' Association, Mr Fanyana Mazibuko of the Teachers' Action Committee.

A revised budget (if you think revisions are called for), addressing your guiding principles, would last 12 months. No other short notes. Both jobs are available for the year ahead. An expert is needed to fill the position in the department's staff. The salary could be £1,000 per week.

Required:

- Office and general expenses amount to about £1,900 every year.

- Interest is based on a memorandum only at 5% of total cost, in the cost records. The payment is due at the end of the year on a semi-annual basis. All manual labour is hired locally from week to week.
A relatively stable business will have less risk of offsetting fluctuations in the demand for its various products than one that is more dependent on a particular market or product. This is because the stability of the business will allow for more predictable cash flows and lower overall costs. This, in turn, will make the company more attractive to investors who are looking for a stable and reliable source of income.

In providing such assurance, a business that makes a larger variety of products is more likely to have a greater probability of success than one that makes a single product. This is because the company will be less reliant on a single market or product and will be able to weather economic downturns more effectively.

The government can also play a role in reducing the risk of fluctuations in demand by implementing policies that support a stable and diversified economy. This can be done by providing incentives for businesses to diversify their product lines and by promoting exports to a wider range of markets.

By taking these steps, businesses can ensure that they are better prepared to handle fluctuations in demand and can continue to operate successfully in the long run.
Youth body to go countrywide

By PETER SETUKE

THE African Catholic Church in Soweto formed a youth club which will look into the affairs of the youth clubs at countrywide level.

The club was formed at a meeting of the Johannesburg diocese held last weekend.

This was disclosed by the chairlady of the youth club, Miss Joyce Raphiri, who mentioned the following points:

- Some parents prevent their children from attending the sermon because they (the parents) resent some ministers.
- If one is a member of the committee of the youth club belonging to a particular diocese, this does not allow one to have a say in the matters of another diocese.

Miss Raphiri told Church News: “At least the new committee will allow us to combat this bad influence on the youth by the parents, who ought to be exemplary to the young generation.

“And since we have gone countrywide, this will be interesting in that it will unite us more than the various local clubs did before.”
Minister spells out ANC threat

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The South African National Congress, through its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of Nation) was responsible for subversion, acts of sabotage and urban terrorism.

This was said at Zwelitsha yesterday by Mr Le Grange, the Minister of Police, when he opened the Ciskei Legislative Assembly.

He also promised the South African Government would take the necessary steps to protect the sovereignty of the Ciskei.

He said the ANC's objective was to disrupt the social order and to intimidate law-abiding citizens, both black and white.

"This objective is applicable to the Ciskei as well. Your country is also a target. My government will take the necessary effective steps in order to protect the sovereignty of your country as well," he said.

Mr Le Grange said the ANC advocated and propagated violence.

"It promotes class consciousness in an endeavour to ignite the class struggle. A socialist form of government, with majority rule, is its aim," he said.

"The terrorists are encouraged and assisted by elements of the community at world, as evidenced by the communist arms found in possession of intercepted terrorists and incontroverted evidence before our courts in terrorism trials," Mr Le Grange said.

But there was still no active terrorism on South African soil, he said, but sporadic acts of sabotage had been committed by externally trained ANC terrorists.

He said a large number of ANC recruits had left South Africa and had received military training in, among others, East Germany, Angola, Russia and China.

"Some have now completed their training and have arrived in neighbouring states from where they are to infiltrate the Republic of South Africa. A large number of trained terrorists have been arrested since infiltration started and a variety of armaments, ammunition and explosives have been confiscated," Mr Le Grange said.

He said blacks had never regarded the ANC leaders "in exile" as their real leaders.

He said: "The non-white communities have chosen their own representatives and organisations to market and to protect their interests and welfare.

"My advice to Ciskeians is to respect and honour their own leaders, and to be loyal to their country, traditions and religion." "Learn. Educate yourselves. Listen to your parents, respect your customs, traditions, your forefathers and present leaders who have brought you so far. You must build on what they have achieved. There is no time to waste. Your future must be built now and not tomorrow or next year." — DDV.
Buthelezi ‘is turning Inkatha into a mafia’

THE ASSEMBLY - The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was turning Inkatha into a “mafia” instead of splitting his people, the Nationalist MP for Parys, Dr Willie Kotze, said in the House yesterday.

Speaking during the Budget debate, Dr Kotze attacked black leaders for using “excessive” language when whites were being told to promote good race relations.

What gave black leaders the licence to do the opposite, he asked, and said he thought Chief Buthelezi was one such black leader who was exploiting the situation.

Dr Kotze said that he backed the Prime Minister’s initiatives and said that there had to be fair and meaningful change in the country, before whites were faced with a situation they had not planned.

The whites had to make allies of the blacks in the country, but while whites were told to promote good race relations some black leaders were doing the opposite.

Chief Buthelezi spoke of a freedom struggle while he could get his freedom and independence tomorrow if he wanted it.

“But he wants South Africa. That is what his so-called freedom struggle involves,” said Dr Kotze.

“He is not satisfied to govern only his own Zulu people. Is he scared that he will not make the grade in a free and independent KwaZulu and that he will expose his inability?”

“I want to tell Chief Buthelezi that he should rather do everything in his power to impress on the Zulu nation that it is not the primary function of men to conceive children, sit around the beer mug and shift around the hut with the sun while the women are working in the fields.”

The world of today demanded that a man work and that laziness could no longer hide behind “tradition”. It was not a scandal for a man to work.

Chief Buthelezi should stop making so many trips and well-meaning speeches about peace and rather go and see how his people and their land looked. It was bitterly disappointing that some of the country’s best agri-cultural land no longer contributed to the economy.

“It is an absolute scandal that it is being destroyed.

“How does Chief Buthelezi want to govern South Africa if he cannot even see these things, as if he is powerless to do anything about them.

“Instead, he stands with cupped hands asking for more and makes demands about the redistribution of wealth.”

Dr Kotze said that nobody should accuse him of disturbing race relations because he did not speak in the same “blatant” language as Chief Buthelezi.

“He talks of uprising, revolution and blood-letting and I talk of uplifting his people,” said Dr Kotze.

“He should be doing this instead of continuing to organise Inkatha into nothing other than a real mafia organisation.”

Dr Kotze said hoped that Chief Buthelezi would be able to differentiate between these things and then decide who really sought confrontation in the country.

Dr Kotze warned against people only wearing the "mask" of peace.
50 cent fine for ‘ANC’ graffiti

A RAILWAY WORKER, Modise Mokokwe, 26, was fined 50 cents for four days and sentenced to 50 days imprisonment, suspended for three years, in the Magistrate’s Court yesterday — for scratching “ANC” and “Azania” on SA Rail property.

The court found Mokokwe, of E145, Nyanga East, had defaced three steel cabinets on April 3 when he scratched the slogans on them. The magistrate, Mr R H Peckham, fined him 50 cents to pay for the paint used to cover the slogans.

Mokokwe told the court he scratched the slogans on the cabinets in the Salt River workshop with a nail because he was bored.

Mokokwe, who pleaded guilty to the charge, said he was not a member of the ANC, but was interested in black politics.

Mr N Jonas prosecuted.
NKONDO CALLS OFF SCHOOLS MEETING

Staff Reporter

A MEETING between the former president of the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo), Mr Curtis Nkondo, and the representatives of students at the Cape Town University and the University of Stellenbosch, was called off at the last minute yesterday afternoon.

Mr Nkondo said the presence of plain-clothed policemen outside the hall, where the meeting was to take place, would have intimidated the pupils.

Mr Nkondo was to meet the pupils to convey a message of "solidarity" from the Congress of Southern African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students' Organization (Azaso).

At least three cars with plain-clothed policemen sitting inside were stationed around the hall and some pupils claimed that they had been harassed by them on their way to the meeting.

Mr Nkondo said he had decided to cancel the meeting because the children were to be intimidated.

Solidarity

He said Cosas and Azaso, two national student organizations, had "pledged solidarity with all Peninsula pupils involved in the boycott of the school.

They also said the students should go on with the boycott until all their demands are met. They should not be discouraged by police attempts to intimidate them.

"The Peninsula pupils should be aware that they have a right to a free and compulsory education.

We hope that in future a united force of all black students will be possible in the only way we can eliminate the forces of oppression, racism and economic exploitation," he added.

Mr Nkondo told a lunchtime meeting of about 80 University of Western Cape students yesterday that the removal of apartheid would make little difference to the oppressed blacks.

He said in a new society education would be free and compulsory "from the cradle to university."
Minister warns black militants

Political Staff

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, today warned the black consciousness organisations, Cosas, Azaso and Azapo, ‘that someone who plays with fire can easily burn his fingers.’ Mr le Grange said.

Speaking at the Transvaal congress of the Southern Cross fund, he said although the Communist Party of South Africa, the ANC and the PAC had their headquarters abroad, they were still well represented inside the Republic.

In recent times, various militant organisations had been established and these, under a number of guises, furthered the activities of the banned organisations.

‘I want to name a few of them and at the same time make a warning that someone who plays with fire can easily burn his fingers.’ Mr le Grange said.

He said Cosas (the Congress of South African Students) aimed to incite black scholars.

‘It is busy creating a climate of dissatisfaction and unrest among black scholars.’

Grievances

He said real and imaginary grievances were seized upon and blown up out of all proportion in an effort to attract scholars.

Mr le Grange said Azaso (the Azanian Students’ Organisation) had the same aims as the banned Black People’s Convention (BPC).

There were indications that the organisation was giving attention to the black worker. It shunned negotiations with the central government and supported the organising of strikes.

He said Azapo (the Azanian People’s Organisation) also worked with organisations which were established on the instructions of the SA Communist Party and strove to incite black scholars and to promote black consciousness.

Target

Mr le Grange said South Africa was the most important target of about 120 foreign organisations. In South West Africa there was no reduction in the fighting against SWAPO: ‘Rather there is increasing aggression,’ he said.

The activities of the ANC and the PAC in recent times had been marked by a building up of their forces outside the country’s borders.

The ANC had moved its most important training centre to Angola and the prominent Communist Party official Joe Slovo, and fellow communist helpers had been stationed in Mozambique.
Le Grange warns black consciousness bodies

Political Reporter
CAPE TOWN — The Minister of Police, Mr le Grange, today warned black consciousness organisations that someone who plays with fire can easily burn his fingers.

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There were indications that the organisation was giving attention to the black worker. It stirred up negotiations with the central Government and supported the organisation of strikes.

He said Azapo (the Azanian People's Organisation) also worked with organisations which were established on the instructions of the SA Communist Party and sought to incite black pupils and to spread black consciousness.

...
THE Committee of Ten who were interviewed yesterday were sceptical about the story. Mr Tom Manthata said the whole reporting on the issue of driving Dr Motlana to a point where his credibility became challenged raised questions on the motives and orientation of such reporting.

Members of the Committee of Ten will meet this evening and one of the issues expected to be raised will be Dr Nthato's alleged willingness to speak to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.
Skrywersgilde backs call to free Mandela

By Jaap Boekkooi

BLOEMFONTEIN — Afrikaans writers have come out in support of the campaign to free Nelson Mandela.

A resolution at the annual meeting of the Afrikaans Writers' Guild called on the Government to consider the release of political prisoners who can contribute to the solution of socio-political problems, through their participation in a permanent public forum.

Professor André Brink, author and chairman of the meeting, said the resolution was connected with the countrywide campaign to release Nelson Mandela.

BREITENBACH

The Breitendach also adopted a resolution asking the Government to investigate the grievances of coloured pupils and students in the Western Cape after recent unrest among them, and to consider the release of Breitendach, the Afrikaner, who was released from prison.

The resolution reads: "In spite of repeated unsuccessful representations, the gulf will, by means of both individual and collective action, continue to approach the authorities in connection with the release of Breitendach each year to the Minister of Prisons."

"In the time of Jimmy Kruger, they were always coldly answered, but since then there has been rather more understanding by the successions, which is indicative of an increasing importance of natural forces."

CLASH

Breitendach has meanwhile been reclassified into a higher category of prisoners, and he may now request any book from the Cape Provincial Administration, according to a letter which Professor Andre Brink received from the Minister.

Professor Brink pleaded for circumstances as he said the matter had reached a delicate stage.

Writers and churchmen clashed at the meeting as he said the matter had reached a delicate stage.
IT IS APPROPRIATE that the debate about whether or not to release Nelson Mandela should have reached Parliament in the week of Zimbabwe's independence. Because it was Robert Mugabe's dramatic sweep to power in that country which raised the issue.

In so many ways Mr Mandela is the South African counterpart of Mr Mugabe: he, too, is an African leader who turned to violence, who sought help from the communist world, who acquired the image of a committed Marxist bent on disregarding the will of the people for a black-dominated communist society, and who was duly clapped in jail for his nefarious activities.

Yet in the case of Mr Mugabe, he is a man whom the white authorities believe does not have any genuine support among the black population, and is simply the puppet of outside enemies of the State.

So inevitably, when Mr Mugabe dumfounded everyone by showing not only what appears to be support among the blacks and the whites and said that prima facie he was, people began asking whether perhaps those assumptions about Mr Mandela might not be equally wrong.

As they began realising that the white Rhodesians could have saved their country a lot of bloodshed and misery if they had done a peaceful deal years ago with this impressive-sounding man, the question arose whether the same did not apply to South Africa.

Do we have to go through all that bloodshed and misery, too, in order to learn the same lesson?

The lesson of Rhodesia, said the Vaderland, echoed the thoughts of many, is that white South Africa should talk to the real black leaders in this country.

But if Robert Mugabe is the real leader of the black Zimbabweans, isn't Nelson Mandela perhaps the real leader of the black South Africans?

That is the question that started the debate. It is a difficult debate, but a tremendously important one. I do not find it surprising that the Government should be so resistant to the suggestion that it should release a man who is committed to its own violent overthrow. It would be surprising if it were otherwise.

Nor does it surprise me that the opinion should be so emotionally divined on the subject that many people feel it is outrageous to support such ideas. Violence and treason are emotional matters, and get it muddled. The Rand Daily Mail itself has strongly denounced Mandela's commitment to violence, pointing out that in any communist country, or black African country for that matter, he would have been shot out of hand.

But 16 years on Robben Island is a long time; and as time moves on circumstances change, bringing new requirements and new perceptions.

And in any case, you and I have changed our circumstances and our perceptions. As Dr Van Zyl Slabbert put it in his superb speech on Tuesday, South Africa's foreign policy is involved in "survival politics" - and that requires us to do a lot of re-examining of old assumptions.

Already one sees the Government doing a lot of things it found unthinkable only yesterday.

So we have to start thinking about today, what might have to be done tomorrow.

And so, while I fully expect the Minister of Police, Mr Louis Le Grange, to give that flat "No" to Mandela's release, it is nonetheless extremely important that the public debate on the subject has begun and that it should continue.

It is important, too, that the debate be calmly and reasonably conducted. Legitimate fears must not be glossed over; emotional responses must not be allowed to cloud the issue.

Here again I found Dr Slabbert's argument so cogent. His approach was wholly rational: The only way to arrive at a peaceful solution in South Africa is to negotiate a new constitution with the black community. To do that would be obviously essential if the negotiations be with the real black leaders; therefore it is advisable to establish whether blacks regard Mandela as one of their true leaders; and the only way to do that, obviously, is to ask them.

It is established that he has significant support and that he is prepared to negotiate, therefore, says Mr Slabbert, the Government has a responsibility to negotiate with him. As for the principle of releasing such a man, Dr Slabbert points out that we have the tradition firmly established in our own country.

He cites the case of Robby Leibbrandt, sentenced to death for high treason during the last war and released by the Nationalist Government when it came to power afterwards. And he quotes how ex-President Swart justified this at the time, saying the war is ended and that the Nationalist tradition Kruuger had shown mercy to Jameson after the raid, Smuts had become Prime Minister after低价 people in the Cape to commit treason during the South African War, and the men of the 1914-16 rebellion had been granted amnesty.

That has been the South African way of achieving national reconciliation in the past. And even in the case of Zimbabwe, it was the South African Government that persuaded Ian Smith to release Mugabe and the others in that quest for reconciliation.

So why should it be so unthinkable in the case of Mandela?

Die Transvaler responded to all this by warning that historical analogies can sometimes mislead. There was a great difference, it said, between Mr Mandela and those Afrikaners who ran amok during the war years: the freeing of those Afrikaners didn't hold the danger of public disorder that the freeing of Mr Mandela would.

Fair enough, it is a valid point, but it is reserved to be carefully weighed. The threat that Nazi Germany posed to South Africa was over by the time Robby Leibbrandt and company were released, while the threat of African nationalist insurgency is by no means over now.

But the position taken by Dr Slabbert, and by the Rand Daily Mail, is that one would consider releasing Mr Mandela only if he were to end his commitment to seeking change by violence and agree to peaceful negotiations at a national convention.

So, far from seeing the danger of black insurgency, it would be the most effective way to defeat it.

But, one might ask, could one trust Mr Mandela? Might he not make such a commitment in order to gain release and then project it?

Apart from the fact that this would be uncharacteristic of the man, there is the fact that a free Mandela would be subject to the law all over again, any illegal action on his part and he would immediately be arrested, charged and jailed once more.

A more realistic misgiving is whether Mr Mandela would ever agree to such conditions in the first place. Perhaps not, in case he should not be released.

But I believe he would. His friends have always claimed he turned to violence only because he reached the conclusion that change could not be achieved peacefully. So surely he would change his mind if the prospect of peaceful change became real - as it would at a national convention.

Of course the Transvaler's problem in this debate is that Nationalist policy rejects a national convention on principle, because it amounts to power-sharing. The process of change must remain in white hands, blacks may be "consulted", but they cannot be part of the actual decision-making process.

That is why blacks will always reject Nationalist policy, even if they are decisions made for them, not with them. And that is why Nationalist policy, as it stands now, cannot contemplate Mandela's release and still achieve a peaceful resolution of South Africa's race problem.

There is one further point which Die Transvaler's reference to the activities of those wartime Afrikaners raises.

Government supporters claim that because black nationalism is the only national programme of the black countries for an end to their "liberation" struggle, they must themselves be communalists.

We must not forget how Afrikaner Nationalists looked to Nazi Germany for support when they saw as their "liberation" struggle against British imperialism. How some of them even hoped for a German victory in the war, believing this would bring their republic.

They forget how they have always vehemently denied this meant they were themselves Nazis; how they argued that some may have picked up a few Nazi ideas from association but that they were really just Afrikaner Nationalists seeking help wherever they could get it in the struggle that they believed in with such passionate conviction.

Exactly the argument one hears from Mr Mugabe and other African nationalists to day.
Agitators are slammed over pupil boycott

THE ASSEMBLY. — The Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr. Marcia Steyn, said yesterday that coloured children were being encouraged to boycott schools on the basis of untrue propaganda.

He accused opposition politicians of doing nothing to tell coloured people what was being done for their education, and opposition newspapers of aggravating the situation with exaggerated reports.

Mr. Steyn was replying during the second reading debate on the Budget to criticism by Mr. Colin Eglin (PPC Cape Town), of the "powder-keg" situation in coloured schools and townships.

Citing the amounts spent on coloured education, Mr. Steyn said pupils would not boycott classes if they were told the whole truth.

In the past 10 years, R975 million had been spent on coloured education, with a further R100 million being spent on school buildings. In the same period, the number of pupils had increased from 500,000 to 750,000 and the number of properly qualified teachers from 15,000 to 25,000.

"The Government is really serious about giving all communities the best education. This is the key to a peaceful future for South Africa," he said.

"We are destroying the unfortunate situation that obtained in the past and we are giving people a new deal in education. One cannot do it overnight. One cannot build hundreds of schools in a day or educate thousands of teachers in a week."

Mr. Steyn promised that damaged school buildings would be repaired, despite repeated vandalism, but said the priority was new schools and a need to refuse to do things which are not true," he said.

A staff reporter writes that the Cape Town poet and playwright, Dr. Adam Small, said yesterday he had identified himself with the action taken yesterday by coloured pupils in the Cape and in Johannesburg against inferior education.

"I identify myself fully with this visible evidence of the struggle against racism on the part of our children. What they are saying is not new, but it has to be said over and over again," Dr. Small said from Cape Town.

Dr. Small said for decades blacks had been talking of "deaf and intransigent" Government. "We have shouted. Still, who hears?"

Blacks and their children hated apartheid in education and in other spheres.

"We hate it because it breeds inferiority. Our children don't want to be 'coloureds'. They want to be South Africans."

"What Mr. Marcia Steyn seemingly does not understand is that the children are saying to hell with coloured education. We want only education," Dr. Small said.

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MANUAL: About the jibe of the Cape Times. From week to week...
Marais, Motlana in an open clash

BY IVOR WILKINS

DR JAN Marais, the Nationalist MP for Pinetown, has come under fire for defending in Parliament the cause of a Soweto leader whose interests are represented by a firm of which Dr Marais is a director.

Dr Marais this week accused newspapers of underplaying a "long and worthwhile address" by Mr. David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Council.

He accused a "brigade" of whites, including certain media, of choosing Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, as the man to promote.

"He only needs to sneeze and it is splashed all over numerous front pages," Dr Marais said.

Dr Motlana this week responded:

"It is well known that Dr Marais has taken sides with Mr. Thebehali. In fact, more than that, he holds a brief for Mr. Thebehali."

Dr Motlana was referring to the fact that Dr Marais is a director of Kirkpatrick and Associates, the firm of publicists in Johannesburg handling the Soweto Council account.

Distortion

"I am not an executive of Kirkpatrick and Associates. I am just a director," said Dr Marais.

"I am a director of many other companies.

"And I went out of my way to emphasise that I was not slamming Dr Motlana, or praising Mr. Thebehali.

"The last thing I want to do is take sides.

"I am a fanatic for facts. There is too much distortion - accentuating some things and playing down others.

"This does not mean I agree with everything that Mr. Thebehali says and does, or that I disagree with everything that Dr. Motlana does.

"I just think they should be reported in an unbiased manner."

In his speech to Parliament, Dr Marais emphasised that he was not taking sides, but complained that when Mr. Thebehali delivered a "long and worthwhile address," or when Chief Gatsha Buthelezi addressed a crowd of 40,000 in Soweto and spent most of the time "slamming Motlana," it was played down to relative insignificance, or even ignored.
When I am preparing to give a bright

by Dr. Nkhalo Motlana

WHAT I WANT

FOR SOUTH AFRICA

(08/17/02)
I'D FREE MANDELA.

Nelson was never communist asserts former chief of BOSS

GENERAL Hendrik van den Bergh, South Africa's former security chief and the man whose brilliant detective work sent Nelson Mandela to Robben Island for life, believes the time has come to consider releasing Mandela — unconditionally.

In an interview with the Sunday Express this week on his farm at Bapsfontein he called for a review of the ANC leader's situation and said:

"If I were today still the chief of security in South Africa, I would recommend an immediate in-depth investigation into Mandela's present situation with a view to releasing him — if only on humanitarian grounds."

General Van den Bergh repudiated the statement by the Minister of Police, Mr Le Grange, this week that Mandela was a committed communist and Marxist.

He told me: "I know the man's history well, and I challenge anyone to produce one shred of evidence to prove that Mandela was a member of the Communist Party. That is simply not so."

"He stood and still stands for Black nationalism just as Afrikaners — and I am one — still stand for Afrikaner nationalism."

It was General Van den Bergh who hunted down saboteur Mandela and brought him and his co-conspirators to court in the Rivonia trial. It was widely hailed as a brilliant detective coup, and it was a milestone on the way to the general's becoming one of the most powerful and feared people in the country — head of BOSS and security adviser to the then Prime Minister, Mr B.J. Vorster.

The 65-year-old general was credited with breaking the back of the underground ANC and Peep movements in the turbulent 1960s.

Once his was the final word on all matters relating to the security of the country.

Now he says: "Mandela has served his time. He is a broken man and he has paid his debt to society."

Mandela, 61, has been in prison for 16 years.

General Van den Bergh says he understands how he must feel.

The general recounted his own experience of "apartheid and anguish" when he was detained in...
Release Mandela, says V d Bergh

From Page 1

Koffiefontein for three years during World War 2. And although it was a "dark and distressing experience" at least he knew that he would be released sooner or later.

Mandela — imprisoned for life and with not the faintest hope of gaining his freedom — has gone through that kind of hell a million times over.

It was time to think of releasing him, Gen Van den Bergh said, and possibly even without any conditions or restrictions.

"If I were in a position of power I would go to Robben Island and talk to him. I would look him in the eye and I would ask him if he wanted to be free. I would ask him what he would do if he were free, and I would ask him what he would tell his people.

"We would discuss these issues candidly and seriously, and I would decide for myself whether it would be in the interest of South Africa to release him. I would weigh the risks against the realities of the present-day situation.

"And if I decided that he should be freed — and I probably would — I would probably not attach any conditions to his release or place him under restrictions, for I would have the word of honour that he would rehabilitate and dedicate himself to uplifting his people within the confines of the law."

This, however, is in sharp contrast to the Government's view — as expressed again in Parliament this week by Mr Le Grange.

The Minister said that as far as he was concerned Mandela was still not only a communist but was also in contact with the African National Congress and other banned anti-South African organisations.

General Van den Bergh, who got to know Mandela well before and during his trial, disagrees.

He said that he and his officers had satisfied themselves at the time of the arrest that Mandela had not been a communist and never would be. He had conspired with communists to overthrow the Government by violence, and he was party to acts of sabotage, yes, he was.

Police had unearthed in the Rivonia raid a document calling on Blacks in South Africa to convert to communism in Mandela's handwriting. Yes.

Mandela was "no angel", his sentence was no miscarriage of justice. But, said General Van den Bergh, Mandela's violence was not primarily directed at people. It was an expression of frustration which could in retrospect be seen in clearer and more practical and realistic terms.

Mandela, he said, had committed himself to a struggle of upliftment for Blacks and had fought vigorously within that context against white domination.

General Van den Bergh recalled that Mandela had not contested charges that his attitude had changed from non-violence to violence or that he had been the driving force behind the militant Spear of the Nation.

"But Mandela did not, I think, ever intend to endanger human lives in trying to reach his objectives, just as I do not believe that he was motivated by communist influences or beliefs."

The document found in the Rivonia raid, "How to Be a Good Communist", had not been written by Mandela but by someone else who was a communist. Mandela had put it into acceptable English.

Mandela, said General Van den Bergh, had stood for nothing more or less than fostering an ideology of Black nationalism to improve the lot of his people, although his methods...

Dr Hendrik Verwoerd... "didn't want trial to drag" trying to achieve those objectives, even considering that he was totally opposed to endangering human life, obviously remained questionable.

Nonetheless, his prison sentence should be reviewed against the background of important developments that had transpired and because of present-day pressures and uncertainties now facing South Africa.

The time had arrived for the White in South Africa to make up their minds about one crucial issue. "They must decide whether they really want to continue retarding a seat at the table, or settle instead for the crumbs at a later stage."

Against the clearly emerging backdrop of political changes that would have to come, to accommodate Black aspirations and integrate respect he believed that a decision to release Mandela on humanitarian grounds would be seen as an important token of "compassionate goodwill".

The general made an astonishing revelation that explained something that has puzzled many — and even seemed to puzzle the judge who tried Mandela.

"Why was Mandela not charged with high treason, a charge that if pursued would very likely have sent him to the gallows?"

At the time — June 1964 — the then Judge President of the Transvaal, Mr Justice De Wet, said that because the Rivonia plotters had not been charged with high treason he had decided not to impose the supreme penalty.

"The crime of which they have been found guilty is essentially high treason," he said, "but the state has seen fit not to charge them with high treason."

According to the general, they had not been charged with high treason on the direct instructions of the then Prime Minister, Dr Verwoerd.

Instead, the eight men had been charged with sabotage, Dr Verwoerd had made it clear. Said General Van den Bergh, that he did not want the embarrassment of a "repeat performance" of previous high treason trials which had dragged on for several years and in which the accused were acquitted.
Pityana resigns from post in BCM

MR PARNEY Pityana has resigned from his post as United Kingdom regional chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM SA).

Mr Pityana resigned after a procedural disagreement at the Re-definition and Redefinition Conference held in London from April 8-13. He will remain a member however.

The conference also decided to change the name of the organisation to the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCM A) in order to reflect more truly what the Black people feel their country should be called.

The movement is to phase out the post of external director of BCM, presently held by Mr Harry Ngcuka, in line with the overall plan to “improve the structure of unity in the movement.”

An interim committee has been chosen to represent the various regions of the BCM and they will issue a statement on the conference as a whole “after careful deliberation.”

One member of the organisation denied that “major personalities have had a fallout.”

The interim conference was planned to arrange a reunification of all the BCM people in exile so that “they could contribute more positively to the struggle back home.”

The interim committee includes Mr Paul Manning, Mr Andrew Lusho, Mr Gerahel Phuti, Mr Mbolobolo, Maphalala and Mr D'Ide Mokola.
No decision on talks with Buthelezi

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

THE Committee of Ten has not yet taken a decision on whether its chairman Dr Nkhato Motlana should go ahead with the proposed meeting between himself and Chief Catcha Buthelezi.

It was expected that the committee would take a decision on the proposed meeting when it met on Friday night. However, Dr Motlana said no decision had been taken yet.

"The meeting we had was merely to discuss the programme of action for the civic association. What we discussed will be circularised to branches before making it public," Dr Motlana said.

A report in an afternoon newspaper this week said Dr Motlana had accepted Chief Buthelezi's multi-faceted strategy for liberation of the black majority.

Dr Motlana was quoted as having said: "We can disagree on fundamental and basic issues but I do not think there is any need for mud-slinging."

Members of the Committee of Ten were sceptical about the story. Mr Tom Manthata said reporting on the issue of driving Dr Motlana to a point where his credibility was challenged raised questions on the motives and orientation of such reporting.

Dr Motlana yesterday said he did not want to comment on the report.
Pityana resigns from post in BC movement

MR. BARNEY Pityana has resigned from his post as United Kingdom regional chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCMSA).

Mr. Pityana resigned after a procedural disagreement at the "Redeclaration and Rededication Conference held in London from April 8-12. He will remain a member, however.

The conference also decided to change the name of the organisation to the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) in order "to reflect more truly what the black people feel their country should be called."

The movement is to phase out the post of external director of BCM, presently held by Mr. Harry Nengwenkulu, in line with the overall plan to "improve the structure of unity in the movement."

An interim committee has been chosen to represent the various regions of the BCM and they will issue a statement on the conference as a whole "after careful deliberation."

One member of the organisation denied that "major personalities have had a fallout."

The five-day conference was planned to arrange a regrouping of all the BCM people in exile so that "they could contribute more positively to the struggle back home."

The interim committee includes Mr. Basil Manning, Mr. Andrew Luthelle, Mr. Gerald Phokoby, Mr. Mkholiwa Mazibuko and Mr. Dod Motsisi.
No decision on talks with Buthelezi

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

THE Committee of Ten has not yet taken a decision on whether its chairman Dr Nthato Motlana should go ahead with the proposed meeting between himself and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

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Buthelezi hits back at MP’s ‘mafia’ attack

Go jump in a lake, Dr Kotze!

Tribune Reporters

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi has launched a stinging counter-attack on the National Party’s Dr Willie Kotze, who has accused him of ‘turning Inkatha into a mafia’.

"If there is such a white arrogance as displayed by the Willie Kotzes of this world which will cause a bloodbath in South Africa,’ the Inkatha president and Chief Minister of KwaZulu said yesterday.

In an extraordinary attack on the Chief, Dr Kotze, MP for Pietermaritsburg, told the Inkatha party that it is not their primary task to bring freedom to the people, but that it is their primary task to bring freedom to the people.

Blatant

"No one can say I am busy dreaming of a white and black country, because I can’t use the same language as the English-speaking people," Dr Buthelezi said.

"If I talk of uprisings, revolution and bloodshed, I am not a racist. I am a fighter. I should be doing something instead of examining Inkatha into something else but a white country.

Chief Buthelezi said Dr Kotze could forget about him being a co-signer of the agreement if he looks at the situation from the perspective of the apartheid regime.

"He must go and jump into the lake.

"Whites have governed blacks for 20 years and have on the whole made a mess of the country. Black people want to share power in the government of South Africa.

"What right have whites to govern us without our participation? South Africa’s economy is as much a product of the black man’s effort as it is of white effort."

Zulus had contributed their brown and the sweat of their brow.

Crude joke

"We have conceived children amongst our own people unlike whites who have produced children from black women, the Coloured people amongst whom they have disenchanted."

Dr Kotze’s presentation of blacks as lazy people was a crude joke when one person works on white farms, a slave who is paid in kind to produce food for South Africa.

The white man denied blacks free and compulsory education and the use of land banks and other facilities for over drafts.

"Who is a mafia — Inhatha or the Nationalist Party?" asked Chief Buthelezi.

Recalling the events in Sharpeville in 1960 and Soweto in 1976 and 1977, he said the Nationalist regime had kept blacks in oppression at gunpoint.

"Inhatha does not shoot women."

SUN TIMES
20/4/80
1000 call: Release 'true leader' Mandela

Own Correspondent
DURBAN — More than 1000 people yesterday called for the release of Nelson Mandela, who is imprisoned for life on Robben Island.

The call made during a rent protest meeting at Phoenix, near Durban, was supported by more than 1000 people — mainly Indians and some coloured people, in spite of the presence of three security policemen.

Dr Farook Meer, vice-president of the Natal Indian Congress, told the meeting that the people must not lose heart over the Government's announcement that Mr Mandela would not be released.

"We must fight and struggle until our real leaders are released," he said.

Immediately after he spoke, one of the audience called for Mandela's release.

ANNIVERSARY
In Pretoria, Professor Willem Kiewbins of Unisa's political science faculty has said that a good time to release Nelson Mandela would be next year, the 20th anniversary of the Republic.

Though the 'Free Mandela' campaign had been stalled last week by the hard-line statement by the Union of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, it could be renewed with the anniversary of his imprisonment.

Professor A. Strauss, professor of criminal law at Unisa, said: "The time has come to reconsider the Mandela case. The Government should now take the initiative to break the tradition of leniency towards political prisoners started by the great reformer, President Paul Kruger."

SOFTENED
Professor Jan van Rooyen of the criminal law and procedure department at Unisa, said the question of parole for Mandela rested on the discretion of the particular prison commissioner, who relied on the ruling of the Minister concerned.

But, he said, political crimes related to the times and circumstances in which they were committed and even though the ANC and the PAC accepted violence for political ends, they could not be condemned outright.

The case of the political offender should be reconsidered in the light of the social mores of the time, agreed Professor Strauss.
Three black organisations warned

hand an individual whose v(c) function

curve, representing increasing mar-

v(c) > 0. ... would be happy to accept

up to a point, gambles worse than fair

return). Such an individual is said

to be risk-neutral. A risk-

is linear (constant marginal utility
to accept, reject, or be indifferent
to various gambles). Risk-

aversion is risk-neutral for example, would

consist of a mixture of risk-averse,

and risk-seeking types. But the observed fact

that the "concave" v(c) function of fit-

ness suggests that risk-aversion is non-

linear in that single asset which ... would

reliably ever see this behavior pattern, and

freely ever see this behavior pattern, and

generally worse than fair). Are accepted

at Las Vegas and elsewhere? There have

constructed preference-sealing functions v(c)

".
Paris explosion aimed at us says Moumbaris

Own Correspondent
PARIS — A powerful bomb exploded in the building housing the French Anti-Apartheid Committee in the Latin Quarter in Paris on Saturday night, wounding four people, one seriously.

The committee is housed in a four-storey building run by the Association of Protestant Students, which also houses many leftist movements. So far no particular group has claimed responsibility for the attack.

"But we think the bomb was meant for us," a member of the Anti-Apartheid Committee, Alexandre Moumbaris, the press officer who escaped from Pretoria Prison last year, said yesterday.

Moumbaris added: "There have been other attacks. Molotov cocktails were thrown at the committee offices and we have received letter bombs in the mail. They have never been claimed by any group."

Police said that high explosives were detonated at 6:30 p.m. in the stairwell of the four-storey building.

Several years ago another bomb exploded outside the South African Airways offices in Paris, and three years ago a Molotov cocktail put out the South African Airways office in the city. There were no casualties. Nobody has ever claimed responsibility for these attacks either.

Meanwhile, diplomatic sources in Paris revealed that the new republic of Zimbabwe will not open an embassy in Paris or maintain a diplomatic mission in the city, although France is opening an embassy in Salisbury.

The new arrangement is officially said to be a result of the new African state's shortage of foreign currency.

"A Zimbabwean ambassador will be accredited to Paris, but he will be resident in a nearby hotel capital, perhaps London or Brussels," the sources said.

It is believed in Paris that the decision was taken by Mr. Robert Mugabe as a sign of his annoyance that Rhodesia's last embassy abroad was in Paris and reflects his belief that the French were too lax towards the Smith regime.

The Smith mission was opened within a few months of UN and was closed down in July 1979, although for some time afterwards, there was a situation lasting throughout the autumn of 1979 when diplomatic relations were re-established on the condition that Rhodesia's envoy was not accredited to Paris and was sent on to Brussels.

Rhodesia's "ambassador" for the last four years was Mr. Len Thompson, who had attended the "Tiger" and "Finnish" talks with the Smith government.

Mr. Thompson had a telephonic link with Salisbury and put out an effective monthly publication in French on Rhodesia.
'Arrogant Willie' warned

ULUNDI. — White arrogance, as displayed by the "Willie Kotze of this world", would cause blood baths in South Africa, KwaZulu's Chief Minister and President of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said at the weekend.

He was reacting to a statement made by the Nationalist MP for Fawry, Dr Willie Kotze, in Parliament on Thursday. In his statement Dr Kotze attacked Chief Buthelezi, saying he was turning the Inkatha movement into a "mafia".

"I am a South African and South Africa is my 'homeland' — just as much as it is Dr Kotze's 'homeland'," the chief said.

He said the people of KwaZulu had rejected the fragmentation of South Africa in order to make KwaZulu into a satellite state of South Africa under the grandiose scheme of apartheid.

Whites had governed blacks for 70 years and had made a mess of the country.

"We want to share power in the government of our country, which is South Africa. What right have whites to govern us without our participation? South Africa's economy is as much a product of black effort as it is of white effort."

"Zulus have contributed towards the development of the economy of South Africa with their brawn and sweat from their brows.

"We have conceived children among our own people, unlike whites, who have produced children from black women — the coloured people — whom they have disenfranchised although they have the same culture and language as the whites.

"The majority of coloured people are of Afrikaner extraction," he said. — Sapa.
ANC in bad books with Zanu (PF)

THE African National Congress of South Africa cannot expect vigorous support from Zimbabwe unless it makes a real effort to mend relations with its Zanu (PF) government, according to a senior government official in Salisbury.

Over the long term, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the South West African Peoples Organisation could expect material aid, said the same official, who is close to Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

The ANC is in Zanu (PF’s) bad books because of its history of support for Mr Joshua Nkomo’s Zapu wing of the Patriotic Front alliance. Links between the movements date to the 1960s, when ANC sent insurgents into action alongside Zapu forces, and cold-shouldered Zapu.

Significantly, the ANC was not officially invited to the Zimbabwe independence celebration by the Mugabe Government although its leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, attended anyway.

Oliver Tambo (left) and Sam Nujoma in Harare last week. Tambo is getting an ice-cold reception in Zimbabwe while Nujoma has doors open for him.

The East German government, also close to Zapu and the ANC, was neither invited nor represented.

Zanu (PF’s) leadership is highly critical of the top ranks of the ANC, saying that they lack dynamism, according to the senior official quoted above.

He added that so far, the ANC has made no overtures towards reconciliation with Zanu (PF).

Nevertheless, he said, realities will force his government to co-operate with any movement which proves itself effective in South Africa, including the ANC if it does.

However, the PAC, traditionally strong on external backing, was likelier to find the purse-strings loosening, he said. The PAC is a traditional ally of Zanu (PF), and both movements have been supported by Peking, unlike the Moscow-backed ANC and Zapu.

But, wrecked by internal quarrels and fratricidal warfare the PAC has fallen into near-desuetude, and its capacity for a comeback is uncertain.

Swapo is viewed favourably by Zanu (PF) because it had retained good relations with both wings of the Patriotic Front in the past, according to the Zimbabwean official.

MATERIAL AID

In the long run, he said, it could expect material aid if the war in Namibia continued, although the aid would be limited by Zimbabwe’s restricted economic capabilities.

Mr Sam Nujoma, the president of Swapo, confirmed that “we expect political and diplomatic support, as well as material assistance at a later stage” from the Mugabe Government.

As the ANC and PAC are banned organisations in South Africa their officials may not be quoted.
Inkatha 'kept the flame of the struggle alive in South Africa'

**Buthelezi hits at ANC**

**Nusas president under attack for ANC move**

**West's standards sicken me, says chief**
Mothers march in rents rise row

Mercury Reporter

MORE than 100 Indian and coloured women from Phoenix and Newlands East yesterday staged a 'silent protest' against proposed rent increases when they packed the public galleries of the Durban City Council chamber during a meeting.

The women gathered in the gardens near the Cenotaph at 2pm before going to the City Hall.

They then filed into the public galleries on the first and second floors while the council was in session.

Their presence raised a number of eyebrows, and appeared to surprise the Mayor, Councillor Haydn Bradfield. One of the protesters said they had hoped that the Mayor would give them a chance to air their grievances.

'We did not want to be rude by disrupting the meeting,' said a Phoenix mother of three, who asked not to be identified.

She said the protest had been timed 'to remind the council of the hardships higher rentals would cause for families already struggling to make ends meet'.

A deputation from the council is expected to meet the Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, in Cape Town today to discuss, among other things, the move to increase rents in council housing schemes.

One representative from each area met Mr Bradfield, and the Deputy Mayor, Mrs Sybil Hatz, after the council meeting, but Mr Bradfield said afterwards nothing new had been discussed.

He said the council was still discussing the issue.
(b) Manual labour is hired locally from week to week.

(d) All the plant needed for Southampton has been owned for some years. £1,600 is the year's depreciation (straight-line) in the financial accounts. Interest is £400 of the £1,000 every year. If the Hull plant will be hired out, a rental of £750 will be incurred as an entry at 5% of £1,500 - the original cost.  

(f) Office and general expenses amount to about £1,000 every year. 

Required: A revised budget (if you think it possible) showing which job you (as a group) would perform the work, explaining your guiding principles, and how long one would last 12 months, or what other jobs we are likely to do.

ULINDA — It was extremely interesting to see the American Congress' decision to appoint Dr. John K. Dyer as the American Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa. This decision was taken after the smaller states had formed an organization known as the International Organization of the United Nations. The U.S. Government, in view of the formation of this organization, has decided to appoint an Ambassador to the Republic of South Africa to represent the interests of the U.S. in the country.

The chief of the American Ambassadors to South Africa is Mr. John K. Dyer, a well-known lawyer and expert on South African affairs. He has been serving as the American Ambassador to South Africa for the last five years. His appointment was made necessary by the decision of the American Government to strengthen its diplomatic relations with South Africa.

Mr. Dyer has been a member of the American Bar Association and has been actively engaged in the promotion of peace and understanding between the United States and the Republic of South Africa. He is a man of great experience and knowledge of the South African situation, and his appointment is expected to be of great assistance to the American Government in furthering its objectives in the country.

The appointment of Mr. Dyer is expected to be of great assistance to the American Government in furthering its objectives in the country. He is a man of great experience and knowledge of the South African situation, and his appointment is expected to be of great assistance to the American Government in furthering its objectives in the country.
Mandela campaign 'ended talks'  

From a Staff Reporter  
STELLENBOSCH — The free Mandela campaign had seriously damaged delicate negotiations which could have led to Nelson Mandela being released from Robben Island, Mr Gibson Thula, chairman of publicity for Inkatha, said last night.

Answering a question from the floor during the SAKK congress on the constitution, Mr Thula said he had not mentioned it before but the matter had been the subject of discussion 'as far back when Mr Vorster was Prime Minister'.

IN FEBRUARY  
Even as recently as February, this year Inkatha had 'eyeball to eyeball' discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

'These discussions had gone far when the free Mandela campaign started,' he said.

'Word then came back to us that the feeling was that free Mandela now would be bad politics. I feel very bad about it,' Mr Thula said.

Inkatha has opted for talking! — page 4
'Free prisoners to create goodwill'

Staff Reporter

STELLENBOSCH. — Students at the University of Stellenbosch were told by a leading Inkatha official last night that political prisoners should be freed to create goodwill in South Africa.

Mr Gibson Tsula, the chairman of Inkatha's publicity and strategy committee, was addressing a conference on the Constitution of South Africa organized by a student association, the Stellenbosch Aktuele Aangeleenthedingsring (SAAK).

He said that Inkatha challenged the government to realize that certain steps were necessary to create goodwill before calling for discussion on constitutional proposals.

'Spirit of reconciliation'

These included amnesty for all political prisoners, the return of exiles and the lifting of banning orders.

He said that after the Zimbabwe elections and the coming to power of Mr Robert Mugabe, there existed a spirit of reconciliation in Southern Africa.

Inkatha believed in a national convention at which all would participate — including political prisoners, exiles, all the white parties and blacks.

Progressive Federal Party MP, Professor Nic Olivier said that no constitutional answers could be sought without the participation of accepted leaders meeting and developing a constitution even if it took "a year or ten years."
Looking up no 'solution'

NOTHING was achieved by the imprisonment of black leaders, Mr Brian Goodall, PFP MP, for Edenvale, said at a house meeting in Kimberley this week.

There was a pressing need to negotiate with authentic leaders who were representatives of black aspirations and this could not be achieved when white-dominated politics were considered sacrosanct, he said on Monday.

"By looking up black leaders nothing is achieved. It is better to know who the leaders are than have an "amorphous body" that one cannot negotiate with, he said.

Mr Goodall said South Africa could learn a number of lessons from the recent developments in Zimbabwe.

Attempts to negotiate exclusively with black moderates had failed dismally, he said, and the resulting negotiations with more radical elements had left little room for compromise.

"The Government's willingness to negotiate with moderate black leaders had little value when the younger generation are turning to those leaders and asking them what they have achieved with their moderation."

He said that there was no doubt Nelson Mandela had the support of a large number of blacks. It was up to the Government to ascertain the depth of this support. If it found he was a representative of black opinion then the Government should negotiate with him.

However, this did not mean the PFP was advocating negotiations with leaders who were attempting to overthrow the state by violence.

News by J. Sanford, J. Hoogdy, Street, Kimberley.
By AINAIJ DUBE

THE MANELODI branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), has called for suspension of entertainment activities in tribute to the late Solomon Mahlangu on April 26 and 27.

A spokesman said they had appealed to students in the Pretoria townships not to take part in competitions. This was so they could pay respect to the unveiling of a gravestone on Saturday morning.

Cinemas in Manelodi and Atteridgeville have been asked to cancel shows on Friday night. Shebeens, football and dances, he said, should be called off.

A night vigil will be held at Mahlangu's home on Friday evening.

It is my understanding that...
THE president of the Congress of South African Students, Mr Ephraim Mogale, and a University of the North student, Mr Thabiso Makunyane, have appeared in the Pietersburg Regional Court under the Terrorism Act.

They allegedly promoted the objects of communism and the banned African National Congress between October 1977 and October 1979.

They allegedly distributed pamphlets entitled "Being Black in South Africa Today" and "Declaration of War" in 1977.

Other charges include recruiting for the ANC and encouraging the formation of youth clubs to promote unrest between 1977 and 1979.

PAMPHLETS

The men are also accused of producing and possessing a stencil entitled "Come Let Us Unite and Defeat Our Oppressors," for producing and distributing pamphlets.

The establishment of the Communist Advancement Movement (CAM) in 1979 is also attributed to them.

A large crowd of Turfloop students gathered outside the court and the court was packed.

There was singing and chanting as the men left the court.
NOW THINK MANDELA DOES WHAT MUCH WE CAN
THE Alexandra branch of the Congress of South Africa Student (Cosas) will hold a night vigil at the Methodist Church on Friday and attend the unveiling of the tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu at Mamelodi Cemetery on Saturday morning.

Buses will leave the Methodist Church in 2nd avenue Alexandra for Mamelodi.

Those who would like to be furnished with further information should contact the Rev Moleleki or any of the Cosas members.

The fees to Mamelodi is R2, adults and R1,50 students.
Talk of change 'a big bluff'

Staff Reporter

STELLENBOSCH. — Blacks believed that talk of change by the prime minister and many whites was a big public relations exercise intended to bluff everybody, the chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Nthatho Motlana, said last night.

Dr Motlana was well received by about 100 people at a conference on the Constitution of South Africa at the University of Stellenbosch.

The conference was organized by a student organization, the Stellenbosse Aktuele Aangeleenthedskring.

Dr Motlana said that South Africa's history since 1910 had been a fight by the black to "come in from the cold" to a common South Africa and attempts by whites to "kick him out".

With separate development everyone had thought they now had a final solution — "that blacks could be pushed away".

Debate now acknowledged that the ideal had failed. But in spite of the prime minister and white South Africa speaking of a need for change, blacks were aware that the decision to change had not yet been made — "it's all a big public relations exercise intended to bluff everybody".

"The desire is still to keep the white man in power."

There was to be no power sharing. Any "contortions" in trying to draw up a constitution without blacks would fail, South Africa was a mixed country.

A South African constitutional expert, Professor Marinus Wiechers, said South Africa had adopted a classic model to "decolonize" groups in its territory, but this policy had failed.
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, President of Inkatha, recently urged blacks to consider a multi-faceted strategy to secure freedom. Today, DOUGLAS LOWANE, a member of the Soweto Committee of 10, says the time has come for blacks to consider the possibility of "turning the tables against the Government" through the Community Council system.

Some of the Ten... Lekgawe Mathebathie, Douglas Lowlane (obscured), Mashweba Mayathula and Nthato Motlana

Black leaders’ year of action

provisions of the Community Council Act, but they hate Mr David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Community Council, even more. All the same he is still boss and his word is final.

- They want Mr Thebehali and his henchmen removed from the Community Council and never to appear again on the scene of Soweto civic matters, but nobody seems to have the guts to say how this should be done.

Grievances which are not resolved propitiously can lead to very unpredictable consequences.

It will serve no useful purpose for Inkatha to signal an intention to go it alone in the coming council elections.

My personal view is that the civic affairs of any community most of necessity be the collective function of all its citizens irrespective of their political, religious or professional affiliations.

Inkatha, Mapaleng, Wasa are national political bodies which in my opinion should operate on a broad national level, but actively encourage their members to contribute to the planning of strategies at branch level with no provisions for separate identities.

We must sort out priorities, and then firmly agree on a collective strategy specifically intended to achieve an objective.

Our goal should be to substitute the present Community councillors with "turn tables against the present local operation in Soweto to the best of our advantage."

It will be a sad day for me if Inkatha sanctions member-participation in the elections before the pre-conditions asked for by the Committee of Ten are met.

Mr Louis Rive, the Postmaster General who has been appointed co-ordinator of Soweto projects, has decided to resign from the Post Office for one reason only, that is to fulfill the backlog of promises made to the people of Soweto by former Prime Minister John Vorster, and former Minister of Public Relations. Dr Connie Mulder and others some three years ago.

He cannot succeed without Government funds. We must therefore insist on the following:

- Government to find sources of revenue and channel R68-million into the empty coffers of Soweto council. The Government has these resources.

- Government to act boldly and repeal the Community Council Act and grant Soweto full autonomy in the name of goodwill, peace and justice.

- If the "96 year leasehold" is as good as the free-hold title deeds, why insist on the former.

- A commission of enquiry to be set up to investigate, (with the minimum of delay) the financial transactions of WRAB since 1974.

- Radical reduction of unproductive personnel and abolition of redundant positions in WRAB hierarchy.

- The rent-increase to apply to persons falling within a classified income bracket and exemptions granted to all old pensioners.

Dobsonville, Meadowlands and Diepkloof townships should be incorporated into Soweto and enlarge the number of wards to 50. It is ridiculous and uneconomic to administer the Soweto complex under WRAB's present fashion.

I personally agree with Chief Buthelezi that vocal protests, demonstrations, boycotts in our present situation do not seem to meet the dire needs of our people within the maximum time expected.

We need some form of action to prove a point.

There can be no question of "wait and see" which way the wind will blow at this point in time.

Nothing will please me more than the Government's accession to the above recommendations, which I believe would create a healthy climate for a free and fair election of the true representatives of the disgruntled society of Soweto.

Let us engage ourselves in brain-storming sessions over our Soweto civic affairs for now and the future.

If democracy has any meaning to us, let the branches of our Soweto City Association show their teeth and flex their muscles to the perpetrators of misery who are frantically organising themselves to squander with impunity R50 600 by inviting you to the celebrations of Soweto's 15th anniversary of bankruptcy.
Buthelezi on commission's role in Natal

Own Correspondent
ULUNDI. — The first task of the proposed Buthelezi commission of inquiry will be to consider the future of all Natal's people, with a view to making proposals that will add a new dimension to the political evolution of South Africa.

This was spelled out in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly by the Chief Minister, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, when he gave details of the proposed commission on Tuesday for the first time.

Chief Buthelezi said one of the reasons for this initiative by his Inkatha movement was a realisation that the present political impasse in South Africa could not be circumvented by protest.

"Inkatha also sees very clearly that the time has come for a formal black initiative in planning the collective political future," he said.

He added: "South Africa stands on the threshold of a new era as the sole remaining white-rulled territory in Africa, with signs of impending internal change, yet with all formal initiative for change occurring within the white, National Party-dominated political framework.

"That this is inappropriate to the times is more than self-evident."

The Inkatha leader said that while political affairs in South Africa had been dominated by concern relating to blacks, policy formulation had been narrowly restricted to white perceptions of possibilities and alternatives.

The proposed commission would be a black initiative, taken on behalf of all the people of Natal, as an example to the rest of the country.

Chief Buthelezi announced that the multi-racial commission would have 40 members, including representatives of the spheres of economics, politics, agriculture, industry, commerce, education and religion in Natal.

Provision had been made for an overseas representative of the African National Congress to sit on the commission. Press representatives would also be invited to serve.

He suggested the commission deliver an interim report to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly after a year.

"In the interim report, the commission may recommend — if its tasks and circumstances so dictate — that the interim report be regarded as the final report and that its task be seen as complete," he said.

It was envisaged that funds would be voted by the Legislative Assembly to maintain a secretariat to implement the work of the commission.

The services of the Commissioner-General of the territory would be sought in matters relating to high-level communications between the commission and the South African Government.
Johannesburg — Security Police yesterday swooped on black consciousness leaders in Johannesburg and Cape Town, detaining four people, including the suspended president of the Azanian People’s Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo.

The other three were held in Cape Town. They are Mr Trevor Wentzel, secretary of Azapo’s Athlone branch, Mr Achmad Cassiem, banned former president of the SA Students’ Association, and Mr Michael Sedgwick, of the University of Cape Town’s Centre for Intergroup Studies.

The acting head of the Security Police, Brigadier Jan du Preez, confirmed last night the four were being detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act which provides for a renewable detention of up to 14 days.

The detentions sparked a wave of condemnation by black leaders and the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on black affairs, Mrs Helen Suzman.

Mr Nkondo’s detention followed shortly after he had addressed a mass meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand, condemning the South African education system.

“We want good education now, and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning order come this afternoon,” he told the students.

“If it means I am to be incarcerated, let that come in a few minutes.”

Mr Nkondo, who is also chairman of the Soweto Teachers’ Action Committee and a member of the Solidarity Front, had urged white students to join “resistance” against the education system.

Last month, Mr Nkondo was the first of a number of black consciousness supporters to be questioned by Security Police. He said at the time that police had told him to be prepared for a banning order within three weeks.

— DDC.
Eight held under security laws

Crime Reporter
SECURITY Police have detained eight people including students and teachers in the past 48 hours. Seven of those being held are from the Western Cape.

The arrests were made in the Transvaal Peninsula and the Boland and have been confirmed by the acting Security Police chief in Pretoria, Brigadier Jan du Preez.

Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian People's Organisation, was detained by security Police yesterday shortly after addressing a student meeting at the University of the Western Cape. He also spoke at the University of Cape Town. He was forced to postpone another meeting last week after Security Police interviews.

The seven other people in detention, under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act, are Mr Trevor Wentzel, a community worker in Laviston and a member of Azapo; Mr Achmat Cassiem, a banned former president of the SA Students' Association; Mr Michael Segwick, a youth organiser of the Churches Urban Planning Commission; Mr Allan Liebenberg, former president of the WCU Students' Representative Council; Mr Neville Fry, a Schoonspruit teacher; Mr Lloyd Fortuin, and Mr Michael Crail, both students at the Paulus Joubert High School in Paarl.

Mr Segwick, 22, was detained yesterday after police searched his room and took possession of papers. He was at work when four police arrived.

Mr Cassiem was taken from his home early yesterday and Mr Wentzel was detained at a meeting in Athlone on Tuesday.

The Security Police chief of Cape Town, Colonel H W Kotze today confirmed the detention of Mr Liebenberg.

Mr Liebenberg is a full-time student at UWC.

The two students, Mr Fortuin and Mr Crail were both detained in Paarl today. The teacher, Mr Fry was detained at school.

It is believed that students at his Schoonspruit school are holding a protest opposing Mr Fry's detention. The protest as been described by Security Police as peaceful.

Brigadier du Preez said all the men were being

(Continued on Page 3, col 1)
Motlana dismisses govt plans

CAPE TOWN — Dr Nhlanhla Motlana, chairman of Soweto’s Committee of Ten, was enthusiastically applauded by a large Stellenbosch University audience last night when he dismissed the government’s constitutional initiative as a public relations exercise designed to fool the world and to keep power in white hands.

In his first address to a mass Afrikaans university audience, Dr Motlana said he hoped fundamental change and the transfer of power would take place peacefully.

He was also the only speaker — apart from a Nationalist Party MP — who dismissed the idea of a national convention to work out a future constitution for South Africa at this stage.

Blacks had not yet done enough to deserve their place at a national convention, Dr Motlana said.

“The Lancaster House conference on Zimbabwe only occurred because the Patriotic Front had done enough to force Smith to negotiate,”

Freollo had also introduced fundamental change in Mozambique after the Portuguese could no longer continue the old system.

“It seems to me black South Africans will have to do a little more to convince the government that they will have to negotiate and negotiate meaningfully for fundamental change,”

Dr Motlana was also the only speaker at the conference so far to call for the retention of the present Westminster system of government.

He told over 400 students who packed the hall that the only necessary change was the removal of all race barriers in the constitution and the introduction of a Bill of Rights to protect individuals, not groups.

Dr Motlana, whose speech was marked by sustained applause, said the government’s present policy was another way of saving the concept of separate development.

Blacks were prepared to accept that South Africa was a mixed country, if whites were prepared to accept that there was a black majority, he said.

The decision was taken last year by 1960’s and the electoral momentum was all from the black majority, he said.

Analysis

BRISBANE, May 31, 1978

SHADOW EUROPEAN ECONOMIC POLICY COMMITTEE (SPEC)
Nkondo held

Staff Reporter
SECURITY POLICE last night detained the sus-
pended president of the Azanian People's Organ-
sation, Mr Curtis Nkondo. A spokesman for the of-
lice of Mr Nkondo's attorney said four Security Po-
lcemen accompanied him from his place of work in
Rosebank, Johannesburg, to his Eldorado Park
home, which they searched.
It could not be estab-
lished last night under
which Act he was being
held. No police comment
could be obtained.
Nkondo calls for white role in boycott

Political Staff
MR CURTIS Nkondo, suspend- ed president of Azapo and chairman of the Teachers' Action Committee, yester- day called on students at the University of the Witwaters- rand to join "resistance to the education system".

He also urged whites and blacks to "walk hand in hand".

"That is Martin Luther King's dream and it is a wonderful dream. Black and white have the right to live here," he said.

He added that he was prepared to risk a banning order or imprisonment to fight for "good education for our children."

Mr Nkondo is a controversial figure in the black con- sciousness movement who has been accused by the Minister of Coloured Rela- tions, Mr Marais Steyn, of "inciting" the schools boycott by coloured and Indian pupils.

He was addressing a meeting of more than 1,000 at the university. The meeting was held to express "solidarity" with striking coloured and Indian school pupils.

His speech was regularly punctuated by enthusiastic applause.

The students later voted to boycott classes today and to hold a "sit in" at the university.

Mr Nkondo rejected allegations that he had "instigated the boycott." Referring to those who levelled this accusation, he said: "These people do not understand that South Africa is sick. We are its doctors."

Students, he said, were protest- ing at "a rotten system of education." Coloured pupils were tired of "gutter edu- cation" which "domesticates" them.

Their protest, however, inevitably had political implications. "We have the misfor- tune that education is identi- fied with politics. What the state is, so the schools are," He added: "We want to see whites and blacks share, instead of a few people wall- owing in wealth."

Government spokesmen had said that the problem could not be solved overnight but, "we no longer have time.

We want good education now and if that means I am to be banned, let the banning or- der come this afternoon.

He said pupils had been ac- cused of "wasting time" by striking, but "more time is wasted when children have to be taught in broken class- rooms by ill-equipped teachers."

Mr Nkondo urged white stu- dents to join "resistance" against the education sys- tem. "White education is not perfect either. If black edu- cation problems were solved, we could right the ro- ten state of white education."

"If black education's purpose is domestication, white education's is indoctrination."

Yesterday's meeting was also addressed by Miss Brenda Liebowitz, a white teacher who was dismissed from a coloured school together with two other teachers. Their dismissal played a part in sparking the Western Cape boycott.

Miss Liebowitz told students that the school she taught at had had electricity, many windows were broken, there was a serious shortage of books and corporal punish- ment rules were "seriously abused."
Sizwe Sechaba to hold first mass meeting

THE Sizwe Sechaba organisation will hold a mass meeting at the Tsakane Hall in Brakpan on Sunday afternoon.

Mr Sydney Mogudi, the secretary of the organisation said yesterday, the meeting would be the first of its kind in the area. It is likely to attract a large crowd.

Mr Mogudi said that they were going to discuss problems that affect them in their daily lives.

He told POST that their aims were to promote and improve the hygienic situation of the township, i.e. sanitary installations, sewerage and refuse.

They also want to expedite matters of immediate concern to the community, to look after the educational and recreational needs of the youth, as well as the needs of old age people and pre-school children. They intend to co-operate with local organisations like social welfare and Santa.

Sizwe-Sechaba could look into the transport system. It aims at unifying all ethnic groups in the community and to elect efficient leaders.

Mr Mogudi is appealing to all residents of Brakpan to attend.
Motlana's path to a bloodless revolution

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN—South Africa needed a revolution, but the chances of this occurring without bloodshed are small, Dr Ntshato Motlana of the Soweto Committee of Ten said in Stellenbosch last night.

Dr Motlana — possibly the most outspoken black leader to appear on a Stellenbosch platform — was given a cordial reception by more than 500 people.

He said blacks demanded revolutionary change — fundamental structural change — and he too believed change in South Africa must be of a revolutionary magnitude.

There was no example in history of people as oppressed as black South Africans attaining power by means of bloodshed, and he had been accused of "delaying the revolution" by talking to whites.

Many believed they should get out of the country, go to Angola for a few weeks and shoot it out with the whites, Dr Motlana said.

"I am a peace-loving man. I'd like to see the changes come about peacefully and I pray we will be granted that. But it seems to me a bloody revolution is unavoidable. I hope not," he said.

Dr Motlana, in reply to a further question said the role of the Africans churches in the political debate in the country was a worrying factor.

Blacks watched in "horror and disbelief" as ministers threw blacks out of their churches who had come to bury their employers.

Blacks, he said, could only shake their heads as they saw the followers of Jesus of Nazareth behave like hooligans.

THANKED

At the beginning of his address Dr Motlana thanked SAAK for inviting him to this citadel of Afrikanerdom.

At a recent university an invitation to him had resulted in a prolonged "cat-and-mouse game... until he was allowed to address a select group of political science students" in a small anteroom.

He said the history of South African politics was the history of the white man's attempts to control the black man, and blacks battle to deny this.

It was a fight by blacks to try to "come in from the cold" into their common fatherland and white attempts to keep them out.

In the events that led to the Act of Union in 1910 the British liberal government had behaved "as if blacks did not exist.

Dr Ntshato Motlana (left), of the Soweto Committee of Ten, told a Stellenbosch meeting last night that South Africa was in need of revolution. But, he said, chances of it occurring without bloodshed were small.

When separate development was devised, "everybody thought at last South Africa had found the final solution — that blacks would be pushed into the so-called homelands."

"It was now acknowledged that this ideology had, indeed, failed," Dr Motlana said. But even as the Prime Minister spoke of the need for change he kept repeating that the policy of separate development remained sacrosanct.

Even as Dr Piet Koornhof told an American audience that "apartheid is dead," he kept saying the Western Cape remained a white and coloured preference area.

"As Percy Qoboza is fond of saying: 'If apartheid is dead we're still looking for the body because we want to bury it,'" Dr Motlana said to laughter by the audience.

BLUFF

In the same way as the intention in 1910 was to keep whites in power for all time, so was it in 1980 and the talk of change was "a big public relations exercise to bluff everybody."

South Africans, he said, should build on what they had, and race should be "demystified."

If the word "race" was removed from the present constitution it would be all that was required. It provided for one man one vote "what more do you want?"

He said it would be necessary to protect human rights: not "group rights" or "minority rights." Once group rights were entrenched one was fishing for trouble.

Blacks believed there was no need to go further than the unity constitution the country already had, and an independent judiciary enforcing a Bill of Rights, he said.

He said it seemed to him black South Africans had to "do more to convince the PW Bothas to negotiate seriously."

And by talking it might be possible to convince whites they were following a suicidal path.

One student questioned told Dr Motlana he had feared socialism until he read Dr Motlana's recent article on the subject in the magazine, Frontline. Now he no longer did.

Dr Motlana said blacks favored a socialist form of economy, it is "not quite true to say socialist, but a mixed economy," where it was the duty of the Government to remove the disbalance of gross wealth in the midst of poverty.
Inkatha defends talks with NP

ULUNDI. — It was known that Inkatha believed in radical change in South Africa and that such change could be brought about through peaceful means, the KwaZulu Minister of Education, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said at Ulundi yesterday.

Opening a debate on the Chief Minister’s policy speech, he said dialogue with various groups was one of the strategies Inkatha employed to facilitate peaceful change.

"Since Inkatha believes in, and pursues, a multi-strategy approach, it is important to mention also that dialogue is the most important of all in the movement’s strategies," he said.

Dr Dhlomo, who is also secretary-general of the movement, said Inkatha had been "very consistent in its employment of dialogue as a strategy".

It had made it a point to talk to everybody, regardless of colour or political creed.

He mentioned political parties such as the Progressive Federal Party, the Reform Party of Africa, the coloured Labour Party and the New Republic Party as some with which Inkatha had had talks.

"It is thus amazing, to say the least, that liberals such as Mr W O Schroeder should describe Inkatha’s dialogue with the National Party as a form of ‘flirtation’ or ‘new-found love’.

Dr Dhlomo said this attitude clearly exposed the hypocrisy of liberals such as Mr Schroeder, who pretended to be affronted by the way in which blacks in South Africa were “oppressed” when, in fact, they quietly prayed that National Party rule should last a few more years.

"Mr Schroeder should not think that the National Party is doing us a favour by talking to us. Unlike liberals of Mr Schroeder’s ilk, National Party politicians are realistic and they know that if Inkatha and the NP fail to reach consensus, then everybody in this country — including Mr Schroeder — has no secure future." — Sapa.
THE tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu, the African National Congress guerrilla who was executed last year, will be unveiled on Sunday.

Black organisations and students are expected to attend this ceremony. The procession will leave the Mahlangu home in Mamelodi for the Atteridgeville cemetery at 6 am. A night vigil will be held from Saturday.

The Rev Mashwahulu Mayathula, a member of the Committee of Ten, will lead the service. The speakers include a prominent black lawyer, Mr Dikgang Moseeke. The other speakers are Mr Iggy Mthethule and Mr Wandile Zulu.

Mahlangu was a former Mamelodi High School student who left the country to receive military training after the June 16 riots. After the June 13 Gork Street shooting, in which two people died, his name became world news. He was found guilty at a trial in Kempton Park and sentenced to death. The Appeal Court refused him leave to appeal against the sentence. The sentence was confirmed on April 6, last year, he was executed.
Parents back children in school boycott

Mercury Reporter
ABOUT 1 000 coloured parents attending a meeting at the St Augustine's School in Centenary Road, Durban, last night voted to support the coloured and Indian pupils' school boycott.

They cheered as speakers listed the pupils' complaints about the inequality of coloured education in South Africa.

According to Mr Eddie Smith of the Coloured Teachers' Association, R650 is spent on the education of a white child each year whereas R190 was spent for each coloured pupil.

The parents were told that some of the pupils' grievances were the shortage of schools, leading to drastic overcrowding; lack of books and teaching facilities such as laboratory equipment; unqualified teachers; an unequal share of the budget for education; a lack of travel subsidy for pupils; and an educational policy promoting the racial supremacy of whites.

A representative of the Federation of Teachers Training Colleges told parents that pupils rejected Afrikaans as a compulsory language. It was a language alien to them.

He said these grievances were only part of the real objection coloureds felt towards the nation's social system in South Africa.

Speakers praised the restraint with which the pupils had conducted themselves throughout the week and parents were warned not to allow the authorities to provoke their children into acts of violence.

Parents commended Indian schoolchildren who had come out in support of the coloured pupils. All the speakers appealed to parents to support their children.

See also Page 11.
Black Politics

25 April 1980 - 31 May 1980
Tough talk at Regina Mundi

A series of meetings and commemoration services were held in black townships to mark the twentieth anniversary of Sharpeville. The biggest of these was at Regina Mundi in Soweto...

Regina Mundi meetings are generally reputed to be packed with informers, and it is only the very dedicated who are prepared to have their presence noted by some anonymous spy.

Certainly, there is a visible difference between the type of people in this crowd, and the type in Bushelezi's meetings. Here, the average age is younger, probably in the 30s. The people are well dressed largely in casual clothes, both Western and Afro, but with a fair sprinkling of both full-scale striped suits and full-scale West African roles with matching headgear.

Neither boiler-suit nor tribal regalia common at Inkatha meetings are seen here. And a kierie would be as out of place as a six-gun at a parish council. Ironically, there are many in the crowd dressed in the same natty, black-and-proud style as Bushelezi himself often dons; but which in one of his own rank-and-file supporters would draw stares of incredulity.

Regina Mundi's proceedings are 95 percent in English. Many of Soweto's best-known names are there. Other one-time pillars of the movement are conspicuously absent. One such person explains afterwards: "I've just got tired of listening to the same people saying the same things. We know what's wrong now. What we need is some realistic way of getting it right."

The cars outside are mainly late model - Golfs, Mazdas, a few Mercedes and BMWs. No charter buses, few taxis.

Nine speakers are scheduled - opening with Tutu and closing with Motlana the two top drawcards. Six of them actually take the stage, with one unscheduled speech added, and a fair amount of singing and poetry-reading inbetween.

The singing gives the occasion much of its stamp. It breaks out frequently, and for the most part spontaneously. Various people in the crowd take a lead, and the rest chim in. It's moving, certainly as moving as any Scotsman ever made the masses bawl. The songs vary from the traditional, mainly protest, to the latest expressions of total rejection. Some are sang by young people, and the newer songs are distinctly anti-Africaner, despite the growing economic concentration of the speakers and the prevailing rational argument that Afrikanders are no supporters of the regime.

The poetry reading is hardly a reading. Rather an intense chanting, with musical accompaniment, mainly on the Who Are I there.

The poetry is exclusively do with liberation. Both it and some of the speeches occasionally charge straight into the minefield, across the point where both speakers and listeners know that the tough talk becomes dangerous. Fighting for liberation, the time for revolution has come... If the government will not free Mandela then we will go to Robben Island and fetch him...
Even there, the tough talk is often tempered with the qualification that it is not anti-white; it is anti-system. Several of the poets and virtually all the speakers specifically affirm that the freedom they seek is freedom for all. The old non-racial phrases '...whether black or white or yellow or whatever...' still feature prominently.

Still, one wonders what the security police are making of it. Both the low level informers in the hall, and the bosses to whom who knows what sort of distorted information may be being transmitted.

Lawyer Godfrey Pitje, his imposing presence magnified by the effect of his hairless lionine head over a charcoal Mao-suit, says that Moses approached Pharaoh with a simple message. 'Let my people go', roars the crowd. not waiting for it to be spelt out. Pitje says there is a big difference. Blacks want freedom here. There was no such place to go. 'We have our own South Africa and we're going nowhere.' Pitje continues, drawing huge response from the audience.

The response fades considerably when he turns to the old lament about 'petty apartheid', ambulances which couldn't pick up dying people of the wrong colour etc. But it picks up again when he returns to the power issue. 'We must establish what is negotiable and what is not. We must support our leaders when they say 'we can only meet you, white man, if the purpose is the total dismantling of apartheid'. Blacks demanded nothing less than full participation in government, he said, and spurned advisory committees.

The final speaker is Motlana, introduced as 'first citizen of Soweto', and welcomed with tumultuous applause. Whether anyone in the crowd actually got to see much of Motlana is doubtful. The insinuative presence of the camera crews had been there all along, with flashlights popping and TV aerials shining, but when Motlana appeared the press activity stepped up to a new level. Up to 15 photographers at a time thronged the sanctuary steps, often wholly encasing the speaker. There's a dramatic picture to be had there - speaker, fist raised, battery of microphones, the massive crucifix looming in the background.

Motlana's speech, including his enthusiastically-received enquiry as to when blacks were going to topple Paul Kruger's statue in Church Square and replace it with one of Nelson Mandela, duly made the front page of the next day's Black consciousness paper.

But there in the hall, what the speakers are saying is only one aspect of the overall impact. The interaction between press and public is another aspect. The press presence is more than a medium, it is a factor in its own right.

The press' reception is ambivalent. Right there in the midst of the celebrations, the white camera-men who are privileged to have seen the church services (in fact, white only - why happen to the claims of black solidarity - African-Indians and coloureds-all-brothers-together?)

The pressmen are the ones on the sanctuary steps, wandering through the crowds penetrating wherever they wish with lights and cameras, wearing their scruffiness as a badge of rank.

It's an invasion, but it's also a salvation. The compensation for the flashbulbs is the promise of recognition, the belief that tomorrow night the TV screens of the world will see the anger and agony of black South Africa portrayed before them. How much TV time the mass of footage actually comes down to, who knows. But the hope is there.

For the isolated whites who cannot identify with the detachment of the TV crews, the position is sensitive. They dutifully stand when the crowd stands, but mouths stay closed - partly because they don't have the ability to make them.

Are they seeing it as harmless blowing off of steam, or as whipping up violence? Come to that, how are the audience seeing it? Some of the tough talk sounds like stock material. The sounds of defiance that are expected, rather than any serious call to action. Does anyone really believe that the crowd is about to set off for Robben Island to free Mandela, or does everyone accept this as morale-boosting rhetoric?

The speeches deal with emotions, rather than the practical prospects which may lie ahead. The basic themes are regular: no collaboration with government-created institutions, rejection of the Buthelezi and Thabanehls.

Concern over the government's attempt to create a black middle-class buffer is a new factor. Various speakers make much of it.

Trade unionist, Lenda Mashinini launches a broadside at the first level of beneficiaries of this process - the black personnel managers. It is they who are trying to stop blacks from joining trade unions, she says. The unions heard about the personnel managers' activities from the workers. What they were saying to the workers was bad enough. 'We wonder what you are saying to management behind closed doors'. Big salaries and company cars had made those personnel managers forget they were black.

Catholic Priest Buti Tlhagae, similarly, was bothered that urban blacks were being bought off. 'We are being fooled with section 10 rights, the 99-year lease, money mobility...'. He called on urban blacks to identify with the black struggle full-time, not just at occasional meetings, and to make the sacrifices which kept them together with other blacks.

That's a black man's salute, after all, and no white has a chance at it. Maybe there's something to be said for the screening-out of whites. At least there aren't any chics rads there, desperately empathising with the black man, and cheering like crazy while the blacks quietly wonder how differently they behave when they go home to sun-downers in Sandton.

Back in the white suburbs, there will be people reading of the exclusion of whites, and conjuring up images of revenge to add to the standard impression of violence in Soweto. Perhaps, there is indeed a certain chill, inside the hall. But perhaps that's just imagination. Certainly, it thawed entirely once Nkosie Sikelele is sung and the crowd files outside.

In any case, at least there is talk - and Dr Motlana made it clear that he would continue to talk to whites - 'although I know that it makes many of you unhappy' - in the hope someone would listen. And if there is a breath of ice in the air, it is mild in comparison with the frost a black voyeur might expect to find at a meeting from the other end of the political spectrum.
Afrikaners hail Nthato

SOUTH AFRICA needed a revolution, but the chances of this occurring without bloodshed were small, Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said in Stellenbosch.

Dr Motlana — possibly the most outspoken black leader to appear on a Stellenbosch platform — was given a cordial reception by more than 500 people.

Other meetings at this week's constitutional conference organised by the Stellenboschse Aangeleentheidskring (Saak) were attended by between 150 and 200.

At the end of Dr Motlana's address, a woman student asked him about revolutionary change and whether he would contemplate such action if talking failed.

"Don't we need a few more Sowetos to prick the white dream?" she asked.

Dr Motlana was applauded when he said this was a "very dangerous question."

REVOLUTIONARY

He said blacks demanded revolutionary change — fundamental structural change — and he, too, believed change in South Africa must be of a revolutionary magnitude.

HE CALLS FOR TOTAL CHANGE

solution" — that blacks be pushed into the so-called homelands.

It was now acknowledged that this ideology had indeed failed, Dr Motlana said — but even as the Prime Minister spoke of the need for change, he kept repeating that the policy of separate development remained sacrosanct.

"As Percy Qoboza is fond of saying, if apartheid is dead we're still looking for the body because we want to bury it," Dr Motlana said to laughter.

In the same way as the intention in 1910 was to keep whites in power for all time, so was it in 1980 and the talk of change was "a big public relations exercise to bluff everybody."

South Africans, he said, should build on what they had, and race should be "demythologised."

If the word "race" was removed from the present constitution it would be all that was required.

It provided for one man one vote — "What more do you want?"

He said it would be necessary to protect human rights, not group rights or minority rights. Once group rights were entrenched, one was looking for trouble.

He said he had been accused of being a "peaceful man" and he said this was granted that, but it seems to me a bloody revolution is necessary. I hope not, he said.

In reply to a question about blacks watching with horror and disbelief as ministers "slew blacks who had come to bury their own people," Dr Motlana said the history of South Africa politics was the history of the control of the black man, and blacks are the battle to deny this.

THE FIGHT

It was a fight by blacks to try to come in from the cold into their own society and immunise them out. As blacks watched in horror, they were told that if blacks didn't behave, the cold was going to be even colder. As blacks watched, 

When separatist development was devised, everyone thought it had found the final answer.
Detention (Continued from Page 1)

The detentions began this week with the holding of Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Others being held are Mr Neville Fry, a Malmesbury teacher; two Paarl matric students, Lloyd Fortuin and Michael Coetzee; Mr Allan Liebenberg, a UWC student; Mr Trevor Wentzel, a community worker in Ladismith and member of Azapo; Mr Achmat Cassiem, a banned former president of the SA Students' Association and Mr Michael Sedgwick, a youth organiser of the Churches' Urban Planning Commission.

Eight of the 10 people detained this week are from the Western Cape. Police Headquarters in Pretoria have declined to link the detentions to the school boycott.

A spokesman in Pretoria said today: 'There may be different Acts under which they are being held but they are all connected to security.'

Richard Stevens arrested and detained by police

A co-director of the constructive programme of the Centre for Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape Town, Mr Richard Stevens, was detained this morning as he left his farm in the Philadelphie district near Malmesbury.

The detention of Mr Stevens brings the number of people held under security laws this week to 10.

Mr Stevens was leaving the farm with his family today when security police from Cape Town stopped him. They had been waiting outside the gate.

HIS WIFE

His wife, Freda, an Athlone teacher, and her children, who watched their father being taken away, were extremely upset.

Mr Stevens has four young children, three boys and a girl.

Mr M Modeleni, banned former member of the banned Black Peoples'
'Don’t take to road’
plea by parents

Staff Reporter
MORE THAN 600 Cape Flats parents gave their support at a meeting in Silvertown, Athlone, last night to the boycott of classes by pupils, but pleaded that pupils should not leave school grounds and expose themselves to danger.

The parents were from Silvertown, Bridgetown, Kewtown, Mitchell’s Plain and Rylands.

One, close to tears, appealed to pupils not to “take to the roads.”

“As a parent I ask you please not to go outside the school premises. We don’t want to carry your coffins to the grave as it happened in ’76,” the parent said.

Pupils from schools in the area told parents that the mass march on Tuesday was peaceful and that police had had no need to disperse pupils with tear-smoke.

The pupils last night rejected the claim by the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, that Rylands High School pupils had been “brutally forced to join the march”.

They criticized Mr Steyn for saying that agitators were behind the boycotts and emphasized that the strike was initiated and controlled by pupils.

Mr Steyn’s ultimatum yesterday that he would consult with pupils only if they returned to classes was not well received by the parents.

“When I was a pupil we made the same demands, but look at us now. After all these years, still nothing has been done to improve conditions at schools and give us a better deal,” said one parent.
The ills of migrant labour in The Hill

By KAIZER NGWENYANZA

ZAKES MDA'S The Hill draws deeply on the socio-political problems experienced by Lesotho miners who travel each year to work on the gold mines in South Africa.

The play opened on Tuesday night at the Market Theatre. It is a portrayal of migrant labour system that causes frustration, corruption, sodomy and broken families.

Zakes has written a powerful piece that illuminates the perpetual flow of Basothos to the gold mines. And most of them don't come back rich and are compelled to go back again.

The veteran Lesotho miner (Joko Scott) explores the migrant worker situation in South Africa with a great zeal. He has seen all the evil on the mines. He tells how the system uses black preachers to make black miners docile.

His mountain sermon becomes a hilarious and yet hard hitting social comment. The message comes out loud and clear, accompanied by a certain amount of artistry.

Although he has seen all the iniquity on the gold mines, the veteran who is stripped naked and robbed of all his savings by the whores of Maseru is nevertheless prepared to jog back to the belly of the earth to dig the white man's gold.

Moses Tsetsi plays a young man who wants to go to the mines. He dreams of wealth and a car. At the same time he is mixed with nightmares of homosexuality and failure to support his family.

The young man stays on top of a hill with an old man (Chris Baskiti) who has run away from Maseru because he owes tax.

The old man has been to the mines. He wants to go back. But he has no money to bribe officials at the recruiting office.

Mda has scripted a deeply touching piece with satirical attacks on the system. The artists in the production are not that good but they have the ability to imbue the production with thought-provoking moments.
Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu used quite a few military analogies in his recent "nest" meetings on the Witwatersrand. Addressing a crowd of largely Inkatha supporters in Boksburg, he told his 5000-strong audience: "We are not afraid of going to battle fronts chosen by our enemies." He then committed his Inkatha movement to "enter the fray at the level of everyone's heart and mind.

Buthelezi's war

his running battles with opponents of government-created structures to the role in homeland administration Now the cardinal issue of his credibility as a black nationalist will be magnified and tested in the more sensitive and highly politicized urban field.

Say Inkatha sweeps the board in the council elections later this year, it must make Soweto "work" or the Chief will become the Muzorewa of SA.

The rents issue, which plagues the present councils, is the tip of an iceberg of mounting financial problems. Buthelezi's boldness is, therefore, all the more surprising because of his previously stated position. This was that Inkatha would consider participation in the council only once he had received assurances from Pretoria of extensive material support for, or the broadening of, an income base in the urban black areas.

It can only be speculation as to whether such assurances have been given. However, on Tuesday, Deputy Minister of Cooperation and Development George Morri-

son announced that government was considering amending the Community Council Act to make provision for the establishment of municipalities in black urban areas, and that draft legislation might be tabled before the end of the current session.

Though there are still a number of questions over what measures will be introduced to create financial viability, the commitment towards extending local authority might put some substance in the councils. They then could well be the vehicles, in Buthelezi's vision, of a "multifaceted strategy" to attain an increased power base for his overall national objective.

Financial Mail April 25 1980
perhaps even worse to the Government's apartheid system can generate even more dissatisfaction with the existing political system.

The Kwazulu leader and President of the Inkatha movement was one of the leaders who announced this week that he intends to establish a new political system to replace the existing one. An initiative, he said, blacks were taking on behalf of the people of that province as an example for the rest of the country.

Mr. Botha's announcement in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly came as a surprise to many who had expected him to continue on the path of armed struggle and total withdrawal from Government-created institutions as the most legitimate way to achieve freedom.

Twenty years of armed struggle by the African National Congress, he told a meeting in the Soviet Union, has not set the stage for the sudden overthrow of the Government. He said, should instead, a multi-faceted strategy to bring a concerted political pressure to bear on the Government and force it to call a general election.

Believing that mere protest can achieve little, Chief Buthelezi has left no room for a long-forgotten opposition ideal of a national convention with the aim of non-conference to plan a new constitution for Natal.

"Since the time of Union blacks have no formal share in the shaping of the constitutional, administrative, and economic structure of South African society," he noted.

"The time has come for a formal black contribution to the political process, not simply to resist or challenge the present order, but to rise above it and provide new concepts and to give whites new perceptions of possibilities which will enhance security and prosperity of all South Africa's people."

But Chief Buthelezi made it clear he had no intention to allow his plans to become yet another dusty faded blueprint. He had only wanted to involve the whites of Natal in a joint venture to plan a new future - his future, his hope, his way of engaging the Government.

Already, Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, the largest black political movement in the country, has been holding talks in earnest with a group of National Party MPs.

Inkatha has also been one of the front organizations to give evidence before the Government's anti-apartheid commission, planning a new constitution for whites, coloureds, Indians and perhaps even blacks.

Chief Buthelezi has even tried to win the confidence of the new National Party, or "the Inkatha movement" and other Nationalist groups in the planning of the province's affairs. - attempts the Government has hitherto resisted. But, in Midulaba in the Transvaal, where he died with at least some dignity.

"But having established a family of Chief Buthelezi also reminded Mr. Botha that the National Party in Natal has for long been the." (No date) The Government in Cape Town is making plans for the first time in the history of the constitutional process to plan a new constitution for the country. The plans would be made by an independent commission to plan a new constitution for Natal.

"I believe white SA bowlers in its confusion over where to go and what to do," he told Mr. Botha. "There is no national plan and national policies are working against the interests of wining seats.

The people of Natal, he said, must be looked after, neglected areas of the country. "There has been a lack of integration and co-operation," he said.

"We would like to see you belling your own side in election discrimination by the ANC (which we call a "black house") in the last election, but we wish to see houses of discrimination which are entrenched in our country's constitution," he said.

"That discrimination can only be overcome through the national interest" Buthelezi said that discrimination will be made unenforceable by the elimination of local, regional, and provincial discriminatory practices.

Finally, Chief Buthelezi has also attempted to engage the National Party by offering them two seats on his commission. (No date)
CAPE TOWN — The crackdown on black consciousness leaders continued yesterday when Security Police detained a Cape Town executive member of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Richard Stevens.

The detention brings to 10 the number of black consciousness figures held in Johannesburg and the Western Cape in the past two days.

A spokesman for a firm of Johannesburg attorneys said two people in Soweto, Mr Mthibe Patsa and Mr Teddy Peso, were also detained last week.

Mr Stevens is believed to be held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act, which provides for renewable detention of up to 14 days. The other nine held this week have been detained under the General Law Amendment Act.

Last month, Mr Stevens, who is also co-director of the Institute for Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape-Town, was charged with entering a Cape black township without a permit. He was fined R8. — DDC.
GRAHAMSTOWN — People who claimed it was "unrealistic" to demand Nelson Mandela's release were themselves being unrealistic, a Rhodes University history lecturer, Mr Jeff Peires, told a mass meeting here last night.

Mr Peires was addressing more than 800 students and black pupils in the university's Great Hall at a meeting called by students in support of the Free Mandela campaign.

The meeting climaxed a two-day boycott of lectures by university students. The guest speaker was to have been Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of Azapo, who was detained by police in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

Mr Nkondo's speech — the same delivered at Wits shortly before his detention — was read in his absence by a student. — SAPA.

Boycott debate, page 7
THE "Free Mandela" campaign had seriously damaged delicate negotiations which could have led to Nelson Mandela being released from Robben Island, Mr Gibson Thutha, chairman of publicity for Intha, said in Stellenbosch.

Answering a question from the floor during the SAAK congress, Mr Thutha said he had not mentioned it before but the matter had been a subject of discussion "as far back as when Mr Vorster was Prime Minister".

As recently as February this year Intha had held "very much in overall discussions with the Prime Minister. These discussions had gone far when the "Free Mandela" campaign started," he said.

"And then came back to us that the feeling was that to free Mandela now would be bad politics. I feel very bad about it," Mr Thutha said. -- Sapa.
Spotlight on black roots

‘Our theatre must be based on the daily experiences of our own people’

WHAT ROLE should black theatre play in South Africa’s changing political situation? And how should it reflect the communal experience of this country’s black people?

The argument goes on and on among critics from some corners that there is too much political statement in black theatre. On the other hand, black playwrights say that their theatre has got relevance to the situation today and it has to have direction and purpose as well as to educate the people.

I talked to Matsemela Manaka, a young Soweto playwright who wrote and produced the powerful two-hander, Egoli, which received rave Press notices. “This is a delicate subject,” he says. “and by commenting, I don’t hope to accuse or attack other playwrights. We would like to enrich each other and know the creative source of black theatre. In fact, I should call it theatre because some plays hardly fall under the category of black theatre. Why do you say some plays don’t fall under the black theatre category?"

“Since they are for change and they are not all that positive to the situation of blacks in the country. They are for gain and not in search of a cultural identity.”

What should black playwrights look for when scripting their plays?

“As I said before, black playwrights should not depend on an illusion in their minds. They should have their time to looking around their daily experiences and they will know which direction to take. ‘Our people should not be misled to believe that our theatre is born out of an illusion of the mind of the individual. Our theatre is, and should be rooted in our communal experience. If our society is affected by the political setup. And in this case, our convictions and how you see yourself in this society will determine what you would like to say. Talent does not determine the content of our theatre. But it is rather used as a means to transport whatever we would like to say.”

Can you give us an example in this respect?

“For sure, plays like Gibson Kente’s Boys Long and Steve Bantu Biko are productions which show that talent determines the form of theatre and not the content. The two plays have the same content but different talents. Both depict the situation of a black man but the form in which this is transmitted is different. Kente uses a musical form of expression while Winston Nthoda and John Kani in Intwasa Bantu are more experimental. But the content is the same — touched by similar conditions of the life they live.”

Are there any serious problems in our theatre?

“Today’s problem with our theatre is sincerity and honesty. We are not at all reflecting the truth as seen through our own eyes. And when it comes to appreciation our public and the media are equally to blame. Certain people enjoy more publicity which they don’t deserve. As it was mentioned yesterday a notion is shifted towards those people while creative and relevant theatre is shunned.”

Is there any production you feel was neglected by the people and the Press?

“Egoli is one of them. When we started very few people could offer a word of encouragement. Some so-called art organisations failed to give any help. They hardly came forward with critical help. Our shows are just another cultural wing which is all out to educate and transform our people into better human beings.”

By ELLIOT MAKHAYA

Matsemela Manaka . . . "our theatre should be rooted in our communal experience."

Hamilton Selwane and Moslutl Ledwaba in Egoli . . . relevance to what’s-happening today.
SUNDAY POST

Reporter

HUNDREDS of people are expected to attend the unveiling of the tombstone of hanged ANC guerilla, Solomon Mahlangu, in Pretoria today.

Mahlangu was hanged on April 6 last year in connection with the Goch Street shootings in which two people died.

Speakers in today's service will include Mr Dikgang Moseneke, and representatives of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso).

The suspended president of Azapo, who was detained this week, Mr Curtis Nkoko, was also supposed to speak at the service.

Services will be held at Mahlangu's Mamelodi home and at the Atteridgeville cemetery where he was buried.
A matter of State vs the individual

Solution

Comparison between the "state" and the "individual" in support of a "third solution" that is acceptable to all is needed.

A third solution

[Diagram]

The map - the broader concept - does not exist. There is no place on the map that corresponds to the broader concept. The broader concept is not a geographical location on the map. It is a conceptual or philosophical idea beyond any physical boundaries.
Work with us pleads Buthelezi

Tribune Reporter

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi's commission to provide a blueprint for power sharing in Natal and KwaZulu—announced in the Legislative Assembly at Ulundi this week—will be the acid test for his moderate policies and for Prime Minister P. W. Botha's declared commitment to change.

Its success, depending on whether Mr Botha and his administration are prepared genuinely to negotiate without window-dressing, will prove to the Chief's critics that he can change a Pretoria-revised system from within and approach his ideal of a national convention.

Its failure will increase the possibility of his move into exile about which he warned Mr Botha during the Assembly's opening last week.

Chief Buthelezi's message to the Prime Minister was:

"As each day passes without a clear commitment on his part to bring about fundamental changes, I am filled with gloomy forebodings for our country and all of us.

"As I see each statement the Prime Minister makes to placate veldtramp elements in the National Party, the more I despair about our finding a solution peacefully in South Africa.

"I plead for whites to understand the need for this black initiative and to work with the commissioners who will be appointed in due course in the spirit that must prevail in a liberated, free, democratic and beautiful South Africa," he said.

The Progressive Federal Party and the New Republic Party will have one representative each on the commission. The National Party, from which two delegates will be invited, is still studying the proposals.

The NP's Natal leader, Senator Warwick Webber, welcomed the proposals, undeterred by Chief Buthelezi's
Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, with Naomi Jamieson's bust of himself presented to the Zulu nation this week.

declaration that the commission was a black initiative and not a joint one between Inkatha and the party.

Mr Webber said: "When the NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Administration launched the Natal Indaba it did not have the powers to negotiate with KwaZulu. The Provincial Council's jurisdiction does not extend to the KwaZulu Government.

"By taking this step Chief Buthelezi has overcome the problems we were experiencing. It's a logical extension of the Natal Indaba."

Mr Frank Martin, Natal's senior MEC and leader of the Provincial Council, said: "We welcome the commission announced by Chief Buthelezi. This has been our thinking for a number of years."

The PF’s national leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, said: "If we want to ensure a peaceful future for this country and for our children, then the only way to do so is by taking decisions together and not for each other.

"The commission with its wide and comprehensive terms of reference is a step in the right direction."

"Because its members will be experts from all sectors of society the final report should reflect the wishes of as many of the people who will be affected as possible."

Mr Gerrie de Jong, independent MP for Pietermaritzburg South, called on the National Party not to reject the proposals but to join the commission and put its case.

"The terms of reference are excellent and could solve the problems of Natal as well as the rest of the country."

The leader of the Reform Party and vice-chairman of the South African Black Alliance, Mr Y. S. Chismamy, said he was "very pleased."

"Over the last five years black leaders have called upon the South African Government to hold a national convention . . .

"In view of the Government's failure to do so we strongly support Chief Buthelezi's commission of inquiry."

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, Director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at Natal University, said Natal and KwaZulu were territorially and economically interdependent.

It was clear Chief Buthelezi was not seeking confrontation with the Government but rather making a constructive contribution to the idea of a constellation of states.

The Prime Minister's Press secretary, Mr Neville Kriek, said Mr Botha would not make a statement about the commission this week.
THE STUDENTS who took to the streets in marches across the land this week carrying banners which read "The system stinks!" and "Away with Coloured Affairs", were using demonstrations to make the same point as informed academics and organisations have often done in longer terms and bigger words.

The South African Institute of Race Relations, in its evidence to the Cillary Commission of Inquiry into the 1976/77 disturbances, wrote: "There will be no enduring peace unless very real and meaningful changes are brought about in the immediate future. A small concession here and there is no longer acceptable. Young people are no longer prepared to exercise patience and the tolerance shown by their parents.

...Spontaneously, specific outbreaks of mass action cannot be ruled out in the future. They will recur, possibly with greater frequency and wider participation than in the past, until such time as these discriminations against are assuaged by equality of rights and opportunities.

And the State has reacted in different ways at different times. Take the Cillary Commission itself: "Virtually all legislation relating to the coloured people is discriminatory and too often a thin veil is employed to colour it as unjust discrimination."

And as such, the commission found in its report that the 1976/76 disturbances were not just.

However, the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Mr Marius van Peurssen, this week blamed the unrest on "agitators" and "instigators" and said that if the children were left alone by these "outside agitators" the situation would look completely different.

There have also been different words of condemnation at the 1976/76 disturbances.

The phrase of one of this week's marches, observers, believe, provides the clue for the State's response to the events.

"This education denies the right of all to grow"
"o policies are such that red" means that certain ites of a political, social aced on them by law, the refer to these people.

Education for "coloured" people dates right back to the early days of the Cape Colony. In fact one was founded only five years after the establishment of the Dutch settlers. However, the education of children at this time was not segregated and only became so after the establishment of the Department of Education, which in 1939, tried to encourage the growth of missionary schooling for "coloured" people.

That tended to be the case right up until the coming to power of the National Party and D F Malan. Schooling for "coloured" people was basically private missionary education and by no means inferior to that given to white children, though it was neither free nor compulsory.

And until that time there was still a vote for "coloured" people despite the restriction of fairly severe educational and property qualifications.

The Nationalist Government did not take long to change that. In 1951 the Government started a Department of coloured Affairs, for the first time formally defining "coloured" people as a separate "volk" and making them part and parcel of their apartheid plans.

The first Minister of coloured Affairs was, in fact, no less than the present Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha.

Mr Steyn said this week's problems were "inherited".

From then on, the State whether a child will take Standard level or Higher Level syllabuses at high school socially in the hands of school psychologists.

1957: Control of student minds under the National Education Policy Act which lays down three principles which guide the Nationalists in formulating national education policy. They are that education shall have a Christian character and it shall have a "broad national character" and that it shall be neither free nor compulsory.

The second of these principles lays down that a broad national character should be imparted by:
(a) through the conscious expansion of every pupil's knowledge of the country's history, heritage and cultural heritage and traditions, national symbols and their meanings, the population, social and economic conditions, geographical diversity and national achievements, and
(b) by developing this knowledge in each pupil into understanding and appreciation by presenting it in a meaningful way appropriate to and further through the participation of pupils in national activities and their regular honours of the national symbols.

1. inculcate a spirit of patriotism, founded on loyalty and responsibility towards the Fatherland, its role and its natural resources;
2. enable every pupil to gain a balanced perspective and
3. achieve a sense of unity and a spirit of cooperation.

The meaning of "coloured education" is expressed by the statistic in the box entitled "Cape Education" on the facts on this page.

It has become clear that the frustrations of "coloured" people with their educational opportunities and facilities is ultimately reflected in their inability to do anything about it at a political level. For it is them that power to allocate money and resources and to give direction to the content of
factions between democratic movements remained firm.

3,000 delegates from the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the successor to the APO, the Coloured Peoples Organization, more commonly known as the Coloured People Congress, the Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.

Following the banning of the ANC and the imprisonment of many of its leaders and activists, many of the CPO's leaders went into exile and the movement was disbanded.

Following the banning and shift into exile of the non-racial congress movement, the initiative in "coloured" politics was seized mostly by professional people, and particularly by teachers. Influential among them has been the Teachers League of South Africa.

However, it has been more than anything else, the gradual but systematic erosion of political rights and a consequent determination in the quality of education that has given rise to the anger of the "coloured" children.

As the SA Institute of Race Relations report to the Colloquium on Human Rights in South Africa and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission maintained: "Both communities (African and "coloured") are inevitably bound together by being represented as a common group by a host of officially displayed palliatives forming them "non-whites" which determine which categories, categories, sections of public transport and other facilities they can use.

"In many organisations there is a growing belief that the African and "coloured" population have such a community of interests, suffer under such similarity of discriminatory practices and that their future is co-bound up together that there is a move not only to speak with one voice, but to act together as black people."

And as observers have pointed out this week, the boycotts should not be treated lightly or as "agitate" politics.

The children are making demands beyond simple reaction to their condition.

The apartheid poster hung on a rusting fence as this week: "SA education stifles; denies the right of all to grow fully, think freely and develop our potential. Educate for social change."

— SUNDAY POST reporter.
ULUNDI. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, says he would welcome consultations on major issues between those who see themselves as playing a leadership role in the black struggle.

Opening the central committee meeting of Inkatha in Ulundi at the weekend, he said there was no way in which blacks could hope to win the struggle if they did not sink their differences.

"I want to appeal... with all the sincerity in my heart, that we as blacks who are in quest of our freedom should not allow white people, either on the Right or on the Left, to play us against each other."

Chief Buthelezi said blacks could debate methods they proposed using in the struggle without being as "acrimonious", as they had been in the past.

He said he had seen it as a "shame" when unity movement members were so acrimonious in their attacks of ANC leaders like Professor Z R Mathews, Chief A J Luthuli, Paul Mosakaka and others for their participation in the Native Representatives Council.

He said there was the same acrimony between the ANC and PAC leaderships and he could not see, while they were in exile, why the leadership of the groups should remain separate.
THIRTY-two youths and two journalists were yesterday arrested in Mamelodi, Pretoria, when police intercepted a procession heading towards Atteridgeville cemetery for the unveiling of the tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu.

The youths were arrested near Deneboom station where they had intended to board a train to Atteridgeville.

Those who were in vehicles were pulled out after police had manned a roadblock at the road leading out of Mamelodi. Others who managed to escape the police were pursued in the township and also arrested.

A spokesman from the Police Directorate of Public Relations said when police arrived on the scene they were stoned by students and one white constable was slightly injured.

Thirty-four people whose ages range from 18 — 20 were arrested. He said no firearms, teargas or force was used. They may appear in court tomorrow.

About the arrested journalists, Willie Bokalala of POST and Willie Nkol, he said they were part of the procession and they did not have any means of identifying themselves as reporters.

The students, however, said they were just pounced upon by police after they were told at the station that the next train was a 10 am. They say they were also asked to produce their reference books at the station.

Police used dogs to catch students who were scattering throughout the township. Some those who had returned to the Mahlangu home were arrested. Six women who were cooking behind cooking were also arrested but they are believed to have never been released.

Only a few cars managed to evade the roadblocks and make for the cemetery. One of the cars — a combi — was carrying Mrs Martha Mahlangu and members of the family. There was a slight delay at the cemetery as most of the key people were left behind when evading the police.

There was yet another surprise for the people at the cemetery. There was no tombstone to be unveiled. According to a member of the family and the organisers of the unveiling ceremony the company contracted to erect the tombstone failed to do so even though it was paid in full.

Mrs Mahlangu, mother of the executed African National Congress guerrilla was bitter. She said she was very upset by what has happened.

"After I have spent so much money this happens. And it is not for the first time that a service for my son has been disrupted. My sympathies are with all those arrested. I plead for their release.

After the ceremony students who had managed to evade the police arrived at the cemetery. They had come by train. Freedom songs were sung at the cemetery. Later they left for the station. They were followed by a large contingent of police.
1000 at vigil for Mahlangu unveiling

By MALOCE MATSEMELA

MORE THAN 1000 people attended the night vigil for the unveiling of Solomon Mahlangu's tombstone at the Lutheran Church, Mamelodi, on Saturday.

The vigil started at the Mahlangu home, 2445 Section H, Mamelodi, about 7.30 pm.

As more people trickled in, it was decided to move to the church at 9 pm. About 1000 people were in church.

Freedom songs were sung and raised fist salutes were given intermittently during the speeches.

A Mamelodi-based poetry-reading group, the Ancestors of Africa, performed a play portraying the sufferings of blacks in the country.

Mr Tom Nkomo, president of the Azanian Students Organisation (Azaso), said the Government had shown its brutality by executing Mahlangu who was said not to have pulled a trigger during the Cogh Street attack.

He said the execution proved that the Government was fiddling around with the freedom of the black man.

A representative of the Congress of South African Students (Cass) said it was high time that the black man found his position in the struggle faced by blacks.

"We have reached a point where we can no longer be prepared to swallow without chewing, by the true black leaders. This has been rejected for many years. So we are not going to sit back hoping that there will be a second Jesus who will come for our liberation," he said.

The vigil ended at 5.30 am. Then a procession towards Atteridgeville started.

Some people who had come from Pietermaritzburg, soweto and Alexandra 'used trains from Mamelodi to Atteridgeville where the tombstone was to be unveiled.

He also said that the students were fully aware of the inferior education they were being fed and the Government seemed content to do nothing about it.

"There should be unity between parents and children and the most important fact is that it is a students' duty to understand their parents in the struggle," he said.

The Rev. Mackness Mac- yathula, who conducted part of the service, said it was important to realise that the present system was not desirable for people wherever they were.

"It was an unfortunate situation for the Government to think that its acts would deter the struggle of the black man.

"We have reached a time when we cannot continue putting back from what we believe in," he said.

Police in land vehicles manned a roadblock near the station where a number of people, including POST reporter Willie Bokula and Willie Nkosi (Star) were arrested.

Only a few people reached the graveyard but their numbers were swelled by the Atteridgeville residents.

POETRY

Police were stationed near the cemetery and
Students singing freedom songs at the graveyard during the unveiling of the tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu yesterday.

Police on guard at the unveiling of the tombstone for the executed Solomon Mahlangu.

Pix by Thomas Khoza, Absy Mnisi and Joe Molefe

A composed Mrs Martha Mahlangu, mother of Solomon listens with concentration to one of the speakers at the graveyard.

Uhuru for Natal

As an Inkatha-inspired commission takes shape to investigate the future constitutional position of Natal in relation to a greater South Africa, Mr Gerrie de Jong, Independent MP for Pietermaritzburg South, has enlarged on why he sees further consolidation of kwazulu as a dead duck.

Mr de Jong caused a stir in Parliament recently with a speech in which he called for Natal to become a confederate state of South Africa, jointly ruled by white, Zulu, Indian and coloured, with representation of the non-white groups at central level as well.

This corresponds closely with what Chief Gatsha Buthelezi now appears to be advocating.

Mr de Jong has now issued an analysis of the situation: the nub of which is that further consolidation is pointless because the Zulus have expired and the right is rejected taking independence while consolidation would also dilute the region's economy, including the vital sugar industry.

He also warns that unless the Government comes to terms with this and negotiates, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, "a fine man with a big heart, and a Christian," could either lose his leadership position or be forced to leave the country and conduct the liberation struggle from outside, a la Mugabe.

"And if that happened, it would be a calamity of the greatest magnitude. Natal at present has more racial goodwill than anywhere, but it is also a potentially powerful force."

Mr de Jong makes the points that:

- Natal/Kwazulu is not just a localised, regional problem, it is the Achilles heel of South Africa. No national settlement could stick without it.
- Natal has the country's major port, communication lines and an oil pipeline. It is absolutely vital that it remain stable.
- Natal has a unique population makeup of 4.2 million Zulus, 660,000 Indians, 320,000 whites and 87,000 coloured people.
- White/Indian capital and expertise is as vital to the region's prosperity at Zulu labour — though Zulu should be encouraged to enter the management capital field as well.
- At least 60 percent of the total population of Natal supports a power-sharing arrangement which would be acceptable to all groups but would safeguard them from domination.
- The Mzabhe victory in Transkei has hardened the attitude of blacks significantly since a few months ago and there is increasing political pressure on moderate leaders.
- The best the Van der Walt commission could achieve would be to produce a kwazulu in three fragments. This would be unacceptable to the Zulus and the cost to South Africa would be prohibitive.
- A hostile, fragmented and independent kwazulu would border on at least three independent black states and this would pose a military and strategic nightmare — with a loss of common loyalty in the defence of South Africa.
- At least 60 percent of the Zulu workforce would still be working in "white" Natal.
- Natal and kwazulu already share so many common services that it would be impracticable to attempt to separate them.

"If you just look at the map it is obvious that Natal with its Zulu majority intermingled throughout and bunched in as it is by Transkei, Lekhubu, Swaziland and Mozambique, cannot logically, practically or morally be divided into an independent Zulu state and a white area.

"But I believe the Zulus don't want that, neither do the whites, Indians and coloureds.

"The only alternative in the sort of joint control of Natal as a whole I have suggested, in the interests of peace I can only implore the Government to abandon old theories, that have so obviously failed and take a fresh look and think about what the people of Natal themselves want."
Security arrests: 12 held, 7 freed

Crime Reporter

SECURITY police now hold only 12 of the 19 people detained since last week under the security laws. Eight are from the Western Cape.

Since yesterday they have released seven people who were being held under the Criminal Procedures Act.

A spokesman for headquarters in Pretoria said the 12 were being held under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

Security police chiefs in Cape Town and the Boland have confirmed that all those detained in the Western Cape are still being held. Under the Act they can be held for periods up to 14 days.

Still in detention are Mr Lloyd Fortuin and a 17-year-old youth, both students; Mr Neville Fry, a school teacher; Mr Trevor Wentzel, a community worker in Lavistown and member of Azapo; Mr Achmat Cassim, a banned former president of the SA Students' Association; Mr Michael Sedgwick, a youth organiser of the Churches' Urban Planning Commission; Mr Allan Liebenberg, former president of the UWC Students' Representative Council, and Mr Richard Stevens, co-director of the Constructive for Inter-Group Studies at the University of Cape Town.

MEETING

Mr Curtis Nkondo, former president of Azapo, who was detained by security police last week, is still in detention. He was held after addressing a student meeting at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Two journalists, Mr Willie Nkoni of the Star and Mr Willie Bokaza of Post are being held, together with 32 other people on charges of public violence.

Their arrest arises from a service at the graveside of the executed几何 Street terrorist, Solomon Mahlangu.

Security police have stressed that only 12 are being held in terms of security legislation. This comes in the wake of further reports of detentions.

"It is possible that many others are being held for criminal offences, but it is impossible to keep track of all the arrests around the country," Lieutenant Colonel Leon Winkel of the police Directorate of Public Relations said.
PORT ELIZABETH — Workers at the Ford factory here are pressing ahead with attempts to remove their local union leadership from office. They have demanded a general meeting of union members to discuss ousting office-bearers.

The union is the black United Automobile Workers, which is affiliated to Posatu. One of the targets of the campaign is Mr John Mke, president of Posatu, which is regarded as a "militant" organisation by employers.

The chief cause of the dissent is the recent strike at Ford. Dissenters, most of whom belong to the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, claim that local union leadership was "pro-management" during the strike.

At a meeting at the weekend, the dissidents decided to send a letter to the union, demanding a general meeting of members to discuss removing the union's Port Elizabeth branch executive.

Earlier this month, workers adopted a no-confidence motion in the executive and demanded its resignation. But the executive refused to resign, saying its dismissal was unconstitutional.

At the weekend meeting, Mr Dumile Makhanda, who heads an action committee which is attempting to remove the union leadership, said his committee had decided "to adopt a more constitutional approach".

They had decided to write to the branch executive demanding a general meeting within 30 days. If this was not complied with, workers would elect their own executive, Mr Makhanda said.

The chief reason given for the move was dissatisfaction with the handling of the Ford dispute. But other claims made at the meeting were that six members of the branch committee had been "unconstitutionally" sacked and that workers were dissatisfied with the executive's last financial report.

Dissatisfaction with the running of the union was also expressed.

Union officials were unavailable for comment yesterday. — DDC.
By PHIL MTHIMKULU

THE tombstone of Solomon Mahlangu could not be erected on Saturday as this day at the Atteridgeville Cemetery is for burials only.

This was one of the reasons given by Mr Ezrom Mangena, an attendant at the cemetery, for the refusal to allow the erection of the tombstone.

Mr Mangena, however, said he was not the attendant who was on duty on Saturday.

Mr Mangena also said any company coming to erect a tombstone has to fill forms at the offices of the superintendent. A sketch of the tombstone to be unveiled also has to be provided.

Mr H P J Klopper, the manager of the company which should have erected the tombstone, assured POST yesterday that the tombstone is going to be erected.

He said his workers left in the morning for the cemetery where they will get the necessary permission to erect it. He said he was not aware that tombstones were not erected on Saturdays at Atteridgeville.

The Mahlangu family was terribly upset about the incident. Another ceremony which will be for the family only will be arranged within the next few weeks.
DURBAN — Mr Buy Servi, MP and deputy-chairman of the Progressive Federal Party, has welcomed the KwaZulu initiative in setting up an all-party commission to examine the structure of political relationships between the people of Natal.

He told a meeting in Durban that the initiative offered an "exciting new option for people committed to peaceful change. It was exciting because it came from the largest single ethnic group in South Africa — and the majority in Natal.

Also, in the growing atmosphere of frustration and militancy, it was a calculated manifestation by the parties to seek accommodation for all and bring about change through peaceful means. — Sapa
Mahlangu: 34 in court

THE 34 people who were arrested at Mamelodi, Pretoria, including two journalists, may appear in court today.

POST reporter Willie Bokala, Willie Nkosi of The Star, and the others were arrested at Mamelodi during the tombstone unveiling ceremony of Solomon Mahlangu on Sunday.

They had been expected to appear in court yesterday.

They are now expected to appear today.
SOUTH AFRICA would have a black Prime Minister within five to 10 years, the general-secretary of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said in Durban yesterday.

Addressing students of the University of Natal, he said the white community could not stop South Africa from having a black prime minister.

"What we would consider has in its power to do is to decide whether or not the Prime Minister is going to end up there through a process of reasoned negotiation and discussion at a conference table or whether he will have to do so after bitter fighting and bloodshed.

"I think we have a very good chance of pulling off the first alternative. And we need Nelson Mandela, because he is almost certainly going to be that first black prime minister."

"He represents all our genuine leaders, in prison and exile. So to call for his release is really to say, please let us sit down, black and white, each with our acknowledged leaders and work our common future, so that we can move into this new South Africa which will be filled with justice, peace, love, righteousness, compassion and caring."

"It is possible that some politicians may end up being totally irrelevant. Retirement might do some of them good. Look at what it's done for Gen. van der Bergh."

Bishop Tutu thought South Africa would have a new non-racial society and that meant we must negotiate and work for it. Would there be a minority in a 1000 years or over my dead body?"
Row looms as Nats snub Natal plan

Breaking point may be near

Chief Buthelezi

Chief Buthelezi

Government going to regret this step but it is also unfortunately going to be regretted by the people of Natal.

"Why is it that the Government must first receive a badging before it will do anything?"

In his speech in Parliament yesterday, Mr. van der Westhuizen said South Africa was an independent country and could not have other countries telling him what to do.

Debate

In Maritzburg, Mr. Patrick Waterson, has set the scene for a heated debate between the NRP and opposition National Party in the provincial council on Chief Buthelezi's commission.

He gave notice yesterday that he is to move that Council support the initiative.

While the NRP has already come out in support of Chief Buthelezi's initiatives, the NP has still to commit itself.

The leader of the NP in the provincial council, Mr. Theo van Lingen, MP for Newcastle, has already said that he and his colleagues would be awaiting a directive from their party's leaders in Natal.

1. Underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, or which pencil may also be used.
2. Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University.

3. No part of an answer book to be torn out.
4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.
Parents call for equal education

RESOLUTIONS of parental support for the school boycott and rejection of the system of separate education were passed unanimously at well-attended meetings in Ida's Valley and Cloetesville near Stellenbosch this week.

Motions passed at the meetings attended by parents and schoolchildren from Cloetesville and Luckhoff senior secondary schools were:

- We, the parents of Stellenbosch, take note of the grievances of students as put forward during the boycott. We fully identify ourselves with the struggle for equal education and support the students wholeheartedly in all activities.
- We reject the political system which is the direct cause of the present situation. We reject with contempt the Coloured Persons' Council as put forward by the government to represent the so-called coloured and regard it as an insult to our community.
PM replies

To telegram 27/54/80

THE Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Seely, on receipt of the supplementary report of the Education Committee's report, which has been referred to the department of education, has written to the Education Committee, saying:

'Seeing the urgent needs to which you refer and in the interests of young people and the community, I have instructed the Ministry of Education to do all that is possible to meet these needs within the limits of the resources available to the Department.'
PM threatens to curtail Buthelezi 'deplored'

**Political Staff**

The Prime Minister, Mr. P. W. Botha, has threatened to curtail Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's commission which is to investigate the future of Natal and KwaZulu.

While warning there could be serious consequences to the stance taken by Mr. Botha, opposition spokesmen however feel there is very little Mr. Botha could do to prevent Chief Buthelezi going ahead with the commission with its present terms of reference.

Meanwhile Dr. Piet Koornhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development, would not comment on an appeal from Chief Buthelezi to him to act as intermediary and to get Government assistance on the issue.

In a brief telephone interview today Dr. Koornhof said: 'We are dealing with the matter,' after being asked if and when he would be meeting Chief Buthelezi. He then put down the receiver.

**ATTENTION**

It is however understood a message was relayed to Chief Buthelezi through the Commissioner General of KwaZulu saying the appeal was receiving attention.

Mr. Botha told Parliament yesterday that if Chief Buthelezi was planning to deal with matters under the control or jurisdiction of the central Government 'I say no'.

However Chief Buthelezi was discussing the issue with Dr. Koornhof and a final decision would have to await the outcome of these discussions.

In reply to a question by Mr. Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, Mr. Botha said he would not allow negotiations between the Natal Provincial Administration and KwaZulu.

After another question Mr. Botha said he would have no objection but 'only with the full knowledge and control of the Government.'

Mr. Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on homelands, who

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Mr. Ray Swart, Progressive Federal Party spokesman on homelands, who

**ARROGANT RESPONSE**

'His arrogant response to KwaZulu is to be deplored. He has claimed the monopoly of knowing what is good for Natal and KwaZulu and he has shut down yet another option for reasonable consultation and another avenue for peaceful change.'

The handling by the Government of this matter is reprehensible. Before any formal response was made to Chief Buthelezi at top level the Prime Minister let loose his backbenchers in Parliament to repudiate the initiative in the most unreasonable and discourteous terms.'

Mr. Raw said the Government could not prevent any person or party co-operating or discussing 'any matter at all' as the New Republic Party and Chief Buthelezi had last month.

'We agreed to continue our talks and we intend to do so.'
Gerwel refuses to talk to Matie students

PROFESSOR Jakes Gerwel today withdrew from a meeting in Stellenbosch because, he said in a telegram this morning, he could not honestly or no longer appear before an Afrikaans student audience.

Professor Gerwel — head of the Department of Afrikaans-Nederlands at the University of the Western Cape — was due to address the Stellenbosch Aktuele Aangeleende Student String (SAAK) tonight on the crisis in coloured education.

The full text of the telegram (in Afrikaans) — released to The Argus by SAAK — read:

"In the present circumstances I can in all honesty no longer appear before an Afrikaans student audience.

Your Government does not feel itself democratically responsible towards us and our students, and can thus be roughly unaccommodating in its dealings with us.

You possess the democratic means to repair the injustice, and the access to the Government to bring about a meaningful discussion.

'I wait for you,'

A spokesman for SAAK, Mr David Bosch, today declined to comment on the telegram.

Professor Gerwel told The Argus the Government's attitude in the past few days towards the boycott of classes by coloured children and their demands had again brought him to the 'very painful realization' that coloured people were 'dispensable' in the eyes of the Government.

(Continued on Page 3, col. 5.)

Gerwel

(Continued from Page 1)

ment, and that there were no serious intentions behind the talk of change.

After accepting the SAAK invitation at the weekend, he had again witnessed the Government's refusal to regard the pupil unrest with any sense of urgency.

The boycott was another illustration of the lack of access blacks had to the democratic process.

Professor Gerwel said he did not dispute SAAK's bona fides, but they — as Afrikaans students — had the power to begin the real changes required by South Africans.

So far, he said, there had been no demonstration of solidarity with the coloured students and pupils from the Stellenbosch campus. Had this occurred, it might have been possible to appear before a Stellenbosch audience.

SAAK — a current affairs body last week organized a conference on the constitution and black and white spokesman for widely divergent political movements appeared.

Tonight's meeting, it was learnt today, continues in spite of Professor Gerwel's withdrawal.
ULUNDI — It was high time the Prime Minister, Mr Botha, realised that the people who killed his "so-called total strategy" were the "Bothas and the van der Westhuizens of this world," the KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, Dr O D Dlamini, said here last night.

Dr Dlamini was reacting to a statement by the National Party MP for Umlazi, Mr Con Botha, in which he (Mr Botha) said that Natal was no "guinea pig," and that outside attempts to prescribe a new constitution for it were unwarranted.

Mr Botha was commenting on Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's proposal "Buthelezi Commission" to look into the future of Natal and KwaZulu. Mr Dlamini said he regarded the comment by Mr Botha and the National Party MP for the South Coast, Mr van der Lesthuizen, as "extreme diplomatic discounttory which does not augur well for future relations between the Prime Minister and our Chief Minister."
NOW WE KNOW—LEADERS

SEVERAL black leaders this week said they were quite "happy" that Mr P W Botha, the Prime Minister, had now come out clearly on his policy and had dashed the hopes that he created.

In Parliament this week, Mr P W Botha explained the 12-point plan which he announced in August last year. He said it was merely a reformulation and not a movement away from separate development as there was no alternative for South Africa. "No-one can expect me to throw the principles of the Nationalist Party overboard," he said.

Black Consciousness exponent, Mr Tom Manthata said Mr Botha has made fools of his disciples whom he has known left in the lurch. He said Mr Botha was beginning to create confusion among blacks and was gaining disciples. He said he was even obscuring the basic aspirations of blacks.

"The people were even giving consideration to system-created bodies. The concept that there were no changes was beginning to lose ground. Within the past six months Mr Botha has delayed the essence of the struggle. His utterances in Parliament are, however, a vindication of what we have always been telling the people," Mr Manthata said.

Father Lehasang Sebidi of the Committee of Ten said what Mr Botha said is what they have been telling the people all along.

"The ambit of consultation was already prescribed by policies of apartheid. What he has been saying about change is just cosmetic and is intended for overseas consumption and those people in South Africa who want concessions," he said.

Mr R A J Saloojee, an executive member of the Lenasia People's Committee said he never believed in Mr Botha's slogans and statements. "I never accepted it that he was genuine in terms of moving away from apartheid. But because of frustration people were trying to see more into what he was saying. Blacks, however, will not accept being accommodated within separate development. They want fundamental change," he said.

Mr J Mzobe, a member of the Moroka Civic Association said no matter how verlig a Nationalist can be, he still remains a Nat and has to stick to policies of the party.
Don't join boycott, Buthelezi urges

Political Staff

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi yesterday identified his Inkatha movement with the grievances of coloured students, but urged black pupils to discipline themselves and stay at school:

The appeal by the KwaZulu leader came as about 50 pupils were arrested in the black township of KwaMashu and the Indian area of Chatsworth, near Durban, after renewed clashes between police and students.

And in other developments as the boycott by coloured and Indian students threatened to enter its third week in many parts of the country:

Twenty-nine ministers of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkark came out in full support of the boycotts in an open letter to the Prime Minister;

A spokesman for the attorneys of Dr Yusuf Variauwa of Johannesburg — an executive member of the Azanian People's Organisation — said he had been detained by Security Police. Police headquarters were unable to confirm this last night.

According to Dr Variauwa's family, he was detained after addressing a meeting of the Lenasia Parents Action Committee at a school in the township yesterday morning.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi said the Zulu people should be careful not to play into the hands of "trigger types" in the current explosive situation.

The Inkatha leader said his movement identified itself completely with the grievances of coloured students, but warned that Zulu students should not fall into the same pitfalls as they had at KwaMashu this week, when they rioted and demonstrated.

"That kind of indiscipline is exactly what will allow us to fall into the hands of 'trigger happy types' who will use us as cannon fodder," he said.

Chief Buthelezi observed that some people had tried to use the current situation in South Africa to ignite the same sort of situation in KwaZulu. This had not succeeded because of the discipline which Inkatha had maintained.

"No organisation in South Africa has the machinery which Inkatha has to instill discipline and patriotism," he said.

Staff Reporter

YESTERDAY'S banning of another Brick in the Wall comes four months and 90,000 copies after it became a top selling disc in South Africa.

The single and the double-LP, "The Wall", by British pop group Pink Floyd, was banned by the Publications Control Board.

The song's lyrics have been chanted by Boycott coloured pupils at demonstrations.

Because Transkei has not banned the LP or the single, South Africans will still hear them on Capitol Radio, a spokesman said.

See Page 3
Call to reinstate 800 strikers

CT 3/5/80

A MEETING on Thursday night of over 2000 schoolchildren and members of the Grabouw community called on the management of the Kromrivier Apple Co-op (Kromco) to reinstate 800 workers striking for higher pay.

They also called on Kromco management to accede to the workers' request for higher pay and allow workers who had been turned out of their hostels to return to them.

The meeting, held in Fineview township, Grabouw, was organized by the Labour Party in response to a call for help from the 800 Kromco workers who began striking for higher pay last Friday.

One black worker told the meeting he was paid only R15 a week after working for Kromco for 23 years. Other speakers warned if the workers were not reinstated a boycott of Kromco products would be organized.
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, has revealed why he proposes to appoint a commission to plan the political future of Natal — and he has disclosed that he will invite the banned African National Congress to take part.

Chief Buthelezi has told the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr T. N. K. K. Nkosi, that he is deeply concerned about the absence of any political talk about the political future of Natal and that the ANC government has not been consulted about the political future of Natal.

In a speech delivered in an urgent rule in Parliament that he would not permit KwaZulu to participate in any talks unless it was allowed to participate in the political future of Natal.

He also said he believed that South Africa had reached a point where it was necessary to consult a broad range of political parties and that this should be done as part of the political talks.

The South African government has so far refused to allow KwaZulu to participate in the political talks and has also refused to allow the ANC to participate.

Reaff

I believe I have a constructive role to play as a leader of the South African people and the country and wish to call on the people of the country to come together and negotiate a political solution to the country's problems.

I am prepared to participate in any political talks and suggestions to the South African government that it is not prepared to participate will be met with my resignation as leader of the South African government.

I stand ready to lead the ANC and take such initiatives that will establish the commission.

In conclusion, I am happy to be invited to participate in any talks on the political future of Natal and I hope that the ANC will also participate.

We are committed to a peaceful solution to the country's problems and I hope that the ANC will also participate in the talks.

Unhealthy

It is not possible to work as a healthy person and deal with the country's problems. I am willing to participate in any talks on the political future of Natal and I hope that the ANC will also participate.

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South Africa - an alternative history

Edward Roux’s story of Kant’s saying that history is a fable written in order to teach philosophy. Kant’s story of the possibility of first by Roux, a Communist Party of Black consciousness leader, rather than one of least its insidiousness. What the reader ‘facts’ recount is not just the present and expected to properly when is more a matter of whether it is always reworking this part of the story.

In order that and book is essential, Riebeeck up till Vorster? Or Island in the early 19th century; about Nemanian rule and the Ethiopian Movement; about all the Xhosas, Sotho and Zulu chiefs and tribes that resisted the white invaders in a series of wars which ended in the loss of the country and the reduction of the Bantu to the status of an internal proletariat? (Time Longer than Rome, p. 87).

Is our history the story of the subsequent struggle for democratic rights and national liberation: the Bambata Poll Tax Rebellion of 1906 / the passive resistance campaign of Ghandi/ the Bloemfontein massacre of 163 ‘Israelites’ and that of the Bondelwats (over 100 men killed) / Clemen’s Kadalie’s famous Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union with almost a quarter million members in the 1920’s / the Africanisation of the South African Communist Party long before the churches saw the need for this / the African National Congress (ANC), with its slogan ‘Mayibuyi’ i Afrika - Let Africa return! / the series of mass passive resistance campaigns against the pass laws /
Black consciousness is not an intellectual exercise, but a constructive action to bring about change. It is not merely an activity for the Afrikaner to feel and experience, but a movement among the black people to seek a better life and to win their freedom.

The verbalisation and symbolism that have been passed to the Afrikaner through history and tradition has now been passed to the black people. Social, economic, and political conditions have forced the black man to the stage of the awareness of his very condition. The drummers of racism are beating their own drums and dancing to their own music. We look way back to the early days before white domination, but also forward to the first separate black church. This was the natural black reaction to the consciousness of the black man in his community. This reaction takes mental, emotional, and physical form in order to develop new awareness and consciousness.

To conclude, black consciousness is not an isolated phenomenon, but is linked to all oppressed individuals and groups. It involves an evaluation and re-interpretation of the black man's own position as an oppressed individual and a member of a group of oppressed people. In this way the black man also places a moral corrective on those people and institutions which oppress him. Because black consciousness has emerged out of this oppression - out of having no say in the affairs of state, no choice of who, what and where to love, learn, live and labour.
Barney Pityana quits dying BCM

LONDON — The Black Consciousness Movement (of Azania) in exile is broke and close to its death throes following serious doctrinal and personality splits.

It was confirmed last night that a secret conference in London in April ended in the resignation of Mr Barney Pityana, who was Secretary-General and the BCM’s leading personality.

Mr Pityana resigned voluntarily and in desperation at the BCM’s ineffectiveness. The movement’s most senior exilie official, former Turfoop student Harry Nengwenkhulu, was sacked, according to involved sources.

Mr Nengwenkhulu, whose doctrinaire Maoism caused violent clashes within the movement was the key exile figure in Botswana, where he oversteered contact with refugees from South Africa.

Mr Nengwenkhulu had been in exile since 1976 and is now a lecturer at the University of Botswana.

Mr Pityana’s replacement Mr Basil Manning is regarded as mediocre and as potentially fatal as the mess over policy and finances.

The BCM in exile depended to a massive extent on Pityana but now that he has left they have little to fall back on and their desperate financial position is, it is claimed, threatening to slide into bankruptcy.

Mr Pityana, who is now studying theology at Kings College, London, could not be contacted yesterday. He has apparently not yet aligned himself with any other political organisation.

The new BCM leadership’s ambitions of working more closely with bodies like the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress and the Unity Movement have been ridiculed here.

These bodies would, if anything, welcome the collapse of the BCM in exile. If it proved at all successful it would only prove drain on cash grant to liberation movements that are already in short supply.

More attention is being paid to the development of the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (Sayrho) under former Soweto student Khotze Seathlolo, which has formed a military wing in Nigeria and receives Nigerian cash aid.

The BCM in exile, in its attempt to function as an umbrella organisation, has promoted the Sayrho here but actual contact between the two bodies is minimal.

Observers predict that the Sayrho could rapidly grow in stature and gain international recognition. Their London spokesman is Ratsiraka Nzondo, a particularly articulate former townships student. — DDC.
Two Cosas members detained again

By WILLIE BOKALA

MR TITI MTHENJANE and Mr Wantu Zenzile, an executive member of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), have been detained again.

The two were taken by security police from Mthenjane's Central Western Jabavu home on Wednesday morning.

The Mthenjane family also reported that another family member, Monica Mthenjane, was called to Protea police station on Thursday last week and questioned for more than five hours.

And on that Thursday afternoon security police camped at their home from 2 pm until about 9 pm.

One black policeman stayed in the house until 5 pm and later went away but, when he came back he was with three others.

The three played cards in the dining room until 9 pm.

Monica Mthenjane, Titi's sister, said police woke them up in the early hours of Wednesday morning. They took Titi and Wantu.

Wantu was on a visit in Johannesburg and was due to return to Port Elizabeth the next day.

"A Lieutenant Trollip who was with the policemen said they were taking Titi for questioning and they would bring him back.

They then left a message for me to report to Protea police station on Thursday," Monica said.

Mr Thobani Mooketsi, chairman of the sharpville branch of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), who was detained on Friday morning, has been released.

He said yesterday that he was told to report at the Security Headquarters in Vereeniging last night.

Police on Friday said they had no record as yet of the above detentions.
Students back to classes

Students at the University of the North arrived for classes today, and there have been no further incidents since the stone-throwing which marred the opening on Saturday of the university's sports complex.

The stone-throwing began after the gates to the new complex were opened by the Rector, Professor William Frewar. The proceedings were immediately cancelled and Limpopo policemen scattered the students.

University officials have not made any announcement of further inauguration proceedings this year, Turffontein's 21st anniversary.

The opening of the university's sports complex was the first of several functions planned for the year. An experimental farm is to be opened later this month, while functions are planned for a new education centre and a student centre.

The reason for Saturday's demonstration by several hundred students is not clear, but students threatened earlier this year to boycott all anniversary celebrations.
Boycott: Students slam report

The two strongest black students boycotted the Student Council meeting on Tuesday night, two days after the action against the African-American Society. Slams against the council and political activities, the students said, were a result of the press release, which was written in part by the council. The slams referred to the council's decisions on the evening of April 17.

The council was formed last spring as a result of the student movement against the school. It's a student council, and the new students will sit on the council.

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The student council is a student council, and the new students will sit on the council. The student council is a student council, and the new students will sit on the council.
PORT ELIZABETH — The former chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebo), Mr Thozamile Botha, has been missing from his Zwide home since Sunday.

Mr Botha, who was served with a banning order after spending six weeks in detention, was one of the kingpins in settling the unrest at Ford's assembly plant here recently.

His wife, Mrs Fezeka Botha, said she had returned from a beer party at 5 pm on Sunday to find her husband gone.

She said this seemed strange as he was not allowed to leave the house between 8 pm on Friday and 6 am on Monday, so she reported the matter to the police.

Mr Botha, a former high school teacher, reverted to selling fruit after he was banned. His wife is concerned about her future as she does not know how she will survive.

A spokesman for police headquarters in Pretoria said he could not comment before contacting the security branch today. — DDR
Botha in Lesotho?

PORT ELIZABETH -- The former Port Elizabeth detainee, Mr. Thosamile Botha, was safely out of the country, the divisional commander of the Security Police in the Eastern Cape, Colonel Gerrit Erasmus, said last night.

Col Erasmus said he believed Mr Botha was in Lesotho. "I know how he got there but at this stage I cannot comment further because investigations are still being carried out," he said.

The Minister of the Interior for Lesotho, Mr. Sekhonyane Maseroba, said last night that as far as he knew Mr Botha was not in his country.

Mr. Botha, banned former chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, was reported missing by his wife, Fezeka, on Sunday.

His banning order stipulates that he must be at home between 8 pm and 8 am on weekdays and at weekends.

Several people, including Mrs Botha, have been questioned by the police.

Police were trying to establish how Mr Botha had managed to leave and arrest might follow, said Col Erasmus.

Mrs Botha said she was picked up from her home by six security policemen on Sunday at about 9:30 pm, taking to security police headquarters and questioned on the disappearance of her husband. She was returned home at 5 am the next day.

Her brother, Mr. Vumile Mabinana, who was staying with the Bothas, was also taken away by the security police -- DDB.

SAPA-ODR.
Doctors and nurses protest

MORE THAN 150 doctors and nurses at Coronation Hospital yesterday gathered to protest against the detention of Dr Yusuf Varia, a senior member of the hospital staff and an official of the Azanian People's Organisation.

Dr Varia was detained by security police last Friday.

It is not known under which law he is being held.

Yesterday more than 150 staff members gathered on a lawn outside one of the dining-rooms where they sang hymns, prayed and chanted, "We want Joe (Dr Varia). We want justice."

After an hour they were addressed by a matron who asked them to return to work, saying that was what Dr Varia would have done had he been in their position.

GATHERING

After moving once around the hospital, the gathering dispersed.

One sister said they had made sure all the wards had sufficient staff before proceeding with the "extended prayer meeting" and none of the services had been disrupted.

Last Thursday, Dr Varia addressed a platform with Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, when they addressed about 2,000 people - the largest crowd to attend a gathering in Lusaka.

A total of 34 Chatsworth primary and high school children appeared in the magistrate's court this week following incidents on Friday at Chatsworth school at Durban.

WARNING

Eight of the 34 pupils appeared before Mr Krishna Maharaj on charges of trespassing. They were not asked to plead and the magistrate adjourned the case to June 20 after warning the children to be in court on that date or face arrest.

Their parents were also told to be present.

The 26 other pupils appeared before Mr F W Heuer on charges of public violence.

Appearing for the children, whose ages range from 14 to 17, Mr Ravi Bhagwandeen, leader of an 11-man defence team, made a request for the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Malais Steyn, the Director of Indian Education, Mr Gabriel Krog, and an executive member of the Indian Council, Mr A Rajabali, to appear as witnesses.

The accused were not asked to plead.

The trial has been provisionally postponed to May 21. - Sapa.
Arrests likely in wake of Botha's flight

Mr Thozamile Botha, the banned former chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), who went missing at the weekend, has definitely left the country, police have confirmed.

They are trying to establish how Mr Botha had managed to leave and arrests might follow, said Col Gerrit Erasmus, head of the security police in Port Elizabeth.

Col Erasmus said in an interview that he had evidence that Mr Botha left the country but he was not sure where he was. He suspected him to be in a bordering country.

Meanwhile, several people, including Mr Botha’s wife, had been questioned by police.

Col Erasmus said Mr Botha had been reported missing by his wife on Sunday, and police were unable to trace him. However, police had information that Mr Botha had fled the country on Saturday night.

He said according to his former Pebco leaders who were detained and later restricted with Mr Botha were still all in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.

They are Mr Dan Qeke, a businessman and sports administrator, Mr Mono Badela, a journalist and Mr Phalo Tshume, a personnel officer at a Uitenhage plant.

Mr Botha, a key figure in the recent Ford Motor Company labour dispute, spent six weeks in detention and received a banning order immediately after his release.

Formerly a high school teacher and later a trainee draughtsman at Ford Motor Company, he took to fruit vending when his banning order prevented him from doing other work.

He recently heard from the local Chief Magistrate that an application to have his banning order relaxed to enable him to work at Ford, had been refused.

Meanwhile, it has been learnt authoritatively that a top representative of Ford was now attempting to get his banning order relaxed for him to return to work there.

His three-year banning order stipulates that he must be at home between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. on weekdays and at weekends.

Mrs Fezeka Botha said she had found her husband missing from their home on Sunday after returning from a visit to relatives.

She reported him as missing to the KwaZakhele police station on Sunday evening — the police immediately launched a search for Mr Botha which until yesterday had proved fruitless.

“I know that he was terrible frustrated by his banning order but he did not mention anything to me about leaving. It has been a terrible shock,” said Mrs Botha.
PORT ELIZABETH — Mr.
Vukile Makinana, brother-
in-law of the banned Port
Elizabeth Civic Organisa-
tion chairman, Mr.
Thozamile Botha, was
released by Security
Police here yesterday.

Mr. Makinana was
detained on Sunday after
Mr. Botha had disappeared
from his home.

Mr. Botha's wife, Fezeka,
who was also held for
questioning, said last
night she had still not
heard from him.

She did not want to com-
ment on Security Police
speculation that he had
gone to Lesotho. — DDR-
DDC.
Banned black leader seeks asylum in Lesotho

JOHANNESBURG. — The Lesotho Government confirmed today that Mr Thozamile Botha, the banned leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebro), who fled South Africa last weekend, is in Maseru.

Mr T Ntsane, director of Lesotho Broadcasting, said that Mr Botha was in the process of applying for political asylum through the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Interior.

Mr Botha fled the country on Sunday when he disappeared from his Zwide home in Port Elizabeth.

He was under a three-year banning order which restricted him entering a factory, rendering him jobless.

He could not take up his job with the Ford Motor Company, and an application to have his banning order amended so that he could work was turned down by the Government.

Last year, Mr Botha led the labour strike at Ford which involved 700 workers.
Azanian movement is ‘gaining momentum’

By JOE THLOLOE
THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) says that it has not expelled the external director of the banned Black People’s Convention, Mr Harry Nengwekuuli.

In a statement issued from Gaborone yesterday, BCMA also says Mr Barney Pityana has not resigned as a member, but only as chairman of the United Kingdom region.

The statement follows Press statements that the movement is in its “death throes.”

"Contrary to the charges of ‘death throes’, the movement is flourishing and gaining momentum daily,” the statement says.

“It is also myth and rumour to suggest that any individual whose commitment to the work of the movement is recognized and valued has been sacked.

“The interim committee, as far as it is aware, understands that Barney Pityana has tendered his resignation as chairman of the BCMA United Kingdom region only.

“Recognising the valuable contribution he has made to the movement, especially recently in strengthening the work of the region, the interim committee highly regrets his decision, but whole-heartedly welcomes his offer to be of continued service to the movement as a whole.”

The statement points to BCMA moving ideologically nearer the two older organisations, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The statement says the recent conference of BCMA in London “reaffirmed black consciousness as a liberatory ideology basing it on the principles of scientific socialism.”

It “therefore unaniomously recognised the role of the oppressed black worker as a major factor in the struggle for liberation and the creation of the democratic socialist state of Azania.”

The interim committee that was elected is to draw up a constitution and “work towards principled unity with all patriotic forces.”

The conference “recognised the logical necessity of embracing mass-based armed struggle against colonialist and imperialist oppression.”
Launching Azapo in Tembisa

A NEW branch of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will be launched in Tembisa on May 25.

A spokesman for Azapo, said yesterday that an executive committee will also be elected.

The new branch will be formed at a public meeting which will be held at the Lutheran Church in Thiteng section. The meeting will be held in the afternoon.

The spokesman said Mr George Wauchope, publicity secretary of Azapo will be the main speaker. All those interested in joining the organisation are invited to attend.
'Moll' Afieca Buroon

MASERU - Banned black consciousness leader Mr Thozamile Botha arrived in Maseru on Tuesday night to an enthusiastic welcome from other South African political refugees in the Lesotho capital.

Mr Botha left Port Elizabeth on Sunday and was driven to Snerspruit in Transkei, from where he crossed the river into Lesotho and took a bus to Maseru.

He reported to the Lesotho authorities yesterday and a spokesman for the Minister of the Interior said his application for political asylum was being considered by the Lesotho Government.

Mr Botha was a leading figure in the recent strike at the Port Elizabeth Ford plant and was chairman of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebeo) until February when he was served with a banning order.

He subsequently earned a living selling food and vegetables.
Blacks slam Schlebusch proposals

By PATRICK LAURENCE

BLACK leaders were sharply critical yesterday of the constitutional changes proposed by the interim Schlebusch Report, the most favourable reaction being that of Professor Hudson Ntimotse, of Garankuwa, to postpone comment until he considered the report in detail.

The most pertinent aspect of the report for blacks was its decision to exclude blacks from the proposed State President’s Advisory Council, which the report recommended should be drawn from the white, coloured, Indian and Chinese communities.

None of the black spokesmen consulted apparently saw the proposed “Council of Black South African Citizens”, with which the Advisory Council will liaise, as sufficient compensation for the exclusion of blacks from the President’s Council.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, yesterday warned that the present political climate was unfavourable for “constitutional experimentation” and that, instead of solving problems, it might lead to confrontation.

Recalling his request to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, in February to “declare a moratorium on all constitutional experimentation”, Chief Buthelezi said: “I think it is better for the people of South Africa to work toward a (political) consensus before indulging in constitutional experimentation.”

Chief Buthelezi, who is scheduled to have talks with the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, on his own proposals for wide-ranging discussions on the future of Natal, noted: “I am not prepared to deviate from the Inkatha evidence to the Schlebusch Commission.”

Two key points in Inkatha’s evidence were its insistence that South Africa was one country and “should remain as such”, and its declaration that blacks should be “involved in the process of making laws and administering them within the context of the existing political situation”.

Dr Nkhotshane Mokwemo, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said of the interim report: “It is irrelevant. It excludes the majority of the population. It does not address itself to the central problem of power-sharing on the basis of one man, one vote in a unitary constitution.”

South Africans, he said, should use their unadulterated talents for constitution-making, to devise a constitution which both provided for universal adult suffrage, and safeguarded the rights of all people.

Mr George Wauchope, of the Azanian People’s Organisation, said: “We have always said we are opposed to participation in Government-created institutions. The new arrangement will still be a Government-created institution, and as such we will have nothing to do with it.”

Professor Hudson Ntimotse, Chief Minister of Gazankulu and convenor of intra-black constitutional discussions which led to the submission of a joint declaration of intent to the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, said: “We were thinking along other lines.”

He declined to comment further until he had studied the interim report in detail.

Mr Mfloyane Kunai, chairman of the Natal Regional Community Council and of the East Rand Liaison Committee, said: “The proposals are not adequate. The Council of Black South African Citizens is the weakest link of all. It will submit proposals to a purely advisory body. It will have no say at all.”

“If blacks were represented on the State President’s Council that would have been a starting point at least.”

Mr David Curry, national chairman of the Labour Party, said the Labour Party rejected the report for two main reasons: it excluded blacks from an advisory council, which would itself be a nominated body.

“It is a repetition of the old Cabinet Council of Mr Vorster’s. There is nothing new in it. They are just closing down the Senate and strengthening the National Party.”

Professor David Welsh, author of the book South Africa’s Options, said: “It is a holding operation reflecting the sharp divisions in the National Party caucus . . . Most blacks will not accept being kicked off into a separate advisory council, however much provision is made for liaison between it and the State President’s Advisory Council.”
Botha seeks Lesotho asylum

MASERU — The banned former president of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Mr Thozamile Botha, who fled South Africa is seeking political asylum here.

Mr Botha left his wife and four-year-old son at his home in Zwane on Sunday morning and travelled across South African territory by car. He entered Lesotho in the southern district of Quthing and took a bus to Maseru, where he arrived on Tuesday afternoon.

Mr Botha is planning to study law at the National University of Lesotho. — SAPA.
NEW DELHI — Nelson Mandela, the jailed South African black ANC leader, has been invited to India to receive the Jawaharlal Nehru award for international understanding for 1979.

The Press Trust of India said the award was conferred on Mr. Mandela for recognition of his staunch support for freedom, individual liberty, justice and peace.

PITI said that as Mr. Mandela was in jail, an invitation had also been extended to his wife, Mrs. N. Mandela, to receive the award on his behalf.

Mr. Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 on charges of plotting violent revolution. — EPA-Reuters.
Surnam ANY community action is a barometer of the feeling of that community, but failure to heed signals of the thunderstorm is courting disaster, Mr Rommel Roberts told students at the University of Cape Town today.

Mr Roberts said no community could develop in isolation.

"We are all bound together by a cord of mutuality making my suffering yours, and my well-being yours."

Whatever affects me affects you, and if you try to enjoy life without me you are doomed to a life of constant harassment and insecurity," he said.

FRUSTRATED

Mr Roberts said that to talk of community action and development was to embrace a number of aspects complementing the growth of individuals and community.

This movement at the moment was frustrated through human inadequacies, weaknesses, fears, selfishness and greed.

INTERNATIONAL

Students at the University of Cape Town are holding a day-long boycott and in column (1) enter the number of the question you are answering.

1. No books, notes, pieces of paper or other material may be brought into the examination room unless candidates are so instructed.

2. Candidates are not to communicate with other candidates or with any person except the invigilator.

3. No part of an answer book is to be torn out.

4. All answer books must be handed to the commissioner or to an invigilator before leaving the examination.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University.
Start talking, urges Crook

THE SENATE — The Government had to start negotiating the future of South Africa immediately with black leaders, Senator Monty Crook (NRP) said yesterday.

Speaking to a motion that the Senate go into committee on the Budget, he said if a one man, one vote election had to be held now, masses of blacks would vote for the most radical and Marxist leader available.

This was clear from what had happened in Zimbabwe, where Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who had contaminated himself through negotiation with whites, had lost at the polls. The same would apply to Swap in South West Africa.

"I believe that Nelson Mandela would have a runaway victory in South Africa in the event of such an election. That is why he should not be freed and should remain a prisoner on Robben Island."

He also believed that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had heeded the lessons that were to be learnt from Zimbabwe. He had pleaded with the Prime Minister for the opportunity to negotiate.

He was the undisputed nationalist leader of about 5 million Zulus, a champion of free enterprise and opposed to communism. But he went through hell and high water in South Africa and overseas because he was regarded as a sellout.

It was a choice between negotiation with moderate black leaders like Chief Buthelezi now, or negotiation with the Mandelas of the future.

The Prime Minister had to negotiate now while he was still in a position of strength. It would have the added benefit of giving moderate black leaders credibility.

But the Prime Minister was not prepared to do so. He had spurned Chief Buthelezi and had refused equal education up to now. This had only resulted in the furthering of the case of radicals and the reducing of the stature of moderate black leaders.

The weakness of the National Party was that it had answered black people with confrontation and pressure.

The main obstacle was the Prime Minister's insistence that negotiation could only take place within the framework of the 12-point plan, which was basically a reformulation of apartheid. — Sapa.
Schlebusch plan rejected

Johannesburg — Black leaders were sharply critical yesterday of the constitutional changes proposed by the interim Schlebusch report.

The most pertinent aspect of the report for blacks was its decision to exclude them from the proposed State President’s Advisory Council, which the report recommended should be drawn from the white, Coloured, Indian and Chinese communities.

None of the black spokesmen consulted apparently saw the proposed “council of black South African citizens,” with which the advisory council will liaise, as sufficient compensation for the exclusion of blacks from the President’s Council.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu warned that the present political climate was unfavourable for “constitutional experimentation” and that, instead of solving problems, it might lead to constitution.

Dr Nihato Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Civic Association, said: “The report is irrelevant. It excludes the most important segment of the population. It does not address itself to the central problem of power-sharing on the basis of one man, one vote in a unitary constitution.”

Mr George Wauchope, of the Azanian People’s Organisation, said: “We have always said we are opposed to participation in government - created institutions. The new arrangement will still be a government - created institution, and as such we will have nothing to do with it.”

It was reported from Windhoek that the Administrator - General of SWA, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was not aware he was “a strong candidate” for the position of chairman of the proposed President’s Council in South Africa.

A report in the SuidWester newspaper had said Dr Viljoen was regarded in parliamentary circles in South Africa as a likely appointment. — DDC-SAPA.
We will not be puppets on a string of gold

SO it was once again a school issue which sparked off a crisis that assumed national proportions.

But physical conditions at schools, appalling though these may be, lack of facilities, text books and school books, underqualified and underpaid teachers, are not of themselves factors that “naturally” lead to revolt.

It is only when these factors are understood within a specific political framework and interpreted politically, that they become the “spark that lights the fuse”.

AN EMINENT NED-GEREF CHURCHMAN WARNS

11/5/80 SUNTIM
By ALLAN BOESAUK

Student chaplain at the University of the Western Cape and a leading spokesman for the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk, which is mainly coloured.

This brings us to a highly significant point with regard to this boycott. These are "coloured" children.

By all counts, they can be considered "better off" than African pupils and students.

Even if the R189 the Government allocates a "coloured" child for education is not anywhere near the R720 his white counterpart receives, it is certainly much more than the R59 the African child has to satisfy with.

Moreover, being "coloured" in South Africa does not only have an ethnic connotation; it also denotes a specific social, economic and political category, a place on the ladder as it were.

Because you are classified "coloured," you are allowed to own a house, you have a better salary than your African counterpart in almost every job one can think of.

You don't have to carry a dompas, you get slightly better treatment from whites, and you may even have your very own "preferential area"! Etcetera, ad nauseam.

But we know that these so-called privileges cannot obscure the reality of the oppression of our humanity.

There are really not talking about "coloured" education, or even "coloured" rights.

There is no such thing as "coloured" rights. What we are talking about is full and meaningful co-responsibility for government, full and meaningful power-sharing for all the people of this land.

The Government will be well advised to take cognisance of the ramifications of all of this.

It means, for instance, that it will not be so easy to implement the plan for the creation of a "black middle-class" for which the "coloureds" were a natural starting point.

The political climate in our community is such that even those people who were susceptible to this line of thinking, will now have to think twice before allowing themselves to be tempted to become puppets on a string of gold.

By the same token the Government should be forewarned that its constitutional plans will not be acceptable.

This news should be old hat, but I have a sneaking suspicion that people in power are still thinking along the line of Nationalist solutions for the constitutional problems of this country.

It is this Government which has taken away those rights; this Government must restore them. And this much must be clear: We
ANC blamed for axing of panel

ORGANISERS of a London University conference to be held next Saturday on changes in South Africa have been accused of submitting to pressure by the banned African National Congress regarding a panel on internal black politics.

As a result, delegates of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement are now expected to boycott the conference to which they had been originally invited as platform speakers.

The conference, arranged by the university's department of extra-mural studies, will be chaired by MP Mr Frank Hooley.

Speakers and delegates will include many leading English academics and South African specialists.

By SUZANNE VOS
London

The topics to be covered at the conference, called "The changing face of apartheid: Appearance or reality," are wide-ranging and deal with most aspects of South Africa's political spectrum.

Late this week, however, the format was changed drastically when university authorities decided to axe the black panel and only include the delegates from Inkatha and the Black Consciousness Movement in general discussion as speakers from the audience.

The reason given was that because the ANC had declined to attend, the panel would not be balanced and the university could be accused of political bias.

"Now the university has invited Mr Baruch Hirson to outline black politics and current events in South Africa, including the issue of coloured education.

Mr Hirson left South Africa on an exit permit in 1973 after spending nine years in prison for sabotage.

Informed sources at the university told me that the decision to cut the black panel from the programme is being questioned by some academics who allege that some of their pro-ANC colleagues had put pressure to bear on the conference organisers.

This was denied by the deputy director of the department of extra-mural studies, Mr David Armstrong."
Two top blacks visit UK

LONDON — Two key leaders of Southern African black nationalist movements have accepted invitations from the British Anti-Apartheid Movement to visit Britain. They are Mr Sam Nujoma, president of SWAPO, and Mr Oliver Tambo, president of the banned African National Congress.

Mr Nujoma will be the main speaker at a conference in London in May to create a basis for a major new campaign on Namibia (South West Africa) and South Africa.

The conference is sponsored in part by the Labour Party, the British trade union movement, and student organisations.

Mr Tambo will address a "freedom day" rally in London on June 26.

The meeting will focus on the campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela.

The AAM has also announced a renewed campaign to boycott South African products in Britain. Wine and oranges will be among the main targets.
Another leader lost
Good riddance to bad rubbish. That will be the feeling of some people about the flight of the black consciousness leader, Thozama Botha, to Lesotho.

They are those for whom his detention, without trial, under the Terrorism Act, and the banning order imposed on his release, was proof enough that he was up to no good.

Such people of course regarded Mr Botha, like so many emergent black leaders before him, as an "agitator". And detention, banning, exile has become the black agitator's inevitable lot.

We wonder what South Africa can afford the loss of this young man. Certainly we see no gain in the fact that an internal leader, a potential negotiator, has been turned into a potential external enemy — an enemy of negotiations and non-violent solutions.

He could have been a valuable community leader. His civic organisation, Pehco, attracted largescale support in Port Elizabeth's volatile black township. Yet Mr Botha, only 30 years old, exercised a remarkable control and discipline over their mass meetings. And publicly, at least, he condemned the violence that accompanied the labour unrest in the city.

Significantly, Ford Motor Company wanted to take him back, but his banning order prevented this. The man who was already being described as the "Dr Motlana" of Port Elizabeth was reduced to selling produce on a township pavement to make a living. No wonder he fled.

But he will want to return and we can guess in what tragic capacity that might be.
THE urban black market will be worth R60-million a day by the year 2000 but the black consumer is already confident of his spending power, says Mr M Mphahlele, account director, Lintas Advertising Agency.

He told the ICT Graduate School of Business Association: "You cannot pander to him just because he is black. He is aware that it is the colour of his money that matters," he said.

The acceptance of blacks as permanent residents in urban areas would also have far-reaching implications. It would give a sense of normality to their lives and result in a change of pattern.

At present sophisticated blacks lived cheek-by-jowl with poor blacks, each group influencing the other.
Background

SOUTH AFRICA is no longer at peace, but not yet at war. Guerrilla activity has started, tentatively. But the black revolution has already occurred.

For a new generation of young blacks, the revolution that has taken place is a revolution of self... for these young people are the reflection of a new, angry, and curiously confident black revolutionary class.

Thus reflects journalist and author David Halberstam, whose 14-page account in The Atlantic Monthly profiles a country that is militarily awesome and economically dominating. Its African leaders apparently committed to preserving white power and rule and unlikely to want to change the system, the unrepresentative African population is probably irrelevant to the liberals.

But primarily he presents the new black generation, and their determination to escape from a future imposed by the State and which they reject.

"The black revolution has already taken place," he writes. "The black fathers do not know the sons, and the sons of Soweto have taken power."

"Black power, poor and in fact semi-powerless, the black people have an absolute power of their own destiny, that they will rule South Africa in their own lifetime."

"They are more politically organised and less Christian than their parents, impatient for a better life in this world rather than in the next one." Halberstam attended the sedition trial in Ken- ton Park of the 'Soweto Eleven' which he notes as "break with the past."

"For these youths, however desperate their condition, however great their awareness of the risk they were taking, they were trying to break their Government through legitimate means of protest." Their protests were based on the assumption that the rulers of South Africa could hear and understand, could care, and could act.

He recalls the end of the trial, the judgment and sentences - light by South African standards - and defends attorney Shun Cheety's prediction that they will not be good children any more.

"Noting that 'a pattern has begun to emerge' in guerrilla activity in the country, Halberstam writes: 'Now both sides hear the whites publicly, honestly, the blacks awkwardly, covertly.'"

Although the State for the moment holds all the power and has the will to use it, and although Afrikaners 'think they are different from the Rhodesians,' Halberstam predicts - perhaps over 20 years - that black guerrillas will prosecute their cause with increasing efficiency.

"...Slowly, quietly, the blacks will become skilled, strong, and effective, and life in South Africa will be different. As Johannesburg causes pain in Soweto, Soweto will bring pain, systematic violence of its own sort, to Johannesburg."

"Perhaps the Pretoria will want to think about negotiating - and the time for negotiating has passed."

Halberstam sees Afrikaners as 'single-minded, resilient people... separated from most of the main currents of the Western world in this century,' confident of perpetuating white rule because they are in the right place, but they cannot deliver.

Halberstam records the anger of South African blacks at whites who profess to speak on their behalf on the growing issue (in the U.S. at least) of disinvestment, claiming blacks' jobs.

He quotes one black person: 'Let there be no more investment, since we are already suffering; let them suffer too. How dare they say they know what we want when they do not know us, when they do not talk to us, have never been in our homes and have never been in theirs and they do not know the schools our children go to.'

Black bitterness towards anything that strengthens any aspect of the South African economy, says Halberstam, is fairly complete. They believe that any investment strengthens the State, strengthens apartheid... and that the State will give blacks only a pittance of the benefits."

Quoting what he believes is the true voice of the Afrikaner, Halberstam records some comments made to him by an unnamed young lawyer: "We have no acceptable alternative to what exists today. No halfway point we can work. So we are going to stay white. We will do it our way, in our time." Blacks, he says have no choice 'because we will give them no choice.'
Minister to be asked to call Biko meeting

CAPE TOWN. — The Minister of Health, Dr L A P A Munnik, will be asked this week to convene a special meeting of the South African Medical and Dental Council to investigate the conduct of the three doctors who treated black leader Mr Steve Biko shortly before he died.

The New Republic Party spokesman on health and MP for Berea, Mr Nigel Wood, said last night he would ask Dr Munnik tomorrow to convene an extraordinary SAMDC meeting.

Mr Wood said the sub-committee's decision clearing the three doctors of blame had tarnished the image of the SAMDC and the South African medical profession in general.

"I would not like to see an issue like this harm the profession. Justice must be done and it must be seen to be done," he said.

"Of course, if the full council ratifies the decision, we will have to accept its decision as final.

"While I do not want to prejudge the issue, I do not think the full council will ratify the subcommittee's decision," Mr Wood said.

The man who has led the campaign for the issue to be raised before the SAMDC, SA Council of Churches ombudsman, Mr Eugene Roelofse, said: "It is the best news I have heard in a long time.

"At least society is going to do something."

Mr Roelofse said Dr Munnik should have convened a special meeting of the SAMDC immediately after the subcommittee's decision and should not have waited for other parties to raise the issue.

Mr Roelofse said he did not want to destroy anyone, but he felt the Biko case affected the prestige of the medical profession in South Africa, because two of the three doctors were district surgeons.

"South Africa has one of the biggest prison populations in the world and prisoners are dependent on the quality of medical service given by district surgeons and the way they interpret the Hippocratic Oath," Mr Roelofse said.

Mrs Helen Suzman, PFP Member of Parliament for Houghton said she fully supported the idea of "bringing the issue to the attention of Dr Munnik". — Sapa.
By Sieg Haunig

Coloured leaders are prepared to negotiate, but the Government is not, says Mr. Jac Rabie, Transvaal vice-chairman of the Labour Party.

"We are sick and tired of being consulted. We want to negotiate," Mr. Rabie said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He spoke to Rand Afrikaans University students after warning them that coloured people found it increasingly difficult to address whites.

As a past member of the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) and the Cabinet Council, he had thought coloured people were negotiating.

Now he knew they had never negotiated. The base had merely told the servant (Government) what was good or evil for him.

Not one of the matters raised on the Cabinet Council had been implemented and the CRC had been scrapped on March 31 to be replaced by a fully nominated body.

This body had not been appointed yet because nobody of any repute would serve on it "because we reject this body entirely," Mr. Rabie said.

"HOPELESS"

Shortly after the scrapping of the CRC, coloured pupils and students had demonstrated because of a situation of "absolute hopelessness and helplessness."

And the Government had not learnt from 1976 riots.

In its clumsiness, it had bedevilled matters further by blaming agitators and making meaningless promises.

The biggest agitator was the Minister of Coloured Relations, who had claimed that the pupils' grievances were resolved with constant attention, Mr. Rabie said.

This was not true because the coloured pupils received only 35.5 percent of the money allocated to whites in 1977-78, and the next year they received only 30 percent.

The Government's acceptance of the proposed President's Council (including coloured people) indicated that it realised the gravity of the situation.

Yet it still put the unity of the National Party first.

"Rather let the National Party split, but let South Africa remain standing," Mr. Rabie said.

If something worthwhile was not being done, more trouble (similar to the school riots) lay ahead, Mr. Rabie warned.
Salisbury—The 15 guerrillas from the African National Congress of South Africa who were imprisoned by Mr Ian Smith's Government in 1968 have been released, according to knowledgeable Zanu (PF) sources here.

Two of the guerrillas left for Zambia as soon as they were released; the others are still in Bulawayo.

There is no question of the Government keeping them here. They have been given 30 days to get out of the country. Where they go is their business but we don't want them here,” the source said.

The ANC guerrillas are believed to have been released some time last week after 12 years in Khami Prison, near Bulawayo.

The men were arrested in north-western Zimbabwe when they came into the country with Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zipra forces.

The ruling Zanu (PF) Party has had uneven relations with the ANC. The organisation was ambushed by the Government during the recent independence celebrations. The rival Pan African Congress was accorded VIP treatment.

I am Zulu.
The lone fighter Roberts ‘dismayed’

MR Rommel Roberts, a community worker who fought a lone battle against the bus fare increases, said today he was ‘absolutely dismayed’ by the National Transport Commission’s approval of fare increases.

Mr Roberts has decided, in the light of the increase, to stop collecting funds to pay City Tramways’ legal costs.

‘While I would like to convey my gratitude to those who have supported me, I don’t want people who are using the buses and who have to pay the increases to also have to pay City Tramways’ costs,’ he said.

‘I would rather the people use their money more productively.’

He said he was not surprised at the commission’s decision, although he had hoped the members would see the situation in its serious light.

‘People have so many financial demands with every commodity increasing in price and with every aspect of community life where finance is involved becoming burdensome.’

It was difficult for him to take the matter further as he was still saddled with a huge debt.

‘I would in any case hesitate to do so without a clear mandate from the community. I would prefer that the community took it up in the best way they see fit.’

Mr Rommel Roberts
Mrs Molale killed

GABORONE — A leading member of the banned African National Congress, Mrs Kheti Molale (59), died in a car accident in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, last Friday, her sister-in-law, Mrs Joyce Molale, said at the weekend.

Mrs Molale, whose husband, the Very Rev Michael Molale, is the Anglican Dean of Gaborone, said no funeral arrangements had been made as yet.

Mrs Molale left South Africa in 1985 and went into exile in Tanzania. Her elderly mother is in Tshidi, Soweto. — Sapa.
Skosana ousted

PORT ELIZABETH — A vote of no confidence was passed on the chairman of KwaFORD township branch of PEBCO, Mr W. Z. Skosana, for having failed to convene meetings of the association.

Mr Bedser Ntsele was elected as the new chairman with Mr S. M. Orile vice-chairman. Mr F. M. Mnqo is the new secretary. Mr V. Tule assistant secretary, Mr P. Roji treasurer and Mr S. Dlula and Mr G. Vana committee members.

Mr Ntsele said the new executive would concern itself chiefly with civic matters and steer clear from political issues.

The KwaFORD Township Residents Association is a branch of the umbrella organisation PEBCO whose first chairman Mr Thozamile Botha recently left the Republic and sought asylum in Lesotho.

Mr Skosana, who succeeded Mr Botha as chairman of PEBCO after the latter's banning, retains this position despite the KwaFORD decision. — DDR.
Zimbabwe releases 13 ANC prisoners

He said guerrillas had to decide where they wanted to settle. Those who wanted permanent residence in Zimbabwe would have to apply for a permit in the normal way.

ANC guerrillas were captured in Zimbabwe while fighting alongside their counterparts in Joshua Nkomo's Zapu now the Patriotic Front Party in the mid-sixties.

The ANC and Zapu signed a military pact. They fought together in the southern part of Zimbabwe with the ultimate goal of enabling guerrillas to cross the Limpopo into the Republic.

The joint military adventures which were concentrated in the Wankie area proved disasters.

Most of the Zapu and ANC men were either captured or killed in battle.

Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe said before his election to power that his government would not condone the continued detention of South African 'freedom fighters' in Zimbabwe.

However, Mr Mugabe has repeatedly said that although his country was opposed to apartheid, it would not be used as a base for military incursions into South Africa by black nationalist guerrillas.

He said Zimbabwe would support all diplomatic moves, and where feasible, economic sanctions, to bring the necessary pressures to bear on the Pretoria regime.
HAVING decided to stop all collections of funds to pay a £20,000 bill, community worker Robert Smart Robert is now going to wait to see what happens.

"My own lawyers' costs have been settled," he said today. "I still owe City Tramways £11,000 after their bill was taxed from £20,000."

He has not received the bill from the Deputy State Attorney which he also has to pay, but estimates it to be £8,000.

"Although I do intend to pay the debt when I can, I'm going to forget about it for now and try to live a normal life," Mr. Roberts said. "I'm not very worried about it."

In January, he lost an application to the Supreme Court asking that the National Transport Commission be prohibited from levying the bus company's fees when he applied for a fare increase. He was ordered to pay the costs of two councils who represented City Tramways and the Commission.

After the approval of fare increases by the National Transport Commission yesterday, Mr. Roberts decided to stop the fund as he felt he could not ask people who had to pay higher fares to also pay City Tramways' legal costs.
Beer hall burnt down

Mob hold cops captive

FOUR Cradock security policemen, trapped in their houses by an unruly mob threatening to set the houses alight on Monday night, opened fire on the crowd seriously injuring one man.

The crowd had earlier burnt down a beer hall, causing an estimated R80 000 damage, and fought with local community council members at a meeting.

The Divisional Inspector for the Eastern Cape, Brigadier A F B Verwey, said yesterday that the injured man was admitted to hospital with bullet wounds. Brigadier Verwey said other people were probably injured when the crowd believed to be all members of the Masakane Organisation, the Cradock counterpart of Port Elizabeth's Black Civic Organisation, fought with Cradock Community Council members.

Unrest

The unrest had its birth at a meeting of the Masakane Organisation in Cradock on May 5 when members decided that:

- The community council be abolished;
- House rentals in black townships be reduced from R13 to R6
- Bus fares be reduced from 12 cents to five cents, and;
- Public transport be boycotted.

The boycott continued under intimidation until on Monday when a meeting of the Cradock Community Council was held in a township hall. A large group of men, believed to be from the rival Masakane Group, started a brawl at the meeting.

The community council members locked themselves in the hall to escape. The group which had tried to break up the meeting then moved off to join a larger group which then set the beer hall alight.

After setting the beer hall alight, the crowd surrounded the homes of four black security policemen and threatened to burn them down. The policemen trapped inside with their families eventually opened fire, injuring one man.

A constable was also injured when a gang of youths stoned policemen who tried to restore order at the meeting. The Police Directorate of Public Relations, said in Pretoria yesterday.

Constable A Louw was injured when he and other policemen were stoned by youths who were threatening to “kill” the head chairman, the Rev T Nywela. The youths, said to belong to Masakane, disrupted the meeting.

Four employees at the beer hall managed to escape unhurt but the building was gutted. Damage is estimated at R80 000.

From there the youths advanced to the nearby homes of some black members of the police force and began stoning the houses.

Police opened fire and a 23-year-old man was injured. His condition was said to be serious.

Six people have been arrested and more arrests are expected, the Directorate, said according to Sapa.
Alleged ANC man is released by SA

The Star’s Africa
News Service
MASERU — Mr Zinziva Nkondo, the alleged ANC member arrested by Security Police after bad weather forced his aircraft to divert from Maseru to Bloemfontein, has been released by the South African authorities, according to a Lesotho Government spokesman.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman in Maseru said Mr Nkondo was expected to arrive in Lesotho today.

Lesotho has repeatedly demanded the release of Mr Nkondo since he was detained by members of the SAP at the Maseru border post in December last year.

He was aboard a flight from Swaziland to Lesotho which diverted to Bloemfontein leaving the passengers to continue their trip by bus.

Mr Nkondo, who was travelling under the name Victor Matthew, was arrested at the border and detained on allegations that he participated in the activities of the banned ANC.

He was subsequently charged under the Terrorism Act.

His brother, Mr Curtis Nkondo, brought an urgent application before the Supreme Court, Bloemfontein, for his release.

The application was unsuccessful.
SEVEN members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa (PAC) will be tried for murdering PAC leader David Sibeko in Dar es Salaam last June, the Tanzanian government newspaper reported yesterday.

A trial date has not been fixed.

The Daily News said that the Director of Public Prosecutions in Tanzania that 12 other PAC members, also detained since the killing, be released on grounds of lack of evidence. A judge endorsed the order this week.

Sibeko, a member of the PAC's three-man Presidential Council and its director for foreign affairs, was shot in the head in his apartment on June 11, 1979.

To be tried are Titus Soni (24), Daniel Mhlahlo (21), Reuben Zwane (21), James Hlongwane (21), Lwam Mbalwa (15), Shindo Mahlangu and Abraham Tutu. — ARB.
Black political bodies out of apartheid meeting

The Star Bureau
LONDON — London University's conference here on Saturday about the changes — or lack of them — in apartheid has lost its star appeal.

None of the three political organisations invited to form the panel — the African National Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and Inkatha — will attend.

The ANC started the row by declining the invitation to what they felt was a pointless intellectual exercise. The organisers, afraid of being accused of bias, scrapped the whole panel.

Inkatha felt that under the circumstances it wasn't worth the expense to send a team and the BCM said they would never have sat down with Inkatha anyway.

The information department at the South African Embassy has also decided to miss the event.

The conference, which held the potential for a dramatic confrontation between the official South African representatives and the voices of black dissent, looks like becoming an academic exercise for the converted.

South African historian, Colin Bundy, will now deliver an opening address.

A second plenary speech will be made by former South African political prisoner, Baruch Hirson who has replaced the "black panel."
POLICE have rejected serious allegations by Mr Zinhwa Winston Nkondo about his treatment while in custody for five months in South Africa.

Mr Nkondo, self-exiled ANC member, who was arrested last December after his plane flying from Swaziland to Mozambique was diverted to Bloemfontein, made his charges at a Press conference in Pretoria shortly after he was handed over to the Lesotho authorities.

He said that since his detention, he had been interrogated at gaips in Nicor and Bloemfontein police stations, where he alleged he was tortured during the questioning, which he said centered on the activities of the ANC.

A spokesman for the South African Police Director of Public Relations said yesterday: "It has become common for certain people to make untruthful allegations against the police after they had been detained or questioned...

"These claims are more often made from foreign soil and not only directed against the South African Police but against police forces throughout the world."

The spokesman said that if Mr Nkondo had had any legitimate complaints, he should have directed these through the correct channels and the necessary steps would have been taken.

"During his term of detention he was frequently visited by magistrates and district surgeons and everything possible was being done to make his term of detention as comfortable as possible.

"This office is unaware of any complaints he had while he was in detention," the police spokesman said.

Mr Nkondo told the Press conference he had previously been detained in South Africa and after he left the country in 1977, he worked for the banned ANC as a journalist on "Freedom Radio" in Lesotho, Durban, Saldanha and Namibia.

Meanwhile, despite the international ramifications of his arrest, various South African Government departments are refusing to comment on the reasons for his release.

Mr Nkondo, younger brother of detained former president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Curtis Nkondo, was to have appeared in court on June 2 on two counts under the Terrorism Act.

No explanation was given for dropping the charges unexpectedly this week, nor for his subsequent handing over to Lesotho.

The Lesotho Government has credited the release to protected negotiations with the South African Government.

Yesterday a spokesman for the Department of Justice Affairs said he could not comment on the release of Mr. T.J. Bosques.

A spokesman for the Department of Justice referred the matter to the Free State Attorney-General, Mr M.R. Tucker, who said: "I had the charges and dropped the charges."

Mr Tucker said through a spokesman that he had no comment to make.
Dear Sir,

We are pleased to present the 1980 Bulletin of the South African Chamber of Commerce, which has not only dawned but has risen in the east.

Dr. Nthato Mollana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, has said blacks are refusing to flex their muscles and grab at freedom which has not only dawned but has risen in the east.

Dr. Mollana said this at the inauguration of the 14th branch of the Soweto Civic Association at the Bridgemen Memorial Chapel, Jabulani at the weekend.

This branch consists of residents from Jabulani and Soweto townships.

The people of Soweto were compared to Rip Van Winkle who slept throughout a revolution. "The people of Soweto don't seem to be aware of freedom which must be grabbed. You who are converted have a job to do to teach these people."

People up north whom we taught politics at Fort Hare and Adams College are now leaders while we have not yet reached that stage because we refuse to flex our muscles. "Wake up, and flex your muscle," he said.

Dr. Mollana said personally he would not support the idea of a national convention which is what many people are calling for. He said blacks were not yet ready for it.

He said they were not ready for freedom. "In Harare, when Mugabe called a rally 100,000 people attended, but when Mugabe, their real leader, arrived over 200,000 people attended," he said.

Dr. Mollana's severest criticism was against parents of Fort Hare students and members of the community who failed to attend a meeting at St. Francis to hear a report from the students and to discuss what could be done to help them.

"What are we doing about Fort Hare?" he asked. "Last year when the same students were expelled from school only two parents attended a meeting. This year again only two came. Children call us to give them a lead or direction, we go to a football game instead," he said.

Dr. Mollana said an announcement was going to be made tomorrow and he predicted that the parents will be told to reapply. Others will not be re-admitted. He said the Biko's and Tshidi's will not be accepted.

Yours faithfully,

[Signature]

Mrs. Shir...
PORT ELIZABETH.—Mr Justice C T Howie granted an urgent application in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court yesterday preventing the Security Police from assaulting the wife of the black civic leader, Mr Themba Botes, who fled to Lesotho a week ago.

Mrs Forena Francis Botes's internment also served as an interim order pending her civil claim against the Security Police and the Minister of Police for damages arising from alleged assault.

The respondents were Colonels Niel Erasmus, Head of the Security Police in the Eastern Cape, and a Captain P D Plessis and a Lieutenant Moolman, both of the Security Police officers.

Mrs Botes and her brother, Mr Wokie Mekana, said in sworn statements that they were questioned by Security Police on May 3, the day Mr Botes disappeared.

Mrs Botes alleged she was made to stand during interrogation from the early evening to the following morning. During the questioning she was assaulted and kissed by Capt.

Plessis and Lieut Moolman.

She said:

At one stage Col Erasmus threw a book at her while she was being watched by another officer, and at another time during the interrogation Mr Mekana was brought to the office with a bloodied mouth.

Mr Justice Howie found it was not possible, on grounds of the weight of evidence before the court, to determine whether Mrs Botes had been physically assaulted.

However, it was possible she would try to get in touch with her husband, and that the Security Police would then question her again.

He ordered Col Erasmus, Capt P D Plessis and Lt Moolman not to assault Mrs Botes.

Col Erasmus also had to ensure that, as far as it was in his power, no other Security Police under his command assaulted Mrs Botes.

The judge held over the costs of the interim until the civil action came to court. He ruled Mrs Botes had to present her civil action within two months.

—Sara.
Inkatha's supported by a few misled Zulus

SIR — The continuous and uninhibited attacks on SUNDAY POST and other newspapers by inkatha cannot go unscrutinised.

This is my reaction towards B J Masango of Ulundi — SUNDAY POST March 9. First of all I would like to advise Mr Masango that if he does not have enough evidence that readers like Samkelo Khumalo of Botswana exist, he must stop accusing SUNDAY POST of using fictitious names.

Since you believe in fiction, Mr Masango, many readers will certainly never support you on the fact that Samkelo Khumalo does not exist, including me.

For your information, "fictitious" names as you call them are used in some of the letters addressed to SUNDAY POST in such a manner that one does not need to think of fiction to note that it is a nom de plume.

Fortunately, on the editor's note you have been told to believe that Mr Khumalo is a real person as you would like us to believe that you are a real person too.

Excellent comment from the editor isn't it? If you are still not satisfied, I would suggest that you go to Industria and satisfy yourself there.

You, the Inkatha, react forcefully after statements like Mr Khumalo's have been issued. We are not surprised, for we know that Inkatha is well known for its belief that it is always correct.

However, we are not going to keep quiet if your organisation tries to mislead the public.

In your letter you have accused Mr Khumalo of displaying ignorance and stupidity by not knowing, by 1960, who the black leaders in South Africa are.

We won't say you are either stupid or ignorant — we will simply say you are so confused that we don't believe your co-inkatha members are similarly confused and short sighted. Maybe you should all disband.

Remember Chief Luthuli, among others, who chose to relinquish his chieftainship in favour of struggling with his fellow blacks. You don't seem to know what I am talking about.

Well, that is an example of a true black leader.

In your letter, you talk of black leaders whom you do not name because they are non-existent. You only pipe out that colloquial and boring "loud sounding nothing" about Gatshe, whom you claim to be internationally recognised.

M TSHIPO MAMBO

Vol 5
Police challenged on Biko funds

By Marion Sparrow

Two executive members of the banned Black Community Programme (BCP) have challenged the South African Police to release details of their claim that dead black leader, Steve Biko, received large sums of money from overseas to further "terrorism" in South Africa.

According to the latest police magazine, Servamus, Mr Biko and two other members of the BCP received R750,000 from overseas sources in one year and deposited this money in their personal bank accounts.

However, Dr Nthato Motlana, a founder member of the BCP, and Mr Bill Bhengu, national chairman at the time of its banning, have both denied either Mr Biko or the BCP received an amount "anywhere near" R750,000.

The largest single amount ever received from an overseas donor, they said, was between R120,000 and R20,000.

"I would be pleasantly surprised to hear that we ever had R750,000," Mr Bhengu said from Durban this week.

The article, written by Lieut-Commander Leen Mollet of the SAP Directorate of Public Relations in Pretoria, claims the money was intended for terrorists in Southern Africa.

Lieut-Col Mollet told the Sunday Times this week:

"They know our facts are true. Let's leave it at that."

Dr Motlana said he was "offended" by this attack on Biko and would "do my damnest to defend Steve's honour".
Death in exile

NO KISS OF LIFE FOR SA BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

By DAVID NIDDRIF

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (South Africa), already battling to resolve the problems of exile, is on its last legs following the resignations of three senior members, the expulsion of a fourth and the pending resignation of another member.

The movement — formed as an umbrella organisation for the Black organisations banned by the then Minister of Justice Mr Jimmy Kruger in 1977 — is also struggling to find cash.

The resignations follow last month's secret BCMA conference in London, which was held as a desperate attempt to resuscitate the organisation.

But the conference has left BCMA at its lowest ebb ever.

The three members who quit and the one who was put out were close associates of Steve Biko, "the father of Black consciousness", who died in detention in 1977. His death gave the organisation a prominence far in excess of its size.

The four were:

- Barney Pityana, banned co-founder, with Biko, of Black consciousness ideology in South Africa in the late 1960s. He was secretary-general of BCMA's UK committee. He has retained his membership of the movement, but will take little part in its activities.

- Tenjwe Mhinto, banned ex-Daily Dispatch journalist who fled to Lesotho in 1978. She has joined the banned African National Congress.

- Ben Khoapa, ex-Editor of the now-banned Black Review, mouthpiece of the movement before it was banned in October 1977. He was treasurer of BCMA's North American branch.

- Harry Nengwekhulu, whose position as Black People's Convention external affairs director was voted out of existence at the conference. He held the senior

Barney Pityana

... resigned

selected post in the BPC — which is the most powerful organisation under the BCMA umbrella. He was the movement's leading office-bearer, but fought bitterly with the London source since its formation, and was accused at the conference of adopting Maoist policies contrary to the movement's policies. Mr. Nengwekhulu was known to be strongly opposed to any links between BCMA and other exiled movements, particularly the ANC. He was the movement's "oldest" exile, having fled in 1973, and had established a strong power-base in Botswana where he worked as a university lecturer.

Mr Thami Zani, last publicity director of the BPC before it was banned in 1977, and like Miss Mhinto banned and living in exile in Lesotho, is also on the fringe of resigning, say sources in London.

The moves leave the BCMA almost completely devoid of any of the prominent Blacks who were linked to the organisations banned in 1977.

Mr Drake Khoka, banned London-based trade unionist, is a possible exception, and the organisation's British section, by far the most powerful, is now effectively being run by him and Mr Pityana's replacement, Mr Basil Manning.

But Mr Khoka is not popular among South African exiles, and Mr Manning is virtually unknown, "I'd never heard of him before the conference," a London source with links to BCMA told the Sunday Express.

BCMA's policy is still not clear and, according to the London source, exiles who have linked themselves to the movement are disillusioned. "BCMA offers us nothing," they are reported as saying.

The conference also failed to resolve its attitude to proposals to set up a proposed "third force" guerrillas army, in opposition to the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC guerrillas.

But the success or failure of the "third force" is not where the significance of BCMA's imminent death lies.

It did not challenge the ANC's position as South Africa's major revolutionary force, but did challenge ANC claims to the loyalty of the APF's anti-Government groups.

PAC, which is in a state of decay almost as bad as that of BCMA and, internally, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, which is still fighting the stigma of "homeland politics".

"Black Consciousness was not designed for exile, and is breaking up. There is nothing to keep it together," the source said.

The expulsion of Mr Nengwekhulu will probably mean the collapse of all the withdrawal of the Botswana branch from the organisation, and the resignation of Miss Mhinto will cause major problems in the already-allied Lesotho branch.

BCMA was formed last year to unite the ANC, PAC, Banlieue, and other exiled organisations, but internal squabbles kept it inactive. Its resulting low profile made African countries hesitant to host its inaugural conference.

The result was hardly the unification hoped for.

Unable to launch a fully-fledged organisation, delegates removed Mr Nengwekhulu and set up a second "interim committee" to shepherd the organisation through the coming 12 months, They did, however, reorganise the movement under a single executive — the second interim committee — in place of the regional control of the previous year.

In a statement in the Rand Daily Mail on Friday, the new interim committee denied it was broke or on the verge of collapse. The movement was flourishing and gaining momentum daily, the statement added, and rejected contrary reports as "mischievous, negative and divisive".

It said that BCMA was trying to bring the Nigeria-based South African Youth Revolutionary Council, headed by Mr Khotso Seathlolo, former head of the banned Soweto Students' Representative Council, into its orbit.
DAR-ES-SALAAM —
Twaalf lede van die verbode Suid-Afrikaanse PAC is hier vrygelaat, berig die regeringskoerant, die Daily News, weens gebrek aan gesterfde lede teen hulle.
Volgens die koerant is hulle elf maande lank aangehou in verband met die moord op mnr. David Sisulu, een van die drie lede van die presidentsiële raad van die PAC en direkteur vir buitelandse sake. Hy is verlede Junie in die kop geskiet.
Sewe ander PAC-lede word nog aangehou. (Sapa—Reuter).
Thozamile Botha under ANC wing

SUNDAY POST

Reporters

THOZAMILIE BOTHA, the banned former leader of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebco), has been taken under the wing of the African National Congress.

The 32-year-old former teacher, who led the Ford workers' strike at the company's Port Elizabeth plant last year, went into exile two weeks ago.

Mr Botha's connection with the ANC was confirmed yesterday by reliable sources in Maseru.

Mr Botha

The sources said that even though Mr Botha could not formally join the ANC in Lesotho as it has no established office there, the movement has taken him under its close protection.

Mr Botha was banned earlier this year after six weeks in security police detention following the Ford workers' strike. Reports earlier this week speculated that Mr Botha was to register at the University of Lesotho at Roma for a law course, but SUNDAY POST's sources declined to confirm this, or say what his future plans would be.

clear if they have resigned as BCMA members.

From its beginnings BCMA has seen itself as an organisation trying to unite the ANC and PAC, the two South African exile groups recognized by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Recent in-fighting within the PAC has brought it close to collapse and the movement could well lose its OAU recognition.

And the ANC, from its position of strength and diplomatic recognition, has apparently answered the BCMA with a join-used-or-forged-it reply.

Another man to skip the country is Mr Enoch Duma, a senior reporter with the Sunday Times and vice-president of the Writers Association of South Africa (WASA).

He is presently in London.

Mr Duma left South Africa for Lesotho, where he spent a few days before flying out to London.

Mr Duma, a former detainee under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, has been missing from his Dobsonville home for about three weeks. He left behind his wife, Kitty, and their three children.

In 1975 Mr Duma was awarded a World Press Institute grant and studied at the University of Indiana in America. On
two occasions last year, the Government refused to renew Mr Duma's passport to allow him to honour an invitation to visit the United States.

After his nine months' detention in 1977, Mr Duma was charged under the Terrorism Act. He was acquitted.

A Soweto social worker attached to Baragwanath Hospital, Mrs Masepeke Tshabalala, who was held under the General Law Amendment Act and later under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, was also released on Friday afternoon.

She had been held at Jabulani Police Station and said yesterday on her release that she was told she would not be charged.
Boycott planners 'may get skulls cracked'

Intense anger was displayed by big sections of the crowd throughout the meeting and large numbers of parents made public appeals for action to be taken against people organizing children to stay away from school.

Chief Buthelezi issued a statement that the boycott had nothing to do with the education system, but was caused by the actions of people who were not interested in the education of children. He warned that they would be held responsible for the actions of the organizations.

Chief Buthelezi also spoke of the anti-apartheid movement and its support for the boycott, saying that it was a violation of the rights of children and their parents.

Consciousness movement which disrupted schools and caused a lot of hardship to the people, and are harming the interests of the country.

A Kwazulu minister of education, Mr. N. N. Mnquma, was arrested after he and some of his supporters were caught in the middle of the school boycott.
No answers found at UK apartheid debate

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Their conference posed the question: Is apartheid really changing or does it only look that way?
But even before it started at London University on Saturday, its organizers admitted that they were not expecting any answers.
They were proved entirely correct by the 50 participants.
The key groups — the African National Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Inkatha and the South African Government — all stayed away.
The ANC was, however, strongly albeit unofficially represented in all the discussion groups.
Mr Colin Bundy kicked off with a solid analysis of what changes were taking place and why.
There was much talk on whether the working classes in South Africa should allow anyone else in on their revolution. No decision was made.
The ANC members saw apartheid was not racism. It was an exploitative system that uses racism.
One unsuspecting trade unionist who asked about the real Cuban role in SWA/Namibia was abruptly pulled up. Where was his questions leading, the group leader demanded.
The questioner recovered smartly by saying he merely wanted some reassurance that the Western imperialist, capitalist Press was distorting this as well.
A Kwazulu town councilor, Mrs. Albertina Mlotshwa, said the children who had been attending the schools in defiance of the KwaZulu Government's order were not disrupted. She and others were convinced that the children would continue to attend the schools. Chanting and marching alongside the children were those who had disbanded the group to avoid a clash between the two groups. The children, who had been encircled by police, were protected by police officers who were also shot at. The children, who were armed with sticks and stones, were prevented from entering the schools by the police.
After Soweto —
achievements
lacking value

By John Richards

LAST NIGHT’S look at the lot of coloureds and blacks four years after the disastrous riots of 1976 was an anomalous mixture of State achievement in attempts to do away with grievances, and the abysmal failure of these achievements to realise any real goal.

Senior public servants were allowed to enumerate Government achievements — and there were moments of frankness when black and coloured leaders were allowed to say why these achievements were lacking in any value.

HUMAN DIGNITY

As Professor Richard van der Ross said, removal of grievances was not to be equated with expenditure of millions, or measured in terms of money.

What people of a skin colour other than white seek is their acceptance as human beings and the recognition of their human dignity.

Their Frontier the Sea was no better or worse than last week’s 24 Hours on the Border, but it was certainly more interesting. Perhaps the most interesting aspect was the method used to accustom serving seamen to the conditions they may meet on active service.

Simulated submarine control rooms, fires, and sinkings — the men are artificially battle hardened without the presence of a declared enemy.

Most non-naval people do not know the South African Navy is only 50 years old or that it has the colossal task of patrolling 4,000 km of coast and hundreds of thousands of kilometres of open sea.

Although South Africa does not have the legends of gunfire and violence associated with the old west of North America, the country’s early history was not without its moments.

However, the second episode of ‘The Diggers’ did nothing to dispel the first impression that it is no more than a pop-entertains western with none of the panache of Dodge City.
Blacks will not accept division—estate agent

Property Editor

BLACKS will not accept any plan which has its base in the fragmentation of races, Mr B J van der Ross, a member of the Estate Agents Board, told the South African Property Owners' Association congress today.

In a slashing attack on the Prime Minister’s 12-point plan and on the Group Areas Act, Mr van der Ross said the homeland policy was 'a simple extension of the divide-and-rule policy grounded on a fraud'.

History had proved there had never been a government strong enough to enforce any law which was not acceptable to the people.

'The more the Government tried to fragment black groups, the more these groups will be bound together through discrimination and oppression, and they will always outnumber the whites.

BEGGARS

'As long as blacks cannot aspire to effective participation in a truly free enterprise system, because they have been reduced to a nation of beggars, the white man will be denied the right to sleep peacefully and the property investor peace of mind in his investment."

Mr van der Ross asked why it was necessary for Mitchell’s Plain and Atlantic to be entirely coloured cities. They were not viable economically. He believed the Government’s policy for these two areas was that they would eventually form a coloured homeland.
The hate that hangs in Miami air

“Is it any wonder that the blacks have felt that the white establishment and its system of justice was stacked against them?” asked an editor.

Before the riots there had been so many warnings from black community activists and Free World leaders about the way children were treated in the city. The city was already a big problem in the eyes of the white minority. Some were tired of blackness, others burned almost beyond recognition, several had limits hanging off.

This was the sickening harvest of war that, unchecked, could explode to become a sea of racial hate in other parts of America.

In an attempt to cool the violence, federal officials were trying to bring indictments against...

Nixon cleared

WASHINGTON — The United States Supreme Court on Monday rejected a lawsuit seeking to nullify the re-election of President Richard Nixon in 1974 by his successor, President Gerald Ford.

Two Colorado residents had been attempting to obtain a court ruling to allow criminal charges to be filed against Mr Nixon for his role in the Watergate affair.

Grim report on Zaire

LONDON — Hundreds of people in Zaire have been arbitrarily arrested and confined indefinitely to remote camps in the jungle and bush where their only communication published ailion, torture or starvation. Amnesty International said yesterday.

One report indicates that, plus summary executions in which prisoners were said to have been killed without having been tried.

The report said that the hundreds of ex-prisoners... and without being caught.

The report added, "Prisoners sleep on the ground faced with insects, rats and parasites." It said, "Others are left to die in the hunger that has overwhelmed prison camps. Overcrowding of..."

“Many people have been tortured and subjected to political suspicion, or for belonging to known ethnic groups," it said. "Stud-... lecturers are particularly vulnerable, as are members of ethnic groups from Southern..."

5 feared dead

VANCOUVER — At least five people were known dead and 21 were missing following the violent erup-

tion of Mount St. Helen's volcano in this west coast state on Sunday. The eruption sprayed some 100 miles off the top of the 2,500-metre peak.

Press reports said dozens of houses were left uninhabitable.

Nod to aid

WASHINGTON — Congress on Monday approved a $280-million emergency appropriation to help Shake-
pau after a three-month debate. The Senate voted by 64-24, and the House by 282-132.

An aid programme earmarked funds to help local businesses and farmers, public works and housing and reconstruction.

Line drawn

UNITED NATIONS — The embodiment that UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim and his staff had been trying to finesse — the report issued in April by the UN High Commissioner for Refugees — had finally been made public.

Mr. Gough was asked by the diplomats in a series of press conferences that were held in New York and also in Washington.

The report said that the hundreds of ex-prisoners... and without being caught.

The report added, "Prisoners sleep on the ground faced with insects, rats and parasites." It said, "Others are left to die in the hunger that has overwhelmed prison camps. Overcrowding of..."

“Many people have been tortured and subjected to political suspicion, or for belonging to known ethnic groups," it said. "Stud-

BIGGER CABINET

KAMPALA — Uganda’s military rulers named more officials to their administration yesterday, increasing the power of the government formed last Sunday to 51.

The appointees included the interior minister, who is also the deputy prime minister; the finance minister; the attorney general; the Cabinet secretary; and the minister of agriculture.

Prof William’s top economist on lecture tour

PROFESSOR William, a top US black economist, has arrived in South Africa for a two-week lecture tour.

His visit has been sponsored by the Free Market Foundation, with Rand Afrikaans University as host university, administering his tour arrangements.

Prof Williams will lecture at most of South Africa’s universities, consulting with many of the nation’s policy-makers and government officials as a part of a series of public appearances throughout South Africa and Namibia.

Prof Williams has had an illustrious academic career and is consulted by US presidents and other government officials on national policy towards anti- apartheid forces.

AN AUTHORITY

Although he is best known for his controversial free market views on racial discrimination and the capitalist system, Williams is also an authority on many issues that are critical to South Africa, such as conservation, pollution, inflation and unemployment.

He has been brought to South Africa by the extraordinary success of his first visits to the country last year — at the time of the Prime Minister’s visit.”

He has been brought to South Africa by the extraordinary success of his first visits to the country last year — at the time of the Prime Minister’s visit.”

In his address on November 10th, He addressed the 1932 Southers’ Monument Foundation, in line with the Apartheid government’s campaign to exploit thesite freedom and the individual.”

According to the conference organizer, Andre Spier of the South Africa. William’s participation was so important that he made the conference.”

The hate that hangs in Miami air

“Is it any wonder that the blacks have felt that the white establishment and its system of justice was stacked against them?” asked an editor.

Before the riots there had been so many warnings from black community activists and Free World leaders about the way children were treated in the city. The city was already a big problem in the eyes of the white minority. Some were tired of blackness, others burned almost beyond recognition, several had limits hanging off.

This was the sickening harvest of war that, unchecked, could explode to become a sea of racial hate in other parts of America.

In an attempt to cool the violence, federal officials were trying to bring indictments against...
Kgokong applies for asylum in Botswana

BLACK Consciousness leader, Mr Jalrus Kgokong, yesterday applied for political asylum in Botswana, according to sources there.

Mr Kgokong, former Transvaal regional secretary of the banned South African Students' Organisation (Saso), is said to have arrived in Botswana on Saturday — two days before he was to have handed himself over to prison authorities in Johannesburg to start a two year jail sentence.

Mr Kgokong was banned and restricted to the magisterial district of Johannesburg.

STATEMENT

The two year sentence he was to serve is a sequel to a Supreme Court trial in which Mr J Mofokeng and six others were charged under the Terrorism Act. Mr Kgokong was State witness in the case.

His evidence in the case allegedly conflicted with a statement he had made under oath before Captain A B Cronwright on November 3, 1975. He had told the court that the statement was not made freely and voluntarily.

Mr Kgokong has played a major role in the black consciousness movement of South Africa. He has spent about 23 months in detention under Section 8 of the Terrorism Act and Section 19 of the Internal Security Act.
Black leaders slam closing of Fort Hare

THE closing down of the University of Fort Hare by the Rector, Prof J M de Wet, on Monday, was condemned by black educators and black consciousness movements in Johannesburg yesterday.

The students were given until 1 pm on Monday to leave the campus following a two-week boycott of lectures and other academic activities at the university.

In a statement the publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr George Wauchope, said: "The closing of Fort Hare is indicative of the attitudes and intransigence of the South African authorities.

AZAPO

"By closing the 'varsity the authorities hope to break students solidarity. "Azapo still repeats that the educational crisis in this country is but a tip of the iceberg because the core of the problem is apartheid itself.

"For as long as apartheid is in force, there shall always be valid and genuine ground for dissent," he said.

An executive member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Mr Tom Manthata, said: "The recent activities at Fort Hare have a clear cut national content. This is a national expression of a need for change.

"It is time that individuals and organisations came together to resolve the situation. The boycotting students took a mature and bold political step which is a challenge to every black.

"Prof de Wet's reported utterances are a challenge to the Government. What is significant about the Fort Hare activities, is that the boycott was not based on 'issue exploitation', like dismissal of students or killing of a student," he said.

A mathematics lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand, Mr T W Kambule, said: "Inferior education is education for a revolution. It is a terrible setback for the students and parents involved.

"The Government better start doing some serious thinking about the immediate dismantling of separate education system." — Sapa.
Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, continues his question-and-answer interview with Joe Thololo begun yesterday. He elaborates on his position and the committee in the political state of Soweto and the people generally...

Q: The whole argument, to take it further, is that these people just ratify what has been agreed upon by the leadership. In other words they don’t contribute to the creation of whatever organization you are creating. Here you had these people coming together to form the Committee of Ten. The Committee of Ten works out a blueprint and then they go out to the people to ratify. Pay people did not contribute to the creation of the blueprint?
A: But surely in your ratification meeting as we had planned, you would have, first of all, the blueprint as it was cyclostyled, published in every neighborhood so people would read it and know what is involved. When they come to this mass meeting to approve of this thing, they come with their suggestions, their amendments. They could even reject it. Surely that is how organizations work.

If we were to wait for the so-called grassroots to come up with an idea, how long are we going to wait? I am not sure that, in fact, the grassroots is going to produce that kind of thing. In that grassroots, in that mass of people — ordinary people, and I repeat ordinary people — there must come some sort of leadership at that level which will say: We need to be seen to be doing so and so.

And at that grassroots — if the grassroots themselves have to meet — somebody’s got to call the meeting. Otherwise it may never get together. That same goes for the

I would never go into an election

Q: The same goes for the

people. Somebody calls a mass meeting. It is accepted.

To my way of thinking, this is how communities develop. But somebody got to come up with the idea. Not the mass. Somebody like Gatsha Buthelezi coming up with Inkatha. The problem I still have is with you as an alternative to the Urban Bantu Councils or the community councils.
A: Alternative?
Q: Yes.
A: I think alternative is an unfortunate word. We have never regarded ourselves as an alternative. We, the people who met that evening at the offices of The World, asked ourselves: "In this situation that has occurred because of the resignation of the UBC, what kind of body can be substituted?"

This was in June 1977. I think at the same time the Government was debating in Parliament the Community Council Bill, which was passed the same year.

When this Bill was passed, we were still outside — not detained yet — we looked at it and saw this was crap, this was nonsense. It was ill-conceived, ill-considered, rushed through Parliament without due consideration. We could not have that kind of thing. We opposed it.

I don’t suppose one could say for that reason that we saw ourselves as an alternative.

Most of us in the Committee of Ten don’t see ourselves ever serving on a so-called committee of Soweto. Oh no, I’ll never have that idea of makgotla, they abandoned the idea of urban representation of the homeland chief, they abandoned ethnic grouping, they abandoned quite a number of things. And we continue to push even to this day.

We don’t see ourselves as improving a council so that we can serve there. I don’t care who serves in that council — even if it is Thembalimi.

Let them benefit from my detention. Let them benefit from the pushing we are doing.

I can tell you now that I’ll never become a member of any of these nonsensical bodies here, because fundamentally I have objections.

A local authority is a third tier of government. Any given town council in the country derives its powers under the local ordinance of the provincial council.

It is an extension, an arm of the province, which in turn derives all its authority and power from the central government.

In a normal society, the whites who run the city council of Johannesburg — many of them are provincial councillors. And from the provincial council, they are represented in the central government.

Their own people debate what powers may be delegated to the provincial councils. Same people, same power.

It is an interaction of people who exercise power at the level of the central government, at the level of the province, and at the level of the local authority.

Until and only when the day comes that we blacks have representation...
Civic Association (SCA), for instance. Again it is a question of the people ratifying what has already been decided by the leadership.

A: But then I am going to say to you, how else could the constitution of any body, anything at all, ever come about? How else?

Somebody, two or three people, will decide that if we do so and so maybe we can acquire so and so. And those three call on their friends, acquaintances or some people they know.

Then the idea grows, germinates, takes hold, somebody commercialises it in writing, somebody publishes a part, it gets hold of the whole damn po-

This interview continued tomorrow
THE Government is failing in its efforts to win support from the black middle-class in South Africa, says Mr Sam Motsuenyane, president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce. In an interview with our Johannesburg correspondent, the black-business leader rejects the Government’s offer of a ‘broader South African identity’ for blacks and says black rule is inevitable.

23/05/80 ARVUC

‘Aspirations of majority must be satisfied’

Mr Motsuenyane: White South Africa must accept the inevitable — that black people will form the predominant voice in the governing of this country.

We have to change to enhance our acceptability to the outside world and to satisfy the aspirations of the majority in this country. If we fail to do so we will be hamstrung by the conflict that exists between South Africa and the rest of the world.

I look at Zimbabwe, which a few months ago was unacceptable to the world. Because they have changed, investment is pouring in. I believe black rule is not as bad as many whites believe.

IDENTITY

Question: Dr Piet Kooiwhof, Minister of Cooperation and Development, has said separate sovereignties in South Africa are non-negotiable. He has offered blacks a broader South African identity — a confederal

Mr Motsuenyane

identity. Do you find this acceptable?

Mr Motsuenyane: What has been said about a broader South African identity is irrelevant to black aspirations today. We want a common society in a unitary state, that is what most people are calling for, in the same way as they did in Zimbabwe.

Question: What does Zimbabwe symbolise for you?

Mr Motsuenyane: Zimbabweans have fought the same battle, they have asked for the same things: equality of opportunity, recognition of their worth and a unitary state. This is what the African National Congress has been calling for and is still fighting for.

ANC

Robert Mugabe’s victory has a special relevance for the black people of South Africa because they are in the same situation.

Ever since its birth the ANC has stood for equality of opportunity for black and white.

Question: What are your views on the ‘Release Mandela’ campaign?

Mr Motsuenyane: I have been quoted as favouring the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela from Robben Island and all other political prisoners. It must be recognised that for a long time Mandela’s strategy was one of peacefully resolving our problems. He resorted to supporting violence only because of the Government’s intransigence. He cannot be blamed for having thought the way he thought.

The violent struggle for liberation has gained credibility because in so many African countries the end of liberation has been achieved the violent way.

GREAT

The longer Mandela is kept in jail, therefore, the more credibility he will gain. The Government achieves nothing by keeping him behind bars, because the longer they keep him there the greater he is going to be.
Azapo wants unitary state

BLACK consciousness takes into cognisance the fact that black people are denied the fundamental human rights to participate in contributing towards a future of a peaceful, open and equal egalitarian society, based on an equal distribution of land, wealth and power. It takes into account historical and national peculiarities of the blacks in Azania and thus seeks to disseminate ideas that will liberate people from bondage and give them their rightful liberty and freedom. It is for this reason that Azapo acknowledges the philosophy of black consciousness as the fruition (culmination) of the liberatory efforts on the part of different black organisations throughout the history of resistance against white domination. The philosophy of black consciousness should be seen to be:

- Framework whose internal dynamics give form to the entire nature of black aspirations.
- Irreversible process of self-understanding and self-awareness.

The national executive of the Azanian Peoples Organisation (Azapo) has released a statement on its political stance. The organisation was inaugurated last year at a meeting attended by delegates from several parts of the country. This week, Azapo released this article relating to their political standpoint and motivation.

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PARIS. — Alexandre Moubararis, the convicted terrorist who escaped from Pretoria Prison last December, will feature in an hour-long French radio programme today.

The Europe Number One radio station is devoting three four-song programmes over three days to South Africa - the first was on Sharpeville yesterday was on the assassination of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and today's will be devoted to the Moubararis trial and his subsequent jail experiences and escape.

It is likely he will give new details of his escape in the broadcast.

The radio station has been using him as an "advisor" in the whole South African series which he described yesterday as "excellent - in other words, unfavourable to South Africa."

Moubararis is an active anti-apartheid militant and on Wednesday was in Stockholm where he met, as a member of a delegation, Mrs Simone Veil, president of the European Parliament.

"We told her the importance of breaking off relations between the common market countries and Pretoria," Moubararis said.
Black leaders condemn desecration of 'hero's' grave

Pretoria Bureau

ACTION by vandals in toppling the tombstone of Goch Street terrorist Solomon Mahlangu and placing the bloody head of a warthog on the grave in the Atteridgeville cemetery last Tuesday night, has been widely condemned by black spokesmen.

Police went to the cemetery yesterday to remove the head of the dead animal, but the tombstone was left lying on the ground where it had fallen during the vandals' raid.

A spokesman for the Directorate of Police in Pretoria said yesterday that the scene had been photographed by a police photographer before the animal's head was disposed of.

The chairman of the Committee of 10, Dr Ntatho Motlana, yesterday said: "We condemn unreservedly such unseemly behaviour."

"It must be a sick mind that would stoop to such a low level," Dr Motlana said.

He added that the trouble with such action was that it could lead to counter reaction and "let us hope blacks will not resort to such behaviour."

The president of the Writers Association of South Africa (Wasa), Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, also condemned the action.

"We feel particularly aggrieved that whatever the people try to do to a fallen hero like Solomon should always be attended by violence, harassment and sheer vandalism," Mr Sisulu said.

Solomon Mahlangu was executed last year for taking part in the 1977 Goch Street shooting in which two people died.
Q: Two questions come from that. First, your urban bantu councillor will claim that his primary concern is with bread and butter issues — like a house for a widow. In fact Thebehlali has gone on record several times saying that he is concerned about food for the people, work for the people, housing for the people. You also stress these basic things. Where do you differ from him?

This question is related to the second: how do you relate these issues to the bigger issues. A person gets a house and then whatever other issues you want to raise are not of interest to him.

A: There are two schools of thought, Joe. There are people who say that if you really want to achieve freedom in South Africa, don't improve the material conditions of the people. Don't give them jobs, don't give them homes; don't give them better schools — they will revolt.

Then there are those who say that a revolution occurs when rising expectations are frustrated, who say that in fact all revolutions throughout history have been led by the middle class, that no revolution has been led by a man whose every thought is about where the next meal is coming from.

I still see hope in talking

This is the last part of an interview by senior reporter, Joe Thloloe, with Committee of Ten chairman, Dr Nthato Moloana.

Q: Buthelezi? He has come up with the idea that even if you differ ideologically, at least on certain basic issues you should work as a black community.

A: By the way, I want to say something about that. I used a phrase in a public meeting about Gatsha which I would like to withdraw. I think it was unfortunate that I used the word traitor.

Q: Will you see our Soweto Civic Associations?

A: I don't know really. We have established branches, but I don't know what numbers there are in each branch. Our secretary has just slip-up, unfortunately.

Q: When is the constitution of the SCA coming up for discussion?

A: Oh, we've got a constitution. A draft constitution, really, which is to be approved. We hope to have our annual conference in September. We hope to have the constitution debated there and approved or amended.

Q: And elections?

A: Yes, and elections. We've been in power for too long and we must introduce new blood.

Q: Do you see any hope of reconciliation between yourself and Chief Gatsha?

A: To Page 9
Buthelezi warns of violence on varsity campus

ULUNDU. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gaika Buthelezi, yesterday told the Legislative Assembly he had been reliably informed that some students at the University of Zululand were seen "buying knives in preparation for the graduation ceremony on Saturday." According to Chief Buthelezi, the knives were allegedly going to be used against Inkatha members who would be accompanying him to the graduation ceremony at the campus.

Chief Buthelezi is chancellor of the university.

The Chief Minister also read a telegram from the student body of the university asking him to "warn" Inkatha members who would accompany him not to wear their Inkatha uniform or display any party symbol on the campus.

The telegram, signed by the students' representative council, also appealed to Chief Buthelezi "not to bring his regiment to the campus.

"The request is in the interest of peace and order at the university," the telegram said.

Earlier this week, students at the university signed the car of a member of the central committee of Inkatha, Dr S Nqabane.

Dr Nqabane had gone to the university to investigate rumours that rooms occupied by members of the Inkatha youth wing at the university were going to be razed.

Two Inkatha office bearers who accompanied him were also searched and assaulted by students.

The SRC denied any knowledge of students buying knives.

In the telegram to Chief Buthelezi, the SRC said: "We leaders of students are not aware of such plans of subversion against Inkatha members and we regret with repentance and apprehension such plans."

Chief Buthelezi told the assembly that in spite of "all the provocation from the students", he would not be going to the university for revenge or to settle any scores.

"We know that some of the students are a bunch of spoilt, silly kids like the SRC leader, Mr Reggie Ndlovu. He is taking instructions from his father," Dr Sibusiso Denga. — Sapa.
The Zulus are said to be inevitables. Black rule in South Africa is inevitable.

The situation was described by a correspondent as follows:

"The Zulus are inevitables. Black rule in South Africa is inevitable."

The correspondent went on to say that the military situation in South Africa was critical and that the country was facing an imminent threat.

"The situation in South Africa is critical. The military is on high alert."

The correspondent also mentioned that the government was not taking any action to prevent the Zulus from taking control of the country.

"The government is not taking any action to prevent the Zulus from taking control of the country."

The correspondent concluded by saying that the situation was dire and that the country was on the brink of a disaster.

"The situation is dire. South Africa is on the brink of a disaster."
Blacks to boycott buses

Representatives from about 40 civic and residents' associations, representing the bulk of the African and coloured communities of Cape Town, decided at a meeting in Athlone yesterday to boycott City Tramways buses as from next Monday.

It was decided that this week would be used by the organisations and the co-ordinating committee they formed to rally people in the Peninsula to boycott the buses and also to work out how it could be effectively implemented.

Yesterday's decision by the organisations, including representatives from the Guguletu Residents' Association and community bodies from the other black townships, is a protest against fare increases.

The decision to launch the boycott from next week is to give people who have already bought clip-cards a chance to sell them.

City Tramways declined to comment.

A report from Claremont says that at Crossroads Bus Terminus, commuters wanting to board buses were asked not to and told to boycott the service.

One man caught a taxi to get to work on time.

The report also confirmed an Argus employee's observation that black and coloured workers were walking from the railway station rather than catch the bus.
Press fails to reflect black issues

Press freedom was being threatened by the failure of newspapers to report the relevant issues to their predominantly white readership, Professor Jakes Gerwel of the University of the Western Cape, said at the weekend.

Delivering the Fairbairn Memorial lecture at a banquet of the Southern African Society of Journalists at the weekend, Professor Gerwel said Press freedom in South Africa was threatened by government action and the inability of the Press to reflect relevant issues.

Developments and events in the black community which would be discomfiting to the white community were not receiving news coverage in the mainstream Press, he said.

Mr Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, was chosen as the Newsmaker of the Year by the SASJ.
Azapo branch

THE road to liberation has a lot of pitfalls and there are no short cuts. This was said at the launching of the Azapo branch at the Lutheran Church in Tembisa at the weekend.

Mr Letsatsi Mosala, a member of the Azapo national executive, outlined the aims and objects of the movement to all in the church. He further asked the new committee to work harmoniously in the process of making the community aware of themselves as people, not as subhumans or foreigners in the country of their birth.
Religious Leaders
Members of Parliament
Newspaper and Magazine
Members of the Public
Committee members of o

BANNING & DETENTION W3

The Civil Rights League
punishments of detention
law, and the subsequent
contraventions.

COURTS ARE EXCLUDED

The courts are, in effect
punishment without bail
of restriction has all
The League protests it
and judging the evident
"security" legislation
courts, for example of
under a wide-ranging
pressure of incommunicable
excluded from the jury

Using banning for pol
officials, when the p
having them convicted
of the law, creates a
dlead to weak

INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY

The fundamental principal
is that is what
Civil Rights League is
punishment without jus

SMOKESCREEN

There are those who persuade themselves that
they must have merited their punishment and
rather than imprisoned. This is the way pl

The belief that there can be no smoke without
realisation that permanent smoke more proba

Those who believe that officials cannot make
element: the interference with parliament
and Mr. Biko's death.

Far from bannings being merited, these rest
of good will who have the influence to bring our people together in peace
when there is a desperate need for voices of reconciliation to be heard.

THE South African Government has gone
ban by banning Mr Curtis Nkond
while there is a nationwide call for the re
Mandela and other political
prisoners, the return of the exiles and the
unbanning of the banned.

This was said by the
African Students Organisa
the Congress of South Afri
Students (Cosas) in
their protest against the
banning of Mr Nkondo.
Mr Nkondo was banned
on his release from deten
tion last Friday.

The statement read:
"There is a nationwide
call for the release of
Mandela and other politi
c leaders; the return of
the exiles; and the banished
and the unbanning of the
banned. In this wake of this worthy and reasona
able call we see the
regime going against the
gain of this demand and
banning Mr Nkondo.

There was a time
when such actions sowed
fears in the hearts of many, but today we

We need to stand
united with the Nkondos
and the Mandelas of our
times, because they are
beacons in the path of
the oppressed people as
they march to the new
havens of their ultimate
liberation. We stand four
square behind Mr Nko
and others who find
themselves in similar cir
sumstances. We further
pledge solidarity with the
Fort Hare students in this
hour of crisis."

Wendy L. Brown

TO ALL:

Nkondo ban
a measure 'against the
grain' - Azaso

By PHIL MTIMKULU

WEN

NED,

NED,

NED,

NED,

NED,
Like many girls, Zinzi Mandela is obviously in love with her dad. But he was arrested when she was 18 months, and she did not see him again until she was 16, the youngest age where visits to Robben Island are permitted.

"I never knew him as a father," she said. "He was just an image to me.

"The first time I saw daddy I almost fainted," she laughs. "It was so funny. Zeni, my older sister, who had been before, introduced us.

"Suddenly there was daddy sitting and looking at us. Had we not been brought up with the philosophy of never showing our emotions I would have broken down, or something. But we just spoke as though it was a normal home situation and I was sitting on his lap.

"Daddy is a remarkable guy. Tall and fair. His shoulders are big - remember, he was a boxer. He walks with his arms like this," she stands up and demonstrates with her own big frame.

"He is a very analytical person. He listens carefully when one talks, and when he speaks he weighs our every word, but he also keeps our secrets.

"When she was moved to Brandfort it was a difficult moment for us. You can imagine, writing a play now. every time she leaves Pholeni for Brandfort.

"You must understand that this house and the furniture is what she and daddy bought. She refused to move any of the items to Brandfort because she said daddy must find everything as it was when he left.

"We always make a joke of the house one day being a state museum. How nice!

When Zinzi was a little girl, her mother had to struggle to get her acceptance as a "makers" such as the Mandelas.

She finally got her two daughters admitted to Our Lady of Sorrows convent school in Swaziland.

"Life at the convent was awful. Nobody cared for anyone. One had to be especially good to be noticed. That is where I started my writing," said Zinzi.

"I used to scribble anything that came into my mind. Writing was escapism."

Academically, Zinzi blossomed into a complex girl.

Her writings give an insight into "let me say...

The strict discipline of her family has held. But all her ups and downs, along with the absence of her father, have taken their toll on her.

It is in writing that she slips the leash.

The poems give some insight into a complex girl, alternately strong-willed and brooding, sometimes defiant and other times fearful of rejection. Her imagery is dark, troubled, and often painful. "I never write when I'm happy," she said.

When she is writing, she pours the words out, not stopping to ponder or punctuate. "This is what I believe poetry is," Zinzi said. "If it comes into your mind, that's the word.

But she hasn't written a teardrop away, who will open up when I knock late at night.

I need a child who will play a smile away, who will always whisper I love you be my mummy cases the few that make it sure just what she wants to do next.

As for herself, she's not academically lose touch with the people."
Student groups slam Nkondo ban

Political Reporter

TWO black students' organisations yesterday pledged solidarity with Mr Curtis Nkondo and lashed out at the Government for banning him.

Mr Nkondo, suspended president of the Azanian People's Organisation, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and executive member of the Solidarity Front, was banned last Friday, immediately after being released from a month's detention.

The students pointed to a nationwide call for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other jailed political leaders, for the return of exiled people, and the lifting of restrictions on banned and banished people.

In the wake of this "worthy and reasonable" call, the Government had gone against the grain by banning Mr Nkondo.

"This is a sad state of affairs and we are left with the impression that the present regime will begin to listen only after millions of lives have been lost.

"There was a time when such actions sowed fear in the hearts of many, but today we sympathise with the regime for their intransigence and their myopia," the students said, and added that the black people's thirst for liberation would not be quenched.

See Page 12
WEEK OF THE INNOCENT - FROM 26TH MAY

Nkondo off to Maputo

(POST Africa News Service)

MR Zinjiva Nkondo, the alleged ANC member released earlier this month by South African Security Police, has left Lesotho for the Mozambican capital Maputo.

Nkondo was released in Bloemfontein after being in detention for five months. He was arrested when the Lesotho Airways plane in which he was travelling to Manzini in Swaziland was diverted to Bloemfontein.

Before leaving Maseru, Mr Nkondo called on the Lesotho Prime Minister, Chief Leabua Jonathan, to thank him for the negotiations which the Lesotho government undertook to obtain his release.

Please remember that the Banned live under these conditions year in and year out. Many of them are people who used to play a full and valuable role in their communities, which they are now prevented from doing.

Remember too the families of the innocent Banned and Detained who share their suffering.

NO PUNISHMENT EXCEPT THROUGH THE COURTS - JUST LAWS JUSTLY APPLIED

Issued on behalf of the Civil Rights League, 527 CTC Building, Plein St., Cape Town 8001 by Dr. K. Hughes (Chairman).
SA blacks quit 'apartheid' talks as demos picket

BOSTON — Two black members of a South African delegation quit a meeting here last night sponsored by the World Peace Foundation of Boston following protests from black demonstrators, the Boston Globe reported.

Mr Aggrey Klaaste, news editor of Post, and Father John Sebidi, a Roman Catholic priest, left the meeting which, according to a Globe spokesman, was to "establish a dialogue between local leaders and delegation members."

The meeting, held at the offices of the Boston Globe, was picketed by seven members of a group called the "Boston Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa."

One of the demonstrators, Mr Chris Nketa, a black South African living in Boston, said Father Sebidi had decided "it would be inimical to the political interests of the black consciousness movement in South Africa for him to be involved."

Demonstrators complained that the meeting was designed to "legitimise the apartheid system and promote trade between South Africa and the United States."

OCCUPATIONS

The delegation consisted of 11 whites and five blacks in business, journalism, and religious occupations.

The Globe spokesman said the delegation was to appear at similar meetings sponsored by newspapers in New York and Washington.

Earlier in the week, the director of the World Peace Foundation of Boston, Mr Alfred Hero, and the publisher of the Boston Globe, Mr William Taylor, said the South Africans were barking up the wrong tree on apartheid.

— Sapa-AP.

Quin's death

Own Correspondent

LEIDEN — One of the quintuplets born here 18 days ago has died after an operation. The baby failed to recover from an operation on a faulty connection between the aorta and the lung artery.
Van der Ross: 'Man in middle'

By ROGER WILLIAMS
Chief Reporter

PROFESSOR R E van der Ross, rector of the University of the Western Cape, who on his own admission summoned the police to the university campus on Monday to deal with restive students, has become a symbolic “man in the middle” in the current dead-lock situation in coloured education in the Cape.

A distinguished intellectual leader with an undoubted loyalty to his own people, whose fears and frustrations he has articulated in sometimes forcible terms from public platforms and in his writings, he has also demonstrated a strong respect for responsible conduct and for the maintenance of order.

His critics have on the one hand accused “Dick” van der Ross of setting out to Afrikaner nationalism by becoming part of its ideological machine; on the other of not exerting enough muscle in taking disciplinary action against activist students.

The dilemma in which Professor Van der Ross finds himself was reflected in the pages of the Cillie Commission report on the wave of violence that rocked South Africa in 1976.

The commission said one of the difficulties encountered by the UWC rector was that he found himself with a divided staff, some of whom openly supported the students and others who accused him of not acting strongly enough against the trouble-makers among them.

For perspective, in the agonized situation in which Professor Van der Ross finds himself, one needs to look at the track-record of this extraordinarily gifted man who is said to remain an enigma — even to those closest to him.

Dick van der Ross, now 58, can be recalled by many as one of the firebrands of the 1960s and the 1970s — as one who denounced the apartheid system in the strongest terms. He was particularly incensed by the Group Areas Act and all it stood for, and in 1961 he told a meeting called by the Coloured National Convention that it was a damned shame that people were being pushed about at will in the implementation of this measure.

Such was the extent of this respected educationalist’s commitment to the fight against apartheid that he began drawing the interest of the security police, and he became a subject of discussion in the Provincial Council.

In May 1961 Mr E J Conradi, the Nationalist MP for Gordonia, said he wanted to draw the attention of the then Administrator, Dr Nico Malan, to certain coloured teachers such as Dr van der Ross who goes along to the Pa-

PROFILE

Although Professor Van der Ross holds — and still holds — firm and decided political views, his tone has never been partisan, propagandistic or sectional. A man of universality and of deep insight into his fellow man, he has always shown himself capable of taking the broader view, and of rising above group feelings.

He has also shown a deep awareness of the inter-dependence and of the common humanity of the various communities that make up the South African nation, and in his utterances and his writings he has shown himself able to feel real sympathy for Afrikaner and English-speaker, black and Asian in the South African milieu.

Lesotho.
Zimbabwe urged to support ANC

By DAVID FORRETT
"Mail" Africa Bureau

SALISBURY. - Zimbabwe should give material aid to the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress so the two movements could “confront” South Africa, a Zimbabwean MP told Parliament yesterday.

Mr. Frederick Shava — chief whip of the ruling Zanu-PF Party — gave his maiden speech, one of the toughest yet directed against South Africa.

He said Zimbabwe had a duty to give moral, political and diplomatic support for the “liberation movements”.

Mr. Shava’s hardline speech follows a statement by the Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, earlier this week that his country’s independence had “turned the growing tide of liberation sharply against South Africa”.

Mr. Mugabe said the former buffer states were now “frontiers of freedom”, but he stopped short of saying Zimbabwe would be used as a base for attacks against South Africa.

Mr. Shava, Zanu-PF’s former representative in Western Europe, said that future military action on the part of the ANC and PAC would rule out the possibility of peaceful co-existence between Salisbury and Pretoria.

He predicted South Africa would panic into military action against Zimbabwe, and said his nation should be prepared for this eventuality.

Zimbabweans should be prepared and politicised so that they realised the struggle in South Africa was also their own.

They would also have to be geared to heighten their vigilance in Zimbabwe against infiltration by South African agents, he said.
Pupils to boycott Betty

Staff Reporter

BETTY WRIGHT, visiting American soul-singer, flew into Cape Town yesterday with a message of "love and peace to all her brothers and sisters".

Ms Wright, who arrived from Port Elizabeth with her entourage, said she did not deal with hate but only with love.

High school pupils in the townships yesterday called for a boycott of her shows. They decided at a meeting at Fezeka High School, Gugulethu, to also boycott Harleville stadium and the Lions tour.

Ms Wright said in an interview: "I do not understand their action because we came to South Africa to see them. If they boycott my concerts no American artist will come to South Africa. They should consider the stand I took at the canteen at the SABC studios."

In Johannesberg she and her band were ordered out of the SABC canteen because they were black. They were to have filmed a show for Pop Shop but they then refused to.
The shooting starts

As the FMI has pointed out (May 16), SA’s racial and economic divisions make the country sufficiently volatile for almost any localised conflict to become a national crisis. And, now the country is further down that path — despite Police Minister Louis le Grange’s press statement this week that “no general unrest prevails.”

That statement, of course, came before the police shot and killed “coloured youths” in Elsies River, Cape Town. The youths were said to have been involved in a stone-throwing incident. Le Grange “extended his condolences” — a marked change from the stance of his predecessor James Kruger.

The coloured schools boycott in the Cape became a national boycott by coloured and Indian scholars, then resulted in the closure of Fort Hare University and the University of Durban-Westville. And indications are that the same could yet happen on other black campuses.

Government has reacted toughly, detaining many community leaders — the total was increasing when the FMI went to press. Police would not say how many had been detained nationwide, and said it was unlikely they would be providing the press with a total.

In the long term, these detentions could prove counterproductive. Frequent warnings that government is increasingly driving black opposition underground by seeking security, not political, solutions to crises now appear close to fruition. Black opposition is already a different animal from that in 1976. On an overt level, regional groups have emerged, with stronger grassroots community backing. Their reliance is less on the polemic of the past than on practical organisation. The limited local issues around which they mobilise — education, rents, transport fares, and labour disputes, etc. — are tangible.

A security police spokesman told the FMI early this week that police had received no indication of any national strategy behind the unrest, a view supported by the FMI’s own investigations. However, that no overt national political organisation has emerged to articulate the motivation and grievances that lie behind the present unrest is no cause for comfort.

The black talkers are being silenced, both by police action and their own communities. Indeed black politics is increasingly taking on the appearance of a clouded, rising tide whose current are all but indistinguishable to white eyes.

As the FMI went to press, the regional situation was as follows:

Western Cape. All Cape Town coloured, Indian and African high school pupils plus college and university students were boycotting classes, with many Boland scholars doing the same. Some 160 coloured and Asian butchers had decided not to stock red meat from Monday unless Cape Town meat employers re-instated 750 locked-out black meat workers by Friday this week. A community red-meat boycott is gathering momentum. A boycott of white shops in Parow is scheduled for this weekend, and there is much talk among coloured high schools. Attendance at KwaMashu’s African high schools was 16%—100%. The University of Zululand was reported back to normal following the weekend clash between students and Inkatha members. It remains unclear if Chief Gatsha Buthelezi will easily regain his authority over boycotting students following his threat that they could be expelled.

The Free State. Bloemfontein’s Balto township was reported quiet. But Saturday sees the funeral of the man who died in a clash with police last week and observers fear an overspill of emotions. Attendance at Bloemfontein black high schools varied from poor to nil.

The Reef and Pretoria. Differences in aims and strategy seem to exist among coloured and Indian high school pupils. Attendance was as low as 30%—40% in some Johannesburg high schools. A minority was boycotting in Laudium, near Pretoria, and on the West Rand. Apart from one high school in Springs, most coloured and Indian scholars were attending classes on the East Rand.

The FMI understands from discussions with a number of African leaders that Soweto and the Pretoria African townships should remain quiet. However, there are fears that June 16 commemorations of the 1976 Soweto tragedy could be a flashpoint.

Those in authority are no doubt aware, too, of the need to keep in mind that coloured and Indian students have set a June 6 deadline for their short-term demands. And after the ensuing weekend Monday is June 16. It is a time for skilful defusing of grievances, rather than knee-jerk kwayaladigxh. KAF
'Govt must speak to Mandela'

By Sieg Hannig

The Government should speak to "our leaders" such as Nelson Mandela — before it was too late, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said in Johannesburg last night.

"There is no question but that we are going to be free," he told a mixed audience of about 100 at the Institute of Race Relations.

"Please let it happen reasonably peacefully. Please let it happen now. Otherwise it is going to happen with unnecessary bloodshed," he said at the meeting called by the "Free Mandela" campaign organisers.

Page 6 — Church solidarity a feature of march.
Boycott pupils get expulsion warning

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

PARENTS of boycotting Indian pupils were officially warned yesterday that their children could face expulsion if their "unsatisfactory conduct" continued.

The warning, contained in a circular sent to parents, is certain to cause another furor in the community over the school crisis.

A spokesman for the Lenasia Parents' Action Committee said an emergency meeting would be called before the weekend to discuss the latest move.

The circular, on Department of Indian Affairs notepaper, was signed by principals and countersigned by teachers. However, some teachers and principals expressed concern, saying they were unhappy about signing the circular.

"We are reluctantly carrying out instructions from higher up," one said.

"The Department of Indian Affairs has shifted the onus on us when we are not happy about carrying out such instructions."

School authorities said they expected the South African Indian Council, which is meeting in Darban this week, to persuade the department to withdraw the circular.

The circular says: "By virtue of the fact that your child-ward has conducted himself/herself unsatisfactorily at school, I consider his/her continued attendance to be detrimental to the welfare of the school and the pupils..."

Parents were told that in terms of regulations governing admissions to Indian schools, "on a recurrence of such or similar conduct your child-ward will be liable to be expelled."

Hundreds of pupils at all four Lenasia high schools resumed their boycotts this week.

Meanwhile, Dr Joe Variana, whose release from detention is being demanded by pupils, was this week allowed to attend his father's funeral on Wednesday.

Dr Variana, who is being detained under Section 10 of the Internal Security Act, was escorted by Security Police to his family's Lenasia home for the funeral of Mr Mohamed Variana, 62.

Security Police kept watch outside as hundreds of students, political and community leaders, medical personnel, relatives and friends gathered for one of the biggest funerals seen in Lenasia.

Mr Variana died in the Johannesburg Hospital after a short illness. He was the father of three prominent black consciousness personalities — Dr Variana, executive member of the Azanian Peoples Organisation, Mr Saderque Variana, banned former executive member of the banned South African Students Organisation, Moses, and Mr M oreon Variana, a leading official in the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Dr Variana was taken away by Security Police immediately after the funeral.
Call for talks with Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. - Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), yesterday said South Africans had to obey a God who carried out political acts - such as "leading slaves from bondage" - Addressing a packed meeting in Johannesburg organized by the Transvaal Free Mandela campaign, he said South Africa was on the edge of a precipice and urged the government to talk to jailed leaders like Nelson Mandela before it was too late.

"We urge those in power to move back from the precipice, or else we will all go down in destruction," Bishop Tutu said.

Referring to the shooting by police of two coloured residents of Elsies River, near Cape Town, he said it was like a "nightmarish replay of 1960".

This was a God of freedom and liberation who was on the side of the oppressed and voiceless.

"If you are on the other side, then you are against God."

"While there is still time, please talk to jailed leaders like Nelson Mandela, because if we leave it too late, a ghastly alternative will be on us," he urged the government.
ALEXANDER IN T EARS AT BONN

Weekend Argus Correspondent

BONN. — Dr Neville Alexander, arrested at D F Malan airport a week ago, reached Bonn yesterday only 90 minutes before the end of the international cultural symposium to which he had been invited.

'We want you to know how many thoughts, perhaps also prayers, were sent in your direction,' Foreign Ministry State Minister Hildegard Hamm-Bruecher said as she introduced him to the closing session of Bridges over Borders conference.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and the conference's 450 members from 54 countries had protested against his arrest, urging his release.

The South African Embassy in Bonn reported late on Wednesday that he had been allowed to continue his trip.

Dr Alexander walked slowly to the raised speaker's podium, brushing away tears.

He stood for a minute trying to gain control of his emotions. After making a brief address he walked back to his seat, eyes still brimming.

The crowd, gathered in the Stadthalle in the suburb of Bad Godesberg, applauded at length.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt arrived a few minutes later and shook hands with Dr Alexander before taking a seat.
WHAT NOW?

By ADAM SMALL

THE news was 'too bad to be true.' I could scarcely believe it. Jakes Gerwel detained, Edna van Harten detained. The others whom I know. And a feeling of helplessness washed over me. Helplessness, because these are the reasonable people. People, indeed, who may be said to have been unrealistically reasonable, for years.

Is there any good sense left in a situation in which people such as these are arrested and detained?

Worse news was in store. Some weeks ago I wrote it would be a small miracle if the schools crisis stayed non-violent. The miracle, as suspected, has not happened. The schools crisis has become visibly what (to start with) it was essentially: The crisis of South Africa.

And the tragedy of it has (once again) been manifested in blood.

The news of two young people shot dead by police on Half Road angered one. Deeper down, one went cold and silent.

After all, children shout, they must — their voices are still forming. But adult men and women who receive such news, pause for a moment. The gravity of it is so large.

Is this Government just not competent to handle the crisis of the country with insight? It is impossible for it to know what is required?

What is needed is statesmanlike behaviour, which means a dramatic reaching into the situation. Drama is the category of statesmanlike action at a time such as this.

Bishop Desmond Tutu (among others) has urged the Government once again: 'While there is still time, please talk to jailed leaders like Nelson Mandela, because if we leave it too late, a ghastly alternative will be on us.'

Such talking is what I mean by dramatic intervention by the Government at this time. There is no drama in the spate of detentions and arrests, no drama in shooting dead young people on Half Road.

There is insensitivity in that, there is sadness in that, but not drama.

We know that what we witness is apartheid catching up with its makers — for all these years, they have been living very far distant from black people in the country, so far distant that they have never been able to receive the message of our unhappiness and bitterness and frustration.

Let alone the dimension of the message. But until this Government understands the simple fact, and understands it well, that we do not want apartheid — that apartheid such as the problem — all the bannings and detentions in the world won't help.

Shooting two young people dead on Half Road won't help. (Why did they do it? Why did they have to do it?)

Is it really not possible for this Government to understand that it can arrest whom it may and as many as it may — the facts of the situation remain, and will not be changed.

And these unsophisticated and brutal actions reinforce the facts — they do not even suppress them, let alone cause them to disappear.

And reinforcement means only that the eruption of our bitterness will be more and more encompassing.
Lawyer denies he egged on pupil boycott

PINE TOWN lawyer Archie Gumede yesterday angrily denied that he encouraged Kwa Mashu pupils to boycott classes during an address.

Mr Gumede was reacting to an allegation by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, made in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this week.

Chief Buthelezi claimed Mr Gumede had encouraged the children at a meeting in Kwa Mashu to continue with the boycott.

"Lawyers are supposed to be officers of the Court and it does not become an officer of the Court to condone intimidation and the smashing of buildings," he said.

Strange

Mr Gumede said he found it strange that Chief Buthelezi had made statements without consulting him.

He denied encouraging the children to boycott school.

He said he had merely acted as an interpreter for one of the speakers at a recent meeting between parents and children.

"There was no one else to interpret at the meeting, so I did," he said.

He said he felt that parents should listen to the students and try to eliminate their grievances.

The children should not be dismissed without a hearing.

"Chief Buthelezi would not have difficulty in ascertaining my position if he wanted to so," he said.
ANC plot to kill leaders alleged

Mercury Reporter
ULUNDI—An alleged plot by the African National Congress to assassinate both Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the KwaZulu Minister of Interior, Dr Frank Mdlalose, in 1975 was revealed in a hushed Legislative Assembly yesterday.

Dr Mdlalose revealed how he had been approached by a Mr Albert Dhlomo, a member of the ANC, in a bar in Manzini, Swaziland, in 1975.

"He said both the chief minister and myself should never have helped people to sort out the bus boycott problems in Newcastle that year," Dr Mdlalose said.

Mr Dhlomo had then said: 'Your chief minister is worthy to be eliminated. We shall eliminate him, together with you.'

Chief Buthelezi said the common talk in the Vryheid area, where two black men had been arrested and suitcases of ammunition, guns and bombs confiscated, was that he should be eliminated.