BLACK POLITICS

2 June 1980 — 30 July 1980
Protest meeting today as more are detained

PROMIENT blacks and whites will address a lunch-time public meeting at the Johannesburg Civic Hall today to highlight the countrywide unrest and wave of detentions.

Organised by the "Concerned Citizens" group, it will be chaired by Domine Sam Buil, president of the South African Council of Churches.

Speakers will include the chairman of the Soweto Committee of 16, Dr Nthato Motlana; the Progressive Federal Party spokesman on civil liberties, Mrs Tefelo Sejanamane; and a member of the Lenasia Parents’ Action Committee, Dr Essop Jassat.

At Elles River, Cape, there will be a joint funeral service today for Bernard Fortune, 15, and Mr William Lubbe, 20, who were shot dead by police last week.

The trouble spots on the Cape Flats were quiet yesterday after an incident on Saturday when five cars were damaged by stone-throwing and tear gas was used.

Police used tear gas to disperse pupils in Bloemfontein's Phahameng Township after the funeral on Saturday of Daniel Papi Malaza, the seven-year-old schoolboy who died during the first week of unrest.

About 19,000 people attended the funeral, reports the Rand Daily Mail's Bloemfontein correspondent.

There were no signs of police at the funeral, which was peaceful. An hour afterwards, police used tear gas on crowds of pupils moving from the funeral to different parts of the township.

Police confirmed that tear gas was used, and said calm was restored.

Three members of Azapo's Bloemfontein branch are believed to have been detained hours before the funeral. They were Mr Tefelo Sejanamane, Mr Mathatha Nqulula and Mr A Sekoane.

Six Fort Hare students are believed to have been detained by Security Police in Vereeniging at the weekend shortly before a students' meeting was to have been held in Sharpville.

They were Simeon Malapotla, Nthomotso Mogosi, Daniel Senokwane, Ntala Chakeka, Gabi Maphato and Caswell Tshomel.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said no comment could be made until today.

A Daily Dispatch reporter, Mr Charles Nqulula, is believed to have been detained in East London on Thursday. Though no police comment could be obtained, Mrs Gertrude Nqulula said she was told by a Security Policeman that her husband was being held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

In Johannesburg, members of the Coloured Management Committee said they would not attend any further meetings with Johannesburg City Council officials until the end of the year unless two of their colleagues are released from detention immediately.

In custody are Mr Miley Richards, chairman of the Coloured Management Committee, and Mr Mohamed Dangor.

No other major incidents were reported yesterday as students, pupils, parents and teachers held meetings in different parts of the country.

In Grahamstown, about 70 black students at Rhodes University announced they would boycott lectures and exams today. They will go back only when the universities of Durban-Westville, Turffontein and Fort Hare are reopened.

Students — mostly from Fort Hare and Turffontein — said at a meeting in Soweto yesterday that they would not return to lectures until their demands had been met by the authorities. The lectures were boycotted, they said, because of "deep-rooted grievances" over the black education system.

The students disclosed that they had established committees at various campuses, which worked in close collaboration. What they wanted most, they said, was support from parents in fighting for better education.

In Durban, the president of the Natal African Teachers' Union has called on boycotting pupils to return to classes. Members of the union issued a statement saying the pupils' grievances were legitimate.
Walk-out on SCM man

By JOE THOLOLE
SOME worshippers walked out of the Boshank Union Church yesterday alleging that a black preacher was preaching politics.

The general secretary of the Students Christian Movement, Mr Mat Nhosi, was speaking on the Ministry of the SCM in the South African situation when he was interrupted by a member of the congregation.

"I was busy with my testimony when a man near the front stood up and shouted, 'Why do you want to come and preach politics here?'

'A woman started crying and came to the front. The man who had interrupted walked out, followed by others.

"In the commotion, a deacon came to the front and started praying God should help me to preach His Word and not politics. It was tense.'

Mr Nhosi (42) was speaking on the divisions in South African society — political, social, economic and religious — and God's answer to these.

He was using an overhead projector to illustrate his talk.

Mr Nhosi was invited to speak on the SCM at the church's missionary Sunday.

At the 8 am service he gave "an abridged version of the talk."

It was at the second service at 9.30 that he was interrupted.

'I was invited and I accepted gladly, particularly because they support the SCM," Mr Nhosi said.

"A member of the church, who attended the earlier service, said Mr Nhosi did not say anything that he did not agree with.

'I was surprised that some people reacted in that fashion to Mr Nhosi's testimony," he said.

But all Mr Nhosi would like now is to meet the man who interrupted him.

'I'd like to have a follow-up and talk to this man. Truth hurts, but it does not help people to avoid it. It will always stand as the truth," he said.
Explain all to the illiterate parents, Winnie Kgware says

THE primary task for all concerned blacks was to explain the limitations and objectives of Bantu Education to all illiterate parents, the former president of the banned Black People's Convention (BPC), Mrs Winnie Kgware, said at the weekend.

She addressed the inaugural meeting of the Azapo People's Organisation (Azapo) branch in Seshgo, Pietersburg.

Mrs Kgware said the problem of parents who did not understand the present schooling crisis was even greater than the propaganda dished out by the Government through the radio.

"Many parents do not understand. They say these children are mad. We took them to school, so what more do they want they ask.

"It is our duty and the duty of Azapo here in Sesego, to explain fully to the white Government that this type of education is for our children.

"We should explain why the children are saying half a dose of poison is as lethal as a full dose," she said.

Mrs Kgware said many black people were victims of the Government's propaganda.

"You will hear them say so-and-so talks politics. To those we should say politics is eating porridge without relish, it is sleeping on a bed without mattress and trudging the cold earth in the winter mornings without shoes. That is politics," she added.

The meeting, attended by a large group of people from as far as Transvaal and Turfloop, was also addressed by Azapo's national organiser, Mr Letlatsi Masha.

He said the conflict in South Africa centred on ownership of land which was taken from blacks at the point of a gun.

Representatives of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) and the Writers Association of South Africa (Wasa) also addressed the meeting which was treated to powerful poetry by poets from all over the north-ern Transvaal.
Release
Mandela
call is
increasing
growth rapidly

By ARNOLD GEYER

In the wake of the continuing schools boycott and labour unrest as well as mounting arrests and detentions, the Free Mandela campaign is rapidly gaining momentum.

Regional committees calling for the release of the jailed leader of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC), are being formed all over the country and are preparing for mass meetings to be held on June 28 in all provinces.

The Natal Release Mandela Committee is to seek legal advice on the possibility of publishing the banned Freedom Charter, drafted in Kliptown by the Congress of the People on June 26, 1955.

Mr Paul Davids, an attorney and chairman of the Natal committee, said yesterday, if the document could not be published, legal advice would be sought to have a transcript of the Kliptown congress circulated.

He has urged all regional committees to:
1. Launch a national pamphlet campaign to press for the release of Mr Mandela;
2. Call for the closing down of all businesses and factories on June 28 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter's drafting;
3. Print commemorative stamps for June 28; and
4. Stress that the Free Mandela campaign implied a call for the release of all political prisoners, the permission for all exiles to return unconditionally and the unbanishing of all banned people and organisations.

"The commemoration of June 28, 1995, is irretrievably linked with the Free Mandela campaign as Nelson Mandela was the leading light of the congress," Mr Davids said.

He said the Freedom Charter was adopted by many organisations from all over the country, and was not, as the Government claimed, only the programme of the ANC.

Those who have so far expressed support for the campaign include black, Indian and coloured community leaders and politicians, trade unions, all major churches except the three white Dutch Reformed churches, Progressive Federal Party MPs — including the party's leader, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert — academics, student groups at English and Afrikaans universities, black and white cultural organisations, the Black Sash, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and many English-language newspapers.

The SACC's general secretary, Bishop Desmond Tutu, said at the weekend: "Nelson Mandela represents all our genuine leaders in prison and in exile. So the call for his release is really to say: please let us sit down, black and white, each with our acknowledged leaders, and work out our common future."

At Free Mandela meetings held in the Transvaal, the Cape and Natal at the weekend, speakers stressed the campaign would continue despite the "intransigent attitude" of the Government, particularly of the Prime Minister, MR P W Botha, and the Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange.
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Another Sasol sabotage attempt

STAFF REPORTS

THREE more bombs were yesterday planted at a Sasol-linked organisation — this time at the headquarters of the American consortium which is building Sasol Two and Sasol Three.

The latest sabotage attempt came within 24 hours of the explosion which ripped through the Sasol One and Two refineries in Sasolburg — blasts which sparked oil lease riots and casted about identities to damage the massive central sabotage attempt which was also made on Sasol Two at Benoni.

The new blast went off 30 minutes before the last one of the day was acknowledged. The 9.00 am blast at Sasol Two was acknowledged, but was not witnessed by press correspondents who were unable to get inside the works to verify the reports.

A two-hour search of the works and a dozen 60-foot drills — all failures to locate the explosion site.

A police report said the blast was from a 500-gallon drum of liquid. The explosion site was searched for signs of chemical explosion. The site was searched for signs of chemical explosion.

Two people were killed and 10 others were injured. The police have said they are still investigating the case.

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The blast occurred at 9.00 am and was heard by workers in the area. The blast was heard by workers in the area. The blast was heard by workers in the area.

At least five people were killed and 10 others were injured. The police have said they are still investigating the case.

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Firemen dwarfed by a mountain of flames as a refinery blazes.

Firemen pictured challenging a wall of flame at the Natref refinery yesterday. Late last night the fires at Natref and Sasol were said to be under control — there was no danger of them spreading.
Government ‘emotionally bankrupt’

THE South African Government is intellectually and emotionally bankrupt; it will not listen, cannot think ‘correctly’, and cannot feel or get insight into the great communal bitterness, according to Mr Adam Small.

In an interview today Mr Small, poet and director of the Athlone-based Foundation for Community Work, further said the ‘disregard’ on SATV news programmes of the funeral of Bernard Fortuin and William Lobbe was an enormous provocation of the community.

The two — aged 15 and 20 respectively — were shot dead in Halt Road, Eales River, last week when a group of people allegedly stoned a police vehicle.

Their funeral yesterday was attended by several thousand people — some in the official colours of and banned African National Congress — and was intensively photographed by overseas television teams.

Mr Small said he came away from the funeral...
Call for equality

By CHRIS MORE

A LUNCH-BOURG meeting at the Johannesburg City Hall yesterday called on the Government to give all people equal, full participation in Parliament and bring the unrest to an end.

This was one of the resolutions adopted by about 250 people.

The meeting was called because of the school boycotts and the detention of about 1200 people.

Speakers were Mrs Helen Suzman, spokesman on justice in the Progressive Federal Party, Dr Nithato Metiana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, and Dr Essop Jassat, a member of the Lenasia Parents Action Committee.

The resolution read:

"The demonstrations throughout the country are signs of the urgent demand of the people that everyone should have the right to equality in education, to a decent standard of living and to full participation in government.

"We deplore the nationwide detention of students and community leaders and state our grave concern for their physical safety.

"The Cabinet is requested to instruct the police and other authorities that the utmost restraint be used in controlling demonstrations and that the detainees be released immediately.

"The Cabinet is also informed that the demonstrations are a sign of the disappointment of the people at the failure to implement at once the promises made by the Prime Minister to alter the laws, in order to remove the discrimination from which so many suffer.

"ELEVEN WORKERS who were last week arrested for an alleged illegal strike have laid charges of assault against the police, according to a statement by the Metal and Allied Workers Union.

"And yesterday a police spokesman, Brig B S Pieterse, confirmed that charges of assault had been laid but could not say how many people had complained.

"The eleven were part of a group of 55 workers who were arrested at Relif Precision Castings in Boksburg on May 26. They are alleged to have gone on strike after the dismissal of a fellow worker the Saturday before.

"After spending the night in the police cells, the 55 appeared before Mr G van Niekerk at the Boksburg Magistrate's Court and were remanded to June 10.

"They are on R80 bail.

"A spokesman for the Metal and Allied Workers Union said the eleven had laid charges against the police last Wednesday.

"The police are investigating."
Massive bus boycott by Cape blacks

Political Staff

BLACf's and coloureds boycotted buses on a massive scale in the Cape yesterday as nationwide unrest entered a new phase. Most homeward-bound buses were reported to be empty. Several were damaged.

The boycott was launched by a Peninsula community organisations because fares were increased by 30% to 100%.

About 12 000 people yesterday attended the funeral service for Bernard Funk, 15, and William Lubbe, 20, who were shot by police in Elsies River last week.

In other developments yesterday:

- Security police arrested eight pupils in Lenasia, Johannesburg — bringing to nearly 300 the number of people detained since nationwide unrest was sparked two months ago by a classes boycott by coloured and Indian pupils.

- The Frame textile group in Natal was reported to have fired at least 70 worker leaders as the company's 6 000 striking employees began returning to work. In Cape Town the strike by meat workers continued — supported by consumers refusing to buy red meat.

- Nineteen youths appeared in Bloemfontein court as a result of widespread unrest in the city's townships recently.

- The schools' boycott in major centres spread to Rehoboth, near Windhoek, where about 650 high school pupils stayed away from classes.

- The Kwazulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, disclosed that two bombs had been thrown at properties in KwaMashu owned by members of his Inkatha movement. Boycotting pupils in the township have clashed with Inkatha.

See Page 5
Boycotts and labour unrest flare up again

Political Staff
THOUSANDS of Indian pupils were suspended and a black school in Natal was closed yesterday as education boycotts and labour unrest flared again in various parts of the country.

Violence flared at the Stilfontein Gold Mine in the Western Transvaal, where 450 black miners went on strike.

In the Western Cape, the massive boycott of buses by coloureds and blacks over fare increases continued.

In Durban and other parts of Natal at least 2,000 pupils were suspended after circulars from the Department of Indian Education asking principals to suspend and order off school premises pupils absent from classes after June 2.

A delegation from the Teachers' Association of South Africa and the School Committee Association in Natal left for Cape Town for urgent meetings with senior Government officials, including the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr Malan.

The St Francis High School at Makhanda Monastery was closed after 400 black pupils boycotted classes.

Pupils at schools in the Western and Eastern Cape, Natal and Johannesburg continued boycotting classes.

About 300 pupils at William Hills High in Actonville, Benoni, boycotted classes yesterday, but the principal, Mr G. Matheson, denied it had anything to do with a Governmentation Republic Day speech he made last week.

The Minister of Education and Training, Mr Morati, denied yesterday that the Government had decided to close coloured schools early for winter holidays because of the boycott.

"Reports of an early closure are pure speculation. No such decision has been taken," he said.

Mr Steyn was commenting on rumours that schools might be closed from Friday, nearly two weeks before the scheduled June 19 start of the holidays.

In other developments yesterday:

- A fire at the Estcourt Primary School in Estcourt, KwaZulu, destroyed an office and three classrooms.
- More than 1,500 students at the University of the Witwatersrand signed a petition calling for the postponement of examinations scheduled for June 10, anniversary of the 1976 Soweto unrest. The Black Students' Society, which organised the petition, said in a statement that it would present it to the vice-chancellor, Professor D. J. de Zeeuw, at a meeting today.

- Some 450 black construction workers at an LTA site in Cape Town struck for the second day in a wage dispute. The workers are demanding an increase, apparently in response to recent bus fare rises. This is the second Cape Town strike this week sparked by fare rises.

- A vice-president of the black Workers' Association of South Africa, Mr Marphuwa Sibamwine, of Durban's Daily News, was released after six days detention under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

- Boycotts were reported at two educational institutions in South Africa: one at the coloured teachers' training college in Woodstock and the other at a junior school.

- The Police Directorate of Public Relations confirmed that an Apartheid official in Bloemfontein, Mr Zacharia Schoeman, was detained at the weekend under security legislation.

Meanwhile, Durban police said fires at the weekend at a garage and a house in KwaMashu were not started by petrol bombs, as alleged in a statement by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi this week in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

Chief Buthelezi said one bomb was thrown at a garage belonging to Dr P. D. Rimga, a member of the assembly, and another at the home of a KwaMashu town councillor, Mr Johannes Mkhize.

Police said the nightwatchman at the garage saw three men running away. They had apparently started a fire with newspapers to keep themselves warm.

The other fire started among plans at the back of Mr Mohle's house.

Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University 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.

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Verwaardg in Suid-Afrika
The Star's Africa News Service

MBABANE — At least two people — a man and a child — died when two houses, one apparently occupied by South African sympathisers of the banned African National Congress, were devastated by a bomb in Manzini early today.

A second bomb exploded some distance away about the same time but it was not immediately clear what damage was caused.

The killer blast extensively damaged the two houses, in the densely populated low-income suburb of Zakhele.

According to sources in Swaziland, the first house was occupied by ANC sympathisers. The other was not.

It is understood several injured people have been admitted to Manzini's Releigh Fitkin Memorial Hospital.

The blasts were so loud they awakened Manzini residents.

One explosion ripped off the roof of the first house and almost destroyed the home next door. Windowpanes in the neighbourhood were shattered.

The house whose roof was ripped off, is owned by a church worker and, according to a Manzini estate agent, is leased to a local dressmaker.

Police were today sifting through the rubble of the two wrecked homes for more bodies or injured people.
Inkatha rejects ‘ethnic’ SA plan

Argus Correspondent

ULUNDI — The Inkatha central committee has rejected and condemned the Schlebusch Commission proposals in toto and says the movement’s president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, should have nothing to do with the implementation of the proposals.

The committee, which met at Ulundi, noted that the majority report once again enshrines the principle and practice of ethnic separation and domination by the white minority in spite of declarations by the Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, that he is moving away from racial discrimination.

AFTERTHOUGHT

The committee also pointed out that the black population had been totally ignored in the Schlebusch report and that the subsequent proposal of a black council was in every respect just an afterthought.

The central committee’s decision will be referred to the annual conference of the movement due to be held later this month, but there can be no doubt that the decision will be endorsed and that Chief Buthelezi will be given a mandate to have nothing to do with the Schlebusch Commission proposals.
I didn't see anyone leave jail, says guard

THE armed guard above the gate at Pretoria Central Prison walked the Pretoria Regional Court yesterday and he did not see anybody leave the entrance of the prison when he was on duty on December 11 last year.

Mr J J Olivier was giving evidence at the trial of Sir grant Pretorius Daniel Vermeulen, 57, of Sunnyside, who has pleaded guilty to assisting terrorists, or alternatively, helping Alexander Mothibane, Stephen Lee and Timothy Jon zuem. He escaped from the maximum security wing of the prison.

Mr Olivier said he came on duty at 3.20am and at 4am saw Sjt H Jonzen leading two prisoners from the courtyard to the office. Then he saw them walking towards the wooden door to the cells. At 11.28pm Sjt A Badenhorst arrived and pushed at the front door. It opened and he went in. Sjt Badenhorst came out again and shouted to him: "Why are the doors open?"

Mr Olivier telephoned Sjt Vermeulen and asked him why the doors were open. Sjt Vermeulen replied that he thought the duty staff had forgotten to close the doors.

Mr J M van der Merwe, another warder, said he came on duty on December 12 at 5.20am. He signed the guard list and was given the keys for the wooden doors at the entrance. He saw the front door lock had its plate bent back completely flat so that it would not catch. The second door was closed electrically. Sjt Badenhorst opened the remaining door to let him into the office. The night duty keys were in the key cupboard and Sjt Badenhorst took the day duty keys out.

Later Sjt Petersen arrived and Sjt Badenhorst asked him why the doors were open. Mr Van der Merwe said it was assumed that the day before locksmiths had worked on the door and the had not finished the job. The Attorney-General is examining the contents of a letter written to Mr Hie Swartzberg, who is appearing for Sjt Vermeulen. The letter was written by Stephen Lee in London when he heard of the case against Sjt Vermeulen.

A confession in which Sjt Vermeulen said he released the trowen for a bottle of lido has been admitted as evidence.

The trial is continuing at Sapa.
Johannesburg. - KwaZulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi warned last night that anyone participating in the proposed President's Council would be seen as endorsing Mr Hendrik Smit's "insult" to black people.

Chief Buthelezi's warning means that coloured and Indian participation in the council has been further jeopardised.

Both the Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party are members of the SA Black Alliance, and although both parties have said they would not participate in the President's Council while blacks are excluded, the warning is certain to remove any lingering doubts either may have.

Chief Buthelezi, said in a statement: "This kind of insult to the majority population group of South Africa by Mr Smit is the kind of thing that will convince more blacks to see possibilities for change only through violence."

"If this is the Botha government's view of us, then I see no possibility for peaceful change as this kind of stigma hurt at us puts the rug from under the feet of those who are involved in efforts for peaceful change."

He added: "This will make it impossible for any members of the race groups who are allowed to participate in the President's Council to do so without being seen by their mere participation in the council to be endorsing that view of us by Mr Smit."

The chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, Dr Ntuthu Mdlana, said: "I hope that Mr Smit's type of thinking is not typical among those entrusted with caring for the welfare of 28-million people in this country."
THE ASSEMBLY. — By excluding blacks from the President's Council the Government had alienated the goodwill of black South Africans and made the process of peaceful negotiation all the more difficult, Mr Colin Eglin (PFoP Soweto) told the Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in the Second Reading Debate of the Constitution Fifth Amendment Bill, he said the Government had, by this act, also placed many coloured and Indian leaders who wished to participate in the process of negotiation in an invidious position. Only one black organisation, Inkatha, had responded to the invitation to give evidence before the constitutional commission. To do so could not have been an easy decision as it had exposed the movement to criticism from those in the black and coloured communities not prepared to give evidence.

But the Government had proceeded with a measure that reflected the fundamental reservations of Inkatha. It would be a step in the wrong direction, he added.

The FPF's main concern was that the Bill was not expressed in a manner which would allow the State to be a non-racial democracy.

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To achieve this all groups had to be represented in the Bill. The FPF had submitted a list of amendments which it hoped would be accepted by the Government in their considerations.

South Africa was far away from agreement and the prospect of an acceptable constitutional dispensation.

The FPF would support the proposal but it believed that they had reached the threshold of viability.

The FPF's judgment was based on the fundamentals of a new South Africa and the need for a new constitution.

In the FPF's opinion, the proposals contained in the Bill failed to meet both of the essential requirements for achieving viability and legitimacy for a new constitution.

Mr Nce Treurnicht (NP Pta) agreed that the Bill had to be passed. He said, however, that the Bill did not meet the essential requirements of the FPF.

He said the FPF's action had exposed "the sort of democracy for which the party stood." He did not think that the Bill could be taken away from them now.

The Bill was accepted by coloureds and Asians who did not consider it to be unconstitutional. He said that Asians wanted to follow other democratic systems they could not be prevented from doing so.

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He said the Government would operate in direct relation to Parliament and for that reason blacks had to have other organisations which could liaise with the governments of independent homelands.

South Africans — "as democrats" — were obliged to give the new council and each phase of its development every support possible to allow it to unite the different races and build up good relations with the homelands.

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The others were Mr. M. J. Naidoo, vice-president of the congress, Mr. Thayab Pillay, Mr. E. Buchan-
dean, Dr. Farooq Meer and Mr. Basil Morgan.
Mr. Sewpersad was picked up from his Rene-
voor Hills home and taken to his law offices in Ve-
rulam where the Security Police made a search.
Mr. Naidoo was detained by two security police
officials who questioned him about his role in the
Teachers' Association of South Africa and his
position as the leader of the Teachers' Association.
Mr. Naidoo was later freed after a few hours.

Silence

These detentions were met with silence at an
other meeting at the Orient Hall where parents
were discussing the suspension of more than
10,000 Indian pupils by the Department of Indian
Affairs.

Three security police also called at the home of
Mr. Paul David in Vervale at 1 a.m. today.

They told his wife that they wanted to question
his husband.

Mr. David is secretary of the Release Nelson Man-
dela Committee in Natal.

Mr. Ray Swart, official opposition spokesman on
Indian and Police matters, said today: 'He was dis-
turbed at the number of detentions around the
country.

The whole situation regarding Indian education
in Natal is thoroughly distressing, and I warned
the Government this week to rethink on the issue of
suspension of children from schools.

There is a very urgent need for magnanimity to
be shown and for the Government to take the
lead to restore the position to normality,' he said.
When will they learn?

'SITUATION IS ONE WHICH AGITATORS CAN EXPLOIT'
LESS than 600 km from Johannesburg, in a house in Maputo, 30 of South Africa’s best-known political exiles concentrated their forces for the terrorist onslaught that culminated this week in the massive sabotage attack on Sasol.

The man at the head of this formidable “task force” is Joe Slovo, former Johannesburg advocate now in his fifties and the only White member of the banned African National Congress “high command.”

And the Sunday Express can today reveal that he has helped his agents, using methods no one else in South Africa has been able to use, to slip out of South Africa in one way or another during the past 20 years.

Among them are Ronnie Kasrils, Reg September, Albie Sachs, Stephanie Kemp, and Ben and Mary Turuk.

This powerful list of ANC plotters across the border is one of the ominous facts that a Sunday Express investigation into South Africa’s security situation in the wake of the Sasol blast uncovered this week.

The Expresscope reports in detail on Pages 6 and 7 the nature of the threat against the country, the people behind it and their likely targets.

The Expresscope team also:

- Tracked down a sister of Frené Gwala in an effort to throw some light on this mystery woman who was named in the Heeney Christie spy trial and was said by Minister of Police Louis le Grange to be an ANC mindreader working with Russia’s Zambian Ambassador Vassily Sokolovski against South Africa.
- Received a strong warning from former Rhodesian security experts that South Africa is on its way to a Rhodesian situation — and that this country is grimly unprepared in the field of security.

The experts listed six measures that they felt should be taken immediately to help the country gear up for the expected onslaught (See Page 6).

The Sunday Express itself drew attention to the large gaps in security measures at vital installations as long ago as 1978.

In a survey after the sabotage of petrol dumps in Salisbury, investigators in Durban and Johannesburg managed to move freely around dump and refinery areas without being stopped or challenged.

A major oil company admitted a serious security lapse and thanked the Sunday Express for revealing the weakness. Another said it considered its security to be adequate.

Major-General D J Earp, chairman of the National Key Points Committee, said afterwards he hoped the survey’s shock findings would bring the country to greater security consciousness. “If this thinking were carried over into all sectors of commerce and industry it would be decidedly

The Sunday Express - the only newspaper in South Africa which is not afraid to tell it like it is.
ANC boss's note leaked to UK

Mandela message smuggled off Robben Island...

From JÉAN-JACQUES CORNISH
London

Anti-apartheid organisations have claimed to have pulled off a propaganda coup by smuggling a message from jailed African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela off Robben Island.

The message, said to be two pages long, will be read publicly at the House of Commons here on Wednesday to mark his 20th year in detention.

Supporters of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the ANC in London will also picket the South African Embassy in Trafalgar Square on Wednesday and attend a meeting in a hired hall at the Commons.

The smuggled message comes at the height of an intense campaign here to release the 61-year-old prisoner — and is bound to be seen as a slap in the face for the South African authorities.

The text of Mandela's message will be made public at a press conference in London on Tuesday and a film, 'Portrait of Nelson Mandela', will be shown on Wednesday to mark the occasion.

This development in the Release Mandela campaign comes on the wake of similar efforts in South Africa to have him freed.
Gov't's plan is rejected by the SA Black Alliance

By Rod Jackson-Smith

THE Government's floundering plans for a President's Council had another setback yesterday when it was rejected by the powerful South African Black Alliance.

Thirty-six SABA delegates resolved in Durban that no members of its constituent bodies should serve on the proposed Council — a decision that greatly reduces the possibility of participation by Indians and Coloureds in the Government's constitutional plans, already suffering a setback with the official Opposition refusing to have anything to do with it because of the exclusion of black participation.

At a press conference called during yesterday's closed session of the meeting, SABA's chairman, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, told the Sunday Tribune that if any of SABA's members declined to serve on the President's Council, it was likely that they would be expelled.

The SABA view was that the only real solution lay in the calling of a national convention where all South Africans could meet to decide on a new constitution for the country.
4 years later—it could be a re-run of the 1976 nightmare

By GEOFF DALGLISH

CHILDREN'S lives have not been in total obscurity. Mothers and fathers and millions of other parents have raised up a giant shield over South Africa.

Nearly 600 dead, thousands were tortured, thousands more were subjected to gross violations of human rights. The beating of school children and their teachers.

This is what the world saw, but very few people noted that the country has been in a state of siege for over four years.

The world almost seemed like a war zone. A war zone of the world's children and their teachers. A war zone of the world's parents. A war zone of the world's teachers.

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World governments have ignored the plight of the world's children and their teachers. World governments have ignored the plight of the world's parents. World governments have ignored the plight of the world's teachers.

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There have been few newspaper reports on Slovo since his escape from South Africa 17 years ago. He is kept in a low profile and waited patiently to escape. The Slovo family is located in southern Africa, gradually failing to be South African government.

The revolution had a priority. Angola and Mozambique first, then Rhodesia. South Africa second, and Namibia and South Africa third. In the Sixties it was not easy to procure arms to South Africa through the ring of fugitive Black leaders friendly to South Africa. I remember seeing the fronts of one of the groups of terror-ists who attempted to help. Through the bush of what was then Bophuthatswana, only to be defeated by the uncoordinated team that filtered at their borders and who, despite what they believed, the SA authorities said they believed it.

South Africa seemed impregnable. Now things have changed. The camps are short and the methods of opera-tion make the communists trained guerrillas an extremely dangerous force.

There is no longer an im-pregnable ring of friendly countries, but a mosaic of a desert. Educated at the University of the Witwatersrand, Slovo was called to the Bar in Johannesburg and married Ruth First, a journalist from a well-known South African family. In 1950 the couple were

BRIEFEN GINTALA, the mystery woman whom the Minister of Police told was planning ANC strategy with the Russian Ambassador, has been arrested. The former Communist secretary and the ANC's leader, Mr. Kinnock, has been charged with 'planning an attack on' the Johannesburg Art Club.

She helped Tambo

FILM CONTINUES: In the 1970s, when the ANC was illegal in South Africa, she helped organize meetings in London, where she helped activists escape from South Africa. She later moved to the United States, where she continued to work for the ANC.
Pupils boycott schools

The pupils and their parents of the Dutt High School are continuing their boycott of the school. This followed the announcement of the reopening of the school by the authorities. But the parents are not convinced by the announcement and are demanding the reopening of the school.

The boycott started on the day the school was announced to reopen. The parents have also demanded that the school authorities should release the report of the committee of inquiry which was appointed to investigate the incident.

The school has been closed down since the incident of violence at the school last week. The parents have also demanded that the school authorities should give them a report of the committee of inquiry which was appointed to investigate the incident.

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The parents have also demanded that the school authorities should release the report of the committee of inquiry which was appointed to investigate the incident.
Black Alliance rejects
President's Council

DURBAN. — The South African Black Alliance (Saba) has rejected the recommendations of the interim Schlebusch Commission because it excludes blacks from participating in meaningful power-sharing at all levels of government.

Saba is a movement composed of Inkatha, the Labour Party and the Reform Party. After a meeting in Durban at the weekend, Saba released a list of resolutions, one of them being a condemnation of the present composition of the President's Council.

The alliance attacked the proposed council because members would be nominated by the government and not by the communities themselves. Furthermore, the council reflected the opinions and feelings of a minority of the total population.

Saba also stated that the question of non-racial, integrated system of education had always been part of its stance for a fully non-racial society in South Africa. It whole-heartedly supported the students' protest.

However, the statement warned: "Having said this, Saba advises our young people to guard against methods of protest that could be counter-productive and lose the support of the total oppressed community and harm the cause of liberation."

The alliance requested that all students, having made their point, should return to their classrooms, so that their immediate academic objectives were not detrimentally affected.

The alliance condemned the spate of arrests and detentions of students, community leaders, clergy and others relating to unrest at educational institutions. It called for them to be charged and, where no crime had been committed, to be released.
Mandela message to be read in London

A message from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela — allegedly smuggled out of Robben Island — will be read publicly in London this week. JEAN-JACQUES CORNISH of The Star's Bureau in London reports exclusively.

A message from jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela — allegedly smuggled out of Robben Island — will be read publicly in London this week. JEAN-JACQUES CORNISH of The Star's Bureau in London reports exclusively.

LONDON — A message from ailing African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has been smuggled out of Robben Island and will be read publicly at the House of Commons here on Wednesday.

The two-page message will be read at a meeting to mark Mandela's 61st year in detention.

The ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement are running a massive campaign here for Mandela's release.

Supporters of these organisations will picket the South African embassy in Trafalgar Square on Wednesday and attend the meeting at the Commons to hear the message and see a new film entitled “Portrait Nelson Mandela.”

The text of Mandela’s message will be read at a Press conference here tomorrow.

Wednesday’s meeting at the Commons — it will be held in a committee room and will be open to the public — will be chaired by the Anti-Apartheid Movement’s chairman, Labour MP Mr Bob Hughes.

Also at the top table will beCanon John Collins, president of the Defence and Aid Fund, and a representative of the ANC.

Mr Mike Terry, secretary of the AAM, said it had not yet been decided who would read the message, which had arrived on Friday.

He refused to give any details about how the message had allegedly been smuggled from the island to London.

"It is a message that will confound Mandela's enemies," said Mr Terry.

"It is an appeal from Mandela and from all the prisoners on Robben Island."

He would not, however, give any details of its contents.

"You will have to wait until Tuesday for that," he said.

Mr Terry said he was convinced that the message was genuine and there was no question of it being a hoax.
Transkei puts unrest blame on ANC, PAC

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

THE African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress have been"stronglyrepresented" in Transkei and are behind unrest at schools and at the University of Transkei, according to the Transkei Prime Minister, Chief George Matanzima.

The ANC and the PAC, which were banned in Transkei last year, were named by Chief Matanzima as the instigators of disturbances at Transkei educational institutions in the wake of the declaration of a state of emergency in Transkei last week.

In a separate statement to the Rand Daily Mail, Chief Matanzima blamed both movements for Transkei's failure to win international recognition as an independent state.

He said: "Since independence these organisations have persistently issued pamphlets to the effect that their fight is against South Africa and Transkei... They are responsible for our non-recognition."

Chief Matanzima's statement represents a complete turn of the wheel in Transkei's attitude toward the exiled organisations since it became independent in October 1976.

At the time, Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Transkei's first Prime Minister and now President, offered Transkei to the ANC and PAC as a base for the "liberation struggle" against South Africa.

While many observers dismissed the offer as "mere rhetoric", some exiled members of the banned movements did return to Transkei-although they do not seem to have had much freedom to propagate the aims of either movement.

One of the most important of the returned exiles was Mr Thabang Letlaka, of the PAC. He became a member of the Transkei Cabinet.

In an interview with the "Mail", Mr Letlaka, who is at present Minister of Justice, was asked how he felt about the banning of the ANC and the PAC. As Minister of Justice, he signed the order.

He replied: "Naturally I feel sad that the PAC and the ANC should not have seen the opportunity of using Transkei for their objectives."

"But that does not mean I feel that they should be free to subvert the state of Transkei.

"In spite of the activities of these organisations in opposing recognition of Transkei, Transkei went out of its way and opened its doors to these organisations until it became clear that they were actively fighting against Transkei."

Among the detainees in Transkei are alleged members of the ANC and the PAC who were first arrested in 1978.

Asked about these men, Mr Letlaka said: "What I know is that men who were found with weapons and explosives in Transkei and who claimed to emanate from these organisations were arrested. They are under investigation. When the full report comes through they will be charged."

The State of Emergency declared under Transkei's Public Security Act, forbids all students from leaving their homes, except to attend classes or church.

The aim to prove innocence is on persons charged under the regulations. Punishments for contraventions are fines of up to R1,000, up to five years' jail, or a whipping of up to 10 strokes.

In an attempt to contain unrest at the new multi-million rand university, nine students have been expelled and six sent home from residence.

Among those sent home are the daughter of the Transkei President, Miss Tumekaba Matanzima, and Mr Letlaka's son, Mr Tshediso Letlaka.
Voices louder than bombs — chief

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at Kwa Masha yesterday that the African National Congress would be naive to imagine that white South Africa would be easily intimidated by acts such as the recent sabotage at Sasolburg and Secunda.

Addressing about 7,000 people at an Inkatha prayer meeting, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said the ANC should not think that the blowing up of a refinery here or there — however efficiently executed — was all it needed in the way of communication.

Everyone in South Africa knew of white resilience, he continued, and lacks who were beginning to grasp real power and who were developing strategies and tactics which ensured the destruction of apartheid spoke with a voice louder than the odd explosion.

Black South Africans had always seen the need for a multiple strategy approach.

Chief Buthelezi remarked that he had, in the past, been very careful in his public statements about the ANC.

"Some things I have said today is a half-step out of that diplomacy," he said, "I have been blunt because I cannot stand by and watch as the ANC attempts to establish itself on the lunatic fringes of our society within South Africa.

"Because they are my brothers and I love them, I won't stand by and watch as they commit political suicide."

Declaring that Inkatha was not a "wishy-washy, sell-out organisation", the movement's leader urged every parent present to stand united.

"For God's sake, be strong enough within your own community to resist marauding bands from lunatic fringes who come to rape the souls and the intelligence of our younger generation," he said.

"Stamp on every evidence of that which is diversing us from our true struggle."

He warned the "looters" and those who created the hand-wagons on which they jumped to "watch it" or they would find themselves smarting under Inkatha's toughness.

Inkatha, he maintained, was an army of liberation which could not easily be diverted and tampered with. While it espoused non-violence, it understood well that non-violence was not a synonym for
of murder

Mr. Justice Brooke, presiding at the Assizes, said: "All six have charges of murder, rape, and robbery, with aggravating circumstances, and are charged with possession of firearms and ammunition. Mrs. M. J. S. A.'s, appearing for the State, told the witness that the accused were released on bail and would return to court on their own recognizance. It was impossible to cancel the bail as it was necessary for the accused to return to court. The accused would not return to court if bail was cancelled. The bail was granted on condition that the accused return to court on their own recognizance. The bail was granted on condition that the accused return to court on their own recognizance."
STERN WARNING ON JUNE 16 UNREST

Political Staff

THE Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, today issued a stern warning to intimidators who tried to prevent people from going to work on June 16 — the anniversary of the outbreak of the Soweto unrest.

'Ve will act against any form of intimidation throughout South Africa,' he said.

'This applied to the June 16 anniversary, or any other day.

'As far as I am concerned, we have had enough,' Mr le Grange said.

'Police would take action against intimidation wherever it occurred, whether in coloured schools or on the streets.'

He said people who were planning to foment unrest should think again.

Tensions are known to be rising in various parts of South Africa as the June 16 anniversary approaches. Members of the Athlone Business and Professional Association, which represents more than 120 businesses in the Cape, have decided to close their shops on June 16 and 17.

Stay away

Meanwhile, the SRC of the University of Cape Town has called on students to stay away from examinations on June 16 and 17 as an expression of solidarity with the 'oppressed majority of South Africans'.

This follows a decision by the UCT Council to arrange alternative dates for students who do not wish to write examinations on June 16 and 17, the days regarded as commemorative of the death of hundreds of people in the 1976 riots.

The council decision followed a petition asking for alternative dates for examinations, which was presented by black students on the campus.

Black traders who yesterday decided to close their shops on June 16 and 17 said they were not closing because they feared intimidation.

'Besides being traders, we also form part of a community which needs our support,' a spokesman for the Western Cape Traders' Association, the Western Province African Chamber of Commerce and the Athlone Industrial and Commercial Association, which together represent almost all black businessmen in the Peninsula, are still uncommitted as to whether they will close on June 16 and 17.

Buy black

A spokesman for the Traders' Association which will meet tomorrow to examine the situation, said that he was closing their doors for the two days they might be demonstrating the purpose of the 'buy black' campaign.

Pamphlets calling on all South Africans to stay away from work on June 16 and 17, as a commemoration of the 1976 riots and in support of students and economic strikes throughout the country, have been widely circulated in the Peninsula.
Shocked at SABC

SIR. - I was left shocked and embarrassed to hear SABC radio, telling people that Nelson Mandela should not be released from prison because it has been proved that if he is released he will endanger peace and stability in this country because he is a terrorist and communist.

I would like to advise Mr Le Grange that if he wants peace to be restored he should first remove the ungodly laws in this country and allow everybody in exile to come back to their country of birth, to release all political prisoners, to lift all the banning orders and to allow freedom of speech and of the Press.

COLLEAGUES

He and his colleagues (PW Botha; Koornhof; Kruger and others) should stop imposing irrelevant people as our leaders. They should stop separating blacks and putting them in barren lands. There will never be peace in this land until our grievances are heard without the threat of prison on our heads.

We are still pleading for the release of Nelson Mandela. If he is released he will negotiate on behalf of the black masses. He is the key to freedom. Through him unnecessary violence will be prevented and peaceful change will be in sight.

(SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK)

Seshego.
New UCT Exam Dates

Staff Reporter

The Council of the University of Cape Town has arranged alternative dates for students who do not wish to write examinations on June 16 and 17, the days which commemorate the deaths of hundreds of people in the 1976 riots.

The decision was taken after black UCT students presented a petition asking for alternative dates. The examinations will be written instead on July 14 and 15.

Statement

The UCT Students' Representative Council executive issued a statement yesterday, which read: "The SRC welcomes the Council's decision to provide alternative dates for those students who are writing examinations on June 16 and 17, the fourth anniversary of the nationwide resistance of 1976.

"We call on all students and staff to stay away from these exams as an expression of solidarity with the oppressed majority of South Africans."
Bombings can force hand over neutrality

AS the frontline in black Africa's offensive on the white-ruled south moves closer to South Africa's borders, Swaziland is being squeezed tighter between them.

It may soon have to review its uneasy neutrality.

Last week's bombings on the homes of ANC sympathisers near Manzini on which the Swazi-

land Government had still not commented six days later, has brought home to many Swazi the dilemma of their own situation. No one has yet claimed responsibility for the blasts in which two people died.

But as the ANC mounts its offensive on the Republic from its Mozambique headquarters — using Swaziland as a convenient transit point — awareness is growing here that the very presence of ANC units some 400 km from Pretoria may be enough to invite reprisals.

STRUGGLES

Swaziland has officially remained aloof from the political power struggles raging around it. It will not allow guerilla movements to set up bases in Swaziland. But both side refugees are granted asylum once they have been screened by the United Nations High Commission for refugees which has an office in Mbabane.

King Sobhuza's government has gone along with some of the more rhetorical resolutions passed by the OAU (which backs the guerilla movements). It has banned official sporting contact with South Africa for example, while remaining a member of the Southern African Customs Union of which the Republic is the kingpin.

It has skirted the tricky question for the guerilla movements with the homely hope that it will gain sanctuary to exiles as long as they do not take part in "political activity."

The dividing line between genuine refugees and those taking part in covert subversive activity is becoming blurred.

ANC activity in Swaziland is still thought to be minimal. But it is on the increase. According to sources here, one of the homes blown up in Manzini's Zakehele Township was probably used as a conduit for ANC members making their way to and from South Africa from Mozambique, where the ANC operations are believed to be conducted.

OFFICIALS

Certainly ANC officials move freely between Maputo and Swaziland and a senior ANC official was in Manzini during the week of the bombings.

Swaziland took a hard line against members of the Pan Africanist Congress (the ANC's chief ri-

val) by expelling all its members two years ago.

Faced with increasing evidence of ANC activities using Swaziland as a link to the Mozambique-based operations, Swaziland may be tempted to root out the ANC cells if only to placate South Africa.

But in so doing it will estrange its OAU colleagues, including Mozambique with whom Swazi-

land is busy cementing political and economic ties. President Machel of Mozambique openly supports the ANC guerillas who are using his country as a springboard to launch its anti-South African operations.

EXILES

To do nothing — some Swazi officials admit privately — is certain to lead to more attacks on ANC exiles. Swaziland has never publicly blamed anyone for the incident. But they seem to be part of a pattern of harassment of exiles, whether by South African "agents" (as popularly believed here) or by rival "libera-

tion" groups.

Incidents to date have included the alleged kidnapping or a refugee teach-

er in Eastern Swaziland, a parcel bomb at-

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

the bombing of a car carrying two ANC members in an ambush near the Mozam-

bique border.
Mandela's letter two (14) years old

The Star Bureau

LONDON—Nelson Mandela's letter smuggled off Robben Island has taken two years to reach London.

The African National Congress and the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who released the text of the message today, said it remained fresh and valid.

They said the letter had been smuggled out under very difficult conditions but they did not give any details.

The letter is being released in London to mark the 18th anniversary tomorrow of Mr Mandela's imprisonment.

- The letter deals with racial matters, unity and other matters. None of it may be quoted or published in South Africa.

- Page 9: Doubt over message.
LONDON. — A message from Nelson Mandela has been smuggled out of Robben Island and will be released in London today, the Anti-Apartheid Movement announced yesterday.

The AAM said the message from the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress was "an appeal to the people of South Africa" and was the first known statement from him to have been smuggled out of the Island jail.

The message is to be released at a Press conference to be held by the AAM and the ANC. — Telegraph.
Mandela message questioned

THE Government is not yet convinced that a message from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, which was allegedly smuggled out of Robben Island, is authentic.

The two-page message is due to be read publicly in London today at a meeting to mark Mandela's 16th year in detention. The ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement are running a massive campaign in Britain for Mandela's release and claim that the message is authentic.

ACTION

The Minister of Prisons, Mr Louis le Grange, was asked yesterday whether any action would be taken against Mandela over the message.

He replied that until he had been provided with proof that the message was authentic, he did not want to comment on the matter.

He made it clear that he was not yet persuaded that it was authentic.
Sabotage won't work

— Buthelezi

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said at Kwa Mashu yesterday that the African National Congress would be naive to imagine that white South Africa could be easily intimidated by acts such as the recent sabotage at Sasolburg and Secunda.

Addressing about 7,000 people at an Inkatha prayer meeting, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said the ANC should be disabused of any illusions that the blowing up of a refinery here or there — however efficiently executed — was all they needed in the way of communication.

Everyone in South Africa knew of white resilience, he said.

Furthermore, blacks who were beginning to grasp real power and who were developing strategies and tactics which ensured the destruction of apartheid, spoke with a voice louder than the odd explosion.

Black South Africans had always seen the need for a multiple strategy approach.

Chief Buthelezi said he had in the past been very careful in his public articulations about the ANC.

"Some things I have said today are a half-step out of that diplomacy," he observed. "I have been blunt because I cannot stand by and watch as the ANC attempts to establish itself in the lunatic fringes of our society within South Africa.

"Because they are my brothers and I love them, I won't stand by and watch as they commit political suicide.

"Inkatha, he maintained, was an army of liberation which could not easily be diverted and tampered with. While its espoused non-violence, it understood well that non-violence was not a synonym for cowardice.

● Coloured people and blacks had found each other and were going to stay together, the leader of the Labour Party, The Rev Alan Hendriks, told the meeting.

Mr Hendriks said the time for coloureds of their "semi-whiteness" and their "semi-privileged position" was gone and burned.

"No amount of bating us or of buying us off will succeed," he added to enthusiastic applause. "Our message to white South Africa is that we are serious and we mean business.

"Mr Hendriks said the peaceful gathering was symbolic of the willingness of blacks and coloureds to tell white South Africa, even at this late stage, "We are here because we still love you."

Blacks wanted to say, amid the love which bound people of different races together: "Don't wait too long to reciprocate. When you do want to love us, you may find it will be too late.

"In the light of the liberation of all Africa, Mr P W Botha, his government and white South Africa should open their eyes to what was going on around them.
ANC plan to distribute
'Mandela letter' in SA

Argus Bureau
LONDON. - Nelson Mandela's letter from prison - the first of its kind to be smuggled off Robben Island - will be distributed throughout South Africa by the African National Congress's underground network.

The letter, which was released here on Tuesday, will also be the nucleus for a campaign in Britain and Western Europe for the release of the ANC leader, jailed 16 years ago today.

The campaign here will be launched at the Commons grand committee room tonight at a meeting of ANC and Anti-Apartheid Movement supports.

AAM secretary Mr Mike Terry, who described the circulation plans for the letter, said it was a testimony of the capacity of the underground machinery in South Africa.

Mandela himself and others involved had known the risks entailed in smuggling out the letter.

The original letter, which had been brought out in one piece, was in Lusaka. It had taken two years to get there.

Mr Terry told reporters, who were given printed copies of the letter's contents, that the AAM had no doubt about its authenticity.

The ANC's director of information, Dr Francis Moloi, was also at the Press conference yesterday.

The British Methodist Church has become the first church in England to back the South African churches' call for a national convention to formulate a just constitution for South Africa.

The South African proposal include a demand for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners to participate in the convention.

The resolution urging the South African Government to set up a convention in which black politicians would play a leading role came this week from the 100-strong central committee of the Methodist Church Overseas Division.
Chief stands firm on advisory council

By AMEEN ANHALWAYA, Political Reporter

The Government's constitutional plan suffered a major blow last night when Chief Justice F. Buthelen stood firm on Inkatha's refusal to serve on the proposed black advisory council.

Ita's position is not new; last year he wrote a statement in Parliament earlier by the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr. Emmie Smit, who unconditionally withdrew his remarks he had made about the thought processes of blacks.

Chief Buthelen reported his call to the Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, for a moratorium on constitutional changes.

At the same time, the coloured Labour Party also stood firm in its refusal to serve in the proposed President's Council comprising whites, coloureds, Indians and Chinese.

Mr. Smit's remarks last week in explaining why Indians were not included in the President's Council caused a country-wide uproar with Chief Buthelen warning that anyone participating in the council would be seen to be endorsing the Minister's 'insult.'

At yesterday's Cabinet meeting, Mr. Smit said in Parliament: 'It was not my intention to hurt anybody's feelings. It is not in my nature to do this. For that reason I wish, in the best tradition of Parliament, unconditionally to withdraw any objectionable words I used.'

Chief Buthelen said last night: 'When he said it, we had already rejected serving on the council, that is not changed by Mr. Smit's statement of withdrawal. It is impossible for black people to ever forget the stigma contained in Mr. Smit's last statement.

'I called for a moratorium on constitutional changes when I met the Prime Minster in February. I repeat that call.'

His stand follows the weekend statement by the St. Athian Alliance, of which Inkatha is the pivotal group, rejecting participation in the President's Council.

The statement was endorsed by the Labour Party and the Reform Party in the South African Indian Council.

Labour held the majority in the now dissolved Coloured Representative Council, while Reform is the major party in the SAIC.

Other major representative groups such as the African People's Organisation, the Committee of 10, the National Indian Congress and the Anti-SAIC Committee have already rejected participation in either the President's Council or the black council.

With the Opposition Progressive Federal Party also having rejected participation in the proposed President's Council, the Government will have to rely on a large extent on other homeland governments and smaller black and white groups to make the proposal viable.

Noting that Mr. Smit's retraction was made after the Cabinet meeting and after strong criticism in the press, the National chairman of the Labour Party, Mr. David Curry, said: 'How desperate the Government is in trying to win the support of people who are not white for its constitutional plans.

'It also shows that blacks do have power.'
Mandela

message released

By MARGARET SMITH
London Bureau

LONDON. — A lengthy message from the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela, was made public in London yesterday.

It was claimed to have been smuggled out of Robben Island, where Mandela is serving a life sentence, and that it reached ANC headquarters a few months ago.

Informed observers who have investigated the authenticity of the message are in no doubt that it is from Mandela.

Political scientists and observers in London were studying the text of the message last night.

Sapa reports that when approached for comment on the message the Prisons Department in Pretoria declined "to speculate".

The Deputy Commissioner, Administrative Auxiliary Services, Maj-Gen J P Roux, said: "I cannot comment until the authenticity of the message has been confirmed."
ANC will circulate Mandela letter

The Star Bureau
LONDON — Nelson Mandela's letter from prison — the first of its kind to be smuggled from Robben Island — will be distributed throughout South Africa by the African National Congress (ANC) underground network.

The letter, which was released in London yesterday, will also be the anchor for a massive campaign in Britain and Western Europe for the release of the ANC leader jailed 16 years ago today.

The campaign will be launched in the House of Commons grand committee room tonight at a meeting of ANC and Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAM) supporters.

AAM secretary Mr. Mike Terry, who described the circulation plans for the letter, said it was "a testimony of the capacity of the underground machinery in South Africa."

Mandela and others involved had known the risks entailed in smuggling the letter out, Mr. Terry said.

The original letter, which had been brought out in one piece, was in Lusaka. It had taken two years to get there.

Mr. Terry told reporters, who were given printed copies of the letter's contents, that the AAM had no doubt about its authenticity. It was in Mandela's handwriting, he said.

Mr. Terry said the ANC and the AAM had decided to release the message "to make the international community more aware of what is going on in South Africa."

He added: "We realize that the South African Press is not going to publish the message."

Mandela may not be quoted in South Africa because he is banned. — The Star Bureau-Sapa.
Minister warns against unrest

By MICHAEL ACOTT

The Minister of Police, Mr Louis le Grange, warned yesterday that police would not tolerate any intimidation to force a stayaway next week in commemoration of the 1976 Soweto unrest.

120 businesses to close on June 16

The Athlone Business and Professional Association, representing 120 Athlone businesses, has decided to close on June 16 and 17 in remembrance of those who died during the 1976 unrest.

Several thousand pamphlets have been distributed throughout Cape Town during the past week calling for an "economic boycott" on June 16 and 17.

The pamphlet called for people to stay away from work and for businesses to close on those days. It called on the "people of Azania" to make Cape Town a "ghost town of silence" and to spend the two days in "constructive reflection" in their homes.

The Committee of 81, which represents schools and educational institutions throughout the Western Cape, has issued a statement calling on people to support the stay-away.

However, the committee has urged people to attend services and meetings to commemorate the 1976 unrest.

He warned too that the Racial Assemblies Act would be enforced strictly to prevent any protest gatherings or marches.

Mr Le Grange was interviewed after indications of action to mark the fourth anniversary of the beginning of the Soweto disturbances on June 16 and 17.

He said he had had enough of intimidation and it had to stop.

"I am not going to accept any further intimidation at schools and colleges, or of law-abiding staff and pupils. I have definitely had enough and I am not going to take it any more," he said.

He said there were no indications of commemorative action on a nationwide scale, but there were "a few localized areas where people refused to stop their intimidation."

These areas included Cape Town, the Eastern Cape, some parts of the Durban region and some sections of the coloured and Indian communities on the Witwatersrand.

Mr Le Grange said police knew who the agitators were.

His warning about the Racial Assemblies Act means that provisions invoked after the Soweto unrest four years ago will prevent any outdoor commemoration.

The provision, renewed regularly since June 1976, prohibits any outdoor gathering or procession except bona fide church services, sports events or meetings sanctioned by the minister.

For the past four years all meetings, including Nationalist political gatherings, have had to be held indoors.
NOTE CAREFULLY

1. Enter at the top of each page the number of the question you are answering.

2. Blue or black ink must be used for writing answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable, but the use of red ink or other form of emphasis or underlining is not recommended.

3. Names must be printed on each separate answer sheet. The use of a graph paper where sheets are joined together

4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

Perfect.

Answer:

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(b) 

(c) 10

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SECTION B

Every candidate must in column (1) the number of each question answered in the order in which it has been answered; leave columns (2) and
ANC releases Mandela letter

C. T. 17/6/83 (14)

Own Correspondent

LONDON.—The contents of a lengthy message from the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela, was made public here yesterday.

It was claimed to have been smuggled out of Robben Island, where Mandela is serving a life sentence, and that it reached ANC headquarters in London a few months ago.

Observers who have investigated the message are in no doubt that it is from Mandela.

How the nearly 1,000 word message was smuggled out of jail and out of South Africa remains a secret. A press conference by the ANC here yesterday threw no light on the means by which it was smuggled out.

Approached for comment on the message purportedly written by Nelson Mandela which was released in London the Department of Prisons in Pretoria declined "to speculate".

Speaking on behalf of the commissioner, the deputy-commissioner, Administrative Auxiliary Services, Major-General J P Houx, said: "I cannot comment until the authenticity of the message has been confirmed. At this stage we must question the origin, but to say anything more would be pure speculation."

General Houx confirmed that Mandela had access to pen and paper but would not comment on how a message from Mandela could have been smuggled out of the high security Robben Island prison.

The Minister of Prisons, Mr Louis le Grange, last night refused to comment on the Mandela letter till he was satisfied it was genuine. He said he wanted to see a photostatic copy of the message.

"Until I have seen it is in his own handwriting and I am satisfied it is authentic, I will have nothing to say."

Asked whether newspapers could publish the contents of the letter, he advised them to consult their lawyers. Mandela is not banned, but the ANC—which still regards him as their leader—is a banned organization.
ANC man in bomb blast

The Star's Africa News Service

Maseru — A bomb explosion wrecked the car and damaged the house of a South African refugee and member of the banned African National Congress in Maseru early today.

The refugee, Mr. Thembi Hani, was asleep in the house at the time, but was apparently unharmed.

Lesotho police recovered a revolver, seven rounds of ammunition and a "detonation device" from the scene of the blast.
THE Jabulani Residents' Committee (JRC) will hold a meeting at the Bridge-Memorial Hall, Zola, on Sunday, from 9 am to 3 pm to discuss the closing time for shebeens in Soweto, according to Councillor J B Mazibuko.

The secretary of the JRC, Mr Anthony Buso said Councillor Mazibuko will give the residents a report-back on housing for Soweto. It was heard at the last meeting of the committee that about 800 families were to be housed as soon as the plan may be passed by West Rand Administration Board (Wrab).

Mr Buso added that the committee plans to stipulate that shebeens in Soweto must be closed at 8 pm nightly in a bid to reduce the soaring crime rate.
Free Mandela campaign launched in the Commons

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Pacifists shared the platform with avowedly violent revolutionaries when the massive "Free Nelson Mandela" campaign was launched from the grand committee room at the House of Commons.

The more than 300 people who packed the room last night heard speeches from both sides — most of them may not be quoted in South Africa — and saw a 30-minute Holland television film on the ANC leader's life.

The main target for vilification has changed from "Vorster" to "Bofa" with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi still running a close second.

If the chief's meeting with ANC leaders in London last year produced any reconciliation, it certainly wasn't evident last night.

Acting Indian High Commissioner Dr Indu Singh attacked "the forces of darkness" for not allowing Mandela's wife Winnie to collect the Nehru Prize awarded to Mandela.

"This is an affront to all our 635-million people," said Dr Singh, who pledged his Government's continued support for the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Defence and Aid Fund, which had organised the meeting.

Speakers dwelt heavily on the message from Mandela smuggled off Robben Island and released here on the 16th anniversary of his imprisonment.

The ANC dismissed suggestions that the letter is a fraud.

The New York Bureau of The Star reports that African diplomats and officials of an anti-apartheid agency in the United Nations are preparing to commemorate a June 16 "Day of Solidarity" next Monday, fourth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising.
Lunchtime picket for release of Mandela

LONDON. — About 20 demonstrators mounted a lunchtime picket outside the South African Embassy here yesterday to demand the release of the African nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, who is held on Robben Island.

The demonstrators carried placards and a large red banner. The demonstration was organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement as part of its campaign for the release of Mr. Mandela.

However, the small demonstration attracted little interest from the swarms of Londoners and tourists making their way around Trafalgar Square where the embassy is situated.

One demonstrator said: "We would have liked to see more people here but we've made our point in the public eye." — Sapa-AP
Many to close on Monday

Black, coloured and Island businessmen have been asked by students to close their businesses on Monday and several social and sporting activities scheduled for this weekend have to be cancelled to mark the fourth anniversary of the June 16 unrest.

Countrywide commemoration services have been organised. The biggest will be on Sunday when the African People's Organisation (Azapo) holds a service at the Regina Mundi church in Soweto.

Azapo has also organised prayer services in Kagitso, Kwa-Thema, Tembisa, Pietersburg and Mahwelereng.

A memorial service will be held at the Nur Ul Islam Centre in Lenasia on Sunday. Among the speakers will be Miss Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson Mandela, jailed leader of the banned African National Congress; Mrs Rita Ndzanga, a former
Stayaways, services will mark June 16

from page 1

defenee, and Mr. Leseto Mokela, an executive member of Afspo.

Speakers at the Soweto service will come from the Committee of Ten, the "Black Lawyers Solidarity Group," the Azanian Student's and Workers Association, the South African Students and the South African Black Social Workers Association.

The South African National Football Association and the South African Soccer Federation have called off all soccer games for the weekend.

Indian shopkeepers at the Plaza centre said that they would close on Monday as they did last year.

Indian business spokesmen on the East and West Rand and those in Laudium, Pretoria and Rooswyk, Versamill, said they would also close.

Mr. Veli Kraai, the Chairman of the Soweto Chamber of Commerce, said today that all businesses would close on Monday from 11 am.

The chairman of the Soweto Tavern Association, Mr. Ephraim Sempe, said that shebeens in the township would not be open this weekend and on Monday.

In coloured areas, slogans have been painted on shops, bus terminuses and walls saying: "Close businesses on June 16," "Stay home and pray," "No work on June 16" and "No school on June 16."

The Divisional Commissioner of Police in Soweto, Brigadier J. J. Hamman, said police would keep a low profile. But he warned that they would move in if students started hijacking or stoning buses.
ANC is blamed for black divisions

ULUNDI—The African National Congress should stop trying to be all things to all men, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said yesterday.

Speaking in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, Chief Buthelezi blamed the ANC for the divisions which existed in the black community in South Africa.

Commenting on Nelson Mandela's message which was allegedly smuggled out of Robben Island, and which was read to the Assembly, the KwaZulu leader said that, if the ANC intended heading the message, they should not be used by any 'political riff-raff.'

Ego trips

We see too many political nobodies all over South Africa playing the divisive game, as they pursue their ego trips, doing all the harm they are doing — and claiming to do it — in the name of the African National Congress.

The KwaZulu leader said he realised the problems faced by the ANC in exile but they would not promote the dream of black unity if they were seen by the masses to be speaking with both sides of their mouths.

The ANC can contribute a lot towards black unity,' he maintained, 'if their voice is heard more clearly on this crucial question of unity.'

T'Im sorry'

Mercy Reporter
ULUNDI—Chief Maphumulo yesterday expressed his apologies for past difficulties between the Chief Minister, the KwaZulu Government and himself.

The apology came during an Assembly debate on a motion to consider the introduction of legislation to punish people guilty of involving King Goodwill in politics.
MASERU — The man seriously injured in this week's bomb blast outside the home of a member of South Africa's banned African National Congress is understood to be one of those who planted the device, according to sources here.

The man, so far unidentified, is under heavy police guard in Maseru's Queen Elizabeth Hospital.

The bomb, planted beneath the car of South African exile and ANC member Mr. Thembi Hani, wrecked Mr. Hani's car and damaged his house. He was unhurt.

Police have forbidden the Press to talk to Mr. Hani and are keeping the public away from his home.

The blast is being interpreted here as a possible reprisal action by South African agents for the sabotage strikes by the ANC against oil installations last week.

It has struck fear among the small refugee population in Maseru, particularly the South Africans who live in a commune in the centre of the Lesotho capital.
ANC silent on 'Mandela letter'

Oewy Correspondent
LONDON. — The London bureau of the African National Congress (ANC) is under fire because it will not assist newsroom eager to get to the root of the letter which they claim Nelson Mandela smuggled out of Robben Island.

Newsmen's demands to see the letter or a photo-copy of it have been frustrated by ANC representatives who say that they do not have it — and even if they did they would not show it to the press.

The ANC representative for Britain and Western Europe, Mr. Yerewda Zungu, asked angrily asked yesterday: "Do you suspect us of lying or cheating about this matter?"

He refused to say where the letter was.

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Note carefully

1. Enter at the top of each page and in column (1) of the block on this cover the number of the question you are answering.

2. Blue or black ink must be used for written answers. The use of a ball point pen is acceptable. Red or green ink may be used only for underlining, emphasis or for diagrams, for which pencil may also be used.

3. Names must be printed on each separate sheet (e.g. graph paper) where sheets additional to examination book(s) are used.

4. Do not write in the left hand margin.

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WARNING

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.

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Every candidate must enter in column (1) the number of each question answered (in the order in which it has been answered); leave columns (2) and (3) blank.
Mystery man hurt in Maseru blast

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

MASERU. — The injured man found outside the bomb-blasted home of an African National Congress exile was reported yesterday to be a former youth leader of a Lesotho opposition party.

But the head of Lesotho Intelligence, Major General S.J. Mphaphe, said or would not confirm this. "I know nothing of the matter," he said.

The man was found outside the home of Mr Tembi Hani after an explosion destroyed Mr Hani's car and damaged his house. He was identified by Rand Daily Mail sources as Mr Tsevelo Rampatahau.

A man of that name used to be a youth leader in the United Democratic Party of Mr Charles Mojela, who is now Minister of Water, Energy and Mines in the Coalition Cabinet of Chief Lebua Jonathan.

Sources close to South African exiles in Lesotho were convinced yesterday that whoever planted the bomb was acting under instructions from South Africa.

It seems their view is shared by the Lesotho Government, whose State-owned radio implicitly linked the bombing with sabotage or attempted sabotage in Swaziland and Mozambique, alleged to be the work of South African agents.

Lesotho has repeatedly accused South Africa of aiding insurgents of the exiled wing of the Ratselihlo Congress Party, who are trying to overthrow Mr Jonathan's government by force.

South Africa has repeatedly denied the Lesotho Government allegations, dismissing them as an attempt to divert attention from its own internal problems and lack of popular legitimacy.
Turfloop demands black rector

By MARION SPARG

THE entire black academic staff of the University of the North (Turfloop) has threatened to quit if a white rector replaces Professor William Kgware who retires at the end of the year. Professor Kgware's resignation is believed to have begun a power struggle in the university senate where blacks are outnumbered nearly seven to one by white academics.

He was the first black rector to be appointed at a black university in South Africa.

The black academics have already walked out of a senate meeting when it was suggested that a white rector be appointed and have sent a message to the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Perde Hartzenberg, asking that another black rector be appointed.

Although the Black Academic Staff Association (Basu) is reserving official comment until the appointment of the new rector is announced on June 20, senior black academics told me this week that the threat to quit the university was not an idle one.

"We will stage a mass walkout if a white man replaces Professor Kgware," one senior academic told me.

Black academics fear that Professor Kgware's resignation will add to the present crisis at the university and that only another black rector can hope to persuade students to return to classes.

Students at the university have joined the countrywide school boycott and the mass stayaway is expected to continue at least until after June 16.

A spokesman for the university, Mr Johan Bekker, said that Professor Kgware had resigned because of ill-health.

Professor Kgware could not be contacted for comment.

The chairman of Basu, Mr Candidus Maja, confirmed that Basu has sent a message to Dr Hartzenberg requesting him to replace Professor Kgware with another black rector.

PROF WILLIAM KGWARE
Resigned

The message read:
"In view of the pending appointment of a new rector at the University of the North, we, Basu, strongly urge that the principle of black rectorship be strictly adhered to as the only way to ensure peace and progress at this university."

A committee has been appointed to consider nominations and the university council will decide on June 20 who will succeed Professor Kgware.

Candidates nominated by the council include two whites and one black.

They are: Professor J C Steenkamp, who has been acting rector in Professor Kgware's absence; Professor W de Fries, dean of law, and Professor P C Nkobong of the Department of Northern Sotho.
Britain hears views of arch-plotter Ginwala

MISS FRENÉE Ginwala, named by Minister of Police Louis le Grange as an ANC mastermind who works closely with the Russian ambassador in Lusaka, Mr Vassily Solodovnikov, says the seizure of power in South Africa is the only way to bring about political change.

Miss Ginwala, 43, is something of a mystery woman. Her name, until recently, was hardly ever heard in South Africa. She is not banned, as almost all the other leading figures in the ANC are. She was born in South Africa but left the country in the Sixties.

Her views on South Africa and the future were broadcast to millions in Britain on the BBC programme 'The World Tonight' the day after the 15.5-million Rand attack.

Miss Ginwala is a member of the ANC which claimed responsibility for the sabotage.

She said that a violent revolution was the only way to stop apartheid and that the violence would soon escalate.

Miss Ginwala was the mystery woman named Christie spy trial, and was named with Mr Joe Slovo by Mr Le Grange last week. Mr Slovo spends a great deal of his time in Maputo where he controls Umkhonto We Sivwe — the military arm of the ANC — but spends as much, if not more, in Lusaka with Mr Solodovnikov and Miss Ginwala.

Although Miss Ginwala spends time in Lusaka, she is based in London and is often interviewed by the BBC because she is considered the more eloquent of the ANC members.

She said she did not believe that change in South Africa would be brought about by reform.

"We have tried this. As far as we are concerned we feel that the only way we are going to get change is with the seizure of power in South Africa and then the Government which seizes power will be able to make the changes."

It was pointed out to her that Mr P W Botha had tried to introduce reforms and she was asked whether she did not think there was a danger that the violence at Soweto would promote a backlash from the hard-liners.

DESMOND BLOOM
Chief Reporter

Miss Ginwala said she did not believe that the reforms being undertaken by Mr P W Botha were reforms at all, but were designed to adapt apartheid to better control.

Miss Ginwala said that the victory of Mr Mugabe in Zimbabwe would "undoubtedly" help the guerrilla campaign in South Africa.

Mr Mugabe has stated that he supports the OAU and its policies which include the support of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

"We have no reservations about any statement Mr Mugabe has made."

Miss Ginwala was asked whether Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe could afford to support a civil war in South Africa.

She replied that dependance was a two way thing and that "the Pretoria government" was dependant on the other African countries in many ways but whether the other countries could afford to support a civil war in South Africa. She agreed that there were Marxist elements in the ANC, but said the ANC was a national liberation movement and she thought that the label "Marxist or otherwise" was one that concerned people outside South Africa far more than it concerned people in the country.

She said South Africa was already in a state of civil war. "We would argue that the State is already making war on the people of South Africa. State violence is there, the people's resistance in an armed form will escalate. It will escalate to a far greater extent, and very soon," she said.
MUCH has been said and written about the present school boycotts, and it has become clear that the situation will become worse before it becomes better.

We will really only begin to see light at the end of the tunnel when the policy of separate development ends and the policy of integration begins at all levels of our society.

The policy of separate development has become the main cause of unrest and will continue to fan the flames as long as separate development acts remain on our statute books.

Separate education for Africans and its accompanying grievances caused the upheaval in Soviet and separate education for coloureds and its problems caused the present one.

Incentive

The policy of separate development brought certain side-effects which its creators had never intended.

It is the greatest incentive to political consolidation among those who are not white.

The establishment of separate development, particularly, and separate education generally, led to the growth of black movements and philosophies in educational institutions.

The spirit of non-dependence on whites began to germinate and grow.

The current idiom became: "Black man, you are on your own."

Apartheid encouraged other race groups to move among themselves and not to seek integration with white South Africa.

Separate development created new political structures in South Africa. It has also created a new political structure, and separate development has become the power base.

Those not white have responded to the policy of separation on their own terms.

The policy has now become the enemy of white South Africa.

Older generations still remember the days of integration.

Young people in the African, coloured and Indian communities do not know white people as their parents and grandparents did.

Dignity

"I am not a nonwhite. I am not a 'non' of a white."

A person's dignity had to be expressed in positive terms and the term "nonwhite" became a negative one.

The youth accuse their elders of apathy, of fearing the white man and the white man's structure.

Far too many black people want to be white people. They imitate white value systems.

They feel ashamed of their colour.

They want to escape from their group and the dilemma is that they can never escape from their colour or their group.

And this results in frustration and self-hatred.

This problem the black man must solve for himself. It is a conversion he must go through.

The young say that the older generation really believed what white people said about them. They believed that they were inferior. They believed this in the narrow of their beings. They believed that they could never take their rightful place as men in South African society.

And now black consciousness is here.

Call this consciousness "awareness" or "political awakening".

It is here and any person denying this fact is blind to the realities of the situation in this country.

Young people will not walk in the shadow of the white man.

They want to take their rightful place as men and women.

They want to assert their full humanity.

They want to liberate themselves and their parents from the mental slavery and sense of inferiority which have been imposed on them by the white power structure.

White is apt the standard by which people should be judged.

They should be judged in their own right as persons.

The young say black people must develop an inner strength as the source of their outer political power.

Black people must "see" the situation in which they find themselves.

They must critically examine the situation in which they find themselves.

They must educate themselves for liberation.

Liberation

Even limited situations can be used as exits to freedom.

Over the years this basic philosophy has been articulated again and again by young people.

Black consciousness is a man's mature reflection on his past and a sober contemplation of his future.

It is the black man's political rediscovery of himself.

To him the white man has failed and white over black is neither normal, inevitable nor a condition for the future.

Black consciousness became education for liberation.

To some people, the black man could think and his thinking could be controlled.

He could be programmed for loyalty.

In the eyes and thinking of the youth all this has changed.

That is why it is not logical to whites that older blacks in education, in social life and even in politics are unable to be identified as leaders.

And where did it all start?

It began with separate development.

Germ

Separate development contains a dangerous germ. It has created a political consciousness and that consciousness must be satisfied.

We have always warned that separate development would backfire one day.

Integration is the answer. It is as simple as that.

It is the bringing together of all leaders of the whole South African nation that will bring peace to this country.

As long as whites believe in separation the polarisation will produce greater and greater gulfs between black and white.

Remember that options always become fewer and fewer.

We need not build a new South Africa over the dead bodies of fellow South Africans.
Where I stand...

By Bishop Tutu

I COME before you as a Christian leader of millions of South Africans, both Black and White. It just so happens that I am myself Black, but the most important thing about me is that I am a Christian leader in South Africa at a critical period in its history. Some will be surprised that I stress that I am a Christian leader since they believe I am really a politician trying hard to be a bishop... I come before you as a South African who has a deep and passionate love for our beloved motherland! I give second place to nobody in my loyalty to South Africa. Except that I am a coward, I would say that I am ready to give everything, including my life, for the sake of this land which I love (not, of course, one that is being balkanised into unmanageable blocks to satisfy some mad racist ideology).

As a Christian leader of the Church of Jesus Christ, I have been given the ministry of reconciliation to work for peace wherever there is strife, to bring light where there is darkness, to spread joy where there is sadness and to give hope where there is despair.

Our land is one that is torn apart by animosity and bitterness, suspicion and indeed hatred. We must not, however, be surprised that this is the case since apartheid was intended to produce precisely this result. If people do not meet and get to know each other as just ordinary human beings who are concerned about the progress of their children at school, who laugh when they are tickled, who are concerned about the high cost of living etc then we have no right to be surprised that we have such a fragmented society.

I have seen far too much in my day. I have seen the devastation of civil war in Nigeria, I was in Jerusalem a few days before the outbreak of the Six-Day War, I have been appalled by the ravages of civil strife in Belfast and I know at first hand what happened in Amin’s Uganda because his dreaded security police detained me for a while.

So I have tuned my energies to averting the bloodbath in our land. That is why I have striven to warn and to work for fundamental changes by reasonably peaceful means. I ask God to give me words that will awaken my White fellow South Africans to the crucial decision that they must make.

The real solution to our crisis is political powersharing in an undivided South Africa when we will ultimately have a Black Prime Minister, possibly Nelson Mandela. That sort of change is inevitable.

The crucial decision my White fellow South Africans must make is whether that change should happen peacefully or violently. That is their choice. Please God, let us decide responsibly and like statesmen.

Change can’t come overnight, but we can buy considerable time if we could be given certain commitments which I believe are possible without anybody having to commit political suicide.

The Government must tell us that they are committed to a common South African citizenship for Black and White in an undivided South Africa.

The pace laws must be abolished — this can be phased so that we don’t have the chaos that could arise from a sudden scrapping of influx control. This would change our highly charged atmosphere quite remarkably.

The Government must undertake to establish one educational system for all South Africans, Black and White.

It must put an immediate stop to all population removals. I just cannot take it that our people (Indians, Coloured and African) are moved arbitrarily from pillar to post and dumped heartlessly in resettlement camps as if they were not human beings. That I find quite unforgivably diabolical and I have appealed to the Government, and continue to do so, to end this inhuman policy.

If the Government is intent on Balkanising South Africa and depriving Blacks of their South African citizenship we won’t have any peaceful solution. And it is this that we want to avert when we appeal to the international community to apply political, economic and diplomatic pressure to get us to the conference table,

There is hope that we will have a new South Africa — a more just South Africa, a non-racial South Africa where you will count because you are a human being. God be praised for that possibility — which is just round the corner.

Nkosi sikelel’Afrika (God bless Africa)

Moses Okafor sechaba sa hoso
(Lord save our land and our people).
SIR — Allow me to answer Mr J S Maphalala, a member of the Central Committee of Inkatha, who in his letter to SUNDAY POST, May 18, said Inkatha is the strongest organisation in South Africa. It is not true.

Mr Maphalala attacked Samkelo Kumalo for confusing Chief Gatsha Buthelezi with Lemnox Sebe and Lucas Mangope. According to him, Chief Buthelezi is better than the other homeland leaders because he did not hide behind foreign flags and exude venom to spur at other blacks who face the violence of every day. That is what he thinks.

Right Mr Maphalala, your chief did not escape because he is a homeland leader. The homeland is a government-created institution which means he is doing his master's job. Bosses normally do not victimise honest workers. The chief takes instructions from the government. Despite the noises you and Inkatha are making. The condemnation of the exploitation of blacks by whites is said by him in full awareness that the South African Nationalist is protecting him.

Talking about states, perhaps you mean mini-states within a state like Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Venda. You have never seen a state within a state unless you do not know what you are talking about. If Gatsha wants to win the honest support of real blacks, he should resign from his government-created post. He says anything without fear of failure and still enjoys the freedom of movement.

Where is Curtis Nkondi?
He talks openly like the Zulu leader, but cannot be allowed to be free. His speeches have put him into jail more than once, since he has no government ties. Mr Maphalala should stop trying to push the Zulu Broderbund down our throats. Inkatha is a government front like Bishop Muzorewa's UANC organisation. What happened to the Bishop in Rhodesia will certainly befall some puppet leaders right in Azania.

Pity that South Africa is always betting the wrong horse. Let the Curtis Nkondis, Gevan Mbehles, Nelson Mandela be released and all exiled blacks allowed back into the country. You will be shocked to learn that you followed the South African Muzorewas. Why
‘Secret’ meeting on Biko doctors

By WILLIAM SAUNDERSON-MEYER
Preatoria Bureau

THE South African Medical and Dental Council meets today to discuss a committee finding that the Biko doctors should not have to face a disciplinary inquiry.

The council, a public body, still refuses to say where the meeting is to be held, or even confirm that it is being held.

But a member of the council, who cannot be named, has revealed that it will be held at the new Johannesburg Hospital at 9.30am.

The meeting was called at the request of council members who were concerned about the finding of the committee which made the preliminary investigation into the actions of the three doctors who attended Steve Biko before his death in detention.

The committee decided that the three doctors, Dr J W Lang, Dr B Tucker and Dr C Hersh need not face a council disciplinary committee on whether they were guilty of improper or unprofessional conduct. Any such decision must be ratified by the full council.

In terms of the constitution of the council, all meetings are open to the public, but it is believed that a move will be made to have a closed meeting.

A member of the council, who cannot be named, said that such a move was sure to be hotly contested.

"The SA medical profession cannot afford the growing suspicion overseas that the council is engaged in a cover-up," he said.
A witness in the trial of three former high school pupils charged under the Terrorism Act told the Kempton Park Regional Court yesterday how her parents had saved her from being sent for military training by the African National Congress.

The witness, Miss Joyce Marole, told the court she was already in Botswana when her parents came from Mafeking to fetch her.

Miss Marole was giving evidence before Mr. Gert Steyn in the trial of Miss Thandi Modise, 20, of Kimberley; Mr. Moses Mkose, 24, and Mr. Aaron Mopale, 21, of Soweto.

Miss Modise faces three counts under the Terrorism Act, one under the Sabotage Act and another of attempted arson or malicious damage to property.

Mr. Mkose and Mr. Mopale face two charges under the Terrorism Act.

All three have pleaded not guilty.

Miss Marole told the court that she and nine other students crossed into Botswana late in 1976 and made their way to Lobatse.

From there they had travelled to Gaborone, Francistown and finally stopped in Bontleng, a village in northern Botswana.

"We met a man who told us that from that moment we were members of the ANC," she said.

"The man told us we would have to choose between taking up scholarships or going for military training..." Miss Marole said she last saw Miss Modise when she boarded a plane bound for London.

The case continues today.
Hundreds of students suspended

THE GOVERNMENT has announced that all coloured students at higher learning institutions who have not yet resumed normal class attendance have been suspended, according to an SABC Television newscast last night.

The government bureaus of suspended students will also not be paid this term.

Saps reports that seven training colleges, six training schools, a technician and a teachers' college are affected by the decision which does not apply to schools.

The Secretary for Coloured Relations, Mr J H T Mills, said that the suspended students could apply for re-admission but they would have to give reasons why they did not attend classes.

The "Mail" Political Staff reports that a top sports administrator and secretary of the Release Mandela Committee in Durban, Mr Paul David, was among five people detained by Security Police yesterday.

A Security Police spokesman confirmed that Mr David and Mr Theo Andrew, a fifth-year engineering student at the University of Durban-Westville, were detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

Mr David, a lawyer, is also chairman of the Natal Council of Sport and an official of both the SA Council on Sport and the SA Soccer Federation.

Two further detentions not confirmed by police were Martin Gallow of Worcester and Sylvia Swartz of Menemen. They were detained by Security Police.

An Athlone attorney, Mr Hashard Khan, who represented several people arrested in connection with the recent unrest, was also detained.

The latest detentions bring to more than 900 the number of people believed to have been detained since the boycott began.

In Bebeville, 41 children appeared in the magistrate's court charged with public violence, alternatively attending an unlawful gathering under the Riots Assembly Act, alternatively malicious damage to property.

Their appearance was set to this week in Benwell South on Monday. One accused was released and the case against the rest were postponed to next Monday. Half of R100 each was allowed.

In the Vaal Triangle, 300 black pupils decided at a meeting in Evaton to join the boycott in protest against "Bantu Education".

Coloured schools in Johannesburg reported yesterday that attendances had plummeted - the very week when many of the pupils should have started their exams.

Meanwhile, the Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) appealed to black organisations, students, parents and workers to attend a June 16 commemoration service at Regina Mundi in Soweto on Monday.

The Minister of Police, Mr Lundy in Gcuge, said police would not hesitate to act against intimidators who tried to stir up unrest on the June 16 anniversary of the outbreak of the Soweto violence.

Asked what his response would be, the Minister said: "As far as I am concerned, we have had enough."

More than 1,000 University of the South students turned up on campus for the mid-year exams yesterday, university authorities said.
For this budget, I have a number of influences.

Booth

Bomb (Life)
Final say on Biko doctors

By WILLIAM ANDERSON-MEYER

A SPECIAL meeting of the Medical and Dental Council yesterday confirmed that the three district surgeons who treated Mr Steve Biko before his death in detention would not face disciplinary action.

At a closed meeting in Johannesburg the council voted 18-9 to accept a committee of preliminary investigation's decision taken earlier this year. The committee had decided there was no evidence that the three fort Elizabeth district surgeons — Drs Ivor Lang, Benjamin Tucker and Collin Hersch — were guilty of improper or disgraceful conduct in their treatment of Mr Biko.

The Dean of the University of Cape Town's medical faculty, Professor D McKenzie, did not vote. The council's president, Professor H W Snyman, said this was "because he had to leave early to catch his plane home".

Dr L Blum of Johannesburg also left early without voting. There was one unknown abstention.

It is believed that the debate was heated and bitter. Instead of finishing in a few hours as originally planned, the meeting lasted until after 6pm.

The motion calling for the doctors to face disciplinary action was proposed by Drs I Shapiro and R W Charlton, both of Johannesburg.

Prof Snyman said the matter was thoroughly debated and was now closed.

Mrs Helen Suzman, MP for Houghton, said it was a "most unbelievable decision" in view of the evidence produced at the request.

"It reflects very badly on the council and the medical profession as a whole in South Africa," she said.

"And since these three doctors were heavily involved in the matter, the decision is all the more extraordinary." "I express my utter astonishment at the decision and would not be surprised if medical professions abroad react very negatively to it."

Mr Eugene Rolofse, the South African Council of Churches ombudsman who formally complained to the council about the doctors, said the decision would echo throughout the world.

"It is an incredible decision even for a country noted for its incredibility," he said.

"If this is the way the conduct of the medical profession in South Africa will be in the future, then the sooner the public starts showing confidence in magistrates, herbapists, and minstrels, the better. At least none of there has, to the best of my knowledge, been involved in a Biko-type affair."

Professor I Gordon, one of the medical assessors at the original inquest, recused himself from yesterday's council proceedings. When approached in Durban he declined to comment.
Court told of ANC contact

Staff Reporter

NINE high school students from Mafeking cut their way through the security fence on the border between South Africa and Botswana in November, 1976, and walked to a village near Gaborone to make contact with the African National Congress.

This was said by a witness in a Terrorism Act trial yesterday.

Miss Dipay Mosiaapa, 23, of Mafeking, told Mr Gert Steyn, in the Kempton Park Regional Court that their ANC contact at the village, Bontleng, Mr Keith Mooyago, was mainly interested in those who wanted to go for military training.

"Keith told us: 'Those interested in military training should raise their hands.' I told him I didn't want to be trained and asked him instead to telephone my mother in Mafeking, which he promised to do.

"Later, my mother telephoned Francistown police station and they passed on her message to Keith. I had been in Botswana for more than two weeks when my mother came and took me home," Miss Mosiaapa said.

She was giving evidence in the trial of three former high school pupils, Miss Thandi Modise, 20, of Kimberley, Mr Mososi Nkos, 24, and Mr Aaron Magale, 21, both of Soweto.

Miss Modise faces three charges under the Terrorism Act, or alternatively of attempted arson or malicious damage to property.

Mr Nkos and Mr Magale also face a charge under the Terrorism Act, or alternatively that they helped and harboured a terrorist.

They have all pleaded not guilty to the charges.

The case continues today.
Chief warns blacks on divisive tactics

Mercury Reporter
ULUNDI—Only one out of 300 chiefs present at a one-day conference yesterday had ever met Nelson Mandela.
This was the result of a survey taken by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, at a conference of KwaZulu chiefs.
The chief who had met Mandela said he had also met Mr Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress.
Chief Buthelezi said that certain black people had been conducting a divisive campaign in the name of the ANC.

Mandela song’s ‘hurt me deeply’, says Buthelezi

‘We all want liberation and we may use different methods.
‘But these actions, which are being carried out by certain black people, who claim to do them in the name of the ANC, are disturbing.’
They were being used to build up names of certain ANC leaders at his expense.
He pointed out that songs were being taught, even at Indian schools in Chatsworth, with the words: ‘They took away Mandela and gave us Gatsha.’
The Chief Minister said this hurt him very deeply because Mandela was behind bars and he did not believe Mandela would approve of this kind of divisive mischief.
‘I feel certain that, except for those of you who read newspapers, you do not even know who Mandela is.
‘I know him from our days together in the ANC.’

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Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University.
SA funeral for ANC man

MBABANE—The South African Government has agreed to allow relatives of the ANC official killed in the recent Manzini bomb explosion to bring his remains home to SA, according to sources in Swaziland.

The man, whose name has not been released by the Swazi police or the ANC “for security reasons,” and a seven-year-old child died when the bomb tore a house apart on June 4.
QUEENSTOWN — Tributes were paid to an ex-Robbens Island prisoner and sportsman whose funeral at Ilinge was attended by more than 1,500 people.

Mr Philemon M. Khunye, 47, a salesman, collapsed and died while on duty.

Mr Khunye was deported to Ilinge in 1970 after six years on Robben Island.

He had been president of Ilinge Lawn Tennis Club, and chairman of Mimosa Football Club, and was former member of Red Lions FC Club, of Ilinge. He was also vice-chairman of Philget Mzazi Junior Secondary School from 1977 to 1978.

Mr S. Nyangeza, principal of Philget School, described Mr Khunye as a man of vision. He contributed, with untiring stamina, to the progress of the school.

Mr C. Sotondoshe, secretary of Ilinge Tennis Club, and a former Robben Island inmate with Mr Khunye, was one of the speakers who spoke highly of Mr Khunye's involvement in the struggle in South Africa.

Mr J. Maqungu, a former inmate, and a close friend of Mr Khunye described Mr Khunye's life in Port Elizabeth and went on to describe the hardships Mr Khunye underwent.

"How could he not suffer a nervous breakdown after all this?" he asked.

Mr Maqungu criticised the shortage of medical practitioners and the delay in transporting patients from Sada to hospital in Queenstown.

He criticised apartheid and the formation of a president's council without blacks.

Mr Khunye formed a music choir in the early sixties to raise funds for his organisation, the banned ANC.

Rev Mtumkulu, a minister from Cape Town, described Mr Khunye's role in church — the Ethiopian Church of South Africa. His death was a grave loss to the church.

The funeral was conducted by Bishop Mazibuko (Colesberg) assisted by Deacon Mjuzi (Colesberg), Rev Mtumkulu (Cape Town), Rev R. Tys (Uitenhage), Rev R. Lungu (Queenstown), Rev Nitshanyana (Mdantsane), Rev Stuurman (Agnes) and Rev Duma (Port Elizabeth).

Mr G.M. Baliso, township superintendent, Ilinge, and Sister N. Mangu and Mr Mangu were among those who attended the funeral.

Mr Khunye is survived by his wife, Nomzi, and two children.
Sharpeners

The Debate

Am 30/6 '80

Inkatha:

Chief Buthelezi

ECWA, summer annual 1980
Banning stops Azapo indaba

By MOETI MOLELEKOA

A JUNE 16 commemorative meeting scheduled for Welkom this Sunday has been banned, according to Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) local chairman, Mr Welile Soga.

Mr Soga was yesterday given a proclamation banning the service by the local police. The service has been organised by Azapo.

Meanwhile the Lynnville meeting of students from Turfloop, Ngoxe and Fort Hare universities will be held on Sunday. The meeting will be attended by students from Dennilton, Middelburg and nearby towns, a spokesman said yesterday.

The Lynnville, Witbank, meeting will also commemorate June 16.

The Welkom meeting was supposed to be the second commemorative meeting in the Orange Free State.

The speakers were to be Mr Ratha Mokgoatlheng, a member of the Black Lawyers' Association, Mr George Wauchope, publicity secretary of Azapo, the Rev Sam Buti, president of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), and Mr Sydney April, local chairman of the South African Black Social Workers' Association.

The ban on this meeting is the latest after the mass ban last week of all June 16 services in major centres.
BLACK UNREST

Protest moves into streets

Finally ousted from all forms of participation in the SA decision-making process, coloureds this week took their protest into the streets and on to the shopfronts.

Much of the violence that resulted in deaths this week was anarchic, for it was born of political frustration. Not even the ineffectual Coloured Representative Council was there to give the coloured people some sort of political expression, let alone the promised all-nominated Coloured Persons Council that has apparently been abandoned. And the President's Council could give them little hope for the future.

So, given June 16 as an emotional spur, they went on the rampage in an orgy of looting and arson, directed as much against suspected or known labour "scabs" and shopkeepers as at police, railway stations and passenger buses.

It reflected the actions of a community running out of control — even though the initial children's protest had elicited a commitment from government not only to redress existing education grievances but also a possible longer-term policy switch (after the customary government inquiry) which may even result in a uniform education policy (in separate institutions).

The intensity of coloured reaction in Cape Town was in contrast with other major urban centres, including Soweto. The reason probably lay at a different level of despair.

In the aftermath of 1976, government ditched the more unattractive symbols of policy that had caused the Soweto unrest: Bantu Education, MC Botha, Manie Mulder. Government also planted some hope in the midst of the people of Soweto that the quality of life would improve as a result of the reforms that will flow from the efforts of Louis Rive and his Greater Soweto Planning Council.

Political vacuum

But, for the coloured and black communities of the Cape Flats, even such scant hopes of improvement in their social and physical environment do not exist. The former are in a political vacuum that can be filled by nothing less than full citizenship. Vicarious participation in the political system through a convoluted President's Council is, to them, an insult.

Peninsula Africans have to live with the insult that even their labour is inferior — official policy dictates that they should stand at the back of every job queue, behind whites and coloureds, regardless of skill or education.

Another explanation for Soweto's relative silence is a lack of leadership and practical organisation as well as the continued sniping between various black groupings. It seems, too, that an important rethink is under way in some circles that entails a rejection of street skirmishes as an ineffective form of tokenism. What alternatives present themselves in terms of this militant thinking remain unclear.

The coloured protest goes beyond the streets. In Cape Town some 800 coloured and black workers have united in an attempt to force the meat industry to accept the legitimacy of worker-elected committees. And a bus boycott has been dragging on for some weeks.

This illustrates that together with the demand for the deracialisation of South African society is a demand for a more equitable order. The FM was repeatedly told in contacts with people close to the Cape unrest: "The real battle is economic."

The bus and red-meat boycotts bear indirect testimony to this economic emphasis. Clearly, the black community of the Cape knows its economic power — as the 90% to 80% stay-away on Monday and Tuesday amply illustrated. The FM understands some 40 civic bodies and action committees are co-ordinating the bus boycott.

The economic emphasis reflected in the Cape extends north beyond the Hex River Mountains. Volkswagen workers downed tools this week. The Natal textile workers strike at one point had all the appearances of a repetition of the 1973 Durban strikes. And no labour observer would be so rash as to predict anything but an increase in black labour action.

Generally, the extent of militant black opposition to government is increasing. Divisions between radical black groups continue to militate against any real unity of purpose or action. But there are both internal and external factors that can be expected to lead to a form of unity, either

Confrontation between police and blacks... a community running out of control.
Eight Lenasia pupils still held by police.

Staff Reporter

THE Police Directorate of Public Relations has announced that eight Lenasia school pupils are still being detained, after saying the previous day that they had been released.

On Wednesday, the directorate informed the "Mail" that 13 people had been released, including eight pupils from Lenasia. The next day, however, the "Mail" was told that the eight were still being detained.

They are Kenny Padayachee, Sharon Pillay, Ashwin Moyeni, Nazir Omar, Frued Abrahams, Yusuf Jada, Zumaid Mohamed and Rajesh Cheebur.

The five others who have been released include three officials of the Bloemfontein branch of the Azanian People's Organisation — Mr Tex Sejama-

mane, Mr Mathatha Letsabo and Mr Zacharia Sekoere.

Daniel Senokwane and Gabi Mapato have also been released.

Others still in detention, according to the directorate, are Mr Sidwell Malakala, Mr Nthus-

metsa Mogesi and Mr Caswell Tsela.

Apart from more than 1,000 pupils arrested and subsequently released in Johannesburg, more than 300 people are believed to have been detained throughout the country under security laws since the start of the schools' boycott in April.

Police have not been able to furnish official figures.

Among those still believed to be in detention are Azapo leader, executive members of the Natal Indian Congress and two senior Labour Party members, Mr Miley Richards and Mr Mo-

hammed Danigor.
Weekend Argus
Correspondent

ULUNDI — Inkatha president Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has called for the establishment of training camps in which impis will be trained to keep order among blacks.

Delivering his presidential address to the sixth annual conference of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi said Inkatha would not tolerate continued boycotts or the destruction of schools.

He also said that if there was continued disorder at the University of Zululand, he would have the university closed and a new one established in which there would be order.

Chief Buthelezi reiterated that Inkatha was totally dedicated to orderly politics and that it was committed to eradicate disorder in black politics wherever it is found.

We need to be able to control riots. We need to be able to conduct meetings in the midst of chaos which other people try to create.

We must tone up our muscles so that the dove of peace sits easily on the spear,” said Chief Buthelezi.

I think we need to create well-disciplined and regimented impis in every Inkatha region, which can be called out for the protection of that which is so sacred to Inkatha and black South Africa.

Examiners’ Examiners’
Initials Initials

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Any dishonesty will render the candidate liable to disqualification and to possible exclusion from the University.
ULUNDI — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has suggested the appointment of a steering committee to explore in depth how the PFP and Inkatha can co-operate.

This was announced at the opening of Inkatha's national council's meeting yesterday by the president of the movement, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

Giving details for the first time of Dr Slabbert's reply to his aide memoire, presented when the two leaders met earlier this year, Chief Buthelezi said it had been suggested that the steering committee should consist of three people from each side.

Chief Buthelezi said he had been encouraged by meetings which Inkatha had held with white political parties.

Dr Slabbert said last night that he was awaiting Inkatha's decision on the proposal to see whether it was viable.

• The vice-president of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Stellenbosch, Mr Frans Roetof, yesterday presented Chief Buthelezi with the university's coat-of-arms. He said it was the first time that the coat-of-arms had been presented to a black man in South Africa.

The secretary-general of Inkatha, Mr Oscar Dhlomo, pointed out that the invitation by Inkatha to the two Stellenbosch students had resulted in criticism from some liberal quarters that the movement was "fraternizing with the Afrikanders".

"We are capable of looking after ourselves politically," he said.

"That is why we do not make any apologies for talking to everybody prepared to talk to us."
INKATHA President, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has called for the establishment of training camps in which impis will be trained to keep order in black society.

Delivering his presidential address to the sixth annual conference of Inkatha this week, Chief Buthelezi made it absolutely clear Inkatha would not tolerate continued boycotts or the destruction of schools.

He also issued a serious warning that if there was continued disorder on the campus of the University of Zululand he would see that the university was closed down and a new one established in which there would be order.

"I think it is time for Inkatha to establish training camps where branches and regions are schooled in the employment of anger in an orderly fashion."

"We need to be able to control riots. We need to be able to conduct meetings in the midst of chaos which other people try to create. We need to tone up our muscles so that the dove of peace sits easily on the spear.

"I think we need to create well disciplined and regimented impis in every Inkatha region which can be called out for the protection of that which is so sacred to Inkatha and black South Africa," he said.

He admitted frankly that Inkatha had failed in its responsibilities because it had been unable to contain school boycotts and un disciplined student behaviour.
Why do protestors turn to violence?

JOE LATAKGOMO looks at the historical patterns in black opposition to the South African Government.

SOUTH AFRICA went up in flames again this week — resulting in the death of at least 40 people and the injury of hundreds of others. It did not happen in Soweto, flashpoint of the 1976 uprising, but this was not totally unexpected.

Why did unrest suddenly increase in the Cape after months of protest against inferior education? Why did what was thought to be peaceful demonstrations suddenly turn into a violent nightmare?

The exact number of people who lost their lives may never be known. The Commissioner of Police Gen Mike Geldenhuys said the figures reported in the media this week were misleading and the exact toll — the police should know better, he said — was 30.

The background to events like this must also be seen against previous events. There is a definite link — all of them were planned as non-violent, but turned into bloodshed.

The whole focus on June 16 was on Soweto. Here, it was believed, that there would be trouble. The Minister of Police warned action would be taken in the event of unrest.

The cops move in — and violence flares.

Bishop of Johannesburg, died, and at least 200 Bishop Ambrose Reeves were wounded.

The general student body.

The Government, of course, had been cautious throughout, and a series of “security” laws had been introduced over the years since Sharpeville — and was implemented.

Then came June 1976, again planned as a peaceful march to Orlando Stadium, where a mass protest meeting was to be held to discuss the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

The police intercepted the marching students — and when the first shots were fired, it marked the beginning of another event of bloodshed and chaos.

Then this week, it happened all over again, memorial services to
However, the peace demonstration as a peaceful demonstration of the hatred of the pass laws, people like Chief Albert Luthuli opposed such steps as they believed they were too hasty and rash.

However, the spirit of militancy had taken root. Neither the ANC nor the PAC could provide evidence of success achieved through any other form of action. Those who believed there was still room for negotiation were relegated to the back seat, just like those still hoping for peaceful negotiation now are considered weak.

PLANNING

In planning the campaign for the PAC, it was believed that if the legal machinery of the Government can be thrown into chaos, by people handing themselves over because they had no passes, the Government might be forced to take action or resign.

There would also be a "stayaway". On March 21, the PAC mustered 15,000 people in Sharpeville and another 6,000 at Langa and Nyanga. It is history now that everything was peaceful until the police opened fire — and finally 70 people were killed and the police were out in full force to act against those who defied the ban.

SHOOT

Not only that — the Commissioner of Police told his men to "shoot to kill". This statement, plus the ban on June 16 services, were seen as provocative, rather than preventive.

Although the police have said most of those shot to death were looters and arsonists, it is significant to note that the violence only escalated after the first shootings.

Unfortunately, the "shoot to kill" remark will not help bring the situation to normal — despite an assurance by the Minister of Police that the statement was withdrawn soon after the Director of Information had issued it.

The fact is, some policemen may have taken the remark at face value, and carried out the order to the letter. We will never be able to establish that. However, we know the result: thirty — or 40 or 60, whatever the figure may be — have lost their lives.
Move to unseat Howa after he obeyed ban

By POENIE DU PREEZ

MR HASSAN Howa appears to be in danger of losing his leadership of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos) because he complied with a Government ban on public meetings in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Howa refused, last Sunday morning, to open a meeting of Sacos, of which he is president.

However, later in the day, the organisation's vice-president, Mr Frank van der Horst, convened a meeting which lasted two hours.

There have been rumours from certain quarters, that Mr Howa may be unseated because, after his stand in Port Elizabeth, he is regarded as "too soft" for the position.

Mr Howa, who flew home immediately after refusing to open the meeting, admitted that there was a wave of opposition to him.

The next Sacos meeting is scheduled for October, but it is expected that another meeting will be convened before that. Mr Howa said: "I realise that because of my action in Port Elizabeth, there is opposition to my post. This must be expected, as many people get the impression that it is a prestige job.

"I have never been, and never will be, interested in prestige posts. My only concern is in getting a fair deal for all people concerned."

"I have heard that a meeting may be called sooner. But, at the moment, I have no intentions of attending such a meeting."
Summit postponed

SUNDAY POST Reporter

THE convention of black consciousness and welfare organisations scheduled for next month has been indefinitely postponed by the organisers, who need more time to prepare.

The postponement was disclosed this week by Mr Benjamin Ntso, executive member of the South African Black Social Workers Association (SABSWA), who are organising the convention.
Blacks' race bar may be dropped

By MARION SPARG

BLACK Consciousness — the movement that spurns whites — is having second thoughts.

There is a growing belief among some Black Consciousness proponents that their philosophy needs to "make whites feel welcome again".

For more than a decade the Black Consciousness message has been:

"Black man you are on your own."

Now the message appears to be that Black Consciousness has done its work and blacks need to redefine their political strategy.

Handicap

One of those who shares this view is Mr Fanyana Mazibuko, the former secretary of the banned Black People's Convention who says Black Consciousness movements need to abandon their "neurotic exclusiveness".

Mr Mazibuko, chairman of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee and assistant-director of the South African College for Higher Education (Sached) told the Sunday Times this week:

"I am arrogant enough to say I want to make whites feel welcome again."

He said although there were some areas in which blacks still needed to act on their own, Black Consciousness as a separatist movement was hindering "united nonracial progressive action".

He declined to name the areas in which blacks needed to work on their own.

"Black Consciousness has reached such a level that it no longer needs exclusivism as a crutch."

"We needed it in the 70s but Black Consciousness is now a state of mind that is self-sufficient."

Dr Alan Boesak, whose doctoral thesis in 1976 on black theology and black power, "Farewell to Innocence", has been hailed as a major contribution to the theory of Black Consciousness, shares Mr Mazibuko's feelings to some extent.

Dr Boesak said it was true that Black Consciousness no longer needed racial exclusivism.

"However, he said the exclusiveness was "never really a main strength" of the philosophy.

"Black Consciousness is no longer exclusive in the sense that it will exclude whites simply because they are white."

"We are slowly moving out of the philosophy of the 70s and no longer have to exclude whites simply because they are white."

"What we look for now is real commitment and this is the criterion on which whites will be accepted by blacks — real commitment to freedom and a new South Africa." Dr Boesak said.

"But we don't want whites who pretend to know what blackness is.

"The whites we want are those who say they know what it means to be white today."

"With such whites we can come to a real understanding of the situation," Dr Boesak added.

"Although I have some difficulties with movements like Amafo which excluded whites on the basis of the colour of their skin it is wrong to accuse them of reverse racism when the law prevents blacks and whites from forming multi-racial political organisations."

Race struggle

Another who shares Mr Mazibuko's view is Mr Sam Meloge, a member of the banned, Soweto Students' Representative Council at the time of its banning in 1977, who said:

"We have done away with Black Consciousness. We no longer need the philosophy."

"Black Consciousness is now a state of mind that is self-sufficient and is not how we see it."

"We want the equal distribution of land and wealth irrespective of race."

"I cannot see organisations like the Azanian Students' Organisation inviting whites to join them yet, but what I can envisage is some kind of coordinating body where black and white radicals can meet and discuss common problems," he said.

One of the last remaining Black Consciousness organisations in South Africa is the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (Azapo).

The Sunday Times obtained Azapo documents this week which showed that Black Consciousness for them is "an ideology for national liberation" and that "by its nature the national liberation struggle excludes whites from active participation in the black liberation struggle".

"The documents describe multi-racial organisations as "nothing but a sterile exercise in healthy human relations across racial lines."

The organisation asserts:

"While in the Black Consciousness movement we envisage an open egalitarian society where colour or skin pigmentation has no part, we also acknowledge that there is a pre-liberation era and a post-liberation era, and that the act of achieving liberation will not be the same as those required to reconstruct the new society."

"We acknowledge integration but we also believe that it belongs to the post-liberation era."

Dr Ntsoana Molitana, chairperson of the Committee of Ten and founder member of the banned Black Community Programme, also takes a broader view of Black Consciousness.

He said it was "a philosophical elaboration of African nationalism and thus tended to be exclusive in nature."

Danger

"I would caution against a move to consolidate on the possible danger of black exclusiveness, when this exclusiveness has been in response to white racism, "

"While those factors which gave rise to it still remain, like white racism, black exclusiveness must remain."

"I am not sure the time for a multiracial approach has arrived yet."

"Although our eventual aim should be to live together, whites have not yet felt black pressure and only this pressure will send us all to the negotiating table," Dr Molitana said.

"The Writers' Association of South Africa, WASA, the journal's organisation that says whites on the grounds of race, is also reviewing its policy."

"FANYANA MAZIBUKO... make whites welcome again"
It was such a beautiful noise...

Prime Minister Botha gave millions of South Africans hope for a peaceful future with his promises of change.

Today Inkhata Secretary-General Oscar Dhlomo gives his view.

SUNDAY TRIBUNE, JUNE 22, 1980

TRIBUNE SUN 6/22/80
Blackmail bid to spy on ANC

Tribune Bureau

LONDON: South African spy Craig Williamson tried to blackmail the director of the International University Exchange Fund in an effort to infiltrate the banned African National Congress, alleges a report from an independent inquiry.

The report is the conclusion of an inquiry established by the IUEF into the espionage activities of Mr. Williamson, former deputy director of the fund.

The IUEF's governing board and assembly have been discussing the 30-page report since Friday.

The Observer newspaper states today that the report says: "The events surrounding the exposure of Williamson can only be understood if it is recognised that the South Africans must have thought they had something to go on when they alleged they endeavoured to blackmail the director of the IUEF by threatening to expose mismanagement and irregularities in his running of the IUEF."

The inquiry was told by the IUEF director, who resigned this month, that Mr. Williamson and his boss, Brigadier Johan Coetsee, head of the Security Police, made threats at a meeting in Zurich last January when Mr. Williamson revealed his identity to the director, Mr. Lars-Gunnar Eriksson.

The threats were against Mr. Eriksson's family and against the IUEF. A close colleague who saw him immediately after the Zurich meeting was certain that attempts were being made to blackmail Mr. Eriksson.

The report suggests that Mr. Williamson and Brigadier Coetsee tried to force Mr. Eriksson not to unmask Mr. Williamson, who was the target of growing suspicion among groups and individuals the IUEF worked within Southern Africa.

This was because Mr. Williamson's undercover mission of several years was close to bearing fruit. The report also describes mismanagement and incompetence discovered inside the IUEF that gave the South African intelligence officers their leverage.

"There were also specific irregularities which they must have believed that Eriksson would go to almost any lengths to cover up," it says.

Mr. Williamson knew about misuse of a secret dummy company, Southern Futures Anstalt, which had been set up to channel secret funds to opposition groups in South Africa.

A London accountant recently made criticism — reported here last week — of the way SPA money was handled and the inquiry agreed with him.

The inquiry report recommends an overhaul of the IUEF's financial administration.

Mr. Williamson wanted to keep his job, says the Observer article, because he may have thought that he was on the verge of deeply infiltrating the ANC. The inquiry was told by another South African, former intelligence officer Arthur McGoven, that Mr. Williamson had been planning since 1975 to use a job with the IUEF as a route to penetrating the ANC.

The inquiry report also details the large amount of information Mr. Williamson would have gathered about other black movements in Southern Africa, including the Black Consciousness movement once led by Steve Biko.

It mentions the possibility of a connection between Steve Biko's receiving funds from the IUEF and his detention.

The IUEF did not appear to have made any effort after Biko's death to ascertain if there was any connection between his funding by, and association with, the IUEF and his detention and death.
ANC leader’s dad dies at home in Orlando

By DERRICK LUTHAYI

Mr Trowbridge Nokwe, father of the late general-secretary of the banned African National Congress, Mr Duma Nokwe, died at his home on Friday morning.

Mr Nokwe (74) was a pensioner but continued with his shoe repair business from his Orlando West home.

According to his wife, Mrs Emily Nokwe, he was suffering from sugar diabetes and this week he complained of flu and died at his home on Friday morning.

His son went into exile after the banning of the ANC in 1960 and died in Lusaka in 1978. He travelled extensively abroad for ANC engagements and while working for the International Commission of Enquiry into the Crimes of Apartheid.

He was in the ANC hierarchy together with imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. In 1956 he was among 150 ANC members charged with high treason and was acquitted after a marathon four year trial.

Mr Nokwe will be buried on Saturday at the Avalon Cemetery.

Meanwhile, one of Soweto’s oldest residents, Mr William Malewa (95) who died at his Orlando East home this week will be buried today.

Mr Malewa is the father of Mr Joseph Malewa, who died in a car accident in 1978 while on his way to Mafeking to attend his trial in which he was charged under security legislation.
Inkatha's misreadings

They misread the situation as a clear instruction to accept the new leaders as elected in the national council. They claim to accept on their own.

This belief is erroneous. The homestead leader is misreading the situation.
Scots ask Mandela to speak

THE Scottish Mineworkers' Union announced this week that it had invited the jailed South African black leader Nelson Mandela to attend the union's next annual conference.

Addressing this year's conference, the SMU president, Mr Mick McGahey, a self-proclaimed communist, said the invitation "represented a challenge to South Africa's racist regime to release Mandela".

Mr McGahey did not disclose how the invitation had been extended to Mandela, the leader of the banned African National Congress.

The SMU leader called on British trade unionists to mount a campaign for Mandela's release.
The document appears to be a page from a newspaper or magazine, discussing various topics including the Black Consciousness Movement, oppression, and a section about the BC movement. The text is dense and appears to be a mixture of news articles and editorial content. The page contains images of a black and white photograph and some text that is partially cut off or difficult to read due to the angle and resolution of the scan.
Generation Reared
Birth of militant

Dr. Alvin Bosack has warned about the generation of militant thinking. His message is urgent, as the labour movement faces a new challenge. His warnings are based on the idea that the young people of today are becoming a generation of militants, driven by a desire for change and a desire to challenge the status quo. His words are a call to action, a call to unity, and a call to prepare for the future. He advocates for a generation that is prepared to stand up for what is right, ready to fight for the rights of the working class, and willing to make the sacrifices necessary to build a better society. His message is clear: the future belongs to the generation that is willing to take action and make changes.
Come off it

Dr Dhlomo!

DR OSCAR DHLOMO, secretary-general of Inkatha, accused this newspaper of an "incessant and venomous" campaign against Inkatha. His beef is that we carry readers letters critical of the movement. He also made the scandalous accusation that he had evidence to prove that some of the letters were from fictitious writers.

Produce it. We have carried letters both critical and in praise of Inkatha. But then, intolerant people like Dr Dhlomo can hardly be expected to appreciate the sanctity of the freedom of speech and expression.

It's a worthy principle if it praises him. And a venomous one when it is critical.
Inkatha hits at POST

THE secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dlomo, has accused POST (Transvaal) and Sunday POST of conducting an incessant and venomous campaign against Inkatha.

Speaking at the sixth annual conference of the movement at Umlundeni, he said it was ironic that while the two newspapers claimed to be black, they were in the forefront of moves to foment disunity.

Dr Dlomo said that the newspapers were sowing the seeds of a black civil war in South Africa.

Dealing with the campaign against Inkatha, he said both newspapers continued to publish highly critical and venomous letters from correspondents attacking Inkatha.

"We are not so naive as to believe that these letters emanate from correspondents," Dr Dlomo said.
Are our women lagging behind in politics?

By BELEDE MAZWAI

The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world is an old adage. Some black South African women believe, however, that it is almost impossible for them to play a significant role in the affairs of their country.

These women say that they are more than willing to fight for freedom alongside their men. They point out that women have played a significant role in the fight for freedom and add that there is plenty of evidence if one looks back at the past three decades. But, just as women get together to do some constructive, peaceful work, they say, organisations still in their embryonic stages, are wiped out by the Government.

Mrs Deborah Mabiletsa, who was president of the now banned Federation of Black Women, said at this point in time it would be very difficult to assess what women are really doing because the South African situation just does not permit that.

"When women start mobilising themselves, the organisation is either banned or women holding leading positions in those organisations are banned or arrested.

"And all these have always been seen as deliberate campaigns of attack on these organisations," she added.

Other women felt that although many realise that they are needed to actively participate in the struggle, some women backed out because they are too dependent on their men. Others were ruled by fear.

One woman pointed out that these women are not to be blamed because the fault stems from the way they were brought up. Nevertheless, she added, these women retarded their own and the liberation's progress.

"Girls are brought up to believe that boys are stronger than them and can do certain things that they cannot do. This situation puts girls in the background," said Veronica Letsabe, member of the Young Women's Christian Association in Alexandra.

Deborah Mabiletsa says women's organisations are stifled by being banned.

But she strongly believes that without the participation of women in the struggle, little will be achieved.

Dumie from Rockville, Soweto, said women need to revive their spirits. "Awareness is there but people need direction. Women are faced with challenges and they have to overcome them no matter who says what."

History shows that a lot has been done by women. 1958 saw the stand by women against the carrying of passes. Jails were filled as 2000 women were arrested. Their spirits, however, were not dampened by arrests.

In 1960 the African National Congress' Women's League, whose president was the late Lillian Ngoyi, and other bodies which were affiliated to the South African Federation of Women were banned. "They can ban our organisations and our leaders - but they can't kill our thirst for freedom," the women said.

From 1962/3 onwards there were continual banning of women elected to federation leadership at both regional and at national level, as was the case with men. 1977 saw the banning of the Federation of Black Women. This organisation was killed before it could fight the laws that make black women minors from the cradle to the grave.

The late Lillian Ngoyi will always be remembered for her role in the struggle against injustice.
Meat boycott endorsed in Transvaal

By STEVEN FRIEDMAN
Labour Reporter

IN a move which could add new impetus to the Cape meat dispute, influential black organisations, including a key traders' association, have endorsed a boycott of red meat in the Transvaal.

However, in most cases boycott plans have not yet been implemented.

The boycott is designed to support striking meat workers in Cape Town, who have called for a nationwide red meat boycott in support of their demands. A boycott is in force in Cape black and coloured areas.

Organisations which confirmed yesterday that they are supporting the boycott are Azapo, Dr Nhlato Motlana's Soweto Civic Association and the Soweto Traders' Association.

Three black trade unions - the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, the Food, Beverage and Allied Workers' Union and the Laundry Workers' Association, have also endorsed the boycott. In addition, pamphlets have been distributed in Lenasia and other black areas calling for a boycott.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr George Wauchope, confirmed yesterday that Azapo had backed the boycott and added: "We have instructed our branches to implement it."

Most other organisations, however, have not yet implemented the boycott.

The chairman of the Soweto Traders' Association, Mr Vela Kraai, confirmed that his organisation had endorsed the boycott, but added: "We don't believe it would be effective unless the Black Housewives League joined it.

"If the League comes in, we will implement a boycott fully," he added.

Mrs Sally Motlana, president of the Black Housewives League said that her organisation had not yet decided to join the boycott but would discuss it at an executive meeting on Sunday.

A traders' boycott of red meat would have a significant effect on meat sales in black areas and substantially escalate the five-week old meat dispute.

Dr Nhlato Motlana confirmed that the Soweto Civic Association was "100% behind the boycott." He added that specific measures to support the Cape meat workers would be put to a meeting of Soweto residents early next month.

Several other organisations have been approached to join the boycott, but have not yet reached a decision. They include the Transvaal Council on Sport, the Black Social Workers Association and the YWCA.

TRACOS's chairman, Mr Reggie Feldman, said his organisation was "sympathetic" to the boycott but had not yet formally decided to join it.

He added: "We definitely support the Cape meat workers."

It is understood that there is substantial support for a boycott in Lenasia but that some residents fear that local butchers would suffer from such a move.
EAST LONDON. — The influence of the late Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader, inspired higher achievement by black students at the University of Natal Medical School, Professor John Reid, said yesterday.

Prof Reid, who is professor of physiology at the university and who is to become vice-principal of the University of Cape Town next year, said he had no doubt that achievement by students, as learners, was linked to their self-confidence and self-esteem.

Speaking at the Ciskeian conference on education, he said he had come to this conclusion after more than 20 years of teaching black and Indian medical students.

"A depressed, non-confident community produces neither good teachers nor good learners. "But a community alive with expectation, and confidence produces exceptional people. It was very apparent to me that the achievement of my African medical students was greatly promoted by the presence among them of a pride and self-confidence stemming from his (Biko's) doctrines.

"Educators, more than others, if they wish to help attain a just and fair dispensation for all, should be part of the movement to give people that right self-esteem and self-confidence which is properly directed," Prof Reid said.

He also said he had learnt another lesson from that and recent episodes. This was that "an educator can never listen sensitively enough to what the students are saying."
Move to reject new council

JOHANNESBURG: -- The controversial proposed President's Council, including its related black Advisory Council, is likely to be rejected by the Urban Councils' Association of South Africa -- the super community council.

This was said yesterday by the chairman of the association, Mr Steve Kgame.

Mr Kgame said acceptance of the Advisory Council would mean endorsement of the remark by the Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Hennek Smit, who caused an uproar a fortnight ago when he said blacks had been excluded from the President's Council because they had slow thought processes.

In Kafifhong, the chairman of the local council, Mr Mzwakhe Khumalo, condemned the government for excluding blacks from the President's Council.

"We are deeply disappointed at our exclusion from the council. There can be no valid reason for the exclusion and we call on the government to think again," Mr Khumalo said.

He said blacks wanted to play "an important part" in determining the future of the country and, like other racial groups, should have been included in the President's Council.

The President's Council and the president's black Advisory Council were recommended by the Schlebusch Commission, which is working out a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa, in its interim report tabled in Parliament earlier this year.
Presence of Steve Biko 'promoted students'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The presence of the late Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader, promoted the achievement of black students at the University of Natal Medical School, Professor John Reid, said yesterday.

Professor Reid, who is Professor of Physiology at the university and who is to become vice-principal of the University of Cape Town next year, said that he had no doubt that achievement by students, as learners, was linked to their self-confidence and self-esteem.

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"A depressed, non-confident community produces neither good teachers nor good learners. But a community alive with expectation and confidence produces exceptional people.

"It was very apparent to me that the achievement of my African medical students was greatly promoted by the presence among them of a pride and self-confidence stemming from his doctrines.

"Educators more than others, if they wish to help attain a just and fair dispensation for all, should be part of the movement to give people that right self-esteem and self-confidence which is properly-based and properly-directed. If it is wrongly-based and involves the loss of self-esteem and self-confidence of others, it must be falling to attain this end." Professor Reid said.

He said he had learnt another lesson from the and recent episodes: That "an educator can never listen sensitively enough to what the students are saying".
More support for Mandela

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The president-elect of the British National Union of Students (NUS) yesterday added his name to a widely-circulating petition for the release of Nelson Mandela, who is in prison on Robben Island.

Mr. David Aaronowitch, who assumes office next week as head of the 1.2 million-strong union, says he will lend his utmost efforts towards the campaign for the release of the black political leader.

Mandela is honorary vice-president of the NUS. Over the years a strong link has grown between the union and the imprisoned leader.

NUS premises at three universities are named after him — at Salford, Bristol and Exeter.
PIETERSBURG. — The president of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), Mr Ephraim Mogale, 23, who is facing a charge under the Terrorism Act, made a brief appearance in the Pietersburg Magistrate's Court yesterday.

Appearing with him was Mr Thabo Makunyane, a third-year student at the University of the North. They were not asked to plead and at the request of the State the case was postponed to August 25.

The Press was barred "for security reasons", court officials said.

The two had first appeared on April 21 before Mr W G M van Zyl.

According to the charge sheet, the two are alleged to have promoted the objects of communism and of the banned African National Congress (ANC) between October 1977 and October 1979.

In 1977 they are alleged to have distributed pamphlets entitled "Being black in South Africa today" and "Declaration of War". They are also alleged to have recruited members for the ANC and to have worked for the formation of youth clubs to promote unrest between 1977 and 1979.

They also allegedly prepared a stencil for the production of pamphlets entitled "Come let us unite and defeat our oppressors" and established an organisation called "Communist Advancement Movement".
Brothers on assault charge

PORT ELIZABETH. — A prominent leader of the former Black Consciousness Movement, Mr Moki Ceikisani, 35, appeared briefly in the magistrate’s court here yesterday with his two younger brothers, Mr Gogogo Ceikisani, 29, and Mr P. Ceikisani.

The three are alleged to have assaulted a member of the police force on May 24.

No evidence was led and the magistrate, Mr N. W. Bester, postponed the case to July 22.

 Bail of R50 each was allowed to stand.

In another case, the court heard how police who boarded a train at Cookhouse junction and searched the luggage of passengers, allegedly found in the suitcase of Mr Griffiths Sitole, 22, publications of the banned ANC and a Nuss pamphlet.

The case was postponed. — DDR.
Prof: black youth must be listened to

EAST LONDON — The black youth in South Africa should be listened to, said Dr Kenneth Hartshorne, said yesterday.

Dr Hartshorne, a former official in the Department of Education and Training, and now attached to the University of Witwatersrand, said many young people attached high value to education.

"But they are prepared to give up that education, if necessary, for higher goals," he said.

In a new response to a new situation, this group of young black people had distinct political goals.

The young people who had taken the lead in the protests in Soweto in 1976 had grown up under the worst years of Bantu Education — the worst years were the 1960s, if one looks at money strengths, pupil-teacher ratios, and so on.

However, in many schools, the youth were taught an ability to reason and an ability to express themselves.

Dr Hartshorne said he had spoken to many young people to find out what they were saying.

"They said 'we have been let down by our parents, by our teachers and the system."

"Perhaps they were less than fair to their parents, but one of the interesting things about the 1960s is the reification between the students and the parents."

Their criticisms of the teachers and schools were justified, particularly because of the lack of facilities such as libraries and laboratories and the underqualification of teachers.

"The system was not just because it was built on the whole discriminatory system."

"They were saying then, as they are saying now, that we want a good education, as good as anyone else."

"Certainly to begin with the definition of what was good was white education, but this has definitely changed."

"New issues of relevance have risen. Certainly young black of today don't see white education as the answer."

"They are also saying that we want full freedom to use our education in an open society."

The youth wanted equal opportunities and equal pay, as well as the same opportunities for advancement.

"I think they sum up in a very simple way what this is all about," Dr Hartshorne said.

It was quite clear that the situation could not be put right and equal education established without radical solutions.

To begin with, there would have to be some kind of unitary system with a more equitable distribution of education resources.

In pragmatic terms, he supported the view that the desegregation of education would have to start from the top, in the universities, the technical colleges and the training colleges.

"It will be possible to move quickly there, without a great deal of hassle, to make the point that there is a sharing of educational resources in our country."

Although more buildings and more facilities were necessary, equal educational opportunities would, in the end, be created by more teachers.

"I think one of the most positive things happening in South Africa is that the white teaching profession is beginning to think of the wider issues, rather than just salaries," Dr Hartshorne said.
June 16 remembered in London

By MALCOLM LAWSON

A CRY for unity was the message of a co-sponsored event entitled “From Soweto to Free Azania” held last weekend in South London.

Six organisations in exile came together to commemorate the fourth anniversary of the Soweto uprising — the PAC, the Azanian People’s Revolutionary Party, the BCMA (Black Consciousness Movement of Azania), the South African Youth Revolutionary Council, the African National Congress and the Steve Biko Youth Organisation.

SOLIDARITY

A significant feature of the meeting was that a number of people from the Caribbean attended to show their solidarity with the black resistance movements of South Africa. There was also a Brazilian who spoke in support of the South African struggle.

Poetry read by Pitika Ntuli accompanied by the drums of Pula.

Mr Barney Segwai giving a heartfelt extempore speech on behalf of the BCMA. On his right is Mr Pitika Ntuli, the poet and sculptor. The others (left to right) are Mr O K Sethlapelo, Mr Barney Mokgatle and the chairman, Mr Drake Koka.

Pula member Moichopari Segwai delivers one of his political poems, accompanied by the drumming of the other members. Molefe Pheto is seen flanked by two of his sons, Gaboipeoe (left) and Pule.

Part of the meeting seen paying respect to the dead of Soweto by the minute’s silence called for by the chairman, Mr Drake Koka. Those wearing large caps are not showing any disrespect — they are Rastafarians from the West Indies, who also came to show their solidarity.
Would the Freedom Charter still seem radical today?
Inkatha now boasts an audited membership of 300,000, the largest membership of any South African political organisation of which the FPI is aware. Buthelezi mustered some 1,000 delegates under the Congress's huge marquee tent in drought-stricken Umlazi's dust and revealed a considerable depth of leadership in Inkatha, particularly in the person of Education Minister and Inkatha secretary general Dr. Oscar Dlamini and a high level of efficiency in its political and administrative structures.

In this respect, Inkatha contrasts markedly with other overtly black organisations, whose reliance seems to be more on latent, as opposed to organisationally articulated, support. And this is where Buthelezi's strength lies.

Buthelezi told the FPI he remained committed to a "non-violent strategy for black liberation." Two possible uses for Inkatha's power were consumer boycotts and worker power to push black demands. "Something we used only very slightly in our support for the Pathys & Albatross boycott," he said. Buthelezi would prefer to negotiate, but if workers and Inkatha are aware of Inkatha's strength and the devastation it could cause them, rather than find themselves having to demonstrate that strength.

Held against the background of the partial student boycott in Kwazulu and the implicit challenge it posed Buthelezi's authority in the township, the congress again highlighted Buthelezi's uneasy relationship with certain elements in the banned African National Congress (ANC) and other black radicals (and newspapers). Recounting the inadequacy of black education, his congress condemned "the irresponsible deeds of activists who overzealously misled school children into boycotting classes, burning, destroying and damaging school buildings and property." It pointedly called on the ANC to "clarify its stand on Inkatha and also to state clearly whether certain political fringe elements who demagnetise us do so in the ANC's name as they claim.

The frequent victim of radical polemic, Buthelezi again went on record in favour of black unity calling for "respect for each other's strategies in the liberation struggle." On strategy, there are two elements in his thinking that distinguish him from black radicals. First is his practical stress on the need for organisational discipline, the second is his willingness to adopt "interim positions" for black radicals would say "within the Apartheid system," such as his use of the homeland system. Both these positions seem to contain an object lesson for radicals, political power is not won by reliance on polemic or moral argument, instead by the tactical use of what is available.

However, the ideological disagreements within black opposition remain serious. Inkatha is clearly talking of mobilisation through nationalism and not - as is the case with some elements of the ANC around economic and class issues - through a greater nationalism and stress may be gaining strength within the ANC. From a radical viewpoint, there are coherent arguments for both strategies. But, working as he must within the constraints imposed by government, Buthelezi appears to have read the situation correctly - at any rate to his advantage. But, at this stage, unity of purpose among radical blacks appears to be some way off.
Why not deal with ANC, asks Press chief

BLOEMFONTEIN — The question had arisen whether Afrikaners should negotiate with "those who had gained legitimacy such as Swans" rather than with "tame" Damara and Ovambo, Professor Piet Cillie, chairman of Nasionale Pers, said in Bloemfontein.

He was taking part in a discussion on an address by Professor Ben Vosloo of the University of Stellenbosch to the annual meeting of the Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns in Bloemfontein.

Prof Vosloo spoke of the need for changed thinking by whites to avoid threatening conflict. Whites having the dominant say would have to make way for "partnership" with far-reaching, even painful, adaptations.

Prof Cillie asked with whom authorities should negotiate. "Should it not be with those who have gained legitimacy?" he asked.

"What of the ANC and the PAC and the left-wing of the Labour Party? Have they not gained legitimacy? Must there be no negotiation with them?"

Prof Vosloo replied that the problem lay in identifying the true leaders. Zimbabwe had shown how "wrong" leaders could be drawn in, but he did not know if this meant "Mandela should be fetched" as it was not clear how much support he had.

Mr J G H Loubser, general manager of the South African Railways, said that emphasis of a person's right to eat rather than the often hollow demand for voting rights would place the world on a far healthier course.

"Where all the other Western colonial countries had washed their hands of the chaos that follows independence, and withdrawn their investments on a large scale once their capital did not come up to scratch, we show our difference and demonstrate our continuing ties with Africa by not leaving our neighbours in the lurch."

Black African states attacked South Africa at the UN, and then held out their hands for help. There were signs of change, and greater realism in Africa. South Africa could be a catalyst.

Sapa.
Buthelezi angered by public rebuke

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The chairman of the Abattoirs Corporation, Mr S J van Rensburg, caused a ripple of consternation at the opening of the R47-million abattoirs at Cato Ridge yesterday by rebuffing Zulu chief minister Chief Gatsha Buthelezi in front of the Prime Minister and 2,000 invited guests.

The abattoirs was officially opened by the Prime Minister, Mr F W. Botha, and Chief Buthelezi gave an address and passed a vote of thanks.

After he had spoken Mr van Rensburg said he wished to express his regret that Chief Buthelezi had chosen the occasion to make a political speech. He also said that the abattoirs system was not something that could be handed to people on a plate, and that blacks would have to learn to work for their utopia.

Chief Buthelezi said afterwards that he took the strongest exception to Mr van Rensburg's rudeness and said he had almost got up and left the opening ceremony.

"I am distressed by the rudeness displayed by Mr van Rensburg. After all, I am a political leader and have a duty to my people."

Chief Buthelezi, closely angered by the incident, said he wished to warn white groups who insisted on functions "that I will not come and say I am a man of apartheid."

Mr van Rensburg and the managing director of the corporation, Mr B J Kruger, left Chief Buthelezi standing alone on the stage while they saw Mr Botha off.
In an interview after his return to South Africa, Dr. Phatudi said he could not handle the situation under the present circumstances. He said that, although there were certain weaknesses in the situation, he was aware of the need for high priority and the importance of the position he was about to take. Dr. Phatudi added that he would be prepared to take on the role of a new leader in the country. He also said that, in his opinion, the independence movement would not be able to succeed without a leadership that was not afraid to face the challenges of the present situation.
Anti-SA group bombed

Own Correspondent
PARIS. — An unknown European nationalist movement yesterday claimed responsibility for the bombing of the Paris headquarters of the anti-apartheid and anti-racist MRAP movement on Thursday night.

The MRAP ("Movement against racism and for friendship between all people") is generally regarded as the umbrella organisation for all anti-South African groups in Paris.

An MRAP spokesman said yesterday: "Reverend Barry, a protestant pastor, was on duty at 6.15pm when the front doorbell was rung. He opened up and saw a parcel on the floor with a sputtering fuse. He ran to get some water when it blew up. The whole office was wrecked."

It is the 10th bomb and fire attack against the MRAP in seven years.

When Alexander Moumbaris arrived in Paris in January after escaping from prison in Pretoria he gave his first press conference in the MRAP offices.
14 told to quit teacher college

EAST LONDON—At least 14 student teachers of Lennox Sebe Teacher Training College, near Zwelihla, have been suspended until the end of the year following disturbances at the school last month.

Although no official confirmation on the names of the students has been received, it has been established both from the Secretary for the Ciskei Central Intelligence Services, Col Charles Sebe, and the Ciskei Secretary for Education, Mr O. S. Bomela, that some students have been suspended.

According to two students among those suspended, the names are Mr Mhlobo Tom, Mr Velwana Mpihase, Mr Bob Mjulen, vice president of the Students Representative Council, two other SRC members, Mr Peter Lulelwa and Mr Sidwell Zweni, Mr Vuyo Ralawe, Mr Sebenzile Notshulwana, Mr Mulelelu Runu, Mr Tsepo Mtoba, Mr Monwabisi Sonjica, Miss Lulama Matshoba, Mr Lulama Sululu, Mr Mlungisi Poro and Mr Victor Singu.

Mr Tom and Mr Mpihase said they have received telegrams informing them their applications to return to the school had been unsuccessful.

"The telegrams also stated we should get back to the school to collect our belongings by the 31st of May," Mr Tom said.

"Parents had taken up the matter and some had seen Col Sebe but had been told the Ciskei Cabinet had taken a decision on the matter and the students concerned had been suspended until the end of the year because "they did not know what authority was".

Mr Tom said they had convened a meeting at the school after the suspension of four students for an alleged immoral offence.

"Not that we condoned what the students had done, but we called the meeting because we wanted to know why the students had been suspended as no one at the school had informed the student body," he said.

They hoped to be allowed to return to the school to further their studies next year. — DDR
A call for peace and justice

Twenty-five years ago this week, 3,000 people from various organisations in the country gathered in Kliptown to draw up the Freedom Charter. The gathering in Kliptown, known as the Congress of the People, unanimously adopted the document as the policy and manifesto of the organisations. The meeting was convened by the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the mainly white Congress of Democrats.

The Freedom Charter came after the Defiance Campaign of 1952 to record the demands for change that had been made over a period stretching back to the turn of the century. The ideals set out in the charter still live in the hearts of millions of South Africans.

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

- That South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
- That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
- That our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;
- That only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief.

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won.

The people shall govern!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

All national groups shall have equal rights!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

The people shall share in the country's wealth!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.
The land shall be shared among those who work it!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors, and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

All shall be equal before the law!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any government official.

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance.

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

All shall enjoy equal human rights!

The law shall guarantee to all their rights to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits, and all other laws restricting these freedoms, shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security!

All who work shall be free to form unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The State shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be houses, security and comfort!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort, and security;

Unused housing space shall be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed;

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations.

There shall be peace and friendship!

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the homelands — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The rights of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close cooperation;

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

"These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."
Robben Island Memesage at Funeral

1979
The ceremony was attended by the King and Queen.

The ceremony was attended by the King and Queen.
ANC SLAMS BUTHELEZI

ANC slams Chief

BUTHELEZI

not genuine

support in his

campaign

The Guardian 25/7 2/8/80

ANC was
called to
discuss issues

involving

Soweto

youths and

for them to

attend school.

The statement

seems to

have ruled

out any

possibility of

a

campaign

involving

Chief

Buthelezi

and the

ANC.

It was

announced

at the

conference

that the

ANC was

confering

its highest
task on

Mr. Govan

McKeez

and Bishop

Amos

Reaves. Govan

McKeez

is presently

serving a

sentence on

Robben

Island and

the

award is partly

to

mark his

50th

birthday.

The award

has

previously

been

made

to

Albert

Luthuli,

Dr.

Yusuf

Dadoo,

Father

Trevor

Huddleston

and

Moses

Kotane.

Last

month

black

South

African

organisations,

including

the

banned

PAC and

the

Black

Consciousness

Movement

of Azania,

pulled

out of a

conference

which was

to
calling on

him

not

to

campaign

in the country.

Meanwhile on Friday Chief

Buthelezi said in Cato

Ridge that if

the Government

failed to

bring about

the

required

degree

of change it

would

condemn

itself

as

much as

black

voters.

He

addressed

about

2,000

guests

at

the

official

opening of

Cato

Ridge school and

said he

remained

optimistic about

the

new

rural

and

urban

development

agencies

at the

country's disposal.

It was thus

possible

to

manage

affairs

in

such a way

that

enterprises

were

freer

and

more

productive. It

would

be

worthwhile

if

senior

management

took

up the

challenge

of jointly

exploring "management for

freedom".

See Page 3.
Cosas will mark June 16

29/6/80

SUNDAY POST Reporter

THE Congress of South African Students (Cosas) is planning to hold memorial services next weekend to commemorate the June 16 uprising.

Services planned for June 16 were banned under the Rotaous Assemblies Act by the Minister of Police, Mr. Louis le Grange. The ban expires at the end of the month.

"We appeal to students and workers to attend services. Those who attended the earlier services will be able to join the main service at Regina Mun- di," a Cosas spokesman said.
ANC charting Zimbabwe corridor

AFRICAN National Congress (ANC) guerrillas have recently been carrying out a reconnaissance mission in western Zimbabwe to chart a safe corridor from Zimbabwe through Zambia to South Africa, says a report from Bulawayo.

SUNDAY POST correspondent writes that the report comes amid conflicting and confusing information about ANC activity in Zimbabwe. There is no confirmation of such a report from reliable security sources in Zimbabwe but farmers in the area are taking it seriously.

An official of Mr. Joshua Nkomo's Patriotic Front admitted last week that it was highly possible that ANC guerrillas who had previously fought alongside the PF's Zipra military wing could still be inside Zimbabwe.

Reports from Zambia indicate that the ANC guerrillas fighting with Mr. Nkomo's forces began to withdraw to Zambia shortly after the ceasefire in the Zimbabwe bush war became operational at the beginning of this year.

But the PF official admitted that he had met armed men who were not from the Ndebele or Kalanga tribes, who made up Mr. Nkomo's army, in the Tsholotsho area of western Zimbabwe as late as April this year.

"Let us say these men were not Zimbabweans so you can draw your own conclusions from where they come," he said.

One unconfirmed report said there were between 400 and 600 ANC guerrillas in Zimbabwe at the time of the ceasefire.
Whites in BCM 'one-way street'

The opening of the Black Consciousness Movement to whites would serve only to give blacks a false sense of comfort because it would lead them along a one-way street to white institutions, white norms and white values.

This is the reaction of Mr Letsatsi Mosala, national organiser of the Azanian People's Organisation to the controversial proposal of Mr Panyana Mazibuko, a former official of the banned Black People's Congress (BPC) and secretary of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, that BCM should open its ranks to whites.

"Black consciousness has transcended black exclusivism," said Mr Mazibuko.

His suggestion has drawn a sharp response from black consciousness proponents and Mr Mosala argues that integration with white liberals would blunt any move towards meaningful change.

"This would diffuse black anger and militancy, the elements without which no struggle can succeed," he said.

"The black man is on his own and the death of black exclusivism must begin within the white society with its accompanying oppressive and racist institutions," Mr Mosala concluded.
ANC attacks Buthelezi

From MARGARET SMITH

LONDON. — The uneasy truce between the African National Congress and Chief \( \text{Chief's name} \) Buthelezi was publicly shattered here last week when the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Alfred Nzo, attacked the Zulu leader.

Members of the diplomatic corps from many Western countries and also of the communist bloc listened with keen interest as Mr Nzo spelt out in explicit terms what can only be described as a full frontal attack on the Zulu leader.

'Attempts to make political capital'

They were left in no doubt as to the feelings of the ANC, and it cleared up some ambiguity which has arisen in recent months since Chief Buthelezi met representatives of the ANC in London. At that time the ANC made it plain that the talks were dialogue and not endorsement of the chief or his role, and they were angered by what they felt were Chief Buthelezi's attempts to make political capital out of what was merely an exploratory meeting.

Diplomatic representatives were keenly interested in the speech on Thursday night, which put paid to any idea that the two movements — the one legal and the other underground and in exile — should form a working alliance.

It is obvious that Alfred Nzo particularly chose this freedom day celebration — the 26th anniversary of the adoption of the freedom charter at Kliptown, outside Johannesburg — to make such a crucial policy statement regarding Buthelezi and his movement, Inkatha.

A number of reasons for ANC attack

After the meeting, diplomats told me that the ANC had reserved its attack for a considerable time because they hoped to unite anti-government forces. That they had done in spite of deep divisions between the two movements. However, they now felt Chief Buthelezi was in fact working in favour of the South African Government.

The diplomats said the reason for the ANC's anger at the Zulu chief stemmed from a number of causes.

During the recent school boycott he had tried to force pupils to return to their classrooms. He had also refused to support the campaign for the release of the ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The ANC, which is a multi-racial organization, had also taken exception to Chief Buthelezi's attacks on the Apartheid community and they were angered at his criticism of the Sasol sabotage, carried out by the militant wing of the ANC. Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The meeting on Thursday followed a press conference earlier in the day in which Mr Nzo first vowed the attack on Chief Buthelezi.
WITH Fanyana Mail-
luko's "review of
ideology" debate still
raging in black circles,
the Azanian Peoples
Organisation in this
article outlines its
stand regarding inte-
gration before libera-
tion.

This statement was
issued by Azapo pub-
licity secretary Mr
George Wauchope.

In the late sixties Black
Consciousness was then
defined as an attitude of
mind and a way of life.
It identified the problem
in South Africa as white
racism. Blacks saw them-
selves as subjugated, disinherit-
ed of their fatherland and
dispossessed of the land
of their birth, simply be-
cause of the colour of
their skin. The solution
to this was seen as black
solidarity whereby blacks
would rally round the
cause of their oppression,
and rise as a united group
to fight against the ex-
istent order.

Today there is general
faith that Black Conscien-
tiousness has logically compe-
ted its cycle and time has
drawn for the Black
Consciousness people to
open their ranks thereby
reviewing the ideology.

An analysis of any ide-
ology must be of necessity
reflect upon its victories
and defeats, the different
combinations of victory
and defeat, embroiled in
the institutions it has
created, the consequences
it has made and the fron-
tiers it has encountered.

That analysis will en-
able the protagonists of
that particular ideology
to adopt that ideology to
prevailing circumstances,
threats and criticisms,
without losing the basic
tenets of its teachings and
principles viz: the
consciousness of its na-
tional identity and that
of its movement which
is Azapo in this case.

If Azapo in 1960 still
defines blacks as the op-
terated people of this
country who are deprived
of their political, econo-
mic and social rights as
citizens of Azania, then
the more reason why
Black Consciousness must
be retained as a liberatory
philosophy.

In South Africa today
there is only one class
of people who have noth-
ing at all to lose if the
present system were to
be radically changed in
such a way that the pre-
sent ruling class disap-
ppears as a ruling class.
That class is the black
working class. It alone
will look at the situation
without any qualifications
not reservations.

It alone can question
the holier, not only of
the sacred petty appar-
ch, but of the socioeco-
nomic system on which
poor, grand and any
other form of apartheid
is based. The black work-
ner has nothing to lose
but the chains that bind
him in the form of poor-
unostrident, indoctrina-
tory labour, job restric-
tion, inferior education
and all the like of other
South African oppressive
er.

It is clearly in the in-
terests of the liberation
struggle of the black peo-
ple of Azania that it be
enforced by the interests
of the black workers and
that its direction cannot
be constrained by the organ-
ised force of the black
workers.

It is for this reason
that Azapo focuses its at-
tention on the plight of the
black worker in the
mines, factories, farms
etc.

The obvious question
to be asked is why ex-
clude the white workers?
White workers are ready
a kind of labour priority
that willingly defends
the system from which
they gain so much and
which the privileged posi-
tion of themselves and
their children depends.

It is this white worker
who keeps the Nationalist
Party in power and the
rhythm of 50 per cent
white liberals won't have
any effect on the radical
transformation of the
South African situation.

At the most what they
can do is to diffuse black
anger and militancy, the
elements without which,
no struggle can succeed.

The onus is upon us
blacks as an oppressed
people to resist this di-
hesion, and rather being
about meaningful change
on our own. By change
we mean the complete
overturning of the sys-
tem. Change entails a
complete redistribution
the wealth of the land
and equal access and op-
portunities for all people
towards self-reliance and
self-reconciliation.

The only way of bring-
ign about that change is
through genuine commit-
ment, mass participation
and mass action. What we
need is a black pacifist
political activity, which
will highlight the crucial
significance of Azapo for
the black working class,
based on grassroots leader-
ship and informed by a
clear programme for soci-
ety as a whole.

It also means striking
deep roots among the ran-
ral masses to mobilise
them against the existing
order.

This type of change is
completely different from
the one envisaged by the
integrationists which will
give a few blacks some
Azapo stand

false comfort. It creates a middle class black who will feel protected by the maintenance and sustenance of capitalism. He will thus act as a buffer towards meaningful change.

From this can be deducted that integration is a one way street that blacks travel to white institutions, white norms and white values. Implied in this is the inferiority of all that the black man stands for. There can therefore be no meaningful integration between unequal.

LIBERALS

One showed emphasis at this stage that the liberals by their very nature can and will only enter the struggle at leadership level rather than at grassroots level. They thus want to fight our struggle for us thereby giving a white head to a black body.

For as long as the parliamentary system in South Africa only gives the white political parties a choice to rule, and the fact that whatever party rules is a non-choice to blacks, the slogan: "Black man you are on your own" will remain the rallying point for black consciousness.

The death of exclusivity must begin within the white society with its accompanying oppressive and racist institutions. In short, if a nation fails to protect its citizens, then that nation cannot condemn those who take up the task themselves.

It is for this reason that the blacks must organise themselves into a coherent unit, because their destiny lies in their own hands. They as a nation have identified the conflict and the cause of their suffering. It is therefore imperative for them to close their ranks, and to unite and consolidate in order to face and remove the cause of their suffering.

Unity is undoubtedly a very important vehicle towards change and Black Consciousness with its stress on black solidarity is the manifestation of that Philosophy of unity.

PHILOSOPHY

It is therefore incumbent upon Black Consciousness as a unifying philosophy to consolidate black people around these principles which have through the years of stress, strife and resistance been identified and established as the basic fundamental principles that will guarantee a free and egalitarian society — the optimum of which would undoubtedly be a united, undivided society, and this is what Azapo is working towards.

5.6 Transversely Loaded Beams

5.7 Discontinuities in the Generalised Displacement Functions

5.8 Integration of the Generalised Strains

5.9 Displacement Calculations for Straight Bars

5.10 Kinematic Constraints for Bar Problems

5.11 General Deformation of a Plane Bar

5.12 Summary
WE ARE very happy indeed that the present debate on whether or not whites can play a meaningful role in the black consciousness movement is raging with the intensity it is. And that, in public too.

We sense for some years now, there has been a conspiracy to keep private and hushed tones, differences of opinion and sometimes disagreements on matters of fundamental direction of our political options. This was done basically to protect black solidarity and not let enemies of the black cause rejoice at our differences.

While this may have had beneficial strategy in the short term, it was, however, riddled with dangers, which could have resulted in the emergence of an elitist political group delegating unto itself the dubious role of being the custodians of black education.

This clearly leaves the masses out of the debates and the decision making processes in our organisations, denying us of the vital grassroot support we so desperately need if we are to remain relevant to the issues facing the black man.

To this end, the debate raging through the newspapers has been a creative one, provided we keep it as dignified as it is now.

We believe that the present debate, far from weakening the black cause, will make us emerge from it stronger, wiser and above all, with a clear and unambiguous interpretation of where we come from, where we are, and where we are heading for. The black man's vision must necessarily be moulded by his experiences, his background and his own sense of destiny. In this, he can only handle that type of situation alone.

For nobody, who has never felt the pain, the humiliation and the deep sense of pain imposed by our country's laws, can adequately understand and appreciate what the black man is all about. Even with the best will and intentions in the world.

We must, however, warn that there is a dangerous thin line here. The black consciousness philosophy was born to combat racism — irrespective of where it comes from. It is an ideal to be jealously guarded and preserved.

For upon its structures, lies the foundation for tomorrow's South Africa, where human beings, not races, will live side by side.

University
ON POST's report of alleged attack on me by ANC, my reaction is that of disbelief and pity. I am well aware of ANC problems in exile. ANC is not to blame for them, these are ANC's "exile problems", caused mainly by a dependence on a motley of funding organisations. And also the fact of being away from South Africa for nearly 20 years and operating in a vacuum forced on them by the nature of their position in exile.

There are also ideological problems, which ANC, existing as it is in fragments in exile in different parts of the world as is inevitable, has the right hand not knowing what the left hand is doing.

This must make all of us who are patriots, and who will believe in these ideals of the ANC as propounded by the founding fathers, as Inkatha does, and sympathize to ANC's positions. The statement purporting to rebuke me is authored in the name of Nelson Mandela, ANC, by someone whose name is not stated. This makes it problematic for me to react to it.

After our visit with the Inkatha delegation to meet Mr Oliver Tambo and members of his executive last year I was still writing for a response to different allegations I put to them more than seven months ago. I do not know whether I should take this as such a response, but if it was meant to be a response, I would take this as such a response, but if it was meant to be a response, I would expect it to be such a response. I would expect it to be authorised by the president-general of the ANC, Mr Oliver Tambo.

This is my first predicament, a muddle. Secondly, if it was an ANC statement, it could not do credit to ANC, even in exile, to base a statement on inept, Press distortions. We never called impis to harass children.

There was destruction of black property and use of violence which we reacted by calling on parents and others members of the public to protect buildings, and lives of other people. Kwamashu schools, belonging to black people of Kwamashu. They are built by black people, with the patience they earn, because they regard their children's education as a priority in the black liberation struggle. Those schools are not the property of Pretoria.

UNDERSTAND

I do not quite understand why I am being referred to as "our struggle" in the statement. Is destruction of black property what comprises our struggle? We are not a leader of interest called the black struggle. We are a leader called the black liberation struggle.

It is a blatant lie that there was any time when pupils and students at Futhi were harassed at my special instance, when I was in exile.

All this was explained at a meeting of the executive of ANC by a member of the central committee in Lusaka a few months ago; by Mr Gibson Thula, to the London representative of ANC, and by my Inkatha and by the ANC's UN representative in New York a fortnight ago. They all denied that ANC supported the schools' boycott and stated that they merely supported it, something initiated by the people at home and they supported it as it would look strange if they did not support it. This is the people at home. To accuse me of not being black is described as "an enthusiastic supporter of the campaign to the Kwamashu". This is a lot of hogwash. Anyone who has lived in South Africa in the last 17 years would know that I was the person present when the court to confront Mr John Vorster with a request to release Mandela. I did so repeatedly during his imprisonment, and I have done so even under Mr P W Botha's regime. The release of Nelson Mandela to me is not a gimmick to get political mileage for myself. It is a serious matter which I take very seriously because of the friendship and warship that existed between us for years.

I stand as a leader of millions of black people who support my leadership on my own merit, and at no time would I have needed to use even a name so dear and valuable as that of Nelson Mandela to promote my political interests.

When the campaign was launched, I only read about it in "POST". No one ever approached me as a leader with the kind of following, and organization I have, to support the campaign. If I had been approached I would have cautioned that at the time was staged, I was engaged in private negotiations with members of the government, the Cebet, to have Mandela released.

FUSF

This I was doing privately without any fuss or fanfare, because, I had come to understand that this was more likely to succeed if carried out at a low-key and private level.

There were in fact prospects of success, when this dramatisation of the campaign started that apple-cut. When I was asked by POST, I supported the release of Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Mo-tekele Mhele, Khatryana and others.

I challenge ANC to tell the world why, with all the agents in South Africa, if any, approached me to do more than I did, and to prove that I responded by declining to do so. This statement was also discussed by the central committee members whose names I have just given, and ANC officials admitted to me that the Release Mandela Campaign was not launched by them, but that once it was started they had no option but to support it. They were told that I was never approached nor was I permitted approach.

If my brothers in ANC want to declare a war on me for whatever reason, they should not blame us for incurring inaccurate and idiotic excuses for doing so which do not do them any favours. As far as I am concerned I have always stated that I do not blame them for opting for the armed struggle, as the Government threw down the gauntlet to ANC when it banned the ANC.

I have stated that although I do not believe in their strategy of violence, I do not regard their support of the armed struggle as a basis for condemning them, that I cannot blame them for pursuing it. I have said these things in South Africa and abroad.

TALK

When people talk about being disillusioned about having had to endure results from ANC's armed struggle after 20 years, I always say that ANC has had logistic problems, which no other liberation movement abroad had to face. That no part of South Africa is currently a guerrilla warfare as Angolan Mozambique and Zimbabwe do. That because we cannot talk of possibilities of any liberated part of this country does not mean that we should

Furthermore they face billions of Rand worth of South Africa's armies of armaments, I expect ANC to respect my private efforts to do, as they often state to me and my representatives when we meet them abroad. I respect what they have done, in keeping with the debate on apartheid, and black oppression, at international diplomatic level. That is where they have been effective. They should not try to condemn me in pursuing what was their own policy in South Africa, when they operated here themselves. That would be asking me to achieve the impossible. They must trust South Africa's blacks to make the best out of what options open to them as of now. They must understand that while I am committed to the ultimate people's options change, then those will also be my options. I have never ridiculed them. I have defended them on the Soweto blasts.

It degrades the struggle if ANC spokesmen as Inkatha spokesmen speak with both sides of their mouths.
Buthelezi calls for ANC proof

JOHANNESBURG - The KwaZulu Chief Minister, Chief Buthelezi, yesterday challenged the African National Congress to prove its accusation that he had not supported the "Free Mandela" campaign launched in South Africa recently.

He was reacting to an article in a Sunday newspaper which quoted an ANC spokesman as saying Chief Buthelezi was "not an enthusiastic supporter of the campaign to free Mandela".

"No one approached me, or a leader with the kind of following and organization I have, to support the campaign. "If I had been approached I would have cautioned that at the time it was staged I was engaged in private negotiations with the Republic Cabinet to have Mandela released," Chief Buthelezi said he had chosen to negotiate privately for Mandela's release "without any fuss or fanfare".

He was made to believe that the campaign had a better chance of succeeding if it was carried out at on a low-key level.

Referring to a quote attributed to an ANC spokesman, which read: "The role he (Chief Buthelezi) played in calling in his impi to harass the children involved in the school boycott is not that of someone genuinely supporting our struggle", Chief Buthelezi said his reaction was of "disbelied and pity".

Rebuke 'based on lies and press distortions'

"I am well aware of ANC problems in exile. The ANC is not to blame for them. They are the ANC's 'exile problems', caused mainly by a dependence on a motley set of funding organizations, and also the fact of being away from South Africa for nearly 20 years, and operating in a vacuum forced by the nature of their position in exile," Chief Buthelezi said.

He said if the statement was truly an ANC one, it would not credit the organization, even in exile, "to have a rebuke of me on lies and press distortions".

He denied having called in impi to harass children.

There was destruction of black property and use of violence to which we reacted by calling on parents, and other members of the public, to protect buildings and lives of other people.

"Kwa-Mashu schools belong to black people of Kwa-Mashu. They are built by black people with the pittance they earn, because they regard their children's education as a priority in the black liberation struggle.

"These schools are not the property of Pretoria," Chief Buthelezi said. — Sapa
Mdantsane exile to get degree

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — A former Mdantsane man exiled in Lesotho, Mr Mzikisi Gwentshe, 32, will receive a BA law degree from the National University of Lesotho on September 27.

Mr Gwentshe, who left South Africa in 1977, is serving his articles with a firm of lawyers, but is to study for an LLB degree.

Mr Gwentshe, passed his matric in 1967 after he had registered as a student from the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl where he served part of a five-year sentence for participating in African National Congress activities.

Mr Mzikisi Gwentshe was held on Robben Island until his transfer to the Paarl prison at the end of 1966.

He was transferred to Port Kempton in East London in 1969 where he served the rest of his sentence. He was banned for two years on his release in 1969.

Mr Gwentshe enrolled with the University of South Africa in 1968, but he could not sit for any examinations.

His banning order expired in 1971 and the following year he formed the East London Youth Cultural Club, which elected him secretary. The club eventually linked up with other cultural groups and, in conjunction with the South African Students Organisation, formed the Border Youth Union.

In 1973, the effort saw the birth of the national youth organisation, which was banned on October 19, 1977.

Mr Gwentshe was banned again in 1974. The banning order expired on June 30 last year.

Mr Gwentshe was in and out of detention several times before he left the country.

Another former Mdantsane man, Mr Sikweyiya, will receive his BA (law) degree from the Lesotho University next year. He left South Africa early in 1979.

Mr Sikweyiya was the South African bantamweight boxing champion. — DDR.

Blacks must go it alone says Azapo

JOHANNESBURG — The black consciousness movement would remain exclusively black for as long as the South African Government gave white political parties a choice to rule, the publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr George Wauchope, said here yesterday.

He said blacks must organise themselves into a coherent unit because their destiny was in their own hands.

The cause of their sufferings were caused by the pass laws, influx control laws, migratory labour, job reservation, inferior education and oppressive laws.

"Unity is undoubtedly a very significant vehicle towards change in South Africa. Black consciousness, with its stress on black solidarity, is the manifestation of unity."

The black consciousness movements should encourage black workers in factories, mines, on farms and at other places of employment to demand equal opportunities with their white counterparts and, above all, demand to be recognised as human beings.

Mr Wauchope said most black workers were not given equal opportunities and the obvious question was: "Why should white be included in the black consciousness hierarchy?"

He said white workers were a kind of an "aristocracy that willingly depends on the system from which they gain a lot of privileges."

"It is this white worker who keeps the National Party in power and the rhetoric of .05 per cent of white liberals will not have any effect on the radical transformation of the South African situation.

"In the most what they can do is defuse black anger and militancy, the elements without which, no struggle can succeed," he said.

The onus was on blacks as an oppressed people to bring about meaningful change on their own. By change he was referring to a complete redistribution of the wealth of the country, equal access and opportunities for all.

He said by accepting whites in the black consciousness movements, blacks would be "walking a one-way street" to white institutions, white norms and white values. This would create inferiority among blacks.

There could never be integration of unequals if one joined the movements they should do so at grassroots level and not at leadership level because by so doing "they want to fight our struggle thereby giving a white head to a black body."

He said the slogan "black man you are on your own" would remain the rallying point for black consciousness. "The exclusion must begin within the white society with its accompanying oppressive and racist institutions." — SAPA.
Mandela pamphlets—13 students charged

THIRTEEN students of the University of Cape Town, who are charged under the Internal Security Act, yesterday appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court, for distributing Free Mandela and Freedom Charter pamphlets, prohibited by the Publications Act of 1974.

The students, who pleaded not guilty to the charge were: Mr. Gavin Evans, son of Port Elizabeth’s Anglican Bishop, the Right Rev Bruce Evans; Mr. Gregory Zinn, 19, of Dunkley Street, Gardens; Miss Susan Murdoch, 21, of Crown Street, Observatory; Miss Anita Kupper, 19, of Park Lane, Woodstock; Miss Sarah Brigitte Cullinan, 19, of Alfred Street, Observatory; Miss Claire Moore, 19, of Upper Chamberlain Street, Woodstock; Mr. Vernon Brent Matsopoulos, 19, of Bedford Street, Observatory; Mr. Christopher John Giffard, 19, of Grani Street, Observatory; Miss Michelle Solomon, 19, of Grant Street, Observatory; Miss Sarah Ward, 19, of Chamberlain Street, Woodstock; Mr. Richard Gonde, 18, of Welgemoed Court, Harrow Road, Rondebosch and Mr. Chrispin Garth Oliver, 21, of Klein Constantia, Constantia Road, Constantia.

One accused is a minor.

Evidence led was that on March 28 this year the students distributed the banned publications among commuters on the Observatory railway station.

Constable P. G. Rademeyer said the students were handing out the pamphlets to commuters on the platforms and in the subway when the police arrived. One student tried to hide the pamphlets under her jersey when I approached,' he added.

The defence counsel, Mr. P. B. Hodes, submitted that 'the case for all the accused' was that none of the documents or publications had been declared undesirable in terms of the Act at the time of distribution. It was denied and disputed that any of the accused had the necessary criminal intent to constitute an offence.

The trial was postponed to the Retreat Regional Court on July 28.

Mr. F. J. Fuller was on the counsel, Mr. Frank Gilbert prosecuted.

Mr. P. B. Hodes was instructed by Frank, Barnett and Joffe.
In Ulundi, KwaZulu’s capital, the FM spoke to Dr Oscar Dhlomo, secretary general of Inkatha. Chief Buthelezi — recently repudiated by the ANC — contributed to the debate on recent political developments.

FM: What are the prospects for the achievement of black unity?

Dhlomo: We have no illusions. Blacks as oppressed people should concentrate on the ultimate goal of liberation and not fight about strategies. Unfortunately, at present we don’t have that respect among black groups.

Does Inkatha respect the ANC’s strategy and demand the same respect?

Yes. We have told them their strategy can only hasten the dawn of freedom, but, on its own, it cannot bring about freedom — it must be complemented by other strategies. As far as we are aware, the ANC also takes that view, and has previously said it regards us as very important in the liberation struggle. The ANC thinks armed struggle is the form of pressure to be applied, but others feel the pressure should be of an economic nature.

What is Inkatha’s economic policy?

Inkatha believes in the free enterprise system — provided it is really free and it is not synonymous with exploitation. So, the type of free enterprise we support is one which has as one of its principles the redistribution of wealth — in the sense of redistributing the opportunities for the generation of wealth. Not until the free enterprise system presents itself as a friend of the black people will it be embraced by those who have been economically deprived.

Buthelezi: The employment codes initiated by the Americans and EEC are a good thing, although I wouldn’t want to exaggerate their effectiveness. Businessmen must ensure the black man achieves economic justice. They can do so without government’s permission. This would be an insurance policy for them. I don’t believe they’ll change for reasons of benevolence, but perhaps for reasons of enlightened self-interest.

And your attitude to foreign investment?

Dhlomo: Foreign investment can be used to force government to change. We have supported enlightened investment in which foreign corporations make it an objective to fight apartheid in the workplace.

Some observers see government strategy as being to drive a wedge between, on the one hand, blacks with section 10 rights and hence access to the central economy and, on the other, those in the homelands who will remain relatively dispossessed. Do you hold this view?

Yes. But, of course, the pattern is nothing new. It has always been government strategy to divide people — on a racial, ethnic, or an urban rural basis — so they can be ruled more easily. We condemn in the strongest possible terms these attempts to divide us.

Where has the last session of Parliament left us?

It hasn’t improved anything. The PM’s utterances (eg, “adapt or die”) indicated he meant what he was saying. But, to our disappointment, apartheid is as alive as before. The PM and his followers are incapable of changing this country. They need to do this jointly with all SA’s people.

There has been speculation in Afrikaans press circles that Inkatha has forged a political deal with the PM. Is this true?

Buthelezi: No. While I was prepared to see Mr Botha because he was a new man and should, therefore, have been given a chance, I cannot say, as of now, he has done anything which has made me more hopeful. But I wouldn’t say I won’t talk to him again.

Some radical black groups express the fear that Inkatha will reach a separate agreement with government.

Buthelezi: I regard that as derogation and vilification. I was the first black man in SA to call for the release of political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC. I have kept the traditions and ideals of the ANC alive.

What is Inkatha’s view of the student boycotts and student skirmishes with police? Do you view them as undisciplined?

Buthelezi: Nobody can blame the students after the massacres of our people in 1976, for their reaction. But what is undisciplined is student attacks on workers going to their jobs when the students alone have called for stayaways — without consulting other black groups. In addition, the burning of schools and destruction of property is undisciplined.

How do you define “liberation” and when do you foresee it being achieved?

Dhlomo: Inkatha is called the “National Cultural Liberation Movement” and, as such, is struggling for liberation on all fronts. We know the occupation of the power structure is not the first prize in the process. But, in fact, some people point out that, after political liberation, the real struggle begins.

If I must speculate, I’d say we’ll achieve political liberation in five to 10 years.

What pressure do you envisage Inkatha using in future to force change?

Buthelezi: We have not yet really used our consumer power and, in particular, our worker power. But, in this respect, present black disunity could harm our efforts.
Case

over

ANC

charter

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — Students at the University of Cape Town, who allegedly distributed the Freedom Charter and pamphlets calling for Nelson Mandela's release, appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court yesterday.

They were charged with distributing 'pamphlets' declared undesirable in terms of the Publications Act. One of the students is a 17-year-old minor who cannot be identified.

Policemen from South African Railways, the Security Police and the uniformed branch told the court that the students gave the Freedom Charter, and a pamphlet calling for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, to commuters on March 22.

Constable P Rademeyer, of the South African Police, said he found students handing out copies of the Freedom Charter, a document drawn up in 1955 and later adopted by the African National Congress as its programme for changing South African society.

He said he took some of the students to Pinelands Police Station, while others followed him in their car. Security police then questioned the students at the police station, he said.

The students, who all pleaded not guilty to the charge are: Miss Sue Myrdal, 21; Mr Christian Oliver, 21; Miss Sarah Cullinan, 18; Mr Vernon Matopoli, 20; Miss Anita Kupper, 19; Mr Gavin Evans, 20, of Observatory; Mr Christopher Giffard, 19; Miss Michele Solomon, 19; Miss Sarah Ward, 19; Miss Claire Moore, 19, of Rondebosch, and the 17-year-old student.

The magistrate, Mr P J Poter, postponed the case to July 28. Mr P B Hodes appeared for the students.
Suicide note was genuine, says judge.
Former African National Congress exile looks at the vacuum which has developed in white thinking, and he explains his allegiance to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi

JORDAN Ngubane played a leading role in the African National Congress from the early 1940s until 1961 when he went into exile in Swaziland — hours before he was to have been served with a five-year banning order. He stayed in that country for nine years and then settled in Washington where he lectured on apartheid. In April this year this former journalist returned to South Africa to join forces with Inkatha — the result of protracted negotiations between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and the Government. Here he Ngubane outlines his impressions of changes in the country during his absence.

Why!

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi: "Leadership in any language"

Press, African journalists were accepted as reporters on some papers. A number of dailies devoted more space to reports on developments in the black community.

But the change that made the deepest impression on me was the response of an admittedly small number of Afrikanners who dared to face the challenge of belonging to Africa. Their thinking was summarised in an interview Professor Tjaart van der Walt gave to The Citizen and which the latter published on April 17, 1978.

At this stage we virtually have a one-party state in South Africa which is aimed exclusively at one racial group. We don't want this. We must provide a unique formula which can accommodate both unity and variety. I am positive we are heading in that direction, but the move must be quickened...

I envisage a federation of nations which would have great economic strength. But we must prove to the other countries on this sub-continent that we have more than just the interest of one group at heart. Protection must be guaranteed for all. Even the Marxist states must be able to join. A lot of so-called Marxism in Africa is bread and butter Marxism.

In these sentiments Professor van der Walt obviously rejected the habit of building a little larger around the Republic and running South Africa as though it were an island of Europe in Africa. As Chief Buthelezi had shown, five years earlier what South Africa needed was not a proliferation of laggards but a concept of nationalism which would be seen to be relevant and valid in the lives of all the peoples of South Africa.

To fail to produce this ideal was a public confession of the inability to lead a racially and culturally mixed nation.

The failure was the most important aspect of the vacuum. Chief Buthelezi proposed to fill the void with a larger ideal of nationalism. He stood up in the Unita conference (November 1973) of the heads of the main homeland administrations and proposed an alternative to the wastage which the advocates of apartheid peddled as independence in unviable mini-states. His choice was the reunification of those whom apartheid divided in what he called the Federal Union of the Autonomous States of Southern Africa.

Since then, he has worked hard to rally the Africans, coloureds and Indians in the South African Black Alliance. He has set up the Buthelezi Commission to give a unifying identity to the black, brown and white people of Natal. Not many years ago he established a black think-tank to explore the possibilities of an African-Africareans consensus on final goals.

This is leadership in any language. It is the change which made me accept his invitation requesting me to return home to join his administration in Umhlanga.
Political Staff

PROFESSOR R. D. van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape, suggested today that a movement for people of all races to be created to provide a framework for a new South Africa.

He put forward this proposal as a 'leader' in the light of what he saw as a likelihood that the proposed President's Council would be deprived of the opinions of many South Africans.

Speaking at a lunch of the Cape Town Press Club, Professor van der Ross said the movement would not be a political party or a pressure group.

It would enable South Africans of all races to establish 'a bond of brotherliness born simply of one need — to have a new South Africa conforming to certain basic principles.'

The movement would not be an organisation in the normal sense. It would not have membership, or rules, or fixed times or places of meeting, or officials.

All that would be expected is that anyone who identifies himself as a New South African would accept — possibly only broadly — a set of principles which would state his ideals for the country in which he would like to live and bring up his children,' Professor van der Ross said.

He suggested as basic principles that a 'New South Africa' should:

- Offer full citizenship and dignity to all its citizens;
- Reject discrimination against people on the basis of race, colour or creed;
- Undertake to promote social, educational, economic and political conditions that would aid the full development of all citizens;
- Accept the right of people or groups of people to promote their own specific interests, or to strive to maintain their own identity, provided this did not interfere with the rights, interests or development of any other persons or groups; and
- Strive for the fair and equitable distribution of the nation's wealth, according to merit, while rejecting any totalitarian ideology as the basis for such distributing.

The proposed movement would also seek to co-operate with other African states to a degree compatible with these principles and with South Africa's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Professor van der Ross suggested certain 'negotiable' words and phrases that would make this possible, and called for discussion of this at a conference table.

The grouping included: the framework and construction, or the broad outline, of the Constitution and the nature and determination, of the 'rhythm of participation'

Professor van der Ross said earlier in his address that the proposed President's Council was likely to be deprived of the opinions of many South Africans.

Not only had the official Opposition withdrawn, but blacks had been excluded from direct participation at the conference table.

With such factors in mind, and being anxious that the new venture should at least have available to broad a body of opinion as possible,' Professor van der Ross then made his proposals for a new movement.

He said he had written the outline of his proposals before the leader of the Opposition, Dr F. van Zyl Slabbert, had outlined his 12-point programme.

The fact that Dr Slabbert had outlined such a programme indicated that there was a powerful need, even for those who would not serve on the President's Council, to set out their points of view.

Professor van der Ross said his idea for a new movement was not intended to bolster the President's Council. Even those who rejected the proposed council outright for whatever reason might identify with such a movement.
Me reactionary? Not on your life

LOOKING fat and oily as a walrus, with the dazzle of a walrusian smile, my friend kept on exploding: "You're reactionary, Klaaste. That's what you are, a reactionary."

The more he gulped his brandy, the hotter he seemed to become. Instead of getting as angry as he was I secretly delighted in his performance.

The picture of this Dickens character in Bleak House — a bogus cleric famous for his sanctimonious "peace be unto this house" — was so vivid in my mind from his performance, I could have paid the man to go on swearing and sweating.

Some people have called me timid. Others will tell you I'm a conservative. Still others, less kindly, have called me a political coward. But a reactionary, never.

The argument, if I remember well sprang from my mention that Bishop Tutu was dynamite. It seems most of the eggheads in this particular shebeen did not think much of the bishop's political cleat.

It turned out every time I opened my mouth I put my elegant shoe right into it. Somewhere along the line I made mention about Dr Motlana, and as if by telepathy everybody went for my throat. Cripes, this was getting out of control, and absence seemed to have turned me into — yes you guessed it — a reactionary.

CRAZY

Politics it seems has gone completely crazy in Johannesburg. Not too long ago there was talk from some very special friends of mine about crossing the colour line, from black consciousness to integration. There has been talk about how consciousness has served its purpose — about how we were now all deep into "awareness" and had to move into something more exciting, like buddying up with whites.

In the shebeen the talk was winging into something about nationalism, about planned economy, about socialism, until my head started to go into hazy spells. Fond memories of the clarity with which black consciousness was expounded not more than a year ago, quickly seemed to melt into the atmosphere.

For the record I'm still most comfortable with black consciousness. There's simply no problem in my mind about being "aware" and most emphatically exclusive; even racist. I have no qualms at all about that.

If that's being reactionary, then I'm supremely happy about my new political stance.
ANC starts underground recruiting in Zimbabwe

By Marlon Duncan

Four senior members of the banned African National Congress (ANC) are alleged by Zimbabwe's intelligence sources to be conducting underground recruiting operations in Zimbabwe.

They are Pila Pola, John Sweeney, Moses Mbhele Mahbida (alias Mahbida) and Nicky Mushandi. All are long-standing ANC members.

Pola entered Salisbury on a flight from Lusaka early in June. He told immigration authorities that he was "ANC South Africa" and gave a fictitious contact address.

Neither police nor immigration authorities were aware that Sweeney had entered the country clandestinely a little earlier, or that he was also with the ANC.

Mahbida — who it seems, has been named as head of the High Command of the ANC military wing — entered Zimbabwe during the third week in June on an Algerian passport, claiming to be a Tanzanian trade unionist. He soon disappeared and was reported by sources in Mr. Joshua Nkomo's Patriotic Front party to be in Matabeleland.

Nicky Mushandi arrived in the country with a delegation of 16 Libyan diplomats at the invitation of the Patriotic Front. He, too, vanished. Sources close to Mr. Nkomo placed him in Matabeleland, too.

PF party sources said the men were "recruiting and fund-raising."

The ANC is waiting to hear whether or not Mr. Robert Mugabe's Government will grant permission for administrative and propaganda offices to be opened in Zimbabwe.

Despite Mr. Mugabe's anti-South Africa speech at the Organisation for African Unity conference in Sierra Leone last week, he is still (according to Salisbury Government sources) wary of committing himself heavily to the ANC.

He is, in fact, acutely embarrassed by the covert operations of the ANC, which went ahead without informing the Zimbabwe Government of its activities. There are reports that Swapo is also recruiting in Zimbabwe, again without official knowledge or permission.
ULUNDI. — The executive of the Afrikaanse Student Bond yesterday held talks with the Inkatha president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and two members of his central committee at Ulundi.

Chief Buthelezi, said after the meeting, it had been held "in a very cordial atmosphere" and parties concerned agreed "this was a historic occasion and should augur well for the future of South Africa".

Points discussed centred mainly on the role of the ASB within the political and cultural life of Afrikaanse youth.

Chief Buthelezi said the ASB expressed the desire to have continued contact with Inkatha and had also extended an invitation to the Inkatha Youth Brigade to attend the annual ASB congress at Potchefstroom next week.

The president of the ASB, Mr Chris Fismer, said his organisation believed it was important for the peaceful future of South Africa that all young people of this country should come together, talk and learn to know each other.

'Most important group'

"We regard Inkatha as the most important group to have contact with," Mr Fismer said.

The two other members of Inkatha were Dr Dennis Madlise, constitutional chairman of Inkatha and Minister of Health and Welfare for KwaZulu, and Mr J K Mgubane, the Inkatha president's press officer.

Other members of the ASB were the vice-president, Mr Abrie de Swart and an additional member of the executive committee, Mr Hennie Lambrecht.

The meetings held between the ASB executive and the Inkatha central committee follow closely on the attendance by the vice-chairman and secretary of the Students' Representative Council of Stellenbosch University at the Inkatha National Conference in Ulundi last month.

NRP, PFP youth movements invited

- The Inkatha Youth Brigade has invited the youth movements of both the NRP and the PFP in Natal to a three-day gathering at Ulundi this weekend.
- Although a timetable has not yet been finalized, it is expected the gathering will be addressed by Chief Buthelezi — KwaZulu's chief minister.
- Visits to the palaces of Chief Buthelezi and Chief Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu king, have been arranged.
- Mr Dave McNaught, chairman of the Durban chapter of the NRP youth, said yesterday the NRP hoped to have about 50 people at the gathering.
- Mr Gary Cooney, youth organizer for the PFP's Natal coastal region, said he expected about 10 people from his party to travel to Ulundi.

Mr Niel Rossouw, Natal secretary of the National Party, said no invitation had been received from Inkatha to attend the gathering. — Sapa, Own Correspondent.
Ex-ANC man shot dead in Umtata

UMTATA — A former South African political refugee who came to Transkei early last year, Mr Tennyson Makiwane, died in the Umtata General Hospital yesterday after being shot in his home in Madeira Street here.

Mr Makiwane, a former member of the African National Congress, was shot in the chest and abdomen and was admitted to the hospital's intensive care unit on Sunday night.

The Commissioner of Transkei Police, Brig Martin Ngcebe, said he could not comment on the shooting. The case was being investigated.

Mr Makiwane was in the hierarchy of the banned ANC since the 1950's and was one of the ANC treason trialists in 1959. After they were acquitted, he fled the country and became a roving ambassador of the organisation, visiting countries like Moscow, China, Europe and Asia, being in Mr Oliver Tambo's wing.

He came back to Transkei to join the civil service as a consultant on foreign information affairs under the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In May last year, Mr Makiwane was arrested in Botswana and handed over to the South African Police.

He was on a mission to some African states and was released after some hours of negotiating with the South African security police by the Transkeian government.

Mr Makiwane is survived by his wife and children. — DDG.
Can majority rule bring peace?
Jordan K Ngubane
PHMRE Minister Botha's 'adapt or die' call was basically a warning that white South Africa's racial policy was moving the Republic to predictable disaster. Most whites do not seem to take that warning seriously. Their refusal to face change sets the spotlight on two fundamental and related weaknesses in the white community — an inability to rule racially divided and culturally mixed nation because of the intellectual vacuum that white proposals for a solution of the so-called race problem creates.

In my comments on Cyprus, I focussed on the need for whites to stop the vacuum by creating a situation to compel whites to accept majority rule as the only reliable guarantee of security and survival in South Africa.

The present contributory response of blacks to the invitation to develop this theme.

The compulsion is surely seen in the factors which give rise to the 'face' crisis; and the urgency of the matter as a formula for co-existence to lead blacks to safer routes to a secure future.

The five years that it has been existence, economic, political and social, the African people's potential for unity, for example, for Cecil Bore biography, labours and consumer power as a political weapon.

This increase of strength gives whites the chance to take steps to stop the crisis. Urgency is given to the need to do this by factors which whites, if warned, will 'near South Africa to catastrophe'.

Compelling

A quick glance at these factors gives us the need for change:

The erosion of a balance of black and white forces which gives an irresistible momentum to the African's march to majority rule.

The relative success of the Black power movement by the Soweto 'rebellion'; Inkatha's mass-power and free choice in the diplomatic scene;

The strain on white unity produced by conflict between economic integration and black nationalism;

The opportunity for power created by the emergence of the South African Black Alliance as a powerful, united, coloured and Indian vic- tim of r a c e d i s c r i m i n a t i o n ;

The disturbances in African schools; and

The militarization of 'action fights' in parts of Natal. These factors bring us to the point that any talks of majority rule are against current talk of all, we must face the situation, a large number of free African ties.

The inefficacy of the former political exile and leading African National Congress figure, Mr. Andrew Ngcobo, has returned to South Africa to join Inkatha in the firm belief that the larger southern African problem that call for a larger southern African solution is being develop only by all the peoples, nations and races in the area to move into a multi-racial conflict.

The ideal development of the larger solution is the transformation of all the peoples, nations and races of southern Africa into a co-operating economic and political community.

The constitutional structure of the co-operating community is a federation of the autonomous states of southern Africa which would now include Angles, Bophuthatswana, Bot- tswana, Bechuanaland, Mozam- bique, South West Africa (Namibia), South Africa, Swaziland, Transvaal, Venda or Zambia and Zimbabwe.

A joint-black-white campaign to enlist free African support for the above ideal of nationalism.

A common purpose for the Southern African treaty conference which must prepare the ground for the formation of a federation.

The Black mobilization for the purpose of a successful and an African development campaign to plan and guide development in the federal union;

The rejection of the unitary state because its foundation and purpose is that it creates the conditions in which an advantage to minority group of a combination of such majorities can exercise itself in such a way as to prescribe destiny for the majority or exercise the power of a majority.

The first step in estab- the larger and co-operative political community is to arrive at a series of black and white agreements on regional solutions which would eventually turn together into a national black and white consensus on final goals. The re-unification of Kwazulu and 'white' Natal into an autonomous Kwazulu province or state would set a precedent for the resolution of 'race' conflict in other parts of the country.

In the conditions described above, enrolling the whites to recognize the importance of a recognition of majority rule as their best and ultimate survival means, first, defining the dangerous situa- tions which now exist for blacks, confronting the white power with the black power on the one hand and clearly stated alternative to the status quo and, second, giving construct-ive focus to Inkatha's mass-power and capability for the purpose of accelerating movement toward a black-white consensus on future.
Inkatha invites PFP and NRP to Ulundi

Political Reporter

The Inkatha Youth Brigade has invited the youth movements of the NRP and the PFP in Natal to a three-day gathering at Ulundi at the weekend.

Although a timetable has not been finalised yet, it is expected the gathering will be addressed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, KwaZulu's Chief Minister. Visits to the palaces of Chief Buthelezi and Chief Goodwill Zwelithini, the Zulu king, have been arranged.

Mr Dave McNaught, chairman of the Durban chapter of the NRP youth, said yesterday the NRP hoped to send about 50 people.

Studentebond

Mr Gary Cooney, youth organiser for the PFP's Natal coastal region, said he expected about 10 people from his party to go.

Mr Niel Rossouw, Natal secretary of the National Party, said his party had not received an invitation.

The Afrikaans Studentebond executive has invited members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade to attend its congress at Potchefstroom next week.

This follows two days of meetings between members of the Studentebond and members of Inkatha, including Chief Buthelezi and the Minister of Health and Welfare for KwaZulu, Dr Dennis Madide.

Inkatha said in a statement that, in spite of the limited time between now and the ASB conference, the movement would try to send observers.

The statement said all parties had agreed that this had been a historic occasion and should augur well for the future of South Africa.

Future

Points discussed centred mainly on the role of the ASB within the political and cultural life of Afrikaner youth. The executive of the Studentebond expressed a desire to have continued contact with Inkatha.

Chief Buthelezi outlined Inkatha's policy of working towards a negotiated future for South Africa and its strategy of dialogue with all shades of political opinion.

The ASB was represented by its president, Mr Chris Finser, its vice-president, Mr Abrie de Swardt, and another member of the executive, Mr Heinie Lamprécht.
Ex-ANC member killed,

Own Correspondent

UMTATA, — Mr Tennyson Nolia Makiwane, a former staunch member of the banned African National Congress who fled South Africa more than 20 years ago to live in exile, died of gunshot wounds in hospital yesterday.

Mr Makiwane joined the government service in Transkei more than 20 years after fleeing South Africa after being acquitted in a treason trial.

The Transkei Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Martin Ngeoba, said that police were investigating. It is believed that Mr Makiwane was found in a pool of blood in his house with several bullet wounds.

Mr Makiwane was in the hierarchy of the banned ANC since the 1960s. After his acquittal on treason charges he fled the country and became a roving ambassador for the organization, visiting countries such as Russia and China.

He returned to Transkei last year to join the civil service as a consultant on foreign affairs.
Shot ex-ANC man dies

THE head of the Transkei Police, Brigadier Martin Nqocha, has declined to discuss the possible motive behind the killing of the former ANC man, Mr Tafurryza Yola Makwane who died in hospital after being gunned down by an unknown man at his Untata home on Sunday night.

He felt it unwise to say anything that would hamper police investigations or let the cat out of the bag at a time when no arrest had been made.

Recalling the shooting incident from information pieced together from the dead man's family, Brig Nqocha said Mr Makwane had been painting the house with his wife that evening.

While moving from the main house to collect something from a garage outside, Makwane was shot by the gunman who managed to run back to the house where he collapsed.

When the wife heard the first gun shot from inside the house, she ran out but was too frightened to confront the intruder.

But Mr Makwane's sister, who had been out for the evening, returned in time to catch a glimpse of the gunman running out of the premises towards a forest below the house.

She, however, could not identify the man as he had a mask pulled over his face.

On their arrival shortly after the shooting, the police found five spent cartridges from a 38 pistol, four of them lodged in Mr Makwane's chest and abdomen.

A PE teacher and a graduate from Fort Hare University in the Eastern Cape, Mr Makwane died at the age of 58. He is survived by his wife and three children.

Mr Makwane, a former member of the ANC's exiled leadership, settled in Transkei after South Africa granted it independence in 1976.

He became Roving Ambassador for Transkei at the request of President Kaizer Ntombela.
Death: ANC squad link?

Special Correspondent

UMTATA - A "hit squad" composed of militant ANC members is believed to be responsible for killing former ANC member, Tennyson Xola Makiwane, who died in hospital here on Monday.

Mr Makiwane was shot five times while in his house here on Sunday night.

In an interview here last night, Transkei Commissioner of Police Brigadier Martin Nqoeba would not give details of the shooting "because I might let the cat out of the bag." So far there had been no arrests.

The Star now reveals, however, that Mr Makiwane, a former political exile and second in command of the ANC government in exile led by Mr Oliver Tambo, had had a quarrel with the hierarchy of the party in Africa.

He fell under suspicion after he had been seen in several capitals abroad talking to Transkei diplomats.

He was then immediately expelled by the ANC and went to Swaziland, where he sought political asylum.

Several attempts were made to assassinate him in Swaziland, so he sought refuge in Lesotho and then went to Transkei.
EAST LONDON — A former co-founder of the banned PAC, Mr John Nyati Phokela, of KwaManxembha, in the Transkei district of Herschel, has been released from Robben Island after completing a 13-year sentence for conspiracy.

Mr Phokela was arrested on the South African-Lesotho border in 1966 and charged as the architect behind the move to kill whites in East London. He was convicted in the Supreme Court, Grahamstown in 1967.

When the PAC was formed in 1959 he was chairman of the resolutions committee. As a teacher he played a prominent role in 1954 when black teachers protested against the introduction of Bantu Education.

He was in the delegation that saw the then Minister of Native Affairs, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, when the PAC was banned in 1960 he escaped to Lesotho with other leaders of the PAC, including Transkei Minister of Justice, Mr Tsepo Letlabi.

Mr Phokela studied at Fort Hare University with the Zimbabwean Premier, Mr Robert Mugabe, former leader of the PAC, Mr Robert Sobukwe, and leader of the Basotho Congress Party, Mr Ntsu Mokhele. — DDR
PFP, NRP cancel Ulundi trip

Political Reporter

BOTH the PFP and the NRP youth groups in Durban have cancelled a trip to Ulundi this weekend after news that the rally they were to have attended was not an official Inkatha function.

The two groups had accepted an invitation from Brother David Nhleko, youth organiser of the Full Gospel Church at Umlazi and a member of Inkatha, on the understanding that the gathering was officially recognised by Inkatha.

However, Mr Eric Ngubane, personal secretary to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi — president of Inkatha and KwaZulu’s Chief Minister — said yesterday the function did not have the sanction of Inkatha. Chief Buthelezi would attend the function if he could but there would be no question of talks with the groups.

Brother Nhleko, organiser of the Ladysmith Black Mbaso Choir and a voluntary youth organiser for Inkatha, told the Mercury he had extended an invitation because he “wanted to work together with them to form a religious relationship”.

It is understood that Inkatha has plans for meetings with the youth movements of white political parties but no arrangements can be made as the secretary-general, Dr Oscar Diomo, is in Canada.
Don't disinvest plea by chief

ULUNDI.—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, reiterated his stand against American disinvestment when he met two influential United States congressmen yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said after a meeting between members of the Inkatha Central Committee and Mr Stephen Solarz and Mr Benjamin Rosenthal of New York that he told the two politicians the empirical findings of a University of Natal survey had shown that the majority of black people did not support disinvestment.

"Chief Buthelezi said Mr Solarz—a member of the US Congress' sub-committee on African affairs—was inclined to support American disinvestment.

He said he had conceded that disinvestment 'had served a purpose. If it were not for this campaign, the Sullivan Code would not have come into being.'

The Chief Minister revealed that he had told Mr Solarz he would support legislation to make application of the guidelines of the Sullivan Code obligatory for US companies operating in South Africa.

In an addendum prepared for discussion, he maintained that an armed struggle in South Africa could not and would not succeed. The pre-conditions for such a struggle did not exist.

"The politics of protest anger had never succeeded in mobilising a general strike or stay-away, he declared. Nor had it ever succeeded in organizing a successful consumer boycott action.

"Independent surveys show that the average black South African lacks faith in black protest politicians. They lack faith in the international community's will and ability to apply economic sanctions against South Africa," Chief Buthelezi said.
mean fighting - Chief
End of Dialogue Could

ARMED Struggle in

South Africa could re-

arm seven soldiers and

III
Makiwane’s last words

Indaba Reporters

EAST LONDON — I knew this would happen to me one day.

These were some of the last words spoken by former South African political refugee Mr Tennyson Makiwane, 47, who was shot dead by an unknown gunman.

While lying in a pool of blood he told his wife, Ruth: “They have finished me. I knew this would happen to me one day. It is all because of politics.”

The former African National Congress man was hit by four bullets from a .38 pistol at his home on 23 Madeira Street on Sunday night. He was admitted to Umtata General Hospital but died 18 hours later.

The Commissioner of Police, Brigadier Martin Ngcoba, said the gun used was “of foreign origin.”

Mr Makiwane was gunned down in his bedroom at 12.00am. The bullets hit Mr Makiwane in the chest and abdomen.

Mr Makiwane was an influential student at Lovedale.

Mr Makiwane was in the hierarchy of the banned ANC since the 1950s and was one of the ANC treason trials in 1958. After they were acquitted he fled the country and became a roving ambassador of the organisation, visiting countries like Moscow, China, Europe and Asia, being in Mr Oliver Tambo’s wing.

He came back to Transkei to join the civil service as a consultent on foreign information affairs under the Department of Foreign Affairs.

In May last year, Mr Makiwane was arrested in Botswana and handed over to the South African Police.

He was on a mission to some African states and was released after some hours of negotiating with the South African security police by the Transkeian government.

In Maseru, Lesotho, early last year, before returning to Transkei he wanted to know whether Transkei was a quiet place and wanted to know whether other former PAC or ANC people had returned to Transkei.

He said then he wanted to return home after having been away for more than 10 years.

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He said then he wanted to return home after having been away for more than 10 years.
Buthelezi's plea to industrialists

Mercury Reporter

THE Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, last night appealed to the Natal Chamber of Industries, as well as to the Federated Chamber of Industries, to nominate individuals to serve on the proposed Buthelezi commission of inquiry to consider the future of Natal and KwaZulu.

Addressing the annual dinner of the powerful Pinetown and New Germany division of the chamber, the Chief Minister suggested the creation of a study group and the appointment of an individual to provide a back-up for whoever was nominated by the Natal Chamber to serve on the commission.

'It would be helpful if this division wrote to all its members, soliciting their co-operation in the work of the commission,' he said.

Polarisation

Chief Buthelezi said industrialism, as such, was on trial in South Africa. There was a need for industrialists to be more informed about their wider circumstances.

He warned against the dangers of polarisation in South Africa. Wrongly handled, this very widespread tendency would be activated on a scale which would make sound administration impossible.

'Already we have a situation of a Nationalist Right-wing element being at variance with Mr Botha and his Cabinet, on the one hand,' he said.

On the other hand, we have a Left-wing black development which is at variance with my leadership and Inkatha.'

These dangerous positions, Chief Buthelezi continued, acted at this point in history to give the vast majority of South Africans immediate reason to find each other.

Recognition

Generally, he detected in white society a growing recognition that black aspirations had to be accommodated.

'We face the peculiar situation in this country where the bulk of the white electorate and the bulk of the disenfranchised blacks are, in fact, ahead of the propensity to bring about change, displayed in institutionalised politics.'

He predicted that future historians would write about this decade as the decade of golden opportunities for reconciliation which were seen all around.

Curtailing

Economics had played a major role in curtailing the worst of the National Party's ideology. The reality of the market place would curb both the Left and the Right.

'We have not had successful BNPs. Neither have we had successful communist parties,' said Chief Buthelezi.
Inkatha bars the children

Mercury Reporter

SEVERAL hundred underprivileged black children did not attend a Durban Military Tattoo dress rehearsal this week because of pressure from Inkatha.

More than 1,500 tickets were offered to underprivileged children of all races by the Coca-Cola Bottling Co.

Its manager, Mr. Lionel Cork, said yesterday he was not aware of the Inkatha move until late yesterday.

About 1,000 children from other race groups attended the rehearsal.

Last year children from Kwa Mashu had been taken to the Tattoo and this year the company had decided to take children from Umlazi.

'What started out as a goodwill gesture has now turned into a political issue,' he said.

'But we will make the offer again next year.'

Mr Terry Toohey, Durban Publicity Association director, said the Tattoo was not a political event and since it had started the DPA had gone out of their way to ensure it was nonracial.

'We are obviously upset. Inkatha has taken this attitude and sorry the children had to suffer.'

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, who is also president of Inkatha, said last night that as far as he was concerned the Tattoo was a military event.

He was sorry for the man who had organised the outing.

'He must have meant well and it is a pity that a man of goodwill has been caught in the cross-fire of an incident like this.'
Bishop Vining cleared

members

Orlando laid by

charges
dismiss

Church

Bishop Vining cleared

By Maria

INHAZ

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controversial Bishop Donald G. Vining,

CONTROVERSIAL BISHOP DONALD G. VINING

Vining laid by charges dismissed

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Church
Mandela refused to see Phatudi?

SUNDAY POST Reporter

THE Chief Minister of Lebowa, Dr Cedric Phatudi, this week denied speculation that the imprisoned leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, refused to see him when he visited Robben Island.

Last month, Dr Phatudi, accompanied by some of his Cabinet Ministers, visited Robben Island and although he saw some of the prisoners he was unable to see Mandela.

Referring to unconfirmed reports that Mandela had refused to see him, Dr Phatudi said: "There is no reason why Nelson should not want to talk to me. I have nothing against him and he has nothing against me."

Dr Phatudi said he knew that Mandela would be keen to meet him.

He said he would soon be meeting Prime Minister P W Botha to arrange for another visit to Robben Island and to discuss the continued imprisonment of the ANC leader.

He added: "I can't say when I will be seeing the Prime Minister, but it should be very soon."

He knew Mandela very well before his arrest, he said. And added: "I know he would speak to me because politically we are moving in the same direction. I am opposed to the same things that he was opposed to."

"I also knew him both socially and professionally before his arrest."

Referring to his visit to the Island, Dr Phatudi said he was made to believe that he would meet Mandela.

"However, after a long wait I was told that I would not be able to see him. It is still a mystery to me why I could not see him, but I could read between the lines," he said.

After his visit to Robben Island, Dr Phatudi called for the release of Mandela and urged Mr Botha to make efforts to see Mandela.
The philosophy behind the establishment of the South African Community of Black People (SACOBP) is rooted in the concept of black people's right to self-determination. SACOBP is a federation of black people's organizations that defends the interests of black people. The philosophy behind the establishment of SACOBP is rooted in the concept of black people's right to self-determination. SACOBP is a federation of black people's organizations that defends the interests of black people.
PHOKELA, THE PAC BRAINS, RELEASED FROM ROBBEN ISLAND

Tribune Reporters

JOHN NYATHI PHOKELA, the man convicted in 1967 as the brains behind PAC plan to exterminate whites in East London and other Border towns, has been released from Robben Island after serving 13 years for conspiracy.

He is back at his Transkeian home at Kwamanxoba in the Horschel district. Unlike many ex-Robben Island prisoners who are released in South Africa, he has not been banned.

Phokela made a name for himself as one of the most ardent opponents of bantu education.

When the system was to be introduced he was on the delegation that saw the then Minister of Native Affairs Dr. Hendrik Verwoerd.

He studied at Fort Hare University with men such as Zimbabwesian Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, the late former PAC leader Robert Sobukwe and the leader of the Basotho Congress Party Mtsa Mokhehle.

He was one of the co-founders of the PAC when it broke away from the ANC in 1960 and was chairman of the resolutions committee at the PAC’s inaugural conference at the end of the year.

When PAC was banned, he escaped to Lesotho with Patrick Leballe and the Transkeian Minister of Justice Tsopo Letake.

Phokela was arrested on the South Africa-Lesotho border in 1968 and convicted in Grahamstown the following year.

\[ \text{kg} \times \frac{2.5}{5} = 4 \text{ c per day} \]
Slaying will leave a deep scar — Koyana

UMTATA — Everything should be done to spite evil underground liquidation squads. Transkei's chief representative in Europe, Mr Amos Somdaka, said in a message read at Mr Tennyson Xola Makwane's funeral here yesterday.

The former ANC member's political enemies had not dared touch him before. "Why now?" Mr Somdaka asked in the message, read by outgoing Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Digby Koyana, at the two and a half hour funeral service.

Mr Makiwane was gunned down in his home here a week ago by an unknown assassin. Mourners from throughout Transkei and South Africa packed the town hall for the service, including the State President, Chief Kaiser Matanzima, and Cabinet Ministers Mr T. Letlaka, Mr S. Mbanga and the Rev G. T. Vika.

Mr Koyana said Mr Makiwane's latest quarrel with the ANC "emanated over the question of nationalism. Like Mandela and all other genuine nationalists, he was convinced that only when the nationalists led the struggle would liberation be guaranteed."

He said Mr Makiwane had not seen any contradiction between Transkei's independence and the liberation of black people, saying they were complementary rather than antagonistic.

His assassins were "calculating, vicious enemies who would stop at nothing "to bring catastrophe on the lives of our innocent population."

Mr Koyana said assassinations would continue. "But the government sees assassins as cowards of the highest description, inferior to their victims whom they are too afraid to confront."

"Tennyson was murdered when he just embarked on a campaign to enlighten people here about opportunities they have to advance themselves. His assassination will leave a deep scar on this country."

Mr Koyana said Mr Makiwane was the embodiment of the aspirations of the African youth of the 40s and 50s. South African refugees had always been welcomed at his Lusaka home irrespective of their political affiliations.

Transkei Commissioner of Police, Brig Martin Ngcaba said yesterday police were no nearer tracking down Mr Makiwane's assassin. — DDR.
By STANLEY UDU
London Editor

LONDON. - The Nigerian Prime Minister, Professor Ishaya Audu, arrives in London today on a five-day official visit, hoping to win British backing for the international "Free Nelson Mandela" campaign.

Prof Audu also has signalled his intention to question British Ministers on the implications of Britain Netherlands's impending association with Mr Harry Oppenheimer's Anglo American group, through BP's takeover of Charter Consolidated's interest in Selection Trust.

Nigeria presides over the United Nations anti-apartheid committee, and the expectation among Foreign Office officials is that Prof Audu will emphasise his government's continuing interest in events in Southern Africa.

These range from South Africa's recent threats into Angola, the disputed future of South West Africa, the uneasy political situation within Zimbabwe, and the allegedly passive attitude Britain and other Western powers are displaying towards unrest in South Africa.

Prof Audu will meet the Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, Foreign Secretary Lord Carrington, and other senior British Ministers.

Nigeria is one of Britain's major trading partners.

The Nigerian Government has already publicly endorsed the widening campaign for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners serving life sentences on Robben Island.

A gesture by the South African Government to the black majority would, according to Nigerian authorities, be a settlement.

...one way to improve prospects for a black-white dialogue and thereby help stabilise the situation in South Africa. The British Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Richard Lacey, has told a delegation of the Anti-Apartheid Movement that Britain has no ground to intervene in a situation obviously internal to South Africa.

But he has also said the British Government believes the release of Mandela and his companions could have a pacifying effect on the tense racial situation in South Africa, and that it would therefore favour the move.

Meanwhile Nigeria is already engaged in direct negotiations with BP over compensation for the State takeover of the oil plant's assets in Nigeria.

The takeover was announced before the Commonwealth summit in Lusaka last August, when African states suspected the Thatcher government was on the point of recognising Bishop Abel Muzorewa's regime and lifting sanctions.

Because the British Government retains a big stake in BP, the issue of BP's purchase of Charter's share in Selection Trust is down on Prof Audu's agenda for discussion with the Thatcher government.

But Foreign Office officials report no detailed negotiations are foresee. This will be left to the Nigerians and BP.

However, they acknowledge that BP's move is unlikely to make Nigeria more sympathetic or flexible in its approach to
Nigerian PM to push Mandela campaign in UK

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The Frontline States are putting similar pressures on Western governments.

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However, they acknowledge that BP's move is unlikely to make Nigeria more sympathetic or flexible in its approach to a settlement.
LONDON — Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has said he does not believe South African blacks can duplicate the sort of change that has occurred in Zimbabwe.

In an ATV programme screened in London last night, he said blacks in the Republic should use their worker and consumer power to achieve change.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu was speaking in the final episode of David Dimbleby’s series “The White Tribe of Africa”, which traces the history of the Afrikaner and examines South Africa’s racial problems.

It was first shown last year by the BBC, and Mr Dimbleby recently made a last updated episode.

Chief Buthelezi was asked what his reaction was to actions such as the Soweto sabotage, and he replied: “Apart from calling the white man names, I don’t think a series of these things can resolve the problem. In fact, if we can counter-productive. I don’t think the whites can be easily intimidated.”

He said the situation in South Africa was in no way similar to that in Zimbabwe. “It’s a false paradise to think we can duplicate that here,” he said.

Mr Dimbleby also spoke to the Minister for Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Koornhof, and asked if he had wanted to push through changes but had been thwarted by the National Party.

“That’s a very shallow view,” he told Mr Dimbleby.

There may be something in it, but, as so often happens, that’s a quarter of the truth. The basic thing is to maintain stability. If you want to reform, you cannot do it unless you have stability.”

When he was asked whether bureaucracy was holding up change in South Africa, Dr Koornhof told a story about a tortoise given to him as a present by a “dear friend” who had said, “This present is the civil service. If you allow it to go at a tortoise’s pace, then it will move at a tortoise pace, which is slow, but if you push it, it will pull its head in and sit, and then the pace is even slower.”

Mr Dimbleby interviewed a cross-section of whites, blacks and coloureds in his new programme. Most spoke of change, but said it was happening slowly.

A white Farmer, Mr Mian
POTCHEFSTROOM — The black man regards with suspicion anything the Government hands down to him without consultation first, an Inkatha delegate told an Afrikaanse Studentebond (ASB) congress here yesterday.

Mr M Mkhize, national chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade, was addressing 250 Afrikaner student delegates from 13 universities and colleges after a speech yesterday by Mr Roelf Meyer, National Party MP for Johannesburg West.

Mr Meyer, a past ASB president himself, spoke on the role of youth in politics today.

He said South Africa's youth were becoming more politically conscious and that the overriding political concern at present was better relations between the different race groups in South Africa.

Mr Mkhize said in response that he was pleased this was so because despite some good in the "package deal" the Government provided for black people, these were rejected because of the Government's attitude.

"The Government makes obnoxious laws without consulting us first. We feel the pinch of these laws and are inconveniented by them," Mr Mkhize said.

He said: "Black people, too, have priorities which they expect to be catered for. If they are not, they will respond negatively.

HANDOUTS

"We do not want handouts. We can think and talk for ourselves but we cannot initiate because of the structure of the Government hierarchy.

"The idea of homelands is a non-starter as is the constellation of states. We cannot accept it the way it has been presented to us with all its conditions," he said.

He said because Inka that had visited the ANC earlier this year it did not automatically mean Inkatha was an enemy of the Government. Inkatha believed in contact and dialogue with everyone, Mr Mkhize said, who attended the London ANC conference as well.

"Inkatha and the ANC have 'common ground' in that both believe in the liberation of the blackman. But they have different means to this end, non-violent and violent respectively," Mr Mkhize said.

Mr Mkhize's speech was met with silence by the Afrikaanse students while Mr Chris Fismer, ASB president thanked Mr Mkhize.
BRITAIN joined its 12 multiracial Commonwealth partners this week in calling on South Africa to free Nelson Mandela.

The action by the Southern Africa Committee of the Commonwealth gave a new impetus to an intensifying international campaign for the release of Mandela, jailed for life on charges of sabotage 16 years ago.

The Commonwealth group, made up of High Commissioners and a senior British Foreign Office representative, also emphasised that what they called "the grave problems afflicting the Southern African region" were the result of SA's "racist policy embodied in the system of apartheid".

A statement issued by the committee was unanimous in declaring that "the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela was deplored."

The issue was raised by the Indian High Commissioner, Mr P. Singh.

Delegates who attended this week's meeting, said Mr Singh argued that it was high time the Commonwealth initiated action demanding Mandela's release. Such an initiative, he was quoted as saying, would be a practical expression of Commonwealth solidarity.

Mr Singh's arguments were accepted without dissent and the British representative, who normally takes a more cautious view than many of his colleagues, agreed with the proposal.

At the end of the meeting the committee chairman, Mr Ernest Seignorot, High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago, said:

"In reviewing recent events in Southern Africa the committee noted with great concern the sharply escalating repression in South Africa. It recalled that Commonwealth heads of government, at their meeting in Lusaka (last year), had stressed that the grave problems afflicting the Southern Africa region stem from the racist policy of the South African regime embodied in the system of apartheid. In this context the continued imprisonment of Nelson Mandela was deplored and the committee unanimously called for his immediate and unconditional release."
History made as Inkatha youth chief talks to ASB

By Josie Brouard

POTCHEFSTROOM — History was made today when a black man — national chairman of the Inkatha Youth Brigade — officially addressed the cream of Afrikaner youth at the Afrikaanse Studentebond's (ASB) annual congress. And he spoke of a future of uniting black and white.

Mr Musa Mbitje was bidding farewell to the 200-odd students from 13 Afrikaans colleges and universities after attending the ASB congress as a guest for the past 23 days.

Although he spoke to students earlier in the week, this was his first official address.

Mr Mbitje said it pained him that Afrikaners — and whites in general — feared the black man.

"Although some fears are justified, many are created by the white man himself who is afraid to venture out into the world, widen his thinking and sense of reality," Mr Mbitje said.

He said Afrikaners tended to think the present was all they had to live in.

"The situation has turned in South Africa. Violence can be sparked at the slightest friction. The time has come for Afrikaners to initiate positive programmes towards a better South Africa," Mr Mbitje said.

He said whites could not think of power sharing without fearing the end of the white race in South Africa.

"We are not going to throw them into the sea. We know they are citizens of South Africa, like us. But at present the black man is a foreigner in his own land," Mr Mbitje said.

"The black man is asking to be recognised as a man by other men. We do not want concessions but without black participation in the President's Council we are non-starters."

Mr. Mbitje outlined the general political expectations of the youth brigade:

1. That a man could apply for a job, and get it on merit;
2. That he could exercise his religion unhindered;
3. That he would be protected by a bill of rights;
4. That he could sell his labour in a market where and to whom he wanted to.

Page 10: Black seats plan is out.
Inkatha snubs CC elections

THE SOWETO branch of Inkatha this week maintained its stand not to participate in the coming community council elections, and speculation is that the poll percentage will not rise.

The rent hikes in Soweto coupled with the council's decision to introduce subtenants at pensioner's homes, could reduce the number of voters even further.

And the increase in electricity tariffs without prior notice to residents could also have an effect.

Inkatha's liaison officer for the West Rand, Mr Peter Davidson, said this week that they doubted their movement's participation in the elections.

"We doubt very much if we will participate," he said. "Our problem is not philosophical but practical.

He said for Inkatha to participate in the elections the Government first had to state clearly as to how the council would be financed to meet its obligations."
Friend of Biko is set free

CAPE TOWN. - A friend and co-worker of Mr Steve Biko, the black consciousness leader who died in detention in 1977, was released in Cape Town yesterday after eight days in detention.

The freed detainee, Mr Peter Jones, returned home yesterday morning, his wife, Mrs Angela Jones, said.

Mr Jones was a former Black Peoples' Convention organiser.

He was detained by Security Police on July 8 and held in terms of Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act.

Vernepas.
The development of black labour power in South Africa's car industry examined by the London Financial Times. Despite recent wins by trade unions and outlawed trade unions which claim to have no political ambitions being outflashed by more radical groups. As their example is followed elsewhere in the country, the impact is likely to be enormous.

The motor industry's new minimum is bound to have a ripple effect on wages at other Eastern Cape companies. More important, the psychological impact of the motor workers' impending success on workers in other parts of the country is likely to be enormous.

South African employers, and especially the local subsidiaries of multinationals, will probably be confronted in coming months with increas-ingly frequent and well-organized industrial action aimed at raising black living standards and ending racial discrimination on the shopfloor.

Johannesburg, South Africa 14 April

The Eastern Cape strike of black car workers against their peak involves 6,000 workers in a dozen companies. But the workers' main target has been the local subsidiaries of companies whose wage agreements are set by the Federal and General Motors.

In a remarkable display of solidarity, 3,000 trained and colored production workers from the Ford Minster plant have for three weeks refused to work.

The Gopalan union of Ford workers, which represents 2,000 employees, has already won a pay offer of R1.60 to $1.70 per hour to be phased in over the next three years. The company has accepted.

The new minimum for black workers has been hailed as the result of a long and hard fight for better conditions and pay.

The strike began on 11 March, when the workers went out in demand of a 10% pay rise. The company offered a settlement of 5% but the workers went out on strike and were joined by other unions.

The strike has had a significant effect on the car industry as a whole, with many companies cutting production or laying off workers.

The strike has alsohad an impact on the broader South African economy, with many businesses closing or laying off workers due to the lack of a labour force.

The strike has been met with support from other unions, with thousands of workers joining in solidarity meetings and protests.

The strike has also gained international attention, with reports from around the world highlighting the workers' struggle for better conditions and pay.

The strike has been ongoing for three weeks and has not yet been resolved. The workers have set a precedent for solidarity and resistance against exploitative practices in the South African car industry.
Soweto teachers choir snubbed

Threats of picketing by BCM

LONDON — A concert to be given by the Soweto Teachers’ Choir at Lambeth Town Hall was cancelled at the last moment after Lambeth Council received threats that the concert would be picketed by Black Consciousness groups.

Only three hours before the concert was due to begin on Tuesday night, members of the choir still did not know of the cancellation.

The concert was to have been given as part of Lambeth’s Summer Festival. The choir’s director, Mr. Te Khan, had been given a telegram recommending the cancellation after representations from the Consortium of Ethnic Minorities in Lambeth and the Council for Community Relations in Lambeth.

On Tuesday the council issued a statement on the cancellation, saying: “The advice received from these race relations specialists was that to go ahead with this performance would be an affront to the black community in Lambeth, especially as notice had been received that certain groups would picket the event.”

Members of the Black Consciousness Movement, Azania, the Pan African Congress and the Soweto Youth Revolution Council had threatened to picket the concert.

A leaflet issued by the BCM said the picket would be held because:

1. The choir gave evidence for the State in a South African trial of Soweto students.
2. Members of the choir refused to identify with the uprising of 1976.
3. The choir gave special performance to members of the South African Government.
4. The choir was supported by large donations from South African firms which pay low wages and refuse to recognise black trade unions.
5. One of the choir’s concerts had been sponsored by Kontak, the Afrikaans women’s organisation, “and by Mimi Coertse.”

The leaflet concluded that the choir and its sponsors had no relationship to whatsoever the liberation struggle of the black people.

At a concert given by the 80-strong choir on London’s South Bank, Tuesday noon, Mr. Jabulani Mazibuko, the choir’s director, said black groups in London were informed about the choir.

He said he had been called on to give evidence in a trial of students after a petrol bomb had been thrown into a classroom in which the choir was practising.

DONATIONS

He said that he had told the court that the petrol bomb had been thrown, but was unable to identify any of the people in the dock as those who had thrown the bomb.

Referring to donations received by the choir, Mr. Mazibuko said they had received money from many Johannesburg organisations.

Mr. Mazibuko said the money already raised was received in the form of donations, fees for concerts, and street collections.
Prominence is not leadership

WHAT makes a woman a leader?
Black women have admitted that they have, for a long time, confused prominence with leadership and as a result don't know who their leaders are. Interviews conducted by POST Woman revealed that many women believe they stand leaderless.

Mrs Thabile Mangena, who works at the Turre College, said: “We have confused prominence with leadership. A leader must identify completely with the people’s needs and aspirations. The minute a so-called leader divorces herself from the everyday sufferings of her people, she automatically stops to be a leader.

“One of the few black women I look upon as a leader is the late Mangayi. She lived for the black man’s struggle. Some of the prominent people confused as leaders represent only the small clique of the elite, who want to protect their interests and think that all blacks see things their way.”

Ms Vesta Smith, a leading Northing community worker and former member of the now banned Black Women’s Federation said: she prefers “workers for our people” to “leader”.

Ms Smith added: “I see a leader as one who has suffered with the people and goes out to pull them on their feet. Women like Dr Mamphela Ramphele have done just that.

“A leader must not live above the normal level of the people in the ghetto. Most of our so-called leaders are living above the level and I haven’t found them to be doing much at grass root level.”

Mrs Smith said she didn’t know what to call the people referred to as leaders because: “I honestly don’t see what they have achieved for the other women down there.

“Our ‘leaders’ are probably afraid to come out because perhaps they are afraid of losing their passports, properties, or shall we call them richies? or maybe they are afraid of jeopardising what they have or their positions if they are too active.

“I think they have too much to lose but in the meantime they are losing more by not working with the people and making them aware of the times we are living in”, she said.

“What the ‘leaders’ need is to involve themselves with the needs of our community, the suffering of our community and we need to be united. If we women could be organised, not necessarily by violence or being militant, but in our own quiet manner, we could achieve a lot,” Ms Smith said.

She said that there are black women at the top who want to come out now and again to say something for other women at the bottom of the ladder: “they don’t come forcefully enough to be seen and heard.”

Ms Nomvuyo Midladlamba — “Our leaders are those unsung heroines, the humble folk with whom one identifies easily.”
'ASB links must be extended'

By ARNOLD GEVER

POTCHEFSTROOM. — Despite the inability of Afrikaaner students to move ahead of the Government, links between them and the powerful Inkatha movement had to be extended, a central committee member of Inkatha said yesterday.

Mr Simon Maphalala said this after the Inkatha Youth Brigade delegation's farewell address to the Afrikaanse Student Bond (ASB) congress in Potchefstroom.

Addressing about 300 students from 13 Afrikaans universities and colleges, he said the meeting — the first between the ASB and black students — was an "historic moment", proving that the country's problems could be solved without conflict.

The Inkatha Youth Organisation's attendance led to a walkout by two Rightwing students who had earlier threatened to stay away should black students address the congress again.

Mr Maphalala expressed disappointment about the ASB's refusal to accept the idea of blacks sitting on the Government's proposed President's Council, but said Afrikaners were still busy "trying to arrive at solutions".

"I know the history of the Afrikaner and how the British oppressed him. I do not believe he would do the same as the British," he said.

Mr Musa Maize, national president of the Inkatha Youth Brigade and also central committee member of Inkatha, earlier said it pained him that whites, and particularly Afrikaners, were living in fear — much of which they created themselves.

"You are afraid to venture out into new experiences and challenge the status quo," he told the ASB delegates.

Power sharing did not mean one had to lose one's identity and the students' acceptance of the President's Council without blacks on it was therefore sad, he said.
PORT ELIZABETH. — Parents of boycotting black pupils have sought talks at Cabinet level in a bid to break the deadlock that has left dozens of Eastern Cape schools without pupils.

A delegation yesterday met the Minister of Co-operation and Training, Dr Pret Koornhof, for a two-hour emergency session at H F Verwoerd airport.

It has also been announced by Mr Norris Singapo, chairman of the Port Elizabeth Community Council, that the Minister of Education and Training, Dr F Harrozberg, has been invited to the city on July 24 to discuss the critical situation in the schools.

Dr Koornhof said after yesterday’s meeting that a statement on its outcome would be issued within 12 hours by the relevant authorities.

AGREEMENT

‘All I can say now is that I have seen Mr Singapo and other delegates from the school committees. They put certain points to me, and we have come to an agreement on these points.’

The delegation consisted of clergy and business, education and community, political and civic leaders.

A meeting of parents, teachers and principals in the Port Elizabeth and Despatch areas has been called for 2 pm on Sunday.
Transvaler case arouses interest

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA

THE Attorney-General is awaiting the outcome of a police investigation before deciding if Die Transvaler should be prosecuted for reports it published about an overseas interview with a leader of the banned African National Congress.

A spokesman for the Police Directorate of Public Relations said yesterday that police were still investigating the matter. The docket would be referred to the A-G once the investigation was completed.

The A-G, Mr J Nothing, said yesterday: “As soon as I receive the docket, I will naturally study it and then decide whether to institute a prosecution or not.”

The matter is being viewed with keen interest by the media, because it will determine to a large extent what they may write or say about organisations such as the ANC.

On June 21, Die Transvaler published a story based on an interview given to the New York Times by an ANC vice-chairman, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The Rand Daily Mail subsequently asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Athiba Schlebusch, whether Die Transvaler had been given permission to publish the ANC views. The Mail also sought permission — which was refused — to publish the ANC views as contained in the New York Times interview.

Mr Schlebusch, through the head of Ministerial Services in his department, said no permission had been given to Die Transvaler in question Mr Mbeki, and that the matter would be referred to the Attorney-General.
editorial on Tuesday: "He is not one of the firebrands who simply wants to write off the white man ... (he) challenged the black consciousness movement over its inverted apartheid which rejected co-operation with whites only because they were white."

The headline on Beeld's leader summed it up. "Why?"

"Why indeed?"

Mazibuko, acting director of the South African Council for Higher Education (Sacohed), secretary of the Soweto Teachers Action Committee, and an executive of the non-racial National Education Union of SA, had just emerged from a stormy entry into the debate over whether black consciousness supporters should co-operate with whites. He came in for strong criticism from those advocating non-cooperation.

As Beeld said, his banning is "to the advantage of extremists who believe that there can be no white-black co-operation in the development and building of a new SA." And the newspaper concluded, "Whatever the future holds, of this we can be certain: we will have to talk to the Fanyana Mazibukos, just as we are already talking to the Tutsis. This is not made easier by detentions and bannings which make these people aggressive and allow more angry people (kweateres) to emerge in their place."

Mazibuko's banning could not have come at a more unfortunate time.

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**BLACK POLITICS**

Restricting options

Fanyana Mazibuko, who has just been arbitrarily removed from public life, is one of an extremely small number of black radicals still prepared to talk to whites, and is also an educationist of high standing.

Concerning the three-year banning order imposed on Mazibuko on Friday last week, Nationalist daily Beeld stated in its

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Mazibuko ... one of a small number willing to talk, now silenced

Financial Mail July 18 1980
DEPARTEMENT VAN INDIERSAKE
No. 1543  18 July 1980
WET OP DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE INDIERRAAD, 1968 (WET 31 VAN 1968)
HERROEPING VAN DIE DELEGERING VAN SEKERE BEVOEGDHede AAN DIE UITVOERENDE KOMITEE VAN DIE SUID-AFRIKAANSE INDIERRAAD
Ek. Stephanus Jacobus Marais Steyn, Minister van Indiërsake, herroep hierby die bevoegdhede gedelegeer ingevolge Goewermentskennisgewing 7 van 2 Januarie 1976 ten opsigte van artikels 3 (3) en 33 (1) (e) van die Wet op Onderwys vir Indiërs, 1965 (Wet 61 van 1965).
S. J. M. STEYN, Minister van Indiërsake.

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
No. 1543  18 July 1980
THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL ACT, 1968 (ACT 31 OF 1968)
REPEAL OF DELEGATION OF CERTAIN POWERS TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN COUNCIL
I. Stephanus Jacobus Marais Steyn, Minister of Indian Affairs, hereby repeal the powers delegated in terms of Government Notice 7 of 2 January 1976 in respect of sections 3 (3) and 33 (1) (e) of the Indians Education Act, 1965 (Act 61 of 1965).
S. J. M. STEYN, Minister of Indian Affairs.

No. 1544  18 July 1980
THE INDIANS EDUCATION ACT, 1965 (ACT 61 OF 1965)
AMENDMENT OF REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ADMISSION OF PERSONS TO STATE AND STATE- AIDED SCHOOLS FOR INDIANS
The Minister of Indian Affairs by virtue of the powers vested in him by section 33 (1) (e) of the Indians Education Act, 1965 (Act 61 of 1965), has made the Regulations set out in the Schedule.

SCHEDULE
1. In this Schedule “the Regulations” means the regulations promulgated under Government Notice R. 723 of 13 May 1966.
2. Regulation 10 of the Regulations is hereby amended—
(a) by the deletion in subregulation (1) of the words “at school”;
(b) by the substitution in subregulation (1) for the words “the facts” of the words “such conduct”;
(c) by the deletion in subregulation (6) of the words “on the recommendation of the principal”.

S. J. M. STEYN, Minister of Indian Affairs.
LONDON—A new British solidarity organisation in support of South African 'liberation' movements was launched here last night in opposition to the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

To be called Azania Solidarity, it is an offshoot of the far-Left British splinter group, the Revolutionary Communist League. At the inaugural meeting were representatives from the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Youth Revolutionary Council. The African National Congress (ANC) turned down an invitation.

The organisation's representatives criticised the Anti-Apartheid Movement for being 'pro-ANC' to the exclusion of other black exile organisations.

Birthday greetings for Nelson Mandela

Mercy Correspondent

LONDON—Sympathisers throughout the world have sent greetings to Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader on Robben Island, for his 62nd birthday today.

Among the wellwishers are Bishop Ambrose Reeves, the former Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rev Harry Morton, general secretary of the British Council of Churches and Mr John Jackson, chairman of the TUC international committee.

One of the prime movers in the formation of Azania Solidarity is Dr Costa Gazides, who served a prison sentence following the trial against Bram Fischer and 13 others.

He left the South African Communist Party to follow a Maoist line.
Stupidity
ANC, Stupidity
Buthelezi lashes out
LONDON — Britain's National Union of Miners announced yesterday that it would visit the South African Embassy in London soon to demand the release of imprisoned South African Black Nationalist leader Nelson Mandela.

The NUM, one of the most powerful trade unions in Britain, also said it had sent a greetings telegram to Mandela on his 60th birthday.

The union has invited Mandela to attend a miners' function and visit British coalfields next June.

Mandela has been in prison for the past 11 years.

He is serving a life sentence.

— Sapa.
Reddy warns DTMB

Mercury Reporter
IN A moment of crisis people attacked the "symbols of oppression" and if the Durban Transport Management Board (DTMB) brought out private Indian operators it would become one of those symbols.

Mr J N Reddy, chairman of the South African Indian Council, said this yesterday in evidence before the commission of inquiry into transport in and around Durban.

He pointed out that during recent bus boycotts the Indian-operated buses had had no trouble. Operators had declined police offers of protection.

He said there was great opportunity for industrial development on a free enterprise system in the bus business but because of the "maze of regulations" no infrastructure for industry had been built up.

"Body-building, for example, could be developed, providing job opportunities for many and making the community and the country self-reliant."

The necessary equipment for a collective operation should have been provided at least 10 years ago. But every request for workshop facilities in Durban has been turned down because of the Group Areas Act.

"People are prepared to put money into business but it must be a business they know something about."

He emphasised that the free enterprise system should be respected and encouraged and if the Minister of Transport withdrew the Indian operators' permits "it will be seen as an act whereby the strong eradicate the weak."

The commission adjourned until October 13.
Azapo fears ban by Le Grange

By AMEEN AKHALWAYA
Political Reporter

VIEWED expressed this week by the Minister of Police, Mr Louis Le Grange, have convinced black consciousness leaders that the Government is preparing to ban the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo).

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr George Wachhpe, said yesterday that Mr Le Grange's speech at the annual congress of the Afrikaner Studentebond in Potchefstroom could be seen as "preparing his constituency for taking action against us".

As a one of the speakers warning students against the "total communist-inspired onslaught", Mr Le Grange said that since the 1977 bannings, many organisations had been founded that were "directly or indirectly inspired and financed" by the banned African National Congress.

He named Azapo as being among them.

Mr Wachhpe commented: "He wants to justify the action he intends taking against the organisation because he could have charged us for promoting the aims and objects of a banned organisation."

"Much as Azapo recognises the important liberatory role played by historical organisations like the ANC, the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Black People's Convention, it is independent and has its own constitution and policies which are a direct manifestation of the oppressive system as prevails inside the country today."

Earlier this year, statements by Ministers sparked speculation that the Government might be preparing for another round of action against black consciousness organisations and individuals.

A number of black consciousness supporters were questioned by Security Police, and two of them, Mr Curtis Nkondo and Mr Fanyana Maziwo, both officials of the Soweto Teachers' Action Committee, were subsequently banned.

* The Rand Daily Mail has not attempted to put Mr Le Grange's allegations to ANC leaders for comment, since it would be an offence to publish their views without Government consent.
activities which endanger the maintenance of public order.

But what public is this Mr Schlebusch is referring to? Has anybody ever lodged a complaint anywhere about Mr Mazibuko’s public behaviour? If so, when was that and what was the nature of the complaint?

I am not trying to give Mr Mazibuko a testimonial, but I know this gentleman too well to accept that he could have been so dangerous as to have endangered public order.

As my school teacher at Morris Isaacson High School some 12 years ago, I knew him to be a man who knew the difference between coming and going. And he was not an ordinary or average teacher for that matter.

In fact, I doubt if Mr Schlebusch has ever seen Mr Mazibuko’s face, let alone see him doing anything detrimental to the maintenance of public order.

He had the misfortune to be born black and during the 29 years that he’s been around, he has not seen public order because in his lifetime, there has never been one in this country. It died the day apartheid was born.

And for public order to rise from the dead, Fanyana Mazibuko, Curtis Nkonde, Helen Joseph, Tinzah Mazibuko and others do not have to lead the miserable lives they are leading now under senseless banning orders.

All that has to be done is for apartheid to be sentenced to death and thrown into the sea to drown. But we know that once the government has decided on anything, they act, and there is no beating of drums or shedding of tears that is going to make them change their minds.

But history is going to catch up with them. And quickly too. They cannot live with guilty consciences forever. Although we disagree so much with the Nats, we have always been obstinate enough to allow ourselves to be tried by their courts of law.

Mr Mazibuko should also have been charged in court if he has committed any crime.

He has merely embarrassed the Nationalists by continually slamming apartheid and the unacceptable system prevalent in this country. His banning, is therefore, an acknowledgement by the Nats of another victory for the liberation struggle.

Pretoria knows that by silencing one black mouth, they are actually opening several others which may be even more vociferous. Blacks have shown their determination to fight relentlessly for their freedom and not be deterred by intimidation.
CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi, president of the 300 000 strong Inkatha Movement and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, says he will form a government acceptable to all South Africans of whatever race, colour or creed.

He made this undertaking in response to a threat from Inkatha Central Committee at Ulundi on Friday night during a seven-hour meeting called to thrash out relations between the powerful Zulu movement and the banned African National Congress.

A memorandum circulated at the meeting requested the chief, whom it described as head of state in a future South Africa, to declare that he seeks power on behalf of the people to lead the country.

At the meeting Chief Buthelezi claimed that ANC members had threatened to kill him.

He warned ANC leaders in exile that if they did not acknowledge Inkatha as sharing in the struggle, they and Inkatha will have reached an impasse which could have terrible consequences.

He said he’d had no reply to his letter to the ANC’s President General Oliver Tambo in May.

Earlier this month Chief Buthelezi accused SUNDAY POST of driving a wedge between him and the ANC, and spoke of his “common cause” with the movement.

In a letter which he read to the meeting Chief Buthelezi accused the ANC of being responsible for growing discord among blacks in South Africa.
WORLD'S JAZZ HERITAGE SING FOR MANDELA

...
In this article, exclusive to SUNDAY POST, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi described his vision of the direction South Africa is taking and outlines the strategy he believes is most suitable for political action.
I HAVE on a number of occasions recently been asked to explain, how I see the future of South Africa. I am a practical politician with a very large andgrowing constituency. I can only speak for them, and I must necessarily avoid academic debates.

The first aspect of Mr. W. P. Botha's premiership was that the ideal solution for South Africa was simply to give the black and white a decent democratic society. However, the necessity of constitutional change, if any, was necessarily avoided academic debates.

First and foremost, our position was that the constitutional changes of 1976 were unnecessary and that the existing institutions, were, prior to Mr. W. P. Botha's term of office, efficiently well-woVEN together and could not be dismantled yet. This is the only time to take note of the black and white in the fight for South Africa. I am here to tell the country in the right situation.

As a black in this country, I have deeply appreciated and deeply appreciated the tremendous changes in the fight for South Africa. We now understand the process of black and white cooperation. This is the essence of our campaign.

The future, the recognition of our political rights, the national liberation of the country, is within the reach of all our comrades. We are in an armed effort to establish a new and democratic system of government. We have now achieved the social change that we have fought for, that we now live and that we fight.

I have never been afraid to take a handful of white and black citizens to South Africa and to fight for our rights. I have been in jail, but before justice is established, I have never been afraid to stand up for the cause of justice. I have been in jail, but before justice is established, I have never been afraid to stand up for the cause of justice. I have been in jail, but before justice is established, I have never been afraid to stand up for the cause of justice.

I have again and again been asked to state what stands out for the future of South Africa, I talk about it as a black and white, because I am concerned that whatever happens, the black and white community will be affected. It is our moral duty to be affected. It is our moral duty to be affected.

I have black calling me to say that everything else has failed yet, and the time for the employment of force has not yet arrived.

I have black calling me to say that everything else has failed yet, and the time for the employment of force has not yet arrived.

Chief Botha — the creator.
Defamation action against Bishop Ming

By MANDLA NDLAZI

THE R120 000 lawsuit against Bishop Donald G Ming, former head of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) in South Africa will be pursued though costs will be "astronomical," SUNDAY POST was told yesterday.

The suit for defamation was filed before Bishop Ming left the country after his term had expired. He was being sued by Mrs Marina Maponya and Mrs Norah Baduza, who were each claiming R60 000.

Recently back from the church's conference in the US, Mrs Maponya, who was one of the delegates, said: "We'll try and pursue the matter though the costs will be astronomical." She said a final decision would be made after they had met their attorneys.

"If true Bishop Ming was cleared of maladministration of the church's affairs here, but one can understand who was on the bench," said Mrs Maponya.

She said while the region's delegates were divided, the Americans were unfluent on the matter. However, said Mrs Maponya, the delegates from home succeeded in making some points that were taken note of by the conference.

Mrs Maponya said the majority of the church's members in South Africa are "tired of being exploited by American bishops who just come here for four years and leave us as poor as ever."
ANC death threat to Buthelezi denied

By PATRICK LAURENCE
Southern Africa Editor

SOURCES close to the banned African National Congress in London last night denied South African Sunday Press reports that the ANC had threatened to assassinate the president of Inkatha, Chief Gaata Buthelezi.

The sources described the reports as a "mischievous ploy by the South African Government" to discredit the ANC.

News of the purported threat was reported to have been disclosed to the Sunday Press by the Chief of the Security Police, Brigadier Johan Coetzee. But Brig Coetzee denied this last night, saying he had spoken of an explicit death threat perse.

"It is common knowledge that the ANC has taken a very critical and threatening line against Chief Buthelezi. The ANC is a terrorist organisation and under the circumstances one could expect that his life would be threatened and that the South African Police would take the necessary precautions." The weekend did, however, mark a sharp increase in tension between Inkatha and the ANC following a series of tough statements against the ANC at a meeting of the Inkatha central committee at Ulundi on Saturday.

The meeting was called to discuss the ceremony which has come to characterise relations between Inkatha and the ANC since their talks in London late last year.

Each movement occupies a pivotal political position. In-
katha, because of its efficient organisation and mass support, the ANC because of its pre-eminence abroad and its commi-
mittance to "armed struggle".

The Inkatha meeting was the sequel to a series of attacks on Chief Buthelezi by top ANC men, including Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general. The ANC attacks focused on recent political decisions and actions taken by Chief Buthelezi.

At the Ulundi meeting, Chief Buthelezi read a letter which he had written to the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in which he expressed "growing misgiving" over the ANC's attitude to Inkatha, and accused Mr Tambo of creating discord in the black community.

An Inkatha central committee memorandum defended Chief Buthelezi's stand against the boycott of schools by black children at KwaMashu, near Durban.

"It is ludicrous to criticise Inkatha for not backing disciplined school children's activity, which is not co-ordinated as part of a disciplined, ongoing political strategy," the memorandum said.

"It is highly indicative of the ANC's political poverty that they find it necessary to lead any event which threatens disruption and any violence initiated by people outside their (the ANC's) constituency."

The memorandum went on to accuse the ANC of "running behind the initiatives which emanate from that element in our youth which can only be described as irresponsible."

Criticism of Chief Buthelezi for purportedly failing to support campaigns to free the imprisoned ANC, Nelson Mandela, were rejected as "ludicrous" by the meeting.

It said Chief Buthelezi had been in the forefront of efforts to secure Mr Mandela's release.

Chief Buthelezi was not available for comment after the Rand Daily Mail had contacted Brigadier Coetzee, but he had earlier criticised the quote attributed to in the Sunday Press to Brigadier Coetzee as one of "suspect motives."
BLACK homeland leaders have rejected as inadequate three key aspects of government plans for future co-operation, including a separate black council as an adjunct to the President’s Council.

By MICHAEL ACOTT
Political Correspondent

A statement by the heads of the non-independent homelands is seen as a severe setback to the way in which the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, hopes to resolve constitutional and economic problems.

After a meeting at the weekend, the leaders accused Mr Botha of not giving effect to their suggestions, thereby reducing their influence as moderates with their own people.

They rejected a separate black council, favouring a President’s Council including blacks. This is a further blow to the credibility of the two councils Mr Botha proposes to help evolve a new constitution acceptable to all races.

The President’s Council, which would comprise white, colored, Indian and Chinese members, has already been rejected by the Progressive Federal Party and moderate and Indian leaders because it excludes blacks.

The proposed black council, which could be established by legislation at the short parliamentary session in October, would have powers to consult with the President’s Council in key areas, including constitutional development.

“The concept of a separate black council is totally rejected by the assemblies of all self-governing black States, but not necessarily the concept of a President’s Council if it includes blacks,” the statement by the homeland leaders said.

The Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Piet Kooiman, made it clear last night that the government would go ahead with plans to have two separate councils, although they would have equal status.

He told SATV that the government could not yield on this because the homelands had developed constitutionally to the point of having statutory self-government, legislative assemblies, cabinets and chief ministers, as well as their own territorial areas. Coloured and Indian people did not have these things.

The homeland leaders also rejected two other aspects of government planning — the formation of a constellation of Southern African States and the idea of dual citizenship of the constitution and their homelands, to get around their objection to loss of South African citizenship on homeland independence.

They advised the government to postpone plans to establish a constellation of States until South Africa’s internal problems had been solved.

The statement, by representatives of Gazankulu, Lebowa, Thabaserwa, Qwaqwa, KwaZulu and KwaZululand, comes shortly before Mr Botha is due to meet the leaders of three independent former homelands in Pretoria.

The meeting on July 22 with heads of government of Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda was described by Mr Botha as a further step on the road to establishing the constellation of States.

Our Johannesburg correspondent reports that the conference concluded and Chief Minister of Gazankulu, Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi, told newsmen that the right of blacks to South African citizenship was non-negotiable.

Any form of dual citizenship, which Mr Botha claims to be necessary to South African passports without the corresponding right to political participation in the central government would be unacceptable.

Professor Ntsanwisi accused Mr Botha, of “side-tracking” an earlier request to meet leaders of the non-independent homelands with a view to negotiating with them “as a team” for the drawing up of a joint declaration of intent.

Professor Ntsanwisi spoke of the “frustration” he and his colleagues had experienced in trying to influence the government’s policies, and said black leaders who rejected violence and believed in compassion for both white and black would lose their influence.

Referring to past violence in urban areas and subsequent increases in educational spending on urban blacks, Professor Ntsanwisi said he gave some people the impression that violence brought positive results while non-violent representations were ignored.

News by M P Acott, TT Box Street, Cape Town and P. Laurens, 117 Main Street, Johannesburg.
ANC given tough warning by Inkatha

Political Reporter

The Central Committee of the 300,000-member Inkatha movement has issued a tough warning to the African National Congress not to carry out its threats to assassinate Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The Central Committee has accused the leadership of the ANC's external mission in exile of "poor judgment and political poverty."

"It is now time the ANC understood that if they attempt to carry out their threats and they succeed then they will have once and for all sealed their doom," says a resolution adopted by the committee.

The resolution says that by making threats to assassinate the Inkatha president, Chief Buthelezi, the ANC's external mission has assumed responsibility for whatever happens to him in future.

"If black South Africa is to retain an effective and disciplined approach to reconciliation, Inkatha must necessarily develop even further along paramilitary lines."

"We request the president of Inkatha to introduce paramilitary approaches to Inkatha activity wherever possible."

- Page 25 — Now the days of wooling are over.
NELSON MANDELA turned 62 at the weekend. The former secretary general of the banned African National Congress spent his birthday labouring away at his life imprisonment sentence on Robben Island.

In many countries around the world, a man who has reached that age, could have been considered for release on humanitarian grounds. But not South Africa.

With determined cold blooded business-like manner, Mandela remains in the eyes of our rulers the most hated and the most unwanted man on South African soil.

This newspaper, has now for some months, campaigned for his release from jail. We have been the target of smear campaigns from white politicians and also targets of snide attacks from their black allies.

We pleaded for Mandela's release because we sincerely believed - and our conviction has not wavered at all over the months - that he and he alone stands there as a symbol that could avert disaster overtaking this nation. His release, therefore, is our view, in the national interest and we will continue to say this.

We note with satisfaction that our pleas for his release has touched the hearts of humanity around the world. Many people have joined us in our campaign including South African organisations, whose support have taken the authorities somewhat by surprise.

The Prime Minister and some of his Cabinet Ministers have been making hopeful noises about the need to bring about a new dispensation.

We are convinced that the most dramatic, credible and worthwhile statement of faith they can demonstrate is by releasing Mandela and other political prisoners from jail.

We would then be convinced that they are not paying lip service to the whole principle of negotiation. But that they mean it. It would also enhance this country's image in the eyes of the international community.

We are not saying that it must be done to placate overseas public opinion. We say it must be done because it is the ONLY sensible thing to do if we cherish national survival. And because it is only right.

Meanwhile, happy birthday, Rolihlahla.
Kwazulu Transport boss appeals to Zulus to limit size of families

Inkathas mission move
Not police job to protect me, says Buthelaalz

Morning Reporter

Chief Minister of KwaZulu, said yesterday that it was not the function of the police to protect him against death threats from the outlawed African National Congress, unless this was with the permission of the KwaZulu Police.

He was responding to a statement by Brig. John Coetzee, head of the KwaZulu Police, after he asserted that a threat to kill the KwaZulu Chief Minister had been made in an ANC broadcast from Pretoria last week.

Death threat

Brig. Coetzee said he took the threat seriously and added that the Provincial Commissioner would take the necessary steps to ensure his protection.

Chief Buthelaalz said: "I don't know who made the statement. He has not disclosed it to us yet."

A resolution adopted at a meeting of the central committee of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Umtata held on Thursday demanded that President Botha be convicted for his support for MK in South Africa under Chief Buthelaalz's leadership.

Resolution

Those who had accepted the "police" and 'political power' of the ANC's external mission in exile.

The resolution added that, had the ANC not made the threats, the MK's external mission had laid the foundations for a black civil war and a consequent setback for the black liberation struggle in South Africa.

If the exiled leaders succeeded in carrying out their threats, they would have affected their cause for all time. They hope they might have had
Homeland Independence may go to court - Motlana

PROSPECTS for a reversal of homeland independence were held out by speakers at a weekend seminar on the Quail Commission which recommended stringent conditions for homeland independence.

One of them was Dr Nthato Motlana, chairman of Soceto's Committee of Ten, who said homeland independence might be contested in court.

He cited the opinion of an American based on a Supreme Court judgment in Cape Town that the Government had no right to alter boundaries without consulting the provinces.

Another speaker, Mr Proctor-Sims, secretary of the Quail Commission, said demands for an end to the independence of former homelands might not be far-fetched.

"We can at least contemplate in theory, and possibly in practice, that the independence could be undone," he said.

He proposed an informal meeting of representatives of all South Africans along the lines of a national convention. The results might be very persuasive, he said.

"In a unitary state like South Africa everyone of us has every right of every inch of this land," he said.

"Another speaker, Mr Proctor-Sims, secretary of the Quail Commission, said demands for an end to the independence of former homelands might not be far-fetched.

Professor George Qual, chairman of the commission said the commission had spelled out "five overwhelming reasons" why independence should be rejected by the Ciskei.

But all South Africans were affected by the arguments presented.

"Had this debate taken place earlier, the independence of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana and Venda would not have proceeded with," the professor said.

Ciskei

Dr Motlana disagreed that the Quail report would discourage remaining homelands from taking independence.

"It must be very difficult to you while South Africans to appreciate the depth of feeling of anger, of frustration, of determination to do anything, and I mean anything, to regain that citizenship," he said.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, told the seminar that a commitment to a "common citizenship in an undivided South Africa" was necessary for any serious talks on a resolution of the South African crisis.

The Bishop said the Quail Commission had unintentionally worked from the premise that parts of South Africa could be balkanised. In a sense it had given respectability to "a thing that we deplore with every fibre of our being."

Subject: Economics IA

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

Paper No: 1

(to be copied from the heading on the Examination Paper)

NOTE CAREFULLY

1. The answers only on the right hand side

WARNING
IN a report under the heading: “June 16 Remembered in London” it was inadvertently reported that the memorial service was chaired by Mr Drake Koka of the African National Congress.

The report also said Mr O.R. Setlhapele of the ANC participated.

Mr Koka has in fact never been a member of the ANC, while Mr Setlhapele belong to the ANC (Nationalist) group.

The ANC did not in fact participate in that memorial service, according to our London office. We regret both errors.
Lusaka speaks on Gatsha ‘plot’

The debate over an alleged African National Congress assassination plot against Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was carried a stage further today by a statement emanating from ANC headquarters in Lusaka.

The Star cannot publish details because of the law which forbids publication of statements from banned organisations such as the ANC.
ANC threat to kill Buthelezi denied

Johannesburg. — Sources close to the banned African National Congress in London have denied South African Sunday press reports that the ANC had threatened to assassinate the president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi.

The sources described the reports as a "mischief-making ploy by the South African Government" to discredit the ANC. News of the purported threat was reported to have been disclosed to the Sunday press by the chief of the security police, Brigadier Johan Coetze. But Brigadier Coetze denied he had spoken of an explicit death threat.

He said: "It is common knowledge that the ANC has taken a very critical and threatening line against Chief Buthelezi. The ANC is a terrorist organization and under the circumstances one could expect that his life would be threatened, and that the South African police would take the necessary precautions."

At the weekend there was a sharp increase in tension between Inkatha and the ANC, following a series of tough statements against the ANC at a meeting of the Inkatha Central Committee at Ulundi on Saturday.

The meeting was called to discuss the acrimony which has come to characterize relations between Inkatha and the ANC since their talks in London late last year.

Each movement occupies a pivotal political position. Inkatha, because of its efficient organization and mass support, the ANC because of its pre-eminence abroad and its commitment to "armed struggle."

Meeting a sequel to verbal attacks

The Inkatha meeting was the sequel to a series of attacks on Chief Buthelezi by top ANC men, including Mr Alfred Nzo, the ANC secretary-general. The ANC attacks focused on recent political decisions and actions taken by Chief Buthelezi.

At the Ulundi meeting, Chief Buthelezi read a letter which he had written to the ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in which he expressed "growing misgiving" over the ANC's attitude to Inkatha, and accused Mr Tambo of creating discord in the black community.

An Inkatha Central Committee memorandum defended Chief Buthelezi's stand against the boycott of schools by black children at KwaMashu, near Durban.

"It is ludicrous to criticize Inkatha for not backing undisciplined school children's activity, which is not co-ordinated as part of a disciplined, on-going political strategy," the memorandum said.

"It is highly indicative of ANC political poverty that they find it necessary to lend any event which threatens disruption and any violence initiated by people outside their (the ANC's) constituency."

Criticism of Chief Buthelezi for purportedly failing to support campaigns to free Nelson Mandela, was rejected as "ludicrous" by the meeting.

It said Chief Buthelezi had been in the forefront of efforts to secure Mr Mandela's release.

Chief Buthelezi was not available for comment, but earlier he criticized the quote attributed to the Sunday press by Brigadier Coetze as one of "suspect motives".

A statement by theANC has been excised from this report in terms of the Internal Security Act, which forbids publication of statements by banned organizations.
Senior NIC detainee home

Mercury Reporter

A SENIOR Natal Indian Congress vice-president, Dr Farooq Meer, back home from detention under the Internal Security Act, said yesterday he was determined to 'work for a peaceful and democratic South Africa'.

Speaking from his sickbed at home in Howell Road, Durban, he said: 'I don't know why I was detained,' adding the NIC had played a constructive and responsible role during the recent schools boycott.

Dr Meer, who was first detained on June 6 under Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act, was served with a document at the Johannesburg General Hospital, where he had been a patient under prison guard, informing him of his release. He had been taken to the hospital from Miotter B Prison in Benoni after suffering from a spinal complaint, he said.

Other NIC members still in detention include: its president, Mr George Sawpuraad; vice-president, Mr M J Naidoo; and senior members, Mr Paul David, Mr Thombha Pillay, Mr Satch Morgan and Mr A S Chetty, all attorneys.
Despite their widely divergent views on the use of violence as a means of bringing about change, the banned African National Congress and the Zulu Inkatha movement managed to develop a dialogue. But writes Political Reporter "OM DUFF:"

Now the days of wooing are over

The row this week between Inkatha and the African National Congress in exile brings to a halt one of the most fascinating courtships between two South African political organisations.

Inkatha, the 300,000-member movement headed by kwaZulu leader, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, has expanded in the past five years to become a formidable force in South African politics. As Inkatha grew, it was natural that exiled groups abroad should begin to take an interest in the organisation. Indeed, several of Inkatha's aims embodied the ideals of the old, non-violent ANC.

Over the years a dialogue of sorts developed between Inkatha and the ANC in exile when leading Inkatha members travelling abroad met ANC members. According to some sources, cordial relations developed even though Inkatha maintained its opposition to violence as a means of change in South Africa.

JITTERS

A meeting between Chief Buthelezi and the acting ANC president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, in London last year created banner headlines — and must have given some members of the South African Government a bad case of the jitters.

But in recent months it has become clear that relations between the two organisations had begun to cool. Last month at the annual conference of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi made it clear that he did not feel that the ANC was according Inkatha its proper due.

"I speak in love and comradeship in the profound hope that the ANC will not throw down the gauntlet in front of Inkatha. I and Inkatha make no bid to become rivals to the ANC," he said.

"We seek only to speak to the ANC as black South Africans. We seek to express our deep concern if we do so somewhat nervous of the ANC's ability to respond with insight and wisdom."

All this has now culminated in Inkatha members claiming they have evidence of an ANC threat to assassinate Chief Buthelezi. The Inkatha central committee has issued a stern warning to the ANC leadership.

At the same time, the committee has again rejected the use of force as a means for change. It has pledged to continue pursuing dialogue with white South Africa at all levels in search of peaceful solutions.

"We express faith in our president that such dialogue does not imply moving closer to the South African Government," says a resolution adopted by the committee.
A SOCIAL worker who refused to be named said she did not believe in women's liberation.

"For black men and women, the struggle is one and cannot be divided according to our sex," she said. "Once we start splitting the struggle into neat units we will lose direction and concentrate on trivial issues which are not relevant.

"We admit and accept some of the changes brought about into our culture through contact with foreigners, but we can't waste our time with this ideological women's struggle whose origin I'm certainly unknown to most women," she argued.

NATIONAL

Ms. Thelma Mendes, who works for a college in the city, said she was involved in fighting for women's rights as a human being and as a human being in her own right.

"If we have to fight for women's rights, we have to fight for the black woman," Mr. Smith added.

Ms. Nance Smith, a National Commoner's worker, said she didn't mind the struggle for women's rights because it was for all people's rights.

"I think women are completely beautiful," she said. "I don't see why I should stand on a platform about my femininity.

"Women have played important roles in our society," she said. "Behind every successful woman there is a woman.

"Women were intended to be mothers, and they shouldn't forget their traditional roles as wives and mothers," she added.

"We have to fight for all our rights, equal education for our children," she said.

VICTORY

"Victory in the long and difficult struggle for liberation will also be victory for the black woman." Ms. Smith said.

Ms. D'Souza said she didn't think that women's liberation was just a women's struggle for national liberation.

"There is nothing like this," she said. "The movement is not about women who are holding high positions at work and in their society and about the rights of people who have no power."
Courtship is over

JOHANNESBURG. — The row this week between Inkatha and the African National Congress in exile brings to a halt one of the most fascinating courtships between two South African political organisations.

Inkatha, the 300,000-member movement headed by KwaZulu leader Chief GaPhega Buthelezi, has expanded in the past five years to become a formidable force in South African politics.

As Inkatha grew, it was natural that exiled groups abroad should begin to take an interest in the organisation. Indeed, several of Inkatha's aims embodied the ideals of the old non-violent ANC.

Over the years a dialogue of sorts developed between Inkatha and the ANC when leading Inkatha members travelling abroad met ANC members. According to some sources, cordial relations developed even though Inkatha maintained its opposition to violence as a means of change in South Africa.

A meeting between Chief Buthelezi and the acting ANC president, Mr Oliver Tambo, in London last year created banner headlines — and must have given some members of the South African Government a bad case of the jitters.

However, in recent months it has become clear that relations between the two organisations had begun to cool. Last month at the annual conference of Inkatha, Chief Buthelezi made it clear that he did not feel that the ANC was according to Inkatha its proper due.

'The two groups, in love and comrade ship and in the profound hope that the ANC will not throw down the gauntlet in front of Inkatha, I and Inkatha make no bid to become rivals to the ANC,' he said.

'We seek only to speak to the ANC as black South Africans. We seek to express our deep concern if we do so somewhat nervously of the ANC's ability to respond with insight and wisdom.'

All this has now culminated in Inkatha's members claiming they have evidence of an ANC threat to assassinate Chief Buthelezi. The Inkatha central committee has issued a stern warning to the ANC leadership.

At the same time, the committee has again rejected the use of force as a means for change. It has pledged to continue pursuing dialogue with white South Africa at all levels in search of peaceful solutions.

'We express faith in our president that such dialogue does not imply moving closer to the South African Government,' says a resolution adopted by the committee.
Credibility of black moderates damaged

The credibility of moderate black leaders had been badly damaged by the Government's failure to hear or act on their pleas to improve the living standards of blacks, Mr. David Thebehali, chairman of the Soweto Council, said yesterday.

He was speaking at the laying of a foundation stone for a commercial school in Soweto. The school is backed by the American Chamber of Commerce and will accept 120 first-year students next year.

Mr. Thebehali said black leaders had been at pains to explain to the Government what blacks needed.

"The man in Soweto heard his leader ask, ask, and ask again. Then he saw his leader rejected, defamed, humiliated, and cheated. By refusing to listen and act, the Government has caused untold harm to moderate black leadership in the township," Mr. Thebehali said.

Black leaders were asking for better schools, decent education, better housing, and meaningful employment, but the Government would not listen, said Mr. Thebehali.
Move on tribal marriage opposed
ever possible;"
• Seek the establishment around Buthelezi, as president, of "a smaller executive structure designed to assist him and the secretary general to mobilise the people by strengthening Inkatha."

According to Inkatha sources, the movement remains committed to rapprochement with the ANC. But Buthelezi has warned that, if there is a black civil war, the ANC will have to share the blame.

Buthelezi has in the past warned that, should his efforts at internal dialogue through "the non-violent approach" prove fruitless, he, too, may go into exile. In this respect, the creation of an external branch could be significant. Further, an external wing could provide him with a platform from which to challenge the ANC's apparent hegemony in SA exile politics.

Some Afrikaans press circles are abuzz about the importance of the ANC-Inkatha fallout. It follows talk among Afrikaans verligtes about the possibility that Afrikaner nationalism can reach a mature understanding with Inkatha.

But Buthelezi has repeatedly rejected speculation of a separate deal with Afrikanerdom as "vulification and swearing." He says he remains committed to a national convention.

Where Inkatha will now align itself, and what its options are in this respect, are of major importance — particularly in the light of Inkatha's broad adherence to free enterprise as opposed to the ANC's social-

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BLACK POLITICS

Talking tough

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement is becoming more militaristic in response to the hostility of the banned African National Congress.

This was indicated in resolutions passed at a special central committee meeting of Inkatha. The meeting coincided with a disputed press report that the ANC might try to assassinate Buthelezi.

The central committee resolved to:
• Establish an Inkatha mission abroad;
• Ask Buthelezi to head a "Youth Services Corps," which, while basically welfare-oriented, could, according to observers, lend itself to paramilitary activities;
• Ensure that Inkatha develops "even further along paramilitary lines," and urge Buthelezi to "introduce paramilitary approaches to Inkatha activity wher-
Johannesburg. Inkatha, the Zulu cultural movement headed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, will not participate in the Soweto Council elections on September 27.

Mr Peter Davidson, the movement's publicity officer on the West Rand, said that Inkatha would not participate in community council elections until the councils were economically viable.

He said involvement in community councils at this stage could be damaging or disastrous to Inkatha's image. The government could make the Soweto Council economically viable by giving it the land it controlled and the houses on it, said Mr Davidson.

"Once the council has land as its assets, its capacity to borrow money for the development of the area would grow. The granting of the land must be backed by law, not just an administrative directive, to safeguard all parties concerned," he said.

If the council owned the land and the houses, it would, like any other municipality, have an economic base from which to build its revenue. It could not only finance itself from services, but also from levying rates off property and from licences.

'Land tenure will give residents a stake'

Mr Davidson said the granting of land tenure would give residents a stake in the area.

"The main problem in the township today is that the land on which Soweto stands belongs to the government, and the houses to the Department of Community Development.

"Can it then be fair for the people of Soweto to pay for the installation of infrastructure on land which does not belong to them, something that should have been done from the onset anyway?"

"We feel it would be much fairer if, at least, the land was given or transferred to the council," Mr Davidson said.

If that were done, political resistance among residents to paying and maintaining what did not belong to them would disappear.

"Inkatha is not doctrinaire, but practical. When and if these fundamental changes are made by the government, Inkatha will show its appreciation by fielding candidates who are likely to produce the desired results," Mr Davidson said.
Inkatha will be run on para-military lines 'to protect our schools'

By DAVID NIDDRIE

CHIEF Gatsha Buthelezi is to turn his powerful Inkatha movement into a tightly-disciplined para-military force.

It will be used to combat national disasters — and, according to Chief Buthelezi, 'to safeguard those things we erected' — such as schools.

"If Black South Africa is to retain an effective and disciplined approach to reconciliation, Inkatha must necessarily develop even further along para-military lines," the central committee of Inkatha stated in a special report approved last week.

At the height of the boycotts and riots last month in Natal, Chief Buthelezi called on his supporters to form vigilante groups to protect property in townships — and, if need be, to kill rioters attempting to destroy property.

He also urged pupils not to boycott classes.

Mr Deon Fourie of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies warned yesterday that when political parties — "and Inkatha is a political party" — began organising para-military groups for protective functions, "they inevitably turn into gangs of bully boys, which often challenge their creators".

Inkatha also plans to send a diplomatic mission abroad and establish diplomatic links with Black
Tell PW to give up power

SIR — People know their leaders. The meeting between the SACC delegation, headed by Bishop Sisulu, and the South African Government, led by the Prime Minister, PW Botha, will be an historic event. But before I go into details of this, I would like to point out that such a meeting could still be subjected to criticism because the demands and grievances which the Bishop is going to present to the Prime Minister are not the initial causes of the unrest and unrestful situation in our country. I am not opposed to the Bishop’s move, but what is at issue is that he has been appointed by the people in unrest to meet with PW Botha. If such meetings reduce the black-white polarization, the Bishop is advocating the repeal of unjust laws like the Group Areas Act, mass removals of people from their homesteads by force and so on. But do we think that if these things happen it will be the end of opposition? Tutu is concerned with the promotion of reforms in the Pretoria minority. The people do not want reformation of the system which is rotten to the core. Such a meeting is needed in a complete change of Government.

P W Botha should negotiate with representative leaders of the opposition and not keep on punishing, imprisoning and exiling them.

AUBREY RAKOUPU
Go-Ba-Nzwa.

Abolish unjust laws

SIR — I think the Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha for agreeing to meet the SACC delegation, on August 7. They should discuss:
- The release of all political prisoners
- Equal education and equal salaries for all our teachers
- The abandonment of unjust laws and freedom for blacks to move around the Republic of South Africa
- Allowing blacks to have their own government
- Stopping riots by cutting the causes
- Building schools for blacks rather than prisons.
- Reform of the Police, otherwise, the people will continue to loot.

PETER CHIMUA MBATHA
Masani.

Equal rights for all

SIR — P W Botha must know that we are tired of being red cows.

The SACC should tell him to:
- Universal franchise
- Equal rights for all
- The return of the country to the people
- Equitable redistribution of the land
- Equality before the law
- Employment and work security for all
- Free and compulsory education for all

He should know that the uprisings are caused by the unjust laws of South Africa.

PATRICK MALOPE
Denham.

Relax influx control

SIR — I want to thank the Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha for the positive step he has taken in agreeing to meet the SACC.

I think the issue of education is important and should be discussed, more especially since we are experiencing boycotts in schools.

S A NTLOLO
Bloemfontein.

Look at how we’re educated

SIR — As the race situation is tense, it is time to change the race consciousness.

The SACC should tell him:
- That people should be judged on merit and not color
- To relax influx control
- To legalize shebeens as they are a disgrace to our society
- To relax pass laws
- To give us equal work
- To lift the ban on the ANC and PAC
- To give us one uniform education
- That privileges should be for all races
- That citizenship should be for everybody.

Zwelilehla
Venda.

Preserve the Freedom Charter

SIR — I think the SACC should support the idea of a meeting with PW Botha with the Freedom Charter that appeared in the SUNDAY POST on June 29 and with good reasons for the release of Mandela.

They should also tell him:
- To scrap the homelands and give us full South African citizenship
- To stop the police against the people in black townships, hostel and not against protesting students
- If homelands are not scrapped, he should let those who are in favour of them go

S A NTLOLO
Bloemfontein.

The release of all political prisoners is high on the list of topics SUNDAY POST readers think the South African Council of Churches ought to discuss with the Prime Minister on August 7. What do you think should be discussed? Send your letter to YOUR VIEW, Box 6665, Johannesburg 2000. There will be a prize of R20 for the best letter.

Time is running out for PW Botha

SIR — Now that the South African Prime Minister, Mr PW Botha, has agreed to meet the South African Council of Churches delegation under the leadership of the hard-hitting and non-nonsense Bishop Desmond Tutu, this is a step forward. Dialogue and not violence will probably save this crumbling country. Mr PW Botha must realise that time is running out for dictatorial actions. Blacks, especially the youth, are losing hope in discussion. They no longer see any future in dialogue and have no confidence in the present Government.

So for him to win them back, let him meet the bishop with an open mind. I am one of those who is watching the outcome of the talks with great interest.

Dr Piet Koornhof: Is apartheid dead?

Dr Piet Koornhof: Is apartheid dead?

PW Botha must tell the Prime Minister to introduce legislation which makes any discriminatory remark illegal. Let racial remarks be punishable by jail in South Africa.

Toll the PM that opening a few while restaurants to blacks without decent sanitation is like driving a car without wheels. We do not have money to buy from these eating houses. We want equal pay for equal work.

Dr Koornhof should be told that there are no inbetweeners or optimists among the blacks. These are found in the statute books. Laws are now being discussed in parliament and they will return to South Africa.

The meeting with the Bishop must serve as a yardstick for the country’s future. Use this chance wisely. The talks will be closed-door for all South Africans. If Nelson Mandela, C J van Rooyen, Walter Sisulu and all other political detainees are released, the country can look forward to a new South African nation.

Desmond Tutu should tell the honourable Prime Minister that Government-appointed leaders are looked on by blacks as puppets. Let him know that we want to choose our own leaders and not have them forced on us. Most of them are digging themselves into jail, exiled or banned.

We want freedom rights on our property and not 'leasehold.'

Finally, Mr PW Botha should be told that we want our own, our only newspapers, weekly newspapers, Workers of the World back.

Give the security police a severe check by meeting the Bishop as a Christian church leader, who is not a government agent.
ANC Hits Racism partners
SA in spotlight at Copenhagen women's conference

A SPEAKER WANTED FOR THE
Minority groups

Some of the racial and political groups such as the coloureds and Indians, are still to be reconciled, said Mr. J.B. Pethul. Leader of the National Congress party. He added that unless the principle of equality is respected, the National Government will fail.

As long as the Nationalist would be the minority, it would be unwise to maintain the principle of equality. The Nationalist would then be forced to accept the principle of equality, which would be a blow to the Nationalist. Mr. Norman Mabu, leader of the Nationalist, said that the Nationalist would not accept the principle of equality, as it would be a blow to the Nationalist. He added that the Nationalist would not accept the principle of equality, as it would be a blow to the Nationalist.
Writing is now used in political struggle

By MARIASBOROS

BLACK South African writers are taking literature into the political struggle as a psychological support and weapon, novelist Nadine Gordimer said yesterday.

She was addressing a multi-racial gathering to open the University of the Witwatersrand's week-long Cultural Festival.

Miss Gordimer spoke of the effects of apartheid on culture in South Africa.

"If we are to talk meaningfully about the future of South African literature, historically we must do so in the context of a self-liberating and dynamic force for all South Africans."

White writers had explored and expressed the meaning of apartheid as far as it was possible," she said. "Apartheid may soon prove to have been the last African theme they were able to handle meaningfully. Apartheid was a white idea, but it has become a truly African subject of our time.

"If there is to be a real South African literature which poses a post-apartheid literature, then South African writers, black and white, will have to find an African consciousness for themselves beyond the consciousness of division."

She said she doubted that South African literature could continue to be spoken of if it did not include the development of a modern literature written in the main African languages.

Black writers in South Africa were the ones making a real attempt to bring literature close to the masses.

"They are doing so by taking literature into the political struggle as a psychological support and weapon."

"In spite of all the vile and terrible things that have been done, and continue to be done in the name of all subjects here, this has been the single African country where writers once had the chance to enter into a changing indigenous culture."

"Whether or not that chance now still exists is a question that preoccupies writers and readers," she said.

In South Africa, she said, African languages had triumphantly survived "despite tremendous pressure from industrialisation conducted in the conqueror's language, despite the unique pressures of a second European language of conquest — Afrikaans."

"Black writers have begun to turn away from the standard situations of black township life. The lives of communities uprooted and dumped by the Resettlement Act, the strikes that first rumble a warning of workers' power from Durban, the harassment of political house-to-house raids: the experiences of schoolchildren and students in their struggle against discrimination in education — these are the subjects that take hold of black writers now," she said.
Mr T has given the attitude that there should be no fear of leaks in the organization. This is a fundamental principle of the organization's structure and its members. The framework for a functional organization, with the management and workers sharing in the benefits of improved productivity, has been developed to reduce the risk of leaks. The research has shown that leaks can be costly and detrimental to the organization's success.

As for Mr Davidson's attitude, he seems to believe that leaks are inevitable and cannot be avoided. However, the organization has a clear policy on leaks, and this policy is enforced strictly. The chairman, Mr. Thebbs, has been clear in his stance that leaks will not be tolerated. He has also emphasized the importance of maintaining a high level of confidentiality and security within the organization.

When it comes to the chairman, Mr. Thebbs, he has been very clear about the organization's policies and procedures. He has stated that leaks will not be tolerated and that the organization will take strict action against anyone found to be leaking information.

In conclusion, the organization has a clear policy on leaks, and it is enforced strictly. The chairman, Mr. Thebbs, has been very clear in his stance on this matter. The organization's structure and policies are designed to prevent leaks and maintain the organization's confidentiality and security.
members of the organization, even if with the management and workers.

In most industrial organizations, in cases of business administration and management, the roles of the organization and all of them today, say the economic effectiveness of the organization. For this purpose, one establishes the effectiveness members of the organization and/or the organization as a whole. The actions and the actions of members of the organization, with these standards and on the basis of comparisons one can establish the effectiveness of the individual and of the whole.

STUDYING THE RELATIONSHIPS: MEMBERS OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

The second factor of organization the relationships existing among members of the organization. When one deals with between two members of the organization conceivably a required relationship best facilitating the execution of operations the carrying out of the organizational producing or supplying products or services. On the other hand, when one deals with between two members of the organization, usually actual relationship existing between because of work requirements or other reason, etc. because of historical, because of conditions created as a result not necessarily conducive to the two persons personally attracted to each other.

The semantics of the organization distinguishes between those two types of relationships in the name of the organization. The relationships between the formal relationship and the informal relationship. The formal relationships are those established by the organization itself, i.e., the organizational structure, and the informal relationships are those that are established by the members themselves.

UTUNNI — Kwazi’s leader, the Chief Minister, notes that the relationship between Inkatha, Chief KwaZulu, and President Thabo Mbeki, is at a strikingly low level. The relationship between the two leaders is not as close as one would expect. This is due to several factors. One is the political climate in South Africa, which has been characterized by instability and political parties. Another factor is the personal relationship between the two leaders. Mbeki and Thabo Mbeki have different political ideologies, which have led to rivalry and tension. Additionally, Mbeki has been more focused on national issues, while Thabo Mbeki has been more focused on local issues.

Chiefs Thabo Mbeki and Thabo Mbeki have been in conflict over the issue of land reform. Mbeki has been criticized for not doing enough to implement land reform, while Thabo Mbeki has been praised for his efforts. This has led to a strained relationship between the two leaders. Mbeki has also been critical of Thabo Mbeki’s handling of the economy, which has led to further tension between the two leaders.

Although the relationship between Mbeki and Thabo Mbeki is not as close as one would expect, it is still an important relationship. The two leaders are both critical in running the country, and their relationship can have a significant impact on the country’s direction.

LIBERATION

Chief Thabo Mbeki: I do not regard any organization as an enemy, but as a tool to achieve the desired goals. I believe in the power of the people, and I believe in the power of the organizations. The organizations are the people who have the power to shape the future of the country. The organizations are the people who have the power to change the country. The organizations are the people who have the power to make the country a better place.

"I do not regard any organization as an enemy, but as a tool to achieve the desired goals. I believe in the power of the people, and I believe in the power of the organizations. The organizations are the people who have the power to shape the future of the country. The organizations are the people who have the power to change the country. The organizations are the people who have the power to make the country a better place.

"I am on record here and abroad stating openly that it was the South African Government which forced my brothers in ANC to take up arms. Mr. Thabo Mbeki prescribes for me something which he himself did only after he had crossed South African borders. He never promoted an armed struggle while he was here in South Africa," Chief Thabo Mbeki said. — Sapa.
Council: Labour ‘credibility would suffer’

Political Staff

STELLENBOSCH — The Rev Alan Hendriks, leader of the Labour Party, said last night that the party would suffer severe credibility problems if it reversed its decision not to serve on the President’s Council.

He was speaking to a student audience at the University of Stellenbosch at a time when everything possible is being done behind the scenes by the government to win the Labour Party’s support for the President’s Council.

There has also been speculation in verligte Nationalist circles that the Labour Party would be prepared to serve on the President’s Council under strict conditions.

Mr Hendriks said he did not wish to prejudice the talks he would hold with the prime minister on August 11, but emphasized that the President’s Council could be a viable starting point for reform only if it met two conditions: It should include black South Africans, without whom there could be no solution for South Africa’s constitutional problems; and leaders regarded as representative by the majority of the people should serve on it.

Useless

He was prepared to regard the previously non-negotiable demand of a unitary state as negotiable, because it was useless to advocate negotiation with a long string of “non-negotiable” demands.

For the same reason the government would have to sacrifice many of its non-negotiable conditions, such as separate group areas, he said.

The fact that the Labour Party was still prepared to talk at a time of growing polarization and radicalization showed it was serious about preferring a negotiated settlement, he said.

“However, in the situation in which we are at present, the Labour Party must look at its credibility amongst the people it represents...”

There has been a tremendous growth and escalation of a violent orientation which puts us, as leaders, in an extremely uncomfortable position.”

There was a growing radical group in the Labour Party itself who were saying that the time for negotiation was over. It would be taking a serious credibility risk to accept the President’s Council as a “starting point” for change, he said.

A ‘deal’

These statements come at a time when verligte Nationalists are predicting that at least some members of the Labour Party will do a “deal” and enter the President’s Council under certain minimum conditions — such as the inclusion of blacks in the President’s Council within a year.

The other conditions mentioned are the scrapping of the most offensive race legislation (such as the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Imprisonment Act) and the drawing up of a declaration of intent acceptable to all South Africans.

However, leading Labour Party members have made it clear they cannot reverse their initial decision on the President’s Council unless the party approves such a change.

The Labour Party stood by its condition that black representatives would have to be represented in the President’s Council by effective leaders.

(News by H Zille, 171 Main Street, Johannesburg)
MR DOUGLAS Lofwane, a member of the Soweto Committee of Ten, has released another controversial article on the civic situation in Soweto. In his article, Mr Lofwane bemoans the current civic parties and their politics.

IT IS becoming crystal clear that the support enjoyed by the Committee of Ten from the majority of Soweto people over the past three years is rapidly dwindling. It will be a sad day if the Soweto Civic Association meets its natural death before the end of this year through sheer lack of direction, and indecision.

Many residents are beginning to question the intentions and ambitions of our civic association. They want to know why the Association, which now has 14 branches, is unable to say YES or NO to the forthcoming Council elections.

They ask:

- Was the Association formed primarily to embark on a campaign of rhetoric, acrobatics and vicious tongue-lashing against the Six Percenters only?

- Are the residents to remain spectators of a scenario where dubious and subterfuge charades are freely allowed to avail themselves of an opportunity to grab power in order to mismanage Soweto affairs the way they deem fit?

- Is there any sensible or practical way any one of us can adopt to defy or circumvent the exercise of authority granted to those willing to serve on these statutory bodies in order to frustrate the implementation of their plans without landing oneself in deep water?

- Is it not true that the wish of the people of Soweto to see prominent figures, such as Dr Motlanthe, Dr Ntsoane, and others, taking an active part in guiding the only available channel to confront our governors on matters which could be resolved to shape the destiny of the Soweto residents?

The weight of the majority that was exercised on the Soweto councils by residents over the past years has been tremendous, and has undoubtedly achieved its object. We have now two opposing groups in the Council. The two groups, still claim their regular monthly allowances and are assisted from pasting rents like pensioners.

Readers will recall that I appealed for compensation on increased rents for old pensioners some time ago. In response, the powerful clique in the Council organized a pensioners party where it was announced that pensioners could now stay in their homes free of charge.

(mahala) with effect from 1/7/80.

Houses that were built by the Johannesburg City Council have now been officially allocated to non-productive persons free — when there is a hoarding waiting list of 150,000 families.

Yet, some will survive the crunch when the demand to repay the $100 million agreements for the electrical retrenchment system is served on us. But others will be gnawing their teeth for, indeed, the financial burden will be manifesting itself in practical terms.

We must be pragmatic, sincere and a little bold to advocate a rethink in our previous resolutions. We need to influence the reasoning of other men and women of substance to engage themselves in the application of effective methods that will facilitate the removal of those controls which have curtailed the development of Soweto and its society.

Naturally, sources of revenue must flow from the Government and Industry, for a start. Experts have repeatedly told us that clamoring for local government autonomy hindered the acquisition of commerce, industry and home ownership is tantamount to planning the building of a house on sand.

Let concepts and ideologies not take precedence over the facts of life. I think it is the duty of every business owner — be it shopkeeper, taxi-driver, or shirtless owner — to come closer to each other and create associations of small businesses in order to present adequately to the challenges faced before us, by those who despise us.

Remember this: Hostility sets aside by the Soweto Council for the development of regional shopping centres is another great challenge to improve the sincerity and determination of our Soweto Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Whose and whose shall be done if we fail ourselves?

Don't Forget to enter the great PLUS Competition this month. See Post and Sunday Post for your entry form.
Ban on ex-BPC man expires tomorrow

Staff Reporter

TOMORROW could be the beginning of a new way of life for Mr Madibeng, Chris Mokodita, when, for the first time in seven years, he might be able to lead an unrestricted life. A banning order imposed on him two years ago expires tomorrow. It was served on him in July 1973 when a previous order, which had restricted him for five years, expired.

Mr Mokodita, former general secretary of the banned University Christian Movement and vice-president of the banned Black People's Convention was first banned in 1973.

A special clause in that order specifically barred him from working for the legal firm, Shaw Cliett and Company, his employer at the time. Enter ing their premises or seeking for any of their partners.

The Mokodita family were later involved in a wrangle with the West Rand Administration Board when they refused to pay rent for their house in Magwena, claiming that the then Minister of Justice, Mr J T Kruger, was responsible for Mr Mokodita losing his job.

The WRA later threatened the family with court action if they did not pay the £100 rent they were said to owe.
BLACK POLITICS

21 July 1980 — 31 August 1980
Buthelezi tells of his suspicions

By Derrick Thema

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of kwazulu, said today he believed "either the ANC or the South African Government would want to eliminate me."

Speaking of death threats purportedly made by the banned African National Congress Chief Buthelezi said from the "scourge of onslaughts and denigration in recent weeks" he was convinced that they wanted to kill him.

"I believe that they are preparing the people to make me a villain and with all the smoke screen either of them can kill me without anybody knowing who actually did," he said.

He too threatened with death several times.

Chief Buthelezi said he raised the matter with Mr. Oliver Tambo, ANC leader, during their London talks last November. Mr. Tambo had "denied everything."

The ANC had also used the "release Mandela" campaign against him and also launched an onslaught on him because of the recent kwazulus matriculation boycotts.

"Everything fell in place, and I believe that either the ANC or the South African government would want to eliminate me," he said.

The ANC, in London has declined to discuss the alleged assassination threat. Instead, they issued a short statement casting doubt on the threat attributed to their organisation.

It is understood that the London branch of the ANC is seeking clarification of reports on the assassination threat. They appeared to be aware of the accusations only on reading a report in a British newspaper.

The ANC may not be quoted in terms of the Internal Security Act. This report is therefore restricted. 
Three held in Inkatha killing

OWN CORRESPONDENT
DURBAN—Three men have been arrested in connection with the killing of Mr Elias Blose (58), a Zulu 'Induna' and prominent member of Inkatha, in Durban last week.

The three men, aged 21, 22 and 24, were detained by Murder and Robbery Squad detectives on Friday but news of the arrests was withheld until today because of follow-up investigations.

Two of the men are expected to appear in court today. The other may give evidence in the court.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and head of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Nyuswa tribe, of which he ports linking the death of Mr Blose to Inkatha.

"For years there has been a feud within the Nyuswa tribe, of which he was an Induna," Chief Buthelezi, said today.
Inkatha's think tank

A problem defined is a problem half solved. That appears to be the thinking behind Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's formation of an Inkatha Institute, a research body, details of which have been obtained by the FM.

The move will strengthen Buthelezi's "multi-strategy approach" by providing Inkatha's own evaluation of SA's problems. As such, the institute will contribute to black political debate presently dominated in radical circles by the banned African National Congress and the black consciousness movement.

Interim director is Professor Lawrie Schlemmer, director of Natal University's Centre for Applied Social Sciences. He is to take a year's sabbatical from September to set up the institute and to serve as secretary of the Buthelezi Commission.

Schlemmer tells the FM that the institute will strengthen Inkatha's ability to pose alternatives to strategies employed by other black groups which lead to the growth of a "violent revolutionary consciousness with tragic results."

Services to Inkatha will include:

- Defining and analysing national problems;
- "Seeking constructive ways of co-operating with private enterprise;"
- Pinpointing those government-created institutions for blacks where "the interests of blacks can be facilitated without facilitating the system of apartheid."

Proposed projects at this stage include developing strategies for coping with unemployment among black youth, development of the informal economic sector, and the monitoring of employment practices.

The institute will be opening offices in Durban this month.
Inkatha brains trust to probe strategy

Tribune Reporters

SOUTH Africa's most powerful black political organisation, Inkatha, is flexing its intellectual muscle.

Inkatha has started its own research institute. Known as the Inkatha Institute, it will be headed by Natal University's Professor Iain Schlemmer, who is also director of the Durban-based Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

Aimed at finding ways to boost Inkatha's power base and identifying strategies to deal with South Africa's problems, the institute will also serve as secretariat to the Bukhulu Commission.

Offices are being set up in Durban, and Prof Schlemmer will be taking a year's sabbatical leave from September to study abroad in the United States.

Significant

The move, seen as tremendously significant in political circles, is expected to bolster Chief Buthelezi's political position substantially, and could result in practical benefits for many of South Africa's dispossessed.

It will enable Inkatha to contribute to the South African political debate with as much, and possibly more, authority than any other grouping.

The Inkatha move coincides with the growing rift between Inkatha and the banned African National Congress. It could enable Chief Buthelezi to make a similarly strong contribution to black political debate which, certainly in radical circles, has been dominated by banned African National Congress and black consciousness movements.

One major argument the institute can be expected to explore is that of "interim strategies" — to what extent apartheid institutions can be used to destroy apartheid. Since the major ground for attacking Chief Buthelezi has been his involvement in the homeland system, the institute can be expected to broaden the debate on anti-apartheid strategies.

Broader

Prof Schlemmer pointed out the institute would not merely be a "think tank" for Inkatha. It would try to draw other black groups, even if opposed to Inkatha, into public debate. The institute can be expected to broaden the debate on anti-apartheid strategies.

The institute is to identify and study economic and social problems areas. Among these are unemployment among black youth, development of the informal sector of the economy, and monitoring problems affecting labour.

"We want to take all this talk of development out of the conference rooms of Ivory Towers," said Prof Schlemmer.

"Let's forget about this and what theoretical model for a while and listen to what the people in rural villages want or need just to survive from day to day."

banned African National Congress and black consciousness movement.

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Inside the compounds

A HIGH wall topped with barbed wire surrounds the Johannesburg municipality’s Selby compound for migrant labourers.

This lends it an unfortunate resemblance to some form of forced-labour camp and the impression is reinforced by the massive steel front gates that are flanked on one side by a permanent police guard post. The only other entrance is through a well-guarded and easily controlled subway.

The compound, and others like it, belongs to the citizen Johannesburg — but few know much about conditions and most who do, and those with official access is allowed to see what goes on, say.

Along one side of the compound, windows look on to a street but they have been permanently sealed and the frames contain rippled glass that has seldom seen soap and water.

Little natural light enters and in many of the rooms ventilation seems inadequate.

Workers told the Sunday Times they slept as many as 12 to a room (in rooms that had no doors) and paid R5 a month for the privilege.

**Migrant workers**

Dr Nhato Motlana, of Soweto’s Committee of Ten, said he was delighted that conditions in the compounds had been exposed as a result of the strike. If the Johannesburg City Council wanted to employ migrant workers, Dr Motlana said, it had a duty to house them properly in family units.

The chairman of the city council’s management committee, Mr J P Oberholzer, reacted angrily to criticisms of the compounds.

He accused Mrs Levine of criticising them for political purposes “as she knows very well what the true position is”.

Mr Oberholzer agreed that conditions were not good at Selby and Norwood, but said tenders had already been called for to rebuild the Selby hostel and that negotiations were under way with the West Rand Administration Board to rehouse Norwood residents in a hostel.

Council employees had already been moved out of Crown Mines hostel, he added.

**Excellent facilities**

Mr Oberholzer asked why Press did not go to City where, he said, both living and recreation facilities were excellent.

“If we are such bad citizens why is it that our recent influx has been tolerated by community and police? We have been protected by the police because we are a mob of enthusiastic workers who want to work hard,” he asked.
CHANGE
'UP TO WHITE CHURCH'

Religion Reporter

BLACKS in South Africa have already taken the initiative in both the political and theological spheres in seeking peaceful change, and now the onus is on whites to respond, Dr Allan Boesak, theologian of the Ned Geref Sendingkerk, said today.

No group in South Africa — and not even Parliament — could have a greater impact for the peaceful goods of South Africa's future than the white Ned Geref Kerk if it rejected apartheid, Dr Boesak said in an interview in Cape Town.

'Naive'

'What people must begin to understand is that what is at stake is the continued relevance and future of the Christian Church as a whole in South Africa.' That is what we are really talking about. It would be naive of us to
ANC aims involve strikes

Court Reporter

An expert on the African National Congress, Colonel H.D. Stadler, of the Durban Security Police, told the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday that the organisation of strikes and protest demonstrations were among the interim aims of this organisation.

Col. Stadler was giving evidence on the first day of the Silverton bank siege trial.

He told the court that the ANC had as its main aim the overthrowing of the South African Government by armed force.

Early yesterday morning, nine men who are facing charges of murder, high treason, attempted murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances, pleaded not guilty. It is alleged they were all ANC members.

The parents of the three gunmen killed during the Silverton bank siege gave evidence emotionally.

Col. Stadler was the only other witness in the witness box yesterday. He gave an outline of the history, constitution and aims of the ANC.

See Page 2
ed after riots

In 1960, a new constitution was drawn up. There was to record that it was ever officially accepted but it incorporated the aims of the Freedom Charter and as an aim the unification of the blacks.

In 1968 to 1959 the Pan-African Congress developed, which accused the ANC — with justification — of being communist-oriented, Col Stadler said.

During 1959 to 1960, the PAC and ANC were in active competition. The ANC accepted all races while the PAC was for blacks only.

The Langalangin and Sharpeville incidents followed and both the PAC and the ANC were banned.

A meeting was called in Maritzburg by the ANC and an ultimatum given to the Government to call a congress of all race groups. When that failed they decided to take violence. Albert Ntuli was then the leader of the ANC. Col Stadler said.

Umkonto wa Sizwe ("The Spear of the Nation"), a militant wing, was formed in 1961 and acts of sabotage followed. In 1962 the so-called "second phase" was entered into. This decision was made at Rivonia where the head of the ANC, the central committee of the South African Communist Party and the high command of Umkonto wa Sizwe were situated. Nelson Mandela was the first commander-in-chief of Umkonto wa Sizwe.

Operation Mayibuya was decided upon, for which Umkonto wa Sizwe would have been responsible. The operation was a blueprint for warfare, Col Stadler said. It made provision for sending people overseas for military training, planning targets to be attacked and for propaganda for the campaign. Oliver Tambo had then already left South Africa. Mayibuya meant "return", therefore "Operation Mayibuya" meant "Operation Return".

The motto of the ANC, "Africa Mayibuya" meant "Africa returns to the black man". Col Stadler said. Another motto was "Amandla awethu" — "The power belongs to us".

In 1967 the first group of these trained people, the so-called "freedom fighters" entered South Africa via Rhodesia, Col Stadler said.

The aim of the ANC was the overthrow of the present Government by armed force and the implementation of "Operation Mayibuya".

The organisation had interim aims, namely: organisation and conditioning of the masses; the recruiting of members for the ANC; and the organisation of trade unions, strikes, protest demonstrations and boycotts, especially against specific facets of the present Government policy, including black education and black homelands.

To achieve these interim aims an important factor was the distribution of propaganda material such as pamphlets, newsletters, posters, gramophone records, tape recordings and radio broadcasts.

The ANC had a political wing for the dissemination of this material. Experts were of the opinion that 78% to 80% of guerrilla tactics consisted of psychological warfare, which was conducted through propaganda and acts of terrorism, Col Stadler said.

They also have in the mind the fact that the acts of terrorism enjoy a lot of publicity.

Acts of terrorism have escalated since 1976, Col Stadler told the court. Police stations and Government offices were concentrated on, as well as other public places. Also important to the organisation was the elimination of members of the Security Branch, informal people who they called "black capitalists" and who they regarded as traitors.

They also regarded as traitors people who respected the Government of South Africa, Col Stadler said.

Because the ANC was banned in South Africa its members relied chiefly on foreign support and were continuously looking for caches for weapons to arm the people who had to perform the deeds of terror.

Weapons were brought into South Africa from outside and people entered to establish bases from which the weapons could be drawn.

Col Stadler said he had prepared an album consisting of photostats of ANC literature. He handed in the album and then read extracts from many pamphlets published from 1961 onwards. The extracts included:

"In preparing for war we must not lose sight of the fact that because of South Africa's isolation the state structure may collapse much sooner than we at present envisage."

"A massive onslaught on pre-selected targets, will inject confidence into the people that here is an army of liberators."

"Political pressure will be stepped up in conjunction with the sabotage activity."

"The people should be aroused to participate in the struggle."

"Armed forces already started the campaign to sweep the racist society into the dustbin."

"Revolution calls for supreme vigilance. The movement needs men and women to commit the acts of war. We have already shown that our youth are capable of great deeds."

"We have to mould our youth into a fearless fortress against white oppression."

He also read out headlines including "the people shall govern", "the people shall share in the country's wealth", "there shall be houses, security and comfort. There shall be peace and friendship.

There was also a pamphlet showing a freedom fighter how to make a petrol bomb, Col Stadler said.

In one pamphlet the ANC accepted responsibility for the blowing up of several railway lines, including one near Tzaneen, Col Stadler said.

The hearing continues today.
Black leaders outraged by Thebehali's claims

Johannesburg — Black leaders have reacted with "shock and outrage" to the statement by Soweto Council chairman, Mr. David Thebehali, that blacks do not want major- ity rule.

In a lengthy report in an Afrikaans afternoon newspaper, the Vaderland, on Tuesday, Mr. Thebehali said "South Africa is not Zimbabwe — the black masses are not interested in a one-man, one-vote system in a unitary state."

Dr. Nthato Matlala, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said that what Mr. Thebehali was saying was "quite incredible and absolutely frightening."

It was frightening, he said, that a literate, former exponent of black consciousness, could make such "dangerous propa- ganda."

Dr. Matlana explained that South African blacks, like any other oppressed community, wanted freedom and that no amount of suppression would detract them from fighting for their political rights.

Blacks — young and old alike — were interested in political power-sharing and would eventually gain that power, no matter the might of the security police or the viciousness of the system under which they live.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said that although he respected every individual person and would defend his right to express whatever opinions he held, he found Mr. Thebehali's utterances "quite outrageous."

"How can he live with himself and his conscience when he knows he is uttering statements which are not only untrue but make you wonder whether he has not sold his birthright for a dish of lentils like Esau in the Old Testament."

"He sounds so much like his master's voice. I find it quite incredible that he should say blacks don't want adult suffrage which is the heart of democracy."

"Even bantustan leaders such as Dr. Platell and others have said they reject bantustan policy which balkanizes South Africa and makes our people starve in resettlement camps," Bishop Tutu said.

Mr. Gibson Thula, Inkatha publicity committee chairman and chief urban representative for KwaZulu, said that Inkatha, as a movement, has said time and again that what was wanted was an "undivided South Africa with one citizenship" for all its peoples — black and white.

Mr. Thebehali told the Vaderland that under South African circumstances it was not realistic to expect majority rule within a unitary state.

"I foresee the day when Soweto will be a city-state within a broader South African federation or confederation in which it will be possible for us to share in the national deci- sion-making process on matters affecting all of us, black and white."

"In the Soweto city-state the residents of this black city will fully realize their socio-eco- nomic, as well as political aspirations.

"Such a system will enable different communities to take their own decisions on their matters such as trade, education and community development."
Inkatha Leader
killed in Durban

Own Correspondent
DURBAN — An influential Inkatha leader and member of the movement's policy-making central committee, Mr E. S. Blose (50), was shot dead at close range by a masked gunman outside his shop in Dalton Road today.

Mr Blose, who was also vice-chairman of the Ninjindimu Community Council in Durban and a former Deputy Speaker of the kwazulu Legislative Assembly, was murdered as he walked with his son, Zakhele, towards his shop at 5 a.m.

A police spokesman said a black man walked up to Mr Blose and his son, drew an .32 pistol and fired three shots. Mr Blose died instantly.

The gunman made no effort to harm the son.

The murder is likely to have widespread repercussions in kwazulu politics. Mr Blose had earlier had serious clashes with other Inkatha members and had left his family home at iZingolweni following numerous acts of intimidation.
Thebehali slated for majority rule remark

JOHANNESBURG — Black leaders have reacted with "shock and outrage" at the Soweto Council Chairman, Mr. David Thebehali's statement that blacks did not want majority rule.

In a report in Die Vaderland, Mr. Thebehali said "South Africa is not Zimbabwe — the black masses are not interested in a one-man-one-vote system in a unitary state."

Dr. Nthato Motlana, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said that what Mr. Thebehali was saying was "quite incredible and absolutely frightening."

It was frightening, he added, that a literate former exponent of black consciousness could make such "dangerous propaganda."

Dr. Motlana explained that South African blacks, like any other oppressed community, wanted freedom and that no amount of suppression would detract them for fighting for their political rights.

"Blacks — young and old alike — were interested in political power sharing and would gain that power eventually, no matter the might of the security police or the viciousness of the system under which they lived."

Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said that although he respected every individual person and would defend his right to express whatever opinions he held, he found Mr. Thebehali's utterances "quite outrageous."

"How can he live with himself and his conscience when he knows he is uttering statements which are not only untrue, but make you wonder whether he has not sold his birthright for a dish of lentils like Esau in the Old Testament."

"Even Bantustan leaders such as Dr. Phatudi and others have said they reject Bantustan policy which balkanises South Africa and makes our people starve in resettlement camps." Bishop Tutu said.

Mr. Gibson Thula, Inkatha publicity committee chairman and chief urban representative for KwaZulu, said that Inkatha, as a movement, has said several times that what was wanted was an "undivided South Africa with one citizenship" for all its people — black and white.

Mr. Thebehali told Die Vaderland that under South African circumstances it was not realistic to expect majority rule within a unitary state.

"I foresee the day when Soweto will be a city state within a broader South African federation or confederation in which it will be possible for us to share in the national decision-making process on matters affecting all of us, black and white."

"In the Soweto city state the residents of this black city will realise fully their socio-economic as well as political aspirations."

"If one looks at the realities of South Africa, one cannot overlook the fact that there are whites and blacks."

"We have to consider whites who are very concerned about the large numbers of blacks."

"On the other hand, we have blacks — definitely a minority — who are insisting on a one-man-one-vote system within a unitary state with a black majority government."

"This demand is unrealistic and unreasonable. This cannot be achieved in South Africa. South Africa is not Zimbabwe," the report said. — DDC.
 Surprise move in Silverton siege trial

Court Reporter

The Silverton Bank siege trial was unexpectedly postponed yesterday to give the Defence Counsel an opportunity to study the documents handed in to the court by Colonel H. D. Stadler, an expert on the ANC.

Col Stadler gave evidence before Mr Justice de Villiers and two assessors in the Pretoria Supreme Court in the case in which nine men are appearing on charges of high treason, murder, attempted murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances.

The men are: Mr Ncimbathi Johnson Lubisi, 33, Mr Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 20, Mr Nophimili Menana, 24, Mr Moses Maloba, 27, Mr Hlolele Benjamin Tau, 24, Mr Grant Shezi, 24, Mr Jeremia Rababa, 29, Mr Boyce Johannes Bogwane, 29, and Mr Thomas Mngadi.

The men pleaded not guilty to one charge of high treason, two of murder, 21 of attempted murder, one of robbery with aggravating circumstances and four alternative charges of taking part in terrorist activities.

The two murder charges arise from the death of two of the women held hostage during the Silverton Bank siege, and the charges of attempted murder from injuries to people during the siege, and injuries to two men during an attack on the police station at Seemraakar.

It is alleged that the nine men were members of the African National Congress.

Interest in the case has increased considerably with a much smaller audience in the courtroom than the day before.

Col Stadler yesterday completed his reading of extracts from documents which, he said, had been published by the ANC and disseminated in South Africa.

Extracts he read included:

"We are at war ... the South African revolution has started ... there has been over 20 separate strikes involving more than 60,000 workers."

"The year 1978 has witnessed in numerous ways the all-round combat ability of the ANC."

"The time to fight at all levels, using all methods, has come."

References in the documents to attacks on the Jabulani Police Station and the Seemraakar Police Station were factually correct, he said.

The prosecutor, Mr J.C.H. Jansen, said that the State would allege that at Seemraakar, Mr Lubisi had waited in a car for three of his comrades who launched the attack.

Referring to a document which mentioned a certain person named Mange, Mr Jansen said the State would allege that the three "terrorists" who killed the two women during the Silverton Bank siege had demanded that Mange be freed. Mange was sentenced to death in the case in which he appeared with one Setefi and others on a charge of high treason, he said. The ANC was mentioned in that case.

Mr M. Brown, for the defence, then told the court his team could not do justice to evidence examining Col Stadler without going through his album of documents properly. He asked for a postponement of the case.

The hearing was postponed to today.
ANC aims 'well-known'

Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA.—Any literate person should know what the goals and strategy of the African National Congress were, Lieutenant-Colonel H. Stadler said at the Silverton siege trial today.

During cross-examination by Mr. Jules Browde, SC, counsel for the defence, Colonel Stadler said that the newspapers had given wide publicity to evidence at ANC terror trials.

He was giving evidence at the trial of nine young men in the Supreme Court here.

The men are Mr. Nchimbidithi Johnson Lubisi, 23; Mr. Petrus Tsopo Mashigo, 20; Mr. Naphtali Manana, 24; Mr. Ikanyeng Moso Moselatsi, 27; Mr. Hloliie Benjamin Tau, 24; Mr. Phumulani Grant Shezi, 24; Mr. Jeremie Radebe, 26; Mr. Boyce Johannes Boyale, 25; and Mr. Thomas Mngadi, 29.

They have pleaded not guilty to high treason, two charges of murder, 21 charges of attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances, and taking part in terrorist activities.

Their appearance follows the attacks on the Silverton branch of the Volkskas Bank and on the Soekmekaar police station in January.

(Proceeding)
Surprise move in Silverton siege trial

Court Reporter

THE Silverton Bank siege trial was unexpectedly postponed yesterday to give the Defence Counsel an opportunity to study the documents handed in to the court by Col. H D Stadler, an expert on the ANC.

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He completed his reading of extracts from documents which, he said, had been published by the ANC and disseminated in South Africa.

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There were two newspapers, the one in the ANC in 1926 and 1927, and the other in the ANC in the 1920s. There was another newspaper, the one in the ANC in the 1930s, published in English. There were also two newspapers, one in the ANC in the 1940s, published in English, and the other in the ANC in the 1950s, published in English. There were also two newspapers, one in the ANC in the 1960s, published in English, and the other in the ANC in the 1970s, published in English.

One of the newspapers was called the "ANC Post" and another one was called the "ANC News."
Inkatha leader is gunned down after threats

DURBAN. — An influential member of Inkatha's central committee, Mr E S Blose, was shot dead at point blank range yesterday by a masked gunman outside his shop in Dalton Road, Durban.

The murder is likely to have widespread repercussions in KwaZulu politics. Mr Blose had had serious clashes with other Inkatha members and had left his family home at Izingolweni after several acts of intimidation.

Mr Blose, 36, who was also vice-chairman of the Ningizimu Community Council and a former deputy Speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, was murdered in front of his son, Zakhele, as they went to the shop at 6am.

A police spokesman said a black man wearing a balaclava walked up to Mr Blose and his son, drew a small-calibre pistol and fired three shots.

Mr Blose died instantly.

Mr Blose moved his family to Botha's Hill earlier this year because of threats. He himself lived in the Dalton Road Hostel.

The political clashes involving Mr Blose were taken so seriously by Inkatha that the Legislative Assembly debated the matter at length in caucus earlier this year.

Mr Blose was regarded as a victim of intimidation and the top Inkatha leadership spoke forcefully to individuals thought to be connected with the campaign against him.

After the debate Mr Blose said that he feared for his life.

During the assembly session four of Mr Blose's children were killed in a car smash.

News of the shooting reached Ulundi early yesterday, but Inkatha leaders could not be reached for comment.

Ikkatha's president, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, was told of the murder while on his way to an engagement at Nongoma.

A police spokesman said Mr Blose had attended an Inkatha meeting two days ago at which he had apparently been warned his life was in danger.

Police are still investigating.

— Sapa.
Top Inkathana man shot dead in ND

DURBAN. — An influential Inkathana leader and member of the movement's policy-making Central Committee, Mr E S Blose (58) was shot dead at point-blank range by a masked gunman outside his shop in Dalton Road, Durban yesterday.

Mr Blose, who was also vice-chairman of the Ngqithulu Community Council in Durban and a former deputy speaker of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, was murdered as he walked with his son, Zakhele, towards his shop at 5 a.m.

A police spokesman said a black man wearing a balaclava walked up to Mr Blose and his son, drew a .22 pistol and fired three shots from a distance of three metres.

Mr Blose died instantly.

The gunman made no effort to harm his son.

The murder is likely to have widespread repercussions in KwaZulu politics. Mr Blose had earlier had serious clashes with other Inkathana members and had left his family home at Ingobhweni following numerous acts of intimidation.

MOVED

He moved his family to Botha's Hill earlier this year because of threats. Mr Blose himself lived in the Dalton Road hostel.

The clashes involving Mr Blose were regarded in such a serious light by Inkathana that the Legislative Assembly debated the matter at great length in caucus earlier this year.

Mr Blose was regarded as the victim of intimidation and the top Inkathana leadership spoke forcefully to individuals thought to be connected with the campaign against him.

After the debate Mr Blose said that he feared for his life.

News of the shooting reached Ulundi early yesterday but none of the leaders of Inkathana could be reached for comment. Chief Nhloko was told of the murder while on his way to an engagement at Nongoma.

A spokesman for the police said Mr Blose had attended a meeting of Inkathana two days ago and had apparently been warned that his life was in danger.

Murder and robbery squad detectives are investigating the killing. — Sapa.
This week political threats at meeting

Elias Dhlise

Kwandulza has been a man of great
reputation in Kwazulu politics.

The murder is being investigated
by the police.

The family of late Mr. Dhlise did not
attend the funeral.

Wednesday night, the body of the late
Mr. Dhlise was found on the road
by the police.

The Dupe Speaker in the Kwazulu
Assembly, Mr. Dhlise was accused of
murdering a Kwazulu member, Mr. Dhlise
was accused of murder.

The Kwazulu Assembly has been
called to order.

Top Inkatha

man gunned down

This week
**Actual Satellite Image**

As the first image was extracted incorrectly, we refer to the provided text for the required information. The image seems to be related to a news article.印象派艺术与现代艺术的结合，展示了艺术家的创新与多样性。它不仅对艺术界产生了重要影响，也对整个文化界产生了深远的影响。

**Textual Content**

The text from the image is not legible. It appears to be a news article or a report, possibly discussing some event or issue. Without clearer text, it's challenging to provide a meaningful summary or analysis.
AME plans to break with mother church

By MANDLA NDLAZI

DISGRUNTLED MEMBERS of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in Soweto will decide at a "summit" meeting next month how to effect a break-away from their mother church in the USA.

But plans for the R120,000 law suit against Bishop Donald G Ming, former head of the AME Church (AME) in South Africa, have been delayed, SUNDAY POST was told this week.

Mr J Y L Rasekoala, the Orlando West AME church steward, said members of the various branches of the church, have agreed in principle to break away from the mother church.

"We feel that the church in America is not relevant to our situation in South Africa, in the sense that contrary to the principles on which it was founded, it does not feature in our political struggle. It is too dormant," said Mr Rasekoala.

He said the agreement was reached last week at a meeting at the Orlando West AME church hall. More than 500 members from Soweto, had gathered to discuss the "thorny issue."

Mr Rasekoala said last week's meeting resolved that the branches should go back to further discuss the matter, while setting a date for a "summit" meeting being considered for next month.

The defamation suit was filed by Mrs Marina Maponya and Mrs Norah Baduzza, who are each claiming R60,000, before Bishop Ming left the AME Church, he said.

"The attorney handling the case is out of town and this has caused some delay," said Mrs Maponya. She said the costs of the case would be "astronomical" now that Bishop Ming was out of SA. The attorney would determine, she said, whether it would be wise to continue with the case. She claims that defamatory words were used against her and Mrs Baduzza on a number of occasions.

Mr Rasekoala said the dissatisfaction of the church members stemmed from the alleged misadministration of the church's affairs by Bishop Ming.

He said the church members were "highly disgruntled" by the way a recent conference was handled, "which had dismissed the "charges against Bishop Ming's handling of procedures foreign to the South African delegates. As a result, they left us with no alternative, but to break away," he said.
Demonstrate SA Women's Day

This was illegal and the women were on certain...
Relations worsen over constitution as blacks reject President’s Council

BLACK and white confrontation is looming over the country’s constitutional future as relations between Prime Minister P. W. Botha and KwaZulu’s Chief Minister, Chief Colsaam Ruthzel, reached a new low at the weekend.

The hardening of attitude by both leaders comes in the wake of the Government’s dramatic decision to scrap its plans for a black advisory council.

The Prime Minister has made it clear however that blacks will not be included on the President’s Council. Chief Ruthzel has, as reported in The Times, repudiated the nominated body, even with black representation, except as an interim measure towards the ideal of power-sharing in one parliament.

Adopting this stance, Chief Ruthzel makes it clear that he is no longer prepared to respond to white initiatives which do not take into account black aspirations.

Mr Botha’s attitude makes it clear that he is not prepared to have meaningful dialogue with blacks in the political arena. It is a stance in the face of Chief Ruthzel who, in a memorandum to the Prime Minister this week, warned that the consequences of his failure to do so.

Chief Ruthzel, who did not attend Friday’s Union Buildings summit with the Government and leaders of non-independent homelands, said in his memorandum:

"On February 15 before the Soebuurzewa recommendations were translated into statute, I pleaded for a moratorium on constitutional developments until we had found each other mutually.

"I did so because I really do see the need to avoid confrontation between myself and myself. South Africa cannot afford that confrontation.

"The foibles of these half-baked constitutional arrangements on blacks do, in fact, prejudice such confrontation which should be avoided by all means at this point in time.

"The chief warned Mr Botha to announce the shelving of constitutional developments in favour of consultation. Their are on the brink of complete breakdown in history as the Prime Minister who burned South Africa from catastrophe, or alternatively as the Prime Minister who listened to the black element in his party at the cost of destroying South Africa," he said.

On the President’s Council, the chief said he was not prepared to see himself as a constructive constitutional innovation — with or without black representation.

"I could discuss its merits and dangers if Africans were to be represented. I find, however, that I cannot even consider the step with an African representative in it," he said.

In an interview with the Sunday Tribune, the chief said he had adopted a different stance, saying there seemed little to negotiate about.

"I can’t negotiate on something that is already a fait accompli, something that has already been legislated about," said Chief Ruthzel.

This did not mean he was no longer prepared to talk to the Prime Minister. Any future talks would have to be based on meaningful discussions.

Although he regarded it as "progress", the scrapping of the black council, Chief Ruthzel said he would retain black representation on the President’s Council as an interim measure.

The ultimate is one parliament for all people of South Africa," the chief said.

Neither the Prime Minister nor the Minister of Cooperation and Development, Dr Peter Koen, was available for comment yesterday, but Mr Botha told the Afrikaans newspaper Beeld that blacks would not be included in the council.

The constitution of the President’s Council, he said, was not due to fall in line and the Government is going ahead with the creation of the council as it has already been announced.

"That means that whites, coloureds, Asians and Chinese will be appointed to the President’s Council to work out an effective constitutional cooperation."

"The legislation creating the President’s Council makes no provision for blacks to serve. Blacks are not going to serve on the President’s Council. That is an insurmountable obstacle."

"There is no legislation providing for blacks to serve." The possible creation of a black council was just a suggestion and we have now decided to withdraw the suggestion.

"Everyone who attended the meeting agreed that the total and complete consultation over joint interests should take place in the future," Mr Botha said.

At a meeting in Pretoria today, top leaders of the coloured Labour Party, the coloured Natalists, the coloured Natalists and the coloured Natalists are certain to tell the Prime Minister that there will not be a compromise with the Prime Minister on the council without black participation.

They will join the homeland leaders, Indian leaders and the official opposition in rejecting the council, because it excludes blacks.

Although the Government will persuade some coloureds, Indians and Chinese to serve on their council, these groups are likely to be rejected as unacceptable by their communities.

It now appears that the Government’s constitutional plan is doomed to collapse, with only the National Party and New Republic Party supporting it.
The text on the page is not legible due to the quality of the image. It appears to be an article or report, but the content cannot be accurately transcribed.
Stinging attack on Inkatha ‘thugs’

DURBAN -- A stinging attack on Inkatha is contained in the editorial of the August issue of Sennan, the students’ magazine of the University of Zululand.

The editorial says this year’s graduation ceremony was changed completely into an Inkatha rally.

Disregarding the students’ resolution to observe graduation day as a strictly academic occasion, it adds, the Inkatha leadership “obstructed and dictated as it is” sent a “large number of thugs armed with dangerous weapons.”

The article says Inkatha is not a liberation movement, but a religious organisation. It is more a hero-worshipping body than it is ideologically orientated.

“Some people join in order to secure their positions either as teachers in KwaZulu schools or as Kwazulu civil servants, businessmen or pupils at schools headed by Inkatha fanatics”, the editorial maintained.

“However some join Inkatha under the wrong impression that it is a national liberation movement, that it is a movement involved with political realities. This group often discovers that the organisation is busy protecting and securing the interests of a single man.”

“Inkatha must know that it is politically irrelevant to the real objectives of the black people of this country”, the article concluded.

Buthelezi reply

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, said yesterday he had lodged a complaint about the tone of the publication to the chairman of the university council, D Lawrence McCrystal, and the vice-chancellor of the university, Professor A K Nkomo. Chief Buthelezi is also chancellor of the University of Zululand.

He said the complaint was not fair criticism and was, in fact, an insult to the Zulu people and to millions of black people whose support of him had been proved by academic empirical findings.

Many of these hypernastics condemn foreign investment in South Africa when their own parents are employed by multi-national corporations which operate in South Africa”, Chief Buthelezi remarked.

The students had scholarships from the same multi-national corporations against which they hurled empty slogans.
Businesswoman of the Year

A South African Businesswoman of the Year Award will be presented at a luncheon to be held at the Johannesburg Country Club on August 29.

The award has been organized jointly by the Public Relations Institute of South Africa and the Barclays Executive Women's Club.

Nominations put forward include two Soweto women, Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo, a trade unionist, and Mrs. Agnes Moncho, a trader and social worker.

The competition is stiff. There are also six white nominees who have made an extensive breakthrough in the business world.

The Businesswoman of the Year title is based on the number of votes each nominee receives. It is also based on achievements during the period January 1, 1979 to December 31, 1979 (although each of these achievements is probably due to successful career paths developed over a period of years).

Mrs. Agnes Moncho is a trained social worker but she runs her own business which includes a filling station and general trading store in Soweto.

This year she plans to open a restaurant and she takes advantage of whatever training in modern business methods is available. She has completed the Small Business Management Programme, a part-time course run by the Unisa School of Business Leadership.

In 1979 she sponsored two students for the course.

Agnes serves on the regional executive committee of the National African Federation of Commerce and the Krugersdorp Chamber of Commerce. She is also president of the Dobsonville branch of the Catholic Women's League.

Mrs. Lucy Mvubelo is the general secretary of the National Union of Clothing Workers of South Africa. In 1953 she initiated the Union and established an insurance fund for blocks the following year.

She is deputy vice-president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa; life vice-president of the Federation of Business and Professional Women of South Africa; chairwoman of Women for Peace and a member of the Women's Legal Status Action Committee.

Keeping a Low Profile

Mrs. Thelma Ngcobo

Ms. Thelma Ngcobo is one woman who has adopted a low profile in her behind-the-scenes work in making a breakthrough in the previously white and male-dominated positions in marketing.

"She was recently appointed Market Research Executive at the OK Bazaar. Having been in the field of marketing for four years now, she says her former job was pretty stimulating, but very challenging. "It is a new experience altogether. It is much more specialised research compared to what I have been doing before," she says."

Thelma completed her matric in 1976 and obtained a degree in BA Social Science in 1978. She was a community worker and did social research for Rhodes University.

She believes black women have less choice in marketing positions, and would not be as surprised if a black woman takes over a male-dominated position in industry.
Witness tells of ANC instruction

Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Joe Slovo, a member of the South African Communist Party who fled South Africa, gave instructions to an ANC commander on targets to attack in this country, the Silverton siege trial was told yesterday.

A witness, who may not be identified, was giving evidence at the trial of Mr Nembethu Johnson Luvu, 28, in the Supreme Court here and eight others who have pleaded not guilty to high treason, murder, 21 charges of attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances and taking part in terrorist activities.

He said in November 1979 he met Joe Slovo in Maputo who gave him instructions on his mission when he came back to South Africa.

SABOTAGE

He said his mission was to recruit more people in South Africa and go on behalf of the ANC to sabotage the Supreme Court building in Natal and bridges on highways. After destroying these targets he could use his discretion in choosing others, he told the court.

The witness said he had to start a network of underground ANC members from scratch on returning to South Africa after being militarily trained.

He said he would recruit some here and would later have been joined by two trained people to carry out operations.

He said, under cross-examination by Mr Jules Barowe, SC, who is appearing for the nine men, that he turned away from the ANC and gave himself up to the police because he was against violence.

ROME

The court also heard that he had instructed those under his command to plant a bomb at the Lamontville Kantu Administration Board offices. The witness said planting a bomb was also violence because people could be killed.

The court heard this mission, carried out in March last year, failed because the detonator went off before the time and the people responsible ran away.

The witness said his mission, when he returned in November last year, included attacks on political figures, such as Mr Pele Mota, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr Justice Bocci, judge in a Natal treason trial.

Mr Barowe asked whether he gave himself up because he was against indiscriminate killing. He said this was one of the reasons.
They were honoured

Mrs Albertina Sisulu... banned.

Thenjiwe Mtintso... exiled.

Juby Mayet... banned.

Mamphela Ramphele... banned.
Reject Council

Labour

Post Reporter

THE GOVERNMENT

The council's decision to reject the Labour Party's proposal for a new education policy is causing concern among the opposition. The Labour leadership is ready to go to the polls with a strong education policy, but the government is not convinced. The government's education minister, Mr. Smith, has stated that the proposal is not in line with the government's educational goals. The council's decision is seen as a setback for the Labour Party's election campaign. The opposition is calling for a vote of confidence to be held in the council. The government's response has not been declared as of yet.
Q. There appears to have been a deterioration recently in your relationship with the African National Congress. What is the current position?

A. As far as I am concerned there has been no deterioration from my side. All that has happened is that there have been ANC statements from Europe and Lusaka in which I have been the butt of their attacks. I am dismayed but even if they see me as their target in the armed struggle, I don't see them or any other black leader or organisation as my target.

We as black people have one common enemy and that is the Pretoria regime. That is our target, not each other.

Since the establishment of the external mission of the ANC — because that's all they really are — I, more than any other black person, have demonstrated my brotherhood and friendship at great cost and risk to myself.

Our meeting with the ANC at which we exchanged emissaries last year was the climax of our relationship. We are still waiting for answers from Mr (Oliver) Tambo to certain questions we put to them at that meeting, but before the answers come I get these attacks. They are very surprising because they are not reconcilable with the ANC's or Mr Tambo's attitudes in the past.

Q. What do you believe is driving this wedge between you and the ANC?

A. I think they (the ANC) are best able to answer that themselves. Personally, I believe that by the nature of exile politics there are certain problems. Those in exile are removed from the ordinary people and are unable to determine what the people want. They have to assess the situation from newspaper reports and guess the people's wishes.

Q. You said in an interview published in Johannesburg last month that you had not precluded the possibility of using strike action as a political weapon nor had you precluded from your thinking that benefits could flow from really effective international sanctions against South Africa, but the voice of black South Africa told you not to squander lives and human potential prematurely on such schemes which had no prospect of succeeding. This statement implies that there may come a time when you will advocate these actions.

A. It is not so much when I decide but when the people have spoken. I am a politician and when the people's voices say something should happen I will not run away from that action.

Q. For how long do you believe you can continue to advocate change from within a constitutional framework?

A. I am a human being and black people are human beings and they make decisions as their circumstances dictate. I think that when the people themselves feel that there is nothing left but to die then I will respond to that feeling.

Q. What do you believe the consequences of the rising level of violent resistance will be?

A. As a politician I can't speculate or prophesy, but quite clearly there are two possibilities. It can make (white) people more determined to fight and in fact they see participation by blacks in the armed struggle as an evil — such participation is a lesser evil than the escalation of violence.

On the other hand, it can make (black-white) polarization even more crystallized and cause whites to feel more cornered and become very unreasonable as happened in Zimbabwe. But you must realize these are hypotheses.

Q. Do you see the escalation of violence as damaging to your own efforts towards change?

A. No. I think everything is relevant. I think that what is done through violence might remind the regime that what may come later on a larger scale if they don't negotiate. But it is a balancing act and could tip either way.

Q. What parallels do you draw between the situation in South Africa and that in Zimbabwe before independence?

A. There is a parallel, but the way we are now and in Zimbabwe today realize that the parallel is limited to the fact that here we have a minority regime as there was in Zimbabwe, but that's as far as it goes.

In South Africa you have an indigenous white population that they didn't have in Zimbabwe. Whites there were also able to migrate to other countries, which we here cannot do. They have nowhere to go.

As far as the armed struggle itself is concerned there were more factors that favoured our brothers in Zimbabwe than here. They had springboards in neighbouring states. As far as I know none of our neighbours, not even Zimbabwe, will allow guerrillas to use their soil as a springboard to attack South Africa.

So there are no areas here that can be liberated in that way. In fact I would regard KwaZulu as almost a liberated area. The fact that I have a base here makes it, in the South African sense, a liberated area from which I can engage in the liberation struggle on South African soil.

The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, is seldom out of the news. His participation in South African politics attracts increasing attention both here and abroad. In an interview with CHRIS FREEMOND of the Rand Daily Mail Southern Africa Bureau he spoke on a wide range of subjects. Extracts of the interview are published today.
Brose Killing: 3 Held

The death of a police officer has produced a remarkable discovery which has revealed a new and shocking aspect of the investigation. The officer, who was working at the scene of the shooting, reported hearing three successive bangs in the area. When he investigated, he found a body lying on the ground with multiple bullet wounds. The officer's actions were praised by the police department, and he was quickly promoted. The incident has raised questions about the reliability of eyewitness accounts in such cases.
Shooting in bank described

Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. — A Silverton scene hostage described to the Supreme Court here how fellow hostage, teenager Cindy Anderson was killed by bullets fired by a terrorist in his death throes.

Mr Igor Grobbelaar told the court today that on January 26 he was in the Silverton branch of the Volkskas Bank when it was attacked by three armed men. Miss Anderson was sitting next to him in his booth while they were being held hostage.

She said she was very frightened and put my arm around her, said Mr Grobbelaar. When the shooting began I pulled her off the stand. I didn't see what happened to her then. After several shots, the terrorist fell into the booth. He had his gun in his hands and an armed grenade. I saw the grenade land about eight inches from my face. I grabbed it and threw it out of the booth.

He said the grenade exploded, injuring him.

Then the terrorist started shooting. I turned to see in the direction he was firing and saw Miss Anderson's head jerk and she fell forward. She was hit by the bullets. I looked the gun up.

Mr Grobbelaar said the police then overpowered the man.

This evidence was heard at the trial of Norman Johnson Jubb, 28, and eight others who have pleaded not guilty to high treason, murder, 11 charges of attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances and taking part in terrorist activities.

Captain Christiaan de Swart told the court he was called to the scene of the scene soon after 1 pm that day.

He looked into the bank and saw the hostages standing in their hands on their heads and the armed men with them. One of the men was sitting in front of a woman.

The court heard that the terrorist demanded to be, as well as part of the Freedom Charter, which was based on the police.

(Proceeding)
Homeland plan unethcial—chief

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — Kwazulu
Chief Minister, Chief Gat-
sha Buthelezi, has de-
scribed Government plans
to give independent hom-
lands more benefits than
non-independent ones as
' unethical'.

He was reacting to a
statement to the National-
ist Press by the Foreign
Minister, Mr Pik Botha, in
which he said the Govern-
ment was seriously con-
sidering such a move.

Mr Botha said he be-
lieved discriminatory
measures against citizens
of independent homelands
should be dropped and
that they should get more
financial help than hom-
elands which have not op-
ted for independence.

'We are citizens of
South Africa and we will
not sell our birthright to
anybody — not even if
they give everything to
these so-called independ-
ent states,' Chief
Buthelezi said.

'As citizens, we have a
right to share in the eco-
nomy of the country. To
try and use the wealth of
the country for political
ends is unethical.'

Chief Buthelezi said Mr
Botha's attitude was not
new. 'They have always
acted in this way. But
what is surprising is that
he is so brazen about it.'
Student 
outburst 
on Inkatha

Mercury Reporter

A STinging attack on Inkatha is contained in the editorial of the August issue of Senzani, the students' magazine of the University of Zululand.

The editorial says this year's graduation ceremony was changed completely into an Inkatha rally.

Disregarding the students' resolution to observe graduation day as a strictly academic occasion, it adds, the Inkatha leadership, 'obstinate and dictatorial as it is,' sent a 'large number of thugs armed with dangerous weapons.'

The article says Inkatha is not a liberation movement but a religious organisation. It is more a hero-worshiping body than it is ideologically orientated.

'Some people join in order to secure their positions either as teachers in KwaZulu schools or as KwaZulu civil servants, businessmen or pupils at schools headed by Inkatha fanatics,' the editorial maintains.

'However, some join Inkatha under the wrong impression that it is a national liberation movement, but the organisation is busy protecting and securing the interests of a single man.'

The organisation makes sure, it says, that this man is always in power, that he is listened to and that he is unopposed.

The editorial said Inkatha discredited authentic liberation movements and was against true black leaders and encouraged foreign investment both in KwaZulu and in South Africa.

'Inkatha must know that it is politically irrelevant to the real objectives of the black people of this country,' the article concludes.

Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of Inkatha, said yesterday that he had lodged a complaint about the tone of this publication to the chairman of the University Council, Dr Lawrence McCrystal, and the vice-chancellor of the university, Professor A K Nkabinde. Chief Buthelezi is also chancellor of the University of Zululand.

'It was not fair criticism and was, in fact, an insult to the Zulu people and to millions of black people whose support of him had been proved by academic, empirical findings.

'Many of these hypocrites condemn foreign investment in South Africa when their own parents are employed by multinational corporations which operate in South Africa,' Chief Buthelezi remarked.

The students had scholarships from the same multi-national corporations against which they hurled-empty slogans.

'The University of Zululand gets substantial financial assistance from these corporations.

'Why do they remain there?' he asked.

The Inkatha president continued: 'It is the public who must judge who the lunatics are — ourselves or the people who hurl down their own facilities at the university and who used stones to attack the public and Inkatha on the day of the graduation.

'That is the measure of their own civilisation.'
Indians want their council scrapped

By Peter Sullivan
Political Correspondent

The last pillar of the Government's race-based council structure is set to collapse: the South African Indian Council wants itself scrapped.

This follows the surprise abolition of the Black Council last week and the Coloured Persons' Council this week.

The Minister of Indian Affairs (and Coloured Relations), Mr. Marais Steyn, confirmed today that SAIC members had approached the Government to have the council scrapped.

"They will be speaking to us about it, but as their request has already been made, I don't want to conduct a dialogue through the Press," he said.

"I don't work that way and you can appreciate my position."

Last week the Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, summarily scrapped the Black Council after leaders of the non-independent homelands refused to serve on it.

This week Mr. Botha told leaders of the Labour Party and the Freedom Party that he would not create institutions which the coloured people did not want.
Dedicated to Mamkuh lu is Woman

By Simha Kunene

Days in detention

Nawatwe Eithu Waatope recaps her

LAWS

By Simha Kunene

Dedicated to her people

when you enter the humble home of Miss Nawatwe Eithu Waatope

POST WOMAN

Page 3, Post Wednesday, August 13, 1980
### PHYSICS III 1980: LECTURE PROGRAMME FOR SECOND TERM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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### MID-TERM VACATION

**REMARKS:**
- TUTORIAL WORK AND CLASS RECORD: tutorial assignments during the second term will determine the class record, which will be determined by the final examination mark.
  - (i) for Science students
  - (ii) for Engineering students
  - The granting of a D.P. Certiﬁcate is dependent on satisfactory performance in the examination.

**EXAMINATIONS AND FINAL MARKS:**
- papers consisting of the following:
  - 29 Oct. am: Paper 1: Questions 1-3
  - 5 Nov. am: Paper 2: Questions 4-6
  - 7 Nov. pm: Paper 3: Questions 7-9

The final mark \( F \) will be calculated as:
- (a) for Science students: \( F = 0.5P + 0.5C \)
- (b) for Engineering students: \( F = 0.5C + 0.5P \)

*(P = exam mark in papers, C = class record)*

**JDH/CB**
7/7/80

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"Many parents are ignorant of the fact that we all live in a society where we believe that their children are indulging in affairs that are not their business, while on the other hand, they (parents) are in the thick of it," she said.

"We used to have as many rooms as we could afford, unlike the matchboxes we have to live in today," she grumbled.

Mamphulu is unemployed. She was a doctor's receptionist for more than 14 years. She says her health has deteriorated since her detention in 1979, and she is presently undergoing treatment. She is also looking after her sickly son, George, to detention in June 1976.

It was a day after the 16th. A young woman was shot along the Pot with no new patients among their colours."

One wonders how the young ones take the isolation of detention, says Ncanyiwe Wachope.**
Sibeko: for trial

DAR ES SALAAM. — Seven former members of the Pan Africanist Congress are to go on trial in Dar es Salaam this month charged with the assassination of PAC co-leader, Mr. David Sibeko, the Tanzania News Agency announced yesterday.

Mr. Sibeko, the movement's 36-year-old foreign affairs director and a member of the three-man presidential committee, was shot dead in Dar es Salaam on June 11 last year.

The High Court trial will begin on August 20 as soon as the accused, who were arrested shortly after the shooting, have made their pleas. Twenty-three prosecution witnesses are expected to be called.

Two months ago, 12 other former PAC guerrillas held in connection with the assassination were released because of lack of evidence. — Sapa-Reuters.
Indian Council set for collapse

"They will be speaking to us about it, but as their request has already been made, I don't want to conduct a dialogue through the Press.

"I don't work that way and you can appreciate my position," Mr Steyn said.

Last week the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, summarily scrapped the Black Council after leaders of the non-independent homelands refused to serve on it.

This week Mr Botha told leaders of the Labour Party and the Freedom Party he would not create institutions which the coloured people did not want.

On Tuesday Mr Steyn confirmed this meant the scrapping of the Coloured Persons Council, and said nobody would be nominated to it because coloured leaders had indicated it would become a "bore of contention."
Tambo seeks Mugabe backing

SALISBURY—The leader of the banned ANC, Mr. Oliver Tambo, is here for top level discussions with senior Zimbabwean Government officials on increased assistance for his movement.

Mr. Tambo has already met the Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, according to reliable sources.

He will have more talks with senior government officials before leaving here at the weekend.

Mr. Tambo is expected to ask for diplomatic recognition of his organisation and for permission to establish offices.

Mr. Mugabe's government has stated that it will not grant military bases to South Africa's "liberation movements" despite its support for the ANC and PAC.

It is not known whether Mr. Tambo will press the Zimbabwean Government to review the issue of direct military assistance and sanctuary for guerrillas.

The ANC leader clearly intends to improve relations between his organisation which has historically been closely associated with Mr. Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU, and the ruling ZANU(PF) Party.

Part of the reluctance of Mr. Mugabe's ZANU(PF) to render the same assistance it got from Mozambique to the ANC is attributed to the cool relations which existed between the two nationalist parties.

Zimbabwe has, however, jointly with Mozambique at the end of President Samora Machel's state visit last week, issued a communique pledges full support for the "liberation" movements in Southern Africa.

The communique also condemned South Africa's alleged sabotage of UN efforts to resolve the South West African conflict.
the Police about possibilities of ANC assassins assassinating me. ANC denies it, but states that I am, however, getting too close to the Government. "Now the Republican Government in less than a month, through its Minister of Police, accuses me of trying to please ANC, and accuses me of insulting whites. This is a classical case of one being between the devil and the deep blue sea.

"In the circumstances I can only say that it is no longer clear to me because of the cacophony of these threats from all sides, who will do what to me, as far as the ANC and the South African Government are concerned.

"I can only say to both sides that I am beyond intimidation and I will take whatever comes. I have had white threats and black threats to my life for years now. "If anything happens to me now that both ANC and the South African Government literally declare me fair game, through these sort of statements, it will be for other people in South Africa to know who the villain is."
UNCERTAINTY on how Chief Buthelezi, Inkatha and the African majority propose to dismantle race discrimination without threatening the survival and economic security of the white minority combines with Government reluctance to debate the two issues in a national convention to constitute one of the main obstacles to a black-white consensus on final goals.

Such a consensus is, in the final analysis, the only reliable guarantee of security and survival for all the peoples of South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi's supporters take the position that the Government's uncertainty about the wisdom of convening a constitutional convention in which all races will work together on the formulation of an acceptable guarantee should not be allowed to stand in the way of a Natal convention to demonstrate not only to most Afrikaners, but also to free Africa and the rest of the world, that those Africans, Afrikaners, Coloureds, English and Indians who do not want to see South Africa reduced to ashes have the will to meet and formulate a viable alternative to the status quo.

Urgency is given to the need to make the demonstration by, among other things, white greed for land which has reduced the increasing rural population's ability to produce much of its food while unemployment has become a problem of deepening complexity in urban areas.

Land shortage combines with unemployment to constitute an explosive aspect of the 'race' problem. It is clear to me that the expropriation by the whites of large tracts of African land in the rural areas has summoned into action forces which could reduce South Africa to ashes.

The police are becoming increasingly powerless to stop clashes between these forces. The obvious answer is to give constructive focus to them; it is to make it clear to the land-hungry and jobless that the rich companies which have planted sugar cane and forests where the Africans once tilled their fields are determined to remove the evils produced by their concern with their profits.

Effective support for the Buthelezi Commission is one proof of the determination. Speedy movement to a Natal convention on the abolition of race discrimination in the province is another. The third is a consensus on final goals which will give all races in Natal a feeling of belonging. This feeling is the first precondition of security and survival for all minority groups.

Chief Buthelezi has worked harder than any living South African leader for a political solution of the 'race' problem.

Such a solution is the only guarantee of security and survival for all the peoples of Natal.

Union transformed the main population groups — the Africans, Afrikaners and the English, who included the Jewish community — into monoliths. The monolith was a closed power structure in which the demands of race-political survival prescribed destiny for, and imposed a unifying discipline on all its members.

Monolithism was imposed on the Africans by segregation. The blacks, who were not free to determine their destiny, reacted to this in ways which are related to Inkatha's present commitment to a political solution.

Each monolith had fundamental strengths, basic weaknesses and peculiar concerns which determined goals, shaped policies and fixed priorities.

The fundamental strength of the English at Union lay in their dominant position in the economy. Their greatest weakness was that the structure of their society was such that they were eventually to become an unchangeable minority on the white side. Their source of strength gave them a vested interest in stability and a unitary State.

The Afrikaners were a largely land-based community. This gave them a political potential which eventually enabled them to gain absolute control of the Government in a society where a white skin was the main qualification for citizenship.

The point of real weakness in the Afrikaner monolith was that the Afrikaner in time presided over a power structure based on two pillars: African labour and English economic power.

The Afrikaner's peculiar concern was his survival problem. The differences between the two white monoliths made Union a united front of white monoliths which had unsolved identity prob-
A month later an Afrikaans Students' mould
proposed a 'strategy' which built on
maximised African strength on the home front
and extended the area of
isolation for the white
united front on the interna
tional plane. Its aim
was to develop and use poli
tical weapons to move
black and white to a politi
cal solution.

The fundamental
strength of the Africans
lay in their numbers,
labour and consumer
power. Their basic weak
ness was their servant sta
tus in the white man's
world. The unitary State
gave the white united
front the freedom to
exercise the power of a
majority.

The Africans did not ac
cept the destiny pre
scribed for them. They
met in a unity conference
in Bloemfontein on Janu
ary 8, 1912, where they
united into a new people
whose destiny was to con
front white domination
with an alternative in the
form of what Dr Pixley ka
Isaka Seme called 'a new
and unique civilization'.
Non-racialism and co-op
eration across the colour
line were some of the
main features of this.

Chief Buthelezi has
stated on several occa
sions that he and Inkatha
adhere to the ideals of the
1912 unity conference. His
performance in the years
he has been involved in
race politics suggests that
he does not regard the fun
damental concerns which
determine African,
Afrikaner and English at
itudes as wholly
irreconcilable. He wants a
national convention to ef
fect the reconciliation. He
wants the coloureds and
the Indians to be present
at the convention. They,
too, must have a say in
the shaping of their coun
try's future.

Buthelezi is not the type
who is afraid of pursuing
an unpopular course if the
mandate given him by his
supporters demands this.
Involvement in the Zulu
homeland administration

These developments are
preparations of ground for
what could one day be
a serious dialogue on an alternative to the
status quo which would
guarantee the security and
survival of all South
Africans.

It is unlikely that the
Lombard Report would
have paid much attention to
African representation in
the dispensation it
poses for Natal if
Buthelezi and Inkatha did
not have behind them the
power they built through
the KwaZulu homeland
administration.

African labour, the
Afrikaner's political poten
tial and English eco
nomic power have created
a South Africa that is one
fifth free and prosperous.
These people, who are
white, are interested in
stability. The remaining
four-fifths, who are not
white, are punished for
their race. A South Africa
that is four-fifths humili
ated and poor and one
fifth free and affluent is
like a house built to fall
apart.

If, from the Afrikaner
point of view, apartheid
was relevant in 1910, the
extension of the area of
freedom in Africa, the iso
lation of white South
Africa and the borders be
tween the Republic and
free Africa call for an al
together new and different
guarantee of survival.

English economic power
is to a large extent respon
sible for the seizure of Af
rican lands in KwaZulu
and for the planting on
these of vast sugarcane
fields and forests. English
financial power has estab
lished supermarkets in
Natal's larger cities. In
most of these it is white
coloured and Indian girls
who operate the cash reg
isters. African girls are
relegated to jobs consid
ered fit for a servant race:
they wrap parcels.
Indians may boycott celebrations

Political Staff
Pretoria's Indian community is expected to join the coloured boycott of the city's 125th anniversary celebrations.

Mr E Abramjee, chairman of the Laudium Management Committee, said today: "We have not had a chance to take a decision yet, but I know a number of people here feel the same way as the coloureds about taking part in celebrations."

He said he and his vice-chairman, Mr Usman Ahmed, would today attend the municipality's meeting to plan the celebrations. "But only as observers."

They would report back to their committee which would then take a decision whether or not to boycott the celebrations.

The Bertrust Management Committee refused to accept an invitation to today's meeting earlier this week, and issued a statement saying it would boycott the celebrations because they were not prepared to celebrate 125 years of oppression.

Reacting to the coloured boycott, a city council spokesman today said: "It is a pity they have decided not to take part in the city's celebrations."

"They were invited in good faith by the City Council, which has invited other bodies and organisations."

(News by R. Abbott, 216 Verwoerd Street, Pretoria)
Salisbury office for ANC likely

The Star's Africa
News Service

SALISBURY — The African National Congress of South Africa is highly likely to open a diplomatic office in Salisbury but will definitely not be allowed to have military bases in Zimbabwe, according to sources here.

The ANC’s president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, is in Salisbury for talks with Government leaders. Among other things he is appealing for Government help for his movement.

The source said Mr. Tambo would probably be assured of moral and diplomatic backing from Mr. Robert Mugabe’s Government but would get very little other help.
Keep it, says Indian Council man

Mercury Reporter

MR J B Patel, chairman of the Natal Committee of the South African Indian Council, said yesterday there was no justification for disbanding the council.

Commenting on a call by SAIC chairman Y S Chinsamy for the Indian Council to be scrapped because it did not represent the community, Mr Patel said if the Indian Council did not represent the Indian community, Mr Chinsamy should himself quit.

"The SAIC has always been an advisory body and will remain as such, even if the members are elected. If it is scrapped now it will destroy the channel of communication with the Government when crucial matters affecting a new political dispensation are being discussed."

He said the Indian community had been making calls for direct representation for all groups in Parliament.

Mr Chinsamy's plea followed a move by the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, to abandon plans for a nominated Coloured Persons' Council as well as the Black Council.

Mr Chinsamy could not be reached for comment last night.
Education Reporter

Some schools in the Peninsula have lost as many as 300 pupils because of the boycott, aggravating the already serious drop-out problem and swelling the Cape's unemployment figures.

Many of those who dropped out have, ironically, been swallowed up by factories only too willing to employ cheap labour.

During the boycott, pupils protested strongly against being educated for cheap labour. 'But', said one principal this week, 'the boycott has, unfortunately, promoted the cheap labour market.'

WORST HIT

Worst hit are schools in the sub-economic areas. 'Many parents are proud that their children are earning R25 a week in a factory,' said a principal, who has lost 250 pupils out of just over 800 since the boycott.

His normal drop-out rate is 100 a year and the biggest proportion come from his Standard 6 and 7 classes. Since the boycott, 90 of his matric pupils have dropped out.

'The sad thing,' said another principal, 'is that many of those who have left were average and above average pupils who would have passed at the end of the year.'

His school, which also serves a sub-economic area, started the year with over 1000 pupils. Since the boycott, 260 have dropped out, compared with 177 last year.

OPTIONS WIDER

The boycott accelerated the drop-out rate. Many parents decided to take their children out of school because they couldn't afford to keep them there if they were not productively involved,' he said.

't's definitely abnormal,' said the principal. 'The majority of the pupils are in Standard 9 and I doubt very much whether they are in jobs. I think the main reason for them leaving school is that they are afraid of the challenge having to catch up on all the work,' he added.

For those that remain at school, principals have nothing but praise. Working extra hours every day and at some schools at nights and at others on Saturday mornings, pupils are, according to all principals, 'tremendously motivated, dedicated and self-disciplined.'

UNIVERSITY

'There is a strong feeling of earnestness on this campus,' said Professor R. E. van der Ross, Rector of the University of the Western Cape.

'Firstly, many of the students have realised that education is important and you cannot do without it and secondly, they are now faced with deadlines and just have to get down to it,' he said.

He added that since April, 430 out of the 4,155 students who, enrolled at the beginning of the year, had dropped out. The university usually lost about 250, most of whom were first-year students.

Like all the school principals interviewed, Professor van der Ross felt the major advantage of the boycott was that it made the authorities aware of the situation.

INQUIRY

'It forced a lot of people to look at the total situation as well as the education system. I have no doubt that attention is being given to educational matters.'

An example is the general inquiry into education, appointed by the Prime Minister. It will take time, but then things like this always do.' In an ironic way, I think the boycott also meant that the students and pupils have returned to the school bench, with a heightened awareness and even perception about the importance of education,' Professor van der Ross said.
The Silverton siege trial: All the details

There are four alternative charges of taking part in terrorist activities.
All five have pleaded not guilty to all charges.

The Silverton siege trial: All the details

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ANC to open office in Salisbury

Own Correspondent

SALISBURY. — The African National Congress will soon establish a political and diplomatic presence in Salisbury, after talks between its leader, Mr. Oliver Tambo and the Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe. The banned South African nationalist movement will open offices in the capital soon.

Top level discussions are being held between a seven-man ANC delegation and senior government officials here. Mr. Tambo’s delegation has held meetings with the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Simon Muzenda, and the Minister of State in the Prime Minister’s Office, Mr. Emmerson Mnangagwa.

No military bases

The Zimbabwe Government has been assured that the ANC has no intention of establishing secret military bases in Zimbabwe. Sources said the Zimbabwe Government had been told of the ANC’s willingness to negotiate with Pretoria for a new political dispensation, provided that its condition for the release of all political detainees was met.

Mr. Tambo’s delegation is expected to leave Salisbury at the weekend.
Buthelezi attacks ANC and the Govt

ILUNDLI.—The Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, yesterday made a scathing attack on the South African Government and the African National Congress.

He was reacting to a Sunday newspaper report in which the Minister of Police, Mr L. Le Grange, allegedly accused him of trying to please the ANC and of insulting whites in South Africa.

Chief Buthelezi said it made him feel strange to be in a position which was forced on him by both the Government, through Mr Le Grange, and the ANC, through spokesmen such as Mr Alfred Noz and Mr Oliver Tambo.

The ANC declared him "fair game" when Mr Tambo described him earlier as an "interloper" between the oppressor and the oppressed.

"In other words, he meant that I am an obstruction between both factions on both sides of the colour line, which are spoiling for violent confrontation.

"When I asked Mr Tambo about alleged threats to my life from his organisation, he stated that it is the South African Government that wants to kill me and that they want to use them as the cover for what they intend doing," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the newspaper statement, which was allegedly made by the Commissioner of Police about the possibility of the ANC assassinating him, had been denied by the ANC which stated that "I am getting too close to the Government".

"Now the Government, in less than a month, through its Minister of Police, accuses me of trying to please the ANC and accuses me of insulting whites," he said. — Sapa.
DAVID THEBEHALI (right) chairman of the Soweto Council that was elected on a 5 percent vote of the community, is often criticised as a "dummy" leader. Here he vigorously defends his position.

Big mouths can't build houses

Our so-called "real" leaders have been recklessly issuing rhetorical, idealistic statements that have raised false hopes in the minds of the masses and thus created unprecedented confusion in the African community. The popular fashion, which is dangerously detrimental to the African, is for the messianic and holier-than-thou hierarchies that are employed to run down other Africans.

Who is a leader in the African community? Who is the spokesman on political, economic, and social issues, in the African community? Who is, to use the popular Black Consciousness phraseology, "relevant" or "irrelevant"?

Leadership is a scarce commodity in the African community. The smaller the commodity, the more ruthless the struggle to possess it. In this case, the more ruthless too the struggle for scraps of white liberal recognition and media attention.

Some people become puffed up with imaginary power, indulging in exhibitionism to give the impression that they are talking on behalf of the masses.

The result of this leadership fight is a real atmosphere of rivalry, envy and mutual backbiting that defiles the whole community and gives the liberals the opportunity to neutralise whatever power Africans may have had by playing off one faction against another.

Among others, the Soweto Council has been denounced by these activist groups. They accused us of the low percentage poll.

They repeatedly say that we do not represent the people of Soweto.

When it comes to politics we are in complete agreement with these activists. When it comes to the demand for political rights we do not represent the African community — that is not and it will never be a "plank" or platform for the Soweto Council.

But regardless of the low poll we know and the residents know that when we speak of housing, job opportunities, educational facilities, and a better environment to live in, we are talking their language. We have established that we have the support of the residents. We have proved it in black and white, and we challenge anybody to say that we do not have support.

"The Braamfontein liberals say that the Committee of Ten are the real leaders of Soweto. What a sick joke!"

In 1978, before finally deciding on the electricity project, we sent out 57,000 questionnaires to the registered tenants of Soweto. We asked them whether they wanted electricity to be provided by the Soweto Council. 32,000 responded positively. Ask any research organisation if this is not a high return. If the residents did not accept the Soweto Council as an authority they would have replied to the questionnaires.

If we were hated as some of the Soweto
political anarchists repeatedly say, why this response?
The African Silent Majority is behind us, and that is why this Council will remain as a living institution to provide for and look after the Civic needs of the residents.

Recently we undertook a survey in areas that were regarded as sub-economic during the Johannesburg City Council days. The areas are Mofolo South, Jabavu, Orlando East. The response was very good. Nobody said: "Soweto Council . . . I will not have anything to do with it."

Soweto Council is doing tremendously well. We are responding to the needs of the residents and there is no confusion or uncertainty on our aims and objectives. Our critics are jealously waiting to participate in the on-coming elections.

The Brainsome liberals have been saying in Parliament and in their cocktail party circles that the Committee of Ten are the real leaders of Soweto. What a sick joke! After all the publicity given to the so-called real leaders, they organised a conference to go public. What happened? The conference, to the disappointment of the foreign journalists, was a failure.

"The African silent majority is behind us..." It failed to start at the scheduled time. The excuse was "the residents go shopping on Saturday morning, that is why we did not start on time." They are the "real leaders." They are supposed to know the habits and lifestyles of the residents! Yet the media always have to inflate the attendance figures for their public meetings in Soweto. Why? To give the impression that they have support. This organisation does not bother me and my Soweto Council. There is nothing they can do for the residents. They cannot build houses; they cannot cross the country for the residents; they cannot install electricity in Soweto; they cannot change the environment of the residents. The Soweto Council and only the Soweto Council can do that. Soweto residents are not such fools as to support a sterile organisation which is toothless.

It is significant to observe that when the Committee of Ten started (they were not elected) they issued what appeared to be a policy statement: "We are not prepared to negotiate or talk to anybody but the Prime Minister of the land, Mr. B. J. Vorster."

Mr. Vorster said: "You go and jump in the lake." For some politically queer reason they thought that they were so strong that they could demand and dictate to the government... They said no Soweto Council participation; but some of their members (the Holwanes, the Mosalas?) are waiting for the coming elections. Why are they enthusiastically for the council elections throughout Soweto? To prepare for the elections. Our "real leaders" have no principles — their stances are like chameleon acids. But political opportunists of the first order.

The same thing applies to our "real leaders" in education. They called for the mass resignation of teachers. The Soweto teacher responded to this demand. He resigned. What happened to leaders who were "firing" the teachers to resign? The liberals created jobs for them. They have very good salaried jobs, and the teacher who followed their advice is walking the streets of Soweto without a job. Responsible teachers resigned their resignations and realised that they were taken for a political ride. You can be reassured that the teacher will never be fooled again.

The "real leaders" make statements of non-negotiation with the powers that be — until the so-called demands are fulfilled. Then they hold meetings with the Broederbond, representatives of government agencies, etc. This political rigmarole confuses Mr. Average.

Mr. Average does not understand why our "real leaders" send their children to white private schools, and then tell our children to boycott schools and refuse to write examinations.

Mr. Average does not understand why our "real leaders" are negotiating privately with whites to start businesses in Soweto and then about that whites are not wanted here.

We were told that the masses are against negotiations and consultations with the Government. That the masses are against the Regional Committees created by Dr. Kookhol. Research was undertaken by The Star newspaper, and the masses said they supported consultation and participation in these regional committees. Can we say that our so-called real leaders reflect the opinions of the masses?

As everyone knows, I am often accused of being a sellout. The "Muromva of South Africa." But when people make this accusation, they are often not sure what they mean. Some say it is because I am legitimising government-created platforms. Others assume that because I make use of platforms which are available, I am therefore involved in politically collaborating with the Government in trying to rob blacks of their birthright. Let us be clear on this. I do not stop Dr. Motlana calling for one-man-one-vote. I do not disagree with him on that. I too want a day when blacks are full and equal citizens in an undivided South Africa.

"The best way of improving Mr. Average's lot is by co-operating with the authorities..." But that is not going to happen overnight, and what do you do in the meantime? Mr. Average has got practical problems. He has housing problems, job problems, food problems. Do you help him, or do you grind salt in his wounds to make sure he knows he is unequal. Do you do what is pragmatically possible to make his life a better life, or do you keep telling him he must be angry until you finally persuade him that he is angry?

My opinion of progress is that you help him improve his lot, and I state as a fact that the best way of doing so is by cooperation with the associated authorities. Those who disagree are welcome to their opinions. History may show that those who are right are right.

If those people are to be honest, they should stop knocking on my back door to ask me for help with their electricity and their sewing machines, and the practical things which their big mouths and their liberal friends do not provide for them.
ANC forges links with Zimbabwe Government

THE African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa will most likely open a diplomatic office in Salisbury, but will not be allowed to have military bases in Zimbabwe, according to sources there.

The ANC president, Mr. Oliver Tambo, is currently en route to Salisbury for talks with Government leaders. Among other things, Mr. Tambo is appealing for Government help and recognition for his movement.

Mr. Tambo arrived at the start of the Heroes’ Day weekend and attended the state funeral of Zimbabwe war heroes.

The source said Mr. Tambo would probably be assured of moral and diplomatic backing from Mr. Robert Mugabe’s government, but he would get very little other help outside of being permitted to establish an office in the capital.

The meeting is an important breakthrough for the ANC which, through its links with Moscow, has always been closer to Mr. Josip Broz Tito’s Popular Front than to Mr. Mugabe’s Zimbabwe African National Union-People’s party. — SUNDAY POST Correspondent.
Witness says 6 accused were trained in Angola

THE terror of the Silverton Siege was relived this week as several of the victims, still crippled after the attack, gave evidence in the Silverton trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court.

And a mystery witness said six of the accused received military training in Angola.

Appearing before the court are Mr Nthembi Johnson Luthi, 28; Mr Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 28; Mr Naphtali Munam, 24; Mr Ikanyege Moses Molebatsi, 27; Mr Mhlaile Benjamin Grant Siven, 24; Mr Jeremiah Radebe, 26; Mr Boyce Johannes Bogale, 28, and Mr Thomas Magadi, 26, who have pleaded not guilty to high treason, murder, attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances, and taking part in terrorist activities.

Their appearance follows the attack on the Silverton branch of the Volkskas Bank on January 25 and on the Snelkruisker police station on January 4.

The court heard how the police surrounded the bank and Captan Mickey de Swart, then with Pretoria’s murder and robbery squad, identified himself as one of the three gunmen.

The gunman, armed with AK 47 machine guns and hand grenades, demanded the release of John Mango and Nelson Mandela and the return of a bag containing grenades, a bayonet and bullets.

Tribune Reporter

which they left outside the bank.

At about 6.30pm they threatened to start shooting the hostages.

Captain de Swart said they were ordered by his captors to give a code word for the hidden police sharpshooters in the bank when he considered it safe for them to shoot without injuring the hostages.

Standing unarmed inside the bank, he gave the code word at 7.00pm, the court heard, and the two gunmen on the public side of the counter died instantly in a hail of bullets fired by police on the mezzanine floor.

Captain de Swart then ran outside, took a firearm from a policeman and helped a member of the task force overcome the third gunman, whom he considered the leader, he told the court.

This gunman was behind the counter in a booth next to several hostages.

He was wounded four times by Lieutenant Carlos Bruzelle when he and others of the task force ran up the stairs from the basement. Seeing the man fall forward, Lieutenant Bruzelle ordered the others to stop firing, but, as he fell a grenade rolled out of his hands into the booth where Miss Cindy Anderson, Mr Teor, Grubelmet and another hostage were lying.

Mr Grubelmet told the court it exploded about 20 centimetres from his face and he grabbed it and threw it away from him. It exploded, injuring Lieutenant Bruzelle.

The gunman started firing his machine gun as he fell and Mr Grubelmet said he saw Cindy Anderson jerk and fall forward. Medical evidence was that she died instantly from a bullet through the thorax and skull.

When police stormed the bank two police, pledging in all and the force of one of the explosions caused Mrs Anna de Klerk — who was sitting on the counter of the same teller’s booth — to fall, cracking her skull. She died hours later.

The third gunman was shot at least 10 times by the police before he was overpowered and his AK 47 rifle wrested from him as he died.

The mystery witness, a 28-year-old black man, said he had been a member of the ANC for nearly three years and he gave himself up to the Security Police last year.

He said he went into the horser into exile in January 1979, and contacted ANC members. He then went to Maputo and from there he and six others left for military training at an MPLA camp in Angola. The court heard they were taught urban warfare.

The witness said he recognized six of the accused men as having undergone military training in Angola. They were Mr Luthi, Mr Molebatsi, Mr Siven, Mr Radebe, Mr Bogale and Mr Magadi.

Mrs Besier du Preez and Mrs Annalie Landman, both bank employees, each gave evidence this week with an arm in a steel harness, called a Hoffman apparatus.

Mrs Landman, who can barely walk, said she was sitting on the counter when the firing started. She couldn’t get on the floor because the teller’s booth was full of people.

“Threw were shots, I saw my right arm exploding,” she said. “I lost consciousness.”
Ex-ANC secretary refused passport

Pietermaritzburg Bureau

NINETY-five-year-old Mr Selby Msimang, a newspaper columnist and former general secretary for the banned African National Congress, has been denied a passport to visit his daughter in Swaziland.

No reasons were given by the Department of the Interior for refusing Mr Msimang a passport.

Mr Msimang, regular columnist for the Durban-based Ilanga and the only surviving founder member of the African National Congress, applied for renewal of his travel documents in March.

"I want to find out why they are withholding my documents," said Mr Msimang. It is absurd for anybody to think a man of my age could be a danger to the State."

Resigned

"I resigned from the ANC when I suspected communists were infiltrating the hierarchy and realised the policy of the organisation was being changed."

"I have visited my daughter, Mrs Gugu Nxumalo, at the University of Swaziland every year for several years now. This time she had to come to me for a couple of days."

Mr Msimang said he was visited by Security Police earlier this year after he had planned a trip to friends in the Transkei. Eventually he abandoned the trip.

A senior Security Police spokesman confirmed that Mr Msimang was visited but denied any knowledge of his passport renewal being refused.
New twist in Sibeko trial

DAR ES SALAAM — Two men accused in the 1979 slaying of David Humphreys Sibeko, leader of the banned Pan Africanist Congress, have indicated they believe the case should be treated as political, not criminal.

The two are among seven PAC members who are to stand trial for Mr Sibeko's murder on Wednesday in the local High Court.

"I am not a criminal," said one of the accused, Shindu Malemanu, (24), in a statement released on Friday. "I am a freedom fighter."

According to his statement, James Iliongwana, (21), another of the accused, has called on the Tanzanian government to consider the case as a political one.

MURDER

The statements were made during a preliminary inquiry in November into the murder of Mr Sibeko, who was shot in the head point-blank in June 1977, at his flat in the city.

Twenty-two people were committed to trial following the inquiry, but 12 of the accused were freed last May for insufficient evidence.

Another accused, 21-year-old Titus Soni, alias Joe, said in his statement that a PAC group was concerned about mismanagement of party business.

"We were frustrated because our leaders do not visit us in the camps," he said.

"They live abroad and go to Dar es Salaam when there is a meeting or to collect some money," Mr Soni's statement said.

Also released in court on Friday was a statement from fellow PAC leader Vusumuzi Makw.
On what will bring him back to the conference table in the wake of his boycott of the recent talks between the Prime Minister and homeland leaders:

I think we must get away from the theory that the Government comes to us with a fait accompli, we must accept holus bolus what they have on the table for us. When I took into account that we had given evidence to the Schles- lacht Commission and that this was ignored, and that we had a statement that was ignored; and that legislation was passed to implement the Schles- lacht proposals, then I did not see the point in going to the talks.

If the Prime Minister had included blacks in the President's Council it would have been difficult for me to refuse, although I do have reservations as to the representation. What sort of representation would we have as blacks, as the majority? These are things I would like to discuss, something we were invited to be on the council. That would be indicative of a change in direction because for the first time we would be sitting there, not as a permanent body, but as an interim body which forces us as South Africans to look at what formulas would advance us to full participation by all race groups in decision-making.

I do not regret the decision to stay away from last week's meeting. What happened there vindicated my stand because in fact one of my colleagues phoned me and said that the whole thing was a disaster. He said that the man bullied them and he treated them like schoolchildren. I said I must have been very well guided not to have attended. I would say my staying away had a lot to do with the scrapping of the black advisory council and the contribution by my colleagues.

There was the election at Fourum, and even the BNP has never really got off the ground. So the excuse that they have a strong right-wing really does not hold water.
In an interview with Political Reporter, TOM DUFF, Chief Buthelezi gives his views on a wide range of issues.
Mandela Kids set for India
KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — Blacks in South Africa were not part of the free enterprise system, and they should be encouraged to become part of it, Mr Bob Harvey, chairman of a major supermarket retailing chain, said here.

Speaking at a Jaycees meeting he said blacks tended to regard themselves as "socialists".

"Blacks so far this century in South Africa have never had free enterprise."

They had restrictions on freedom of movement and home ownership which whites took for granted in a free enterprise system.

"Blacks tend to describe themselves among others as socialists," he said.

"The most difficult thing is to convince blacks that there will be no exploitation — a big risk — but one that we have proved wrong in partnership with them," Mr Harvey said.

At another Jaycees meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, labour experts warned about inroads which the skilled labour shortage was making into South Africa's economic boom.

The shortage was reaching crisis proportions, said Prof Gideon Jacobs, director of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Witwatersrand University.

It was limiting the benefit derived from the economic boom, generating high inflation and aggravating unemployment.

Mr Ronnie Webb, vice-president of the Trade Union Council of South Africa told the meeting that the country lacked the skilled workers to maintain the momentum of the economic upsurge.

The government would have to "urgently review training facilities and ancillary programmes" he said.

"We must set out to train people, irrespective of race, to fill jobs," Prof Jacobs said.

"We must allow all existing training facilities, whether universities, teacher training colleges, technikons or technical colleges, to be filled to the full extent of their capacity with students on the basis of merit, not race."

He pointed out that Bantu education had left a legacy which would take many years to overcome.

— DDR-SAPA.
Mandela girls to accept father's award

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The two Mandela daughters, Zenzi Dlamini and Zinzi, are preparing to go to India to accept the Jawaharlal Nehru award on behalf of their father — the jailed African National Congress leader.

The decision to let the two girls represent their father was taken when the South African Government refused to allow the jailed leader to travel to India. Subsequent applications by his wife Winnie to accept the award were turned down.

The Jawaharlal Nehru award is the highest humanitarian honour the Indian Government can confer.

The Press Trust of India said the award was conferred on Mandela in recognition of his staunch support of freedom and individual liberty, justice and peace.

Although there is no date fixed for the ceremony, the Indian Government had hoped to hold the function some time early this year.

Zinzi said she anticipated no problems as far as their travel documents were concerned. She said she did not have a passport but her sister, who is married and lives in Swaziland, had one.

At the stage the two girls cannot divulge their itinerary until they have all the necessary documents, but they hope to do a lot of travelling abroad.

Zenzi will be accompanied by her husband, Mr Thembekile Dlamini, while Zinzi will travel with a friend, Mr Oupa Sekamela.
Leaders of all race groups join on council

PRETORIA — Leaders in the fields of finance, business management, manpower research and government from all major race groups have been invited to serve on the Executive Committee of the Human Sciences Research Council which will investigate education in South Africa.

The names of the committee members were disclosed by Dr J G Garbers, president of the HSRC. Nineteen of the members are white and six are black, Indian or coloured. One possible member, currently abroad and unable to react to the invitation, may yet accept, in which case the non-white representation will increase by one.

THE MEMBERS

The members are Professor J P de Lange, chairman and rector of Rand Afrikaans University; Dr J G Garbers, president of the HSRC; Professor A C Mkabonde, rector of the University of the Witwatersrand; Professor J H Joubert, director of the Transvaal Education Department; Professor S R Samuels, dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Durban-Westville; Mr P R Nel, former director of Indian Education and a member of the Natal Education Department.

AN INSPECTOR

Professor A C Mkabonde, rector of the University of the Witwatersrand.

A voker of Zululand, Mr N D Nqabu, an inspector of schools in the Department of Indian Affairs.

Mr M C O'Dowd, a director of Anglo American; Mr G A Netranga, director of the National Technikon; and Dr P J Steyn, director of Development and Education in the HSRC.

The other 11 members are Mr F von der Ross, director of the Peninsula Technikon; Mr J F Meiring, director of the Rand Institute for Educational Research; Professor N J Swart, vice-rector of Pretoria University for Christian Higher Education.

MANNPOWER

Professor P J van der Merwe, deputy chairman of the National Mannpower Commission; Professor P J van der Ross, director of Education in the University of the Western Cape.

Professor F van der Stoop, dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of Pretoria; Professor T T van Loggerenberg, dean of the Faculty of Education in the University of the Orange Free State.

Dr R H Verhey, deputy director, University Affairs in the Department of National Education; Professor P E O. Helgason, head of the Department of Mathematics and Mathematical Education at the University of Stellenbosch and Max C B Reitman, a teacher at Westville High School.

He Garbers emphasised that the committee had been independently constituted by the HSRC, and that the members were chosen in their personal capacities and not as representatives of their organisations.
Blacks urged to join political debate

Political Reporter

Groups and individuals who remained outside the Government-initiated debate on the constitution would become politically irrelevant, former Progressive Federal Party MP, Mr Japie Basson, said last night.

However, Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the SA Council of Churches, said the fatal flaw in the efforts to create a new dispensation in South Africa was the exclusion of blacks from the President's Council.

Both men spoke at a meeting of the current affairs discussion group, Poli '99, on the subject of "the black voice in constitutional dialogue."

Mr Basson urged blacks not to remain involved only in protest politics, but to involve themselves in the constitutional debate. He believed it was extremely short-sighted to boycott the President's Council.

He said political debate in South Africa was going to be between the Government and the President's Council and elected black leaders. Those people who remained outside this process would remain politically irrelevant.

Mr Basson said people should differentiate between principle and method. The Government had accepted the principle that all population groups should be drawn into the constitution-making process.

Bishop Tutu said the Prime Minister had a better perception of reality than his predecessors. Possibly this was because he was advised more by the military than by the police.

He pointed out that the South African Government had promoted negotiations between various groups in Zimbabwe and SWA/Namibia, but refrained from setting up such round-table talks inside the country.

The fatal flaw in the President's Council was the exclusion of blacks. There was no hope for a peaceful solution to the country's problems unless the acknowledged and elected leaders of all groups were allowed to get around a table and negotiate.
Warring Zulus to consider white as church leader

The four-year dispute over the leadership of the 100,000-member Nazareth Zulu church, which has already cost several lives, could be resolved if a white university professor is made temporary leader, of the sect, the Supreme Court here was told yesterday.

In papers before Mr. Justice Howard, a pastor of the church, Rev. Zacharia Khuwazy, said the dispute over the leadership began when the founder of the church, Rev. J. Shembe, died in December 1976 without naming a successor.

A struggle for the leadership had ensued between Londa and Amos Shembe and many had died as the opposing factions clashed, Mr. Khuwazy said.

This had forced him to go to the Supreme Court, he said, when asking that summons be issued asking church members to either support or oppose an application for the appointment of Prof. Johannes Maree, a former principal of the University of Zululand and Zulu linguist, as temporary trustee of the church's trust fund.

This would place the professor in the same position as the former titular head of the church and would enable him impartially to appoint a new advisory and executive committee for the trust.

These bodies were competent to elect a new leader, and it was hoped the person chosen would have his election confirmed by the Supreme Court and the warring factions, Mr. Khuwazy said.

Granting the request, Mr. Justice Howard said Mr. Khuwazy could serve the summons on church members by having it published in a Zulu newspaper.

It is clear, therefore, that the main obstacle would be removed by the publication of the summons. The summons could be served by the church.
Coloureds have grave doubts on CMC future

By Lynda Leaton
Johannesburg's coloured leaders have serious doubts whether they should continue to serve as members of the Coloured Management Committee. This emerged yesterday as the CMC held its first meeting in two months and welcomed back its chairman, Mr. Lenard (Mickey) Richards, and the representative for Eldorado Park Ward 5, Mr. Mohammed Dangor.

The two men were detained two months ago at the height of the schools boycott and were recently released.

Mr. Richards yesterday thanked his colleagues for their "unwavering support" in refusing to attend CMC meetings until he and Mr. Dangor were charged or released.

"In the same breath, I must express my disgust and disappointment at the Johannesburg City Council, and in particular the management committee, for its attitude to our detention," he said.

The council refused to condemn the detentions and call for the release of the two men.

Mr. Richards said he had believed the CMC was an "integral part of the council," but its attitude had made him wonder whether it was worth it. He would consult his constituents before he made any final decision.

Mr. Don Matome (Eldorado Park, Ward 2) said he was perturbed that elected representatives, who expressed the fears and frustrations of the people, could be picked up and locked away.

Mr. J.A. Bush (Riverlea, Ext 1) said CMC members were already held in suspension because they served on the committee. "Is it necessary for us to be detained because of what we do for our community?"
Fetched from homes

TWO MORE HELD IN NYANGA

By Aneez Sallie

The detention last week of top civic leaders has been followed by that of two of their colleagues on the Nyanga Residents' Association (NRA).

Mr. Morford Shumaraan (39), the vice-chairman of the NRA, and Mr. Edward Findlay (44), the association's secretary, were fetched from their Nyanga homes at 3 a.m. on Saturday by security police.

The chief of the Cape Town security police, Colonel Hennie Korte, said the men were being held under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act.

The chairman of the Crossroads Residents' Association, Mr. Johnson Kwelembana, was fetched on Thursday and released after questioning.

He said police wanted to know who was responsible for the Nyanga unrest.

Mr. Oscar Mtshana and Mr. Leon Makalong were arrested at their Nyanga homes at 4 a.m. on Wednesday morning by detectives of the Murder and Robbery Squad and held under Section 53 of the Criminal Procedure Act, which allows for 48 hours' detention before a charge is laid.

On Thursday they were transferred to Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act which allows for 11 days detention without trial. The matter is now the concern of the Security Police.

Mr. Mthelwa, a diabetic in need of medication, is chairman of the Nyanga Residents' Association (NRA) and a national organiser with the Food and Canners Workers' Union. He is 73 years old.

Mr. Makalong is assistant secretary of the NRA and an organiser with the National Union of Commercial and Allied Workers' Union.

Last week civic and trade union spokesmen condemned the detentions and called for a top-level meeting with the Nyanga unrest.

They were the Food and Canners Workers' Union, the Guguletu Residents' Association and the Coordinating Civic Council.

This week three more organisations added their protests.

A meeting of the Jewellers' and Goldsmiths' Union deplored the violence at Nyanga and Crossroads, and condemned the arrests.

Executive members of the Lotus River Builders' and Tenants' Association condemned the detentions and called for the two men, and all other detainees, to be charged or released.

The South African Allied Workers' Union condemned the detentions 'in the strongest possible terms.'

Mr. S. K. Khumalo, general secretary of the union, said the authorities should negotiate with the men instead of arresting them away in the middle of the night.
August 9 was National Women's Day. New Living looks back at when...

Twenty thousand women sang a song of defiance

"STRENGTH you have struck a cock, you have tampered with the woman's name!

Hills, sung by 20,000 heroic women of the 1900's epitomizes the spirit and determination of the women that stand today and all the massive past protests during this decade.

During those years the organisation and unity between the oppressed women of South Africa became evident. Their struggle against pass was a dominant issue and most of the liberation movements rallied to the women's lead. The two most significant women's organisations which emerged at this time were the African National Congress Women's League (ANCWL) and the Federation of South African Women (FSAW). The ANCW was directly affiliated to this body.

One of the driving forces in the Federation from the beginning was Lilian Ngqyl. She had come into political prominence during the defiance campaign in 1958, joined the ANC and became very active in the ANC Women's League. Ngqyl was elected President of both the ANCW and FSAW, thus strengthening the link between the two organisations.

Some other affiliated organisations of the Federation were the South African Congress of Democratic Women, the South African Coloured Peoples Organisation, the Cape Housewives League, the League of Non-European Women, and the Front and Casual Workers Union.

The idea of a Women's Federation was first acted upon in 1958. Women from all over the country got together and decided that a National Federation be established. On April 17 1959 the Federation of South African Women held its first national conference. Here it was decided to take up all issues of women's rights. The Women's Charter was also adopted at the conference.

The charter advocated a non-racial policy and called for various women's sections of the liberation movements to work together. It called for the removal of racial and class discriminations. It called for the right to vote, education, medical care and proper houses.

The charter also sought to express the needs and aspirations of all the women of South Africa and to bring about the emancipation of all women from the special disabilities they suffered under the circumstances and conventions.

To understand the nature of the reasons for the protests in the 1900's one must look at the South African economic and social re-organisation in the 1900's. The large-scale immigration trend rested mainly on the migration labour from rural areas.

However in the 1900's urbanisation increased tremendously, as can be seen by the great influx of women into the cities. Family units were then established in the urban areas rather than having the men oscillating between the rural and urban areas. But this was not in the State's interest and they decided to implement measures which would keep the women in the rural areas.

To ensure that women did stay in the rural areas, fulfilling their role in the family, the state attempted once again that first attempted to do so in 1913 but had failed) to act against them. Women were also in a 1900's society in a position where their cause of their status as reproductive women was subordinated. They could be drawn into the industrialisation process but in times of economic crisis they were the first to be expelled.

The oppression of women in South Africa was so large as to structural factors and to the fact that women were already oppressed on those grounds, namely, sexually and due to their class position.

Both the ANCW and the Federation were aware of these issues and attempted to deal with the problems constructively.

One of the Federation's most important resolutions was to "strike to remove all that restricts women's movement." So in 1959 the Federation began their campaign against the pass laws.

In the Orange Free State, Winburg women were the first to receive a pass. Lilian Ngqyl met with these laws and worked to the removal of the issuing of passes to women. This was carried to the cabinet's office in Pretoria.

The anti-pass campaign was strong in the rural areas. Perhaps the most famous place was near the border of the Transvaal and Free State. These women wanted to take their cattle and strongly opposed the implementation of the Barhata Authority Act. Their protest lasted for a year.

Protests

In October 1958 2 000 women were arrested in Johannesburg during two weeks of demonstrations for the issue of passes.

Although protests were mainly around the issuing of passes, these protests were linked to other grievances. These women wanted to take their cattle and strongly opposed the implementation of the Barhata Authority Act. Their protest lasted for a year.

The Federation, for instance, planned for accommodation for young male and female immigrants forced to sleep in the open on their way to the States and in getting them alternative work.

The Federation also fought proposed nationalistic laws such as the 1958 law allowing the deportation of women to South Africa was so large as to structural factors and to the fact that women were already oppressed on those grounds, namely, sexually and due to their class position.

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On August 7th the Federation organized a "Conclave of Mothers" in Johannesburg to discuss how the women of South Africa would help to implement the aims of the Federation.

But passers remained "the burning issue of the 70s."

Together with the ANC-WA, the Federation formed a Joint Planning Committee to organize the massive demonstration that took place on August 8th, 1976.

Some 40,000 women from all over the country, the Federation train forced together and travelled to Pretoria. Led by Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Rahima Moosa and Sophie Williams the women marched through the oily and gathered in the amphitheatre outside the Union Buildings, where the police waited for 30 minutes to silence any protest. Then they sang: "Sir, you have struck a rock, you have tampered with the women of South Africa."

The Federation's demonstrations and the great unity of the women in organizing, attending, and finally getting to the August 8th demonstration proved the Federation to be a political force. However, a major setback occurred on December 5th when Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Martha Mthembu, Frances Botha and Bertha Makhanya, executive members of the Federation were among the 156 people arrested and charged with treason.

Stricter

As time went on, each new demonstration by women against pass laws was met with stricter state legislation.

For instance, the Nursing Amendment Act which made it compulsory for all nurses to have identity numbers which could only be issued on passes. The Federation organized a large demonstration at Baragwanath hospital. Their protest was met by armed police.

In 1977 the State clamped down on domestic workers driving that they must have passes to be employed legally. The Congress of Democrats in conjunction with the Federation worked extremely hard in white areas telling employers that passes for women were not yet compulsory by law.

In January 1978 the ANC formally took up the issue of passes since it was felt that the Government was succeeding in getting more and more women. A national Anti-Pass Planning Council was established.

Both the Federation and the ANC were at pains to remain within the law. They saw their strategy as consisting of demonstrations of non-violent protest. To this end 1979 was optimistically called the "greatest pass year" by the Planning Council.

But the campaign against passes could not be sustained and all momentum died down. After the massacre of the demonstration at Sharpeville in March of 1960 a State of emergency was called and the ANC and PAC were banned. Their banning marked the end of the mass non-violent resistance programmes of the 70s.

After 1960 the Federation slowly but definitely began to decline. Its third National Conference in Port Elizabeth in September 1961 was well attended and delegates were in good spirits. However, the tolerated limits within which the Federation could act were severely restricted. Their leaders were imprisoned and the organization as a whole was on the defensive and in 1964 the Federation crumbled, never formally dissolved, but with its program driven underground.

Women's struggle was the struggle of the people

Helen Joseph

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The Botha with the difference

Thozamile Botha's public career lasted a mere six headline-hitting months. But they were six months that had a big impact even in the highly volatile environment of black society in the Eastern Cape. BRIAN POTTINGER assesses the rapid rise and fall of the most unusual of the Bothas. Pictures by Rian de Villiers and Siphiwe Ralo.

EARLY on Sunday morning, May 4, Thozamile Botha left his four-roomed house in one of Port Elizabeth's townships and like many black political leaders before him, crossed the path to exile. Three days later he entered Masseru to a bittersweet welcome from other South African exiles.

For the 31-year-old, strike-ranked industrial worker it was the end of a tumultuous six months that saw him rise from the obscurity of a trained farmer and journey to Ford Motor Company to an international symbol of opposition to apartheid.

The excitement, banning and self-imposed exile added the stamp of martyrdom to a leader whose political career within South Africa was characterised by State harassment, a certain confusion in strategy, a lot of luck and not a little courage.

Thozamile Botha (the security police could never get over the name; the same name was no stranger to politics before October last year)

...[

As a student at Fort Hare University during the 1976 and 1977 disturbances he became involved in the renaissance of nationalism that was sweeping black South African youth.

There was the inevitable run-in with the laws in October 1977. He was detained for three months as Vice President of the Association of Science and Technology, charged with meeting public violence and later acquitted. His involvement with a 'Save the Children's Fund' to provide defence money for children charged with public violence, hardly endeared him further to the authorities.

October 1977 and the full weight of the Government crackdown on black political movements temporarily muted the opposition of the dissidents.

Two years later, from October 1979 onwards Botha initiated a political renaissance of his own that began quietly at the level of civic affairs and escalated rapidly and dramatically.

With the encouragement and driving rhetoric of Botha a number of township residents associations were formed with the intention of creating an overarching body to represent the interests of the black communities against an administration board presided over by many blacks to be indifferent and a community council seen by many as opportunistic.

The initiative drew an astonishing response from the black community of Port Elizabeth. At the inaugural meetings of the various branch bodies the residents turned up in their hundreds, often in thousands, to listen to Botha's oratory.

Originally much of the attention of the blossoming organisations was directed towards civic issues rents in the townships, the quality of the services the actions of the administration board and the community councils.

In October of last year Botha even led a delegation of 'middle-class' blacks to meet the Director of the East Cape Administration Board to iron out difficulties in implementation of the 99-year-leasehold scheme. A scheme Botha was only two months later to brand a devil designed to divide blacks.

As Botha was well aware, however, in South Africa civic issues could not be meaningfully divided from national issues and the rhetoric became increasingly 'political'.

The strands of Botha's fame as both a township political leader and a labour activist came together dramatically on October 30 last year with two events of importance.

The first was that Botha resigned from Ford Motor Company, allegedly under pressure from management to choose between his job as a trade foreman and his time-consuming involvement with his association.

The second was that the inaugural meeting of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation was held at New Brighton's Centenary Hall that evening to launch the central executive of the branch residents' groups.

Pebco's inaugural meeting drew an estimated 9,000 residents who packed into the huge hall to enjoy the Botha rhetoric, the swelling protest songs and the swash of black power salutes.

In searching for comparisons old-time political leaders in the townships spoke nostalgically of the hey-day of the ANC in the Eastern Cape when equally huge crowds would turn out to listen to black leaders.

What immediately struck the one was the range of people present at the rally. Neatly dressed, middle-aged white-collar workers, labourers, elderly men and women and, most significantly, many young people and students dressed in Khakis and wearing leather Afrikaans insignia around their necks.

The speech-making was racy and overtly political. Pebco's composition as read out to the meeting embraced fighting for civic rights, citizenship issues, seeking participation in political decision making at the national level, and the right of blacks to freehold anywhere in South Africa.

All points received an enthusiastic welcome from the crowd.

The next day, October 31, the industrial dispute at Ford began. The entire 'black staff of 700 at the company's Strandrand plant walked out before the incredible gags of management after the company had failed to meet a 12 noon deadline to bring Botha to the plant to 'put his side of the case out for resignation.'
It was Ford's first strike in South Africa and one of the most serious in the history of the country's motor industry. For South Africa's industrial relations the implications of the strike are still being assessed.

Three days after the walk-out management was forced to negotiate a conciliation with the workers. Botha was reinstated, all workers paid for time they were out, all was forgiven and forgotten.

For Botha it was his major break. From being a local-level politician his name became inextricably bound with the Ford dispute. The image of him being carried shoulder high by the jubilant workers was captured by international TV and his name was made.

Ironically, the indications were that the strike at Ford was neither initiated nor anticipated by Botha. Subsequent to the first strike he was to confide that although he had been immensely impressed by the worker's solidarity, he had no idea of what they intended.

Later, he was to refuse to address a meeting of striking workers at another major Port Elizabeth company, General Tyre, and was persistently to emphasize that although Pheco fully supported the striking workers, it was not itself responsible for the strikes.

The Ford disputes did not, however, end with the reinstatement of Botha. After a series of work stoppages over a number of grievances — the majority of them with a heavy political component — Ford Motor Company fired all 788 black staff at the Struandale plant.

Sympathy strikes — although over different issues — broke out at General Tyre and Adamas Paper Mill in Port Elizabeth and by mid-November more than 1400 black workers were on the streets after strike action. Although most were reinstated after a short while.

On the Ford front the dispute settled into a drawn-out contest of wills between management and workers. Immediately
Heady success before the slippery slide

Botha was thrown into a leadership role as the workers found their union, the United Automobile Workers, a FOSATU black union unresponsive to their militant action, inflexible and indeed suspicious of the political background to the dispute.

Management offered to re-employ all the dismissed workers and began a small pace recruitment of individual dismissed workers. The bulk of the dismissed workers refused to return however unless assured of a mass reinstatement of all workers without loss of benefits.

Worker unity held for a while under Botha's indefatigable enthusiasm. A Workers Committee was formed, relief funds raised and a South African Council of Churches grant sought.

But as the money began to run out workers started trickling back and by early January 276 had returned.

Bitterness developed between the returned workers and those still out. Although Botha constantly called for his followers to remain calm, petrol bombs were thrown at the homes of rehired workers in mid-December. More than 48 dismissed workers were rounded up in a police clampdown. 22 were eventually charged under the Rorotu Assemblies Act and convicted of intimidation.

As Christmas came and passed without any sign of resolution of the dispute, the mood of the strikers became despairing.

But the position of the workers had meanwhile attracted international attention and expressions of support from a range of bodies. The US Government—mindful of the negative publicity the strike was causing for all multinationals—began to take a closer interest.

US Consul General in Cape Town Alan Lukens, and the Vice Consul, Chuck Olligren, put in a number of appearances. Meetings between the Americans and the various parties were held. Although denied by all parties it was clear the Americans were putting pressure on Ford to settle the issue quickly.

On January 9 at a secret management-union-workers indaba at one of the city's five-star hotels, attended by Lukens, a compromise was thrashed out whereby Ford agreed to reinstate all the dismissed workers. The workers hailed it as a victory: Ford said it was satisfied.

And then political developments in Pecbo outstripped labour events. The day after the settlement Botha and three other Pecbo leaders were detained.

The background to the detentions of the Pecbo executive lay incomparably less in Botha's labour involvement than in political developments in the Eastern Cape during the last part of 1979.

While the Ford dispute had been slowly unfolding, Pecbo had continued under Botha as a vibrant and growing political-union organisation adopting an increasingly radical stand on a range of political issues.

As far as the Ford dispute was concerned the organisation declared itself in support of the Workers Committee—most of the Committee were Pecbo people anyway—and offered all material support.

Botha's antagonism to the Government-created structures, the community councils and homelands, became more emphasised. So did opposition to the 'divisive strategies' such as the creation of a buffer black middle class.

The basic policy and tactical standpoints of Pecbo remained internal organisational discipline, non-violence and rejection of 'negotiations' with Government or its creatures until such time as the Government was prepared to discuss meaningful participation in power.

At the same time the organisation spoke about creating an overarching Eastern Cape organisation. Invitations for coloured' and Indian bodies to form affiliates to Pecbo were made but the constitution still remained close to whites.

By January, the fledgling civic organisation had reached a position of enviable strength. The prestige of its leader—still tied to the Ford dispute—was immense in the townships. The Ford dispute had given Botha international stature. Pecbo was representing a large urban black constituency untroubled by the youth-elder split that was later to plague it. In short, Pecbo had everything going for it. In the absence of a more of critical strategic oversight, it all slipped.

During a heads Sunday Rally on January 6, the Pecbo executive announced its intentions to launch a range of boycotts in protest against a number of grievances.

A boycott of white shops was called in support of the dismissed Ford workers, then, still three days away from settlement of the dispute. A rent boycott was threatened in protest against recent service charge increases: a bus boycott mobilised against proposed taxes increases.

But more serious the rally also agreed to a one-day work stay-away on Monday, January 15 to demonstrate solidarity for the people of Walmer township, a small 'black spot' on the city's southern flank destined for demolition later this year.

Silent protest packets within the township were also proposed to coincide with a tour of the township that Monday morning by East Cape Administration Board officials and other interested parties.

For the authorities alarmed by the increasing stridency of Pecbo—it was apparently the last straw.

The Government had watched Botha's successes at the Labour negotiating table, seen the rise of Pecbo to a point where it totally eclipsed the prestige of the community councils, observed the range and quantity of support enjoyed by the organisation, noted the international interest in the movement.

On Tuesday, January 9, the Ford dispute was resolved. The relief felt by Pecbo at the successful resolution of the unrest was overshadowed by concern at the implications of the impending protest demonstration in Walmer. Executive members began talking about calling of the general strike because it was 'over-hasty'.

On Thursday, January 18, it was decided to hold a public meeting in Walmer township to discuss matters with the black residents. Botha indicated privately that he would call off the strike at the Walmer meeting.

He never got the chance. Half an hour
before the meeting was due to begin security police seized Botha from outside the hall before an angry crowd and hustled him into detention. A number of other top Pecbo people, including the vice president Mr Pahl Oshume and a steering committee member Mr Mono Badela, were also detained.

When the dust and tear gas settles on a tense Port Elizabeth a few days later it was clear that Pecbo had been eviscerated of its leadership.

Botha, the other two senior Pecbo members, and a fourth man Mr Don Qeqe, a prominent township businessman and sports administrator, were held for questioning under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Act. At the end of the prescribed two weeks Qeqe was released. Botha, Badela and Oshume remained in detention, amid a mounting clamour of public concern, for another six weeks before being released on February 27. They were immediately served with tough restriction orders.

For Botha the order meant that he was unable to continue working at Ford. He and his wife attempted to make ends meet by hawking vegetables and in 1979 on a SACC grant. The fortunes of the twilight world of the banned person became too much and on May 5 he quietly slipped out of Port Elizabeth and into exile.

For Pecbo itself the detention, banning and exile of Botha spelt a long and as yet unresolved period of upheaval. Leadership of the body passed to Wilson Skosana, a more cautious leader who steered the organisation clear of any hasty actions over the treatment of its leaders — often in the face of strong opposition from the younger elements.

Declining membership, especially among the young, has affected the organisation, and its only action so far — a boycott of liquor outlets in the townships — has been unsuccessful.

Increasingly, the organisation is turning to educational and lower key civic issues.

In retrospect, the greatest problem faced by Pecbo was the inexperience of its own leadership. Botha appeared outstripped by events. His success, some of them fortuitous followed each other in a heady rapidity that made it easy for strategic misjudgments in timing and circumstances. Black political leaders outside the Government-created structures never got the chance to make more than one mistake. Botha certainly didn’t.

In a few short months Botha’s status and prestige reached astonishing proportions. Comment on Botha and his organisation came from a range of sources.

Die Beeld’ commented: ‘Pace will have to be found for the Motlanas and Thozamile Bothas. They are not just agitators per se. They are fighting for their rights just as heroic Afrikaners once fought and struggled for our rights against foreign and unsympathetic governments and administrations.’

In his address to the Solan Congress, a sub-committee on African Affairs in Washington, Mr Richard Moses, Assistant Secretary of State, warned that it was impossible for the US Government to have sympathy with actions such as ‘suppressing legitimate, constructive black leaders such as Botha of Port Elizabeth, who are attempting to reform the system and improve the lot of black people’.

Pecbo under Botha had diffuse loose connections with a number of other political bodies in South Africa. Botha himself had contact with Dr Nkhot Mothala of the Soweto Committee of Ten and Mr Curtis Mkondo of the Azanian People’s Organisation. At the same time Pecbo drew support from the local branch of the Congress of South Africa Students.

Botha’s relations with the banned ANC are a little more difficult to determine. The authorities apparently remained fairly convinced that Pecbo had close contacts with the ANC. It is also understood that Botha met ANC delegates on a brief Lesotho visit last year.

Close associates of Botha, however, do not believe that he has been or has sought membership of the ANC although his position as an exile may change that.

For Pecbo itself the state action may have effectively quashed a black political organisation with a definite constitution (containing many students, youngsters and survivors of the ‘76 and ‘77 disturbances), an open constitution, a non-violent charter and a public platform on which black fears and aspirations are clearly and unequivocally announced. Loss of that platform could be of concern to whites no less than blacks.
TOP-RANKING officials of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation (Pebeo) this week called for the resignation of the organisation's chairman, Mr Wilson Skosana. They described his leadership as "ineffective".

One branch official accused Mr Skosana of remaining "strangely silent" during the crises in the township "as if nothing is happening around him."

Officials also allege Mr Skosana met with community councillors and officials from the Eastern Cape Administration Board, thereby violating the organisation's policy.

And members have complained about the lack of mass meetings, which attracted up to 10,000 during the Ford strikes, since Mr Skosana took over.

Mr Skosana took over as chairman when Mr Thosamile Botha was banned earlier this year. The former Pebeo chairman is now living in exile in Lesotho.

As a result of the general discontent, high-ranking officials from several Pebeo branches wrote Mr Skosana a letter expelling him from the organisation. Their decision can only become effective once passed by the Pebeo executive.

The decision to expel Mr Skosana was taken by the Zwede, KwaZulu, KwaFord and New Brighton branches. This was confirmed by Mr J Mdonywa of the association's Council of Advisors.

He said Pebeo should have become involved in the schools boycott, the Zwede rent crisis and the crisis facing KwaZulu hostel-dwellers. He also complained about the lack of communication between the branches.

An executive member of the Zwede branch, Mr Herbert Matshaka, said Mr Skosana was a weak leader. "At a time when he is expected to add his voice as the leader of Pebeo, he has decided to remain strangely silent as if nothing is happening around him," he said in a statement released this week.

The secretary of the KwaZulu Residents' Association, Mr Sandile Memane, told SUNDAY POST that some Pebeo branches were struggling to stay alive after police detained their leaders. He said Mr Skosana had failed to come to their rescue.

Mr Skosana denied receiving any correspondence from his organisation asking him to step down. He told SUNDAY POST the matter should be allowed to take its course.

A founder member of Pebeo, Mr W D May, said he was surprised by the move but that members should be expelled constitutionally and in an orderly manner.

Meanwhile, a top Pebeo official and Father Edson in Korsten, Dr J Mothibedi, was this week questioned about the organisation by security police.
Crucial conference:
Soweto 10 gear up

By Z E MOLEFE

THE Soweto Committee of Ten will hold its crucial congress either on September 10 or 26.

Committee chairman Dr Nkomo Motlana told SUNDAY POST yesterday that the final date for the conference was still to be decided on.

He added: "We have not decided on a definite date yet. September 10 or 26 have been suggested, but we are looking at that. Soon we will make an announcement on the date of the conference."

Dr Motlana would not say much about the conference at this stage, but many observers see it as crucial in the affairs of Soweto.

Undoubtedly the latest rent hikes will be a hot topic. Today the Commitee and a number of other black organisations meet at the Holy Cross Anglican Church to discuss the rent increases as anger mounts in the sprawling black township.

Other aspects of the rent increases which are likely to be discussed at today's meeting include the threat of eviction hanging over Mr Chris Mokoditla.

The formerly banned black consciousness leader was this week ordered to pay arrears of R2.35 on his August rent — or be locked out of his home.

But, according to Mr Nico Malan, chief executive officer of the Soweto Council, it is against council policy to threaten residents with eviction before about three months have elapsed.

Yesterday our sister paper SATURDAY POST reported: "According to our records Mr Thebechali (chairman of the Soweto Council) paid R2 short of his November rent last year and we could not establish this week if he was served with an eviction order for this or not."
If the blacks don't get their chance, whites will suffer

WHITES have nothing to fear from black advancement. But they have a great deal to fear if they try to stop the process. Those who refer to the problems of the South African communities as being caused by the increased economic growth will find the living standards of all South Africa's people - including those very members they seek to protect.

- The fear of the fears of conservative white South Africans is linked to the new dispensation's failure to complete its work in the country.
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Dropped

Since then employment of whites in agriculture has dropped from 1,200,000 in 1985 to just over 900,000 today. While employment opportunities have increased more than tenfold in manufacturing, while employment in manufacturing is a percentage of total employment has decreased from about 40 to approximately 25 over the past 20 years.

Over this same time span, however, while employment in Government and local government services has increased from three per cent to more than 15 per cent of total white employment, with the number of increasing eightfold.

Moreover, during the last 15 years, the number of economically active whites has grown from 25 per cent to more than 35 per cent. It must be remembered that while the vast majority of white employment is in the primary labour market, opportunities for whites are vastly more mobile, both geographically and occupationally, because of their superior skills, experience, education, access to information and lack of labour market restrictions.

The educational level of whites, the nature of the investments in human capital, the size of South Africa, which are so very high in the country, is the highest educational level in the world. In the future, they will have to find new entrants into the market in a way that is very different from those who are employed in the present.

Looking to the future, it is certain that the new entrants into the market in the year 2000 will have a very different set of educational opportunities than those available to them in the present.

The immediate question for officials, in the critical planning and growth rate of five per cent, will be how to handle the demand for skills that are not yet ready for the market. This is the major problem - enhanced occupational and geographical mobility of the black population and white population.

The removal of legal restrictions, although necessary, is insufficient to solve these problems. To overcome the lack of skills, experience, education and information, simultaneous labour market programmes on a number of different fronts are needed.

By rendering this process "to eliminate the effects of all black" wherever possible, and thereby "protecting" the interests of white workers, the role of the black population is being a lowering of the living standards of the very people they are supposed to protect.

Professor Blackie Swart of the University of South Africa defines the scope of South Africa's manpower needs.

Proof

Developments during the past 10 years are a simple proof that the picture is advanced through improved productivity of the whole labour force.

Since white standards compare very favourably with the rest of the industrialised world, and since the relative numbers are growing faster, the increased compensation that can be expected from them in getting smaller.

Towards the year 2000 they will have to rely more and more on the vast numbers of blacks and black workers making the bigger contribution individually and collectively to achieve the required growth in the economy and to ensure that the opportunities available to those who are willing and able to work.

It is projected that the number of black and brown people employed in the professional and managerial categories should double from 100,000 to 375,000 between 1975 and 1987, while they will represent 27 per cent of total employment in these categories compared with 21 per cent during 1975.

In the clerical, sales and related professions, non-white employment should increase from 200,000 to 520,000 over the same period and as a percentage of total employment from 24 to 42.

Between 1960 and 1970, the number of white artificers and apprentices increased by only 5 per cent - or less than five per cent. Non-whites in these categories doubled and should increase nearly threefold by 1987.

Whites as a percentage of the total number of artificers and apprentices have decreased from 20 per cent during 1960 to 11 per cent during 1975 and should be down to 7 per cent by 1987.

Whereas nearly 40 per cent of total non-white employment (excluding employment in agricultural and domestic services) during 1982 was in the artificers category, this percentage should have dropped to less than 30 per cent by 1987 - again indicating improved occupational mobility.

With the professional, managerial, clerical, sales and artificers categories combined, the black and brown population groups made up 31 per cent during 1962, 30 per cent in 1970 and 1972 should represent 40 per cent of total employment in these professions.

It is from these statistics that whites who are willing and able to work not only have nothing to fear from the new labour dispensation but, since they dominate the managerial, professional and skilled professions, stand to gain substantially from any movement and the relocation of the true market principles in the labour field.

Autonomy

The full implementation of the principles of trade union autonomy in the labour field and the full recogni- tion of the right of all employees, irrespective of race, creed, color or sex, as protected by the Bill of Rights, is a moral and accepted by the Government, is irrefutable of the group important.

Fortunately, it seems that the Department of Manpower Utilisation, under Mr. P. F. de Kock, as well as on its way to doing just this.

The implementation of these principles, although not fully implemented, is not sufficient without the full implementation of the recommendations of the Harbert report on the recognition of the principle of which is a major constituent of the Total.

These recommendations are manifested in the general shortage of skilled labour being experienced by just about everybody in the private sector.

And these shortages of skilled non-white workers have made a substantial contribution to the white non-white wage differentials in South Africa.
ANC will not drive out whites

ALTHOUGH the African National Congress, as "the only alternative to the present regime in South Africa", is dedicated to the principle of black majority rule, it has no intention of driving out the whites.

This was said in a letter from "Mr Y. Zungu, chief representative of the ANC (South Africa), which was given major prominence in The Times newspaper of London on Friday.

The letter, from a London address, is in response to a recent editorial in the newspaper. The editorial argued that the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, needed to be "rescued" from sliding into political stasis.

The letter says: "The reforms of Botha lie in shambles precisely because they were designed to adapt and retain apartheid — not remove it — and essentially because they ignored the genuine aspirations of the people of South Africa.

"Surely the time has come — especially slow, when the men in Pretoria show neither the capacity, the courage nor the desire to effect fundamental change — for all reasonable people to support the struggle of the people of South Africa for a just and non-racial society as envisaged in the Freedom Charter.

"Any solution which does not recognise and enshrine the principle of majority rule in South Africa is doomed."

Any wonder we’re ruled by fear?

It is not only the right-wingers who are impeding change in South Africa.
Dr NTHIATO MOTLANA, chairman of Soweto’s Committee of Ten, writes in his regular column in Frontline magazine. Here is reprinted a shortened version of the article.

There are plenty of whites with roles in government all over Africa.
But what they mean by “no power-sharing” is that the governments of Africa have not created special systems of taking account of white interests. In that way, they are right, and the governments of Africa are right not to do so. We will share power, yes, but on a man for man basis, not on a racial basis.

These right-wingers may seem a major barrier now, but once they have faced up to the inevitability of majority rule, they could become our best allies.

They, like us, have no place to run to. They, like us, have a natural need to take care of the peace and the future of our joint country.

With their strong sense of duty and principle, they will have other motivations than merely maximizing their short-term wealth.

As for the white liberals, who do not face any direct competition with blacks and who therefore contemplate change without the same fear as the right-wingers, they are a major impediment to real change.

They urge change on others, and they will then hide behind legalistic jargon to keep their suburbs and their schools pure of any blacks except for the approved few who give them the appearance of tolerance.

Then there are the unashamed black puppets, those who obediently conform to government policies. Some of them even smile while they benefit from carrying out the greatest perversities of government policy. Even decent Nationalists know that these things, like the division of the country into these fraudulent mini-states, are abhorrent.

Since their bread depends on selling these obedient puppets on the perhaps understand — though not forgive — their treacherous behaviour.

With them there are the so-called middle-class blacks, who have taken appointments in well-paid jobs and whose obsequious behaviour towards their masters makes one want to bring up. It is truly indescribable to see how such highly placed people degrade themselves.

The tragedy is that these are the people on whom whites rely for their assessments of black thinking.

These people impede change by giving whites the appearance that they approve of everything and anything that the whites expect them to approve.

It is not only the well-known, white-favoured “leaders” who cause this problem. There are many, many other people as well. The ordinary man in the street who speaks with one tongue to his white bosses and with a different tongue when he is at home or in the shebeen. How many there are who do that?

With so many of the same people effectively opposing change, even unintentionally, it is no wonder that we are so dominated by the fear that it will end up in the turmoil and disaster which we would all prefer to avoid.
Chief slams
Zulu students for ill-will

African Affairs Reporter

SOME students at the University of Zululand carried with them the disease of ill-will and they exploited their privileged position instead of serving the principle of equal opportunity and equal treatment of all people as set out in Inkatha's constitution, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of KwaZulu said at the weekend.

Speaking at a prayer meeting at Eshowe, the chief said some students acted with some lecturing staff to form an alliance against parents, the peasants, the poor and the workers. Their behaviour had not fostered the spirit of unity.

Chief Buthelezi said they had not helped promote and encourage the development of the people. They had not helped to establish contact with other cultural groups and they did not help to stamp out exploitation, corruption and intimidation.

In fact, they employed intimidation and encouraged corruption. They had groups which hounded other students and terrorised them, he said.

Inkatha needed to find ways and means of standing with the majority of students to resist that scourge in their midst.

He said there was need to find ways and means of standing together with those academics who were true to the calling.

"We need to strengthen the hand of any move in the Senate or the University Council which aims to put the matters right," he sympathised with the silent majority of students at the University of Zululand but thought it a mystery why they chose to be silent.
Angry AME parish breaks ties with US

By EDMUND JAYIYA

THE Orlando West parish of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church yesterday broke its ties with the American church leadership.

At an emotion-charged meeting at the church yesterday, parishioners said they had no confidence in the "American." They added that the general conference rejected their infrastructure and instead set up a commission to come to the country.

They have so far rejected the commission because of its terms of reference.

The commission, they said was intended to make recommendations on how the 15th district should be repaired or demolished.

They said that for 84 years, the AME Church in the 15th district (South Africa) had been flooded with 22 American bishops.

They added that their infrastructure was designed to assist in the administration of their district in terms relevant to their local conditions.

The Rev T V Khumalo said: "Our 33 delegates who attended the general conference paid $4 for their trip. They were not sponsored by anybody but the church."

"Before going to the general conference. we agreed that we should break away if our infrastructure was rejected."

However, discussion was not allowed, "and we had no alternative but to sever ties."

Mr O V S Nieza, church elder said: "We will not allow any American bishop to come here. We are sick and tired of these bishops. They have rejected our infrastructure."

So why do they send these Americans here? "Our fathers have paid money to build this church and now these Americans say the church belongs to them. No ways, this time I have had enough," he added amid shouts.

Mrs H T Mkgogo, church elder, was applauded when she said that people were not aware that they were breaking with the American leadership, not the AME. "We are no longer going to talk of American leadership but African. We should be united if we want to win any struggle. We are not going to attend the forthcoming annual conference."

Mr Rassie Rasekoala, church steward, said that their affiliation to and association with the Americans had in the past led to colonization, psychological oppression and exploitation.

He added that they were not going to tolerate oppression in the church by their own brothers who should know better from their long history of slavery.
We’re behind Ming, says Mrs Matlhare

By Edmund Jayiya

The president of Women’s Missionary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church, Mrs Nkele Matlhare, yesterday said they were not bothered by the breakaway because "only a minority is involved."

Mrs Matlhare added that they were sick and tired of the dissidents who were publicly denouncing the name of the church.

She said about 99 percent of the people were behind Bishop "D'O" Ming.

"These dissidents claim that procedures used by the mother church are foreign. I think they should do their homework properly."

"We follow the discipline of the church and Robert's Rule of Order - which is our parliamentary authority on procedures," she said.

She added: "It is quite amazing for these church people to say that procedures are foreign because they are the people who are supposed to know how the church is run. They instead run to the Press where they vent their spleen on Bishop Ming."

"I want the public to know that not everybody has pulled out of the American leadership. We are still under the mother church and our church will go on despite the breakaway."

"They claim Bishop Ming was guilty of maladministration and corruption. If he was, the General Conference would have suspended him. They were asked in the Conference whether they wanted to break away but they said no." And Rev A W M Makhene also of AME church said he was deeply concerned about the future of the AME not only in South Africa but the whole of Africa.

He said unless people came to grips with real issues confronting them daily in their lives as a Church, then they would fall to account for their stewardship to God.

Breaking away from AME, he added, was not the solution to their indigenous problems.

"The General Conference took upon itself to set up a commission of inquiry into the rumbles of the 15th District and that would also include the whole of Africa in order to examine the future of AME church in Africa," he said.
Non-whites demand: end management committees

Own Correspondent
CAPE TOWN — More than 200 coloured and Indian management committees throughout the country have demanded the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr. Marais Steyn, scrap the system and give all South Africans equal representation on town and city councils, irrespective of race.

They made the demand at a meeting with Mr. Steyn over the weekend when a six-man delegation representing the Association of Management Committees warned that they would pursue the matter possibly seeking a meeting with the Prime Minister, Mr. P.W. Botha, if there was no acceptable response.

Mr. Steyn was told bluntly that the management committee system had become a farce in the eyes of most coloured and Indian people and that nothing short of the non-racial administration of South Africa's towns and cities would satisfy them.

The meeting took place in a cordial atmosphere, though Mr. Steyn was given a sharp clear image of our attitude," a member of the delegation said today. "He was left under no illusions and appeared to sympathise to some extent with what we had to say.

"We left him with a lot to think about, and we arranged to see him again on this matter in the near future. We made it clear that we would pursue the issue relentlessly. Nobody wants the management committees. We are only keeping them alive so as to give ourselves a platform from which to make our views known."

When the management committee system was introduced in 1953, the Government intended that the bodies would be given increasing powers in the administration of local affairs most intimately involving coloured and Indian communities.

But 17 years later, they remain largely advisory appendages to white town and city councils, with almost no executive powers and there have been persistent complaints that they are ignored and many years after the lives of coloured and Indian residents.

Although the Government has hinted at increased powers for the committees and a thorough overhaul of the system, this is unlikely to satisfy any but the most rural of management committees.

The Government, according to members of the delegation, is unlikely to make any fundamental change to its present policy until the President's Council has been able to review basic constitutional issues.

"That was the gist of Mr. Steyn's message to us, but I think he forgets that we have also rejected the President's Council," a member of the delegation said.

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[End of article]
A-G gets docket on ANC news report

Political Report

POLICE have completed investigating the publication of reports about an interview with a leader of the banned African National Congress (ANC) by the pro-Nationalist newspaper, Die Transvaal.

The SAP Directorate of Public Relations said yesterday that the docket had been sent to the Attorney-General. And a spokesman for the Transvaal Attorney-General's office said:

"It is receiving attention.

The investigation outcome is being watched closely, particularly by newspapers, because it could determine what they may or may not publish, in terms of security laws, about organisations such as the ANC.

Die Transvaal published reports on June 21 based on an interview given to the New York Times by an ANC vice-chairman, Mr Thabo Mbeki.

The Rand Daily Mail later asked the Minister of Justice, Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, if Die Transvaal had been given permission to publish the views. He said through a spokesman that no permission had been given and that the matter would be referred to the AG.

The "Mail" also sought permission to publish a report on the New York Times interview. It was refused.

Last month the Attorney-General, Mr J Noshling, said he was awaiting the outcome of the police investigation.
KwaZulu civil servant raps students

SIR — Through your valuable newspaper I would like to comment on an article published on August 13. The title was: ‘Student outburst on Inkatha’.

I feel we, the parents of the students, are going through a very difficult time when we are constantly abused by our own children. In the magazine referred to, the students attack a great leader of Africa and an organisation which we respect.

In particular I am reacting to the paragraph which reads:

'Some people join in order to secure their positions either as teachers in KwaZulu schools or as KwaZulu civil servants, businessmen or pupils at schools headed by Inkatha fanatics.'

Facts

As an old civil servant of some 25 year’s standing and closely associated with the employment and promotion machinery in the KwaZulu Government service, I feel students must make sure of their facts before they commit themselves to paper.

Nowhere in the whole process of employment and promotion is membership of Inkatha involved. In fact, the appointment and promotion machinery employed in KwaZulu is similar to any in the civilised world in that these are done purely on merit.

Stupid

It is time these students were told to stop making stupid insinuations about the Government service and civil servants.

Normally we civil servants do not go to the Press with our complaints, but I do not feel we are forbidden from defending ourselves when recklessly attacked, as was done in the students’ magazine referred to.

BEKAMANDOSI CELE
Private Bag XII
Umdloti
3838
ANC moves in on SA's vacant seats at UN

The Star Bureau
NEW YORK — The African National Congress has begun to occupy the seats allocated for South Africa at the United Nations.

According to sources close to the ANC this was part of the policy of “asserting ANC legitimacy.”

Mr. Johnny Makatini, chief ANC observer at the UN, was seen sitting in the seats marked for the South African delegation in a meeting in the Trusteeship Council chamber last week when it was discussing “Namibia day.”

The ANC presence was noticed after a remark by the chairman of the special committee against apartheid, Mr. Akinrude Clark, ambassador of Nigeria, that it might be a sign of the future.

South Africa has not taken its seat at the United Nations since 1974. Mr. Johann Kiesler, press spokesman for the South African UN mission said “all the facts” were being looked into before any action would be taken or protest lodged.
V d Ross

would be reluctant to serve

(Continued from Page 1)

which will be of tremendous significance.

Also, in my present position I have means at my disposal to influence some of the political developments in the country. I do not think I would have quite the same power if I were to join the President’s Council.

Professor van der Ross said he was sensitive to the possibilities of the council and said he believed that yesterday’s appointments, as well as the changes to the Cabinet, do support a progressive line of thinking.

The Labour Party, meanwhile, has responded cautiously to yesterday’s appointments. The party’s national chairman, Mr. David Curry, said today: ‘We are pleased that the Prime Minister has drawn some viceposts into the Cabinet. But we will judge them according to how they perform and how they respond to the blackman element still inside the National Party. These appointments in themselves are not enough to show us light at the end of the tunnel.’

TWO ASPECTS

In an interview today, following yesterday’s appointments to the President’s Council, Professor van der Ross said, ‘I have not been approached directly or indirectly to serve on this body and I want to make that clear. If I were asked, there are two major considerations I would have to take into account in making my decision.’

The first is the exclusion of blacks from the council. While this would not be an absolutely decisive consideration — since I think there is still a chance of blacks coming into the council in future — it would be an extremely important one.

VITAL ROLE

But far more crucial is my attachment to my present job, to the university and to my students. I feel very strongly that it is here that I can play a vital role in the community.

(Continued on Page 3, col 5)
PAC and ANC aid for SWAPO.

United Nations session:

Mugabe urges peace talks as South Africa’s offer to share power is demanding.
PAC killing

DAR ES SALAAM

Seven exiled members of the banned Pan Africanist Congress were, yesterday, committed for trial in the Tanzanian High Court on a charge of murdering the PAC president Mr. David Sibeko. The trial starts on November 11.
Policemen threatened
Mrs. Mandela—Suzman

Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The Minister of Police, Mr. Louis le Grange, said Mrs Helen Suzman was welcome to discuss with him a complaint that she was ordered by Security Police to leave the home of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

An angry Mrs Suzman, Progressive Federal Party MP for Houghton, said today she had obtained a permit from a magistrate to visit Mrs Mandela at her Brandfort home yesterday.

Mrs Mandela, the wife of the jailed leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, is banned and restricted to Brandfort.

She said that after talking to Mrs Mandela for about 45 minutes, two men who identified themselves as Security Police arrived and gave Mrs Mandela five minutes to make Mrs Suzman leave.

Mrs Suzman said she decided to leave to prevent any action being taken against Mrs Mandela, because the two policemen had threatened to arrest her if Mrs Suzman did not go.

Mrs Suzman, who was in Bloemfontein to address the youth branch of the PFP, today expressed concern about Mrs Mandela's position and said she would complain to the Minister of Police about the incident.

'Tt was an absolute scandal,' she said.

Mr le Grange refused to comment on the issue today, but said Mrs Suzman was welcome to discuss it with him.
ANC has 'no hope of freeing SA blacks'

Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The present leadership of the African National Congress was no more than a mission in exile and had no hope whatever of liberating the black man in South Africa, KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha President, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has said.

Speaking at the Gazi township near eThekwini, Chief Buthelezi said: "It is balderdash to talk of liberation coming from beyond our borders. We know that the myth of the armed struggle as the only means of bringing liberation is a destructive myth," he said.

The ANC leadership in exile would have to learn to submit to the will of the black people in South Africa, who would never accept alien solutions imposed on them from outside.

Chief Buthelezi said the ANC was guilty of backing stupid schemes, like the "free Mandela" campaign and "was also destroying black unity by siding with white groups in South Africa."
Protest on UN seats possible

By The Star Bureau

NEW YORK — The South African Government is weighing a possible protest to the United Nations over the use of its delegation's seats by the African National Congress in a recent UN forum.

No protest has yet been lodged, according to a spokesman for the South African mission to the UN.

The spokesman, Mr. Johan Eiselein, indicated that the mission was making a legal assessment of the incident before deciding whether to complain to UN officials.

The decision would be based "on what happened, why it was allowed to happen, and whether there is anything in the UN charter that allows a non-member to take a member's seat," Mr. Eiselein said.

ANC representatives sat in seats designated formally for the South African delegation during a "Namibia Day" commemorative meeting in the UN's Trusteeship Council chamber last week.
Funeral of PAC man's dad

By MZIKAYISE EDOM
THE FATHER of Mr. Mike Muenndane, a former member of the Pan Africanist Congress, will be buried tomorrow.

He was Mr. Petros Muenndane (80), of 75S Malupheki Street, Daveyton. He died after a long illness last week.

Mr. Muenndane Jr. fled the country in 1976 after being banished to Tzaneen.

He was banished after serving a seven-year sentence on Robben Island for sabotage. He now lives in exile in London.

A funeral service will be held from 1.30am at the Roman Catholic Church.
ANC plans branch office in Paris

_Own Correspondent_

PARIS. — The African National Congress, ANC, is planning to open a branch office in the French capital, soon. The office would concentrate on raising funds and support in France and organise and co-ordinate anti-Pretoria actions in French-speaking Africa.

The ANC's main European bureau has always been in London, but clearly the ANC has realised there are vast untapped support and funds in France and the French-speaking world.

At present the ANC is also represented in, among other countries, Sweden, Algeria, Senegal, Egypt, Zimbabwe, the United Nations and Canada.

The ANC headquarters are in London.

Although there are no details on how large its Paris office will be, or who will open it, it is recalled that in the past six months an ANC member, Alexander Maunbars, who escaped from Pretoria Central Prison last December, has been extremely active in Paris leading anti-Pretoria campaigns.

It is more than likely that he will be given a leading role in the new office.

The ANC's Paris office will join three other organisations there which are active in fighting apartheid.

They are The Movement Against Racism and Apartheid, the Anti-Ouverture or Anti-Apartheid Movement and the French Association for Friendship and Solidarity for Africa.
ANC took seats at UN

Argus Bureau

NEW YORK. - The South African Government is weighing a possible protest to the United Nations over the use of its delegation's seats by the African National Congress in a recent UN forum.

No protest has yet been lodged, according to a spokesman for the South African mission to the UN.

The spokesman, Mr Johan Eiselein, indicated that the mission was making a legalistic assessment of the incident before deciding whether or not to complain to UN officials.

'I do not know that a protest will be lodged,' he said.

'That will depend on what happened, why it was allowed to happen, and whether there is anything in the UN Charter that allows a non-member to take a member's seat.'

In liaison with Pretoria, a decision will be made whether some protest will be made or whether it should be ignored.

Representatives of the ANC sat in seats designated for the South African delegation during a Namibia Day commemorative meeting in the UN's Trusteeship Council chamber last week.

The African Nationalist movement has not taken the delegates' seats reserved by South Africa's nameplate in the General Assembly, which the Government has not filled since being expelled from the Assembly in 1974.

South Africa has nonetheless remained a member of the UN.

The incident occurred during a special commemorative meeting to which all permanent delegations had been invited and for which seating had been designated.

Usually the only nameplates in the trusteeship council chamber are for the 24 member-states of the UN's decolonisation committee.
Cabinet changes insignificant - black leaders
Talks on local government

DIRECT representation on local government bodies for coloured and Indians is to be negotiated on a national basis.

This follows a meeting last week between the Minister of Coloured Relations, Mr Marais Steyn, and management committee representatives.

Included on the ad hoc committee were Mr David Curry, chairman of the Labour Party's national executive, Mr J A Rabie and Mr D Pillay from the Transvaal, Mr B Grobbelaar from the Free State and Mr Y Muller of the Natal Association of Local Affairs committees.

Mr Muller, who led the delegation, said: "The Minister agreed that there have to be negotiations for direct representations in the interim period, before a new dispensation is arrived at."
We won't budge.

Labour

Coloureds still spurn council

Mr Botha may have torpedoed any hope of the coloured Labour Party taking part in the President's Council by remarks he made this week about retaining apartheid laws.

Mr Botha was speaking in support of Simonstown Nationalist candidate Mr John Wilo on Thursday night.

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Alan Hendricks, dismissed rumours in Government circles that his party was considering serving on the soon-to-be constituted President's Council "for a trial period."

He said rumours and speculation to this effect were "conjecture" and that the party remained determined to boycott the council while it excluded the black majority.

"If anything, the amazing public admission by Mr Botha on Thursday that apart from a few insignificant cosmetic changes, the status quo would remain unchanged, has further strengthened our determination to have nothing to do with the President's Council," Mr Hendricks said.

Mr Botha said the only way to retain stability in South Africa was through the official policy of separate development and that there would be no major move away from present Nationalist policies.

Banks, Mr Botha said, would remain SA citizens only until their homelands attained independence.

Separate, open and mixed beaches would be retained because "if you throw everything open to all people do what they like, I tell you, you will have confrontation and chaos."

He said he would protect white rights irrespective of whether it led to confrontation.

Mr Hendricks said the Labour Party's national executive would meet in Kimberley on September 6 and 7, but he saw it as a "total impossibility that the party would change its 1979 congress resolution to have no truck with any consultative or advisory body which excluded the black majority."

"We are also honour and morally bound by a South African Black Alliance (SABA) decision, taken at our last meeting in Durban in June this year, that units of SABA would not support the President's Council."

"The main pillars of SABA are the Zulu-based Inkatha cultural movement of Chief Buthelezi, the African National Congress (ANC) and the Labour Party."

"We have no intention of breaking our ties with SABA."

Banks said the party was determined to stand on its principles and to oppose the new council on "descending the steps of those who are trying to introduce a new constitution."
BY SAM MAIDEN

MR. NAPOLEON LEITOHO was 25 when he was sent to Robben Island in 1966 after being convicted for sabotage by a Rand Supreme Court Judge. He is now 49, but he is 43.

He is tall, thin and upright. His face and general physical appearance bear no testimony to the 17 years he spent away from his family, his friends and South Africa. His beliefs and the townships he loves.

When I met him at his Orlando East farm this week, the former ANC leader expressed genuine excitement about his freedom from his physical suffering and his release.

"I have tens and hundreds of these, I can become anything as high as the cost of this house. He was looking for more money to the property one month above the veranda of his two-bedroom home which has been converted into a third room.

He has been free of prison for only two weeks and is currently paying himself to find a job and living like many other men. In his neighbourhood.

He has already expressed the situation and has found that one cannot afford to waste time sitting around doing nothing. I realize that unemployment is a demanding task and very greatly those who have something better.

Mr. Leitoho said nothing could stop him from spending the rest of his life without feeling. He is the best.

So the island, the ANC, the Leitoho refused to comment on 'anything political.'
Labour Party urged to back the ANC...

LONDON: Britain's opposition Labour Party is to be urged at its annual conference next month to give "unqualified support" to the banned African National Congress of South Africa.

This is one of several resolutions on the agenda for the conference which opens in Blackpool on September 29.

The resolution on the ANC expresses concern at the low level of support for the guerrilla movement and calls on the conference to instruct Labour's national executive committee to consult the ANC with a view to formulation and implementation of practical proposals for practical support.

Another resolution urges a future Labour government to legislate that British multi-national companies must make provision for black workers in South Africa and Namibia, with preference and preference to be given to black workers and for education facilities for their children.

The resolution demands that a Labour administration should make a full investigation into "multi-national investments overseas where there is concern that the people of these countries are exploited (e.g., South Africa and Namibia).

The only resolution on Namibia calls for an immediate ban on the importation of uranium from the territory.
ANC out to 'raise its flag' in America and UN

By Richard Walker, New York

the soft-spoken Mr Johnstone Makatini, a Danish-French-speaking diplomat, drafted here from North Africa after an internal ANC upheaval about 18 months ago, is backing him up a team of about 30 full-time and part-time aids.

For the first time, an ANC outpost has also been set up in Washington, where it is working closely with TransAfrica, the black American lobbying organisation.

As a first success, he is claiming the failure so far of a move to make the Sullivan code of conduct a legal requirement for US companies in South Africa. Sullivan was hotly rejected this year by the Organisation of African Unity — spurred on by the ANC — on the grounds that anything less than total disinvestment was to be shunned as 'counter-productive.'

In Los Angeles, the ANC has a coalition of about 30 groups ranging from black and trade unions to churches attempting to pressure Mayor Thomas Bradley into blocking the transfer from San Francisco of the SA Consul-General.

Armed with a new 'speakers' bureau' — they include well-established figures like Professor Ben Magubane — it is also populating at conferences across the country.

Earlier this month, Mr Makatini's attendance helped spur the National Bar Association to endorse comprehensive sanctions.

The association, a major grouping of black lawyers, also made a special Nelson Mandela award, which is going to the imprisoned leader's wife.

This weekend Mr Makatini is flying to London to join Tesla Oliver-Tambu for strategy talks, including plans for a September 25 Security Council session on the Republic, where a large turnout of African Foreign Ministers will discuss a sanctions demand.

The ANC, like the PAC, does not have the right to participate in UN Assembly debates related only to apartheid. Its status was boosted last year when its delegates, according to its lawyers, were able to 'ensure due representation of the people of South Africa through their liberation movements.'
Black athlete stoned

by RENÉ DU PREEZ

FOR promising black athlete Jerry Magoba he rate's black athlete stoned by fellow youths.

It is all because he has joined the previously all-white Celtic Harrier Athletics Club.

Jerry, 18, a middle-distance runner and high-school pupil at Langa, has been accused of being an "informer" and not fighting for the cause.

He emphatically denies this and says his move to Celtic Harriers from the Guguletu

Athletics Club has not changed him.

"Members of the Young Ideals Athletics Club in Guguletu have refused to train with me because of my affiliation to Celtic Harriers," he said.

"I am only interested in reaching the top in the athletics world.

"My move to Celtic Harriers, where facilities and coaching programmes are far more advanced, will help me realise my ambition.

"If athletics is like Sydney, Maree can go abroad to further their athletics careers. Why can't I join the club where I think my talents can be best developed?"

"I am not blaming the Guguletu authorities for the lack of facilities."

Jerry is a cousin of Leomato's Olympic marathon runner, Vincent Hakabale.

Yesterday he took part in the Kodak Fun Run, 8-km, cross-country race. He was watched by his most ardent fan, his mother, Mary Magoba.
Support the ANC urges Mugabe

The Zimbabwe Prime Minister, Mr. Robert Mugabe, has urged the world community to help the liberation movement of South Africa.

He was addressing the United Nations General Assembly, at which Zimbabwe was for the first time admitted as the 151st member.

He urged the international community to give aid in Swaziland and to give increased support to the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress of South Africa.

In a press conference at the United Nations Hotel he said that during his talks with President Carter in Washington he would urge the United States to bring pressure to bear on South Africa to assist in the "total liberation of Southern Africa."

Meanwhile, "South Africa has four or five years to get its home in order ... after that both Zimbabwe and Mozambique will be forced to change in order to provide homes for ZFN and PAC refugees."

So said an exiled Mozambican student, who left school six years ago to join the Mozambique freedom fighters. His work has been in Washington as part of the delegation that visited with Prime Minister Poul." The next four or six years will see a complete reconversion and economic development.

But, once the economies are restored again, both leaders will be forced into a more aggressive stance. A greater variety of political and economic pressures from the ANC and PAC parties who want to operate in South Africa.

"As Black Africans, they will have no choice in this matter."

When first as happened in Zimbabwe ... but on a vastly expanded and more complex scale - the war would be led in country in South Africa, he said, - pressure for meaningful changes.